

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER

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INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER SIXTY 269

NOVEMBER 13, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



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Answer Nixon's Anti-Labor Plans---

Call A Congress Of Labor

BY TIM STEVENS

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What Nixon has in store for the unions is revealed in a recently uncovered memo from Assistant Secretary of Labor, R.J. Grunewald to his Director of Planning, Michael Moskow, entitled: "Plans for the Next Four Years," where five "alternative strategies" were outlined for breaking up the construction unions.

The proposals in the secret memo are aimed at destroying the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act, which require that union wages be paid on all federal and federally assisted building projects.

The first "alternative strategy" outlined in the memo would allow the government to determine the "prevailing wage" for construction workers in a given area, in such a way that federal construction contractors would have to pay whatever wages were being paid to workers on non-government projects in progress at the time of determination.

This would mean that if a majority of the construction projects underway at the time of the determination were non-union operations, the prevailing wage for the following year would be the non-union wage.

DAVIS-BACON

The second "alternative strategy" is to exempt all government construction contracts of

less than \$100,000 from Davis-Bacon coverage. The current threshold for coverage is \$2000.

This would allow any contractor on a government project costing less than \$100,000 not to pay union wages. Further, projects of more than \$100,000 could be split up among several contractors to avoid Davis-Bacon

(Continued On Page 18)

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Expansion
Drive**

**Must Reach
Three-Quarter
Mark**

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The following branches have reached or exceeded the half way goal: Brownsville, Bushwick, Chelsea, Upper West Side,

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Political Committee Statement On The Elections

With the election of Nixon, the labor movement in the United States now faces an urgent situation. Nixon has the blueprint for the onslaught on the unions. The secret memorandum on the construction unions is a grave warning of what the government will implement now.

- Pay Board: The guidelines will be slashed to three percent or below. Unions striking for more will be hit with court injunctions. Any increase granted will be tied to increased speed-up. These are steps in preparation for driving all workers down to minimum wage as outlined for the construction unions.

- Inflation: Prices and taxes will continue to soar as wages are frozen.

- Anti-labor laws: The first order of business for Nixon in Congress is the Packwood bill outlawing strikes in transportation. A Commission for Industrial Peace will be set up to force compulsory arbitration, deny the right to collective bargaining and destroy the independence of the unions. Right to work laws will be pushed nationally.

- Unemployment: With the drive for productivity and the closure of plants, millions of workers will be added to the unemployment rolls. Nixon will consciously use unemployment now to break the unions.

- Democratic Rights: Contingency plans are already readied against the press as well as against all the basic rights the unions have won. Nixon has gathered his band of rightists, spies and provocateurs to be used against the unions.

- Racism: The anti-busing campaign in this election to stir up racism will now be turned against the unions to try to pit Black workers against white workers under conditions of massive unemployment.

Nixon must be answered and he must be answered now. The labor movement must immediately convene a Congress of Labor to answer these attacks. Every trade unionist and every trade union must participate in this congress. Every trade unionist must begin right now to fight to pass a resolution in his local for the calling of this congress.

The Congress of Labor must first prepare immediately general strike action against the Pay Board to continue until it is dismantled.

The Congress of Labor must begin right now the organization of a labor party using all the resources of the unions for the next election.

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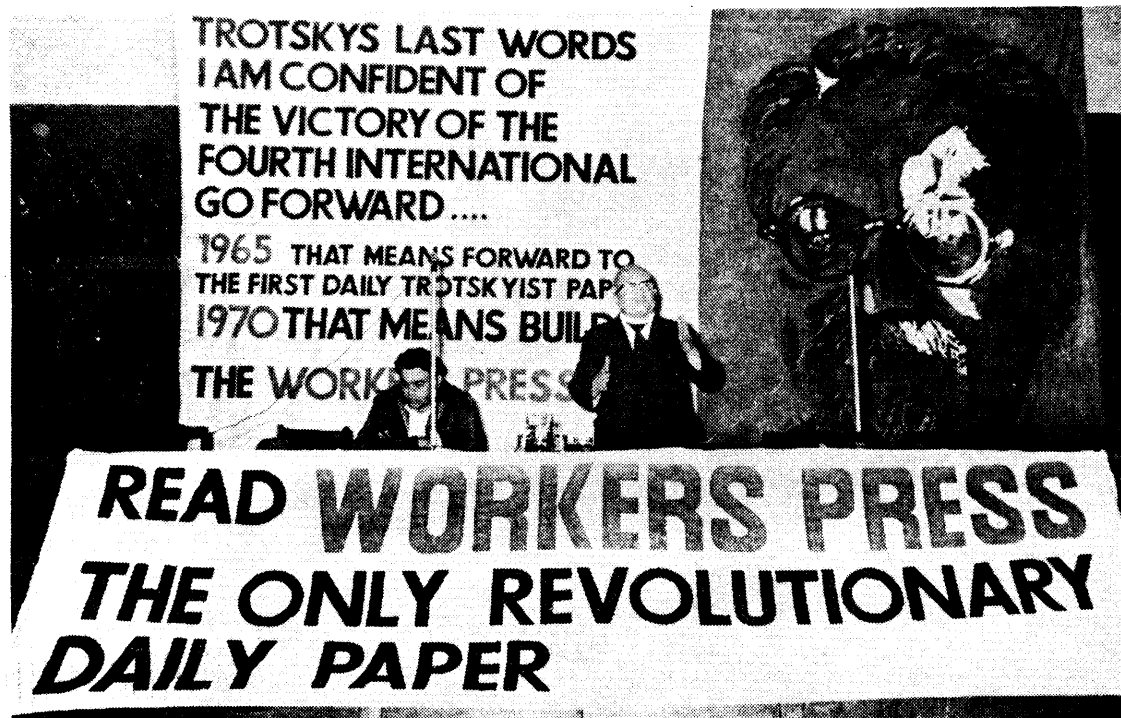
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Gerry Healy, National Secretary of British Socialist Labour League, speaks in London. He exposed the reactionary nature of Losey's film "The Assassination of Trotsky," to meeting of 500 workers.

NDP Ranks Demand New Canada Election

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MONTREAL—The final results of the Canadian federal election have left a stalemate in Parliament. Both the Tories and the Liberals have 109 seats each.

In the House of Commons with 264 members, neither party has enough seats to rule. One hundred and thirty three or more are needed.

This situation puts the balance of power in the hands of the New Democratic Party, with 30 seats. The Social Credit Party, with 14 seats, all from Quebec, cannot affect the voting crucially one way or the other.

The NDP finds itself in the

position of the balance of power because of the votes of two million workers for them in the election. Large sections of the trade union movement are now demanding that the NDP fight for a new election. The NDP is in a position to bring down the government.

Under the circumstances of the split between the Liberals and the Tories, Trudeau has decided to remain in power at least until

the convening of Parliament, probably as late as January.

Trudeau can only remain in power after that as long as he receives support either from the Tories or the NDP. Literally within minutes of Trudeau's announcement to remain in power, NDP leader David Lewis addressed the same press conference and offered the Liberals his support.

He said that as long as the Liberals came forward with "progressive measures," he will support them. He described Trudeau as a "much chastened man," who had "learned his lesson from the elections."

What lessons Trudeau had learned became clear the very next day when the Liberals decided to reject all applications for landed immigrant status by foreigners presently in Canada. This reactionary measure is designed to divide immigrant and Canadian workers by blaming immigrants for unemployment in Canada.

Lewis' talk of progressive measures from the government that passed the War Measures Act is a fraud. Trudeau will try to implement the Tory program of a wage freeze and a strike ban, while increasing the attacks on the unemployed.

Lewis, who has supported the breaking of dock strikes, and called for wage "restraints" by the unions, above all fears directly challenging the capitalist parties for power.

Whole sections of the Liberal Party can go directly over to the Tories. Such a coalition of forces could then take power with an absolute majority in Parliament, and proceed with the Tory program of dismantling the trade unions.

The trade unions must force the NDP to break from any support for any capitalist party. The NDP must be forced to fight for new elections and to bring down this government.

In a situation of the breakup of the Liberal Party, and the vicious anti-union program of the Tories, the NDP can take power based only on a program of socialist policies to defend workers' rights.

Bolivian Unions Battle Banzer Dictatorship

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Bolivian workers organized massive demonstrations in the streets of La Paz last week to protest the 40 percent devaluation of the peso by Hugo Banzer's right-wing regime.

At an extraordinary session of trade unions, an eight hour general strike was called. Carrying banners that denounced the government as "fascist and anti-union," workers stopped traffic at the city's center.

STRIKE

One worker was killed and several wounded when the police fired into crowds. Workers responded to this violent repression by calling a 24 hour general strike the next day. Fighting was

reported in the working class sections of La Paz.

The upsurge within the Bolivian working class, little more than a year after the overthrow of the Torres regime and the defeat of the working class for which the centrist POR shares great responsibility, reflects the movement of workers throughout South America. Banzer's regime has been unable to break the resistance of Bolivian workers.



NLF representative Madame Binh

Tories Put Freeze On Wages As Pound Collapses

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The Tory government of British Prime Minister Heath has imposed a 90 day wage freeze on the British working class following the breakdown of talks with the trade unions on voluntary wage restraint last Friday.

While the Heath measure is billed as both a wage and price freeze, virtually all key food products from fruits to meats are exempt as are the rents of furnished apartments, new houses and a host of other items.

Confronting the British working class with a massive attack on

its standard of living, the freeze leaves untouched interest rates and stock share values, while providing for virtually unlimited fines against trade unions that strike for higher wages against British employers.

While Heath in a demagogic appeal called on everyone to observe the law "regardless of their position, wealth and power," the imposition of this freeze must lead to a massive confrontation between the

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Hanoi Denounces Nixon Double-Dealing

BY DAVID NORTH

While officials of the Nixon administration continue to insist that "peace is at hand," developments on the battlefield and in Paris indicate that negotiations between North Vietnam and the United States are on the verge of collapse.

More than a week has passed since the October 31 deadline set by Hanoi for the signing of the nine point agreement, but the Nixon administration has said that it will not sign the cease-fire treaty until "minor" issues are resolved.

However, the North Vietnamese have refused to meet Henry Kissinger again, and denounced Nixon's stalling tactics:

"The statement of the President," said a member of the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris "and other statements made by American officials after October 26 reflect a refusal by the Americans to respect their engagements as well as various unjustifiable pretexts which they invoke to modify the points already agreed upon and to delay the signing of the accord."

PLOY

Far from having had serious intentions about signing an agreement, the Nixon administration staged the whole peace treaty fraud as an election ploy.

Even the nine point plan offered by North Vietnam, which made significant concessions,

cannot be accepted by Nixon because he doubts that the rotting Thieu regime could survive any coalition.

Furthermore, the latest offensive by the National Liberation Front has shown that the Thieu regime is utterly incapable of policing the outskirts of Saigon.

Dissatisfaction within the ranks of the NLF with the nine point program has been reported, and the intense drive to liberate as much area as possible reflects the determination of the workers and peasants to prevent any sellout of the revolution.

The Thieu regime was shaken last week by 42 major attacks launched by NLF units in Binhduong Province, north of Saigon. Heavy bombing by B-52s was unable to halt the NLF advance.

In the midst of the current offensive, the Thieu regime has been hit by another major scandal. It has been revealed that the entire administration of Danang, led by old Thieu cronies, have engaged in wild speculation on rice that was originally purchased for war refugees.

UAW Leaders In St. Louis Local Manipulate Vote On Secret Pact

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Following the cancellation of a second scheduled strike here against the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), the UAW Local 25 leadership was able to push through acceptance of a tentative agreement.

The settlement solves none of the basic issues facing the workers. Not one of the 12,000 Paragraph 78 speed-up grievances was settled.

There was no agreement at all on recall of the 1400 men who have been laid off as a result of the reorganization of the Chevrolet and Fisher Body divisions into one GMAD unit. There is still no local contract at this plant.

The desperate measures taken by the local leadership to push through this settlement reflect the fear by UAW president Leonard Woodcock of the mounting demand in the UAW for a nationwide strike and the efforts of the bureaucracy to defuse this explosion.

Even the limited three or four day strikes that have been called as part of the "hit and run" strategy of pressuring GMAD are now posing a danger for the International leadership, which fears a confrontation with GM and the government.

COMPLICITY

The St. Louis Local 25 leadership revealed its complicity with Woodcock in his attempt to push through this sellout. After the cancellation of the second strike, they postponed the local ratification meeting at the last minute in order to divide the membership into three local meetings: day shift, night shift, and maintenance.

The details of the agreement were not released to the men at the meetings. The only concrete agreement that was mentioned was an increase of 12 to 13 cents an hour for some of the workers at the old Chevrolet side to bring them up to the level of Fisher

Body. This wage inequity was to carry over from the pre-GMAD setup in which the Chevrolet and Fisher Body divisions had separate contracts.

However, it has also been suggested that the secret agreement, which has yet to be made public, calls for a four cent per hour wage cut for other workers.

At the conclusion of the three meetings, the local president reported that the agreement had been ratified by a 95 percent vote. But, not one member of the local interviewed by *Bulletin* reporters believed that such a figure was correct.

Workers reported that at least 60 percent of the members at the night shift meeting voted against the settlement on the grounds, as many of them put it, that they would not accept "any settlement they could not read for themselves."

COMMITTEE FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP

Members of the newly organized Local 25 Committee for a New Leadership issued and distributed a leaflet at the meetings and fought at the night shift meeting for the local to go back on strike and stay out until all Paragraph 78's were settled, all laid off men recalled and for the demand that the International call a nationwide strike against GMAD.

Since the settlement, workers in the plant report that there has been no change at all. "I must be blind," one worker told the *Bulletin*, "because I can't see any settlement on the job."

Another Local 25 member stated: "This agreement is just on the side issues. The real ones are the 78's and the layoffs. They have nothing to say about that."

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New Haven youth went to Hartford to demand bus services which are threatened by Governor Meskill's budget and job cutting policies. Bus firms now threaten bankruptcy against workers' demands.

Nixon Landslide Threatens Labor

BY THE EDITORS

The re-election of Richard Nixon last Tuesday means that the labor movement will now confront the most reactionary administration in the history of this country.

Under the pressure of a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, Nixon will launch an all-out attack on the organizations and living conditions of the working class.

Frigidaire Fires 37 For Speedup Revolt

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—In the aftermath of the Frigidaire wildcat here, 37 workers have been officially fired and speed-up continues. Arnold Thompson, president of the local, denounced the strikers and claimed there were no speed-up grievances or none had been brought to his attention.

Thompson sought to make the cause of the strike not speed-up but one of younger workers rebelling against an older leadership. The union president was forced to call a membership meeting last Sunday. Shaken by the anger of the workers, young and old, against his refusal to call a strike vote, he did a somersault.

On Monday he met with the wildcat leader, Ray Barrett, and claimed that he (Thompson), was an innocent lamb and it was all the fault of the Vice President Hector Downing. Downing has been excluded from all policy making in the local for a long time.

Nevertheless, Thompson, with an assist by Barrett, claimed to the newspapers and television that the speed-up and the disappearance of speed-up grievances were the fault of the vice president. Because of the structure of the UAW locals, the vice president is actually the last person to blame.

But this attempt to shift the blame for the local leadership's failure to fight speed-up and disciplinary layoffs has been shattered by Thompson's own "801 *Bulletin*" dated March 17, 1972. It

states: "It has been brought to our attention that Supervision in Department 227 has been attempting to add more on jobs, thereby creating a speed-up. We will be in that department to investigate this within the next few days. We do not intend to allow our members to be badgered into working beyond a normal pace." (According to workers in Department 227, Thompson never showed up there.)

This is the department that sparked the wildcat. Thompson claimed he had heard of no speed-up in this department.

Nevertheless, the Local 801 leadership has been successful thus far in preventing the steps necessary for taking a strike vote, in order to join with other GM-UAW workers who are striking against GM's all-out speed-up offensive. But the workers are refusing to be diverted by all this buck passing.

The fight against Frigidaire speed-up, suspensions and the 37 firings, as well as the union splitting wage cut can only be taken forward by the rank and file forcing a strike vote and calling for a national GM (IUE-UAW) strike.

Although his massive plurality over McGovern is an utterly false measure of Nixon's real support, he will surely feel encouraged to press ahead with his anti-labor plans during the coming months.

Above all, the Nixon sweep is a stinging indictment of the trade union bureaucracy's bankrupt support for the Democratic Party. Millions of workers did not vote for McGovern because he could not pose any alternative to Nixon's program of wage freeze, unemployment, and speed-up.

In Michigan, the heart of the UAW leadership's drive for McGovern, the Democrat suffered an overwhelming defeat.

At the same time, the heavy ticket splitting showed the deep distrust among workers of the Republican Party, and desire to place some restraint upon Nixon.

However, the relatively low voter turnout—percentage-wise the smallest since 1948—expressed the fact that most workers felt that they had no choice in this election.

The burden of responsibility for this situation rests upon the shoulders of the trade union bureaucracy, which refused to fight for the only alternative to Nixon—an American labor party.

Instead, one group of labor "leaders" led by Frank Fitzsimmons lined up behind Nixon and the Pay Board, another group led by Woodcock worked for McGovern and the disintegrating Democrats, and another led by Meany did absolutely nothing.

While these bureaucrats had no program to fight Nixon, he was lining up all the right-wing elements in the country to prepare for an attack on the trade unions.

Election returns indicate that virtually the entire Wallace vote

(Continued On Page 18)

125th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto
55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

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FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL
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IBEW Engineers Walk Out Over CBS Hiring Of Scab Labor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Hundreds of electrical workers are threatened with unemployment by the Columbia Broadcasting System, which is seeking to extend management jurisdiction over jobs currently held by members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Local 1212 began strike action last Friday afternoon following the rejection by CBS of a union proposal that would have prevented management personnel from manning new electronic devices.

"I have no doubt that the strike will last beyond Election Day," said Arthur Korff, business manager of the local. "CBS wants a new contract that would permit them to move jobs and equipment from under our jurisdiction. We're not having that."

The old contract expired October 1, and CBS is offering no more than a 5.5 percent increase, the limit set by the Pay Board.

DICTATORSHIP

"As far as I'm concerned, the Pay Board is dictatorship," one worker told the *Bulletin*, but he added that wages were not the central issue in the strike. "After we take care of the question of jobs, we'll talk about wages," he said.

Most of the workers are bitter about the refusal of the top CBS television personalities, members of the American Federation of Television and

Radio Operators (AFTRA), to honor the picket line.

Walter Cronkite, an AFTRA member, crossed the picket line Friday and appeared on television Sunday morning.

"We've always supported them, and even though they're stars, they should remember that they're union men," declared a worker. "But the way things are going, it won't be long before the shoe is on the other foot."

CBS cancelled its Sunday interviews with Spiro Agnew and George McGovern because both candidates stated that they would not cross a picket line.

"That's what they're saying two days before Election Day," said a picket captain outside CBS studios in New York. "But in one week, neither man would hesitate to break the line."

Discussing the election, not one worker expressed any enthusiasm for any of the candidates. An older worker said that he would never vote for Nixon, but added,

"The men on the line are saying that McGovern may be the lesser of two evils, but all of us are tired of voting for any of the evils."

Pay Board Tells Clerks: Give Back \$450

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—The Pay Board has just made a decision to reach into the pockets of 2100 liquor clerks from Local 1357 and take back the wage increases that were won on November 13 of last year. This represents a new stage in the thievery of the Pay Board.

The signing of the contract last November led to the increase in wages from an average of \$141 a week to \$160. At that time, the Pay Board approved the raise and guaranteed the men a 5.5 percent increase for this December.

The Pay Board now expects each liquor clerk to pay \$450 in back pay. "It is only a couple of hundred dollars," a spokesman for the Pay Board said.

"We consider it a minimal amount in comparison to what they actually collected. If the matter can't be settled with the union, we will go into court."

CP Office Firebombed

BY A REPORTER

The headquarters of the Communist Party in New York was fire-bombed Saturday night.

Molotov cocktails thrown at the building destroyed the front door, a second story window and a large Communist election campaign banner.

The fire-bombing shows the dangers that the working class now faces, and emphasizes the need to construct a labor party that will enable the trade unions to defend themselves politically.

ACCEPT

This is a clear indication that Young has decided to accept the Board's decision, by agreeing to appeal to the courts rather than rallying the entire Philadelphia labor movement into strike action against the Board.

Wendell Young has been a very busy man for the last six months. He has been running all over the city, trying to build support for McGovern in the unions. Roder told the *Bulletin*:



1199 Hospital workers fight off police attacks (14 arrested) in bitter strike to unionize Boston hospital.

Boston Police Arrest 14 Hospital Workers

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON, Mass., Nov. 6—Police yesterday arrested 14 members of Hospital Workers Union Local 1199 as they peacefully picketed Massachusetts Rehabilitation Hospital. One worker was taken into a small guardhouse nearby and beaten up.

The strike was called and round-the-clock picketing began Tuesday after the hospital employers refused to come to terms on a contract which would include wage increases and improved working conditions. Bargaining has gone on for three months since the union was first

organized at the hospital.

Three workers interviewed by the *Bulletin*, Alvaro Ladino, Fredy Sagastume and Francisco Muriel, said that the kitchen workers make only \$102 a week (before taxes) after six months, and that a wage increase was the first demand. The workers also want relief from the tremendous speed-up and bad working conditions. For every four persons needed in the kitchen, Ladino told the *Bulletin*, only three were hired.

Another worker told the *Bulletin* that the kitchen supervisor, who is known as "the Colonel" works them "like galley slaves," and has told Cuban, Colombian and Puerto Rican workers that he did not want "any more Spanish people in the

kitchen" because they all end up supporting the union drive.

This is the first hospital in Boston to be organized by 1199, and the strike has been successful in bringing out a large percentage of maintenance workers, attendants, licensed practical nurses, kitchen workers and white collar workers.

But the use of police terror on the first day of the strike shows how vicious and desperate the hospital bosses are. Just as in Philadelphia, where they murdered 1199 organizer Norman Rayford in cold blood, the employers are going all out to smash this strike before it spreads to the other hospitals throughout the city. 1199 must demand the full support of the city labor movement and the state AFL-CIO.

1199 Ranks Face Kingsbrook Cuts

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The administration at Kingsbrook hospital in Brooklyn last week announced plans to cut three staff positions from the Physical Therapy Department. The three workers affected, members of Local 1199, were promoted a year ago from the Department of Nursing.

The hospital said they would have to return to that Department with a cut in pay of about \$20 a week. This action comes only two months after the Davis leadership, against tremendous opposition in the ranks, pushed through a contract with no protection against speed-up and layoffs and with a measly wage increase of 7.5 percent.

The reason given for this action was that there was not enough work to justify the number of positions in the physical therapy section. The physical therapy aides, however, pointed out to the *Bulletin* that the number of

patients requiring treatment was as large as ever. The hospital's attempt to cut jobs through forced transfers would be extended to other departments if this move was successful.

The physical therapy aides were first told that nothing could be done by the union on the transfers with pay cuts they were facing. After some workers personally visited 1199 President Leon Davis, the union informed the hospital that pay cuts would not be allowed. At this point, the hospital is reported to be backing away from a pay cut but undecided on whether to move ahead with the transfers anyway.

The Rank and File Committee warned that acceptance of the 7.5 percent would be the signal for more attacks, that the Pay Board would lower even that amount and that the hospitals would take the refusal of the union leaders to fight as the green light for tremendous attacks on jobs and working conditions.

The job freeze instituted several years ago is now leading

to forced transfers, and soon to layoffs if action is not taken. The employers make no secret of their intention to cut more jobs. At a meeting of department heads, supervisors and union delegates at Kingsbrook several months ago, the administration warned that it might begin layoffs "as a last resort."

A campaign is needed throughout the hospitals to mandate strike action against any cut in the contract by the Pay Board, layoffs, or pay cuts at any of the hospitals.

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Defeat Nixon Unemployment Plan



Hartford youth painted a mural on a wall around a construction site to depict the high unemployment conditions which they face in the city.

Racism In Canarsie Aimed Against Workers And Youth

The Canarsie school controversy must be seen as directly linked with the campaign which the government has directed towards dividing the working class and youth.

Nixon has used the busing issue to spearhead the development of racism and to encourage the most right-wing forces against the Black and white working class.

In Canarsie, right-wingers like Dominick Andreassi, who is running for Assemblyman on the Republican and Conservative Party ticket, have been leading the racist demonstration organized against the Black students.

These Republicans and Democrats are consciously using racism to divide the working class and thereby leave it defenseless in the face of the new attacks already prepared by Nixon. The main target of it all is the destruction of the trade unions so that their new economic policy can be implemented.

This policy means a shocking rise in unemployment which was being held back until after the election. Along with this will be the lowering of the Pay Board's guidelines from the present 5.5 percent to 2.5 percent.

Youth, both Black and white, will experience not only unemployment but a rapid decline in school conditions.

The role which the Stalinist Communist Party and the revisionist Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have played throughout this period has only aided the racist forces and the government.

The CP refused to reach the white workers who are confused and being used by the Andreassis in Canarsie. They heap labels on the white workers without attempting to raise their consciousness through the exposure of the government's role.

The revisionists follow the same road as the Stalinists. Their adaptation to the CP is clearly exposed by blaming the working class for racism when in fact, it is the Democratic and Republican Parties who are responsible.

The YSA realizes that the government is using their demand of "community control" to keep the Black students out. Instead of admitting the reactionary nature of this slogan, they call for "community control of the oppressed not the oppressor."

For the SWP-YSA, the government is no longer responsible for the attacks on Blacks but rather the white working class. This is used to justify their running away from mobilizing the American working class against the government and racism.

The SWP-YSA accepts the divisions of the working class imposed by capitalism.

The Young Socialists is seeking to unite the youth against the decaying conditions in the high schools and against the growing unemployment which has hit both Black and white youth in Canarsie.

At the same time, the Young Socialists have a critical role to play by calling on the trade unions to take up this fight.

Nixon's election will be followed by the most fundamental attacks on the working class. The YS demands that the unions call a Congress of Labor to discuss how these attacks can be defeated, at which we will fight for the construction of a labor party to protect the rights of workers and youth.

The YS is fighting to build a Young Socialist branch in Canarsie to unite students on this program.

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

Nixon's landslide victory demands of the working class and youth that they fight for the unions to call for a Congress of Labor to discuss the building of a labor party to defeat Nixon's attacks.

The Republican Party received the support of everyone in big business and all of the bankers because Nixon's economic policy meets their needs.

During the last four years, Nixon's attacks on the working class have become far more ruthless as the economic crisis deepens. These attacks are a sharp warning of what is to come as the chaos in the monetary system increases.

Since 1969, the unemployment doubled to the present 5.5 percent. Even according to their figures, the unemployment in New York City rose to 6.7 percent from 4.8 percent between 1969 and 1970.

During that same period, cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles had unemployment in-

creases from 7.3 percent to 10.9 and 8.4 percent to 10.3 respectively.

Among those who have been hurt the most by the policy of the government have been students. Nixon's first administration made the unemployment of students exceed the one million mark in 1971 and 1972. While shooting up to 15.7 percent among all teenagers, among minorities over 35 percent remained unemployed.

This summer the heavily populated ghetto areas had an unemployment rate of 50 percent and over.

Every school which runs employment offices, which the Young Socialist talked to in the last year, has established that there are less and less jobs for the youth.

Many have even stated that students have just given up the search which excludes them from being classified unemployed according to government figures. All indications, despite what the Republicans and Democrats say, are that the coming months will see a sharp rise in unemployment.

The fight against unemployment must be carried out immediately. The program of the Young Socialists is the only answer to Nixon's plans. These preparations by the government will drive the conditions of life back—all the gains won will be destroyed.

A revolutionary movement of youth must be built that will fight for the unions to take action by calling a Congress of Labor for the purpose of building a labor party.

Vince Matthews: 'We Were At The Fork In The Road'

A YS EXCLUSIVE

At the Olympics in Munich last September, Vince Matthews won the gold medal for the 400-meter run; and then was expelled from the games, along with silver medal winner Wayne Collett, for refusing to stand at attention while the American national anthem was played.

Last week, Vince, who is recuperating from an operation, spoke to the Young Socialist about the events in Munich and how it has affected him:

"Not standing at attention was not a planned thing. I've been to basketball games and football games where everyone stands at attention, and I would do the same because it was the normal thing to do.

NORMAL

"But it's just that in the situation I was in, standing at attention wasn't part of the normal thing to do because it was me out there at the time.

"More or less the eyes of the world were on me: TV and the 85,000 people in the stands. And I would have felt hypocritical standing at attention, knowing some of the things that happen in the United States as far as Blacks are concerned.

"I didn't get home too long ago, and one of the first things I heard

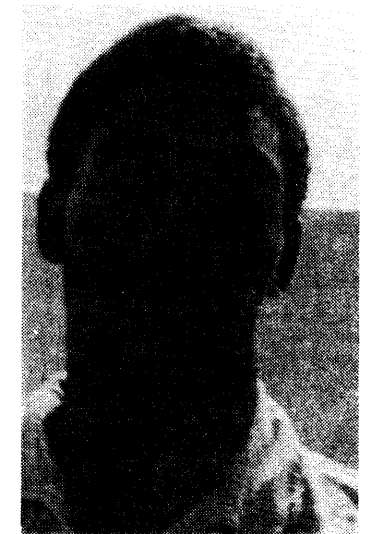
about was the Canarsie school thing. That's one of the things we have in the United States: racism popping up and dying out. It's just little incidents like that which held me from standing at attention.

"Wayne Collett was thinking basically the same thing. He said that he would have felt rotten inside standing at attention because of the knowledge he has of what goes on in the United States.

"It would have been easier for both of us to have stood at attention, and maybe we would have saved ourselves a little headache in the long run. Because while you're up there, it's like being in the fork of the road. It can go either way.

"One way, if you stand at attention, is to come home and get something like the keys to the city. Maybe General Motors will come up to you and give you a tire or something.

"And the other way, is if you don't feel you should stand at attention, is not to stand at attention—and then get ridicule and character assassinations like



Wayne and myself have been getting.

"So, when we were at the fork in the road, we chose not to stand at attention.

"As far as the press is concerned, it's lucky for both of us that we have nothing really bad in our background—like beating up an old lady—because the press has been digging into our past, trying to get information.

"But there's really not that much there. If there was an all-American type image, both of us would probably fit it. There's nothing in our past that they can exploit but they have tried.

"As for my job, that's been good. I haven't gotten any static, except that I was informed that people had called up and asked about my working at this program because it is federally funded. Since I wasn't as patriotic as I should have been—in their view—I shouldn't be working there.

"If a white athlete would have taken the same action, he would have received the same treatment."

TO BE CONTINUED

Young Socialist



Hartford students at Prince Tech walked out of the school to protest lack of teachers and books and the deterioration of the school itself.

Lack Of Teachers, No Books Sparks Hartford Walkout

BY KATHY MANKIEWICZ

HARTFORD—On Friday, November 3, most of the 900 students at Prince Tech Regional Vocational High School walked out in protest over the deteriorating conditions in the school.

Students were demanding more teachers. The school is in need of a typing teacher and gym teachers to aid the present two instructors.

Also, students at Prince were angry over the refusal of the administration to hire a librarian which has caused the library to be closed for three months. During this entire period, students have been unable to take out books.

One student asked: "How are we supposed to learn our trade if we don't have any books?" Many classes have no text books and a youth told the *Young Socialist* that many of the books they do have are so old they are hardly usable.

The demonstration pointed out the rotten physical conditions in the school. The condition of the bathrooms and "lower-level" classrooms is disgusting. These classrooms are located in the basement and were not originally intended for this use. They are poorly ventilated and poorly heated.

Students are piled into them in numbers of 50 at a time. There is a shortage of chairs and desks to accommodate all the students. One youth said: "We're so jammed in there we can hardly hear the teacher. If one kid has a cold, the whole class gets sick."

These attacks on the youth are part of the attacks on the working class as a whole. This is shown in the bleak future that

students at Prince are facing. Prince Tech teaches carpentry, masonry and plumbing which are all trades of the construction industry.

The unemployment rate in Hartford is higher than the national average and rising. The construction industry itself has unemployment figures close to 50 percent.

Students leaving Prince Tech are walking into an impossible situation which the government has prepared. A few years ago, freshman students at Prince were told that they would be guaranteed a job when they graduated. Last year in the masonry department, none of the youth received jobs.

CUTBACKS

At the same time, Governor Meskill is planning further cutbacks with his drive to streamline the Connecticut educational system. This includes cuts at the

McDonald's-Nixon Deal

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK—A few weeks ago Ray Kroc, executive head of McDonald's hamburger chain, was questioned on whether the \$250,000 donation to the Nixon campaign had anything to do with the Administration's assistance on a sub-minimum wage for youth. Most of the workers at McDonald's are teenagers.

Kroc answered that this had "something to do with it but not all of it."

University of Connecticut.

The Young Socialists is the only movement calling on the unions to build a labor party that will defend the interests of the students, youth, and unemployed. This is the only weapon that can counter the attacks that the Democratic and Republican parties have waged against the living conditions of the entire working class.

At the demonstration, over 100 *Bulletins* were sold and several youth joined the YS.

'Recreation? That's All Out'

BY KIM HARVEY

SAN FRANCISCO—Already hit with high unemployment and the near collapse of the school system, youth in this city are about to be deprived of decent recreational facilities.

"We're so broke, we're damn near bankrupt. There's not even enough to print up information about what we do have," said Marint Ebers, the Public Programs Representative for the San Francisco Housing Authority.

The SFHA is responsible for maintaining more than 20 low income housing projects, and up until last October was able to provide minimal recreation for youth in the projects.

Now, the SFHA has plunged into near bankruptcy. Melville Spriggs, Assistant Director of Human Relations and Social Services explained how this affected future programming: "Recreation? No, that's all out."

HARASSED

Youth with little spending money are forced to roam the streets at night, and mill about corners and doorsteps constantly harassed by police. They are blamed for the dilapidated facilities that do exist, and pitted against one another for the use of these few facilities.

Angela Davis Uses Election Meeting To Slander Trotskyists

BY IRA WADE

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4—The Stalinist Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League held a meeting at Temple University today featuring Angela Davis and CP presidential and vice presidential candidates Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. Over 400 youth and workers came to hear Angela Davis.

Jarvis Tyner, the first speaker, demagogically stated that: "The CP has been struggling around the country to expose the demagogy of Nixon and McGovern."

But this is nothing more than an outright lie. The *Daily World*, the paper of the CP, has devoted its pages daily to attacking those in the labor movement who refuse to support McGovern and the Democratic Party. Above all, Tyner and his Stalinist cohorts are the most consistent enemies of the struggle for a labor party in the unions today.

The hollowness of Tyner's speech was shown by the next presentation—gospel singers doing spirituals such as "The Man From Galilee," "Oh Lord Deliver Me," and "Down at the Cross." Those youth and workers who mistakenly came to this rally expecting to take up a fight against capitalism were offered instead religion. This was highlighted by a five minute sermon by Father Washington.

Gus Hall then spoke about the things the CP would do if they won the election. Nothing was said about Nixon's union-busting laws, the Pay Board, unemployment and the sharp moves toward Bonapartist dictatorship on the part of the capitalist class. Above all, Hall and the other Stalinists carefully avoided any mention of the massive sellout the Stalinists are pushing on the Vietnamese revolution.

The evening was finally topped off by Angela Davis who delivered a vicious attack against the Trotskyist movement. Speaking of her recent trip to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, she said: "All those who attacked me politically for visit-

ing Eastern Europe represent anti-communist tendencies."

The stepping up of the Communist Party campaign in the final days of the election is an attempt by these Stalinists to cover themselves for their support to McGovern.

Realizing that McGovern's campaign never got off the ground in spite of their efforts, the CP is now seeking to gather a few votes for themselves.

Nationalist Rally Supports Stalinists

BY DANNY HUNT

NEW YORK—The politics of Stalinism dominated a demonstration by 2000-3000 people in support of the watered-down nine point "peace" plan that would leave General Thieu in power in South Vietnam.

After marching to Lewisohn Stadium, the demonstrators were addressed by speakers from the Asian American Alliance, Vietnam Veterans Against The War, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other groups, all calling on Nixon to sign the treaty.

The demonstration took the form of a vicious anti-Trotskyist rally. Some groups, most notably the Attica Brigade and Revolutionary Union, chanted: "A chicken in every pot, an icepick in every Trot."

Demonstration marshals, frightened by the interest shown by many marchers in the *Bulletin* and *Young Socialist*, repeatedly harassed Workers League and YS salesmen. In spite of this, more than 100 copies of our newspaper were sold.

Marshals attacked and beat up a salesman from *Vanguard Newsletter*.

A sound truck that led the demonstration repeatedly thanked the "beautiful New York policemen" for being so "co-operative."

Inside Lewisohn Stadium, speakers attempted to link Trotskyism with the CIA.

Behind this frantic attack on the Trotskyist movement is the Stalinists' tremendous fear of the movement of the working class and their attempt to support the reactionary policies of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats.

What these groups fear above all else is the building of a revolutionary leadership.

Young Socialist

"We Demand The Right To Work"

The pictures are of two regional "Right-to-Work" marches held last month by the British Young Socialists through areas hard-hit by the unemployment created by the Tory government.

One YS march went from Leeds to Sheffield, both important industrial cities, and the other group of unemployed youth marched 100 miles from Middlesbrough to Newcastle, in the northeast of England.

Youth in this area have no chance of finding work. All the cities in the area are devastated by shutdowns. In the city of Tyneside, 4060 youth under 18 are out of work. In Wearside the figure is 1997, and in Teeside it is 2079. Sunderland has the highest concentration of unemployed. Out of 10,000 jobless, 2300 are youth under 18.

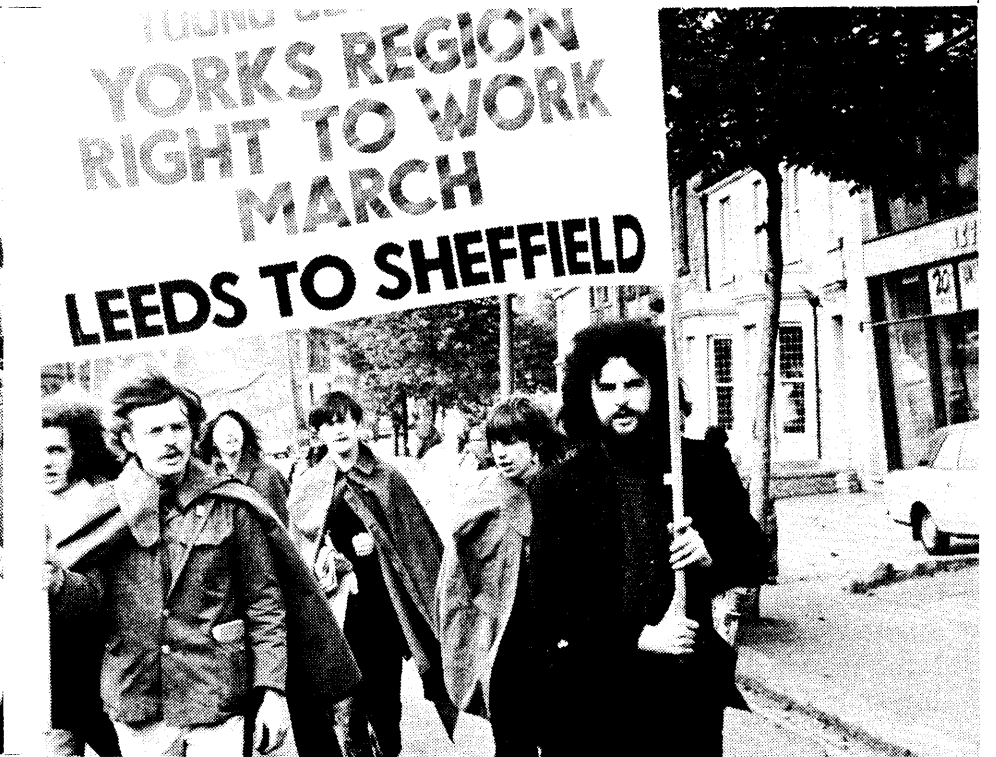
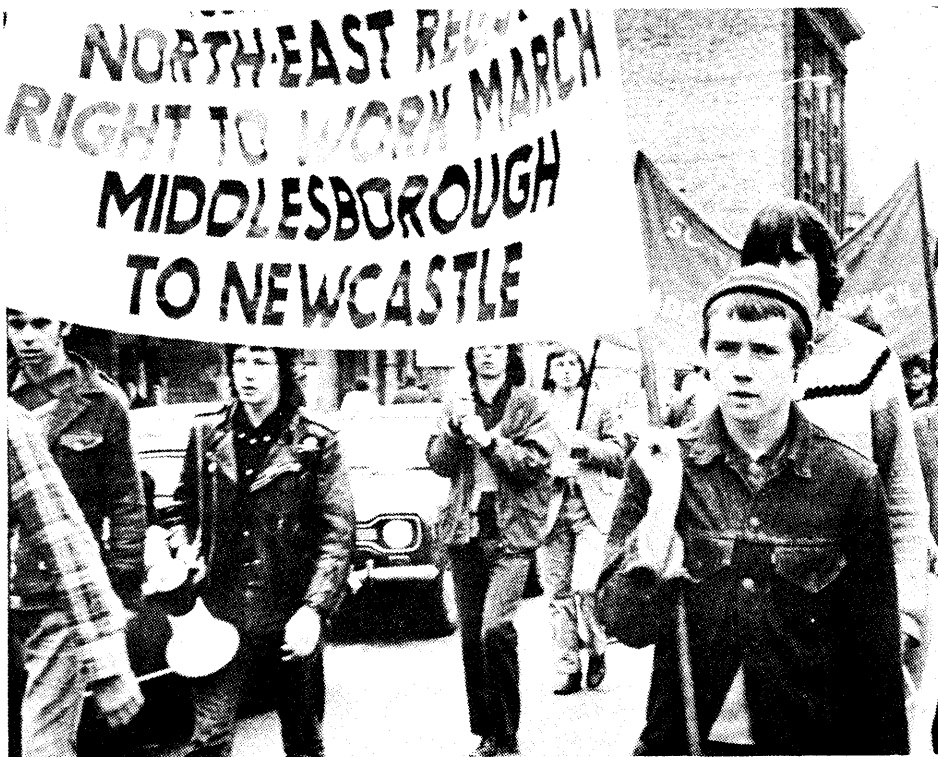
One youth told the YS: "I can't see why we should have to live like this. There is no hope at all. You try planning from day to day, but it is not worth trying. You become angry because no one is prepared to listen to you."

The YS marches are not protest demonstrations, but are rallying British workers for a political fight to bring the Tory government down and replace it with the Labour Party on a socialist program.

The British YS is preparing new national marches for the winter, a massive recruitment drive, and will be holding a regional conference in preparation for a National YS conference and pageant of labor history that will be held next Spring.

These "Right-to-Work" marches showed the critical role the youth can and must play in changing the consciousness of millions of workers in the fight to build a revolutionary party.

The British YS has produced a 40-minute full color film of the first national marches held last February, and the American YS will premiere the film in Cleveland in November.



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

1917-1972: Lessons Of October

On the 55th anniversary of its triumph—this past November 7—the lessons of the Russian Revolution have greater significance than ever before.

The working class today is confronted by the greatest crisis in the history of capitalism, and the task of taking power in advanced industrial nations will soon be posed.

At stake will be the survival of humanity. In the underdeveloped countries, workers and peasants face starvation as the crisis grows more severe. In Europe and the United States, an undefeated working class faces the most desperate assault on its wages, jobs, and conditions of life.

It is with an understanding of the crisis and the responsibilities before us that the Russian Revolution must be studied. Above all, it showed that only a conscious Marxist party, such as the Bolshevik Party constructed by Lenin, can prepare the working class for the capitalist crisis and lead it to power.

At its head, the working class required a leadership that had been constructed through an uncompromising theoretical struggle against all attempts to revise Marxism and thereby strengthen bourgeois methods of thought.

Only the Bolshevik Party was this leadership because Lenin had waged a struggle for the development of dialectical materialism for a quarter of a century before the Revolution of 1917.

The betrayal of the Revolution by the Soviet bureaucracy under Stalin flowed from the abandonment of the fight to build a Marxist leadership. The Stalinist leadership physically destroyed the Bolshevik Party during the Moscow Trials and is responsible for the greatest defeats in the history of the working class.

Fifty five years after the Revolution, Stalin's heirs sit in the Kremlin, acting as the principle agents of imperialism within the working class and endangering the survival of the workers state itself.

Today, the Revolution can be defended and extended only by carrying forward Lenin's struggle, continued by Trotsky's fight against Stalinism, and through the founding and building of the Fourth International.

The prospects for building this indispensable weapon of the working class have never been brighter. In order to commemorate the Russian Revolution, we must build parties of the Fourth International in ruthless struggle against Stalinism and revisionism.

Drive Begins In New Areas

We have been able to continue our strong start with 423 subscriptions in this week towards our goal of 6500 by December 31. This brings our total to 1469.

The purpose of this subscription campaign is, together with our efforts to increase bundle sales, to bring the total paid circulation of the Bulletin over 20,000 giving us the base needed for our planned web offset press and to meet the new requirements of the working class.

Los Angeles continues to lead the field in sub work with a total of 117 gaining 37 this week. Close behind Los Angeles is Brownsville with 113 gaining 43 this week. Close following this is New Haven with 101 and then comes East New York with 88, Madison with 80 and Hartford with 77.

A special trailblazing contingent of Bulletin supporters are right now heading off for Ohio and Michigan to spend two full weeks on subscription work, with a goal of 500.

In order to reach our goal on time we will need to step up sub work so that we are bringing in at least 700 per week. Those branches which have not begun serious work have no time to waste.



What we think

The Assassination Of Trotsky

In the issues of last September 18 and October 30, the Bulletin published articles which exposed director Joseph Losey's new film, *The Assassination of Trotsky*, as a crude covering up job for Stalin's most infamous crime.

We showed that Losey, sympathetic to the Stalinist movement earlier in his career, deliberately chose to ignore the mountains of evidence which proved that an agent of Stalin murdered Trotsky in Mexico in 1940.

Instead, Losey cooked up the blatantly false "interpretation" of the crime as the work of a politically disinterested psychopath.

Furthermore, we denounced Losey's slanderous portrayal of Trotsky's struggle to build the Fourth International during the closing years of his life. Every effort was made by Losey to emphasize the "futility" of Trotsky's exile and downgrade his battle to establish the continuity of the Marxist movement in the face of Stalin's betrayals.

That this film could be of use only to the Stalinist movement today is clearly demonstrated by the review of *The Assassination of Trotsky* which appeared in the November 1 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party.

Emboldened by Losey's distortion of history, reviewer David Gordon has the audacity to assert that accusing Stalin of complicity in the death of Trotsky is "a charge that to this day has not been substantiated."

This is an out-and-out lie by the political organization—the American Communist Party—which played a decisive role in the murder of Trotsky 32 years ago, and whose politics in this period are based on the same counterrevolutionary principles that motivated the crime.

Far from being an unsubstantiated charge, the evidence connecting the NKVD, Stalin's secret police, to the murder of Trotsky has grown more overwhelming over the years. It is now known that a special section of the NKVD was established by Lavrenti Beria, Stalin's right-hand butcher, to prepare the assassination. Never in history has a government organized a more ruthless manhunt.

Having destroyed the Third International as a revolutionary force, Stalin used the satellite parties of the Soviet bureaucracy as instruments of deception, betrayal and murder. For the purpose of killing Trotsky, Stalin demanded and received the active collaboration of the Mexican and American Communist Parties.

In his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Louis Budenz, former managing editor of the CP's *Daily Worker*, shed considerable light on the plot to kill Trotsky.

Budenz referred CP member Ruby



Leon Trotsky

Weil to a Stalinist agent. Weil was valuable to the assassins because she knew Sylvia Ageloff, who was in the Trotskyist movement. It was Weil who introduced Ageloff to Ramon Mercader, alias "Jacques Monard," who posed as a Canadian businessman.

Mercader used his relationship with Sylvia Ageloff to gain admittance to Coyoacan, where he murdered Trotsky with an icepick in August of 1940.

This had not been the first attempt on Trotsky's life. Several weeks earlier, the painter David Siqueiros, a fanatical Stalinist, led a full-scale machine gun and fire bomb assault on Coyoacan. Although Trotsky escaped injury, the young Trotskyist Sheldon Harte was murdered and his body thrown in quick-lime.

Last spring, Brezhnev and Kosygin honored Siqueiros on the occasion of his 75 birthday, and *World Marxist Review*, theoretical journal of the American CP, published fulsome praise: "Siqueiros' art is part of life, inspiring courage in the battle against social oppression and extolling the triumph of reason and justice."

As for Trotsky's assassin, Ramon Mercader, he remained in jail until May 7, 1960. Within one hour of his release, he was en route to Cuba, where he spent one week before flying to Czechoslovakia, and where he remains to this day as a guest of the Husak regime.

So much for the attempts of the American CP to cover Stalin's and its own tracks.

The murder of Trotsky was a political crime, the climax of the destruction of the Bolshevik Party by the Soviet bureaucracy led by Stalin. Having destroyed the Comintern, having led the German proletariat to defeat, having betrayed the Spanish Revolution, having signed a pact with Hitler, Stalin was determined to murder Trotsky and prevent the con-

struction of the new revolutionary party of the world working class, the Fourth International.

In spite of all the murders carried out on Stalin's orders, the Fourth International was not destroyed, but lives and fights today to destroy Stalinism and to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Gordon's review of Losey's film, in which he repeats all the old slanders of the Moscow Trials, is a sharp warning to those who think that Stalinism has changed its character since the death of Stalin. We say that Stalinism remains the most dangerous, consciously counterrevolutionary tendency within the working class, or, in the words of Trotsky, the "syphillis" of the labor movement.

Trotskyism and Stalinism are opposites within the labor movement. It is through this struggle—to drive the Stalinists out of the trade unions and every other workers' organizations—that a Marxist leadership in the working class will be constructed.

In this historic fight, the centrists play the most dangerous role, attempting to blur over the divisions and refusing to take a political stand. Such a position opens the door for Stalinism.

This is shown by another review of *The Assassination of Trotsky*, by Joseph Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, published in the November 3 issue of the *Militant*. Hardly anything is said to expose Losey's distortions and show the real role of the Stalinists in the assassination.

Instead, Hansen challenges Losey on petty details. Hansen, who spent three years in Coyoacan, establishes his "credentials" as an old Trotskyist by recalling that Trotsky's desk was not as neat as Losey suggests, that Trotsky's dictaphone was less modern, and that a eucalyptus tree is missing in the film.

This is not Trotskyism but epigonism of the worst sort. Hansen was in Coyoacan, but he has traveled so far from Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism that he is utterly complacent about exposing the real significance of the crime he witnessed.

Hansen's article is the fruit of 20 years of centrist capitulation to Stalinism. On one of the decisive events in the history of the Fourth International—the assassination of Trotsky—the Pabloites abandon all principles. Such forces cannot and will not defend the working class and fight for socialism.

Only the International Committee of the Fourth International, which has battled Stalinism in all its manifestations—even in the distortions of film makers—can build a revolutionary leadership in the working class.



Above, LSSP leaders who joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. Left is N.M. Perera who accepted a ministerial post and right, Vivienne Goonewardene.

CEYLON: THE GREAT BETRAYAL CONTINUES

Twice in less than ten years the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International' has supported and collaborated with a Ceylonese 'section' which has betrayed the working class and marched rapidly to the right.

In 1964 the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), then the Unified Secretariat (Pabloite) Ceylonese section, entered a coalition government with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, together with the Communist Party.

Three leading LSSP members—N. M. Perera, Anil Moonesinghe and Cholmondley Goonewardene—accepted ministerial posts in this bourgeois government.

A group led by Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene opposed the coalition but remained in the Party.

A third tendency broke away and formed the LSSP (Revolutionary Section) led by Bala Tampoe, who was also secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union.

The Unified Secretariat expelled the three ministers and suspended 504 LSSP members for voting for the coalition at a party conference.

Two questions must be answered however. How was this situation allowed to develop? And what happened to the LSSP (R), which was subsequently incorporated into the Unified Secretariat?

The responsibility for the degeneration of Ceylonese Trotskyism rests with the leaders—past and present—of

the Unified Secretariat: Michel Pablo, Pierre Frank, Ernest Mandel and Joseph Hansen.

The roots of this lie in the split in the Fourth International in 1953 caused by Pablo's theory that the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy could be transformed under the pressure of an imminent third world war into a revolutionary force. According to Pablo this would force the Stalinist parties of western Europe to lead revolutionary struggles.

In effect, such a revisionist perspective eliminated the role of the Fourth International and reduced it at best to the role of a 'left opposition'—a position which Trotsky had abandoned after Stalinism had brought about defeat of Germany's working class in 1933.

Pablo sought to liquidate Trotskyism into Social Democracy and Stalinism—in Britain, for example, the tendency which supported Pablo, led by John Lawrence, subsequently joined the Communist Party almost to a man.

At the same time LSSP secretary Leslie Goonewardene declared that Mrs Bandaranaike's capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was in fact a 'centrist' party which could be forced by pressure to act in the interests of the working class.

These fundamental revisions of Marxism complemented each other.

While Pablo, Frank and Mandel undermined the whole role of the Fourth International, Goonewardene undermined the Ceylonese LSSP as a revolutionary party. These renegades were later to come to a completely unprincipled agreement in order to prevent the development of Trotsky-

ism in Ceylon.

Early in 1954 the LSSP National Committee unanimously rejected Pablo's theories as outlined in his resolution 'Rise and Decline of Stalinism'. Yet at an international conference in June of the same year, the Ceylonese delegates, led by Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene, accepted Pablo's resolution in return for Pablo's acceptance of a number of amendments from them.

In other words, each side of this unscrupulous alliance agreed to ignore the opportunist course being charted by the other. Both sides denounced as disrupters the genuine Trotskyists of the International Committee of the Fourth International who sought a serious discussion of the grave problems facing the movement.

When the SLFP became the government of Ceylon in 1956, the LSSP leaders announced a policy of 'responsible co-operation'. The purpose of the theoretical turn in designating the SLFP as a centrist party was now clear—it was to open the door to collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

This intensified as the 1960 General Election approached. Despite the rising tempo of class struggles, the LSSP signed a number of 'no-clash' agreements with the SLFP in a number of key constituencies.

The Pabloite International Secretariat supported this line. In a letter to the LSSP it declared that 'a critical support for an eventual government of the SLFP' was permissible. Pablo, Frank and Mandel thus encouraged the LSSP in its approaches to the bourgeoisie.

This failure to separate it-

self clearly from the SLFP resulted in a disaster at the polls. The LSSP gained only 14 seats. But this defeat only encouraged the leaders to prepare for coalition.

In particular, they turned their back on the poverty-stricken Tamil plantation workers (originally immigrants from India) by stating that their problem was not a matter for united struggle of the oppressed masses, but for negotiations between the capitalist governments of India and Ceylon.

This stab in the back for some of the most oppressed workers in Ceylon was openly supported by the Unified Secretariat, even though it resulted in the collapse of the LSSP's 80,000-strong Lanka Estate Workers' Union.

The following years saw a sharp increase in strike struggles, in which the workers were consistently denounced by premier Mrs Bandaranaike.

But the LSSP was allowed to continue unchecked its progress towards her government. This was made possible not only by the leaders of the Unified Secretariat, but by the leaders of the American Socialist Workers' Party, who were making their way back to Pabloism.

In 1953 the SWP had supported those sections of the Fourth International which had broken from Pablo to constitute the International Committee. But an organizational break in itself was not enough. The British Trotskyists sought to continue the discussion on Pabloism in order to clarify every section and to combat liquidationism.

The Socialist Workers' Party, however, saw the fight in purely organizational terms,

and—as early as the summer of 1954 — sought to end all further discussion of the question.

This covered a turn back towards Pabloism by the SWP. After four years of avoiding a real analysis and discussion about Pabloism, the SWP made its first formal approach to the Unified Secretariat—in a letter from James Cannon to Leslie Goonewardene of the LSSP in the spring of 1957.

This was after the LSSP had announced its policy of 'responsible co-operation' with the Bandaranaike government.

In other words, the approach by the SWP to the Pabloites was made via the LSSP when the latter had already turned openly to the right.

From that moment on, the Unified Secretariat and the SWP were to conspire to avoid discussion on all issues of principle—and, above all, on the developments in Ceylon.

Throughout the unprincipled unification manoeuvres the British Trotskyists consistently sought principled discussion, but these approaches were persistently evaded or ignored by the Pabloites and the SWP.

The reason was simple. Such discussions would have hampered the reunification and exposed the opportunist turn of the Pabloite section in Ceylon.

The British Trotskyists warned that reunification without proper discussion would be a fraud and would lead to disaster. The Ceylonese events subsequently proved us right.

In 1962 we proposed a discussion on all the disputed questions between the Pabloite

Secretariat and the International Committee of the Fourth International.

These proposals were sabotaged by the SWP, in particular by Joseph Hansen who, behind the scenes, had organized a unification with Livio Maitan, Mandel and Frank without discussion.

In August 1963, we again wrote to the SWP asking for more discussion. It was refused.

The reunification in 1963 of the Pabloite tendencies into the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International was an unprincipled fraud made possible only on the basis of no discussion of outstanding political questions.

(For legal reasons the Socialist Workers Party of America could not become an actual member of the Secretariat.)

This conspiracy of silence obscured the reactionary turn in Ceylon. To discuss this with the Socialist Labour League would have blown the reunification sky-high. Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel, therefore, kept silent and thereby permitted the rightward development of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in Ceylon.

Indeed, the reunification congress declared its complete support for the LSSP leaders, particularly for their strategy of a United Left Front with the pro-Moscow Communist Party and Philip Goonewardene's People's United Front (MEP).

It was well known that the Communist Party wholeheartedly supported Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and that the MEP had actually participated in a coalition with the 1956 SLFP government.

The Unified Secretariat therefore assumed full responsibility for the abandonment of the Tamil (Indian immigrant) workers and for the United Left Front which was a major step on the road to coalition.

In December, 1963, Pablo himself sought to raise the question of Ceylon inside the Unified Secretariat. But the same Pablo had refused all discussion with the SLL.

By now the degeneration was almost complete.

In reply to calls for a discussion, the Secretariat leaders declared, early in 1964:

'It would be wrong for us as a body representing the movement as a whole to brush aside the deliberations of the majority of the LSSP leadership and refuse to grant them the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand in relation to the United Left Front and the good faith of their assurances.

'It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the Unified Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP.

The end result could be highly injurious to the Fourth International and to the LSSP, including its left wing which has absolutely no interest to put in question the unity of the party through the creation of undue internal friction and tension from any source.'

In April 1964, just two months before the LSSP leaders joined Mrs Bandaranaike's coalition, they received a laudatory letter from the Unified Secretariat which de-

clared that the United Left Front could establish 'its own political power on a genuinely socialist programme' and would provide 'another Cuba or Algeria'.

This United Left Front included the Stalinists!

The perspective of Stalinists participating in a non-revolutionary seizure of power linked with Trotskyists in a 'Left Front' flowed directly from Pablo's 1953 resolution, reinforced by the Pabloite obsession with the revolution-with-a-party' road of Cuba and Algeria.

Within weeks of the Unified Secretariat's letter being despatched Mrs Bandaranaike was to say:

'We cannot expect any results unless we get the co-operation of the working class... Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows, must be eliminated and the development of the country must proceed.

'Some people feel that these troubles can be eliminated by the establishment of a dictatorship. Others say that workers should be made to work at the point of gun and bayonet.

'Still others maintain that a national government should be formed to solve this problem. I have considered these ideas separately and in the context of world events.

'Therefore, I decided to initiate talks with the leaders of the working class, particularly Mr Philip Goonewardene and Dr N. M. Perera.

'Can we form a coalition government? If so, how could this be done? These are the questions we considered. Afterwards they informed me that they could form a government on the basis of a common programme.'

The LSSP leaders had entered secret negotiations with Mrs Bandaranaike precisely when they were faced with an unparalleled opportunity to seize power.

At the beginning of 1964 the Ceylon Mercantile Union had won substantial gains which threw the Bandaranaike government into crisis. At the same time unprecedented trade union unity, involving both town and plantation workers, had been achieved around a programme of 21 demands. The largest audience of workers ever seen on the island unanimously declared for a fight to a finish to win these demands.

Perera chose this period to conclude his Judas deal with the bourgeoisie—assisted by the Communist Party, which had always supported coalition, and by the leaders of the Pabloite International.

His action cannot possibly have been a surprise to Hansen and Mandel. In 1960 he had forwarded to the Unified Secretariat in Paris a letter which outlined precisely his proposals for exactly such a step.

This listed: (1) a no-contact pact (2) support for the formation of an SLFP government 'not hedged about with conditions' and (3) steps to bring about a programmatic agreement with the SLFP with a view to forming a joint government.

The programme on which Perera wished to embrace the SLFP involved strict limits on nationalization, and especially no nationalization of the banks.

This letter, in the hands of the Unified Secretariat for some four years before Perera was able to carry it into practice, specifically repudiated the Leninist characterization of the state:

'It is no accident of history that in no country where universal franchise obtains has there been a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class.

'Though mass struggles leading to the overthrow of capitalism are conceivable, in point of fact such situations have never yet arisen, because the franchise has placed in the hands of the workers a vehicle for achieving power. Universal franchise one must admit has tended to blunt the edge of mass struggle. Militant working-class actions will continue to occur, but they do not reach the heights necessary for wresting power.'

These were the issues which Mandel and Hansen sought to hush up in order not to destroy 'fraternal relations'. These were the leaders to whom the Unified Secretariat wished to grant 'the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand!'

That, they certainly did. They bolstered up capital rule and helped discipline the working class. As Perera had written to Mandel and his friends in 1960:

'LSSP ministers may have to take unpleasant decisions with regard to strikes, and the demands of the workers'. This at a time when imperialism could no longer retain its hold on Ceylon through the capitalist parties alone.

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The minority declared: 'The working class and the broader revolutionary masses of tomorrow must not be led to believe that their salvation lies in putting a so-called "Left Front" in office, but in organizing and uniting for direct mass action against [Mrs Bandaranaike's] Sri Lanka Freedom Party government and the other forces of capitalism in Ceylon on the road to a workers' and peasants' government.'

When they finally published this resolution, the Paris leaders did so without a word of comment. The minority broke from the LSSP leaders without assistance from Mandel, Frank or Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party of America which, because of the Voorhis Act, is not directly affiliated to the Unified Secretariat.

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The refusal to carry out a serious theoretical study of Pabloism and to break from it in practice led to the inevitable degeneration of the organization. The disastrous consequences have been seen clearly in the last two years.

By the end of 1970, the coalition government—consisting of the bourgeois SLFP, the pro-Moscow CP and the renegade Trotskyist LSSP—was in financial crisis. Ceylon had external debts of \$582m and couldn't even pay the service charges.

The World Bank was prepared to extend further loans, but only on condition that a savage austerity programme was imposed on the Ceylonese masses. To achieve this, the opposition of the workers, peasants and—above all—the youth, would have to be crushed.

On March 15, 1971, the government claimed that members of the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) Peoples' Liberation Front) had attacked the American Embassy.



definitive end of the Pabloite International as a revolutionary force, just as surely as Hitler's victory in 1933 marked the end of the Third International.

The minority, which walked out of the June 1964 conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in opposition to the leadership's class-collaborationist decision to join Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government, undoubtedly acted correctly.

The minority, in fact, had submitted a resolution to the Unified Secretariat almost a year earlier warning of the dangers of the 'United Left Front', but this was suppressed by the Unified Secretariat lead-

revisionists of the Unified Secretariat.

The Socialist Labour League warned at the time: 'One cannot separate the problems of the LSSP revolutionary wing from this degeneration. These comrades are aware that a lot of discussion has to take place about what happened in the international movement since 1953.

'Apart from a few brief written words and odd notes about international work there has been no serious discussion in the LSSP on such problems for almost ten years. Many comrades who support the minority are only now beginning to realize the relations between the international and national degeneration of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938.

'The future of the revolutionary wing depends mainly now upon a serious study of this relationship.'

However, this essential step

This attack was a government provocation. It enabled Bandaranaike to declare a state

the death penalty for unlawful assembly. With military and financial aid from America, Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Yugoslavia, the government launched a full-scale war on the JVP.

Thousands of youth were killed as the army and police murdered, raped and pillaged. The 'New York Times' reported decapitated bodies floating down the rivers.

Throughout this period and since, the Pabloite Unified Secretariat put forward ludicrously exaggerated claims for the role of its Ceylon section—the LSSP(R)—and its secretary Bala Tampoe, who was also secretary of the 30,000-strong Ceylon Mercantile Union.

The Pabloite magazine 'Intercontinental Press' (edited by Joseph Hansen) actually claimed on May 3, 1971, that

the state of emergency had been declared because of 'the emergence of a revolutionary United Front between the JVP and the LSSP(R).'

At that time the JVP was holding mass rallies of 5,000 to 10,000 youth while the LSSP(R), on its own admission, had some 50 members.

On June 24, 1972, the 'Intercontinental Press' alleged that 'most opposition was intimidated into silence. There were some exceptions, such as the Ceylon Mercantile Union, led by Bala Tampoe'.

The British Pabloite paper 'Red Mole' made a similar boast on July 10, 1972: 'The LSSP(R), through the Ceylon Mercantile Union in which it has a solid base, has by contrast consistently criticized the government and demanded an end to the state of emergency regulations.'

But these very claims expose the Unified Secretariat. In the course of the state of emergency some 16,000 people were arrested. According to the 'Ceylon Daily News', the only charge against 4,000 of these was that they had attended JVP-organized classes.

Thousands more were jailed without charges of any kind, since the army and police had

powers of arbitrary arrest.

Rohan Wijeeera, leader of the JVP, was arrested on March 13. Within a week 350 JVP national and local leaders were behind bars.

According to Jack Baker, general secretary of the Australian Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists, who visited Ceylon, between 3,000 and 4,000 trade union officials disappeared. These included officials of unions which openly supported Bandaranaike.

Members of the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the LSSP were thrown into jail even though their parties were in the government. The top four leaders of the Ceylonese Federation of Trade Unions — dominated by the pro-Chinese Communist Party — were arrested.

Yet only one executive member of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (T. Premasiri) was imprisoned.

Bala Tampoe retained complete freedom of speech and movement throughout the emergency. This was not confined to Ceylon. In April-May 1971, he was allowed to travel to Australia to speak at a National Anti-War Conference.

It must be said that the LSSP(R)'s 'consistent criticism' of the government was extremely mild.

On May 14, 1971, the Ceylon Mercantile Union sent a gentle rebuke to Mrs Bandaranaike: 'We think it necessary to draw your attention to certain emergency regulations that have opened the door to police and military terrorism against the people.'

These renegade 'Trotskyists' continued: 'There is widespread belief that "excesses" and even atrocities have been committed by police officers and members of the armed forces.'

When Mrs Bandaranaike contemptuously rejected this, the CMU tried again:

'Does it serve any useful purpose to regard the rebels as criminals, who have intimidated and murdered innocent people, raped and looted and indulged in kidnappings and arson, even if some of them may be proved to have committed such acts?'

'Is the view that the young rebels should not be regarded as "terrorists" and that they are deserving of humane treatment, a view that cannot be taken seriously in a country where the teachings of the Buddha are revered?'

'Red Mole' also considered that the 'soft answer could turn away wrath. On January 24, 1972, a letter signed by, among others, Ernest Mandel, Alain Krivine, M. Rocard, Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn, began:

'Without wanting to take a position with regard to the armed clashes which recently occurred in Ceylon . . . the undersigned are profoundly perturbed.'

But much more was involved than false boasts and an 'opposition' more in tune with ecclesiastical liberalism than with Marxism.

At the beginning of 1972 Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, visited Ceylon. His purpose was to ensure that the Ceylonese

government had satisfactorily created the conditions for continued World Bank assistance.

Reporting this visit, Joseph Hansen's 'Intercontinental Press' of February 14, 1972, delivered itself of a comment breathtaking in its audacity:

'Mr Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, appeared to be very well briefed on the Ceylon situation.'

McNamara had indeed been well briefed — by one Bala Tampoe, secretary of the LSSP(R), secretary of the CMU and member of the International Executive Committee of the Unified Secretariat.

The evidence for this is contained in the transactions of the Unified Secretariat itself.

In 1968 a group led by Edmund Samarakkody, a member of the International Executive Committee of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat broke away from the LSSP (R) and a year later levelled serious charges at its secretary Bala Tampoe, and at the rest of the party's leadership, many of whom also held leading positions in the Ceylon Mercantile Union.

Samarakkody accused Tampoe of being an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency.

A 'Ceylon Commission' then established by the Unified Secretariat found that:

(1) Tampoe accepted a trip to the United States in 1967, financed by the Asia Foundation—a well-known recipient of CIA funds.

(2) He attended a private luncheon party at the residence of the British High Commissioner during the 1966 plantation workers' strike—which was also attended by Thondaman, a trade union leader who was playing an open strike-breaking role against the plantation workers.

(3) He attended a dinner party at the West German Embassy in honour of ex-Nazi Kiesinger.

(4) He wrote to Mrs Bandaranaike in January 1966 in his capacity as CMU general secretary implying support for the imposition of a curfew in response to 'violence' in Colombo.

(5) His union refused to support the strikes that followed devaluation of the rupee in 1967.

(6) While in Washington he held a meeting with Defence Secretary McNamara, shortly to become President of the World Bank.

Despite these findings, the Unified Secretariat, at its Third World Congress since its 'reunification', not only voted to retain the LSSP (R) as its Ceylonese section, but also unanimously elected Tampoe to its International Executive Committee.

The Commission had concluded, mildly, that 'in none of these instances is there any evidence that the party took what the Commission considered a policy consistent with revolutionary Marxism', but went on to say that 'some



Above, Bala Tampoe and members of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), which he leads. Right, a mother weeps for her son, who was executed by the Ceylonese army during the revolt led by the JVP.



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comrades felt they might be explained in the context of Ceylonese political and trade union life'.

Despite the minority report of its Indian members—who argued that the LSSP(R) had placed itself 'in the camp of the enemy as opposed to workers in action'—the Commission's **only** ruling was that Tampoe should cease to be the secretary of both the LSSP(R) and CMU.

This ruling was placidly ignored and no one did anything about it.

On the contrary, exactly the same relations have been maintained with Bala Tampoe and the LSSP(R) as had previously been maintained with Goonewardene and Perera of the LSSP. That is, completely unprincipled relations with no discussion of the real political issues involved covering up serious degeneration.

Supporters of the Unified Secretariat are kept ignorant of what its Ceylonese section is doing. Its praises are loudly sung in public while, in private, it is admitted that the LSSP(R) has acted and is still acting, in a way 'inconsistent with revolutionary Marxism'.

No fight is taken up with Tampoe because to do that would reveal the profoundly anti-Trotskyist nature of the whole of the Unified Secretariat.

Instead, the October 9, 1972, issue of Hansen's 'Intercontinental Press' reprints without comment a resolution of the Ceylon Mercantile Union on the Bandaranaike repressions 'signed by Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the CMU'.

This resolution declares that 'the union should devote special attention in the period ahead to the regroupment of mass forces under the independent leadership of the working class in accordance with socialist principles'.

It proposes to do this,

however, without mentioning Trotskyism or the Fourth International. Instead it calls upon 'all those who value human or democratic rights' to join in a nationwide one-day hunger strike'.

But 'Intercontinental Press' is not the only Pabloite journal to cover up for Bala Tampoe.

The October 2, 1972, issue of 'Red Mole', for instance, refers to the resolutions of support for striking bank workers from 'the CMU whose secretary, Bala Tampoe, is a leading member of the LSSP(R), Ceylonese section of the Fourth International'.

No mention has been made, at any time, in 'Intercontinental Press', 'Red Mole' or any other Pabloite publication of the investigation the Unified Secretariat was forced to make into the activities of Tampoe and the LSSP(R).

Instead, the Pabloites cover up for Tampoe as they previously covered up for Perera.

The same issue (October 2) of 'Red Mole' which shields Tampoe — although leading members of the International Marxist Group must know of the charges proved against him—launches a fierce attack on Frederick Engels.

Marx's closest collaborator is accused of parliamentary illusions, revisionism, fatalism, and 'passivity in the face of the class struggle'. We quote from 'Red Mole':

'... the profoundly ambiguous legacy of Engels ... is shown both in his great illusions in parliamentarism and his revisionist views on the question of philosophy. These two ideas, which in Engels always remained eclectically combined with revolutionary and Marxist views, were built upon by Engels' literary inheritors Bernstein and Kautsky.

'They lead to a complete fatalism and consequent passivity in the face of the class struggle ... The philosophical

origins of this fatalism, of course, lie in those revisions of Marxism introduced by Engels in his later works. Here Engels reverted to the Hegelian idea of a "Dialectic of Nature".

'It is true that there are certain important passages in the "Dialectics of Nature" which go against this concept, but the general effect was to bring about a reconciliation between Marxism and classical materialism ... once this road has been taken, the way is open for every possible crude brand of determinism, fatalism and any theory which justifies passivity.'

No clearer sign of the nauseating degeneration of Pabloite revisionism could be given than this incredible, arrogant attack on Engels in the same issue of a paper which deliberately conceals the treachery of a leading member of their international, known to have associated with the CIA.

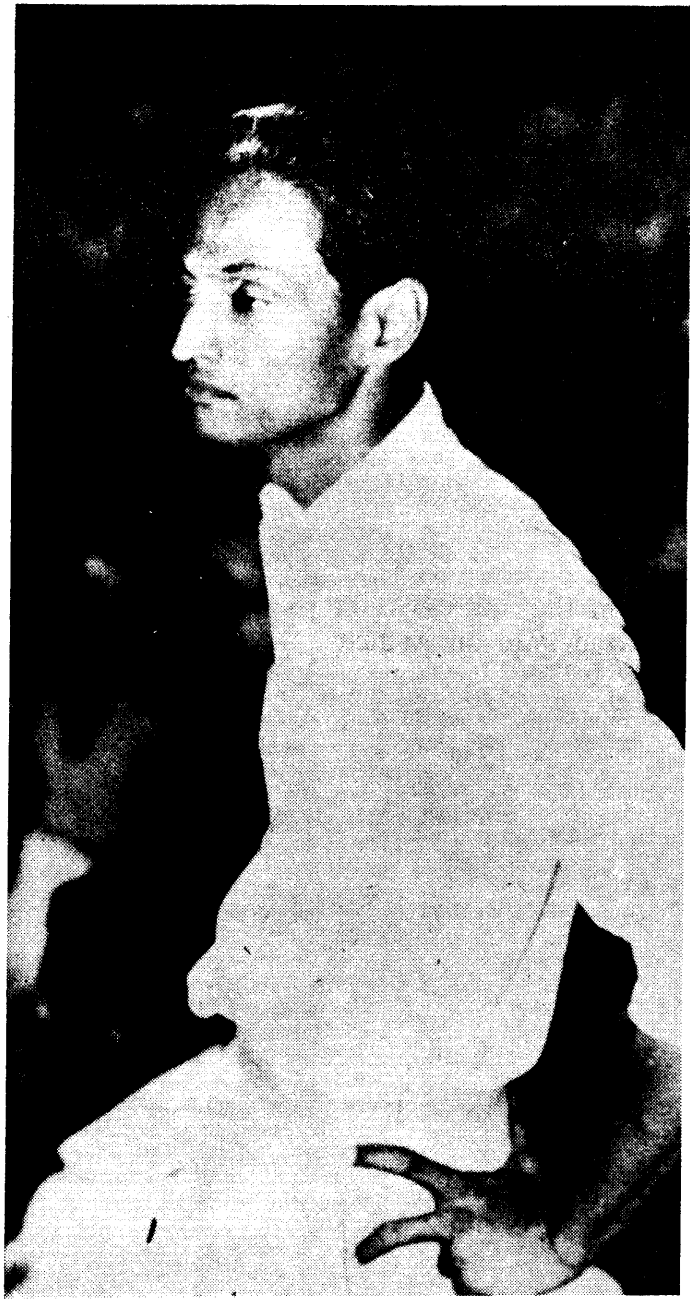
The record is clear. This is the way Pabloism destroys Trotskyism, demoralizes supporters and betrays and deceives the working class.

That is why the International Committee of the Fourth International considers Pabloite revisionism a major obstacle on the road to revolution which must be destroyed. In 1966 we declared:

'The development and growth of the Socialist Labour League is directly related to the struggle against Pabloite revisionism and the degeneration of the SWP. There can be no compromise on these issues.

'The Socialist Labour League is out to destroy Pabloism and its SWP accomplices. There can be and, we repeat, there never will be a compromise on these questions—the fight will go on until we destroy the Pabloites and the revisionist SWP.'

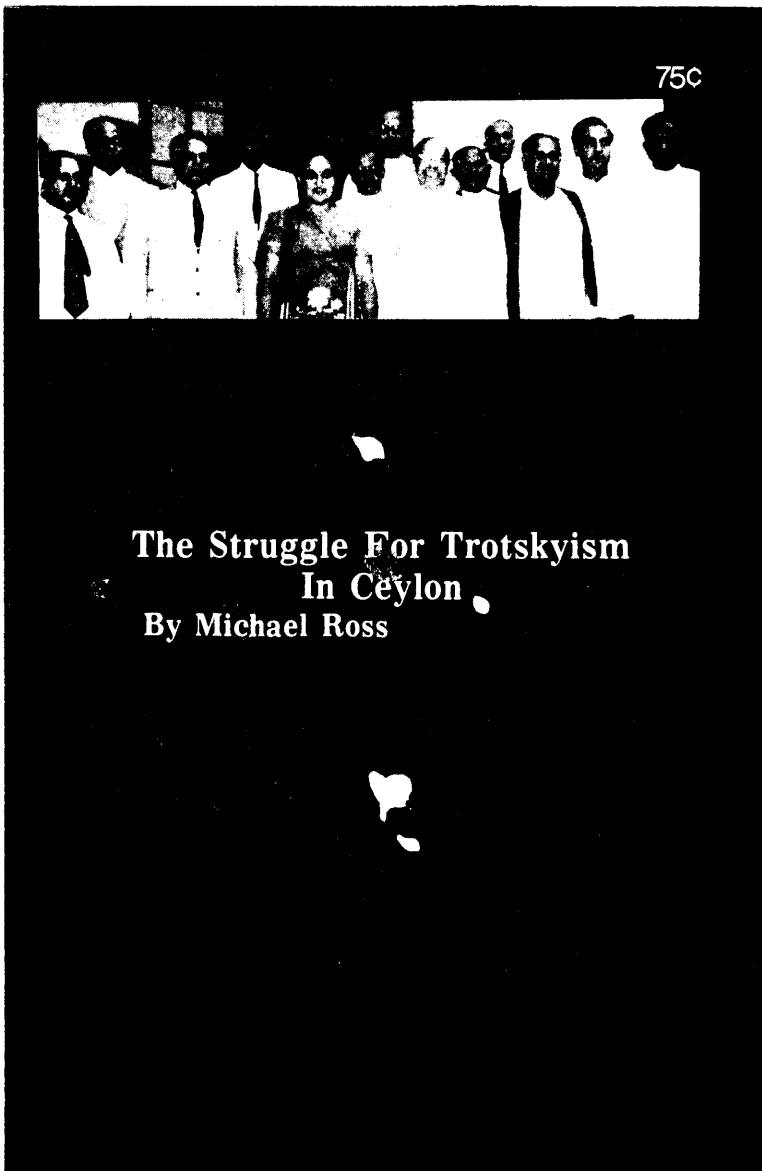
The case of Bala Tampoe has, if that were possible, only strengthened our determination to carry out this task.



Bala Tampoe, secretary of the Pabloite LSSP(R). He is known to have associated with the CIA. During the April 1971 revolt he was allowed complete freedom while thousands of trade unionists and militants were jailed.

'Ceylon: The Great Betrayal'. G. Healy (1964).

'Problems of the Fourth International'. G. Healy (1966).



The Struggle For Trotskyism
In Ceylon
By Michael Ross

THE STRUGGLE FOR TROTSKYISM IN CEYLON. By Michael Ross. 75c

This pamphlet analyzes the Lanka Sama Samaja Party's betrayal of the Ceylonese working class which led to the Spring 1971 bloodbath against the rural and unemployed youth. It traces the betrayal to the narrow national and anti-theoretical outlook of the LSSP and to the failure of Pabloism to struggle against this outlook. The SWP, by failing to take up the struggle against Pabloism, is deeply implicated.

The bitter lesson of Ceylon is that a mass revolutionary party can only be built on the basis of internationalism and with the struggle for the Marxist method against revisionism.

Order from: Labor Publications, 135 West 14th Street, New York, New York 10011

Dennis O'Casey Books

CAPITAL. Volume I, Chapter 1, The Commodity. By Karl Marx. Published by Labor Publications, Inc. 50¢

World capitalism today has entered the most profound crisis in its entire history. The great postwar economic boom has come to an end with the breakdown of the link between the dollar and gold on August 15, 1971. The full implications of this are now working themselves out in the descent by world capitalism into a massive international trade war and into brutal attacks on the working class that for the first time in 30 years is posing the question of power in every country.

It is this crisis above all that poses the need for a turn to a study of Marx's *Capital*, seeing it as Marx did as a weapon in the hands of the working class for the overthrow of the system it describes.

It is in this light that the publication of the first English translation of the First Edition of Volume I, Chapter 1 of *Capital* takes on great importance.

While the publication in English of the First Edition is not meant as a substitute for the Second Edition, with which English readers are generally familiar, its publication is of particular significance on two accounts.

METHOD

First, in retaining a considerable amount of the philosophical terminology edited out of the Second Edition, it is useful from the standpoint of gaining a deeper understanding of Marx's philosophical method. Second, Marx gives great emphasis and retains much of the closely reasoned explication edited out of the Second Edition of the section of Chapter 1 dealing with the form of value or the genesis of money.

Both because it is only through a deepening of the struggle for dialectical materialism that *Capital* can be understood, and because it is particularly upon a correct understanding of the role and nature of money that a correct understanding of the full implication of the breakup of Bretton Woods can be understood, the publication of this First Edition has direct political significance.

The fight for an understanding of dialectical materialism in relation to *Capital* begins with the understanding of why Marx begins with an analysis of the commodity.

In the final section of Chapter 1, this becomes clear. It is because the social relations into which men enter in capitalist society assume the form or appearance of relationships between things. In other words, the relationships between producers under capitalism, with which Marx is concerned, manifest themselves as relations between the products of men's labor.

CONTRADICTIONS

Marx starts from an analysis of the contradictions inherent in the commodity, the simplest form in which the product of labor presents itself in capitalist society. But he is studying essence in its appearance. In other words, Marx proceeds on the basis of the advances made by Hegel and himself in the struggle against Kantianism and its notion of the self-subsisting thing-in-itself separated from appearance. He proceeds and all of *Capital* proceeds from the standpoint that essence must not only appear but that it must assume a form of appearance contradictory and opposite to essence itself.

Thus, the relations between men appear "as what they really are"—the relations between things.

The contradictory relation of essence and appearance here is key. The most fundamental social relation in capitalism, the exploitative relationship between the capitalist and worker, appears on the surface of capitalism as its opposite: the equal exchange between capitalist and worker of labor power for wages, the unequal character of this relationship being concealed within this appearance.

This is why empiricism, which begins from appearances alone, cannot break the working class out of trade union consciousness, the conception of a fair days work for a fair days pay, which consciousness actually corresponds to the appearances taken by the essential social relations under capitalism.

The task of science is to expose therefore the inner conception, the laws of mediation, through which essence appears, i.e., men's social relations manifest themselves in specific economic forms, understanding that these appearances are not illusions but necessary appearances that can only be transformed by actually transforming man's social relations in the material world.

It is this method that underlies all of *Capital*, in particular Marx's analysis of the genesis of money.

REVISIONISM

The collapse of revisionism, in particular Mandel and the Pabloites, who have consistently ignored the breakdown of paper money and the implications of the gold crisis and even today skirt entirely the issue of gold in treating the present crisis, now becomes clear. This is likewise true of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) who say that economic relations are merely the reflections of social relations.

The fact is that the breakup of the relationship between gold and the dollar

means the breakdown of the universal equivalent which must tear apart entirely the fabric of the workings of the capitalist system.

As we pointed out at the outset, under capitalism the social relationships between men take the form or appearance of relationships between things. As Marx puts it in the First Edition: "The producers' own social movement poses for them the form of the motion of objects, under the control of which the producers lie instead of them controlling the motion."

Under capitalism, social relations as a whole take the form of a series of economic laws operating independent of man's will and consciousness. It is furthermore only by means of and through the movement of things in accord with the law of value, that is the evaluation, acceptance and rejection of commodities in the market on the basis of the socially necessary labor incorporated in them, that the harmonious distribution of social labor corresponding to social needs is brought about under capitalism. Man's social relations under capitalism do not exist independent of the economic forms. The social connections between men have no other form of existence than the connections which are established between their products in the capitalist market.

Thus today the OCI and other revisionists talk of economic relations being mere reflections of social relations. This necessary connection between essence and appearance is what is missed.

The central point is that if, as we have seen, the exchange "movement of things" under capitalism can only take place through the medium of money, the breakdown of money must have the most profound impact. It means not simply the breakdown of the exchange of commodities but through this the destruction and obliteration of the "producers' own social movement"—production of goods themselves. It means the destruction of all the

very social connections between men through which the struggle against nature proceeds.

It is this that is at the heart of the huge threat posed today before the international working class by the capitalist crisis.

As Marx points out in relation to paper money, the only law peculiar to paper money which is otherwise a valid representative of the universal equivalent is that its issue must not exceed the gold actually backing it up. Should this law be ignored, this must result in both the erosion of confidence in and depreciation of paper money according to the proportion that it is actually inflated.

It was just this that world capitalism sought to ignore at Bretton Woods. Their massive inflation of paper currency, used to postpone a head-on collision with the working class, has now come to a head with the closing by Nixon of the gold window a year ago on August 15.

Under conditions where the dollar, and therefore all international paper currency, stand today unbacked by gold and therefore value, a whole series of wild fluctuations, devaluations and revaluations of paper currencies are now set in motion as well as sharp upward fluctuations in the price of gold.

It is the threat now of the collapse of the entire capitalist system, that above all seeks to restore value to the paper money through an international onslaught on the working class and at the same time drives America, Europe and Japan into massive international trade war. However, there is no question of restoring value to paper money outside of the destruction of the working class and fascism.

The fight therefore to overthrow capitalism is directly posed. This will require a conscious grasp of the way in which this capitalist crisis is developing, which can only be gained through a struggle to bring forward the basic method and understanding in *Capital* itself.

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Strikes & Occupations Sweep French Plants

BY MELODY FARROW

In the midst of an election campaign, only one month after the end of the annual vacation period, the French workers are surging forward in a series of militant strikes over wages, jobs and working conditions.

On October 25, 1200 potash miners in the Alsace region voted to strike indefinitely until their demands are met and have occupied the potash pits. On October 12, thousands of workers around Clermont-Ferrand demonstrated in solidarity with the Michelin rubber workers who went on strike September 21 for a 50 cent an hour increase for all, equal salary scales and an end to speed-up.

Building workers in Nantes went on strike and locked up the director of the plant. On October 12 the Berliet company threatened to lock out hundreds of workers after certain sections walked out.

In Marseilles, workers on the nationalized railroads have been on strike for over four days after their demands for a wage increase of 8.5 percent, better retirement benefits and a reduction in hours was rejected. The 24 hour strike called by the seven union federations October 20 shut down the country's rail service, while on the same day stoppages hit the building trades, metal and chemical industries, public transport and the mines.

SAFETY VALVE

The purpose of the one day national strike and demonstration organized by the Communist Party trade union federation, the Confederation Generale des Travailleurs (CGT) on October 26 was to provide a safety valve for this militancy, and prevent a spontaneous series of wildcat strikes. Wherever possible, the Stalinists have tried to isolate different industries and make only the most minimal wage demands.

Some 20,000 workers marched

in Paris, including a large number of immigrant workers from Africa around the major CGT demands, 1000 francs a month minimum wage, and retirement at 60, but not one political demand was raised. This occurs at a time when the CP and the Socialist Party are running against the Gaullists in the March 1973 elections.

Pompidou and his party, the Union for the Defense of the Republic (UDR), are entering this election in crisis and disintegration. Despite the attempt of Prime Minister Pierre Messmer to maintain the lofty stabilizing image of Gaullism, his party is being torn apart by divisions and fear of the working class.

SHOWDOWN

Now, facing an election next year, Pompidou is forced to seek a showdown with the working class, to introduce a wage freeze and other measures that must produce revolutionary explosions. The eroding position of French capitalism, and the ferocious competition between the Common Market countries and the U.S. and Japan, make it impossible for Pompidou to postpone these attacks for long.

The strategy of the regime is to divide the working class and launch an anti-communist offensive against the Communist Party, cynically using the record of Stalinism to discredit and ridicule the party.

Alain Peyrefitte, the General Secretary of the UDR, is setting the tone of the election campaign with a series of vicious red-baiting attacks on the CP. During the debate in Parliament on the motion to censor the government, sponsored by the CP, the PSU and leftist members of the Radical Party, Peyrefitte's at-

tacks on the CP led to complete pandemonium as deputies began to scream at each other across the benches while shouts of "Fascists!" and "Go Back To Moscow" flew across the room.

In a statement to the UDR's Central Committee, Peyrefitte denounced the Left Union by saying: "The alternative that is offered would be the arrival in force of communists in the government which would undoubtedly be a prelude, as it has happened everywhere, to a seizure of power by the communists..."

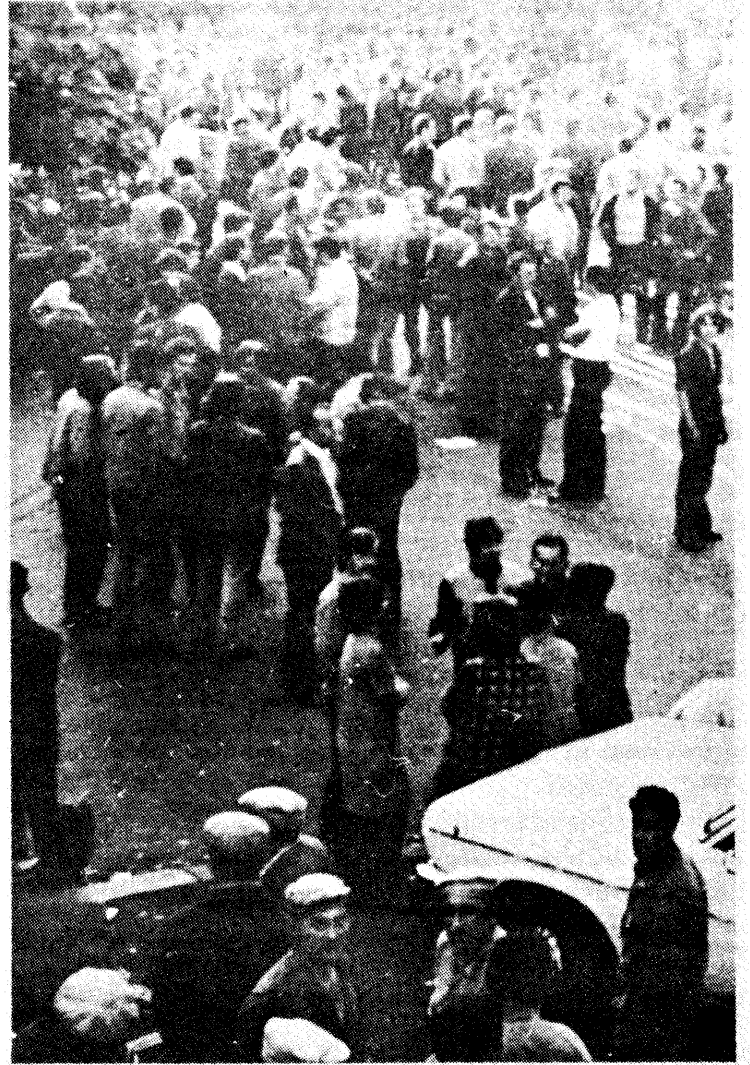
FASCISTS

In this situation, the fascists are seeking to boost their strength. On October 5, 1972, two major right-wing movements held a joint meeting and set up an organization called the National Front. Its leaders are Jean-Marie Le Pen, former head of the National Front for a French Algeria and Francois Brigneau, member of the National Council of the fascist New Order and editor of the right-wing paper *Minute*.

For the first time, they will present candidates in the elections. Their campaign theme is clearly expressed in the following statement on the UDR: "It must be driven out before despair and disgust make the victory of the communist tyranny inevitable."

Behind these threats against the Communist Party and the working class are preparations for dictatorship and the abolition of parliamentary rule.

The National Council of French Employers laid it on the line in a meeting with Messmer last month. The key problems they faced were the need to control wages and to expand their in-



Thousands of French workers demonstrated in support of Michelin rubber strikers in Clermont-Ferrand.

dustries.

A taste of what the enlarged Common Market will mean for the working class can be seen in the recent merger of the two big French steel giants, Wendel-Sidelor and Usinor. Together with the German company, Thyssen, this huge monopoly will construct a new steel complex at Fos which, with new automation, threatens the jobs of thousands of steel workers.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The role of the French Communist Party is to defend its own ruling class more openly than ever. Instead of going on the offensive against the UDR, the CP is totally on the defensive and tries to appear as a respectable parliamentary opposition.

In reply to Peyrefitte's attack that they sought a takeover, the CP replied that they had no intention of seeking the post of

Prime Minister if they won.

The CP refuses to attack the government on its foreign policy because it is in complete agreement with it. It not only backs the Common Market but is attempting to whip up a nationalist fervor to line up workers behind the French capitalists in their struggle for markets.

With its policy of alliance with the Socialist Party already under attack by many militants in the party, the CP is moving towards an alliance with the Radical Party which itself is tied to the Gaullists.

The vacillations and capitulation of the Communist Party will only serve to strengthen the Gaullists and their fascist hirelings. Only the clear and bold struggle for power, around a socialist program, can rally all workers and farmers, as well as sections of the middle class, to defeat Pompidou.

THE PRICE OF THE US - SOVIET TRADE DEAL

BY ED SMITH

As Richard Nixon entered the homestretch of his campaign for re-election last week, he took the opportunity of a paid political radio broadcast to reveal that the Chinese had just purchased 300,000 tons of corn—\$18 million worth—from American farmers.

"This only scratches the surface of an immense trade potential between our two countries," intoned Nixon. He emphasized the "new relationship" of the U.S. and China, showing how farmers could "contribute to peace" and "profit from peace."

But this contribution to Nixon's election campaign by the Maoists pales in significance beside the purchase by the Soviet Union this summer of a third of the American wheat crop and the signing this month of a package of commercial agreements between the U.S. and the Soviets, which is expected to lead to trade worth 1.5 billion dollars over the next three years.

TREATIES

The treaties provide that the

Soviet Union pay \$722 million in Lend-Lease debts from World War II in installments extending to the year 2001, that the American Export-Import Bank extend credits for Soviet trade and that Nixon will press for Congressional approval of "most favored nation" status for the Soviets. The latter will mean they will receive the benefit of the lowest tariff rates, and a number of other provisions.

Nearly half a century after the Soviet bureaucracy led by Stalin rose up against Leninism with the slogan of constructing "socialism in one country," their heirs face a situation where they must purchase a third of the American wheat crop in order to avert famine.

The difference between this crisis and that of the thirties for the Soviet bureaucracy is that

this time they face a working class undefeated, a working class that will not stand for famine, a working class that not only is determined to retain the standards of living it has won, but which has every intention of raising those standards.

It is the bureaucrats' fear of the working class that pushes them into the arms of Nixon in order to find some way out of their crisis. Nixon for his part is all too ready to receive them as a shot in the arm for the disintegrating economic situation.

DEALS

Since the beginning of this year—even before the signing of the trade pacts—over 2500 representatives of American businesses visited Moscow looking for deals. Among them were representatives of ITT, Du Pont, IBM, Sheraton International, Atlantic Richfield, Occidental Oil, and many more—a veritable who's who of the top 500 American corporations. Leasco Corp., for example, has sold 1500 containers to SovFracht, the Soviet ship-chartering agency. International Harvester has sold 140

million dollars worth of tractors.

Immediately after the trade deal was signed this month, rumors began to fly about peace in Vietnam. The Soviet-U.S. wheat and trade deals are the foundation for the great betrayal of the Vietnamese people now being negotiated in Paris.

Trade deals, the Vietnam peace plans, and the announcement of the resumption of strategic arms limitation (SALT) talks on Nov. 21 have been timed to assist the election campaign of Richard M. Nixon.

The Stalinists, because of their utter fear and hostility to revolution, now turn to the most reactionary anti-working class elements in order to find some way out of their crisis. One of the places they have turned is to the fascist Franco regime in Spain. Already a number of trade deals have been concluded, but the Stalinists are not satisfied. To facilitate things, the notorious Kremlin journalist Victor Louis, told the Spanish magazine *Triunfo* recently:

"General Franco has for decades been the target of Soviet cartoonists. But now he has dis-

appeared from their cartoons. As for Prince Juan Carlos of Bourbon, we see no need to object to him...So long as Spain has no relations with the U.S.S.R., its voice carries less weight with the neighboring states..."

ITALY

At the same time as the U.S.-Soviet trade deals were signed, Soviet Premier Kosygin and Italian leader Andreotti were signing a "protocol on political consultation" in Moscow. Andreotti represents a right-wing regime that is fostering the growth of fascist terror squads for use against the Italian workers and the Italian Communist Party.

What must be confronted by workers above all is the economic crisis which at this point drives the Stalinists more and more towards the imperialists. Nixon allies with the Stalinists against the revolutionary danger from the working class. The recent trade agreement sets the seal on this counterrevolutionary alliance. This raises sharply the urgency of constructing a Trotskyist leadership in the working class.

BY MICHAEL ROSS

LOUISVILLE, Ga.—This city, Georgia's first state capital, is the location of the largest non-union plant in the United States of the Thermo-King division of Westinghouse. Some 500 workers have labored here for close to eight years under completely non-union conditions, with wages, conditions and benefits being far inferior to those paid in the Minneapolis plant, organized by Local 2175, United Steel Workers of America (USWA).

Two attempts have been made by the USWA to organize the Louisville plant so far, neither of which have achieved success. There has hardly been a word spoken in Minneapolis about the Georgia plant since the present contract took effect in 1970. If the Local 2175 leadership has known anything about the situation, they have certainly kept their mouths shut.

As far as Westinghouse is concerned, setting up its Thermo-King plant in Louisville and maintaining it non-union has been a test case. The inability of the USWA or any other union to organize this plant, so far, has encouraged Westinghouse to set up some eight non-union plants throughout the South in the past three years.

This is in line with the recent practices of other big electrical manufacturers such as General Electric and Sylvania which are holding back most expansion at their unionized plants while setting up non-union plants throughout the South and abroad. Westinghouse has maintained a Thermo-King assembly plant in Liege, Belgium for almost three years now. The plan of the corporations is diabolically simple: build up non-union plants all over the place, maintain them non-union, run down the unionized plants and eventually be in a position to destroy the unions altogether.

Bulletin reporters went into Louisville, Georgia to get the real story on wages, prices and conditions there. Symbolically, Westinghouse has set up its Thermo-King plant here not too far from the site of an old slave market. This town also houses one of the many plants of J.P. Stevens, one of the South's most notorious anti-union textile firms, which has violated dozens of court orders requiring it to deal with the Textile Workers Union of America.

WAGES

Workers in this area were not hard to attract to the Thermo-King plant when it opened, because it has always paid higher than Stevens, where the workers make barely over the minimum wage. Workers at Thermo-King make an average of a dollar an hour less than workers at the Minneapolis plant. For this they are expected to put out far more work and under much more unsafe conditions. In addition, no one in the Louisville plant starts out at the full wage for a given job. It averages a quarter an hour less. And some workers here told the Bulletin that it has taken as long as nine months to

get the full wage on a given job. This situation was eliminated in Minneapolis years ago.

The safety conditions at the Louisville plant are about where they were in the Minneapolis plant twenty years ago. At one time Thermo-King in Minneapolis was known throughout the labor movement as "the butcher shop of the Northwest," because of the repeated accidents involving losses of fingers or hands, especially on the punch presses, shears and brakes. While these conditions have long been basically stamped out in Minneapolis, they have reappeared in Georgia with a vengeance. The Bulletin talked with a number of workers who either bore evidence of such accidents or could tell of many instances of it happening to others.

Last summer Roy Hayes, plant superintendent, called meetings of both shifts to explain that there had been four major accidents in a ten day period. He did not blame the company's working conditions, of course. Instead he gave advice reminiscent of the safety "rules" given to new employees on most major railroads: the foreman tells you: "Don't get hurt."

CONDITIONS

In Louisville the plant is set up on fifteen labor grades, similar to the system used at most Westinghouse plants organized by the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). The Minneapolis plant uses eighteen grades, derived from application of the USWA job evaluation manual. But in Louisville, many jobs are placed on lower grades.

A good indication of the poverty conditions found here came from a worker the Bulletin talked to who was a labor grade eight. He actually made \$3.25 an hour. He stated that there were very, very few people in grades nine through fifteen. Janitors (labor grade 1) at the Minneapolis plant make \$3.23 an hour. If a worker at the Minneapolis plant punches in one minute late, his paycheck will be short by one minute's pay. If a worker in Louisville punches in one minute late, his paycheck, although made out in the same office as the Minneapolis payroll, winds up fifteen minutes short.

Westinghouse management has deliberately circulated myths and rumors about the Georgia plant among its Minneapolis workers to discourage any movement towards getting Louisville organized. These myths have been used by part of the Local 2175 leadership as an excuse for doing nothing about the situation, even while admitting that taking on Westinghouse when the 1973 contract comes up will be difficult with the Georgia plant unorganized.

One myth is that workers in the Louisville plant can take a few days off to go fishing without any trouble because Westinghouse has difficulty getting replacements. The reality was ex-

Thermo-King's Non-Union Empire in Georgia

Dear Fellow Employees:
To some people, even in this modern age, "Profit" is a dirty word. Yet without it, our world as we know it would not exist.

Thermo King is here today because a group of men formed this Company and invested their money in it. Through their skills and dedication they ed to this profit? Well obviously some was returned to the investors, this was their return on the investment. But most of it was used to purchase better equipment, build a better Plant and to give better wages and benefits to employees.

This cycle has continued over the years and now Thermo King has several plants, employs many more people and enjoys excellent wages and benefits.

The original group of investors have now been replaced with thousands of Westinghouse stockholders, like you and I. We get the profits in the form of dividends.

The greatest advantage any of us get from profits however, is security. Every day some company closes down because it cannot make a profit and pay its employees. But nobody ever closes a healthy company that is making money!

Remember, when you see materials spoiled, time wasted in our Plant or weak management, this is a threat to our security.

Roy M. Hayes
Plant Manager

pressed by one Louisville sheet metal worker: "If you miss one day you had better plan on taking the next three off, too." If a man or woman loses their job at this plant there are many from J.P. Stevens or from area farms and plantations waiting to take their place.

Another myth is that people in Georgia are willing to work for less because the cost of living is so much lower. But a check by Bulletin reporters of some of the prices throughout Louisville, nearby towns such as Wadley and throughout Jefferson County revealed that on only two expenses were the costs lower: gas, where heating bills are far less than in Minnesota because of the severe winters, and rent.

One young worker told the Bulletin that his rent for a one bedroom apartment was \$25 a month plus utilities. But this same worker also has a family. Just what sort of money is Westinghouse paying its Louisville worker if a man with a family can only afford a one bedroom apartment?

PRICES

With the exception of locally grown produce sold directly by the farmer (thereby bypassing the profits and charges of wholesalers, retailers and processors), most other living costs are about the same as those in the Minneapolis area. Gasoline prices are virtually identical.

Corporations like Westinghouse do not just move South to get cheap labor; they get an enormous tax break as well. It is extremely common for these big corporations to get a ten year tax free set-up to move in, as

well as have the city or county authorities put up some if not all of the land and cash necessary for putting up a new plant. In this particular case, the Thermo-King plant was moved into an already existing factory building that had been vacated and was remodeled.

RACISM

The other trump card Westinghouse and the other corporations setting up shop in the South pull out against the unions is racism. Louisville is situated in Jefferson County, which is 52 percent Black. All county officials are white. It is virtually impossible for anyone Black to get a job at Stevens textiles. At Thermo-King, of course, they are much more "liberal," they hire Black and white alike and at the same time try to divide them with racism.

Wallace carried Jefferson County heavily in 1968 and in the 1972 primaries. Centers of Klan activity are not so far away from Louisville. And one should never forget that outfits like Westinghouse, which put up a liberal facade in Minneapolis, are not at all beyond financing the anti-labor, anti-Black, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic groups like the Ku Klux Klan to break up union activity.

The results of racism are glaring: some 90 percent of the Blacks and about 60 percent of the whites in Jefferson County live on or below the federal government's poverty level.

ORGANIZE

The purpose of the Louisville plant is to prepare to get rid of

the Minneapolis plant altogether and destroy the jobs of all save a few top executives. Recently a letter was circulated among Thermo-King and Westinghouse management announcing their intentions to set up shop in Mexico, where the wages are lower yet.

A campaign to organize the Louisville plant signed up one third of the workers in the 1969-1970 period. This was the same time that the leadership in Minneapolis jammed the rotten GE-Westinghouse pact down the throats of Local 2175 members. A second attempt was made in 1971, with organizers from the USWA district 35 office in Atlanta running into a brick wall. Yet every worker Bulletin reporters talked to in Louisville wanted a union in the plant and couldn't understand why there had not been any recent effort to get one in.

MEXICO

Now, Westinghouse is seeking to set up shop in Mexico, where the wages are lower than in Georgia.

The fight against runaway plants means taking up the struggle for a labor party based on the power of the unions. Neither the Democratic nor Republican parties of big business have ever stopped one runaway shop. And the most right-wing politicians such as Wallace have openly advertised for runaways in Northern papers.

Organizing such plants as Thermo-King-Louisville and stopping further runaways requires the building of a new leadership in the USWA.

THE BATTLE TO ORGANIZE FLORIDA'S SUGAR PART THREE



UFW demonstration outside the Fort Pierce Rural Manpower office protested importation of Jamaicans who are used by companies against the union. This kind of protest diverts workers from the real struggle against the growers themselves.

BY BRUCE MCKAY

CLEWISTON, Fla.—Important developments in the past few weeks—including the introduction of mechanical cane harvesters for the first time—have completely exposed the bankruptcy of the Chavez leadership in the drive to organize Florida's sugar industry.

In a previous article, the *Bulletin* warned that the Florida sugar companies are lobbying for a protectionist trade policy and preparing massive unemployment for both domestic farmworkers and the Jamaicans imported to cut cane through the complete mechanization of the cane harvest.

On October 17, the Talisman Sugar Corporation, 15 miles south of South Bay, began its harvest weeks early using approximately 20 sophisticated harvester combines secretly imported from Australia at a cost of over \$80,000 apiece. It is estimated these

machines are replacing over 1000 workers.

In addition, it has been reported that the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative, which operates the mammoth Glades Sugar House, has been running trials with a harvester and automatic cane loader.

Talisman, which in May was sold to the Florida DuPont interests, has taken the lead in the industry-wide effort to smash the tremendous movement of farmworkers here.

Early this year, the UFW supported a wildcat by Cuban truck and tractor drivers who walked out in protest of low wages and brutal treatment.

LEADERSHIP

As farmworkers resumed their picket line in front of the Talisman main gate on October 29, it had become clear the criminal

policies of the UFW leadership has left the union weak and on the defensive in the face of the company's attacks and the preparations of the entire capitalist class to destroy the UFW.

When 40 domestic farmworkers sent by the union to apply for cane cutting jobs arrived at the main gate on October 25, they were met by three guards bearing rifles and photographing everyone with a movie camera. The farmworkers were told there were no jobs since the machines are doing all the work.

Instead of fighting around a program of jobs for all, the leadership of the United Farm Workers has diverted the struggle to organize farm labor in the sugar industry into lawsuits and demonstrations aimed at keeping out Jamaican workers.

This has left the union prostrate in the face of Talisman's—and soon the entire industry's—moves toward complete mechanization.

Refusing to see the international crisis facing capitalism—a crisis which will force the capitalists to eliminate millions of jobs and drive the working class back to conditions of mass poverty—the union leadership has viewed the unemployment problem here as a matter of replacing 10,000 Jamaicans with 10,000 "Ameri-

can" workers.

In fact, there are 80,000 unemployed farmworkers in Florida, and there will soon be 10,000 more unemployed workers in Jamaica as U.S. Sugar, Gulf and Western and the other sugar companies replace them, not with domestic labor, but with machines.

This attack on the jobs and living standards of cane cutters is not limited to Florida or to the sugar industry.

All sectors of capitalist agriculture are rushing ahead with plans for mechanization and productivity schemes as they prepare to meet the international crisis.

The introduction of mechanical harvesters to Florida is designed not only to break the back of the UFW but the international working class as well. It is an integral part of the American sugar bosses' preparations for trade war.

It has been revealed that following the April 14 hearing held in New Orleans by the Department of Agriculture, a decision was made to increase Florida acreage quotas by a staggering 25 percent. This, combined with a 20,000 acre increase which the *Bulletin* has learned was made last year, brings the total Florida quota to 252,000 acres.

These moves have brought the

preparations for trade war out into the open. American sugar producers are pushing for protectionist measures to increase their quota of domestic sales, and they are prepared to destroy the International Sugar Agreement and risk a world price-cutting war in order to accomplish this.

In the meantime, Talisman has provided a glimpse of the methods which the entire capitalist class will use as it attempts to drive workers back to the conditions of the 1930s.

Since it was taken over by Ed Ball, Talisman has employed a host of armed security guards, and its main gate is protected by new guard towers with powerful searchlights, in addition to the high chain link fence.

The middle class pacifism preached by the Chavez leadership only encourages these preparations for violence against the working class. It attempts to disarm workers at the very moment they are being attacked. What is posed for the rank and file is the fight to develop a new leadership which will mobilize farmworkers to defend the union and struggle to carry this defense to the entire working class through the struggle for a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

TO BE CONTINUED

Midwest News

Governor Orders Hiring Freeze In Minnesota

BY A STATE EMPLOYEE

St. PAUL—Minnesota's liberal Democratic Governor Wendell Anderson ordered a freeze on all hiring of state employees. Not only will no new positions open up, but all vacated positions will remain empty.

Anderson, the "golden boy" of the state's labor bureaucracy, is determined to make up his budget deficit off the backs of state employees. This is the second freeze in 18 months.

Already, attrition and reorganization has resulted in increased work loads and deteriorating service. At the University of Minnesota Hospitals, for example, 74 employees have contracted hepatitis in the last two years as opposed to two cases in the six years previous.

State employees are among the lowest paid workers in Minnesota. Fifteen percent qualify for food stamps. Last July, the Pay

Board refused a four percent second year wage increase. This year, Council 6 is negotiating with the state legislature for a \$500 minimum monthly salary, but the bureaucracy has no intention of carrying on a fight beyond table talk and lobbying.

In Duluth and Minneapolis, University American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) locals are fighting for their first union contracts. Again, the Council 6 leadership refuses to mobilize state workers for these contracts and instead brings negotiations to the government's mediation service, and continues to support the Democratic Party.



"I never heard of a Democratic Indian or a Republican Indian. When we get to Washington we will use both. We will make people aware and open avenues—get a voice in the federal government."

Chicago Nurses Continue Walkout Despite Injunction

BY BILL ROEMER

CHICAGO, Nov. 4—Nurses at Cook County Hospital voted overwhelmingly at a meeting Thursday morning to strike.

The Illinois Nurses Association (INA) representing 674 R.N.'s and 583 L.P.N.'s at the hospital went out despite the vicious attempts of the Health and Hospital Governing Commission of Cook County to convince the nurses that a settlement had been reached.

Eight hours after the strike vote, Judge James J. Mejda slap-

ped down a ten day injunction against the nurses. The judge said that the hospital must operate "without interference or obstruction for the good of the entire community. Any interference would be an improper act on the part of the (nurses)."

The nurses are demanding a one year contract. The hospital has offered a three year contract. Nurses are also fighting threatened layoffs and attempts by the hospital to weaken the grievance procedure.

The capitalist press has waged a campaign together with the hospital to smear the nurses, portraying them as villainous, selfish people who have no regard for the safety and health of the public.

MILITANCY

The militancy of the nurses has been shown clearly in their refusal to go back to work. One male nurse told the *Bulletin*: "I could count on my two hands the number of nurses working without union release."

Another said about the injunction that: "No one can make you work. They abolished slavery a long time ago."

But, although the nurses have not gone back to work, they have not defied the injunction. The union's lawyer, Leon M. Despres, claims that the injunction does not actually order anyone back to work and does not prohibit "informational" picketing.

The signs carried by the pickets calling for unity with other unions poses the way forward.

OPPOSITION

The District 31 elections come at a critical period when Nixon threatens all the gains of the union. At every point, the union leadership, led by Abel, has balked at leading the opposition to the attacks that has grown among the rank and file.

The arena to organize this opposition is here with the campaign for the February USWA District 31 elections, based on a program to meet the threat of layoffs and plant closures.

COMPLACENCY

Workers at Gary, however, do not share Abel's complacency. "What we need here is one hell of a strike," said one man who had just finished eight hours of Satur-

REFUSES

Now, at every crucial point, the union leadership refuses to fight the attacks. Last Saturday night, at the annual meeting of District 31, which includes Chicago and Gary, I.W. Abel,



Indian Pow Wow at St. Paul to prepare for "Trail of Broken Treaties" trip to Washington and the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters.

Steel Men Under The Gun

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

GARY, Ind.—Speed-up conditions on the order of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) horror are underway in steel mills throughout the country, and engineers are feverishly working to find new ways to eliminate jobs.

"Like the situation with auto," said Dorsey Blackmon, 54 year old member of Local 1014, Gary Works, "steel is going into the same situation. And I don't call it a problem. I call it a conflict between the American human being and United States Steel."

president of the USWA, reaffirmed his willingness to tie the hands of the working class to capitalism by refusing to lead a fight against the two parties of big business.

He said: "Our members are free to vote for whomever they want. We examined the records of both men and decided neither merited our support. The events of the past few weeks have proved more and more that organized labor's position is correct." He said, in response to a reporter's question on what he would do if Nixon were re-elected, that: "We will ask him to join us in our campaign to get passage of a federal reinsurance program for pensions."

day work. Another worker, who is working a straight seven day week, said:

"I told my foreman I'm not working another Saturday. I don't care what they try to do to me. They're getting ready for something here, they're being good, giving people work until after the elections. Then they're going to come down on us hard, right after Nixon gets in again."

GM Ranks Fight For Labor Party In Local 696

BY A LOCAL 696 MEMBER

DAYTON—In the face of the mounting speed-up throughout all divisions of General Motors now being spearheaded by the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), the leadership of the United Auto Workers Local 696 at the Delco-Moraine plant called a special meeting on October 29.

The local leadership asked for strike authorization for a possible three or four day token strike against conditions at Delco and to put pressure on GM in line with UAW President Leonard Woodcock's "Apache" strategy of hit-and-run strikes.

ATTACK

Opening the meeting, the leadership immediately launched an attack on a leaflet issued by the Workers League which called for a nationwide shutdown of GM. This would include Delco and the Frigidaire division represented by the International Union of Electrical Workers. The leaflet also called for the convening of "an emergency Congress of Labor to construct a national labor party."

Several workers at the meeting took the offensive in speaking on the need for a labor party, pointing out that it was impossible to fight GM without fighting the Nixon government and the Democrats which stand behind GM and its profit-making speed-up drive.

In answer to the local leadership's assertion that the fight against GMAD was not political, a Local 696 member pointed out that since the Pay Board was set up by Nixon, with the cooperation of the Democrats, the government now had a veto power over anything won at the bargaining table.

Throughout the meeting, workers kept asking for answers to these political questions raised, but the leadership's bankrupt answer to the labor party was that "McGovern would take care of everything, so 'go vote.'"

SUPPORT

There was strong sentiment in support of a nationwide shutdown of GM, because, as one of the workers pointed out, the conditions were getting worse throughout GM, making a united nationwide strike the only answer to the speed-up. The response of the leadership, in support of the Woodcock policy, was that a national strike would deplete the strike fund. This position ignores the fact that GM could be brought to terms in a very short period of time if all their production were to be stopped cold.

VOTE

As the discussion continued, the local president closed the meeting without taking any vote on the motion for a national strike and the call for a labor party.

A rank and file caucus must be organized in Local 696 as part of a nationwide caucus to take forward the fight against Woodcock.

ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

British trade union movement and the Heath government.

The huge political crisis which British capitalism has now plunged into is directly dictated and intimately bound up with the virtual collapse of the British pound. Last Friday, the pound floated to the lowest level in history—\$2.32. On the same day, it was only the crisis intervention of the Bank of England that prevented it from sinking even lower.

INFLATION

The pumping of huge volumes of inconvertible dollars into Europe by the Nixon government makes all chances of the European capitalist class halting the ravages of inflation in their own countries impossible. In the past four years, Nixon has run up a budget deficit of \$75 billion domestically and is running a balance of payments deficit for the first nine months of 1972 of \$4.86 billion.

In every European country inflation is now raging on a scale not witnessed since World War II.

In Britain, all prices are rising at the official rate of 7.6 percent per year. Unemployment stands at 921,594, the highest figure since right after World War II. A wholesale collapse of confidence in British capitalism has seen capitalist investment fall off sharply and production itself fell to an annual rate of growth of only one percent in the first half of this year.

It is this situation, under conditions where the Heath govern-

ment has been unable to defeat the working class, which is at the heart of the collapse of the pound.

It is now clear that the British capitalist class, confronted with the resistance of the working class, is consciously planning to drown the militancy of the working class in an inflationary holocaust reminiscent of the Weimar Republic in the 1920s, while at the same time preparing to dispense with parliamentary rule and go over to the establishment of dictatorship.

It is decisive to grasp that for all the talk about combatting inflation, which is used to whip up support for the imposition of this freeze on wages, the capitalists have in reality long since given up any hope of actually stemming inflation.

This is why it is the big monopolists in Great Britain that have been leading the speculative drive against the pound, and why, during the whole inflationary crisis, the Bank of England itself has been printing paper money on the colossal scale of an annual rate of 30 percent.

The conscious stimulation of an inflationary crisis by the big monopolists is directly in line with their whole strategy of entry into the Common Market in January. This strategy means pushing smaller competitors at home to the wall, creating a sharp rise in unemployment.

Along with the plans for the pitting of the working class in various regions of Europe against one another through the Common Market, plans for a more direct confrontation are

well under way. A short time ago Brigadier Frank Kitson, now head of the Infantry Training School at Westminster, said:

"If a genuine and serious grievance arose such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of living, all those who now dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the power of the police to handle. Should this happen, the army would be required to restore the position rapidly."

The theme is being echoed daily throughout the British capitalist press. Thus the editorial in the October 30 *London Times* said: "The warning is clear in the modern world: inflation leads to authoritarian governments; it is the enemy of democracy."

Further, the editorial states in relation to the talks between Heath and the TUC:

"If there is no agreement it follows that there will be conflict. The dispute will concern the central issue of the authority of the state. In such a dispute the eventual victor is always the state because the trade unions cannot govern."

The issue posed today in Britain as elsewhere however, is that the working class not only can but must take power.

It is on this basis that the British All Trades Unions Alliance recently met in its largest conference to date to press forward the struggle to force the Tories to resign, to return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and to transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party of the British working class.

ST. LOUIS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

We still haven't heard anything about our back pay, something else which was 'supposed' to be settled."

MILITANCE

Throughout the General Motors empire, the rank and file members of the UAW are demonstrating their militance and eagerness for a real fight against General Motors' backbreaking speed-up. This was expressed at the Leeds, Missouri GM stamping plant where workers voted for a strike authorization 3090 for and only 17 against.

The policy of the International is to keep the local strikes isolated and separate, to let the workers "blow off steam," and hope that, in the process, they can demoralize the ranks. Above all, they hope to avoid a nationwide strike which Woodcock terms "an invitation to disaster."

The Communist Party has emerged as the leading apologist for Woodcock in order to cement an alliance with the "progressive" labor bureaucracy.

The efforts to appease GM are justified by Woodcock in the name of not weakening the union's forthcoming 1973 contract negotiations. Nothing could be further from the truth. The conciliatory tactics of Woodcock only serve to embolden GM in its drive for more speed-up and allows them to prepare for a drive to break the union, with the help of Nixon, in the 1973 contract.

Neither the St. Louis, nor the earlier Norwood settlements have resolved anything. The recent authorization of a second

strike at Lordstown, where the first GMAD strike was supposedly settled a few months ago, shows the continued explosiveness of the situation. As the president of the Lordstown UAW local—where the line speed for the Vega is 100 cars per hour—stated: "Things are just as bad here as before the strike."

The fight for a nationwide GMAD shutdown can only be taken forward through a battle for strike action in every local followed by the mobilization of all the resources including lobbies and demonstrations at Solidarity House in Detroit to demand a nationwide strike.

ELECTIONS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

went to Nixon.

Nixon knows very well that in spite of his landslide, he has no mandate to destroy the living conditions of the working class. In his victory statement, he admitted that "a landslide in itself would mean nothing."

It is for this reason that his large plurality will in no way slow down Nixon's moves toward dictatorship, which have been so clearly exposed by the Watergate Affair and the attacks on the press.

The results of the elections pose great dangers to the working class. No time should be wasted in preparing an answer to the second Nixon Administration.

It is necessary that the fight begin immediately for a Congress of Labor, representing the trade unions, and representatives of the unemployed, youth, students, unorganized, minorities, and all working class tendencies, to begin work immediately to form a labor party.

All the bureaucrats in the labor movement who are thinking of "taking over" the Democratic Party will only waste precious time. Only a labor party based on the trade unions and pledged to socialist policies will be able to fight Nixon.

The Workers League calls upon all trade unionists to take up the fight for a Congress of Labor in their locals.

EXPANSION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Bronx, Philadelphia, Hartford, New Haven, Chicago, St. Louis, Dayton, and Florida. The other branches must immediately take steps to reach the half way mark by next week or they will not be able to complete the drive on time as we are already running one week late.

The re-election of Nixon poses to the *Bulletin* an extremely critical task. We must now fight for a Congress of Labor to answer the new anti-labor attacks Nixon has already prepared. Only the *Bulletin* can and will do this. This is why it is now so critical that we fulfill this drive as a major step along the road to getting our own web offset press, expanding the *Bulletin* to 24 pages, publishing the *Young Socialist* as an independent 16 page paper with full color, and laying the all important ground work for a daily newspaper.

In order to complete the drive on time we must receive \$12,500 by December 1, the three-quarter mark in the drive. This means we need a little over \$4,000 a week from now on in. This can be done if we begin from the new requirements and the new possibilities posed by the election of Nixon and the threat to the working class here and internationally.

CONGRESS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

coverage.

The third "alternative strategy" reads as follows: "Provide by legislation or by regulation if it can be done that the Secretary of Labor is not required to make a wage determination in all cases...under the Service Contract Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act minimum wage (\$1.60 per hour) is set forward as a floor for all work on contracts for which there is no determination. This could also be done for construction."

The fourth proposal deals with the Davis-Bacon stipulation that if 30 percent or more of the construction work in a given area is union, the union wages must be paid. The memo proposes that the proposition be raised to 50 percent or more, or that a "weighted average" be used.

The fifth and final "alternative strategy" proposes that enforcement of the Davis-Bacon and related acts be delegated to the contracting government agencies. This would mean that the agencies themselves would be given a free hand at determining eligibility for coverage and prevailing wage on all projects under their new jurisdiction.

Further, these agencies would then be free to set the boundaries of wage-determination areas as well as the time of wage determination, so as to set the lowest possible prevailing wage.

This memo, which has been privately circulating in the Labor Department since May 1, outlines an entirely new stage in the government's attack on the living standards of the working class. No longer are the bosses and Nixon content to merely freeze wages and limit wage increases. With the passing of the elections, the government is now prepared to move in and cut wages



CBS workers have struck against proposed use of nonunion labor.

for construction workers.

While Nixon's Labor Department outlines this plan for attacking wages of construction workers and busting the unions, a whole right-to-work campaign has been opened up in the state of Pennsylvania aimed at the construction unions.

These plans expose the criminal role of the leadership of the construction unions which have campaigned in this election for the man who authored them.

They have shown their willingness to collaborate with the government in the destruction of the unions.

WARNING

Nixon's plans for the construction unions must serve as a warning for all trade unionists. Just as the wage freeze of 20 months ago in construction was the prelude to Nixon's August 15 measures, the deepening attack on construction workers today

prepares the same for the rest of the labor movement.

LESSONS

Now more than ever, it is essential that the trade union movement draw the lessons of the past four years of Nixon and the Democrats, and convene a Congress of Labor to build a labor party that can beat back the government's attacks on jobs, wages and living conditions once and for all.

West Coast News



Workers League and Young Socialists brought forces to UFW march in San Francisco against Proposition 22.

California Labor Defeats Union-Busting Proposition 22

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The labor movement of California has dealt a blow to the campaign by the most reactionary sections of big business to smash the United Farmworkers Union. Proposition 22 went down to defeat on election day. If passed, this proposition would have outlawed strikes and boycotts by farmworkers.

Proposition 22 was defeated despite the leadership of the unions which at each point had pulled back from a real battle against this union-busting proposal.

A demonstration of more than a thousand workers and youth was called by the San Francisco Labor Council and Cesar Chavez on November 4 to protest against Proposition 22 on the state ballot.

No serious efforts were made by the Bay Area trade union leaders to bring sizeable trade union forces to the march.

California Federation of Labor Secretary John Henning most clearly expressed the complacency of the labor leaders. Admitting that the growers were trying to drive the farmworkers back to conditions like the 1930s, and after all the owners could not use the deputy sheriffs and the police openly against workers as they once had.

Only last month the union local headquarters at Poplar was shot up by goon squads organized by the growers, as law officers looked on. In the next period, the trade unions will be up against the naked power of the capitalist class' state and all the scum that can be organized to fill in where

police and troops are insufficient.

BLUR

Chavez himself sought to blur over and conceal the real strength of the labor movement. He described how the UFW had forced a recall election against the governor of Arizona, who signed into law a bill like Proposition 22.

But instead of drawing the lesson from this of the need to mobilize labor politically, he held up the prospect of a 112 million dollar lawsuit against the growers for the false advertising used to sell Proposition 22. Chavez now comes forward as the conscious enemy of political independence for the working class.

At a previous anti-22 march in San Francisco one month ago, supporters of the Workers League and the Young Socialists marched with labor party banners and slogans and posed an alternative to the bankrupt policy of support for McGovern and other labor-haiting Democrats.

Chavez attempted to prevent any repetition of this, telling the rank and file UFW members who served as marshals on the march that the Workers League and the Young Socialists were opposed to the farmworkers and should not

be permitted on the march.

These lies were exposed by Young Socialists who argued that the only way that the farmworkers could defend themselves was in the fight for a labor party. On the basis of this political struggle, the marshals agreed that our banners should remain.

YSA Affair For Wayne Morse

BY

DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND—Supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance in Portland, as the leadership of the local Student Mobilization Committee, have turned to the Democratic Party to defend the SMC against a \$120,000 civil suit.

In the aftermath of an antiwar demonstration in downtown Portland sponsored by the SMC, following the mining of North Vietnamese ports last May, the Georgia Pacific Corporation filed suit charging the SMC with conspiracy to organize alleged violent rock throwing against the GP headquarters building.

The suit demands \$20,000 property damage and \$100,000 damages and a permanent injunction against demonstrations

Strikebreaking Threat Faces Mates & Pilots

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike of Masters Mates and Pilots is entering its 12 day and all negotiations have broken off.

The union is insisting on a hiring system that will guarantee the rotation of work among all members, while the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) is determined to maintain a pool of steady men that will ultimately mean the destruction of the hiring hall.

UNION

Over 20 ships are now tied up and the union is threatening to get tough on its policy of allowing perishables, passenger ships and military cargo through without question.

Hawaii, which depends entirely on American ships for West Coast cargo, will soon face a significant crisis. Employers in Hawaii are already screaming for government strikebreaking and Nixon would like to postpone it till November 7.

The strike is reaching a very dangerous point. The newspapers here have deliberately downplayed it. Deck officers must confront the fact that the only reason the government has not openly intervened to break the strike is because of the elections.

Any illusions about this are not

shared by the maritime employers. A meeting of the American Association of Port Authorities (AAPA) in Miami was told by George Altwater, head of the AAPA Committee on Port Operations, that anti-maritime strike legislation was likely to go through in the new Congress.

The AAPA demanded "more effective procedures for the fair, impartial and speedy settlement of labor disputes, grievances and contract negotiations in the maritime industry without strikes, lockouts or work stoppages."

Spokesmen for the administration have already given many indications that Mr. Altwater has every reason to be hopeful on this score.

WAR

With the ILWU contract still tied up in the courts, and less than a year to go on the agreement with the PMA, the government will be preparing for all-out war.

Any attempt at strikebreaking against the Masters Mates and Pilots must be met with solidarity action by the ILWU to close all West Coast ports.

porters with a few liberals.

When two *Bulletin* reporters arrived at the rally, several YSA members surrounded them and demanded they leave.

The YSA ignores the fact that Morse was co-author of the Communist Control Act of 1954 and the Subversive Activities Control Amendment. These outlawed the CP and other "subversive" parties.

In 1968 Morse advocated use of "state police forces" against the student strike at Columbia. In September of that year, he sponsored an amendment to cut off federal scholarship funds to any student involved in "disruptive activities."

In the topsy turvy world of middle class protest politics, Wayne Morse, who joined McCarthy in the 1950s, is welcomed into the "new radicalization" today.

ILWU. . .

(Continued From Page 20)

Order could only be fought by appealing to the Pay Board. The appeal will be heard in Washington in two weeks.

The government's suit is demanding a \$2500 fine from the union and Crescent, as well as demanding that the individual union members pay out of their pockets the back wages over 5.5 percent that the warehouse companies paid their employees before Crescent sought action to roll back the increase. This will amount to over \$250 from each worker's pocket.

Several months ago, the government filed suit against members of an International Typographical Union local in

New Haven, Connecticut, demanding the members pay back wages already earned over 5.5 percent. The *Bulletin* warned then that the government was preparing to go much further and to take on much stronger unions in order to weaken the entire trade union movement.

The Pay Board a few months ago was robbing workers of their wages, and now Nixon is building the apparatus to rob the unions of the right to strike.

It was ILWU President Harry Bridges and the ILA President Gleason's acceptance of the Pay Board's cut of the last longshore settlement that has permitted the government to launch this new round of attacks. Bridges'

campaign for McGovern and Gleason's campaign for Nixon make it clear that they have no intention of waging a fight against the parties that are responsible for these attacks against longshoremen's rights.

A Local 13 member told the *Bulletin*:

"A confrontation is unavoidable; labor is in for a rough four years. McGovern doesn't have a chance. I'm not for him and I'm not for Nixon. Labor cannot continue like this; we will have to do something else, because we face the destruction of the working class."

Labor must now prepare for this confrontation by building its own political party.



Three members of the Socialist Workers Party threatened Workers League members and called them "pigs and swine" when they took pictures of the CoDRP meeting in Portland held to support Democratic Senator Morse's re-election.

West Coast News

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Pay Board Injunction Breaks ILWU Strike

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Coming only weeks after Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson's speech threatening to outlaw longshore strikes, the United States government is now preparing such legislation by attempting to set a precedent against 42 commercial warehousemen who are members of International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 13.

The government recently stepped in to halt a strike by the warehousemen against five warehouse companies. They charged in the suit that their 19 percent wage demand (\$5.10/hour) was illegal because the demand exceeded the 5.5 percent limit dictated by the Pay Board.

"They want to nail a large union," said one Local 13 official. With a membership of 3317 men, this is the largest ILWU local in the Los Angeles area.

In hitting out against 42 members, the government is seeking to weaken the entire ILWU in an area where containerization is making the port of Long Beach one of the leading ports on the West Coast. Because of containerization, total tonnage moving through the port has increased by 143 percent in the past 10 years.

PARITY

In all past negotiated contracts, warehousemen have received parity with the longshore

contract. This time, all the warehouse companies agreed to pay their employees in accordance with the latest longshore settlement, with the exception of the Crescent Warehouse Company, Ltd.

Crescent, the largest company, rejected parity, and, in a move to undercut the other warehouse companies, claimed that it was a wholly owned subsidiary, employing the required number of workers to bring them under the jurisdiction and regulations of the Pay Board.

Crescent's refusal to pay the 19 percent wage increase brought the men out on strike for two months, until the government stepped in seeking to use the case as the first step in abolishing the right to strike. In an unprecedented action, the Justice Department, acting on behalf of the Pay Board and at the request of Crescent, sought an injunction from the federal courts to halt the strike based on the 19 percent wage demand.

When the government went to court, however, Judge William Gray issued a Temporary Restraining Order on the paying of wages over the Pay Board's limit, but refused to issue an injunction to halt the strike. According to another Local 13 official:

"The judge said he was hesitant to grant such an injunction with such broad implications. We were all shocked that he didn't do as the government wanted. I suppose the judge will be on the way to his retirement without pay."

In giving his decision, Judge Gray made it clear that if the strike resumed he would consider it in contempt of court, and said: "I wouldn't take this too lightly."

APPEAL

The union sent the men back to work three weeks ago stating that the Temporary Restraining Order (Continued On Page 19)



The Bulletin was enthusiastically bought by workers at the American Can Company in Vernon, Calif. The plant employing 800 people is scheduled to close the first of the year.

Editorial

Bosses Spend Millions On Anti-Labor Ballot

The barrage of initiatives and referendums directed against the working class in this election must serve as a warning to the labor movement of the attacks being prepared.

California's initiative system has become the vehicle for vicious anti-labor campaigns financed by big business, publicized with fraud and deception and assisted by the capitalist parties and cooperative courts unwilling to lift a finger against open law breaking.

A compulsory arbitration measure was presented as a pay raising device to stop public service strikes. The infamous Proposition 22 was advertised as a measure to bring justice to farm workers. A proposition to cut business and agricultural taxes was fraudulently presented as one which would close loopholes and cut taxes.

Reagan and his right-wing cohorts have used the initiatives for demagogic appeals for restoration of the death penalty and the institution of an anti-obscenity law actually aimed at smashing any freedom of the press.

Approximately five million dollars has been thrown into these campaigns. Advertising agencies were hired for massive propaganda efforts. Agents were hired to collect signatures for 18 cents to 24 cents apiece using shady tactics to get people to sign.

The state Attorney General and the courts have gone all out to defend these operations and to insure that the measures qualified for the ballot.

Just as in the Watergate scandals, what is involved here is not simply politics as usual but preparations for Bonapartist forms of rule. The state legislature is simply ignored, while huge sums are thrown into whipping up public hysteria and disguising the cynical power grabs of the large corporations.

While the middle class provided a few diversions with their marijuana initiative, the real masters went about the business of preparing the destruction of the unions and the smashing of democratic rights.

The liberal Democrats provided little more than an impotent protest, which served only to divert the labor movement from these preparations for dictatorship.

The California ballot exposed the complete corruption and decay within the ruling class. The working class cannot defend itself by appeals to these same bankrupt liberals.

Only the construction of a labor party can take the fight forward. This is the life and death question facing the trade unions after the elections.

Oakland Teachers Demand Strike Over School Cuts

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Public schools here were thrown into turmoil last week by the superintendent's announcement that 84 classes are to be axed as a result of the district's financial crisis.

The night after the announcement, over 400 parents, students, and teachers met at Oakland High School demanding that the cuts be rescinded. The meeting voted to make sure all but one of the present members of the Board of Education are defeated in the next school elections, and gave enthusiastic support to the AFT's strike proposal.

Thursday night's meeting was followed up immediately by an AFT meeting the next night which voted unanimously to strike on November 17 if the cuts are not rescinded and if maxi-

mum class sizes are not set. A teacher at Oakland Technical High told the Bulletin that:

"Everybody is mad about this, even teachers who are in the OEA (Oakland Educational Association, which has a no strike agreement with the school district) are talking about striking. Marcus has gone too far with this one—calling the layoffs transfers. The only reason they are doing it this way is so they do not have to break the contracts of tenured teachers. That's the reason they have the full time substitutes in the first place."

A student at Tech told the Bulletin: "It's like a joke. They say they're cutting down because a lot of students have left the district, but all my classes are overflowing. In history, we've got over 40 kids with just one teacher."

Next Monday, the labor council will decide on strike sanction for the AFT. It is crucial that the council release strike sanction and give its full backing to the teachers.

This movement toward strike action must be carried forward by turning the tremendous resistance shown by parents, teachers and the youth to a political fight against the attacks on education. These cuts in Oakland are not an isolated case, as Superintendent Marcus would have people believe, but part of a concerted drive to destroy the education system of this country as the government prepares for civil war. The fight against the cuts must be taken up with this understanding, as part of the struggle to build a labor party.

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While the middle class provided a few diversions with their marijuana initiative, the real masters went about the business of preparing the destruction of the unions and the smashing of democratic rights.

The liberal Democrats provided little more than an impotent protest, which served only to divert the labor movement from these preparations for dictatorship.

The California ballot exposed the complete corruption and decay within the ruling class. The working class cannot defend itself by appeals to these same bankrupt liberals.

Only the construction of a labor party can take the fight forward. This is the life and death question facing the trade unions after the elections.

Oakland Teachers Demand Strike Over School Cuts

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Public schools here were thrown into turmoil last week by the superintendent's announcement that 84 classes are to be axed as a result of the district's financial crisis.

The night after the announcement, over 400 parents, students, and teachers met at Oakland High School demanding that the cuts be rescinded. The meeting voted to make sure all but one of the present members of the Board of Education are defeated in the next school elections, and gave enthusiastic support to the AFT's strike proposal.

Thursday night's meeting was followed up immediately by an AFT meeting the next night which voted unanimously to strike on November 17 if the cuts are not rescinded and if maxi-

mum class sizes are not set. A teacher at Oakland Technical High told the Bulletin that:

"Everybody is mad about this, even teachers who are in the OEA (Oakland Educational Association, which has a no strike agreement with the school district) are talking about striking. Marcus has gone too far with this one—calling the layoffs transfers. The only reason they are doing it this way is so they do not have to break the contracts of tenured teachers. That's the reason they have the full time substitutes in the first place."

A student at Tech told the Bulletin: "It's like a joke. They say they're cutting down because a lot of students have left the district, but all my classes are overflowing. In history, we've got over 40 kids with just one teacher."

Next Monday, the labor council will decide on strike sanction for the AFT. It is crucial that the council release strike sanction and give its full backing to the teachers.

This movement toward strike action must be carried forward by turning the tremendous resistance shown by parents, teachers and the youth to a political fight against the attacks on education. These cuts in Oakland are not an isolated case, as Superintendent Marcus would have people believe, but part of a concerted drive to destroy the education system of this country as the government prepares for civil war. The fight against the cuts must be taken up with this understanding, as part of the struggle to build a labor party.

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