

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER THIRTY FOUR 243

MAY 1, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

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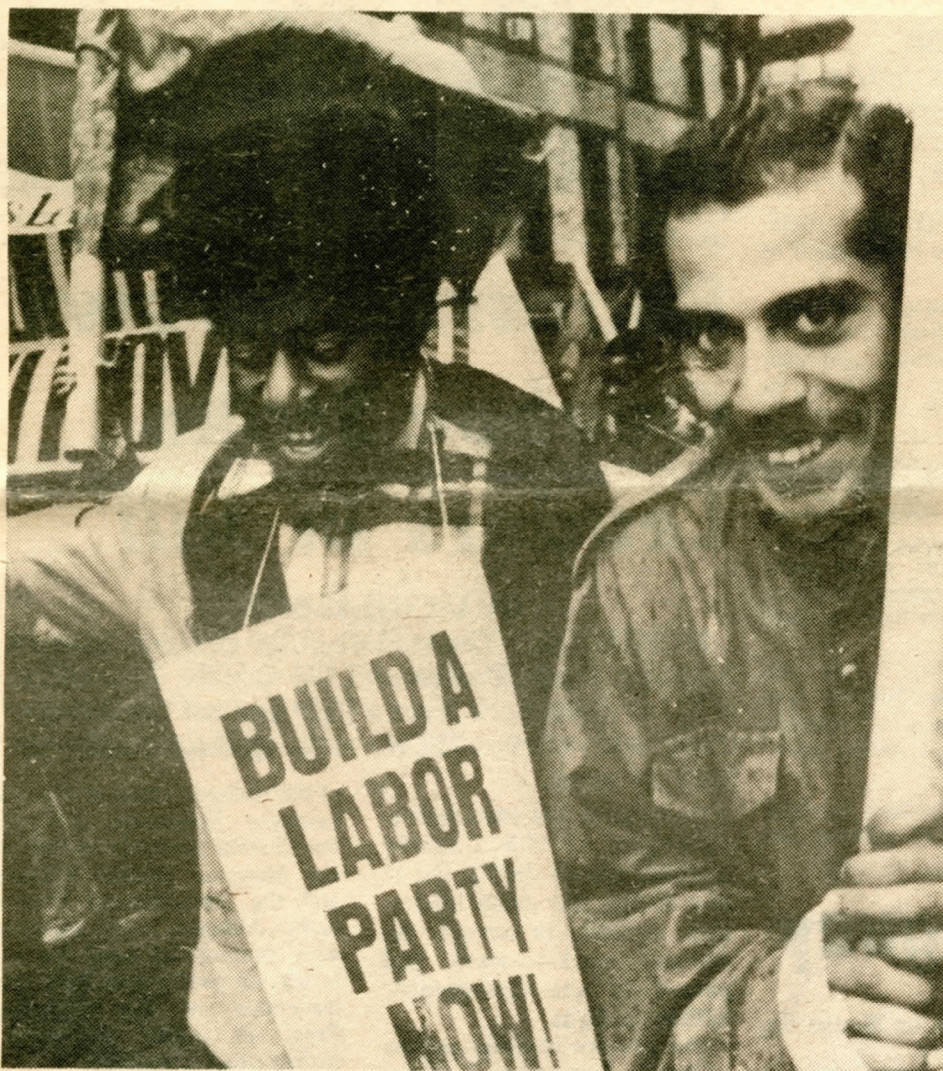
—BY DAN FRIED

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The Lessons Of May Day In 1972

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EDITORIAL

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Tory Labor Bill Imposes Halt To Rail Union Action

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Tory government launched last week the offensive against the British working class that it has prepared so carefully over the past two years.

With a double barrel assault, the Tories have invoked the statutes of the vicious Industrial Relations Act to halt the strike of railway workers for a two week "cooling-off" period and to levy a fine of more than \$140,000 against the Transport and General Workers Union.

Let there be no mistake about it: by using the Act, the Tories have moved to end trade unionism in Britain for once and for all. What this means is that the ruling class has decided to deprive the working class of England of every right it has won since the 19th century.

The historical period of class compromise, inaugurated in 1848 with the Chartist petition to Parliament, has come to an end. The crisis of capitalism gives the Tories no choice but to attempt to break the back of the working class.

HITTING

By striking at trade unionism, the Tories are hitting at the very lifeblood of the working class. Not since the Combination Laws of 1801, levelled at the still immature proletariat of an England still developing as an industrial power, has the ruling class carried its attack so far.

In the case of the railway workers, the Tories have bluntly stated that the Government can impose a wage settlement as well as limitations upon the right to strike.

In the case of the T&GWU, the Tories have threatened to make the assets of the union (approx-

mately \$50 million) the property of the capitalist class. This is because the legal arm of the Act, the Industrial Relations Court, has determined that it is an "unfair" industrial practice for dockers to defend their union

through boycott actions.

In both cases, the trade union bureaucracy has made contemptible retreats. For more than a year, the Trades Union Congress has evaded a fight against the

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Thieu Army Flees Advancing NLF

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The security of the puppet capital of Saigon has been called into question by the tremendous offensive of the National Liberation Front which broadened considerably over the past week.

Late reports indicate that the ARVN forces are in panic-stricken retreat throughout the war zone. As one fire base and provincial hamlet after another falls into the hands of the NLF, the fighting now assumes the character of a rout. In the strategic central

highlands, organized resistance seems to have come to a halt.

It is under these conditions, when total military victory is assured the workers and peasants of Vietnam, that Stalinism reveals the full scope of its counterrevolutionary intentions.

The Nixon Administration disclosed Tuesday that chief presidential adviser Henry Kissinger had spent four days in intensive consultation with Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev. Vietnam was the principle item on their agenda.

Kissinger stated that the United States and Moscow "are at the moment in a very delicate phase of international relations."

In Binh Long Province, the NLF is on the verge of entering the

(Continued on Page 18)

Willy Brandt suffered what could prove to be a decisive setback as the Christian Democrats trounced the Social Democrats and Free Democrats in the April 23 election in the state of Baden-Wurttemberg. CDU Chief Rainer Barzel stated after the vote that his party would attempt to unseat Brandt by introducing a no confidence vote into the German parliament later this week. (See page 17)

General Strike Call In Uruguay

BY ED SMITH

Uruguayan workers occupied their factories during a one-day General Strike on Wednesday against the murder of seven Communist Party workers by troops last Monday.

One hundred thousand mourners followed the cortege of the seven murdered workers whose coffins were carried shoulder high from the CP headquarters to the Montevideo cemetery five miles away.

Placards on the funeral procession bore the slogans: "Fascism and murderers out!"

The excuse given for the capitalist terror campaign that left 20 dead inside of four days was a breakout of 25 prisoners including 15 of the Tupamaro urban guerrillas from the Puenta Carretas jail. This was followed by a gun battle two days later in which an ex-government official and three bodyguards were killed.

Bordaberry seized the opportunity to launch his long-planned "anti-terrorist offensive." On a nationwide broadcast, Bordaberry stated: "We are not declaring war. It has been declared against us by the

subversive groups."

A conference of leaders of Uruguay's two major parties, the Colorado and the National Parties, followed, and within hours Uruguay had been transformed into a legal police state.

By a vote of 97-21, "internal war" had been declared against the Tupamaros. Requirements for court orders for permission to search and detain suspects were dropped. Press censorship was imposed and army operations cannot be reported without permission.

The most massive police and army sweeps have followed, including house to house searches, while the Argentine Army and Navy patrol the Parana River to prevent suspects from leaving the country.

REAL TARGET

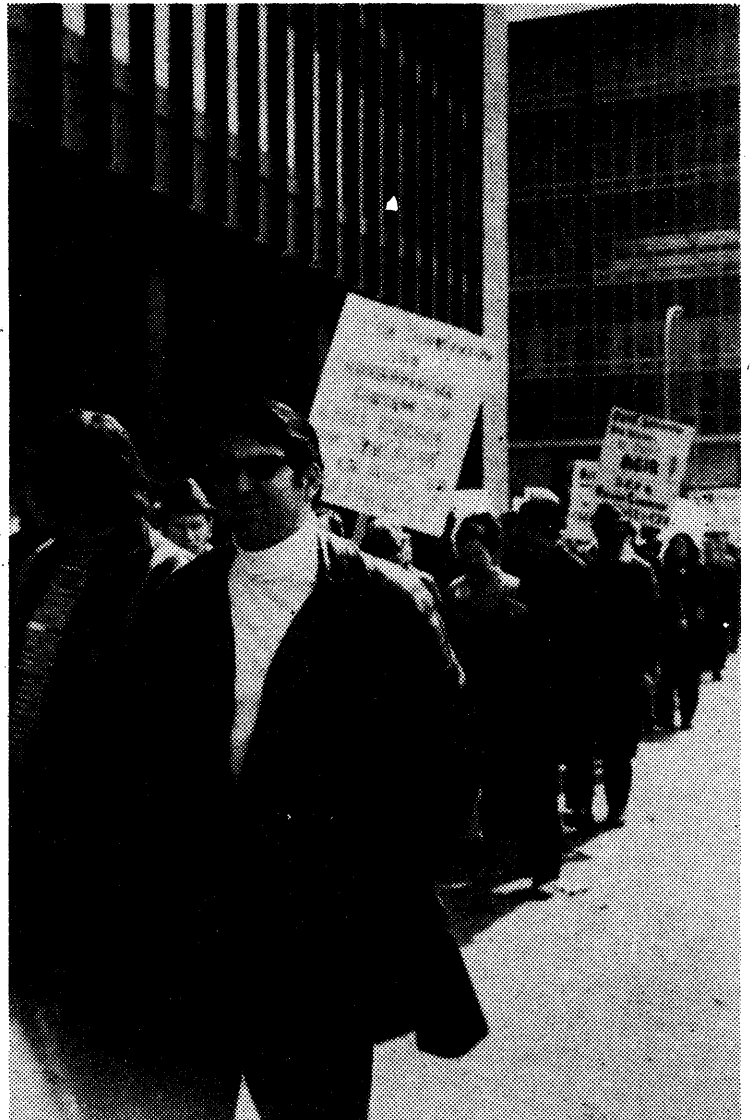
But the real target of Bordaberry's campaign was not the Tupamaros at all. Two days after the declaration of "internal war," in the predawn hours, detachments of police and the Ar-

my drove up to a district office of the Communist Party, which had condemned the Tupamaro urban guerrillaism.

They proceeded to open fire, unprovoked, for more than an hour on the headquarters, according to the testimony of neighbors. Seven people were killed, including several cut down in the street running from the fire of the police and Army.

In response to the government's anti-working class terror, the Workers' National Convention (CNT) extended a previously called 14 hour general strike to 48 hours. This is the third general strike called by the 400,000 member CNT since Bordaberry took office on March 1.

The strikes have centered around the question of higher pay. The working class is in rebellion against the fantastic rate of inflation that threatens to impoverish it. Through lowering the living standards of the class in this fashion, the Uruguayan bosses hope to pay for the disastrous state of their economy.



City workers in Quebec rally to defend their general strike which government declared illegal while throwing union leaders into jail.

Bourassa Throws Quebec Strike Leaders In Jail

BY DAVID ALBERT

MONTREAL—The leaders of the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Federation of Labor drew back from a fight against the Government, and ordered 210,000 striking state employees back to work.

In spite of the tremendous strength of the Quebec workers shown during the 11 day strike, the union leadership decided to accept the vicious back-to-work bill passed by the Government without a fight.

The new law virtually outlaws collective bargaining. It allows the Government to impose a settlement upon its own employees. The emergency legislation came after an intensive union busting campaign by the Government.

Last week, nineteen hospital union leaders were arrested, convicted and sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$5,000.

The Liberal government of Premier Bourassa, and its courts and police, have declared open war on the trade union movement. They have declared this war in the interests of the federal Liberal government and the entire crisis-ridden Canadian capitalist class.

The sentences were handed down by Quebec Superior Court Judge Georges Pelletier, a former Liberal Party organizer. Along with the vicious sentences, he also stated:

"When the law is ignored and the authority of the courts openly defied, there is reason to fear a situation which could degenerate, sooner or later, into anarchy."

The union leaders, executives

of the National Union of Charles Lemoyne Employees (CNTU), the Charles Lemoyne section of the Montreal Nurses Alliance and the Para-Medical Professional Alliance, were charged with contempt of court for refusing, on instructions from the leadership of the Common Front of public employees, to obey court injunctions.

Not only were the individuals fined, but so were the unions, bringing the total amount to \$135,600. Failure to pay the fines would mean the extension of the jail sentences from six months to a year.

Class relations have entered a new and dangerous period. The very existence of trade unions is in danger.

The union leadership has this choice: either accept the future this government offers—repression, massive unemployment, an end to all democratic rights—or drive it out, and replace it with a labor government, a government of the NDP and the trade unions based on socialist policies.

The Common Front leadership must take the lead in convening a congress of all the unions in Quebec and the NDP, to elaborate a strategy, a program and a campaign to replace the Liberals with an NDP-CNTU-QFL government, pledged to socialist policies of full employment, nationalization of basic industry, language rights and an end to repression and victimization.

1199 Calls ILA Fights Dock Closing

Sick-In At City Hospitals

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On Wednesday April 19th 3500 workers in the city hospitals members of Local 1199 called in sick as a job action against the Health and Hospital Corporation's plan to transfer 2000 of them into another union on July 1st.

This attack, engineered by Lindsay who set up the Corporation last year, will strip these workers of their basic right to belong to the union of their choice.

The city hospitals, which have affiliation contracts with the private hospitals, have two unions, Local 1199 led by Leon Davis and District Council 37, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers led by Victor Gotbaum.

Last year Gotbaum made a deal with Lindsay to support formation of the Corporation in return for the forcible transfer of the 1199 members into District Council 37.

Gotbaum's cynical deal was not only a betrayal of the 1199 members but of his own members as well. Lindsay's goal was not just to hold down the wages of thousands of hospital workers who make more than workers in D.C. 37 but to get Gotbaum's approval in order to proceed with the elimination of jobs in the city hospitals.

CAPITULATION

Only a few months ago, Gotbaum agreed to a contract which won only a seven dollar a week increase. This capitulation on wages was Gotbaum's payment for the agreement to attack 1199 workers.

Lindsay's real plans were blown open after a report was revealed which exposed the City's intention to sell Coney Island Hospital, and a number of smaller city hospitals. These moves will destroy the jobs of thousands of District Council 37 members.

The *New York Times* immediately wrote a vicious editorial against the "sick out" covering up for Lindsay who is responsible for the decaying conditions in the city hospitals.

PROSECUTE

This is only the beginning of the campaign that Lindsay and Rockefeller will lead in July when hospital workers face strike action. Joseph English, head of the Hospital Corporation, has declared that they will seek to prosecute 1199 for violation of the Taylor Law.

The real task is to unite 1199 and District Council members in a common fight against the Pay Board and against Lindsay's layoffs.

Davis' offer to Gotbaum that 1199 would work together with D.C. 37 to bring their wages up to the level of 1199 was rejected.

1199 members must see to it that there is no retreat from Davis' public stand that he will call out all workers including the private hospitals in a city-wide strike to stop this attack.

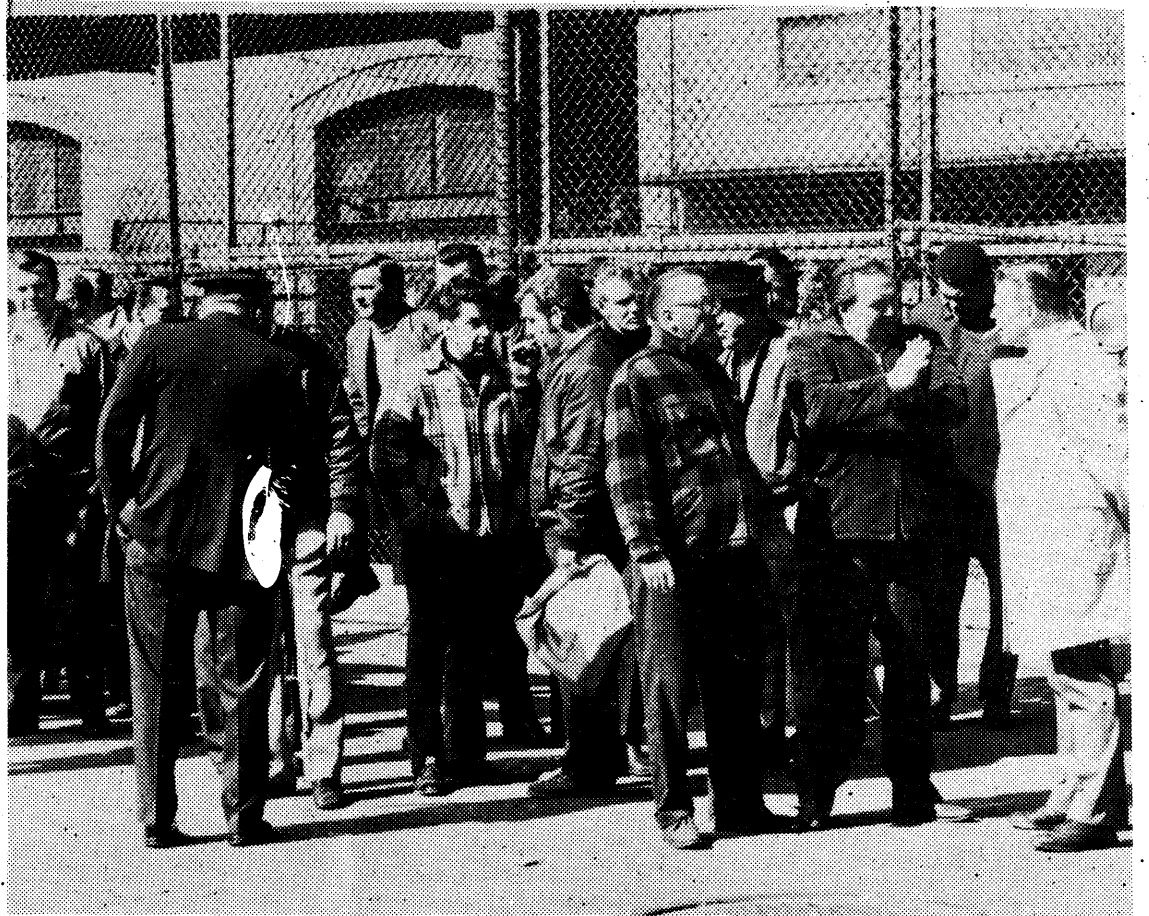
BY ED SMITH

NEW YORK, April 27.—More than 100 ILA men continued their picket today of Pier 57, on W. 15th St. in Manhattan. The men are determined to prevent the piers from being converted into a bus garage, wiping out any chance of them being used for longshore jobs.

Six Transit Authority workers who refused to move equipment past the picket line have been fired. Mounted police opened the way for scab truck drivers.

"This is a matter of principle," one ILA man told the *Bulletin*, "not just for ourselves but for the TA men who were fired. We want to be able to work and not just have to worry about the guarantee. These piers cost hundreds of thousands to build and one of them hasn't even been used."

Who's behind the Port Authority and the way they're running this thing? I'll tell you, it's big money. Rockefeller and Lindsay are working hand in hand on this. We need a labor party to clean up this mess. We have the basis for it right here. Without our sweat and blood, they would never have had their millions in the first place."



Cops used force to prevent longshoremen at New York's 15th St. pier on West side from keeping out scab truck. Transit Authority intends to close down piers and turn them into a bus garage.

Lindsay: Pay Cut For 280,000

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Mayor Lindsay stepped up the attack on public employees by calling on the State Legislature and City Council to grant him the authority to impose payless two week furloughs.

This measure would mean the equivalent of a four percent pay cut for 280,000 public employees, including teachers, sanitationmen, hospital workers, firemen and police.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, said that Lindsay had offered him an alternative between layoffs and furloughs. "That is a question of what kind of cancer do we want to be fed," Gotbaum stated.

The leader of District Council 37 then advised the Mayor to consider the firing of temporary and provisional workers before imposing furloughs.

Although the action by Lindsay is the most vicious attack on the living standards of public employees since the depression era, not one of the union leaders has made a forthright statement calling for a fight against the measure.

A spokesman for the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association told the *Bulletin* that the furlough proposal is a "battle between the city and the state which goes on every year" and said that the unions should not pay too much attention to "scare headlines."

COMPLACENT

This is a dangerously complacent attitude. Lindsay's move to impose two-week layoffs does not threaten Rockefeller but 280,000 city workers.

Dennis Cribben, a spokesman for the Committee for New Leadership, a caucus in the Social Service Employees Union, issued the following statement:

"Lindsay's threat to furlough 280,000 city workers is the most drastic action against the labor movement since the LaGuardia Administration did the same thing in the 1930s. It is the furthest Lindsay has gone toward

attempting to break the back of the powerful city labor movement.

"If Lindsay is allowed to carry out his threat, it will open up the floodgates for more attacks. Furloughs are not a substitute for layoffs, as the Mayor claims. They are actually the preparation for layoffs.

"The Mayor is carrying out the

strategy already mapped out by Nixon and the Democrats in Washington. And that is, to smash the living conditions of all workers.

BANKRUPT

"Gotbaum's answer to this attack is bankrupt. Rather than mobilizing the city labor force for a fight, he proposed that Lind-

say fire provisional workers. This is the reformist logic of the man responsible for putting Lindsay in office three years ago.

LABOR PARTY

"What is required now is not only a massive struggle within District Council 37 for strike action, but also—and most important—the repudiation by District Council 37 of its support for Lindsay and to come out and fight for a labor party in '72."

Bosses Prepare For Battles With Massive Profit Drive

BY DAVID NORTH

Corporation executives and economists hailed the 11.8 percent first quarter rise in the Gross National Product as proof that the two-year-old recession has ended and that the United States economy has entered an expansionary phase.

But the enthusiasm of the businessmen reflected a very conscious attempt to overlook the fact that more than one half of the reported gain, which was greeted with some skepticism in informed circles, was due to the unbroken tempo of the inflation.

With the rate of inflation taken into account—and it now stands at 4.9 percent since November—the economy shows so sluggish a rate of improvement that it requires an athletic leap of the imagination to claim that a real recovery is actually taking place.

Far more significant than the statistics about the GNP are those which show that the corporations are engaged in a profit drive almost unprecedented in its ruthlessness. In spite of the very uncertain movement of the economy, the capitalists have been gleefully reporting profit increases that stand in seeming contradiction to the gloomy eco-

nomie conditions.

Actually, it is the very condition of impending depression that is driving the capitalists to attempt to cash in while there is still time; and, most important, to strengthen themselves and prepare for a head on confrontation with the working class.

Net profits reported by 669 corporations for the first quarter totaled \$3,562,200,000, a gain of 12 percent over the last year. Especially strong showings were made in the aerospace and automotive industry, where workers have been hit with layoffs and productivity drives.

While almost all sections of industry are reporting handsome profits, the strategy behind this drive can be better understood by examining the statements made by two giant corporations last week upon reporting fantastic earnings.

The Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) weighed in with a 12.3 percent jump in earnings for the first three months of 1972.

Explaining the sharp rise over the previous year, John D. Halper, chairman and chief executive of Alcoa, stated that the gains were due to the company's ability "to maximize the efficiencies of high-volume production."

Praising the "very effective" cost cutting program, Halper noted that: "By operating smelting facilities at about 85 percent of capacity through the quarter, we brought our production of ingot into balance with shipments."

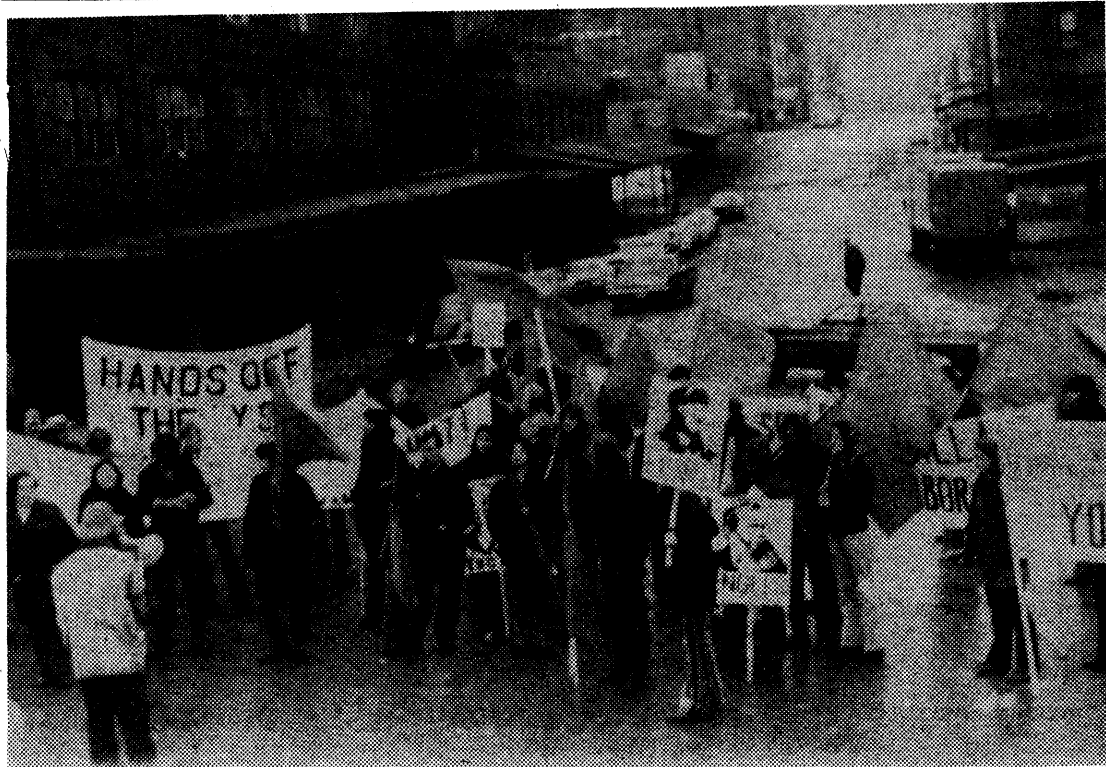
PATH

Having learned that speed-ups and layoffs are the sure path to corporate profits, the president of Alcoa promised that the company "is determined that the gains made in productivity and cost control won't be eroded as business improves."

Anaconda Co. reported an extraordinary profit gain of 740 percent for the first quarter of the year. The company attributed this gain to the trimming of "deadwood" and told the press that: "We've got a lot more to do."

In this case, the "deadwood" refers to thousands of Chilean workers thrown out of work on

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Young Socialists rallied in Minneapolis on April 22 at site of Battle of Deputies Run which climaxed 1934 Trotskyist-led general strike. Over 100 marched to defend Vietnamese and American workers.

Teacher Unions Unite Against State Attacks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The recent merger agreement between the New York State Teachers Association (NYSTA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in New York State brings together teacher organizations representing 105,000 and 90,000 workers respectively.

If this merger were to be followed up on a national scale, it would result in a union of well over a million members, making it the third or fourth largest in the country.

Both the NYSTA and AFT have been subject to increasing attacks in the past few years. In both organizations the membership has grown increasingly restless and is demanding an all out fight to protect the gains they have won.

The deepening economic crisis and vicious government attack was behind the recent strike of the Civil Service Employees Association. This organization was known, along with the National Educational Association affiliates like the NYSTA, for its docile behavior. The CSEA leaders were literally dragged out on strike by an enraged rank and file when Rockefeller negotiated a settlement providing a zero increase in wages for the first year.

NEA affiliates all over the country are beginning to function more and more like union organizations under the blows of the crisis and the government attack. At the same time, the leaders of both groups involved in the New York merger will try to use this merger to increase their lobbying power in a legislative program aimed at the Democrats and Republicans in Albany. They will not seek to mobilize the full economic and political power of the teachers.

POLITICAL CONFRONTATION

With the unions facing the combination of the wage controls and court and legislative attacks, the union bureaucracy is well aware that every major strike becomes a political confrontation with the government. They fear this struggle.

Just as Meany talks of alternatives to strikes, Shanker and his NYSTA partners try to plead

with the capitalist politicians to soften their attack. The union officials hope that in exchange for promises of votes, the legislators will compromise a bit.

This completely bankrupt policy of grovelling before the employers will lead only to defeat. Teachers face all out attacks everywhere. Thousands of jobs have been cut through attrition. In one school district in the New York metropolitan area, teachers have now declared that as long as the authorities continue to cut staff, they will refuse to have anything to do with newly funded projects.

The next major battle shaping up is the New York City contract this coming September. The Shanker leadership has one of the most rotten records in the labor movement. It has accepted job cuts while helping the government to whip up law and order scares through demands for more police in the schools and tougher disciplinary measures for students.

All signs now point to this leadership continuing to accept the elimination of jobs and also capitulating to Nixon's wage controls. But the merger of the teachers unions means that the ranks have a greater opportunity to take up a fight against these policies of retreat.

BATTLE

This fight will require the construction of a Marxist leadership among teachers as well as the rest of the labor movement. This means an all out battle against the labor bureaucracy and its policy of reliance upon the capitalist politicians. The fight for a labor party to turn back the political attacks is an urgent necessity.

The revisionist and middle class radical tendencies in the unions refuse to take up this fight now against the union bureaucracy. They begin with the very same outlook as that of the bureaucracy, considering the

fight for a labor party to be "unrealistic."

Thus, in the newly merged teachers union, the teachers grouped around the United Action Caucus, which is dominated by supporters of the International Socialists, confine themselves to syndicalism. This group counterposes to the lobbying perspective of the union officials, a policy of state-wide strike action and of united front action with other public employees unions.

Instead of taking up the fight for a labor party as the central need of the teachers and the rest of labor, it leaves the political arena to the bureaucracy and restricts itself to calls for more militancy.

Actors Caucus Hits Job Monopoly

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The deepening recession and attack on the rights of union members has sharply hit the film industry here. A caucus calling itself the WHAM Committee has been formed in the San Francisco branch of the Screen Actors Guild.

The aims of the group are "to halt agency monopoly," specifically the monopoly control of all jobs by the Brebner agency, which exists for the purpose of exploiting the performing artists; and the creation of an autonomous SAG branch, as opposed to the present job-trust operation of five unions out of one office dictated by two men, under a new leadership.

Behind the revolt against the collaboration of the bureaucrats with the agency management is the massive unemployment that has hit performing artists throughout California, and the use of this unemployment to undermine the contracts.

Jim Scott, Chairman of WHAM, reported in a letter to the Bulletin: "You should know that the dock workers are not alone in their struggle with labor problems—San Francisco is seeing with labor problems that might easily explode (literally) into an unmanageable revolt."

WHAM began when more than 25 rank and filers went to their local union leaders in an effort to

McGee Decision Strengthens Farinas Appeal

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

An April 18 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit may have an important effect on the campaign to free Juan Farinas.

Juan is the supporter of the Workers League who was jailed on March 20 after all appeals against his conviction of violating the Selective Service Act were exhausted. He was sentenced to two years in jail for distributing a leaflet against the war at an induction center.

The Supreme Court refused to review the case and the original District Court refused to modify the sentence. Juan is now in the Federal Prison in Danbury, Connecticut.

RULING

The Court of Appeals has now ruled in a case involving Vincent Francis McGee, Jr. This ruling is very important precisely because of the differences as well as the similarities between this case and that of Juan Farinas.

McGee is not a socialist. He was president of his class at Union Theological Seminary and executive director of Business Executives Move for Peace.

In 1967, McGee burned his draft card and sent the remains to President Johnson. He refused to cooperate in any way with the Selective Service System. In 1968 he was tried and convicted for failing to report for induction as well as failure to report for physical examination, to possess valid classification and to return a draft questionnaire.

In a two to one decision written by Chief Judge Henry Friendly the Court of Appeals ordered the Federal judge in the case to reduce McGee's sentence or explain why.

Unlike McGee, Farinas is not a draft resister. Of course, the government has much more to fear from him, an avowed socialist. But he is in jail simply for distributing a leaflet.

The Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit is the court which upheld Farinas' conviction. It is this court which will be hearing the appeal for modification of sentence within the next two months. This would allow Juan to enter the army or to work at a job deemed to be in the national interest for the next two years.

In the light of the recent decision, the chances for a favorable decision on Juan's appeal are much greater. If the court were not to rule in Juan's favor now, it would be the clearest proof yet of the political persecution for which working class fighters against imperialism are singled out.

The Defense Committee will be launching a broad campaign in the next few weeks, which will include letters and telegrams to the Court of Appeals. The appeal brief is now being prepared and we must take up the fight for modification of sentence with renewed confidence and determination.

Brebner and the WHAM Committee. No improvement has resulted. While refusing to help us, our labor management enjoyed a 20 percent raise in salary (Migden \$42,000 per year, Dales \$50,000 per year)."

While the union leaders got their increase under Phase II, members of SAG and other performing artists have to make do under conditions of rising prices and massive unemployment, now brought to greater heights by the attack of Nixon on the working class since August 15.

But the fight of the performers around WHAM is an expression of the refusal of the workers to pay for these attacks. For the rank and file of the performers union, this fight must be taken forward with the demand for an independent labor party and the nationalization of the entertainment industry under control of the industry's workers.

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'VICTORY TO THE NLF, BUILD A LABOR PARTY!'



BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM
NEW YORK—Close to 450 workers and youth marched with the Young Socialists in the anti-war demonstration held April 22nd through the streets of rain-swept New York City.

Chanting slogans that called for the building of a labor party as the only political alternative to the capitalist politicians responsible for the war and the attacks on the American working class, the Young Socialists contingent based its participation in the demonstration on a perspective completely opposed to the bankrupt protest politics put forward by the organizers of the rally at Bryant Park.

While the Young Socialists contingent marched the mile and a half route of the demonstration chanting "Victory to the NLF—Build a Labor Party," the political bankruptcy of the NPAC rally was expressed as Beatle John Lennon sang "Give Peace a Chance."

Workers lined the route of the demonstration, and many applauded the YS chant: "Nixon Out, McGovern Out—Build a Labor Party."

Estimates of the crowd that participated in the rally ranged

from 30,000 to 100,000. As the marchers poured into the Bryant Park area, they heard speeches that put forward feeble reformism and pacifism. The actor Ossie Davis told the crowd:

"I see nothing but peace in front of me, nothing but peace behind me, and nothing but peace to the left of me."

Only one block away, the Allied Chemical building electronic news board informed the crowd that B-52 bombers had struck targets in Hanoi and Haiphong.

At the independent Young Socialists rally that preceded the official demonstration, the political perspective being brought by the YS into April 22 was put forward.

"The spectacular victories of the NLF in South Vietnam is the sharpest expression of the offensive of the international working class against capitalism," declared Dennis O'Casey of the Workers League. "This powerful movement of the working class can be seen in this country as millions of workers fight Nixon's Pay Board by forcing Meany to walk off."

FIGHT

O'Casey declared that the fight of the American and Vietnamese workers will be brought into conscious unity through the struggle for a labor party.

Tim Wohlforth, national se-

cretary of the WL, explained the meaning of Nixon's move toward genocidal warfare against the Vietnamese:

"Nixon is not attacking Hanoi and Haiphong merely because he is a bad man—which he is—but because he is determined to defend the world-wide interests of American imperialism."

"As he orders his bombers to hit the homes of civilians, Nixon is expressing the arrogance of capitalism and its hatred and fear of the working class."

WARNING

"What Nixon is doing must be a warning to all American workers because capitalism is preparing to do the same in this country. The working class will fight back, but it will have to fight differently than it has in the past."

"No one has to tell the American working class to strike in order to defend its living conditions. But the idea of a labor party does not just come out of nowhere. It has to be brought into the working class consciously. That is the task of the Young Socialists."

Discussing the fight to build the April 22 contingent, YS organizer Jeannie Cooper stated:

"During the past week, the Young Socialists have fought it out at Columbia against the perspectives of student power. We

have clarified the lessons of the student movement of 1968, 1969, and May 1970. At every point we have stressed that the war will not be ended by student strikes and building takeovers."

JDL

Nancy Vasquez, a member of the Brooklyn College YS, declared: "The events of the past week have brought out into the open the complete break of the revisionists in the YSA with Marxism."

"They are now in collaboration with the fascist Jewish Defense League, with whom they wrote their 'anti-war' resolution."

"Only the Young Socialists are taking forward the fight against the JDL at Brooklyn College."

Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the Bulletin, spoke about the tasks facing the National Policy Convention of the United Auto Workers which meets this week:

THREATENED

"The UAW Convention is meeting at a time when all the gains made by American labor since the depression are threatened by Nixon. As in the past, when auto workers led the greatest class battles fought in this country, the UAW must come forward to lead the fight in this period."

"Industrial unionism, the great

goal of the working class for a half century before the 1930's, came into being largely because of the initiatives taken by auto workers. Now the UAW must rouse the labor movement to

create a labor party that would serve and defend the interests of all working people and youth."

Fred Mazelis, presidential candidate in next week's election of officers for Local 1199, stated that: "Hospital workers are in the forefront of the fight against Nixon as the strike date of July 1 draws closer." He exposed the vicious attacks now leveled by the city against hospital workers in the form of pay cuts and layoffs.

FIGHT

The Young Socialists is now taking forward the fight for the construction of their May Day rally on May 5, at which hundreds of working class youth and trade unionists will be brought together around the fight for a labor party.

YS member Abby Rodriguez explained the significance of the rally:

"Everything the working class has gotten it has had to fight for. May Day recalls the history of those great struggles. On May 5 the YS will bring forward the traditions of the labor movement to carry out the fight for a labor party."

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Student Powerism And Our Real Tasks

Nixon's attempt to save capitalism, at the expense of the Vietnamese workers and by attacking the working class at home through wage cuts, unemployment, and budget cuts, is being met by the movement of the working class in Vietnam and by the American workers and youth. This past week saw this movement reflected through the wave of student strikes throughout the country.

For months the capitalist media has stated that the students had become apathetic. The events of this past week shatter the attempts of the bourgeois press to paint a picture of tranquility within capitalist society. The wave of student protest reflect the sharp class conflict that is developing today.

At the same time, the bankruptcy of this movement in the face of the developing crisis takes on the most reactionary character and holds the greatest dangers for the youth and the working class.

It was the Young Socialists who fought against the student strikes and student powerism and sought to turn the students toward the working class for the political independence of the working class, the building of a labor party. It was the Stalinists, with the aid of the YSA, who insisted on diverting students into the futile protest movement.

The Stalinists and the revisionists immediately jumped on the band wagon and drove students at Columbia and other colleges onto the same road that has led to defeats of the past. The role of the Stalinists and the YSA is to lead students away from the working class, which is the only force that can end capitalism, and to tie them to reformism.

Since the protest over the Cambodian invasion in 1970, Nixon has continued the escalation of the war. Only the strength of the Vietnamese has pushed imperialism back. It is not as the YSA claims the protest movement which has done this.

It is the independent political mobilization of the working class together with the offensive of the Vietnamese workers and peasants which can defeat imperialism.

The Young Socialists countered the protest perspective throughout every intervention on the campus. The turning of students towards the labor movement by fighting to break this powerful movement from the Democrats and Republicans through the call for the labor party is the only alternative. This revolutionary alternative enabled us to have a powerful intervention in the April 22nd demonstration.

The May Day mass meeting that will be held by the YS will bring forth the history and traditions of the American labor movement into the present struggles of the working class and the solidarity of the working class throughout the world. The meeting will bring together trade unionists and youth and will center on the fight for the construction of a labor party.

This will be an historic day in the fight for a socialist America.



National Guardsmen at University of Maryland are being used to put down student rebellion against war.

National Guard Occupies University Of Maryland

BY G. BALDI & T. STEVENS

COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND, April 24—National Guardsmen are still patrolling the University of Maryland, in the wake of massive student protests held last week against the war in Vietnam and the bombing escalation.

Demonstrating students numbered in the thousands with the main target being the Reserve Officers Training Corps on campus. Several attempts were made to burn the ROTC building and windows were broken in the Armory.

The students staged a protest occupation of U.S. 1, which runs in front of the campus, bringing an immediate response from the State Police. Using clubs, CS gas and attack dogs, the police dispersed the crowds in a manner reminiscent of the attacks on civil rights demonstrators in the

South ten years ago. Several people were severely injured during these confrontations.

A Vietnam veteran was hit by a gas canister which resulted in severe skin lacerations and a broken leg. Bill Sergeant, a 30 year old University College student was arrested and beaten by state cops while walking to the College Park business district.

He was released from custody Thursday as the police were unable to press charges but was forced to remain in the hospital for possible surgery for kidney injuries sustained during the beatings.

Over the past week, more than 600 National Guardsmen and 200 state troopers have been patrolling the campus. Over 150 students and others have been arrested and the arrests continue under the guise of "getting the ringleaders."

Special attention is being given to foreign students who have participated in the strike coalition. Kaoul Rivik, a supporter of Progressive Labor, has been charged as an illegal alien and faces deportation hearings on May 25. He has been a resident in the U.S. since 1960.

A graduate assistant from Afghanistan, Yaonos, has been charged with arson and is being held on \$15,000 bond. These charges are based on his attempt to put out a fire that someone else had started.

The University is still under a state of emergency declared by Maryland Governor Mandel last Thursday. Cops and National Guardsmen patrol the campus with the right to arrest anyone who fails to produce University identity cards on demand, or anyone they might feel is a "threat to the well-being of the University community."

The role of the Young Socialist Alliance through this entire period has been completely reactionary. At all times, the YSA has blocked any attempt to turn this movement away from bankrupt student power politics. Indeed, they have participated in and endorsed futile adventurist actions in the name of maintaining unity with the middle class radical circles to better "defend the Vietnamese Revolution."

This so-called defense of the Vietnamese Revolution has led the YSA into a bloc with SDS-PL, the Maoist collectives, McGovernites, and all the worst sort of political riff-raff.

In opposition to the principled fight of the Young Socialists against the student power perspective and for a fight against the war through the construction of a labor party based upon the trade unions, the Young Socialist Alliance has resurrected the utopian perspective of the anti-war university.

The bringing forward of this perspective in a period when the working class both in the United States and in Vietnam is on the offensive, is a reflection of the real fear that the revisionists have for the working class. Thus they will go through all kinds of political gyrations to separate the youth from the working class.

60 Students Arrested At BU

BOSTON, April 25—On Saturday April 22 60 students were arrested at Boston University on charges ranging from trespassing to breaking and entering.

Police used guard dogs and mace to occupy the student union building which had been taken over by demonstrators protesting the war.

OCCUPATION

Sporadic hit and run occupations of the student union building the Registrar's office and the computer center were carried out by small groups of students while a student strike called for yesterday and today has failed to materialize.

The protest movement that is spearheaded by the Stalinists and revisionists consciously tries to mislead thousands of youth and students into reformism and to turn the movement of the students away from the working

class. This is the meaning of all SDS's talk in the past week of "militant action."

At every point they have tried to tie the students to campus issues of ROTC on campus and the university administration.

The bankruptcy of this perspective is expressed in a leaflet put out by the BU Liberation Front in which they claim a major victory in forcing the administration to "answer for clubbings macings and arrests; making them admit that demands have been made."

YSA

The YSA, at this point, is not even capable of speaking in the mass meetings being held on the campus. Sharing the perspective of protest with SDS and PCPJ, they have simply capitulated to

the Stalinists voting for the strike and now can put forward no independent perspective.

The YS is fighting in complete opposition to the whole perspective of student strikes and protest to turn the students toward the labor movement in the fight for a labor party.

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Press Incites Frenzy Against Youth Gangs

BY WESLEY DAVIDS

In recent weeks there has been a massive scare campaign waged by the capitalist press against the gangs that are growing in the major cities of the country.

The press is blowing incidents way out of proportion exaggerating the wars and crimes to an extreme so that the authorities can have an excuse to move in and attack the working class youth.

A first page headline in the April 16th issue of the New York Times read this way: "Violence by Youth Gangs is Found Rising in 3 Cities."

The rise of gangs reflects the determination of the youth to fight the conditions they face

under capitalism. The capitalists are aware of this and, thus, have begun a massive witch-hunt campaign against all youth.

The Young Socialists interviewed several members of the Black Spades. When asked about the political orientation of the gang, the YS got this response: "Many of the Brothers are political. I bought your paper because you have a story on 'Nam. We don't like the war. We also know about Attica and the

pig Rockefeller, but we don't have discussions on politics. It's up to each Brother to decide for himself."

The YS also asked about why the gangs fought against each other, and not against Nixon and Lindsay. One member said: "It's senseless, killing each other, we've got to get together. Still, these gangs are like our families. It's something to do. But, we won't sit back and take Lindsay's crap either."

On the April 23 David Suskind show, leaders of some of these gangs were interviewed. Members of the Black Spades, the Ghetto Brothers, the Turbans, and others stated that everything had been exaggerated in the news.

One leader, to beat back the attempts of Suskind to create a different image of these youth, responded: "Look we don't look for trouble. We're just trying to fight this system. The cops look for us to beat on us. If our people carry knives, it's to kill the rats and roaches that we are forced to live with."

When Suskind asked what kind of society they would prefer, he was astounded at hearing the shouts of "socialism."

POLITICAL

This is the real reason for all the police attacks. The fact that these gangs have members who are reaching for political awareness, even in a distorted way, brings down the fury of the police and the ruling class.

Capitalism cannot be fought with gangs, or with nationalism that also came out.

protest, which isolates the students from the working class and separates the war from the rest of the conditions facing the workers and youth here.

Most of the teachers replied: "The war cannot be separated from the growing unemployment here. The labor movement has to be involved in this fight against the war."

ALTERNATIVE

The Young Socialists posed the question of a labor party as the alternative to Democrats and Republicans. One teacher said: "That's what we need, a strong labor movement to fight for better working conditions, and an end to the war in Vietnam."

The militancy of the workers cannot be left at simple protest action. The construction of the labor party is the only alternative to fight against U.S. imperialism and the attacks on the working class and youth.

Jefferson Teachers Hold Anti-War Rally

BY KIKI MENDEZ

BROOKLYN—On Friday April 21 the teachers in Jefferson High School held a protest against the war in Vietnam.

During their free periods, the teachers formed picket lines and held signs condemning the re-escalation of U.S. bombing in Haiphong and Hanoi. The protest was directed against the killing of the Vietnamese.

One of the leaders of the strike told the YS that: "Demonstrations are valuable because the government can see physical bodies out striking against the war in Vietnam."

He went on to say: "You can't rely on the Democrats and Republicans to end the war. There is no difference between the two parties."

In the interview, the YS asked the teachers what they thought about the YSA position on student

YS Fights Student Power At BC

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

BROOKLYN—A student strike rally was called at Brooklyn College last Friday by S.M.C. and Y.S.A. in which many youth came out seeking a way to fight Nixon's war in Vietnam. What was presented by the YSA was student power politics of 1970.

The Young Socialists fought to get on the platform and one speaker was permitted. The YS speaker said: "The offensive in Vietnam comes at a point when the working class internationally is moving forward." The speaker got a good response from the students which is why YSA absolutely refused to allow the Young Socialists to speak again. YSA members threatened and physically held back YS members from speaking.

Instead they opened up their platform to the fascist JDL which is using the anti-war movement to build their right-wing movement in order to destroy all working class movements.

In fact, reacting with complete panic at the strength of the YS, the YSA joined with the fascists to produce a joint leaflet, even after the JDL insisted that the word "imperialist" be deleted. This is the logic of the YSA's principle of non-exclusion!

The outcome of these bankrupt politics was to take over Brooklyn College President John Kneller's office. Kneller responded by saying he opposed the war but each one has to choose

the way he would speak out against the war so classes would continue and facilities remain open for further activities.

Meanwhile, in Boylan building 200 cops were quietly awaiting their cue to come out and bust heads.

The strike did not win the support of most of the students, showing that the youth are turning away from student protest. At the same time it clearly shows the role and the dangers of the revisionists

4000 Madison Students Protest War

BY A YS REPORTER

MADISON, April 17—University of Wisconsin students at Madison began a week of political upheaval with a noon rally of 3,000 to 4,000 students, protesting the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong.

Throughout the following days, the campus has been rocked with mass demonstrations and nightly marches to the Capitol, banks and the ROTC center which all ended in tear gas and arrests.

On Wednesday April 19, 350 part-time workers of the two stu-

and middle class adventurists who seek at all points to tie workers and especially the youth back to capitalism. Student strikes, thousands getting arrested, many getting injured or killed like Kent State and then the YSA and Stalinists go out to campaign the following year for peace loving liberals like McGovern who called for the wage freeze in 1965 and supported Rockefeller's move at Attica Prison.

The YS is running in the BC elections with the understanding that the battle against the JDL, the government, and their lackeys within the worker's movement, is not a matter of student power or politics.

dent unions, who are organized in the Memorial Union Labor organization, walked off their jobs and were followed the next day when the 400 member strong Residence Hall Student-Labor Organization struck for the second time in two years.

Friday, the United Front, consisting of members of Revolutionary Union, Red Education, Young Socialist Alliance, Wisconsin Student Association and "We The People" supported the National Student Association call for a student strike.

The students, who have been

Young Socialist



Young Socialist from City College spoke at Columbia University against student power tactics and for struggle to build labor party.

Riot Cops Invade Columbia University To Smash Strike

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK, April 25—Riot police and sheriffs stormed Columbia today, clubbing students with nightsticks in a bloody attempt to evict them from South Field on the campus.

After the sudden—though carefully prepared—police attack, 25 students required hospitalization. Seven students were arrested. The police withdrew from South Field.

Columbia President William McGill had called the police into the campus after obtaining a court order for the arrest of eight students. Not since April 1970 had police invaded Columbia, and it was the most violent police action at the school since May 1968.

RUMORS

Rumors circulated throughout the campus all morning and early afternoon that a police raid was imminent. The police had begun to mobilize a block from Columbia as early as noon. At 1:15 p.m., campus security forces confronted students picketing outside Hamilton Hall and cut the chains on the doors.

McGILL

Just before the police attack began, students had marched from the School of International Affairs to Hamilton Hall, where the fighting occurred. Following the assault, McGill—quite

satisfied with himself—told the press: "I don't apologize for having brought the police on campus."

The response of Progressive Labor and SDS, which have been leading the campus strikes, has been to call for the seizure of more buildings. Every attempt is being made by these bankrupt radicals to keep the student movement contained within the perimeters of student power.

REVISIONIST

Because many of the students are honestly seeking to find a way beyond protest politics and are willing to face the fundamental questions posed by the war and the attacks on the working class, PL, SDS, the YSA and all other revisionist groups have sought to prevent any political discussion. One mass meeting was adjourned without any discussion from the floor less than 30 minutes after it began.

The Young Socialists conducted throughout the week a political struggle to turn the students to the working class through the fight for a labor party. It has opposed the strike movement which has sought to tie the students to protest politics and the two capitalist parties.

supporting the strike, were ready to build an answer to Nixon's attempt to crush the Vietnamese Revolution but the leadership of the United Front offered nothing but reformism, cloaked in left phrases. They led the students in marches to the Capitol buildings asking legislators that all Wisconsin resources be withdrawn from the war.

ARRESTS

When the Workers League and Young Socialists denounced this attempt to pressure spokesmen from the capitalist class, the

strategy was labelled a "symbolic" act. But the next night's answer from the police was less than symbolic with at least ten arrests Thursday night along with tear gassing and clubbing of students as well as local news-

men. It was clear from the first major rally on Monday that the United Front was confining the struggle to the protest politics of the '60s, not answering the political question of how the imperialist war and the economic and political attacks on youth must be met.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Lessons Of May Day In 1972

(Continued From Page 1)

made it clear that it will do "what is necessary" to preserve the interests of imperialism. Already troops are being put on the alert and will be sent to invade if necessary regardless of what political consequences it might cost Nixon in the elections.

As American capitalism seeks to throw its crisis onto Europe, the European capitalists are preparing the conditions for civil war against the European working class. The implementation of the vicious anti-labor legislation by the Tory government in Britain now threatens the very existence of the trade unions and brings the British working class into a showdown with the government.

In Canada in the face of the tremendous offensive of the public employees the government has thrown the trade union leaders in jail.

This is what the capitalist class is preparing for in the United States. Underlying these preparations is the deteriorating economic crisis which now heads capitalism into recession and slump. This is the reality of the situation which lies behind the euphoria about the upturn in the economy. The euphoria is over the big increase in profits. The big corporations are amassing their profits now to ready their war with the American workers.

This confrontation cannot be avoided. The employers and the government are threatening to take away every right and gain the American working class has won through bitter struggles—the right to collectively bargain, the right to union recognition and the right to strike. The Pay Board has declared the contracts won by the unions null and void.

At the same time the government is consciously creating unemployment denying thousands of workers and millions of youth the right to a job. Budgets have been slashed denying working people and youth the right to a decent education and decent health care.

Today the capitalist class confronts the most powerful labor movement in the world, which is determined to defend everything it has won.

In the 1930's through the tremendous sitdown strikes the American working class created the CIO. The unions have been strengthened in the postwar period and now face the enemy undefeated.

On May Day 1972 we must turn back to this rich history of the American working class to bring it forward and learn the lessons of the past.

The gains won by the American working class have been won on the basis of militant trade unionism and individualistic trade union consciousness. Despite the development of powerful trade unions, these unions have remained tied politically to the capitalist parties and to reformism.

LABOR PARTY

In the 1930's and 1940's when the development of the CIO raised the necessity to take this forward through the construction of an independent party of the working class the labor bureaucracy with the aid of "progressives" like Reuther and the American Communist Party prevented this.

The gains made by the unions during the boom have strengthened the illusions in militant trade unionism and the ability of the American working class to proceed with pragmatic thinking of the American rulers.

While this consciousness was adequate during the period of boom and the undisputed domination of the world by US imperialism. The crisis and the objective needs of the class bring it into collision with this thinking. Today when capitalism threatens the very existence of the working class, this perspective becomes reactionary and will lead to defeat.

The central lesson of May Day is that the American working class must now bring forward its tremendous power and its traditions by breaking with the old forms of struggle. It must now fight politically, breaking the unions from the Democratic and Republican Parties and constructing a labor party on a socialist program.

Every struggle of the American working class for wages, against unemployment and speed-up is now a political struggle and can only be fought through the political mobilization of the working class against the two parties of big business.

George Wallace in the 1972 elections is spearheading the attack on the unions. His message behind all the populist demagoguery is clear—the unions must be destroyed if capitalism is to survive. This is the program of big business that stands behind both the Democratic and Republican parties.

It is to the working class that the students and the youth must turn through the fight for the political independence of the working class and the construction of a labor party. Only in this way can the movement of the working class youth against unemployment, racism and repression and the movement of the students, go forward.

While the working class faces tremendous dangers today it also faces the greatest opportunities for defeating capitalism. The struggles of the American working class now join with the offensive of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the fight of the European working class. The international unity and solidarity of the working class is the most powerful weapon in the struggle to defend the rights of the working people.

Only the Workers League and the Young Socialists can now bring forward the revolutionary traditions of the American working class and the world Marxist movement as part of the Fourth International in the fight for a Socialist America. This is how we will celebrate May Day, bringing together trade unionists, youth and students in the battle now to bring down capitalism.



What we think

Why Stalinists Honor GPU Killer

In the March issue of World Marxist Review, the "theoretical" journal of international Stalinism, there is on the back page a special greeting to the Mexican artist David Alfaro Siqueiros on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday.

"Siqueiros' art is part of life, inspiring courage in the battle against social oppression and extolling the triumph of reason and justice," reads the congratulatory note.

What motivates the birthday message to Siqueiros is not a high regard for his talents as a painter.

No, Siqueiros has other credentials to place before the birthday committee of the World Marxist Review.

On May 24, 1940, in the early hours of the morning, Siqueiros attempted to murder Leon Trotsky and his wife Natalia while the couple slept in their residence at Cayoacan. Siqueiros and a squad of gangsters financed and armed by the GPU, the secret police of Stalin, burst into the lightly guarded villa, tossed firebombs into the halls, and finally entered Trotsky's bedroom. Over one hundred rounds from a machine gun were fired into the couple's bed.

Trotsky was not injured. With great presence of mind, he and Natalia had crawled under their bed upon first hearing the gun shots. The assassins, in the hurry to escape, did not look for bodies. However, Siqueiros and his cutthroats did succeed in shedding blood that morning.

Seva, the eight-year-old grandson of Trotsky, suffered a painful bullet wound in the foot. And, most terrible of all, Siqueiros kidnapped and murdered the young American Trotskyist Sheldon Harte, who had travelled to Mexico to assist in the defense of Trotsky.

The attack had been prepared by the Mexican Communist Party, of which Siqueiros was an ally, with the assistance of the American Communist Party and, of course, the Kremlin apparatus. Stalin feared no man more than Leon Trotsky, and the full resources of the Soviet bureaucracy were marshalled to eliminate the founder of the Fourth International.

All the attempts to provoke the Mexican working class to demand the expulsion of Trotsky from Mexico had ended in failure. No amount of slander could erase from the memories of the workers the heroic contribution made by Trotsky to the establishment and defense of the first workers state.

And what slanders were heaped upon Trotsky by the Stalinist Mexican CP and reptiles like Siqueiros.

Five days before the Siqueiros assault, a Stalinist newspaper, La Voz de Mexico, wrote about Trotsky: "...the senile little head of the 'Fourth International,' what a slippery little fish is the little old traitor!"

Commenting on this filth, Trotsky stated: "This is the way people write who are preparing to change the pen for a machine gun."

The Siqueiros attack was a fiasco in every way for the Stalinists. So great was the revulsion among Mexican workers that the Mexican CP had to attempt a pathetic cover-up. At first, the Stalinists tried to concoct the theory of "self-assault," that is, they declared that Trotsky had staged the attack on Cayoacan as a publicity stunt.

But this theory collapsed beneath the weight of Trotsky's analysis of the attack. Siqueiros was branded as the criminal triggerman of the Mexican CP and the Moscow bureaucracy.

In desperation, the Stalinists then disowned Siqueiros, declaring him to be a lunatic and a—Trotskyist! A member of the Political Bureau of the Mexican CP announced that the party had studied the May 24 attack and that "this investigation had turned on Alfaro Siqueiros, uncontrolled element who was considered half-mad..."

Although he was officially disowned as the murderers covered their tracks, the Kremlin brought enough pressure to bear behind the scenes to have Siqueiros acquitted at his trial.

As far as the Kremlin was concerned, Siqueiros' only failing was that he did not kill Trotsky. But once the crime had been accomplished by another, the bureaucracy saw no need to prolong the ostracism of so trustworthy an agent. So after a suitable number of years, the Kremlin awarded Siqueiros the Lenin Peace Prize and now trumpets his jubilee. Surely, in the pantheon of Stalinism, killers are assigned the most honored places.

But there is more to the birthday greeting in the World Marxist Review than mere appreciation for an old agent.

The Stalinists, fearing the movement of the working class, are once again plotting new crimes against Trotskyism. From their own cesspool they will fish the oldest lies and the most shameless slanders. And all for the purpose of turning the working class away from revolution and toward defeat.

But they will not succeed. As the working class moves toward the overthrow of capitalism, it will answer in its own way the mountain of lies and give the Stalinist criminals their just dessert.

Editor's Notebook

The presidential candidates have been flying about the country these days on their campaigns on jets provided as "favors" by some of the biggest corporations and conglomerates in the U.S.

Needless to say, there are federal laws passed by the very Congressmen taking these planes that supposedly prohibit elected or appointed officials from accepting such "gifts" if they create "a conflict of interest."

But of course there is no conflict here.

George Wallace, who covers his ultra right-wing policies

behind talk about the "little man," is flying free these days on a jet provided by the National Association of Stock Car Racing of Daytona, Florida.

According to the New York Times, Hubert Humphrey flew from Detroit to New York in a jet owned by the Glen Alden Corporation, a large conglomerate. Then there is Vance Hartke, the darling of the antiwar movement, who has been described by a secretary employed by ITT as a heavy user of their planes.

Some of the biggest providers, whose only requirement is that the politicians vote for their needs, and most of the time even

The Jet's On ITT

that is overlooked, are Standard Oil, ITT, Lockheed and US Steel.

While the politicians are now acting very offended by the revelations about their free-loading, an official of Lockheed put it this way:

"Almost everybody does it," referring to the big corporations, "You've got a plane going to California or someplace and you have a few seats on the aircraft available so you call a few people on the Hill and see if anybody wants a ride. Sometimes, they call you. The problem is what to do when a guy asks for a ride who hasn't voted on your side."



The OCI & The International Committee

New Documents

In October 1971, the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) split from the International Committee of the Fourth International by publishing a public statement attacking the majority of the IC. This statement was issued together with the Hungarian LSH group headed by Nagy, then a section of the IC, and the Bolivian POR of Lora, not a section of the IC. The November 8th issue of the *Bulletin* carried this statement together with a reply by the IC Majority.

In this and the next two issues of the *Bulletin* we will be printing the response of the OCI to the reply of the IC Majority together with a new reply to this response from the IC Majority. This material is reprinted from the *Workers Press*, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League of Britain where it appeared as part of the preparation for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee.

Continued from last week

Form and content: the revolutionary struggle of the Bolivian proletariat, the policies of the POR and the desire to break up the International Committee

The sliding towards ideology and the putting forward of pronounced idealist positions, cannot be explained by an abrupt ideological loss of balance by the SLL leadership.

The mists of so-called Marxist 'philosophy' invade the political landscape of the SLL at a very precise moment in relation to precise political problems.

The most dangerous oscillations of the SLL leadership are in relation to the central question of the reconstruction of the Fourth International. They declare their disagreement with the decisions of the 1966 conference that they nevertheless accepted. The Fourth International does not need to be 'reconstructed': it is timeless, immobile, incarnated in the International Committee.

In other words, the SLL leadership confuses the continuity of the Fourth International, the defence of its programme, assured by the activity of the IC and its organizations, faced with the attempt to liquidate the Fourth International with the existence of political conditions, relations between Trotskyist organizations and the class, conditions of selection of an international leadership leading to the formation of a centralized international leadership.

This attitude is related to a refusal to follow through with an analysis of the crisis of the Fourth International, to a tendency to see it only as an episode, whereas the Fourth International, reorganized after the war, was broken up as a centralized organization around the Transitional Programme by the capitulation of the vast majority of its leaders, a capitulation whose origins must be identified in order to conduct an effective battle against revisionism.

There is no need to construct the Fourth International, it is enough to build the revolutionary party in each country. This is in fact the construction of the Fourth International in each country. The correct affirmation that the fight to build revolutionary parties in each country is an international task thus winds up as a hollow formula to the extent that the international dimension, that is the concrete tasks of reconstructing the Fourth International practically no longer exists.

This is not simply an academic position. It has led the SLL leadership to first ignore and then to practically oppose all the initiatives taken towards reconstruct-

ing the Fourth International.

No Trotskyist organization can be built outside of the fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International. The wrong orientation of the SLL on this, to the extent that it was carried out, could not help but have an effect on all its activities. The greater and greater place given to ideology corresponds to the more and more narrow limits of the impasse that the SLL leadership has got itself into.

From this point of view, Essen marked an important stage. The oscillations of the SLL leadership were expressed by its refusal to participate in the Essen meeting, then by the fact that it was drawn into it without mobilizing its organization. They were thus at this meeting under false pretences and the 'ideological' offensive expressed its political hostility to this step forward in the reconstruction of the Fourth International which places the SLL and all the organizations of the IC before its responsibilities.

If we do not begin from the political contradictions of the SLL leadership and from its refusal to work them out in a discussion within its ranks, we cannot understand the shocking bad faith and the criminal lightness in its approach to the problems of Bolivia and the policies of the POR. It is not a question of moral errors but of the results of an orientation which is taking the SLL in the direction of abandoning the programme of the Fourth International.

In all seriousness, the SLL leadership thus explains that Bolivia was only a pretext used by the OCI to precipitate the split by avoiding discussion.

There is the same relationship between the real political developments within the IC and the affirmations of the SLL as there is between a positive and negative photograph. The terms must be reversed to find the truth.

It is the leadership of the SLL and its New York mouthpiece who seized on the problems of the Bolivian revolution not as a means of political clarification but as a pretext to present the other sections of the IC with the accomplished fact of a brutal public offensive against the POR. It is the SLL who is running away from a full discussion in the name of a public break over the question of Bolivia and which avoids at the same time any discussion on Bolivia.

But form does not go without content. The chosen pretext is at the same time a question of capital importance since it directly concerns the proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary process in Bolivia marked the highest political point reached by the upsurge of the working class on the whole Latin American continent and it was characterized by the role played by a Trotskyist party, section of the IC.

This deserves a serious discussion, a rigorous assessment of the POR policies, an assimilation of the lessons of the struggle. In this sense, it is legitimate to

discuss the policies of the POR at every point. The OCI, for its part did not wait for events to happen: within the IC, between organizations which base their activity on the same programme, it conducted a discussion with the POR ('La Verite', No. 550, October 1970).

What is criminal, is that the deliberate desire of the Workers League and the SLL to use the victory of the fascist coup against the unity of the IC, leads them to reject this serious discussion, to repeat the most vulgar slanders of the enemies of Trotskyism and the proletarian revolution against the POR without even trying to inform themselves of the facts.

The coup d'etat took place on August 20. On August 30 while communications were cut off, Tim Wohlforth publishes an article which brands the POR as having main responsibility in the workers' movement for the fascist coup. In this article, which the SLL hastens to make official by publishing it in *Workers Press* and where there is not the slightest reference to solidarity in struggle against the class enemy or the least allusion to the role of American imperialism, Wohlforth goes even further: he compares the position of the POR to the LSSP of Ceylon. Here is an amalgam worthy of the Stalinists: even if Wohlforth's attack against the POR were considered to be correct, what relationship is there between the renegades of the LSSP which rules with a bourgeois government and covered up a bloody repression, and the fighters of the POR who stood with their class before the counter-revolution?

The desire to treat the Bolivian question without regard to the real positions of the POR as a 'war machine' against the unity of the IC is manifested once again in the October 24 text.

'The POR and Lora repeated the policies of Proum in Spain in 1935-1938 and did not act in a fundamentally different manner. The relationship with Torres and the COB parallel those that the POUM held with the republican government and the CNT. The support that the OCI gives the POR reveals today the meaning of its political bloc with POUM.'

This little paragraph is full of mistruths and is a good example of amalgams. We could write pages just on this subject alone. We will simply make two remarks, the first essential point which 'reveals' the political trickery of this pseudo-exposition: one of the characteristic traits of the POUM policies was the entry into the Catalogne government (bourgeois government). What characterized the policies of the POR was the refusal to collaborate with the Torres government, the preservation of the political independence of the proletariat.

The second remark which shows with what indifference the SLL leadership treats historical problems of the workers' movement: the CNT and COB paral-

lel. The CNT was in the hands of a political faction. The anarchists, the POUM militants were expelled and Trotsky criticized them precisely for adapting to this situation by forming their own union organizations. The COB, university centre, included all the tendencies of the Bolivian workers' movement and the POR militants, while not being its leadership played a considerable role in it, including at the conference level. Where is the parallel?

But better yet, in his interview in 'Informations Ouvrieres' Comrade Lora explained:

'The ultra-leftists and Pabloites forget the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky: they elaborate their "documents" with extreme simple mindedness and put Torres and Ovando-Banzer on the same level. These people refuse to understand the various shades of bourgeois nationalism in a backward country.'

'Because they are outside of the class struggle, they do not understand that there is a difference between the bourgeois democratic methods of the Torres government and the method of the fascists: the difference that exists between going to prison legally or being liquidated with a bullet in the back of the neck.'

'Revolutionary tactics must begin with this difference. It is not a question of supporting Torres but of crushing fascism in order to impose the workers' government.'

This passage is commented on in the October 24 text in the following way:

'Revolutionary strategy does not begin with the difference between the left wing and the right wing of the army, but from the perspective of overthrowing the whole bourgeois order.'

Where Lora spoke of tactics, the editors of the October 24 text have substituted the term, strategy. Furthermore, the SLL introduces 'an almost absolute distinction between strategy and tactics. When it is a question of the workers' United Front (we will return to this) strategy and tactics are presented as totally separate categories which lead parallel existences in a metaphysical heaven. On the other hand when it is a question of attacking the POR, strategy and tactics become interchangeable terms.'

Moreover, when we read that criticism of the POR's policies were founded on the 'necessity to build the Fourth International on the basis of principle and total honesty' it seems to be an accidental comic note in an otherwise sinister text.

But once again, we must come to the essence. The October 24 text proclaiming Wohlforth's article to be 'our declaration' has no more than that to say about the Popular Assembly.

This is however the most important question on which the OCI first took a position and gave an opinion on the programme of the POR.

Therefore this is the question which must be discussed first. But from reading the October

24 text we learn simply that the OCI talks about a 'whole process' concocted in 'something' like the Popular Assembly.

In its declaration on September 17 the Central Committee of the OCI emphasized that the POR had been 'the motor of the Popular Assembly, that is the organ which materialized the struggle of the Bolivian proletariat to build its own power and which opened the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Bolivia'.

Yes or no, was the Popular Front, originating in the united reply of the Bolivian masses and their organizations to the October 1970 coup d'etat, an organism of the proletariat's hegemony, from the base to the top?

Yes or no, did the Popular Assembly become, through the intervention of the POR, an organ of dual power which concretely opened the way to a workers' government? In this sense, did it or not deserve the epithet that its enemies gave to it, the first Latin American soviet?

Yes or no, was the correct strategy to begin with this reality given by the mass struggle itself, with this soviet organ to pose the question of power by linking the mobilization of the masses around the Popular Assembly as their expression to the fight inside the Assembly to open concretely the way to power with the slogan: 'All Power to the Popular Assembly'.

Could this struggle be conducted independently of the Bolivian vanguard, of the revolutionary maturity of the masses themselves, independently from all the revolutionary developments in Latin America?

The OCI gave an answer. The anti-Trotskyist centre of Mandel & Co in confusion have given theirs. What is the answer of the SLL and of the groups which signed the October 24 declaration with them?

This is a discussion which cannot be avoided by any organizational measure for it is a discussion that is at the heart of the problems raised by the present stage of the class struggle. The period of 'imminent revolution'—and thus also of imminent counter-revolution—the period of class confrontations raises the question of power: how can the masses concretely approach and understand the question of power?

This is the question of institutions of dual power, of a workers' United Front, governmental slogans, concrete questions of course as the October 24 text points out but this concrete would only be a dead abstraction if it was not the expression of a 'generality', that is that the period that we live in is marked by the movement of the international working class towards its own power.

This is not an abstraction to us of which the revolutionary party should be a passive expression. This manner of understanding problems shows very well the deep lack of under-

standing by the SLL of the dialectic. On the contrary, it is concrete reality which constitutes the decisive part of the revolutionary party and the fight to build it nationally and internationally.

Some attacks on the OCI

There is an implacable logic to political conflicts. The SLL's evolution can only lead it to attack the OCI at its heart: the very method of the construction of the revolutionary party, the question of the workers' United Front, the means and expression of mobilization of the masses, a fundamental part of the construction of the party.

But politics do not exist in a vacuum. If one attacks the policies of the OCI it is necessary to propose an alternative. And here the SLL must use the weapons of the Pabloites. Thus the attacks against the OCI lead to this conclusion:

... the position of the OCI on the united class front becomes a complete liquidation of the party and subordinates it to the labour bureaucracy and the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties.

To reach this conclusion, the SLL leadership must purely and simply invent, in vague terms, a 'spontaneist position' of the OCI, must multiply attacks so exaggerated that they become insignificant, so little have they followed the OCI position, and which would make the collaboration of the OCI and the SLL in the IC incomprehensible.

For our part, we seek political clarity, not just to make an impression which can only fool those who want to be: the SLL does not suddenly veer from white to black. We will simply point out the contradictions of the leadership and show the orientation that it has developed, which if continued, would lead to the abandonment of the programme of the Fourth International and to the break up of the SLL.

We wish to take up just two attacks.

Firstly, the October 24 document dares to state that at the beginning of 1968 Comrade Charles Berg took an openly abstentionist position on Vietnam. This clearly means that he gave equal weight to imperialism and the revolutionary war of the Vietnamese people, in other words, that he took an openly counter-revolutionary position. This is false and outrageous. Even the Stalinists have not dared to go this far: so far only the well-known Weber of the Communist League has spoken of the 'defeatist' position of the OCI.

At no time, under any circumstances, has any militant, any OCI publication been equivocal on this topic. On the other hand, unlike others (like Comrade Banda who saw in Ho Chi Minh's party, the party who assassinated the Indo-Chinese Trotskyists, the reincarnation of the Bolshevik Party), we have never confused unconditional support with political support to its petty-bourgeois and Stalinist leaders.

If we emphasize this miserable accusation it is because Comrade Berg, due to the development of the AJS is now the target of a concentrated attack by the bourgeoisie, the Pabloites and the Stalinists. The fact that the SLL leadership joins these attacks at this time should be noted.

There is a secondary attack which deserves comment. The SLL is so anxious to find motives for its split that it must go back in time. This is their right. They vehemently denounce the policies of the French Trotskyist organization in the Algerian revolution. They say that the Pabloites supported a faction of the petty-bourgeois nationalists and the French Trotskyists supported another faction. This is a bit brief and would only be convincing if the SLL criticized themselves. In fact, if there was no difference between the FLN and the MNA why did they support as they explain, the MNA? It is true, as we are told, that this support was 'critical' which undoubtedly solves everything.

In any case the policy of the Trotskyist organization was false because it abandoned 'the fight to select a Trotskyist vanguard'. This is nothing new. This quote is from the pamphlet 'Some

Lessons of Our History' published in May 1970.

We only hope—especially since the SLL finds it useful to accuse the POR and Lora of being a pillar of Pabloism in Latin America, which is false, while forgetting that the SLL and its general secretary were initially the hatchmen of Pabloism in Western Europe—that the SLL will be willing to learn a few lessons from its own history in order to construct a vanguard in England and in the world.

The offensive against the workers' united front and its meaning

The trumped up charges against the OCI lead to a whole offensive against the workers' United Front.

The workers' United Front had already been a point of disagreement between the OCI and the SLL within the IC. But for the SLL, the differences seemed to be on one point (brought up again in the October 24 document) that the United Front is a 'tactic' while the OCI calls it a 'strategy':

To counterpose strategy and tactics as absolutes is to ignore the dialectic that it is so much a question of. Of course, the terms strategy and tactics are not interchangeable; they are geared to different levels of revolution-

that this defence is a major expression of the programme of the Fourth International and is a question of principle.)

'The defence' of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of the world revolution. Only those methods are acceptable which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution. The defence of the USSR is connected to the world socialist revolution in the same way that a tactical task is connected to a strategic goal and does not in any way contradict it.'

In this sense, the United Front is a tactic in relation to the socialist revolution which it prepares for as a way of mobilizing the proletariat. It is a strategic line in the sense that it is always (that is, independent of circumstances, relationship of forces, tactical considerations in the strict sense of the word) present in a revolutionary policy, taking of course different tactical forms without which it would only be an empty principle ('government of united workers organizations' in France today; battle for 'a workers party based on the unions' in the United States, slogan of 'a Labour government on a programme of defence of the working class' in England, slogan of 'a break with the coalition and with a homo-

its political independence against the common enemy. It is the concrete expression of the starting point of any revolutionary policy since the Communist Manifesto of 1847; class against class. And this policy takes the form of the United Front of all organizations of the working class under conditions where the working class is organized and controlled by distinct organizations.

As the text of the OCI September 1969 document states:

'The policy of class struggle is identical to the strategic lines of the united class front of workers' parties and organizations. It is alien to "peaceful co-existence" between the traditional parties and organizations of the working class and the revolutionary vanguard which builds the revolutionary party. It is impossible to build the revolutionary party without concretely defining at each stage, a policy which opposes the class as a class to the bourgeoisie, its state and its government. Without building the revolutionary party it is impossible to fight for the united class front for the workers and peasants government, for the destruction of the bourgeois state and for workers' power.'

This conclusion perfectly sums up Trotsky's conception on the United Front in relation to Germany threatened by fascism and in France after the begin-

during the May-June general strike of 1968.

The October 24 text includes this sentence which deserves to be preserved for posterity: 'The leaders of the OCI trailed behind the working class, restricting the political scope of the strike by demanding a central strike committee. This was a complete evasion of the political responsibilities of a revolutionary leadership.'

Thus, to the profound dialecticians of the SLL, the national strike committee was not a political question. This is a confession which reveals the meaning of their hostile indifference to the Popular Assembly of Bolivia, the absence of any reference, in a text which claims to begin with the world class struggle, to the formation of workers' councils in Gdansk in December 1970, the scorn heaped on the Irbid Soviet.

Were the strike committees merely formed for immediate demands? Was this then the whole character of the general strike to the extent that it was not given a governmental 'formula'? No, the general strike, 'the sharpest form of the class struggle' as Trotsky said, demonstrates 'the impossibility of separating the economic and political elements' as all those who are supposed to be Marxists know ever since Rosa Luxemburg wrote it in 1905. The general strike was inherently political because its demands led directly to the fight against the capitalist government and because the degree and form of the mass mobilization posed the question of working class power. As a political battle, the general strike could not achieve its goal unless the illusion that the general strike was enough in and of itself to win was overcome and unless a governmental solution, a road to the struggle for power was opened up.

All the bureaucracies linked to the bourgeoisie blocked this solution. The fight for a national central strike committee was the political fight *par excellence*, at the heart of the general strike, because it was a fight for this solution by centralizing the strength of the working class in struggle against the bourgeois state.

The words 'in struggle' must not be forgotten and this is why the centralization of the strike committee born in this struggle: a step towards workers' councils, elements of the United Front, was the concrete form of the perspective of a workers' government, a government of united workers' organizations.

But the SLL leadership, not content with understanding nothing about the dialectic of the mass mobilization in the general strike had another government solution—a CP-CGT government and not a workers' government. Or rather if the formula of a CP-CGT government could be considered synonymous with 'workers government,' then the Socialist Party, the CGT-FO, the FEN are not considered workers' organizations. The SLL has not yet written this. What then does the 'preferential' choice of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the reformist bureaucracy mean? Have not both of them gone over to the bourgeois order? Or is this a new analysis of Stalinism—not so new at that, for it has already been exposed in the theory and practice of the Pablos and Mandels who said that Stalinism, definitively, and despite its crimes, despite its counter-revolutionary aspects was the only political 'delegation' of the proletariat.

This discussion must be continued and is related to a number of other political oscillations in the SLL: its idealization of the leadership of the North Vietnamese Communist Party and the NLF, its serious uncertainties about the political evolution in Czechoslovakia where on the eve of the invasion, they gave the same importance as the demand for the withdrawal of the Warsaw Pact troops from Czechoslovakia, its discretion about the development of political revolution in Poland and its refusal to see the unity of the workers struggles in the USSR, China, and Eastern Europe against the bureaucracy with the struggle in the capitalist countries.

This discussion will also clarify



Renault auto workers occupied factory (above) during May-June 1968 General strike in France which almost toppled capitalist government. Stalinist leaders betrayed them.

ary politics. But strategy only exists through tactics which are its expression. At the same time each tactical move has meaning only as part of a general strategy.

When we speak, in Marxist terms, of a strategic slogan, we mean a slogan which under different forms (tactics) is a constant factor in the revolutionary struggle. For example, the necessity to defend the social conquests of the proletariat won in the October Revolution and by its extension, today controlled and threatened by the bureaucracy.

But for Marxists, strategy and tactics are relative terms. To the extent that we say that the strategic line of the Fourth International is the fight for proletarian revolution, the defence of the Soviet Union is only a tactic following from this objective. Trotsky said on the defence of the Soviet Union (while showing

genous social-democratic government' in Germany).

The OCI's opposition to the implicit policy of the SLL, now explicit in the October 24 text, is therefore not a semantic quarrel.

No, the United Front, is not, as the SLL says, simply a 'temporary relationship between mass parties, in order to win the masses to the Communist Party'. To reduce the United Front to this is not the conception of Lenin and Trotsky as the SLL falsely claims. At best it is the conception of Zinoviev, or rather a caricature of it, a pale reflection of the way Zinoviev expressed the policy of the Communist International.

The axis of the Transitional Programme is the mobilization of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The United Front 'slogan' of this programme is at the same time central to it. What is involved is the mobilization of the whole class, its unity based on

nings of the upsurge of the proletariat in the united demonstration February 12 1934:

'Why are the soviets necessary in the struggle for power? The answer to this question is the following: as the union is the elementary form of the United Front in the economic struggle so the soviet is the highest expression of the United Front under conditions where the proletariat is entering into the period of the struggle for power.'

(And now Leon Trotsky, 'Collected Works', Volume III):

'The natural apparatus of the United Front in the days of battle is the proletarian representation, the deputies of the factories and shops, of the workers' districts and the unions, the soviets.' (It is France's turn. For the Fourth International! March 1934).

The SLL is opposed to this conception of the United Front by criticizing the OCI policies

the meaning of their criticism—which may seem minor and tactical — about the slogan of 'a single candidate of workers organizations' during the presidential elections. This criticism shows once again the SLL's indifference to facts. The OCI is criticized for not having denounced the Social Democrats who refused on the second ballot to call for a vote for Duclos. The French working class has enough well-founded accusations against the reformist leaders without having to invent them: Duclos was eliminated in the first ballot. To make everything clear — we are dealing once again with a tactical application of the strategy of the United Front—this is what the position of the Trotskyists was during the presidential elections:

'After the fall of De Gaulle the perspective of a working class solution to the government and of the regime necessitated development of great struggles by the proletariat. This could only emerge from the United Front of labour and political organizations which had called for a "No" vote in the referendum. A single candidate of workers' organizations meant that confronted with the bourgeois parties, proposing a candidate of a government of united workers' organizations. Immediately all the leaders of the workers' organizations and particularly the Socialist Party and the Communist Party managed to disrupt the unity established for a moment in the "No" vote on the referendum. The candidate Deferre — supported by Mendes-France popped up as if out of a magician's hat. The CP before putting Duclos forward as candidate demanded "the elaboration of a common programme" as a condition for a common candidate of "the left". The "programmatic" concerns of the CP who supported the bourgeois candidate Mitterand in 1965 without any concern for a "common programme" barred the road just as much as the Deferre candidacy to a united candidate of workers, not of the "left" organizations. The fight for the workers United Front, the proletarian front against the voluntary and deliberate division that the Socialist Party and the CP imposed on the working class meant the development of a political campaign around the theme: single candidate of workers' organizations against the bourgeois candidates. (. . .)

'But the programme? Wasn't this necessary to the single candidate of workers organizations? What had become of it? In these precise circumstances, the development of a programme of a government of workers' organizations flowed from this candidacy. The fight for the defeat of the bourgeois candidates gave a class content to the single candidate of workers' organizations that the revolutionary organizations had a duty to develop.'

(Stephane Just),
'Defence of Trotskyism'.

To conclude

We are arriving at the end of this exposition. Its purpose has been to bring out the real differences, behind the petty manoeuvres, the blatant falsehoods and verbal terrorism.

These disagreements are serious and deep ones. They demand a clear discussion that the OCI is not in the least afraid to hold publicly before the international workers vanguard.

As the culminating point in its charges against the OCI the SLL leadership states that the capitulation to spontaneity had reached the point in this organization where . . . it did not even have a general secretary!

What can we say about the nerve and capitulation to spontaneity of a party like the Bolshevik party which dared to lead the proletarian revolution to victory without a general secretary and even without a political office?

This would be ridiculous—it is obvious that if democratic centralism is an integral part of the revolutionary party, the forms of the organization of the leadership is not a principled issue and the existence of general secretaries as well as their absence, is not a guarantee—if it was not related to something more serious. In the same paragraph the OCI is taken up for not seeing the

'Fourth International as truly existing'. This is a backhanded way of attacking the OCI's position that we must fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International broken up as a politically centralized force internationally by the Pabloite liquidationists.

Therefore, on the one hand the revolutionary party exists by itself, a timeless metaphysical category, waiting to meet the class struggle and whose nature depends on whether or not one proclaims or one has attributes supremely deemed necessary to its functioning (a general secretary for example).

On the other hand there is the proletariat, its 'objective' struggle, its general strikes which are not 'political'. In defence of the Essen amendment the October 24 document states that: 'the fundamental struggle for dialectical materialism must be conducted against all the enemies of Marxism and developed in the fight against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class'.

The dialectic is most certainly misused. Independently of the fact that the idea of a 'pure'

contrary to each of the limited moments in the formation of the proletariat's class consciousness as a class of bourgeois society but goes beyond them by unifying the whole process involved in forming the proletariat's consciousness and by ultimately determining it. This truth has been known since the Communist Manifesto without which Trotsky's sentence on 'the instinctive tendency of the proletariat to rebuild society on communist foundations' would only be a utopian formula.

As S. Just pointed out in 'In Defence of Trotskyism': 'considered as a historical and organic process, the formation of the proletariat's class consciousness is drawn from the analysis of the development of the class struggle and puts an end to metaphysical discussions about class consciousness brought in from the outside as well as those about the self-proclaimed vanguard'.

The dualism that the SLL creates between the party and the class is at the root of its incomprehension of the period that we are living in, of the dynamic of the advance of world prole-

Today because of precise political problems that the class struggles pushed to the forefront the problems of the struggle for power, these tendencies develop into a policy whose logic, through the break with the International Committee is the abandonment of the programme of the Fourth International.

Responsibly, we address ourselves to all the organizations and militants affiliated with the International Committee but particularly to the SLL: to its leadership, to its militants because of the special place of the SLL in the formation of the IC.

We say responsibly: the SLL is at the crossroads. The position of an organization, its political character does not depend on good intentions. Politically undefined organizations do not exist. The place the SLL holds in the British class struggle was won as a Trotskyist organization; the SLL is taking the path of a break with Trotskyism which does not exist outside of the Fourth International, that is the fight to reconstruct it today. It is thus taking the road to its own destruction.



Thousands of French workers and youth were mobilized by OCI in mass meeting at Paris' Le Bourget airport, but OCI had no perspective to put forward to them to build revolutionary party.

spontaneous consciousness of the working class is an absurdity: the conception—completely false—of proletariats consciousness at any moment is a historical result, this sentence sums up a whole relations between the construction of the revolutionary party (this is the fight for dialectical materialism!) and the movement of the class.

The revolutionary party is not outside of or against the movement of the working class. The construction of the revolutionary party proceeds from the whole development of the class struggle; based on the struggle of the proletariat, but it is not an automatic product of it. It only exists and can only be built as a conscious activity.

Marxism is 'the conscious expression of an unconscious process'. The revolutionary party is the organized form of this conscious expression in the class struggle, but the very conditions of the proletarian revolution give it the decisive role in accomplishing the historic tasks of the proletariat.

Marxism, method of the proletarian revolution, the unity of theory and practice in the construction of the revolutionary party and expressing the historical interests of the proletariat is

tarian socialist revolution expressed in the General Strike of May-June 1968, in the political revolution in Czechoslovakia, in the formation of the Irbid soviet, in the formation of workers councils in the Baltic, in the formation of the Popular Assembly.

The inevitable subjectivity is accompanied by a mechanical objectivism. We are told that the years of the 'post-war boom' were unfavourable to the development of Marxist theory (one wonders how the Transitional Programme was developed in the years of profound defeat and what Trotsky meant when he said that the Fourth International was born out of the deepest defeats!) but that the 'new conditions' are favourable to us.

Subjectivity and objectivism indissolubly linked together were the methodological roots of the growth of Pabloism within the Fourth International. Today the SLL leadership is paying the price for its refusal to make a real assessment of Pabloism and of its origins which is impossible without analysing its own history, without relating the problems of reconstructing the Fourth International to the construction of the revolutionary party in England.

But this is not automatic.

In any case, because the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International is an international process organically linked to the world struggle of the proletariat, the conscious fight for the construction of the revolutionary party finds its expression in England in the resistance within the SLL to its own liquidation as a Trotskyist organization. But, we say it firmly, political clarification is in the interests of the Fourth International and in the defence of its programme.

The International Committee must meet in plenary session at the earliest possible date with the participation of all the member organizations especially to reply to the legitimate request of Comrade Lora.

The real flight from political problems, the amalgams, the gross manoeuvres cannot go far. There must be an end to the false prestige of leaders who—like everybody—have made political errors and have led positive actions. There must be no retreat from the discussion within all the sections of the International Committee, from the questions that the class struggle requires the Trotskyist movement to resolve.

We say, in any case, that this discussion will take place: no

one has the power to prevent it. In any case, the gain represented by the International Committee, the continuity of the Fourth International, its programme will be preserved, in the fight to reconstruct the Fourth International, by the preparation of the Fourth International Conference on the initiative of the International Committee associating according to the decisions of the 1966 conference all the organizations and groups who fight for the programme of the socialist revolution.

We repeat: For those who intend to defend the programme of the Fourth International it is a common demand: the International Committee must meet as soon as possible.

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International (Majority) March 1, 1972

Centrism and the OCI (continued)

In order, so far as was possible at that late stage, to correct the completely anti-theoretical line of the document proposed by the AJS (youth organization of the OCI), the YS proposed the amendment drawing attention to the theoretical basis of the revolutionary movement. The OCI represents this as some sort of ultimatum. But, as the British delegation explained, what was actually required was a new resolution based on these theoretical foundations, and an amendment could only attempt to preserve for the future whatever basis there was for agreement. There proved conclusively to be none. The split actually occurred on the question of the place of Marxist theory as the foundation of the revolutionary party.

The OCI, as well as all sorts of other people, will pay lip-service to Lenin's statement 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement,' but in the actual struggle to build the movement they reject the struggle for theory in order to preserve the centrist alliance they have been building up. They have 'prepared' for this public declaration against the theoretical foundation of our movement by years of failure to take up basic questions of theory in the French labour movement. We shall see where this neglect has led them in the revision of basic Marxist concepts.

And so the split is not a question of dozens of detailed points of organization, or even of political positions on various questions. Every one of these points must and will be answered, but the great advantage of the present split is that it occurs with the basic theoretical questions out in the open. At the point in history where the deepening of capitalist crisis actually opens the door for Trotskyist parties to be built and to lead the working class to power, a point where the conditions for development of Marxist theory by revolutionary cadres are better than ever before, and where all the lessons of the long struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist movement can be capitalized—precisely at this point the OCI wants to devalue theory, to join the derision of the petty bourgeoisie against discussion on philosophy, to condemn the 'ultraism' and 'sectarianism' of the SLL, and to accept the petty-bourgeois prejudice that the Fourth International, having in any case been misconceived, died long ago.

These are the fundamental positions behind the split. They are the basis of the differences on the united front, on Bolivia, and on the policies of the OCI in France, as well as on the historical and theoretical issues already raised in the discussion.

When a split takes place on the fundamental question of the relationship of Marxist theory to programme and to the building of revolutionary parties, it cannot be tackled by arguments, like those of the OCI, that 'There can no more be a "majority" of the IC than there can be a "minority", since there has been no meeting of the IC! The OCI did not need a meeting of the IC to reveal at Essen that on the question of the Fourth International they were prepared to

write off some 35 years of history. It is not just that they returned, formally, to the position of 'for the Fourth International' instead of 'building the Fourth International'. They rejected the positions of the FI on those centrists who had opposed its very foundation.

The differences are not new

The political differences in the IC did not begin in 1971, nor in 1969, as the OCI suggests. In the two years before the Third International Conference of the IC in 1966 there was discussion, both at IC meetings and in written bulletins, on the differences between us on the nature of revolutionary leadership. The dangerous political implications of these differences were, in our opinion, most openly expressed (as early as 1964) in the assertion of a leading OCI member, that the meaning of certain expressions in the Transitional Programme has not been discernible in their objective significance until that time. According to him, only now were some of these phrases revealing their real content. He referred particularly to the last sentence of this paragraph:

'Is the creation of such a [workers' and farmers'] government by the traditional workers' organizations possible? Past experience shows, as has already been stated, that this is to say the least highly improbable. However one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.) the petty-bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie.'

The real experience of the Trotskyist movement since these sentences were written had proved beyond any doubt that, as the Stalinists and reformists grow ever more open in their betrayals, in their counter-revolutionary role, revisionism seized on precisely this passage to justify liquidation of the revolutionary party. Pablo split the FI with his thesis that 'mass revolutionary pressure' and World War III would force Stalinism to play a revolutionary role.

Ignoring the deliberate warning given by Trotsky (that even if a workers' government were established by the traditional workers parties, 'it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat') Pablo predicted 'centuries of degenerated workers' states'.

The OCI was in danger of preparing the theoretical slipway for



Socialist Labour League rallied on May Day, 1967 to defend working class against betrayals of Wilson's Labour government.

the same liquidationism in another form: to liquidate the independent programme and identity of the party in an all-embracing policy of 'united front for a workers' government'.

At this stage, we were prepared to fight for the clarification of these problems within the same International. At the 1966 Conference, the attack on Trotskyism by non-member participants, the US Spartacist (Robertson) group and the Voix Ouvrière (VO) group (France),* brought

a united response from the SLL, the OCI and the other sections of the IC. Our opinion at that time was that the defence of the continuity of the Trotskyist movement against the opportunism of Robertson and Voix Ouvrière laid the basis for tackling some of our differences.

It is of great importance for the present discussion that the *These groups attended as observers.

VO based their attack on the

formulation in the IC documents that the FI had been organizationally destroyed by Pabloism and must be 'reconstructed'.

While it is formally true, as the OCI states, that the final resolutions in some places retained the terms 'reconstruction' and 'rebuilding', what is certain is that the content of these resolutions was above all the continuity of independent parties and of the FI fought for and preserved by the IC and based on Marxist principle and theory. Against the attacks of VO and Robertson, the SLL, the Workers' League and the Greek section fought for the continuity of the FI and in doing so compromised with the OCI on the wording of the amendment carried. There was no concession on principle.

What soon emerged was that the OCI's participation in the fight against VO and Robertson, rather than proving a basis for changing their wrong positions on the question of the independent revolutionary party, served as a screen behind which they proceeded on exactly the same road. By 1966 the OCI had agreed that, even while opposed to Pabloism, it had committed grave errors of precisely a Pabloite type in relation to the Algerian national movement. But it did not go any further, and this was fundamental.

The next step should have been to probe the unresolved theoretical question in the split with Pablo which had left the OCI vulnerable to such a mistake. Because this was not done, the OCI in its latest document can still say, on the lessons of the Algerian experience:

'The fact remains that the policy of the Trotskyist organization was wrong because it rejected "the struggle for the development of a Trotskyist vanguard".'

Certainly! But when you say this, you are left precisely with the big question: how did it arise that a 'mistake' was made on the principal question of the epoch! And if this question is not posed, let alone answered, what dangers exist of liquidation of the revolutionary party in France itself, and in every country? The OCI's attitude towards the 'rebuilding of the Fourth International' through a 'regroupment' of all those claiming to support the Transitional Programme is the instrument for this liquidation.

That is why, in 1967, the OCI, having moved from its previous position of setting up some sort of 'League' consisting of a supposedly already existing 'vanguard' of the best organizers and militants in the working class focused its attack in the IC on all sorts of plans to create artificially a centre for the IC. Proposals were made for full-time workers and special financial

schemes to attract forces internationally (such as dissident youth in E Europe) who were said to be only looking for somewhere to go. The SLL's opposition to these methods, its insistence on the central importance of the training of a cadre, was condemned as opposition to the need to build 'the International as such' (*en tant que telle*).

There was no resolution of these questions in discussion. We could get little or no agreement on our estimation of the growing economic crisis of capitalism as the objective source to which our comrades must be directed for their development as Marxists. Indeed, leaders of the OCI told us that our attention to Economic Perspectives at our Conferences was wrong, and that there could be no separation of economic from political perspectives.

The fact is that their own perspectives were not based upon this appreciation of the depth of the economic crisis, and they were left like all non-Marxists and revisionists simply to agree on the existence of a crisis when its effects could no longer be missed by the naked eye. Consequently the political manifestations of the crisis, and particularly the May-June 1968 struggles in France, took them completely by surprise.

All through 1967, the OCI had pursued their proposals on 'the International as such' and attacked the organization of the SLL (just as later they privately opposed the plans for a daily paper) on the grounds, fundamentally, that we were leaping too far ahead of the movement and consciousness of the working class, the 'real movement' (see the letter of the OCI to the SLL and the SLL Reply, 1967).

These differences about the discipline, training and organization of the revolutionary party were obviously connected with the emphasis of the SLL on the fact that the advanced stage reached by the economic crisis would very soon pose the struggle for power in a number of countries, and that our parties would be called upon to take up leadership. At the International Assembly of Youth in Britain in August 1967, the SLL found itself having to exercise great patience and firmness in insisting on these perspectives on all the questions which they affected: security, organizational details, finance, and the whole problem of preparedness of the youth cadre.

Undoubtedly the May-June days in 1968 once again provided the opportunity for a struggle to clarify political differences. It was absolutely correct for the SLL to campaign, as it did, to win wide support, political and financial, for the OCI. A large fund was raised, and a broad movement of opposition to the repressions against the OCI was mobilized through the columns of 'The Newsletter' (predecessor of the Workers Press).

What is more important is that the rapid development of the objective situation, of the class struggle itself, had completely vindicated the political preparation fought for by the SLL. It was vital to bring home this indispensable lesson to the members and leaders of the OCI, and to the international movement. It was the responsibility of the SLL to fight to overcome previous differences on this basis.

The following months actually suggested the possibility of success, but behind formal political agreement, the OCI pursued its course and still the basic questions were not resolved. After May-June 1968, it was certainly impossible to avoid 'recognizing' the international crisis. Nor was it possible to escape any longer the direct and immediate way in which preparation for the struggle for power was posed. These conceptions found their way into the documents of the OCI, and in a series of discussions it was possible to win a certain degree of agreement on the way that the struggle for a workers' government was posed in France, by making specific demands on the Communist and Socialist parties.

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BOOKS

AL BERENSON



BOMBS, BEARDS, AND BARRICADES. By Anthony Eisler. Stein and Day Publishers, 1971. 305 pages.

Bombs, Beards, and Barricades is part historical analysis and part political commentary. Anthony Eisler explains that the book is a study of "150 years of youth in revolt."

Eisler obviously wrote this book in an attempt to cash in on the student revolts of the very last part of the '60's. Yet despite the fact that **Bombs, Beards, and Barricades** strains to be so very contemporary, it is already hopelessly dated.

Its ridiculously idealist view of history, which at every point is aimed at discrediting the revolutionary character of the working class, is being shattered by the enormous upheavals in international capitalism and by the offensive of the international proletariat.

Part 1 of **Bombs, Beards, and Barricades** is called "That Gap." Eisler explains that history has been made solely by the revolt of youth against their parents. The struggle of classes is a mere appendage to what Eisler quaintly captions "the yawning generation gap."

Eisler goes back into the past to prove the point—lumping the nineteenth century German student rebellions, the development of the Russian Revolution, and the construction of fascist youth organizations in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy into one great pot which he labels "the youth revolution."

All this is absolute nonsense. There is no such thing as abstract "youth." And Mr. Eisler's examples are all meaningless unless understood in their relation to the struggle of classes which is the determining factor in history.

The student movements of Austria and Germany in the early nineteenth century were an integral part of the emergence of a powerful bourgeoisie struggling to destroy the last remnants of feudalism and establish its own rule.

The Russian Revolutionary movement was not a simple extension of this but its class opposite, occurring at an entirely different historical stage. At the end of the nineteenth century the bourgeoisie no longer played a revolutionary role in society and Vladimir Lenin, whom Eisler titles "a graduate of the Youth Revolution" led the new revolutionary class—the working class—in struggle against it.

The German students of the liberal and nationalist movements of the early 1800's

fought to establish capitalism. Lenin fought to destroy it.

As for the Hitler Jugend—it was no revolutionary force at all but a disgusting creation of the fascist state.

To equate all three under the heading of an abstract "youth revolution," as Mr. Eisler does, is not only wrong but also, however, purposely deceptive. Mr. Eisler places Hitler, Stalin and Lenin all in the same category for specific political reasons.

AFRAID

This is made apparent by the modern political commentary presented in **Bombs, Beards, and Barricades**. Eisler denies the historical role of the struggle of classes because he is mortally afraid of its contemporary implications. **Bombs, Beards, and Barricades** is saturated by Mr. Eisler's hatred for the international and American working class, whom he dismisses as "Wallace people."

Eisler devotes the major portion of his book to whom he considers the American revolutionaries—the hippies and student radicals. His brand of revolutionary is described thus: "We have all come across him one way or another, these past years. We have seen him panhandling in Haight-Ashbury or sprawling stoned at the fountain in Central Park."

The point is that what Eisler describes in such loving detail expresses only the complete degeneration of capitalism and has nothing to do with revolution.

As for student radicalism—upon which Eisler devotes the other portions of his hopes—it has been broken up by the intensification of the class struggle and movement of the working class.

Student radicalism was doomed to disappear because of its distance from the only force which can truly transform society: that is, the working class. The advance and offensive of that class has completely derailed the protest politics of the middle class, of which student radicalism was a representative.

Unfortunately for Mr. Eisler Jerry Rubin et al have left the "barricades" for the stockmarket!!

Yet despite their desertion, Eisler clings to their past and dedicates his entire book to scrutinizing their movements.

The role that youth have today is the building of a massive working class youth movement as part of building revolutionary parties which will bring that class to power.

And the building of that movement will not be a part of any literary imagining such as Anthony Eisler's "Youth Revolution" but of the struggle to overthrow capitalism. It is that which Anthony Eisler is totally against.

FILM

LOU BELKIN

One Of Chaplin's Greatest

CITY LIGHTS. Produced, directed, written and composed by C. Chaplin. Photography by O. Totheroe and M. Moore. Starring V. Cherrill, H. Myers and C. Chaplin.

With MGM's "The Broadway Melody," a full-length sound musical in 1929, the sound era was inaugurated with a mighty roar. Although Warner Brothers pioneered sound-synchronization, "Melody," with music and dancing images, compelled all the large movie houses to wire for sound. Charlie Chaplin lamented the passing of the silent film.

Nevertheless, Chaplin had earned enough money to continue producing silent pictures with added sound track well into the thirties. "City Lights", made in 1931, and currently being shown as the second film in the Chaplin festival running in New York, was also silent.

"I was determined to continue making silent films," Chaplin recalled in his autobiography, "for I believed there was room for all types of entertainment. Besides, I was a pantomimist, and in that medium I was unique, and, without false modesty, a master."

The story in "City Lights", as in "The Gold Rush" was suggested by themes from the earlier two-reelers produced—"A Woman" (1915) and "The Idle Class" (1920). But, as with "The Kid" and "The Gold Rush", the story is far more complex, far more sophisticated and no longer do the spontaneous slapstick and zany chases predominate as they did in the earlier pictures.

Ironically, Chaplin had to admit that the earlier Mack Sennett-inspired comedies were made before the movie industry became the lucrative field for investment for the banks and exploitation, and before the development of technology and techniques of lighting and editing were advanced by people like D.W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer.

Nevertheless in the Chaplin masterpieces, the former styles merge with the sentimentality and character penetration to produce something quite new—the comic-drama.

"City Lights" is simple and tender yet hilarious and rapidly paced with movement. After an opening sequence wherein the little fellow lays nestled in the arms of a statue which has been unveiled in a municipal park, Chaplin encounters the beautiful, young woman (Virginia Cherrill) who is blind and must sell flowers on the street.

PLOT

Their meeting is fortuitous and although the sequence lasts about a minute, Chaplin masterfully delineates both characters and utilizes her blindness and his raggedness to motivate the plot. Chaplin succeeds with her because, although his opinion of himself is rather low, the girl cannot notice his unattractiveness. She appreciates his attention, and his concern fills a void in the life of this lonely young woman. Later, the tramp wanders wistfully and remorsefully along

the riverbank when he sees the third central character of the piece—the rich idler (Hank Myers), drunk, attempting to commit suicide with a rope and brick because his wife has left.

Chaplin rescues and befriends the man in an insanely funny and slapstickish sequence, encompassing several short sight gags and continuity of plot. The idler has nothing else to do with his time and money than indulge himself in debauchery and spending sprees. Chaplin is his pal only so long as the idler is drunk. Curiously when he sobers up, he remembers nothing—not even his friendship with Chaplin.

This almost schizophrenic characterization of the parasitic bourgeoisie was depicted in Chaplin's earlier three-reeler—"The Idle Class." But this characterization aids the plot of the picture and stresses once again Chaplin's overt contempt for such idlers and their boorishness.

The tramp, upon hearing of the girl's financial plight, gets work as a street cleaner and is fired because he spends too much time with the girl. He is then cajoled into boxing for money and in what must be the comic pinnacle of the film, Charlie finally gets to oppose an extremely fierce and hard-punching hombre. Chaplin's immediate response is one of obsequious pacification and coquettish behavior. He offers to split the purse with his opponent if the latter "takes it easy." "Nothing doing," the boxer snarls.

Chaplin's strategy in staging the sequence is to envision it as a war and we see Chaplin spending most of his time jabbing at his opponent from behind the referee. But the movement of the tramp is synchronized with that of the referee and the musical accompaniment is rapturously baroque. At long last, Chaplin is pinned against the rope and the opponent flattens him, more out of luck and fatigue than anything else.

HOPE

Chaplin is still without money. His only hope rests with the rich man, his erstwhile friend. He not only wishes to get money for the girl's rent but enough money to restore her sight.

But after obtaining the money from his drunken friend, Charlie becomes the victim of extraordinary circumstances and lands in jail—after he gets the money to his girl friend.

Then the final sequence, the most brilliant perhaps of Chaplin's finales, unfolds. The tramp is released, tattered, hungry, depressed. He wanders the streets and does not notice at first that the girl, sight restored, and her grandmother, now have their own shop. She has vowed never to marry until her benefactor returns.

At first, she is amused by Chaplin's appearance. Suddenly he sees her. He looks tenderly, fixedly at her. At first she is unsuspecting. The master at this point juxtaposes sentimentality with downright corn and stationary camera to finish the picture. They simply stare themselves into mutual recognition and she grasps his soft, tender palm and guesses. He says only "You can see again." She replies: "Yes, I can see again." Fade out.

Nothing more need be said. The down-trodden little fellow sees his dream fulfilled and only fantasy can convey that. But his intense humanity and idealist conception of the basic goodness of human beings, with the exception of "Idlers and Dictators" make the audience forget the fantasy. He deserves to win this young woman and she accepts him totally.

UAW Convention Prepares For Showdown With Auto Barons

(Continued From Page 1)

basis of support for the referendum. The rest of the UNC slate declined nomination stating that their election was meaningless unless the referendum was approved.

In his keynote speech to the convention, UAW President Leonard Woodcock attempted to deal with a number of the major questions facing the union, questions which also underlie the opposition to his leadership.

In discussing collective bargaining for 1973 he said that the union could not make the same mistake as it did in 1967 when it made a major concession to Ford. "We have got to recognize this problem in 1973 and not create for ourselves another 1967, because the Ford Motor Company...extracted from us the cap on the cost of living."

Woodcock also remarked that: "Come 1973 this union will be ready and able to take on anyone, any company that is foolish enough to want to test us again."

PAY BOARD

Woodcock recognized that collective bargaining for '73 now must confront not only the employers but the government and the Pay Board. "What is happening in this country is collective bargaining is being sorely impeded and we face more difficult days ahead. The fact of course is that prices increased more in the six months after the freeze than they rose in the six months before the freeze."

He then criticized the functioning of the Pay Board particularly the reduction of the aerospace contract wage increase. Woodcock was totally unable to pose a political fight against the Pay Board or even evaluate his refusal to leave the Board until the very end.

Instead of laying out a program

for a political struggle against the attacks of the corporations and government, he attempted to justify the bargaining demands the UAW would make in '72 as "socially responsible." He even quoted General Electric executive Virgil Day who served on the Pay Board as remarking to Woodcock after the Board was set up, "Don't worry about your contracts, Leonard, they are on the side of the angels."

LORDSTOWN

Woodcock of course was indignant that Mr. Day then turned around and stabbed the UAW in the back in aerospace. In the same way, General Motors was forced by the crisis of the economy to turn on the GMAD workers following their 1970 contract. This led to the strikes against speedup at Lordstown and now at Norwood which were forced on Woodcock.

The strike reflected the tremendous militancy of the auto workers against these attacks, but also in the settlement, the intention of the bureaucracy to make only a limited amelioration of the speedup and layoffs. Less than half of the Lordstown workers voted on the agreement, and of those, 30 percent opposed it.

POLITICAL

Woodcock correctly stated that "All these things are political. We can't solve these things at the collective bargaining table." He raised the question of the federal elections in 1972, stating, "We have to do our job in our own ranks with our own people, because we can make this system work."

But Woodcock himself questions whether the "system" is working in his remarks about Canada: "Canada, too, will



Gary Brenner, president of Lordstown UAW local, speaks at UAW National Convention in Atlantic City.

undoubtedly be facing a Federal election this year. They have a different system than we have in the United States (a labor party, the NDP—D.F.). When I see the insanity of the Presidential primaries going on, I sometimes wish we had their system in the United States."

At the same time the crisis over support for the Democratic party is further reflected in the decision of the UAW leadership not to invite any Democratic Presidential candidate to speak at the convention even though Woodcock had endorsed Muskie some months ago. Instead they invited Senator Edward Kennedy and Steven Lewis a leader and member of Parliament of the Canadian New Democratic Party.

Lewis, although he posed an essentially liberal program against Nixon and Trudeau, said that the labor movement in Canada was "democratic socialist."

He said that in Canada "the unions are all strong and united in their commitment to the NDP. We believe to a much greater degree in public ownership and economic planning for the purpose of redistribution of wealth and power."

Following his speech Woodcock commented that the UAW would be a better union if they learned from the Canadian labor movement: "In so many areas, they are politically more developed than we are in the US," said Woodcock.

RIGHT WING

While Woodcock raised the questions indirectly of the independent labor party, he attempted to come to a compromise with right wing tendencies in the union. On the question of busing, rather than see in this the danger of Wallace and the fascist forces behind him who whip up racism to smash the unions, he posed it as fundamentally a question of achieving quality education. He supported busing in the face of a right wing tendency which opposed him but he did so on the weakest possible basis.

On the issue of Vietnam, Woodcock proposed that Hanoi should take initiative by making a concession—the release of the POWs now in exchange for a pledge by the US not to use them in combat. Thus, Woodcock did not even call for immediate US withdrawal of troops as do many liberals.

LABOR PARTY

The question of the labor party was brought to the attention of the delegates and visitors to the convention by the Workers League which addressed the statement of the Political Committee calling for the UAW to take up the fight for construction of an independent labor party.

Over 500 copies of the *Bulletin* were sold on the first two days of the convention alone. There was a great deal of discussion and support for the labor party by a number of delegates as well as great interest in the scheduled meeting by the Workers League during the week on "The UAW and the Labor Party"

A delegate who was an official of a small local in Maryland told the *Bulletin* that: "We've gotten nothing but a knife in the back from both Republicans and Democrats," when asked about the labor party.

Many of the delegates who agreed with the need for a labor party at the same time felt that they were unable to bring in a fight for such a party into the convention at this point. This reflected the syndicalist tendency which dominated among many of these delegates opposed to Woodcock.

REBELLION

From the very beginning of the Sunday session at which time there was a fight over the rules, there was an undercurrent of rebellion by a section of the delegates against the bureaucratic control of the convention by the Woodcock leadership. The dissidents attempted to challenge the rule that the chair would recognize only those delegates who remained in their seats rather than those who came forward to the microphones as in previous conventions.

The dissension in the union reflecting the bitterness and anger among large sections of the UAW membership was also reflected in the challenges of the seating of delegations coming from a number of locals, the support of a significant number of delegates for the election of international officers by referendum (one man, one vote) and in the opposition to the re-election of a number of regional directors, most important to Paul Schrade on the West Coast.

CAUCUS

The tendency was represented sharply by the "official opposition," the United National Caucus, which working in a committee with the Stalinists called the League of Caucuses, attempted to unite everyone against Woodcock in support of the referendum. UNC co-leader Jordan Sims summed it up at the UNC caucus meeting, saying as far as making the union an instrument of the rank and file, "the referendum is the crux of it."

These tendencies were unable to get the required 425 votes to bring the referendum question to the floor. At the same time as they correctly say that the ranks overwhelmingly support the re-

ferendum, it is the fundamental attacks on the workers by the capitalists expressed in unemployment, runaway shops, speedup, inflation and the Pay Board which underlie the demand for union democracy and the hatred of Woodcock by the workers.

These questions are above all political and require the movement for an independent labor party to challenge capitalism as the central strategy. Instead of this, the syndicalists and Stalinists try to avoid this question and in fact capitulate to the liberal Democrats. They do not challenge Woodcock on the most fundamental question—his support for capitalism.

SCHRADE

Likewise, the tremendous furor of opposition to Paul Schrade is an attempt by the local leaders in California to placate the hatred of the aerospace workers for the massive unemployment and the reduction by the Pay Board of the contract and for the speedup and unemployment hitting the auto workers.

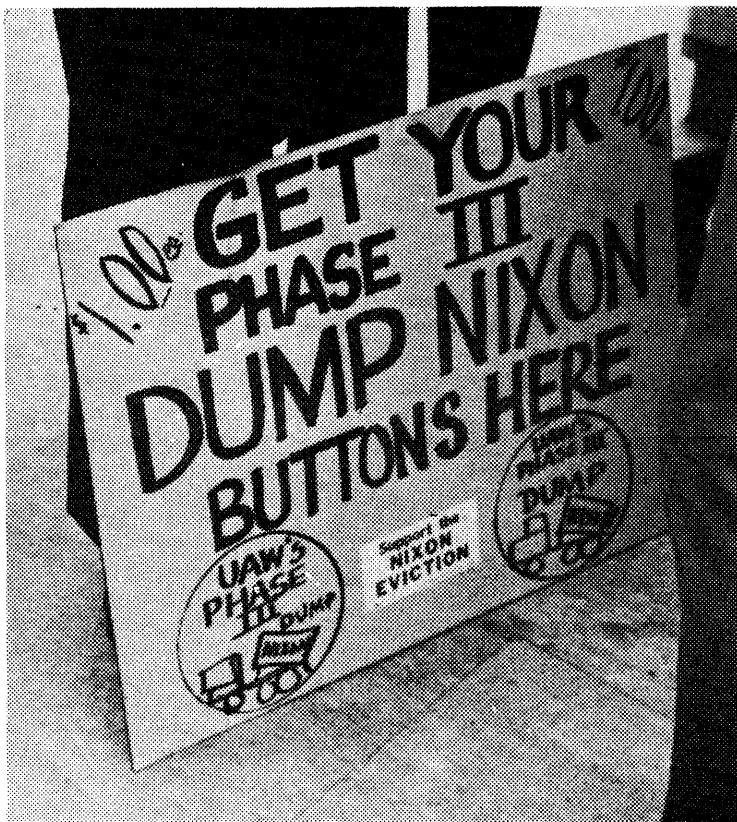
It would be wrong to see, as the *New York Times* does, this opposition in the same way as Schrade does, as a right wing tendency. According to the *Times*, Schrade says it is an issue of "conservatism versus liberalism."

In this context, we must realize that Schrade is Woodcock's man and that during the 1970 GM strike he did all he could to hold back the militancy of the workers at Fremont. The opposition to Schrade is centered in the Southgate GMAD Local 216 and the North American Aviation Local 887 and includes most of the locals in California. Some of the leaders of the opposition are opportunistically appealing to right wing tendencies by attacking Schrade for his opposition to the war in Vietnam.

LAMOTHE

However, Local 887 newspaper staff writer, Jerry Lamothe, told the *Bulletin*, regarding the charges that the opposition was right wing: "That's the charge he (Schrade) attempts to make. It's without foundation. Members of my caucus have the same social concern as Schrade, but as UAW members they also have a concern over job security and protection of our families. If he's such a liberal why doesn't he have the support of the Chicanos and the Blacks in the union."

The defense of the UAW and the entire labor movement must begin with the struggle for the formation of the workers own party, a labor party, which will open up the fight for a workers government and socialism.



Buttons sold at auto workers convention express rank and file workers' hatred of Nixon's Pay Board and anti-union offensive.

UAW RANKS SPEAK OUT ON LABOR PARTY

Canada Working Class Turns To Socialism

National Caucus Member: Bosses Control Democrats

A discussion among UAW members of the Workers League statement on the call for a labor party has begun both at the UAW convention and among rank and filers across the country.

This discussion will continue in future issues of the **Bulletin**. A convention delegate from Ontario, Canada, stated the following:

"In Canada the biggest question for us is speedup and unemployment. To a large extent this resulted from the economic domination of Canada by the United States, and being in effect an economic colony of the U.S. The UAW leadership is helping to maintain that situation by supporting the auto pact which has meant a huge bonanza for the U.S. manufacturers.

"Since the auto pact has come in, total assets of Ford of Canada has increased by 700 percent while their employment has increased by 25 percent. In Quebec, the workers are turning to the left because of unemployment. The Canadian workers are turning toward socialism. They are learning Marxism because of the straight facts of life of what is happening to them."

Bulletin: "The question of fighting for socialism raises the same question as in the U.S., the need for a real labor party fighting for the interests of the working class. In Canada you have the NDP but in the U.S. the labor leaders still support the Democrats."

Delegate: "Well, the question of the labor party in the U.S. truly supported by a labor leadership would be a tremendous step forward. I don't see it at this particular moment because I don't see the leaders like those in the UAW yet looking for that solution. There are not enough problems developing yet for them to look for that solution. The resolution on busing this morning indicated the real cat-footing that the UAW administration is taking on the real hard issues."

Bulletin: "But now the same kind of situation is posed in Canada, in Quebec, with the command for compulsory arbitration to break the public employees strike. This poses the question of the labor party."

Delegate: "A lot of workers

are going to go to jail over this."

Bulletin: "But that's a warning to the American workers. The Canadian economy is weaker as you pointed out. At the same time I think that what's happening in Canada will happen here."

Delegate: "Of course it will. The contradictions in the economy that exist in Canada exist here in the U.S. and probably ten times more so. The UAW as I see it in all the years I have been in it is that it is not an

The following is an interview with Cubie Maddox, Local 1210, UAW, South Haven, Michigan. He is a rank and file member in the skills trades department who has been a member of the union from this local for 14 years. The local represents an auto parts supplier and has 600 members.

Bulletin: What was it that interested you in the United National Caucus.

Maddox: When they said they wanted a referendum vote which had to do with bringing the union

a job in case they shut us down because we are owned by a large corporation—Gulf and Western. Do you know, that if Gulf and Western is not making money in a place they shut it down and open up a new one or sell it.

Bulletin: Who do you think controls the Democratic and Republican parties?

Maddox: I think big business does, but I think there should be a national caucus of the working people and give our vote to whatever party is going to do our bidding whether Republican or Democratic.

Most of these Democratic candidates are now

if it was one day or two days. I think that they should have had it all over the country. Nobody go to work to let them know that we're together because Nixon was telling everybody that the members were not behind the leaders.

Bulletin: The aerospace workers, the dock workers, the meatcutters and now possibly the New York telephone workers all have had wage gains cut by the Board. The courts are upholding these rulings. The Pay Board is still there.

Maddox: This is exactly what is happening to us. Our contract ran out in September. We got retroactive pay to September when we settled in November, but this was turned over to the Pay Board which is sitting on this retroactive increase. How come it's taken so long for a little plant of 600 to get a 36 cent increase. And this increase only included an estimated five to eight cents in new money—the rest was owed from the last contract.

Bulletin: Today we can't conceive of a strike without the government attempting to control it through injunctions, the Pay Board or in some other way in order to uphold the interests of the corporations.

Maddox: Well, my personal feeling is that the government can't hurt you with an injunction if you have a widespread strike because he can't spread his troops that thin.

Bulletin: You mean if you defy it?

Maddox: That's what I mean.

Bulletin: Last week in Canada there was a public employees strike which is being forced into compulsory arbitration. Union leaders may be sent to jail as a result. The same thing is beginning to happen in the United States now.

Maddox: In most of the plants we have older people although this is changing. Most of the older people don't want to go to jail. A lot of the younger people don't want to go to jail because of families. But there's more ways to skin a cat than one. If they make you go back to work that doesn't mean you have to turn out parts. Why not go back to work with the old-fashioned sit-down strike like they used to have. Once you're inside the plant what's the government going to do then.

Bulletin: When you raise all these questions of going back to the '30's, which we're going to see with the sit-downs, this will take place under new conditions, which will require a labor party.

Maddox: Eventually we might get to this but I just don't think we're ready for it now. I think our people are too spread out. I agree with you 100 percent but it can't happen right now. The younger people are beginning to come up in the union and replace the older. This is one of the main reasons why it's going to take time to get a socialist party, but I notice that more and more of the younger delegates are beating out the older ones. Only then, when we get a majority of younger delegates at this convention, can we get what we need for our people back home.

Convention Delegates Hear Labor Party Call



Pete Kelly (right) of UAW United National Caucus

April 25—Local 160 President Pete Kelly stood up at a half empty conference floor and called upon the UAW to build a labor party.

Kelly, who is co-chairman of the United National Caucus, said: "We support a labor party in Canada and by God we ought to fight for a labor party in this country."

Delegate Kelly's remarks came after Senator Ted Kennedy's speech was finished and unfortunately half of the convention delegates had departed. Kelly's statement comes at a time when more and more delegates are considering the need for a labor party now being put forward at this convention by the Workers League.

Sixty or seventy delegates warmly applauded Kelly's statement.

organization for social change. It's an organization that works within the system and helps to maintain the system... Reuther said it when he was alive, that he was in favor of the capitalist system and as long as the UAW works within that kind of context it's never going to be able to solve the problems of the Lordstown and what have you.

Bulletin: "Yes, but within that framework a rank and file movement can be built in the union. That's what the big opposition to the Lordstown agreement from the ranks meant."

back to the people where the people would have the right to vote on the vital issues of the union, I felt that this is something that we needed and ran for delegate on this platform.

Bulletin: Behind the referendum sentiment among the ranks is the anger over the conditions that are hitting the workers: unemployment, run-away shops and closures, inflation and speedup.

Maddox: Right. There is real concern about plant shutdowns, in my plant because we don't feel there is enough of a guarantee of

picking this ball up as far as the Pay Board is concerned by saying that this was a farce. Of course, they're probably saying this because of political reasons.

Bulletin: One of the reasons you feel a new leadership is needed for the rank and file is because of the need to fight against attacks such as the Pay Board. How do you feel about this?

Maddox: I think the Pay Board was a big farce. They should have walked off before they did and I think that after they walked off they should have done something—a nationwide strike, even

Norwood UAW Strikers Demand Full GM Shutdown

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio, April 22—As the UAW strike against General Motors enters its third week, workers here are expressing a determination to stay out until they achieve their demands. At the same time, they are expressing an increasing lack of confidence in the International and some of their own local leadership.

No discussions are taking place with the company negotiators. One worker pointed out that all the company negotiators are required by law to do is to meet with the union, but they do not have to discuss anything and can leave after a five minute "meeting."

This is what has been happening in the so-called negotiations. One worker said: "We will know in a week or two if the settlement will be a package deal (part of an agreement to make

quick settlements in each of the GMAD plants starting with Lordstown). If we are out longer, we'll know it's not a package deal and it will be a long strike."

EMPHASIS

All emphasis is being put on gaining support from the other locals at the UAW convention. Workers are reiterating the need for a strike of all of GM. One worker said: "It doesn't hurt the company one bit when they can take us one at a time, they

just shift the work to other plants." Workers are still bitter about the International "leaving the Norwood local out on a limb in the 1970 strike."

Expressing lack of confidence in the International actually coming through with any commitment as the result of pledges for support at the convention, workers recalled that Woodcock had said in the 1970 strike, that no GM plant would go back until they all went back. But then he turned around and made an agreement leaving several of the locals, including Norwood, out to settle their own local contracts.

The workers scoffed at the UAW newspaper *Solidarity* and its article reporting a win at

Lordstown. One worker noted how they always give a rosy report, and stated that the line on Norwood in the Lordstown article is the only time he can remember that the Norwood Local has even been mentioned in the paper.

The workers interviewed all expressed agreement with the need for a labor party. One of the local officials asked a **Bulletin** salesman, "if Woodcock had given his approval."

When the **Bulletin** representative replied that: "It doesn't have Woodcock's approval, but we don't approve of Woodcock's having been on the Pay Board either. We can't wait for Woodcock." The official stated: "That's a good answer."

Statements of the International Committee of the 4th International

The Fourth Conference of the Fourth International was held April 10-14, 1972. In next week's Bulletin, we will publish the Manifesto adopted at the Conference.

Condemn Argentine Kidnapping

The International Committee of the Fourth International condemns the abduction and execution of Dr. Oberdan Sallustro in Argentina.

We reject the capitalist press allegation that these terrorists were acting in the name of Trotskyism. This allegation is designed to discredit Trotskyism in Britain and Europe and facilitate the witch-hunting and persecution by the capitalist state of the working class and the revolutionary party.

The program and policy of Trotskyism is aimed at the complete material and spiritual liberation of the working class through the revolutionary struggle of the overwhelming majority of the class led by a Marxist party. The tradition, policy and method of Trotskyism is implacably opposed to the conspiratorial-terrorist method of ERP, which tries to substitute individual terror and the actions of disoriented middle-class youth for the mass action of the working class and the construction of revolutionary parties on Marxist theory.

The execution of Sallustro is doubly indefensible because, first, it is based on the fallacy that the ruling class will concede the demands of the kidnapers and, secondly, because it diverts the working class precisely at a time when the Lanusse regime is being shaken by massive strikes and demonstrations in all the major cities of Argentina.

Individual terror, far from

raising the consciousness and self-confidence of the working class, can only lead to political passivity and a mystical belief in a liberator with a gun.

Marxists do not reject violence and terror on principle like the pacifists. As the Vietnam war proves, all historical progress is determined by the violent resistance of the oppressed majority against the violent oppression of a reactionary minority. But this is the antithesis of individual terror.

The Lanusse regime is based on the counter-revolutionary violence of the bankers, landlords and capitalists—admirals and generals against the working class. The arbitrary imprisonment and torture of political opponents of the regime is an indispensable condition for the continuance of the dictatorship—and the winning of the next "general election" by Lanusse supporters.

The ICFI condemns this dastardly repression of democratic rights and demands the unconditional release of all political prisoners, but we do not condone the substitution of individual terror for a mass campaign in the working class internationally to secure the release of prisoners and the downfall of the dictatorship.

The ERP's bankrupt tactics are the logical and ultimate product of the petty-bourgeois revisionism of the Unified Secretariat led by Ernest Mandel. It is no accident that Mandel's followers reject the method of the proletarian revolution and

resort to the method of bourgeois individualism. It is also instructive that Mandel's supporters deplore the kidnapping of a Renault executive in France by the Maoists but applaud a similar action in Argentina.

These revisionists long ago abandoned the working class and the construction of independent Trotskyist parties based on Marxist theory and have subordinated themselves to the bourgeoisie and the labor bureaucracy.

That is why the co-thinkers of the ERP in Bolivia—led by Moscoso—have capitulated completely to the patriotic front of General Torres and their ex-supporters in the Ceylon coalition lead the repressive campaign against the rural youth with the direct support of imperialism and Stalinism.

As the crisis of imperialism intensifies, these revisionist groups express clearly the abject prostration and disorientation of the petty-bourgeoisie before monopoly capitalism. Thus their terrorism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is complemented in the advanced countries by sectarian abstention in the political struggles of the working class.

In Britain the International Marxist Group refused to critically support the Labour Party in the General Election of 1970 and assisted the return of the Tories.

In France the Ligue Communiste advocates abstention in the referendum on British entry into the Common Market

End Ceylon Coalition

The Coalition government which came to power in Ceylon in May 1970 was a crisis government.

The devaluation of the Ceylon rupee, just after sterling devaluation expressed the insoluble crisis looming in world imperialism which threatened the very basis of Ceylon's colonial economic setup.

The insurgent movement of the radicalized students and the rural youth in April-May 1971 was the first sign of the outburst of mass struggles against the bourgeois coalition.

This counter-revolutionary coalition government could retain power only through the treacherous policy of its Stalinist and renegade Trotskyist partners who barred the working class movement's independent development by joining hands with Mrs. Bandaranaike's capitalist party.

But these parasitic bureaucracies cannot curtail the development of the class struggle, which is unfolding today as a direct result of the new stage of economic crisis since August 15, 1971.

The Emergency Powers imposed on the workers and peasants and the ban implemented on the Trotskyist publications of the section of the International Committee are the government's conscious attacks on the working class which is on the verge of massive struggles.

We demand the lifting of all emergency powers and the granting of democratic rights of free assembly and free publication, immediately.

We demand that the Stalinist Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party leaders break away from the coalition to fight for these basic democratic rights of the masses. It is only this way that a workers' and peasants' government can be fought for in Ceylon.

and facilitates the victory of Pompidou and the European monopolies.

The ICFI appeals to all those workers in Latin America as well as members of the Unified Secretariat who are critical of this adventure to reject the road of individual terror and join the ICFI in its struggle to build the revolutionary alternative to petty-bourgeois terrorism and bureaucratic reformism.

DOWN WITH THE LANUSSE DICTATORSHIP!

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ARGENTINA!

April 14, 1972

Free Juan Farinas

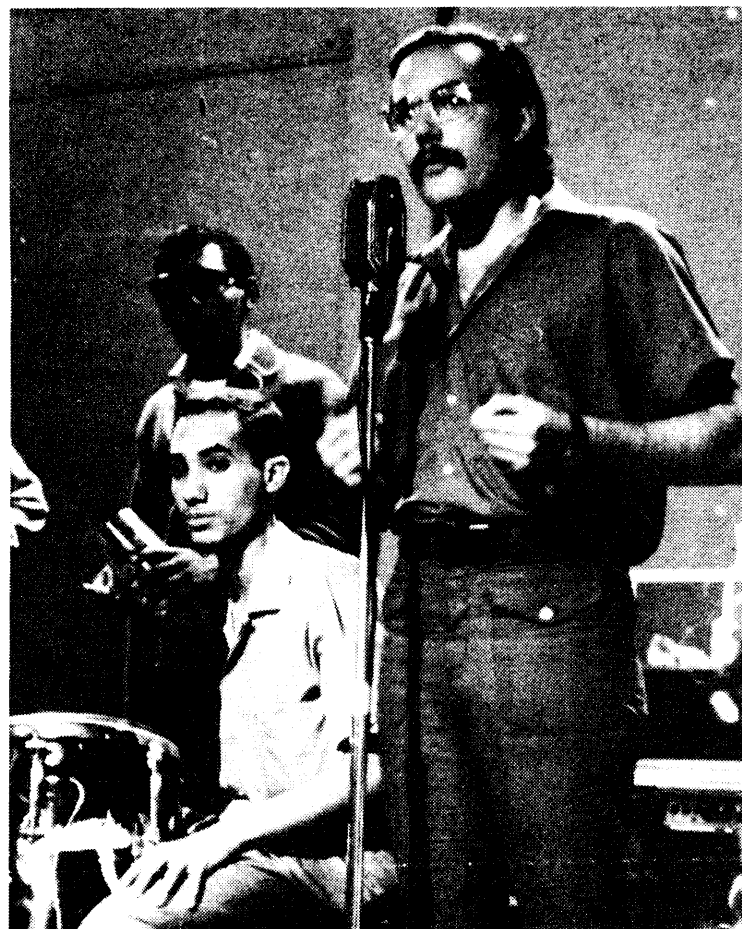
The International Committee of the Fourth International condemns the jailing of the Trotskyist militant Juan Farinas for his opposition to the war in Vietnam as an attack directed against the working class and the youth.

This attack is part of the Nixon Administration's campaign to destroy democratic rights and crush the trade unions.

Juan Farinas was jailed precisely at a time when the offensive of the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front brings U.S. imperialism to the brink of defeat in Southeast Asia.

This jailing indicates the fear of U.S. capitalism for the power of the working class and is aimed at preventing the development of revolutionary leadership.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on the international working class to campaign for the immediate release of Juan Farinas.



Juan Farinas speaks at fund-raising dance before his jailing.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS, WORKERS LEAGUE

MAY DAY '72

- Take Forward the history of the American Labor Movement
- Unite with the workers and youth of all countries
- Build a Labor Party Now!

Speakers: Trade unionists from auto, longshore, steel, hospitals
Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League
Gil Gonzalez, Secretary of the Young Socialists

YS-USA

Film on the building of the revolutionary youth movement in the U.S.

\$1.00 \$0.50 High School Students and Unemployed

Horace Mann Auditorium Friday, May 5
7:30 P.M. Columbia University West 120th St. & Broadway.
For information, call: 924-0852

Germany

Christian Democrats and Nazis Unite To Dump Brandt

BY DAVID NORTH

In 1966, there was considerable commotion in Germany when it was learned that the new Christian-Democratic Chancellor, Kurt Kiesinger, had once been a member of the Nazi Party. Caught with their pants down, the Christian-Democrats called on the public to forgive the new Chancellor for the mistakes of his youth. Kiesinger was almost 30 when he joined the Nazi Party.

With the help of the Social-Democrats, whose leader Willy Brandt was to become foreign minister in the CDU government, the German working class was held back from a fight against the outrage.

Now it turns out that the relations between the Christian-Democrats and the neo-Nazis are about as intimate as those between Kiesinger and the Hitlerites back in the 1930's. An article published March 21 in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* revealed that the CDU and the neo-Nazi NPD have been helping each other out in regional elections.

After lengthy discussions that date back to September 1971, according to the *Zeitung*, the NPD agreed to withdraw its candidates from the up-coming regional election in the state of Baden-Wurttemberg in order to help the CDU win a majority against the Social-Democrats (SPD).

In return for this favor, the CDU agreed to finance campaign costs of the NPD to the tune of 507,299 marks.

The reports in the *Zeitung* were confirmed several days later by a member of the NPD who told a gathering of the neo-Nazis in Nuremberg more about CDU-NPD contacts:

"An agreement by the party leaders, to withdraw suddenly the candidates in Baden-Wurttemberg exists for a long time. Talks over the matter were conducted in Hannover in September of 1971. On the part of the CDU negotiators, financial promises were made that have—to my knowledge—been kept. With their money our campaign costs were to be covered."

REGAIN

The collaboration of the CDU with the neo-Nazis exposes the plans that lie behind the drive of the leading bourgeois party to regain power. Recently, CDU shadow foreign-minister, Franz-Josef Strauss, warned about "dangerous illusions of reforms" in Germany. Hiding behind the bogus issue of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik—which has won the endorsement of the European bourgeoisie and even a Nobel Prize—the CDU is itching for a showdown with the trade unions.

What makes the CDU so determined is the worsening economic situation in Germany; and businessmen are frankly dissatisfied with the inability of Brandt to hold wage increases below the 10 percent national average in 1971. Ever since the strike by the metal workers, which forced major concessions from the capitalists, the CDU has been determined to do away with the Social-Democrats.

For their part, the Social-Democrats are trying to convince everyone that the economic crisis is already over. Using statistics that cited the pick-up in the light consumer industries, Economics Minister Karl Schiller declared that the worst recession since the war was coming to an end.

In a recent speech before leading German industrialists and Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Novikov, Schiller predicted that there will be a two or three percent growth in the economy by the end of 1972.

But Schiller carefully avoided discussion of the heavy capital investments industries—the backbone of a modern economy—where the trend toward shutdown and recession is becoming more pronounced. The very heart of the world economic crisis is expressing itself ever more sharply in the area of capital investments, where the capitalists will pour money only when they are confident of the long-term return of their investment. But rising costs and—above all else—Nixon's August 15 measures which ended the con-



West German Chancellor Willy Brandt (left, standing) and his Finance Minister Karl Schiller. Top, Brandt's Foreign Minister, Walter Scheel, speaks with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Above, German Stalinists at recent annual party conference.



vertibility of the dollar, thus creating international monetary chaos, have destroyed the conditions which favor economic expansion.

The businessmen were not satisfied with Schiller's remarks, one of the magnates calling it a "major nonpolicy speech." Noting Schiller's rosy contention that a revival of German trade will solve all problems, Hugo Rupf, the chairman of the mechanical engineering industry, stated: "A success on all foreign markets can be achieved today with enormous difficulty and often only at a cost of breaking even or operating in the red."

While the industrialists politely—for the benefit of Novikov—welcomed trade expansion with Eastern Europe, they continually argued that the monetary chaos unleashed by Nixon unweighed any gains the Stalinists might offer.

CONNOLLY

So serious is the situation that last week the chairman of the German Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, lashed out at the economic nationalism of the United States, and accused Secretary of Treasury John Connolly of "Texas hip-shooting."

Von Amerongen declared that Washington "has done nothing to demand the dollar's parity and to initiate genuine long run economic stability measures." He asked for "a good will declaration of intention to return to convertibility from which Washington is shying away."

Without that commitment—which Nixon has refused to give—the German

economy can do nothing to arrest its downward plunge. All the economic indicators show no turn in the heavy industry section of the economy that has been steadily weakening. Even the Federation of German Industries (BDI) refuted the optimistic statements made by Schiller.

the Social-Democrats into profound crisis.

An expression of the movement of the working class is the growth of the German Communist Party (DKP). Since emerging from a 12-year period of illegality in 1968, the DKP is gaining strength within the trade unions and among the university students.

However, while larger sections of the working class look toward the DKP for an alternative to the bankrupt policies of Brandt's Social-Democrats, the DKP is straining to serve as the left-cover of the SPD and the trade union bureaucracy.

Besides serving as an enthusiastic chorus for Brandt's "Ostpolitik," the DKP played a key role in last December's metal workers strike. It carefully supported the efforts of the Social-Democrats to end the strike and bail out the desperate industrialists.

In the words of one trade union bureaucrat, the DKP "was delightfully quiet" during the strike. "They conformed absolutely to the policies of the IG Metall union."

In this period, the DKP is attempting to preserve the structure of the Social-Democratic-Free Democratic government. The detente negotiated by Brandt and Walter Scheel (FDP leader) with the Kremlin is a critical part of the attempt to tie the working class to the European bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, the Soviet bureaucracy is seeking to expand its trade ties with Europe in order to find an easy way out of the difficulties caused by the fact that it has become a break on the expansion of the planned economy.

Kurt Bachmann, secretary of the DKP, outlined the aims of his party in an article written in the *World Marxist Review*, brazenly entitled "Faithful to Workers' Cause."

The recent congress of the DKP, he writes, "called on the country's democratic and peaceloving forces to uphold together the following measures indispensable to a further relaxation of tensions:

"—immediate ratification by the Bundestag of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland;

"—constructive participation of the Federal Republic of Germany in preparations for a European conference on security and in the work of the conference;

"—admission of both German states to the UN;

"—recognition of the German Democratic Republic as an equal, independent and sovereign state;

"—the adoption of specific disarmament measures."

This is a program of betrayal from start to finish. It is addressed above all to the European bourgeoisie and its interests. The movement of the German working class—so pronounced since the December strike of the metal workers—is of tremendous importance to the European proletariat, and is a decisive contribution to the struggle against European capitalism.

It is this movement that Bachmann is pledged to contain. The DKP wishes to strangle the German workers, at the point where they are first expressing their awesome might, within the tentacles of "security conferences," the UN, etc., all of which exist only to preserve the rule of capital.

Most criminal of all, the DKP renounces the struggle to unify the German working class within the historic borders of its development. The DKP accepts the reactionary division of Germany by the imperialists with the collaboration of Stalin after the defeat of Hitler.

That the DKP has absolutely no intention of fighting to bring the working class to power was expressed in an almost anecdotal episode when Bachmann was asked if he desired a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Bachmann replied: "Dictatorship is a word of latin origin, and I love the German language."

Pointing out that the capital equipment goods industry is still depressed, a spokesman from the BDI warned that "The consumer alone is not capable of bringing about an upswing in the business cycle."

Another spokesman of the leading German industrialists sharply disagreed with Schiller's analysis of the economic situation. Rolf Audouard, executive secretary of the Association of German Mechanical Engineering Industry (VDMA), cited the low level of domestic demand for new machinery, which indicates that few capitalists are thinking in terms of expansion.

In other sections of the most important industries, the reports coming in are just as gloomy. "A mood of black pessimism has been hanging over German boardrooms," reported the magazine *Fortune* in its March issue.

Two of Germany's leading corporations, Volkswagen and Zeiss Ikon, were forced to announce drastic measures because of the crisis. The makers of the Beetle have cut the 1971 dividends by 50 percent, following Volkswagen's failure to make any profit on its domestic operation. Zeiss Ikon revealed that it is planning to close its 3,000 man Stuttgart plant early next year.

The attempts of the West German capitalists to meet this crisis by—in the words of Franz-Josef Strauss—"taming the trade unions"—has met tremendous opposition from the working class. It is the militancy of the workers, fully recovered from the Hitler period, that is throwing

TORIES. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Bill when it was proposed to the Parliament and after it became the law. Since August, it has been the position of the TUC that the trade unions need merely ignore the act in order to avoid its effects.

REFORMIST

This policy was put forward as a reformist substitute for the fight to make the Tories resign, and to return to power a Labour government pledged to socialist programs.

Now, faced with the Tory offensive, the TUC is admitting that it is absurd to ignore the Act. But what they propose is that the Act be fought through the Courts—in the Industrial Relations Court itself. In other words, on the terms of the Tories.

JONES

The leadership of the railway men has accepted the "cooling-off" period. And T&GWU General Secretary Jack Jones has called upon the dockers to end their boycott. This open capi-

tulation now is encountering the sharpest resistance of the workers themselves.

Latest reports indicate that the railway men have not ended their "work-to-rule" action. And the dockers are, in the words of one militant, "prepared to fight to the last."

RETREAT

The Tories understand the meaning of the confrontation with the dockers and railway workers. Every capitalist paper in Britain is gloating over the retreat of the TUC, insisting that the Tories move in for the kill.

A massive campaign to frighten the middle class is being conducted in the press. With the naked hypocrisy that the British capitalists have cultivated over the past 300 years, they are telling the middle class that the unions are inciting "lawlessness" by defending their rights.

If the trade union bureaucracy had shown only one-tenth of the determination of the Tories, the Industrial Relations Act would have been swept away with this Government many months ago.

ECONOMY. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

the advice of a productivity expert by the name of John B. M. Place, who came to Anaconda from the Chase Manhattan Bank.

An official of Anaconda spoke in glowing terms of Place, stating: "He's given some strong medicine to Anaconda and it's beginning to pay off."

The productivity drive is just getting under way. It was reported last week that President Nixon is dissatisfied with the "lack of dedication" of American workers who have resisted the brutal speed-ups that the money-hungry capitalists are now seeking to impose.

PRODUCTIVITY DRIVE

The full weight of the government apparatus is being mobilized for the productivity drive. Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire, a leading liberal Democrat, termed productivity gains "very disappointing." And liberal Republican Jacob Javits urged Nixon to "undertake a well-coordinated productivity drive."

Not willing to have his own dedication called into question, I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, asserted that the main task ahead is "getting the great American productivity machine in operation."

While the liberals are covering their remarks with phoney concern for the drudgery that workers face on the assembly line and insisting that the job should be made more interesting, they—no less than the most right-wing conservatives—demand that workers start working harder.

PROFIT

Driving wages down and increasing the workload has become Administration policy as it arrogantly defends the corporation's right to super-profits. Responding to criticisms about the Price Board's happy acceptance of the profit reports and its refusal to impose a profit ceiling, Chairman C. Jackson Grayson stated:

"It's important to get profit rates up from where they were. Without that, there's no incentive for business to invest, and without investment you don't get jobs."

The continued stagnation of the economy, in spite of all the reckless attempts by Nixon to revive its pulse, underscores the deteriorating conditions that confront the world bourgeoisie.

Even the superficial movement of the economy that lay beneath the slight growth in the GNP has been purchased at the expense of destroying the very fabric of the post-war stabilization of the capitalist system. Almost by the hour, one can measure the deeper impact of Nixon's decision to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold.

THREAD

The international monetary system is hanging by a thread. After a certain revival of spirits last week caused by four consecutive days of a good showing by the dollar on the market, speculators were thrown into panic at the end of the week by a sudden downward trend that left the dollar in a weak position.

VIETNAM. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

capital city of An Loc. Ever American military sources are admitting that there is little hope left for the 8000 ARVN troops positioned in the city.

In the Mekong Delta, the southern-most portion of Vietnam, the NLF has commenced devastating shelling. U.S. General Creighton Abrams had often boasted that the NLF had been "cleaned" out of the area.

HUE

Fire Base Bastogne, a strategic camp that guards the southwest entrances into the city of Hue, is now surrounded by the NLF.

The NLF has opened new fronts in the Central Highlands, and it appears likely that the North Vietnamese and Vietcong will soon overrun strategic strongholds.

The military performance of the Saigon army has hardly been impressive up until now, but with the intensification of the NLF the roof is beginning to cave in. President Thieu, who already committed his palace guard into the battle of An Loc, is simply running out of soldiers to counter the

But the TUC is in full retreat, more interested in containing the upsurge within the ranks than defeating the Government.

The just released Widgery report on the Bloody Sunday massacre in Ireland completely absolves the British troops who murdered 13 young workers in Londonderry on January 30th. The open approval of what was a deliberate and planned massacre of peaceful demonstrators means that the Tories are making no secret of their plans to bring in dictatorship and repression. This is what they will do in Britain.

SLL

The Socialist Labour League, the only Trotskyist organization in Britain, has consistently fought for the mobilization of the working class to force a new election to replace the Tories with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. It is through the constant fight to expose the Labour and trade union leaderships that the SLL is preparing the working class for its revolutionary tasks.

An appeal was made recently by Hideo Sazuki, executive director of the International Monetary Fund, to the effect that Nixon reconsider his world financial policies in order to prevent total economic chaos.

1930's

He warned that the probable unwillingness of the United States' trading partners to finance "whatever deficit the U.S. authorities might incur" as long as there is no backing to the outflowing currency notes could cause counter-measures "which would remind us of the economic warfare of the 1930's."

But the appeal has fallen on deaf ears. As it must be under capitalism when there is no way out of an economic disaster in the long run, the bourgeoisie of each nation thinks only in the short run. And a leading Chicago banker was thinking in just such terms when he commented: "I hope the dollar won't ever return to gold convertibility."

PRIMARIES. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

they did not actively campaign—expressed the polarization within the traditional Democratic coalition patched together during the New Deal.

With almost all the votes counted in Pennsylvania Humphrey won with 35 percent of the vote, Wallace received 21 percent, McGovern—trailing Wallace by only a few votes—also received 21 percent, and Muskie got a poor 20 percent.

The results in Massachusetts were: McGovern 49 percent, Muskie 22 percent, Wallace 9 percent, and Humphrey came in last with 8 percent.

In Pennsylvania, Humphrey's victory was based entirely on the all-out support given to his candidacy by the trade union bureaucracy. The regular party machine, which supported Muskie, was unable to drum up votes on its own.

The bureaucracy's support of Humphrey was doubly reactionary and dangerous not only because it seeks to contain the movement of the working class within the capitalist parties but also because it offers a bankrupt strategy for exposing and defeating Wallace.

BREAKING POINT

Relations between the Democrats and the working class are at the breaking point as is reflected in the fact that the

UAW did not invite any announced Democrat to speak at its convention. At this point no Democrat is able to find a solid constituency among workers. This is what Humphrey was referring to when he compared the primaries to "walking through a mine field."

Wallace's strength in Pennsylvania is the other side of the disintegration of the Democratic Party. As his rally in Pittsburgh demonstrated he is grouping around himself all the middle class elements thrown into hysteria by the crisis. A Bulletin reporter described Wallace's appearance in Pittsburgh:

"The rally which filled about a third of the 13,000 seat Civic Arena, was preceded by a march of anti-busing forces. Also present at the rally were a number of leafleters from the National Association of White People and representatives of the Constitutional Party a racist group which bases itself on small businessmen.

Wallace claimed labor support by presenting a member from something called the National Association of Hard Hats. The Fraternal Order of Police endorsed Wallace.

"In a brief speech Wallace demagogically attacked the Democrats while offering no program of his own."



Young Socialists march in New York April 22 to demand that the trade union movement organize to create a labor party.

numerous NLF thrusts.

The critical signs of an impending collapse were given last week when a trusted ARVN division retreated ignominiously from the district capital of Hoia An in Binh Dinh province.

This developing disaster for American imperialism is not just confined to Vietnam. Once again, the NLF has captured strategic positions in Cambodia, and it occupies Route 1 which connects Saigon with Phnom Penh.

The bombing raids by B-52's continued throughout the week as Defense Secretary Melvin Laird promised that the U.S. would take "whatever military action is necessary" against the North.

DEFEAT

Faced with defeat, the American ruling class is prepared to descend to the very depths of savagery to maintain its hold on Vietnam. Commenting on the bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi, Nixon expressed the brazen arrogance of the capitalist class as he jovially asserted: "When they jump on you, you have to let them have it."

Speaking before the Foreign Relations Committee of the

Senate, Melvin Laird was asked by what authority Nixon had ordered the resumption of bombing over the North.

"It's the protection of American personnel," he replied. "You don't need any more authority than that. It's sufficient, it's complete, and total. There should be no question about it."

POWER

In other words, the banks and the corporations—speaking through their mouthpieces in the Nixon Administration—are telling one and all that there is no power or authority to whom the interests of imperialism will defer. The Congress, they are saying, can debate to its heart's content; but the war in Vietnam will go on.

The statements of Nixon and Laird should be carefully considered by the working class. They are speaking the language of men who are planning if necessary the all-out invasion of Vietnam with half a million or even a million American soldiers.

There are reliable, though unconfirmed, reports that mili-

tary bases throughout the United States have been activated for possible service.

It would be dangerous to assume that Nixon "wouldn't dare" to put the troops back into Vietnam because the national elections are only seven months away. We warn that the interests of imperialism hold greater power over Nixon than even his personal ambition.

Just as Johnson "blew" the election by escalating in the higher interests of imperialism, Nixon will take the same course.

A high Administration spokesman stated that Nixon ordered the bombing of the North against the counsels of his political advisers.

FEAR

It is only his fear of the American working class that is holding Nixon back.

But when their vital interests are threatened, as Laird put it, they will do what is necessary.

Only the political mobilization of the American working class in a labor party to replace the Democrats and Republicans can stop the war and ensure the victory of the NLF.

Despite Stalinist Leadership**Thousands March For NLF Victory In SF**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Approximately 20,000 people marched here in the April 22 anti-war protest. The overwhelming majority were college students mobilized by the Stalinist April 22 Coalition around the seven point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam.

This demonstration followed a series of militant protests on a number of Bay Area campuses which saw thousands march at U.C. Berkeley and resulted in the arrest of several hundred at Stanford.

A large number of the demonstrators were marching for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and the victory of the NLF. It was precisely these sentiments and the enthusiasm and confidence generated by the offensive in Vietnam that the Stalinists sought to channel into harmless

protest.

In reality, these protests supported the call for a renewal of the Paris talks and the setting up of a coalition government in Vietnam.

The April 22 Coalition is a combination of Stalinist groups ranging from the CP to the ultra-Maoist Venceremos. That they were able to lead thousands of youth behind the Popular Front banners of Stalinism is due entirely to the capitulation of the Socialist Workers Party and the National Peace Action Coalition.

From the beginning, the SWP

grovelled before the Stalinists begging for support to their Los Angeles protest march. At the end, the SWP was actually supporting the San Francisco march.

They totally liquidated their own Los Angeles campaign and refused to raise a word of criticism of the Stalinists. The result was that in San Francisco they were literally unable to rally the forces to fill one bus to Los Angeles.

Their line was so opportunist that they were completely discredited among militant youth and the Stalinists were able to appear to be to their left identifying themselves with the NLF and encouraging all manner of adventures and student power protests, while denouncing the SWP for its single issue bankruptcy.

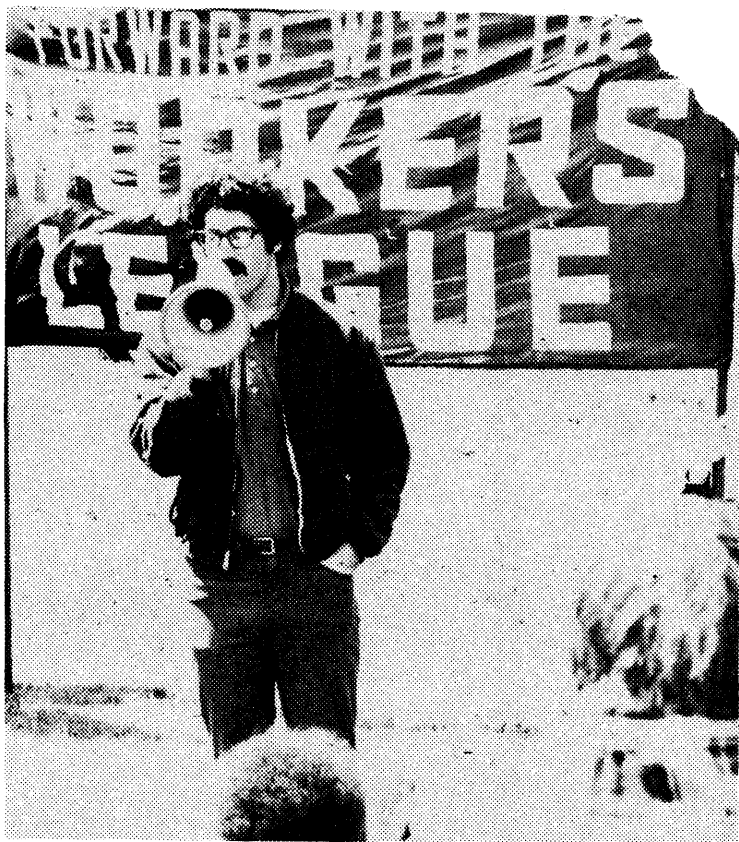
DIVERSION

Even the bourgeois press, recognizing that a more militant sounding diversion was necessary to contain the youth, joined in the attack on the "sectarian" NPAC and provided massive publicity to the Stalinist march.

The CP had no difficulty in supporting all sorts of militant rhetoric and protest actions because they were certain that none of this overstepped the bounds of pressure politics and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

An entire menagerie of Stalinist groups from Venceremos, to the R.U., to PL joined with the middle class radicals to act as errand boys for the CP. They never once criticized the CP or even mentioned Nixon's forthcoming visit to Moscow.

Pabloism is no question of an-



Young Socialists held demonstrations in San Francisco (above and below left) and Los Angeles to support NLF against U.S. imperialism.

cient history. The SWP, with its eye fixed on the "new radicalization" and scoffing at any mention of Stalinism, finds itself completely isolated on the campuses and unable to act as anything but a cheering squad for a Stalinist march.

Their capitulation opens the way for Stalinism onto the campuses where they had very little strength before.

ALTERNATIVE

Only the Workers League and the Young Socialists fought for an alternative to this betrayal. Marching with contingents of youth from San Jose, Palo Alto, San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland and Pittsburg, the WL and YS raised banners and chants

fighting for the independence of the working class and centering on the need for the working class to break from the capitalist parties and launch a labor party.

At the end of the march, the WL-YS contingent broke off and held an independent rally. Speakers stressed the enormity of the crisis now opening up for capitalism signified by the tremendous offensive in Vietnam and Nixon's desperate measures. They emphasized the need today to develop the Young Socialists in a turn to the struggle to bring the working class onto the road to power.

The fight for this intervention has laid the basis for the rapid development of the YS throughout the Bay Area.

**Bridges Offers To Shelve ILWU Pay**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—If longshoremen had any doubts about the real intentions of the Bridges' leadership towards the Pay Board fight, everything is now out in the open.

The ILWU leadership has proposed to the PMA that all increases slashed by the Pay Board be put in escrow for distribution at a later point when regulations permit payment.

Needless to say, the Pay Board immediately informed the PMA that such a step was illegal. Looking for any out, the union proposed that the PMA increase manning scales for the life of the contract to make up for the money lost. The PMA of course made short shrift of that.

Now the ILWU leadership has decided to carry on the fight by taking the escrow decision to court, charging that the Pay Board has acted illegally.

In other words, with the union tied up by the Pay Board, Bridges proposes to stall and tie it up still further in the courts.

One docker told the Bulletin that the pay cut is not the only blow being struck at the union. He reported being fired for taking too long for a coffee break and maintained that since the strike there has been a general tightening of discipline and

speed-up with the PMA depending on government intervention and the scarcity of work to hold back any fight.

This same worker reported that safety conditions are deteriorating as well. "The PMA passes out hard hats and now expects us to do things we would not do before."

OUTRAGE

A few weeks ago, dockers chased federal investigators out of their hall. These snoops were looking for evidence of stolen cargo to attack the union still further. The outrage of the ranks was expressed as at least fifty dockers poured out of the hall to see these spies off.

On every front the government and the PMA are working hand in hand to strangle the union and destroy every gain. Dockers will be able to answer these attacks only through a political fight to defeat the government with the formation of a labor party that can unite the entire labor movement in a fight for power.

ANGELA DAVIS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

Another letter, which was read into the hearing and printed in all the local newspapers before a judgement was even made, was removed by a Soledad guard from an envelope addressed to Jackson from his lawyer. The defense maintained this violated a sacred privilege of confidentiality between an attorney and his client.

DISMANTLE

The prosecution tried at first to have the defense motion dismissed by referring to a recent law which required such motions to be made prior to the beginning of the trial. This new legislation is part of the dismantling of the court system, where sweeping changes in laws of evidence are being made to favor the police and the prosecution.

Arnason did not rule by this law. Instead he declared all seizures legal, adding that prisoners have no rights to invade. Harris is now proceeding with his case as he intended.

In a recent interview in the Militant, Howard Moore, co-chief defense counsel for Angela Davis, compared the work of the Angela Davis Defense Committee to that of the Inter-

national Labor Defense in its fight for Sacco and Vanzetti. Many similarities exist between this case and the political frame-up against two working class leaders, and the role of the defense is particularly illuminating.

After the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, there developed a split between the Defense Committee and the ILD. The ILD knew that the defense could not be confined to the narrow groove of legal technicalities and in-

stead relied on the struggles of the working class to defend militants, always warning against the dangers of the liberals and any reliance upon them.

TREACHERY

In contrast, the Boston Defense Committee, exactly as the Davis Defense Committee today, relied on bourgeois justice, rather than the movement of the working class, and their treachery was exposed in their dependence on the capitalist class.

U CAL . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

vices." In the face of imminent jailings this policy leaves strikers absolutely defenseless.

From the moment the University began its anti-labor drive, Groulx has made one retreat after the other. Now the very life of the unions is on the line, and Groulx is preparing to abandon strikers to Reagan's courts and jails.

Groulx and the union bureaucracy must not be allowed to betray this strike. The unions have the power to win this strike, but it can only be done in defiance of the courts and with the full strength of the labor movement.

Already, on Thursday, U.C. Medical Center in San Francisco was struck. Last night a court injunction was issued against the San Francisco strike.

Every campus in the University system has suffered from the same broken agreements and cutbacks that provoked the strikes at Berkeley and San Francisco.

The Central Labor Council must place the full strength of Alameda County Labor at the disposal of U.C. strikers.

Groulx's dependence on the Democratic politicians delayed strike action for nine months. Now his trust in the courts threatens the existence of the unions.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN. WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103. PHONE 415-771-1100



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U Cal Workers Defy Reagan

BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—University of California employees enter the second week of a strike faced with an injunction and mass jailings.

The strike, led by the building tradesmen, erupted last Friday. The last ditch efforts of Richard Groulx, Central Labour Council secretary, to put off a strike had failed.

Monday, the University was ringed with union pickets. One building tradesman said: "The leaders have held off strike action when they knew that was all Reagan would listen to. Now the rank and file have taken over." This attitude of determination and militancy pervades the strike.

Despite this solidarity, the union leaders have refused to release strike sanction. Instead, Groulx is calling the strike a "protest."

Many union members claim that Groulx is merely using a

"verbal maneuver" to avoid court action against the unions. But, as of Monday evening, this myth was exploded when the University retained a preliminary injunction.

By the end of the week, over 180 injunctions had been issued to individual pickets, and at least 30 citations for contempt of court had been served.

These citations can result in

indefinite jail sentences. There is no doubt that the University plans to break the strike through the use of mass arrests and jailings.

In the face of this, Groulx still refuses to release strike sanction. He continues to claim that there is no strike, and that the work stoppage is due to "individuals withholding their ser-

(Continued On Page 19)

Judge Breaks Law On Angela Letters

BY ANN LORE

SAN JOSE—The class nature of the Angela Davis trial was clearly revealed when Judge Arnason struck down a defense motion to suppress letters allegedly written by Angela to George Jackson. The admission of these letters is absolutely critical to the elaborate frame-up by the state against Angela.

For it is through these letters that Prosecutor Albert Harris intends to show that Angela Davis planned the escape attempt on August 7, 1970 and supplied the weapons because of a passionate love for Soledad Brother George Jackson. So far in the trial, the prosecution has not produced any evidence or testimony linking Angela to the shootout at the Marin County Civic Center.

The defense maintains that these documents, if written by

Angela at all, were all seized illegally and therefore inadmissible. Several were removed from her Los Angeles apartment shortly after August 7 by the FBI who were searching for information concerning her whereabouts. These are photocopies, and no one has said where the originals are.

A lengthy 18 page letter, and a series of unsigned letters were removed from Jackson's cell without a search warrant, after he was murdered at San Quentin.

(Continued On Page 19)

EDITORIAL

Call Labor Party To Fight Union Busting

Bay Area labor is now threatened with the loss of every right which the trade union movement has won.

Striking University of California workers are being hunted down and handed citations that threaten them with jail for the "illegal" act of defending their jobs by striking.

Workers who face as much as 40 percent reductions in pay through reclassifications are told that they have no right to fight back.

These attacks come at the same time that an Alameda County court has fined striking Teamster bottlers \$41,000 on 82 counts of contempt by "violence, vandalism and mass picketing."

Pepsi Cola was fined \$1500 for minor disruptions such as pulling guns on pickets and attempting to drive into them with cars just to show that the judge was fair.

Judge Kroninger accused union officials of not controlling the ranks.

"One can't be permitted to uncage a tiger and then throw up his hands, claiming that he shouldn't be held responsible because he no longer has control of it.

"If a union has chosen to unleash its members it has got to do something more than stand by."

Judge Kroninger apparently considers trade unionists to be animals and the union officials to be their keepers and held strictly responsible for their actions.

The court clearly intends to bankrupt the unions and prepare to jail its leadership in order to defend the right of the beverage producers to move scab cargo.

In effect, both of these cases are part of a preparation to reduce the unions to little more than benevolent societies with no rights whatsoever to defend the membership.

The striking teamsters have been out for four and a half months. This attack means total defeat if allowed to go through.

A few months ago striking longshoremen called for a Congress of Labor to defeat government intervention. That Congress was never called and today they work without a contract and with every condition under attack.

It is time to carry out that resolution by convening such a Congress and not only mobilizing the unions in defensive action but taking the offensive by launching a fight for a labor party to smash these attacks.

STOP PRESS. SAN FRANCISCO, April 25—Jack Goldberger Regional Director of the Teamsters last night threatened to call a general strike against the bottling companies and the employers in the five-month old Teamsters Bottler strike.

The strike has been broken with armed guards and attacks on striking picketers. Goldberger also threatened to arm Teamsters pickets and their squad cars.

Fascists Destroy NPAC Office

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—In a vicious attack, the National Peace Action Coalition office here was burnt down last week by arsonists.

A small group of people broke into the second story window and threw paint thinner onto the furnace which ignited it. Had the fire started an hour earlier the whole block would have gone up in smoke. As it was, over \$3,000 of equipment was lost in the blaze.

This attack is no isolated individual act as the people at NPAC want to believe. It is no mistake that this attack follows by a little less than a year a similar fire set at another San Francisco NPAC office, just days before the April 24 marches. There seems to be little doubt that both fires were set by the same people.

The Stalinists' reaction to this is to prevent NPAC from even mentioning the fire at meetings of the PCPJ. At Stanford one NPAC speaker was refused the floor after he had made it clear to the PCPJ leadership that all he would do is inform those at the

meeting of the fire.

At San Francisco State College, the Student Mobilization Committee was refused permission to speak even after making it known that the SMC was now mobilizing people to go to the PCPJ rally instead of the Los Angeles rally.

The SMC's were finally allowed a short announcement only after calling the PCPJ office and

pleading their case with an official of PCPJ.

The response to the arsonists' attack by NPAC has been to move into a building almost entirely surrounded by plate glass windows. Every move of anyone inside can be seen from the street.

It is clear that these attacks on NPAC are not separated from the crisis of capitalism today.

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