

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NOVEMBER  
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INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER SIXTY ONE 270

NOVEMBER 20, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## Nixon Reveals Real Platform--

# NO SCHOOLS, NO JOBS, NO HOUSING

The American working class now faces a crisis situation. Richard Nixon is not wasting any time in pressing ahead with his plans to smash the trade unions and destroy the living conditions of millions of workers.

### EDITORIAL

Though the elections are over, the greatest political tasks lie before the labor movement. No time can be lost in mobilizing the full strength of the working class through a Congress of Labor which must build a labor party based upon socialist programs and take action now against Nixon's attacks.

The urgency of the situation is exposed by Richard Nixon himself, who, in an interview with the *Washington Star-News* held just before election day and published last week, outlined in chilling detail his grand design for taking away every right won by

the working class over the past 40 years.

With unequalled arrogance, this spokesman of bankers and industrialists declared:

"The average American is just like a child in the family. You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. He is going to do something.

"If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled, and eventually a very weak individual."

Boasting that he never promised "a whole bag full of goodies," Nixon stated that nearly all the social welfare programs instituted during the 1960s will be dropped.

While deploring the decline of the "work ethic," Nixon pledged that he will personally supervise massive job cuts throughout

American industry and particularly among federal employees.

"Masses of civilian employees who are getting in the way of each other," he stated, "...are going to have to take a thinning down."

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## Workers League Plans Meetings On Fourth International

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

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These meetings will take place at the most critical time in history for the international working class.

Dany Sylveire, of the National Committee of the British Socialist Labor League and the British Young Socialists and Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, will speak at the meetings in Cleveland on November 25 and in New York on November 29.

The British Young Socialists' film, "The Right to Work", and "Three Years of the Workers Press," will be shown. Meetings will also be held in Minneapolis on December 2, San Francisco on December 8, and Los Angeles on December 10.

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As the statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International printed in this issue of the *Bulletin* points out, a new stage has been opened in the economic crisis unleashed by Nixon on August 15, 1971. This period is dominated by uncontrollable inflation which means that in order for the value of money to be restored, the working class must be broken and their living standards destroyed.

It is under conditions of revolutionary struggles throughout Europe that the American  
(Continued On Page 18)

## INSIDE Open Letter to the 1972 YSA Convention

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Expansion  
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\$20,000  
To Go**

We are now moving towards the three quarter mark in the Fall *Bulletin* Expansion Fund to raise \$50,000 by December 15. This week we received \$3,926.28 bringing our total to \$30,167.66. In order to reach the three quarters mark on December 1, we must raise \$8,573.72. This means we must get over \$4,000 per week.

There are still branches that are lagging.

The attacks Nixon has announced in the short week after his election show the sharp situation now developing in the U.S. and poses the urgency of this drive to install our own press and lay the basis for a daily paper.



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The Hanford Steel Foundry in San Bernadino, Calif. has paid workers only four weeks in the last two months, claiming lack of funds. The 150 workers (100 have been laid off) are members of USWA Local 4765 and the Teamsters union. They fear the threat of plant closure is behind the company's insistence on more speedup, but the union leaders have been silent.

After The Election:

# Colon Plans Action To Outlaw Strikes By Puerto Rico Labor

BY LUCIA RIVERA

PUERTO RICO—After four years in power the New Progressive Party (PNP) of Ferre was defeated by a big margin of votes by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) on November 7.

The PPD lost in 1968 after having been undefeated for almost 24 years under the leadership of Luis Munos Marin.

This victory of the PPD was a great upset for Ferre and his party, especially because of its relationship with the U.S. Republican Party. Even Governor Rockefeller went down to the island to campaign for him.

To this moment, the right-wing forces who support Ferre are

asking for new elections, and they are saying that Nixon is going to intervene in favor of Ferre. Constant rallies and a permanent picket line is maintained in front of the election Board. Bags containing PNP votes are being brought to the Board so that these rightists can fight for new elections.

The PPD, formed in the early 1940s under the slogan of "bread, land and liberty," brought into their ranks the majority of the peasants and working class. They pose the gravest dangers to the labor movement in this period.

All the demagogy used by this party during the recent campaign is being used to co-opt the offensive of the working class, and with the support of the union bureaucracy, maintain the coalition of forces on which this party is based.

When the PPD was created, the Puerto Rican Communist Party liquidated itself into it. This was done when Saez Corales, leading member of the CP and also the national secretary of the General Workers Confederation (CGT), called for complete support to the PPD candidates.

#### INDEPENDENCE

This turn of the CP came when masses of workers came back from World War II ready to fight for jobs, with the majority of them ready to struggle for the independence of the island. The PPD adopted the issue of independence as a central one in order to bring the majority of the peasantry and workers behind their banners. With the full support of the CP this task was achieved.

It was no coincidence that the mayors and gubernatorial seats were occupied by ex-Communist Party members. Upon being

elected, the PPD dropped the demand for independence.

The Puerto Rican Independentist Party (PIP) was formed after this turn of the PPD. In the middle 1950s Puerto Rico was made a commonwealth of the U.S. The massive immigration to the U.S. of peasants and workers started during this period. Many came to New York, where now

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## Spanish CP Backs Franco On EEC Ties

BY A REPORTER

The Eighth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party has declared its support for a "progressive association" between Spain and the Common Market.

The Congress, which because of fascist repression by Spanish dictator General Franco, was held abroad and was attended by 400 delegates. The resolution said:

"The Spanish Communist Party is in favor of an association with the European Common Market which will permit a progressive reinforcement of Spain's cooperation with the European countries..."

The resolution further states that this association should be carried out by a "democratic state" which means, according to the Spanish CP newspaper *Mundo Obrero*, a "pact" grouping all democratic forces

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## Tito Pay Cut Sparks Strikes

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Several thousand workers at Yugoslavia's largest electronic factory, *Elektronska Industrija* in Nis, went on strike November 4 against the management's threat to cut one-fifth of their salary increase.

The General Director and seventeen officials of the plant have since resigned.

One thousand of the workers marched through the streets to protest the way in which the factory was run. The workers said the Yugoslav system of "self-management" is in reality non-existent and that workers are kept uninformed about the plant's financial problems.

This phony self-management scheme, far from giving workers any real control over the industry, actually strengthens right-wing tendencies in the management who seek to weaken any centralized control over the economy.

As inflation has soared and exports to the European countries have fallen, the Yugoslav economy has accumulated large deficits which it seeks to make the workers pay for.

A Yugoslav worker only makes \$60 to \$100 a week and sometimes he must wait for two or three months to collect his check, while officials and the growing middle class get fat on tax evasion, profiteering, property speculation and corruption.

#### PURGES

Behind the purges of left and right-wing movements, President Tito has lived with the constant fear that the powerful Yugoslav working class, like the workers in Poland, would rise up and challenge his regime. The militant Nis strike is a foreshadow of revolutionary developments.

Following the forced resignation of the two top leaders of the Serbia Communist Party, Tito has accused three leading officials in the Republic of Slovenia of "technocratism." Stane Kavtchitch, head of Slovenia, Tone Kropusek, president of the trade unions, and Leopold Krese, president of the Economic Chamber have resigned.

The three were charged with "bureaucratic direction" and "petty bourgeois and pseudo-liberal" tendencies and for criticizing the Central Committee of the Slovenia CP as "dogmatic."

Tito's attacks on "rightist deviations" and his conscious attempt to link the left with the right, have become a cover for his own encouragement of nationalist and pro-capitalist forces and for his collaboration with the imperialist countries.

## Brezhnev And Mao Welcome Nixon Victory

BY ED SMITH

While the American Communist Party and various Maoists were scrambling for votes for Democratic candidate George McGovern in the elections, their mentors in the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking were giving notice that they favored the re-election of President Nixon.

These sentiments are linked to the recent multibillion dollar trade deals, summit conferences, and wheat purchases made between the leaders of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies and Nixon. Above all they are founded on the great betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution currently being negotiated in Paris under the threat by Moscow and Peking that they will cut off aid to the Vietnamese if they do not come to terms with Nixon immediately.

In the latest development, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai welcomed the re-election of Nixon in a November 10 conference with foreign journalists. In response to a question as to whether Nixon's victory was good news for China, Chou replied: "Yes, because he did play a role in improving relations between the U.S. and China."

As far back as the beginning of October, Russell Train, Nixon's chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, reported that Russian President Podgorny had told him: "He (Podgorny) looked forward to working with President Nixon for several more years."

Both the Soviet and Chinese press generally ignored the cam-

paign, although in the last lap, some of the Soviet commentators criticized the way McGovern's campaign was conducted.

## Allende Appoints Army Chief To Key Post

On November 17, Salvador Allende, President of the Chilean Popular Unity coalition government, will leave on a visit to Cuba, Mexico, and the United Nations.

During the two weeks, Allende will be away, the head of state will be Carlos Prats Gonzales, a graduate of the United States Military School at Fort Leavenworth and until just a few days ago commander-in-chief of Chile's army.

Prats has been made Interior Minister by Allende in order to help settle a month-long shutdown by businessmen and professionals protesting the policies of the Popular Unity government.

The coalition of bosses and their middle class allies called off their lockout after Prats and

two other high military officials were installed in the cabinet. Plans for nationalizing parts of Chile's trucking industry were called off and the Allende regime gave assurances of protection against expropriation of capitalists by "left-wing extremists."

Of all these capitulations to the right wing, the appointment of Prats is the most fundamental. All of Chile's rightists heartily greeted his appointment in public statements. As Interior Minister, he is number two man in Chile after Allende and has direct responsibility for Chile's internal security.

#### RIGHT WING

The right wing greets his appointment because they know the entry of the military into the cabinet means the effective end to any pretence that Popular Unity is guiding Chile on "the road to socialism." Prats' words upon entering office were: "We need social peace. We must

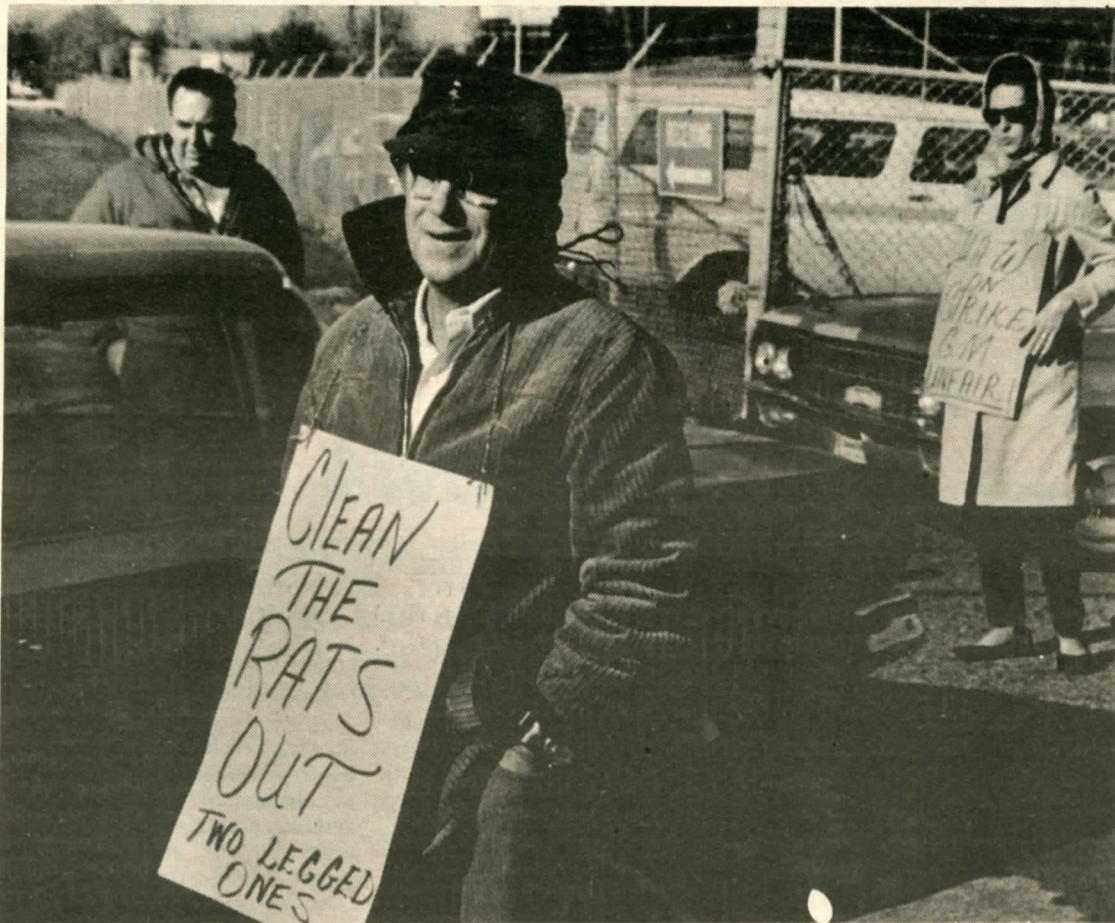
create a national front to improve the foreign image of Chile."

The entry of the military into Allende's government roused criticism even from many supporters of the Popular Unity regime, including major sections of Allende's own Socialist Party. The centrists of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) called for "guarantees and conditions" for the entry of the military into the cabinet. For his part, Allende responded by stating "The Chilean Army is not like other armies."

The right wingers and bosses who conducted the lockout against the Allende regime called the settlement "a victory for civil resistance."

The settlement of the lockouts and the appointment of Prats makes the struggle against the Popular Front, for an SP-Communist Party government that will break from the capitalists, an even more urgent task for the Chilean workers.





GM workers in Wilmington man picket line during two-day strike against speedup and unsafe conditions.

# UAW Heads Meet As Strike Votes Sweep GM

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—As we go to press, International and local representations of the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) were meeting in an emergency session of the GMAD Council to assess the results of Leonard Woodcock's "Apache" strike strategy at GM.

Although the UAW has made no public statement on the nature of the meeting, or the items to be discussed, the crisis facing the UAW leadership is clear. Last week Local 25 in St. Louis which has already struck as part of the hit and run strategy, was forced by the UAW leadership to accept a tentative agreement with GMAD which settled none of the 12,000 Paragraph 78 speedup grievances in the plant.

The Leeds, Missouri GM stamping plant has passed a strike vote by an overwhelming margin. Workers at the Lordstown, Ohio GM Vega plant have authorized their second

strike of the year.

This movement of the rank and file of the UAW against the vicious speedup campaign by GMAD is now threatening to drag the UAW leadership into the confrontation with GM which they have consciously been avoiding for over six months. The meeting of the GMAD Council in Detroit today can only be seen as part of the continuing attempt by Woodcock to put off the inevitable fight with GM.

CRUCIAL

This meeting comes at a particular and crucial time for auto workers in Michigan. UAW Local 581 at the Flint, Michigan Fisher Body Assembly plant recently authorized a shutdown of the

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## UAW Forced To Strike As Janesville Ranks Shut Line

BY BILL SUARTZ

JANESVILLE, Wis.—UAW Local 95 has announced plans to strike the GMAD plant here. This is the second strike here in the last five weeks.

The local leadership is trying to hold the strike into a two-day hit-and-run strike in accordance with Woodcock's "Apache Plan."

This is the fourth time the Janesville local has gone out on a local strike since the introduction of GMAD in 1969, and it has yet to win even one demand.

The local leadership has had to call another strike in response to the resistance of the workers to the conditions of the GMAD at a time when the line speed is supposed to go from 58 cars an hour to 60.

One worker stated: "The line speed is still at 58, but it is sup-

posed to go up to 60. But we don't know when, it might be tomorrow, that's how the company is. It's gone up six jobs since I started there; I think it was 52 or so and now it's 58. My own job was just one station wagon. The rest of my work was O.K. But now every fifth job is a station wagon. That was ridiculous, you just couldn't do the job."

There have also been a number of line shutdowns in response to the increased speed-up. One worker described the shutdown in the truck line: "That was the truck line—they do the same work we do on the frames and stuff. When they shut that line down, which they did that night, those guys sat down; they sat down, they walked off the job. I walked in and they had it shut down. I guess they had it shut

down about 20 minutes. The general foreman comes in and says 'Your job is in jeopardy' and the guys said 'to hell with this.'"

## Why Wilmington Struck-- 'Just Step Over The Body'

BY STEVE SYLVIS

WILMINGTON, Del., Nov. 9—Workers began a two day strike here today in anger over speedup and unsafe working conditions in the General Motors plant.

This action follows a one day wildcat which occurred on October 22 over an incident which shows just how far GM will take their drive for increased productivity.

A janitor on the night shift had been stricken with a heart attack and fell into the pit in the trim department. A worker immediately stopped the line but the foreman restarted it and told the men to "just step over the body and keep on working."

An alternate committeeman was suspended when the ranks protested. The entire department then walked out.

The strike that ensued was called off by the union leadership the very next day. In addition, Woodcock and the International

leadership withdrew the five day letter which was supposed to give Local 435 the green light for a two day strike as part of Woodcock's "Apache" strategy against GMAD.

ANGER

But as the attacks against auto workers mount Woodcock and the rest of the bureaucrats are finding it harder and harder to contain the anger of the ranks. They have now been forced to reissue the five day letter and call a two day strike.

By limiting the strike to two days however, the leadership is not seriously confronting General Motors and is only trying to dissipate the militancy of the ranks into a futile protest.

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

PUBLIC MEETING

**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY**

WED. NOV. 29  
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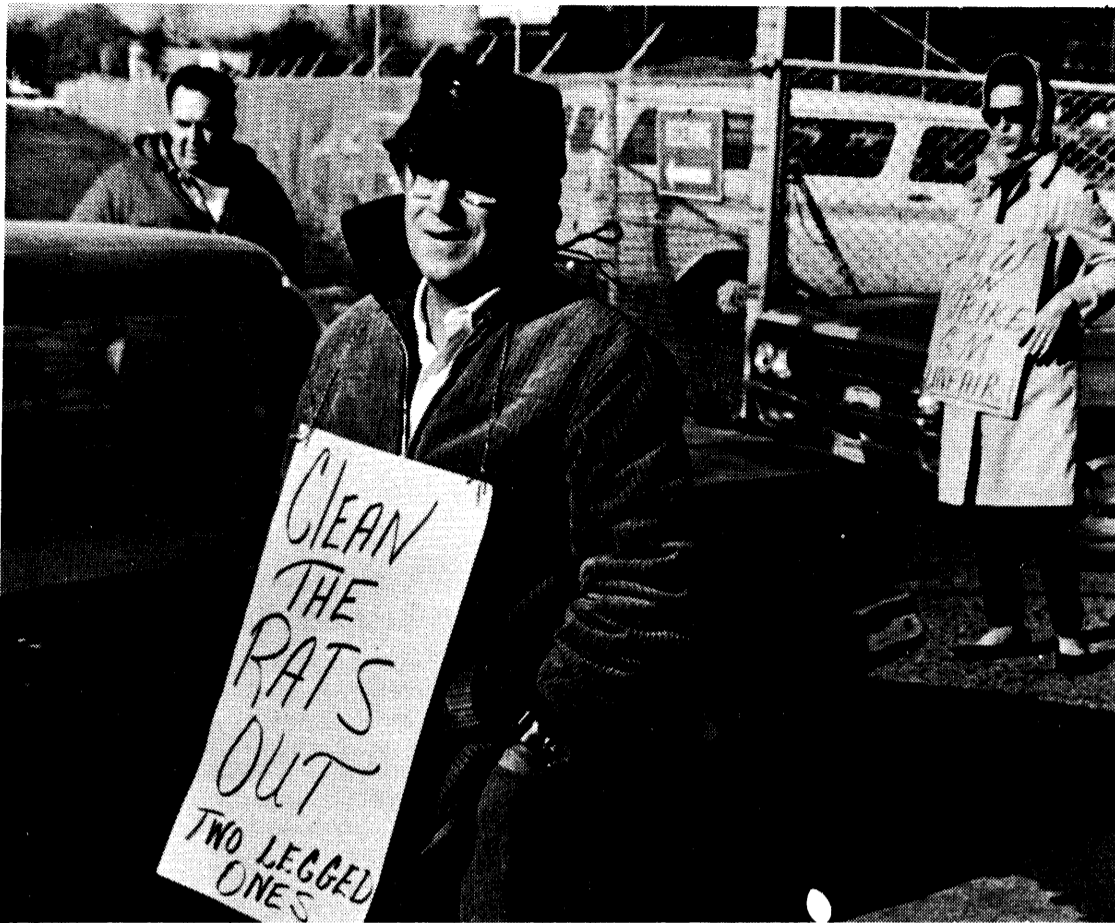
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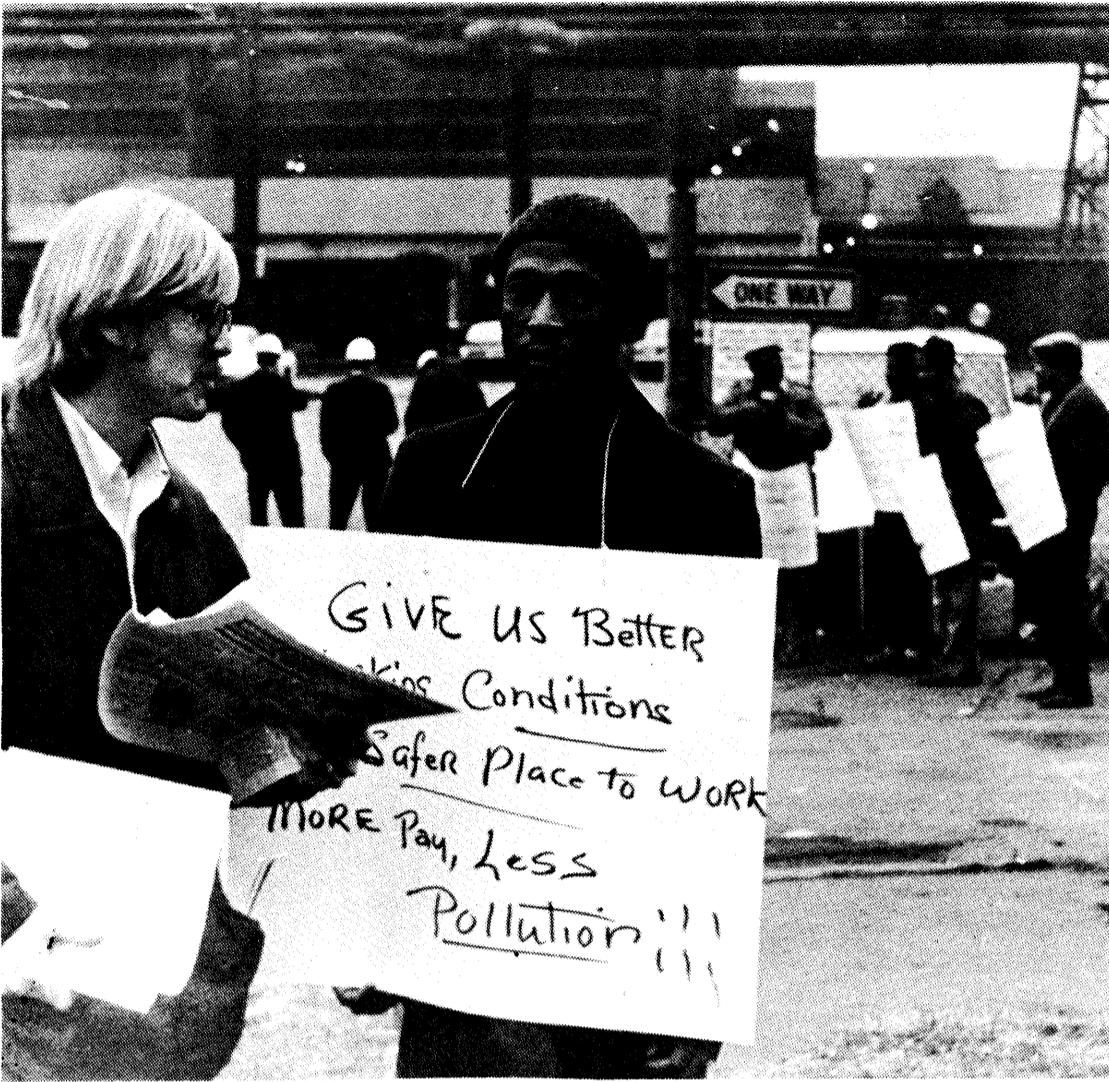
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Steelworkers in Baltimore walked out Thursday against speedup. Half of men have already been laid off.

# Steel Workers Wildcat Against Speedup At Sparrows Point

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SPARROWS POINT, Md.—Sintering mill workers at the Bethlehem Steel installation here walked off the job early Thursday in response to speedup and attacks on their working conditions.

Although the walkout is supported by the Zone Committeemen, the leadership of United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 2610 has refused to officially sanction the strike and has sought to keep the strike isolated from the other mills.

The union leadership, in an attempt to isolate and strangle this fight, is utilizing a clause in the current contract which specifies that the mechanical and electrical departments must be on strike as well if the strike is to be considered official. This same maneuver was used to force striking coke oven workers back on the job this past summer.

#### SALARIED

At present, the sintering mill is continuing production in two out of six units, using salaried employees. The stockpile is running out and the plant may soon have to cut back on production.

The strike in the sintering mill is only the latest in a series of strikes at Sparrows Point in response to government-backed attacks on jobs and working conditions at Bethlehem Steel. Ap-

proximately half the men at the plant have been permanently laid off while virtually all those remaining have been temporarily laid off and recalled to lower classification jobs.

In the past, each operator in the sintering mill worked with a "shut" man; today the operator must perform both jobs himself. Dust is two inches thick in the mill, which makes breathing a job in itself.

#### SAFETY

Under government regulations the company is required to provide safety glasses for the men and maintain clean and safe working conditions. However, both the government and Bethlehem Steel have let safety ride while pushing for productivity.

The role of the Local 2610 leadership is absolutely criminal in striving to contain the militancy of the ranks within easily picked off, isolated actions.

The fight against unsafe conditions, speedup and layoffs at Bethlehem Steel can only be taken forward by the rank and file forcing a plantwide strike vote.

## Connecticut Labor Rallies In Defense Of Farah Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 11—A statewide rally of about 200 people was held Saturday on the New Haven Green, in defense of the six month old strike against the Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas.

Sponsored by the Connecticut and Greater New Haven Labor Councils, the rally drew ranks from auto, railroad, and garment unions but primarily labor leaders themselves. Defense of the strikers has been restricted to protests and boycotts.

In a previous meeting the real conditions of the Farah strike were exposed by Alonso Macias, a strike leader from El Paso, Texas. The strike began last May over the firings of some workers trying to organize a union.

#### SPREAD

The strike has spread from San Antonio to other plants in El Paso and Victoria, Texas. But, as Macias pointed out, only one-third of the Farah workers are actually out and the most brutal strikebreaking methods are being used by Farah with the help of the courts.

#### RUN OVER

Two pickets have been run over, one of them by Mrs. Farah, mother of the company owner, Willie Farah. The company has used armed guards and vicious police dogs against the strikers. Still in effect is an injunction obtained by the company which forces picketers to remain 50 feet apart.

#### \$1.60

According to Macias: "All trades at Farah start at \$1.60 an hour regardless of skill. Farah doesn't care about anything except getting young and strong workers. They have a retirement plan, but in 52 years not one person has retired from Farah."

At the rally not one political word was uttered or any plans presented to combat Nixon's plans.

## Imperiale Leads Racist Attack On Newark Project

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, Nov. 14—Right-wing demagogue Anthony Imperiale is whipping up a racist campaign aimed at stopping construction on the Kawaida Towers housing project in this city's predominately white North Ward.

The project is being built by the "Temple of Kawaida" whose "spiritual leader" is Black nationalist LeRoi Jones. The project was approved by the Newark City Council over a year ago.

Imperiale's campaign, which has no legal leg to stand on, poses the most serious threat to the working class and trade union movement. In 1967, it was Imperiale who organized and led

armed gangs of racists who were prepared to try to smash back the rebellion of Black workers in the ghettos.

#### VIOLENCE

Now Imperiale is threatening violence if construction continues at the Kawaida Towers site. He has organized rallies and pickets at the site, at one point

mobilizing 1000 people at a meeting.

Imperiale has tried to gain the support of white workers and youth by claiming that his campaign is not racist.

He has insisted that the apartment complex is illegal, and is against the interests of the residents in the immediate area, many of whom, he points out, are Black and Spanish speaking. He says there is a lack of sewage pipes and parking spaces for cars.

Newark is in a state of complete financial and economic collapse. The housing situation is among the worst in the country, and Mayor Gibson has made clear his intention to cut back all public services and education.

Faced with this situation, all the reactionary forces try to divert workers away from the

(Continued On Page 18)

## City Plan Threatens Welfare Jobs

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—This city is now entering its final phase in the reorganization of the Department of Social Services and the attempt to knock the remaining several thousand social service employees off the payrolls.

With the complete compliance of the Cohen leadership, the city has begun setting up its Community Social Service Programs. These programs are totally vague as to job specifications, guarantees, physical setups, and future funding.

Cohen admitted that with the passage of the federal revenue sharing bill, funding for social services in the city looked bleak. He argued, however, at the last Delegates Assembly meeting, in the face of a large opposition to the plan, that at least the union had the guarantee of funding

through the end of the fiscal year, and thus workers should take what they can get.

The Committee for New Leadership (CNL) opposed the program, calling for no further cooperation by the union with any new programs or projects until the membership votes on a full blueprint, including job specifications, physical plant, and funding. They pointed out that this new program was a complete fraud, and was aimed solely at getting the remaining social service staff out of the centers and on their way off the payrolls.

Cohen countered by alleging that there would be large numbers of social service staff left in the welfare centers, and was able to squeak through an endorsement of his policies by a 60-40 margin.

The city is now openly admitting that it has no intention whatsoever of retaining social service

personnel in the welfare centers.

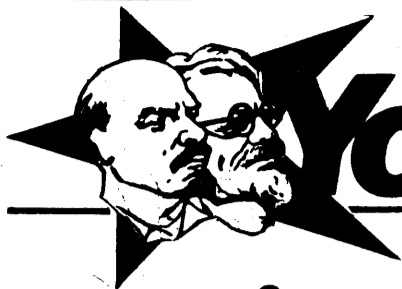
The city is clearly attempting to split up the staff, send them all over the city into vague service projects, then drop the bottom out. Once out of the centers, the workers will be paralyzed to fight layoffs, demotions, contract violations, etc.

The Committee for New Leadership is leading the fight against these phony programs, to keep the staff in the centers. Cohen's back is now up against the wall on these questions. His own supporters are now clamoring for some sort of blueprint on their futures.

The CNL will bring a motion to the Delegates Assembly for no movement of staff into any of these new programs or projects until a full blueprint, including manning, job specifications, funding, and physical setup is negotiated and voted on in membership referendums.

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# Young Socialist®

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## Detroit Board Cuts Two Months Off School Year

BY A YS REPORTER

DETROIT—Thursday, Detroit's Board of Education dealt what may be the fatal blow to Detroit's educational system and to the future of more than 278,000 school age youth.

The Board voted by a 10 to 3 margin to cut more than two months from the school year of all elementary, junior high, and high schools in the Detroit metropolitan school districts.

According to this measure, Detroit's 325 public schools will close on December 21 and remain closed until February 19, a total of eight weeks and a loss of 35 school days.

It has been hinted that unless the School Board is successful in raising an estimated \$38 million that it has recently been forced to repay on a loan for the 1971-72 school year, a further cut of 28 days from the school schedule will be necessary, which will almost double the number of school days lost to Detroit youth.

Under these conditions it is very clear that Detroit schools may simply close December 21 without any guarantee to youth or any financial basis for reopening this year.

For the first time in the history of the United States, the American government and the class it represents have declared their willingness to destroy the livelihood of the youth of an entire city, by taking away one of the most elementary rights of the working class, the right to public education.

Talk had been going on for months which mentioned the possibility of such action being taken, but it was not until after the elections that final steps were taken.

Nixon's overwhelming victory has unleashed the greatest attacks on youth. The next four years will prove to be more vicious than any before.

The Young Socialists are working to organize throughout the city for a demonstration under a program that can meet this attack. The only answer for the youth is calling on the unions to take action by holding a Congress of Labor and building a labor party immediately.

## 800 Youth Protest Nixon's Re-election

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

MADISON, Wisc.—As the tallies rolled in showing Nixon's landslide victory, over 800 youth here demonstrated in opposition to his re-election.

The demonstration turned into a midnight melee as students clashed with police in the streets. The youth, many of whom were gassed, clubbed and arrested, continued the rally expressing their extreme hostility to Nixon.

Already we have seen tremendous slashes in public school budgets, making learning and teaching impossible. Colleges have been closing up because of reduction in funds, huge deficits, and the devastating drop in enrollment due to the increasing cost of tuition, transportation, and food.

With education now at the brink of complete collapse, unemployment among the youth continues to rocket. National youth unemployment stands at 35 percent. Certain areas across the country have unemployment as high as 80 percent.

While this is happening, Nixon has made plans to destroy the unions, particularly with racism, as a way of opening the door to unleash the most massive onslaught on working youth and people.

Several youth have told the Young Socialist what they thought was the meaning of the

re-election of Nixon and what that poses today.

FARCE

"It was a farce. That election was a total joke. Nixon now probably thinks the people will do what he thinks and agree with it.

"This way he can step up his attacks on students, workers and youth and everything. It's not that he has the majority but that he has a real slick propaganda clique," declared a 19 year old student.

Another student declared, "Four more years of Nixon means four more years of intense political repression. It seems that since Nixon has been in office there has been a greater amount of repression of not just politics, but everything by the Justice Department. Four more years of Nixon means four more years of hard times."

A seventeen year old youth named Kenny stated: "I don't think Nixon is going to get away with what he is planning to do. Young people are getting smart and going to begin to fight to change the system whether Nixon likes it or not."



The Young Socialists were the only movement that considered it important to set up a literature table on Election Day on the UCLA campus in California. They fought for a labor party against the Democrats, Republicans and revisionists. The YS is being well received by youth in Southern California.

## British YS Film On Jobs March To Be Shown In N.Y. Nov. 29

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

Beginning in February of this year the British Young Socialists led five Right to Work marches from different areas in England. They moved through the countryside, gaining physical and financial support along the way, to London for a mass rally of 8500 people at Wembley Pool on March 12.

Throughout all the marches, film director John Fletcher, his wife, and a crew of technicians volunteered their services, sleeping, eating and marching with the Young Socialists to produce a powerful, historical document of workers and youth on the move against capitalism.

The film on the British Young Socialist Right to Work march, which is in full color, will be shown in the U.S. together with the film "Three Years of Workers Press" in New York on November 29 at the meeting the "Fourth International Today" sponsored by the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

Meetings will also be held in Cleveland, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

These meetings will be critical in this period following Nixon's re-election as Nixon prepares a whole new onslaught on the working class internationally and the workers and youth in the U.S. A revolutionary youth movement can only be constructed as part of the Fourth International.

The release of the film "The Right to Work" takes place at a time of near civil war in England. All the rights of working people have been put on the line by the Tory government. The wage freeze was Heath's open declaration to drive back

the living standard of working people at any cost.

Already there are over one million unemployed workers. In areas like Sunderland, unemployment among youth under the age of 18 is as high as 2300.

Because of these developments the marches were able to gain a tremendous amount of support, not only from youth and workers, but from the best elements of the middle class.

POWER

Throughout the Young Socialist campaign, it was posed that in this period there is no alternative other than fighting for political power if workers are to survive.

It is with this understanding that a large section of the middle class is now turning to and fighting with the Young Socialists to kick the Tory government out and bring in a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The film "The Right to Work" shows clearly that only the independent and mass political mobilization of workers and youth can defend their rights. It is with this understanding that we must then begin our fight against Nixon's preparations for Bonapartist dictatorship.

The American Young Socialists call on all youth to join in this fight and attend the public meeting, the "Fourth International Today" on November 29, where "The Right to Work" film will be premiered for the first time in the United States.

## March With YS On Nov. 18 For Congress Of Labor

BY A YS REPORTER

The defense of the Vietnamese Revolution and the fight for the Congress of Labor to mobilize American workers and youth against Nixon's attacks will be carried forward by the Young Socialists and Workers League in the November 18 demonstration against the war.

NIXON

This demonstration is taking place at a critical time. Now that he is re-elected, Nixon is preparing to smash all the living

conditions of workers and youth by creating mass unemployment and breaking unions.

The Stalinists of the Soviet Union and China are trying to force the Vietnamese to go along with a sellout of the Revolution in order to free Nixon's hands against workers and youth in this country.

Faithful to their masters in the Kremlin, the Communist Party and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice are lobbying for the nine-point "peace" plan. The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will not expose this betrayal.



# Young Socialist

# Youth Must Have Leadership OPEN LETTER TO THE

BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST STEERING COMMITTEE

The National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance takes place in the midst of the deepest economic crisis and a period of sharp struggle between the working class and the capitalists.

Nixon's re-election poses the greatest danger to American workers and youth, because he will be required to launch the most brutal attacks upon their living conditions in order to defend the profit system.

All the revolutionary developments taking place today flow from Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971, to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold. By smashing the Bretton Woods arrangements of 1944 upon which the post-war boom had been based, Nixon not only destroyed the foundation of world trade but also ended all the old relations between the working class and capitalists.

Thus, all the advanced industrial nations have been thrown into a trade war which will require that the capitalists attack the rights of workers in every country.

In Europe, the capitalists call security conferences to prepare civil war; and Edward Heath, the Tory Prime Minister, prepares to join the Common Market and break the back of British workers by imposing a wage freeze and throwing trade unionists in jail.

## BIG ATTACKS

Nixon has already begun big attacks on American workers and youth, through the Pay Board, speedups, unemployment, cuts in education and in housing.

Already, less than two weeks after his election, Nixon makes it

clear that he will go even further. The second term will not be like the first.

•The Government is demanding a subminimum wage for youth.

•Republican politicians like Andreossi, a friend of Nixon, stir up racism to divide Black and white workers in Canarsie.

•Financial aid programs are being slashed, and even the most famous schools like New York University are threatened with shutdown.

•Nixon promises in the press to cut social programs and unemployment benefits, while at the same time vowing to throw more youth out of jobs.

•Renewed a

•A renewed counter-offensive against the Vietnamese revolution is being planned.

These attacks, and the determination of the youth to fight back, show the real need to build a revolutionary leadership.

## CONGRESS OF LABOR

This is why the Young Socialists are fighting to turn the youth to the powerful trade union movement, demanding a Congress of Labor to take immediate action against Nixon's attacks and to build a labor party pledged to socialist programs.

Only the Young Socialists can take forward this fight because we prepared for Nixon's re-election before it happened. Our perspective is the product of building a youth movement based upon the fight for Marxist theory in the working class.

The Young Socialist Alliance

did not prepare for Nixon's re-election and cannot arm the working class and youth with a program to meet the crisis. The Convention document, "Dynamics of the Youth Radicalization," has nothing to say about the situation facing the youth today, and poses no way to fight back.

The fight for the labor party, to break the working class from the capitalist parties—the heart of the revolutionary strategy—is simply thrown out by the YSA. The document states complacently that the prospect for a labor party "is not an immediate one."

## REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

While the most favorable conditions exist for the building of a labor party and the development of a revolutionary leadership within the working class and youth, the orientation of the YSA is exclusively toward the middle class. The YSA defends this position on the basis of the fraudulent theory of "New Radicalization."

Behind its turn away from the working class is the abandonment of the fight for Marxist theory against revisionism. In the recent statements of George Breitman, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, we can see how a disregard for philosophical questions leads to outlandish political conclusions.

Only several weeks ago, Breitman declared that the ruling class was making a "mistake" in backing Nixon. Shortly thereafter, Breitman claimed that militant had nothing to fear be-

cause of a "radicalizing" jury system.

These statements only serve to disarm the youth and mask the plans of the capitalists. The election results show that far from making a mistake, the ruling class kept Nixon in the White House to carry out big attacks.

To suggest, as Breitman does, that the so-called radicalization of the juries means that workers will have their rights defended is exposed as completely incorrect by the Watergate conspiracy, the stacking of the Supreme Court, the renewed prosecution of Daniel Ellsberg, the witch-hunt of Billy Dean Smith, anti-union laws and the attempts to abolish the jury system altogether.

## CRISIS

Breitman can make these statements because he does not have the slightest understanding of the crisis, and this same position is expressed throughout the YSA document. This perspective flows from the rejection of dialectical materialism by the SWP, whose philosophical method is most clearly exposed by George Novack's claims that the fight for dialectical materialism is an optional responsibility of the member of a revolutionary party and his open defense of pragmatism.

First and foremost, the document does not see the crisis. It begins by encouraging complacency, stating that "Nixon has won a temporary reprieve from the monetary crisis that threatened last summer." The document also accepts Nixon's claims about an upturn and talks of "The beginning recovery from the recession..."

On the international developments, entitled "Vietnam and World Revolution," the following analysis of the crisis is

given:

"Moreover the economic, social, and political consequences of the war, which have exacerbated already existing contradictions of capitalism have become increasingly important issues, especially within the U.S. These consequences include deteriorating public services and accelerating urban decay..."

## VIETNAM

The document then comes up with a solution for the crisis—ending the war in Vietnam.

This position is no different than that held by the liberals who cannot understand the crisis and think the war is the cause of the crisis rather than a result of it.

Furthermore, this position strengthens the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, who consciously try to mislead the working class with false illusions about an economic recovery.

The method behind this assessment is one which proceeds with impressions separated from an analysis of the development of the international monetary crisis. It rejects the assessment Trotsky made of this historical period as the "Death Agony of Capitalism."

The document asserts that "The boom was based on the vastly greater strength of U.S. imperialism in relation to the other capitalist powers." Completely absent from the YSA's statements on the boom is the understanding that the 1944 Bretton Woods arrangements were a tremendous retreat by a weak capitalist class before the working class.

Furthermore, the artificial boom developed by the capitalists to head off the socialist revolution created the condi-

## Maryland U. Uses Racism To Cover Cutbacks

BY A YS REPORTER

CATONSVILLE, Md.—President Nixon recently commented that Americans should not be "paralyzed" lest they become "soft." This contemptuous statement has found its expression at the Baltimore County campus of the University of Maryland in the form of budget cuts, tuition increases and cuts in all forms of financial aid.

While the government attacks all students in its efforts "to fight inflation" the policies of the university administration lead to a division of students along racial lines.

In a "liberal" effort to cover over the University's racist past, the administration claims to be "giving Black students a break" by means of a certain "preferential" treatment.

This policy has deepened racial tensions which were manifested in one recent confrontation between Black and white students.

The college was constructed supposedly to serve the needs of Baltimore City with its largely

minority population. Nevertheless it was located far out in the suburb of Catonsville, where access to it from the city is difficult, especially for those students who do not have cars.

Consequently, when the University opened its doors only two percent of the student body consisted of minority youth. With the growth of the University to its current size of 4500, that figure is only 10.8 percent.

## LOSE

Now, however, all youth in the Baltimore area stand to lose the benefits that UMBC was supposed to provide. Specifically, the proposed budget for 1973-74 has been cut drastically.



Protesting Indians from various tribes took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in Washington, D.C. They demanded that the U.S. live up to the treaties with them that the government had broken.

These cuts mean either that the student body will be increased by only 500 per year, instead of the intended 1000, or that those 1000 new students will be admitted in spite of the fact that the school will not even be able to serve them in its already inadequate way. Obviously in either case the youth of the area lose.

Moreover, scholarships, loans and work-study programs have been cut and students are finding it increasingly difficult to find jobs off campus. They find them-

selves then with less money than ever to pay the rising costs of education (tuition was raised \$60 per semester this past year, with further increases sure to come), and chasing after a diminishing number of jobs.

## UNITE

The YS says that Black and white students must unite since any racial antagonism among them merely serves the interests of their common enemy, the capitalists and their government.

That government, and not fellow students, is directly responsible for the lack of funds at UMBC and at campuses throughout the nation, which induce student to fight each other for the remaining scholarships, loans and jobs.

The YS calls for all students to begin the fight immediately against all budget cuts and to take up the struggle for the right to free education for all. This struggle can only be carried out if youth unite behind the strength of the working class.



## To Meet Nixon's New Attacks

## 1972 YSA CONVENTION

## Young Socialist

tions for the insoluble crisis that the system is now in.

## POSTWAR BOOM

The postwar boom was created by printing billions of paper dollars that have no gold backing. On August 15, 1971, Nixon stopped converting paper dollars into gold in order to prevent the depletion of the United States' gold resources by foreign banks seeking to redeem their worthless dollars.

What now exists is the most fundamental crisis: a crisis of value. Paper money is floating all around the world with no gold to back it. In order to restore value to the world economy, the ruling class must attack the source of value—the working class.

This is what is behind the policies of the Nixon government and why the destruction of the working class is required in order for capitalism to survive.

But the YSA document does not see the urgency of the crisis, and the sharp turn that Nixon must now take against the trade unions and the youth beyond anything that has ever been contemplated in this country.

"Although there will continue to be ups and downs in the business cycle," states the document, "the historical trend is toward increased pressure on the working class, which will sooner or later lead to a response and a qualitative sharpening of the class struggle around wages and jobs issues."

In the face of the most massive attacks being prepared by Nixon, the YSA's perspective foresees only "increased pressure." And in place of a scientific understanding of why the working class has already entered into big struggles, the YSA only vaguely expects a development of the class struggle "sooner or later."

## BLIND

Ignoring the crisis, the YSA is blind to the movement of the working class and does not feel the responsibility to resolve the crisis of leadership. The working class is written off in this document. Even though the labor movement in this country is on the verge of an explosion, the YSA speaks of "The relative quiescence of the working class..."

The women's liberation, Black nationalism, and anti-war protest movements are substituted for the working class, which is labelled the most backward section of the "new radicalization."

Yet the bankruptcy of the document's perspective is revealed clearly in the chapter entitled "Development of the Current Radicalization," and other sections dealing with aspects of the radicalization.

Having adapted to the movement of the middle class in an earlier period, the document reflects the paralysis of the middle class which has overtaken the YSA under new conditions in which the struggle of the working class predominates.

In the chapter entitled "The Youth Radicalization Today and the Tasks of the YSA," the document states:

"Election periods put severe strains on the anti-war movement. During an election period, many anti-war activists are disoriented and trapped into

working for capitalist party candidates instead of building the independent anti-war movement."

## COLLAPSE

The death of the anti-war movement and the collapse of the other middle class protest movement, which exposes the thoroughly incorrect perspective of the YSA, leads to complete demoralization, just at a time when those functioning with a Marxist perspective are given the greatest confidence by the developments within the working class.

The bankruptcy of the document consists fundamentally in its inability to present what is new in the objective situation and to prepare the working class and youth for the kind of struggle that will soon emerge. This failure is rooted in the abandonment of Marxist theory in the construction of the revolutionary party.

Because the YSA does not see theory as a guide to revolutionary practice, as Lenin and Trotsky did, to be constantly brought into conflict with existing practice in order to change practice in a constantly changing objective situation, its practice has become based on a series of superficial impressions of the boom—a period which has come to an end.

This has led the YSA into the middle class swamp of women's lib and nationalism and today puts it in opposition to the movement of the working class.

Most of all, it has rendered the YSA incapable of fighting the number one counterrevolutionaries in the labor movement—the Stalinists. Opportunism, which flows from the revision of Marxist theory, finds its sharpest expression in the relation of the YSA to the CP and YWLL.

## GEORGE NOVACK

The anti-Marxist positions are given their most blatant philosophical justification by George Novack, the man to whom Trotsky posed the necessity of an irreconcilable struggle for dialectical materialism within the party and especially among the youth.

Thirty-five years ago, Trotsky told Novack: "Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought. You must inoculate younger comrades against its infection."

But Novack today holds a position in direct contradiction to Trotsky's. Empiricism, he writes, has its virtues. "The materialist conception of history," asserts Novack, "is squarely opposed not to empiricism, but to idealism."

That is, Novack does not see empiricism as a bourgeois philosophical method opposed to dialectical materialism. He does not understand that the specifically idealist nature of empiricism and pragmatism is the main obstacle to revolutionary consciousness in the working class.

## IMPROVEMENT

Instead, Novack says that Marxism is only a quantitative improvement of empiricism and says therefore that Marxist theory can develop by simply adding on certain conclusions to empiricism.

He denies that Marxism repre-

sents a conscious leap from empiricism and pragmatism, and that Marxism can only be developed in a struggle against these bourgeois methods of thought.

Novack really gives himself away when he accuses the Young Socialists and Workers League of "sectarianism" on questions of philosophy. What does this accusation boil down to? Novack is saying that compromise can be permitted on the defense of Marxism. In other words, he does not see the fight against bourgeois thinking in the working class as a fight to the death.

For Novack, change does not take place through a conflict of mutually exclusive opposites, which are temporarily united only through their struggle. Nor does he understand that at a certain point, this struggle leads to the transformation of opposites and the creation of something qualitatively new.

## CONFLICT

For Lenin, the conflict, not the unity, of opposites was central. Moreover, he saw the revolutionary party as a conscious opposite united with the working class in the conflict against its bourgeois method of thought through the struggle to build the party.

The Young Socialists fight against Novack's attempt to compromise the struggle between Marxist philosophy and bourgeois philosophy because this compromise must lead to a practice opposed to the interests of the working class, and to the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership that can take the working class to power.

This conception of compromise rather than bitter conflict is brought into the policies of the YSA. Novack writes continuously about the virtues of bour-

geois democracy, and says that the struggle for socialism is only an extension of the struggle for democracy.

In this way, he proposes policies, expressed in the document, that seek to line up liberals on the basis of a common agreement that the "good" in capitalism should be preserved. This is the core of the "anti-war," women's lib, and other such movements to which the YSA adapts.

The perspective of the document, along the lines of Novack's revisionism, excludes a fight for the labor party which poses the question of power to the working class.

The warning that Trotsky made to the SWP about the need to develop dialectical materialism is even more critical than ever before. In that period, the SWP did not heed the warning and lost its entire youth movement to the anti-Marxist Shachtmanites in the 1940 split.

For seventeen years, until 1957, they refused to build a youth movement. The turn to the youth in 1957 was a pragmatic one, based on the movement of the working class shown in the Hungarian Revolution and the renewed interest in Trotskyism among youth following Khrushchev's revelations.

## PABLO

But the YSA was founded just at that time when the SWP was moving toward an unprincipled reunification with the Pabloite revisionists. In 1953, it had been the SWP which issued the Open Letter breaking with Pablo and denouncing his position that the Trotskyist movement should be liquidated into the Stalinist parties. Ten years later, the SWP reunited with the Pabloites, suppressed all discussion, and threw out the leadership of the YSA for demanding a full discussion on

the SWP's decision to break with the Fourth International.

Pablo rejected Trotskyism when he said that Stalinism could be pressured into a revolutionary direction. Trotsky had maintained that Stalinism was counterrevolutionary and could not be reformed. That is why he split from the Third International and constructed the Fourth International.

When the SWP reunited with the Pabloites, it set the stage for a complete capitulation to Stalinism. This is why the YSA document has no strategy for exposing and destroying the Stalinists. It states:

"The YSA's approach to the YWLL (youth movement of the Communist Party) is twofold. First we press them to participate with us in united front activities in the anti-war movement, women's or Black struggles, or any other appropriate situation."

The refusal to fight for the labor party and the endorsement of the seven-point peace plan is essentially a surrender to the betrayals of Stalinism. When the YSA speaks of "united front activities," it is talking about working with the Stalinists on the most rotten basis—on the agreement not to fight for the power of the working class against the capitalists.

That compromise with Stalinism can lead only to betrayal is proved beyond doubt in Vietnam. At this point, the Stalinists are using the anti-war movement to win support for the nine-point peace plan that abandons the revolutionary struggle. But the YSA can do nothing about this situation.

The move to drop the labor party demand is part of this retreat just at a time when it would become the weapon of the American working class against Nixon.

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS

However, the Young Socialists are not making any retreat. We have battled the Stalinists and will continue to do so. This will not be a fight in the abstract but a real struggle to build a leadership that will take the working class to power.

The call for a Congress of Labor is a critical development in the turning of the working class toward the struggle for socialism. It is part of our strategy to carry out a theoretical struggle to change the thinking of millions of workers in the construction of a revolutionary movement.

Central to the development of our movement is the fight for theory. The position of the Young Socialists has been clearly stated: "Everywhere, revolutionary youth must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory in the fight against bourgeois ideology and all the forms that it takes in the workers' movement."

Only in this way can the youth fulfill its historic obligations in this period.

Last year, we warned the YSA of the need to confront these questions of the movement, the fight against Stalinism, and questions of theory. All members of the YSA who wish to build a revolutionary leadership must demand that the convention meet this responsibility.

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

PUBLIC MEETING

**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY**

SAT. NOV. 25  
8pm

CLEVELAND  
STATLER HILTON  
EUCLID & E.12th St.  
FOREST CITY B,  
3RD FLOOR

speakers:  
Tim Wahlen, National Secretary  
of the Workers League

also: Speakers from  
American Young Socialists

Dany Sylveire, National Committee  
of the Socialist Labour League;  
British Young Socialists

Film Premieres: 'Three Years Of The  
Workers Press' & 'The British  
Right-To-Work March'



Workers League & Young Socialists



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## No Jobs, No Schools, No Housing

(Continued From Page 1)

too bloated." Admitting that his Administration has decided to eliminate thousands of jobs, Nixon made it clear that moral considerations would not stand in his way:

"We are going to try to do it in a way that will consider the individual, but we have to accomplish the objective."

Make no mistake about it. In the full flush of his election victory, Nixon is talking about war against the working class.

In less than a week, it has become crystal clear that the second Nixon administration will be nothing like the first. His talk about creating mass unemployment and slashing all social programs are no idle threats. The plans Nixon has for the working class are already being carried out.

•In Detroit, the city administration is threatening to shut down the school system in December, and deprive working class youth of education.

•In St. Louis, 25,000 are being thrown into the streets as public housing facilities are eliminated.

•In Newark, the Gibson administration is on the verge of declaring the city bankrupt.

These developments prove that the Nixon administration is determined to make the United States a country where millions of workers will have no jobs, no housing, no unions, no security in their old age, and where their children have no future.

The Congress of Labor must be convened immediately to take action against the attacks—unemployment, speed-ups, wage controls, cuts in social programs—and preparing the alternative by actually organizing a labor party pledged to socialist programs that will meet the crisis.

We propose that the Congress of Labor defeat Nixon's Pay Board and productivity drive by organizing national general strike action. There is no other way to stop the government's open robbery of workers, its stomping upon the right to negotiate a decent contract, and inhuman speed-ups.

The Congress must answer the threat of massive unemployment by fighting for the 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. We must make the 30 hour week the law of the land so that everyone may work and benefit from the productive capacity of the country. There must be real job training for youth.

The Congress must reject and fight any attempt to turn back the clock on the living conditions of workers. Billions must be spent for education, housing, and medical care.

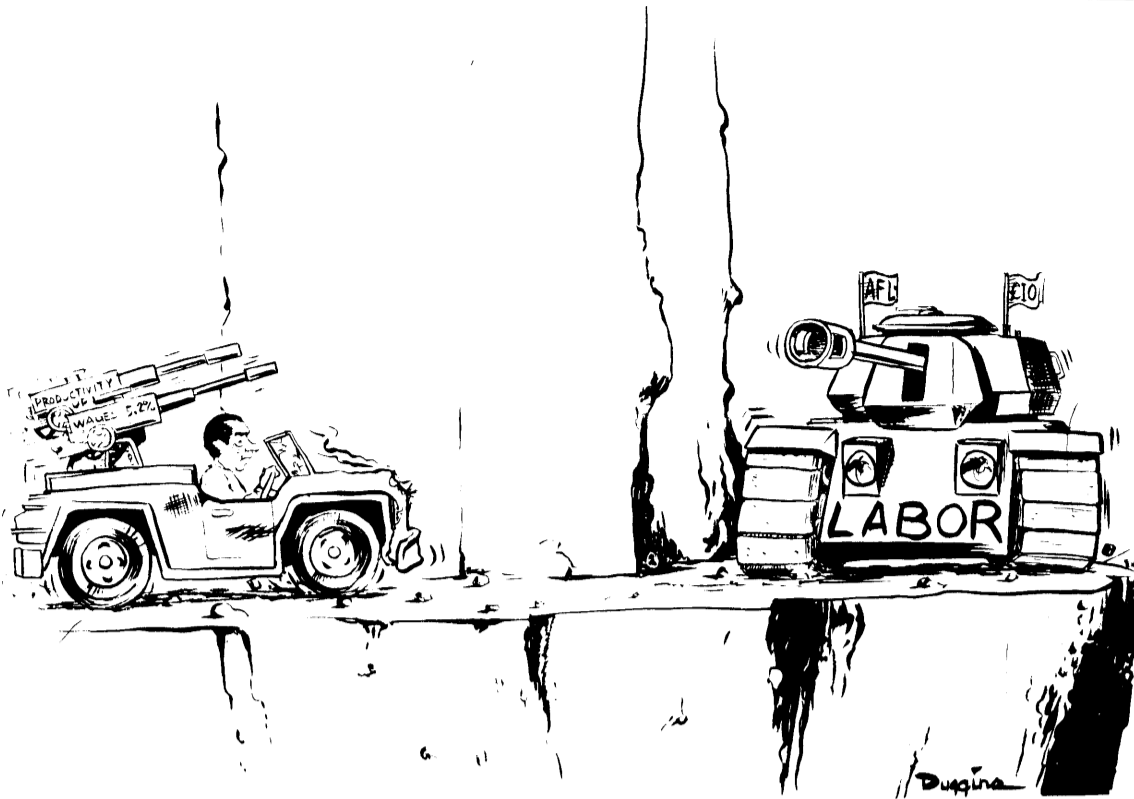
All the attacks on the working class flow from the character of capitalism in crisis. Under capitalism, big business uses the vast productive power of industry for profit, not to serve the people.

Nixon and big business are saying that the corporations cannot function unless they lay off millions and destroy the living conditions of the working class.

This means that workers can defend themselves only through the nationalization of industry under their control. Only this way can the economy be planned, organized and developed in the interests of working people. By controlling the economy, the working class will see to it that everyone has a job, that schools and housing are built, and decent living conditions assured.

The Congress of Labor must unite all sections of the working class in struggle against Nixon around this program.

We urge every trade unionist to take up the fight for the Congress of Labor in his union.



## What we think The SWP and Nixon's Re-Election

The 1972 elections represent a historic turning point in the relationship between the working class and the two parties of big business. Dominating the campaign and expressing itself in the vote was the movement of millions of American workers against the Democrats and Republicans and toward the building of a labor party.

McGovern's overwhelming defeat is not a measure of Nixon's strength, but reflects the breakup of the Democratic Party under conditions of crisis. Despite the attempt of trade union officials to drum up support for McGovern, the working class repudiated the bankrupt alliance of labor bureaucrats and Democratic politicians.

While Nixon's re-election poses sharp dangers to the labor movement as he presses ahead with his plans for massive unemployment, speedups, and the destruction of living conditions, enormous opportunities now present themselves to the working class.

It is the strength of the working class that lies at the heart of the collapse of the "bi-partisan" political system through which big business has ruled since the Civil War. Big business gathers around the Republican Party precisely because it has no confidence in the ability of the reformist Democrats to prevent the independent political mobilization of the working class as it puts forward its own solution to the crisis.

These are the conditions which permit the Workers League and Young Socialists to deepen the fight for the labor party with confidence.

The revisionist Socialist Workers Party, whose abandonment of Marxism has turned them away from the working class, cannot make any coherent assessment of the elections. Instead, in Doug Jenness' article "What Does Nixon Victory Mean," which appeared in the November 17 issue of *The Militant*,

the SWP gives expression only to the demoralization that flows from its middle class perspective.

Actually, the SWP's assessment of the election would not differ substantially from that which George McGovern would make. Basing itself on the most crass impressionism, the SWP concludes that Nixon "created an image of himself as a peace candidate," thus winning millions of "anti-war" votes.

The SWP then proceeds to slander the working class by asserting that it voted for Nixon because of his "catering to the racist sentiments held by many white workers..."

Jenness attempts to justify and cover up the outrageously inaccurate perspective which the SWP held throughout the campaign. Rather than confronting the disintegration of the middle class "anti-war" movement, he merely asserts that the SWP was saying only several weeks ago, when George Breitman declared that the ruling class was making a mistake by backing Nixon because only McGovern could contain the "new radicalization."

The truth is that the entire "new radicalization" and "anti-war" movement are blowing up in the face of the SWP, which at the same time persists in its hostility to the working class.

Jenness cannot see the movement of the working class because he has absolutely no understanding of the deep economic crisis that underlies that movement. Nor can he relate that crisis to the election results.

Instead, he cites some "factors" that might have had some weight on November 7: that the top financiers, businessmen, and publishers backed Nixon; that the Republicans were able to outstep the Democrats two to one; and that the Eagleton affair hurt McGovern's credibility.

Marxists do not simply note fac-

tors. They fight for an understanding of the historical process which give rise to the contradictory and changing factors. What Jenness does not bother to ask is why big business gave Nixon \$50 million, why most publishers backed him, and why millions of workers did not believe anything McGovern had to say.

To answer these questions requires that the SWP confront the international crisis which is preparing revolutionary struggles in the United States.

Way down toward the end of his article, Jenness finally notes that "there was no labor party, based on the unions, that workers could support." This is the heart of the matter, and the SWP considers it so unimportant that Jenness has nothing else to say about it.

But the SWP bears heavy responsibility for the fact that the working class did not have its labor party this year. It refused to turn its presidential campaign to the fight in the trade unions, schools and communities for a labor party. It merely sneered when the working class forced Meany to hold back an endorsement of McGovern, and would not demand that the AFL-CIO go beyond neutrality and construct the labor party.

While the Stalinists of the American Communist Party emerged as the vital prop of the trade union bureaucracy against a break with the Democrats, the SWP refused to expose this monumental treachery.

As the Workers League carried forward the fight for the labor party through a bitter struggle against the Stalinists, the SWP played the rotten role of centrists. The SWP did not proceed with the historical necessity of breaking the working class from the capitalist parties and constructing a Marxist leadership. Rather, it trailed the Stalinists and concerned itself only with nourishing its "anti-war" movement.

It is not surprising that Jenness has no perspective to advance now that the elections are over. The SWP, gripped with pessimism, has nothing to say to the working class.

Even on the question of its own candidacy, the SWP is completely demoralized. "It's not expected that the SWP vote will be large," writes Jenness. But it already seems clear that the Socialist Workers Party, in spite of the efforts of Jenness and Pulley, polled an impressive vote. This shows the objective movement of the working class toward the question of socialism.

The Workers League supported the SWP campaign on the basis of the fight for a labor party. We consider the large socialist vote to be an endorsement by the working class of our fight, and now we will deepen the struggle for a Congress of Labor to take action against Nixon's attacks and immediately build the labor party.

### LA Shows The Way

This week marks the one-third point of our 6500 sub drive which ends December 31. Having received 379 subs this week, our national total is 1848.

This means that we are 318 subs (five percent) short of what we should have. Branches such as Madison, Baltimore, and Hartford, which in the past have brought in many subs, have let the work drop this week.

What can be done in one week is shown by these branches: Los Angeles, 30; Upper West Side, 30; Minneapolis, 34.

The Midwest trailblazers, out to get 500 subs by Thanksgiving, brought in over 50 subs this weekend. While this is a good start, they must now send in at least that many subs a day.

In order to meet our 6500 quota by December 31, we must receive 775 subs a week. This can be done if all the branches begin intensive work now on campuses, at factories, and in the communities.



## Books

**MR. PROGRESSIVE.** A Biography of Elmer Austin Benson. By James M. Shields. Published by T.S. Denison & Company, Inc. Minneapolis, 1971. \$6.95.

Mr. Progressive is one of the most effective, certainly unintended, indictments ever of the reactionary nature of populism and if its chief prop in the middle thirties and the forties, the American Communist Party.

The expose is all the more incriminating because its author, James M. Shields, like his brother Art of the Daily World, has been for decades—and continues to this day to be—an ardent apologist for every Stalinist zig-zag.

The biographer depicts the political life and fortunes of Elmer A. Benson, Governor of the State of Minnesota from 1936 to 1938. Shields, admittedly, is uniquely qualified to write such a work. As an "insider" within the state governmental apparatus during those two stormy "Benson years," he knew the Governor and his advisers intimately. More important, as an appointee in the State Department of Education, Shields more than any single Stalinist helped shape those anti-working class policies which shattered the Farmer-Labor Party (FLP) in 1938.

Written in that familiar and nauseating tradition of abject flattery so perfected by Stalin's own bootlickers during his lifetime, the book is nonetheless a valuable storehouse and documentation of Stalinist treachery to the Minnesota and American working class. It is a treachery that has not diminished. On the contrary, Stalinism today, as yesterday, is capitalism's most reliable weapon inside the working class movement.

Benson, despite the insinuation from many quarters, was never an actual member of the Communist Party. He was a populist and became a puppet of the Stalinists.

Born to Norwegian immigrant store-keeper parents in that rural retreat of Appleton, Minnesota, on the Dakota border, young Elmer Benson was brought up to be a "God-fearing Lutheran." In adulthood he became a regular contributor to Zion Lutheran Church and served its congregation in several official capacities.

Later as Governor of the State, he was the honored speaker at the twentieth celebration of the Consolidation of the Synod and United Lutheran congregations in his home town. The gist of his spiritual message was that it was people who have failed, "not Christianity."

Another ingredient besides the stoic Protestant creed of Norwegian Lutheranism to mould his views was the "round-the-stove debates" engaged in by radical farmers of the Nonpartisan League in his father's store. They had early aroused in him an antipathy and suspicion toward the big-city exploiters of the little rural folk.

Upon graduation from high school in 1915 he was sent to the St. Paul College of Law by a father who "was making money hand over fist." The short period of apprenticeship served in the St. Paul law office of a prominent attorney and judge only reinforced his populist aversion to the evil pro-war city-slickers. The return to Appleton was interrupted by his induction into the Army following America's entry into the First World War. A broken leg while en route to the front kept him from combat service.

After the war he got a job as assistant cashier at the First National Bank of Appleton. He also became a charter member and later the commander of the



Elmer Benson

# Stalinism & The Farmer-Labor Party In The '30s

B. Wills

Appleton post of the American Legion. He was unaware of any contradiction between his membership in this reactionary jingoist organization and his holding of pacifist views. Curiously his prairie pacifism was even bolstered by a belated post-war enthusiasm for the writings of Woodrow Wilson, the very "pacifist" President of the U.S., who so crassly betrayed his vow to keep America out of the European conflagration.

Such glaring inconsistencies in Benson's beliefs are not exceptional. Rather they characterize his entire political philosophy and actions. Here, too, is the explanation for the relative ease with which the Stalinists were able later to turn him into their instrument.

Shields tells that throughout his career as an employee of a petty bank, Benson retained his populist views. The future governor loved "to play poker, though never for large stakes, for he was a cautious and canny man when it came to personal money matters...All in all, it may be said of him that during this entire decade and a half of community life he exemplified socially and economically the career of a successful though not outstanding small-town, middle-class citizen."

### FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Obviously, a man with these qualities would never pose as a threat to the essential structure of the capitalist state. That was well noted within the FLP and appreciated by the more conservative anti-working class elements there. Out of concern for the farmers of Swift County in which Appleton is located, many of whom, in addition, were heavily indebted to his own bank, Benson joined the FLP at its founding in 1922.

The party was an outgrowth of two separate organizations and social classes that now merged: 1) the impoverished farmers of Minnesota headed by A.C. Townley, an

authoritarian leader of the Nonpartisan League and 2) the craft trade unions led by William Mahoney, editor of St. Paul's A.F. of L.'s newspaper, the *Union Advocate* and at the same time chairman of the Working People's Nonpartisan League. In 1922 the new party, waging its first campaign for state and national offices, scored an impressive victory against both the Democrats and Republicans. A senator and a couple of representatives from the FLP now entered the halls of Congress in Washington, D.C. to the chagrin and gloom of both capitalist parties.

It was the 1929 stock market crash, however, which gave such a sharp impetus to the mass growth and influence of the FLP. Unemployed city workers and farmers, some of whom had prospered during the twenties and supported the Republicans, now looked to the FLP with new hope and enthusiasm. This was dramatically shown in the 1930 Minnesota elections as the FLP swept into office with its leader and candidate for governor, Floyd B. Olson, capturing more than 65 percent of the total vote.

Politically shattered, the Democratic Party never again loomed as any serious independent electoral force in the State. In fact it was to remain moribund in Minnesota politics until the series of transfusions given it by the Stalinists in the early forties. Even then it could not stand on its own feet but had to be grafted onto the FLP organization as what it still is to this day: the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party.

Again in 1932 the FLP won hands down. In his second term of office Governor Olson was prevailed upon to appoint Benson to the office of Commissioner of Securities for the State of Minnesota. The small town banker was supported by certain farm leaders as well as "his contemporary independent banker friends, Harry Lee of Elbow Lake, Robert Berry of Long Prairie, and especially Ben DuBois of

Sauk Centre, a real power in central and western counties."

Shields admits that his hero in the presence of Olson "was seldom vocal on programmatic problems. He listened, meditated, adjudged, and—only when he deemed it essential did he object."

Whatever his meager talents as a Securities Commissioner, he did demonstrate a wardheeler's zeal for elimination of "carry-overs" from his department. He was in the very process of making his own appointments here, when the State Commissioner of Banking resigned to become chairman of the Fifth Federal Reserve District.

Those same political and personal considerations which secured Benson's appointment as Securities Commissioner obtained once more in his selection as the new Banking Commissioner. No sooner was he in his new office when there appeared on the scene an individual, who, henceforth, was to influence decisively Benson's entire political direction and his course of action.

For placed at the new Banking Commissioner's disposal was a relatively unknown lawyer, an assistant Attorney General in the State. Roger Rutchick's assignment was to council Benson on appointments. With a ruthlessness that Shields admits caused uneasiness and even "a minor furor" throughout the FLP itself, heads began to roll in the State Department of Banking. The amateur Benson was awe-stricken by the professional axe-swinging prowess of his new advisor. He likewise could not help admiring Rutchick's knack for having at his immediate disposal the "right" people for those eliminated.

Despite an attempt to play down Benson's ultimate total dependence on Rutchick, the biographer is forced repeatedly to detail circumstances showing Benson's helplessness when separated from his



future personal secretary and councillor once in the governor's chair. None of Benson's acts as Banking Commissioner were to effect his reputation as a rather colorless and innocuous populist. His hurdy-gurdy was capable of droning out but two monotonous lyrics: wars (and the munitions makers) are an evil; and the chain stores are the tool of the big eastern establishment. In opposition to the latter he "was an ardent advocate of farmers living on their own land and of small business owned and operated locally."

When by mid-1935 Floyd Olson voiced serious interest in giving up his governor's seat so as to run for the Senate at the 1936 elections, once more it was the qualifications of the Banking Commissioner that made him an instant favorite of the party "ins."

The accidental death of one of the Republican Senators from Minnesota gave Olson the opportunity to fill it with "a man upon whom Olson could count absolutely not to become so ambitious as to threaten a contest in 1936 for the post the governor wanted for himself." With the assurance that "the Commissioner of Banking was amenable to the governor's personal influence and wishes," Benson was named for the unexpired Senator's seat in Washington.

In his brief term as Senator in 1936 the new appointee concentrated most of his fire on those eager to steer the country into a future war. On May 8, just before his Anti-war Propaganda Bill (S.4610) "died lugubriously in committee" Benson spoke these fear-less words from the august chambers of the Senate:

"I realize that it is useless to talk against the extravagant (naval) appropriation bill which is now before the Senate, but since next Sunday will be Mother's Day, and since it is a fact that the ladies of America are practically the only organized force in this country against war and for peace, it seems to be entirely appropriate for me to close my remarks with the ironic prayer for war of that great American, Mark Twain. I send to the desk and ask permission to have read the quotation from Mark Twain to which I refer."

While Shields conscientiously quotes Mark Twain's prayer in its entirety, with less conscientiousness he denies his readers the information that Benson's utopian anti-war bill was crushed largely through the efforts of the man whom both he and Benson so revere: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Benson was nominated for governor at the March, 1936 convention of the FLP. While conducting his race for this office during the summer of 1936, Benson, we are told, "campaigning actively for the national Democrat candidates. In fact, one of his best speeches in the whole campaign was an ardent defense of the New Deal as the only conceivable choice for liberal voters." Support for "liberal" imperialists characterized a whole section of the more conservative wing of the FLP.

#### POPULAR FRONT

On August 22, 1936, in the midst of his campaigning for U.S. Senator, Olson, whose nomination for this post at the FLP convention had been unanimous, died of cancer. The way was now clear for the Stalinists to run the kind of campaign they chose. First, through Rutchick, they fairly well dominated Benson himself. Second—and more important—they had maneuvered themselves into control of a large section of the FLP apparatus.

Even the FLP weekly paper, *Minnesota Leader*, managed by Abe Harris, now began to spout the Communist Party's line of the Popular Front. How the Stalinists were able to capture so many key posts in the FLP apparatus is barely covered in Shield's narrative. Yet without such information no understanding can be reached as to how the Stalinists managed to take over, dominate, and finally wreck the FLP in Minnesota.

After the sectarian policies of the Comintern under Stalin had delivered the powerful German proletariat into the hands of their executioner, Hitler, the Kremlin at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 had ordered the C.P.'s of the world to embrace "democratic" imperialism everywhere. By 1936 the American Stalinists were shoulder deep in pursuit of the policy known as the Popular Front (in this country christened by Browder the Democratic Front, lest there be

any confusion or doubt of its intent: support of Roosevelt's Democratic Party and his so-called New Deal.)

The policy was carried out in the U.S. with that unquestioning obsequiousness that has without exaggeration earned the C.P. of America the reputation of being the most servile and most corrupt branch of Stalinism anywhere in the world.

Hardly a year earlier they had condemned Floyd Olson as an "incipient native fascist" in the same way the German Social-Democrats were called "social fascists." Now after the Seventh Congress that was all changed. With practically no influence or forces in the trade unions of the State, they took full advantage of the loose organizational structure of the FLP to infiltrate the ward clubs of the party. In addition they set up scores of paper organizations in the neighborhoods and affiliated them to the FLP through the device of submitting names they had gotten from who knows where. Moreover they formed informal blocs with numerous petty-bourgeois storekeepers and intellectuals, all with their own personal axes to grind, and, in any case, generally hostile to the idea of a class, that is a working class, party.

The single force capable of defeating the Stalinists by giving an independent political direction to the trade unionists and farmers was virtually paralyzed. The Trotskyist leaders of Teamsters Local 544 with a membership of 4000 truck drivers and warehousemen were not only the most powerful but also the most respected body in the entire trade union movement in the State. They had earned that reputation through their leadership of the Minneapolis strikes in 1934. However, the leadership and ranks of the SWP were themselves seriously divided in their attitude and approach to the FLP.

The trade union members of the SWP in the main were eager to participate in the FLP, though this largely flowed from syndicalist considerations. Since all their fellow delegates in the important Minneapolis Central Labor Union were passionate Farmer-Laborites, the 544 delegates (most of whom were in the SWP and played prominent and leading roles in the CLU) felt enormous pressure to be active in the FLP as well.

Thus a kind of understanding, a grudging concession was made to the SWP trade unionists (there were also prominent Trotskyists from many other unions besides the Teamsters in the CLU) allowing them to join the FLP. But never permitting them to be more than second class citizens, passive members in that "reformist" organization.

For the facts are that the more political elements of the Trotskyist movement, nationally as well as in Minnesota, regarded the FLP as a rival political party. That this fear of the FLP was still present even two years later when it was openly expressed to Trotsky (see "Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party," *Bulletin Trotsky Series 2*) was by then far less excusable. The question had, after all, been for many months theoretically debated as a central part of the discussion on the **Transitional Program**.

Through their domination of the FLP, the Stalinists were able to gain direct control of a large number of key CIO unions throughout the entire State. Later, when Benson became governor, he used his office against the Trotskyists while at the same time he helped the Stalinists to solidify their hold on a score of unions.

#### BENSON AS GOVERNOR

In his inaugural address on January 5, 1937, before both Houses and the top judiciary of the State, Benson repeated his vision of the dawning of a new day for the common man. All that was needed to realize this dream was for both Houses to agree to raise a trifling 38 million dollars beyond what was raised in the previous biennium—and from wealthy sources, of course!

The two single largest levies proposed were 20 million dollars to come from a severance tax on the rapidly depleting iron ore from northern Minnesota and 7 millions from Monies and Credits, that is a tax on big business financial interests.

However the legislature proved stubborn and unsportsmanlike. They "unreasonably" refused to tax the wealthy. Benson then allowed the CP to engage in an ostentatious but fraudulent charade.

A "People's Lobby," a populist rag-tag

army of a few score out-and-out Stalinists, marched into St. Paul on April 4, 1937, and "seized" the legislature. They held it overnight, frightening a few timid legislators, but never succeeded in prying even a penny loose.

The futile act served merely as the pretext for some outraged editorials and red-baiting up and down the State. The "mob" was photographed eating, lounging, and even sleeping in the sacred halls of the Capitol. They depicted Benson as the evil sorcerer, who had "reds" and "anarchists" at his beck and call to terrorize law-abiding citizens.

The CP forces at the convention also forced through a plank taken right out of Roosevelt's arsenal. It was a call for "quarantining the aggressor," a direct incitation to imperialist war. That accorded, of course, with the Kremlin's line at the time, actually less than one and a half years before the infamous Stalin-Hitler pact. The program in its essentials was indistinguishable from that of the national Democratic Party.



The Benson and Bernard Team.

But there was opposition, serious opposition from trade unionists and from a good many of the farmers. They could not believe their eyes and ears at what was happening to their party.

Since one of the issues the Stalinists were clearly identified with was their support of the Spanish Popular Front government in the Civil War against Franco, some of the red-baiting centered on this question. Without a flicker of embarrassment or a twinge of conscience Shields mentions in an off-hand manner how the Stalinists simply surrendered "the Spanish issue in return for no red-baiting."

In his campaign for a second term as governor Benson cloaked himself in Roosevelt's New Deal. Despite the efforts of Benson and the entire FLP leadership to get a public endorsement from the White House for Benson's candidacy, Roosevelt remained aloof. The President was obviously unhappy about the Stalinists to whom the Governor was so beholden. At last, in response to a desperate wire from some Minnesota Newspaper Guild supporters of Benson and after waiting until just a few days before the 1938 election day, the Presidential office forwarded a telegram to the Guild. Shields protests that its text was so inadequate that even the Democrats, who were running their own candidate for governor against both the FLP and the Republicans, "made no complaint."

About five weeks before the end of the election, the SWP issued its own endorsement of the FLP ticket, including critical support to Benson himself. Appearing in the form of an "Open Letter to Governor Benson," it was actually a fifteen page brochure signed by V.R. Dunne, as Organizer of the Minnesota Section of the Socialist Workers Party. Six main points, with a number of sub-divisions, constitute the socialist platform proposed to Benson and the FLP State Campaign Committee as a substitute for the liberal bourgeois program adopted at Duluth.

The first two paragraphs addressed to Benson and his Campaign Committee

stated:

"Dear Friends:

"We—the members of the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota—gave our support to Governor Benson in the primaries, and we shall do our utmost to assure his victory in the coming election. In the trade union movement, we have thrown our influence to securing, not merely perfunctory endorsements for the Farmer-Labor ticket, but a real mobilization of the organized workers to make certain the defeat of the capitalist party candidates.

"We had hoped that those guiding the Farmer-Labor campaign would realize the need of going beyond the issues touched upon in the 1938 platform adopted last Spring by the Duluth Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party. Life itself, one would have thought, would impel the campaign committee to speak out on the problems confronting the workers and farmers of Minnesota. Unfortunately, however, Governor Benson's keynote speech at Ap-

leton on September 20th was no improvement over the Duluth platform...

"The present program of the Farmer-Labor Party is one which can scarcely inspire the workers and farmers to close ranks and conduct the stubborn fight which is necessary for victory in the state elections. The truth is that the Farmer-Labor Party is in mortal danger of a defeat at the hands of reaction, unless the workers and farmers can be armed with a program which will spur them to the utmost efforts to achieve victory."

#### PLANKS

The last two major planks from the Open Letter were "V. For a nation-wide labor party—Break with the 'New Deal,' VI. Down with Stalinist wreckers!"

The Trotskyists made a far more realistic appraisal of the political situation and the ingredients required by the FLP to win than did the Benson-CP forces. This is how Shields describes the bitterness of defeat:

"Elmer Benson was deeply shocked and almost broken-hearted. Up to the very end he had counted on victory—close, yes, but still victory. How could the PEOPLE, whom he had sought so valiantly to serve, be so deluded by the red-baiting monopoly-dominated opposition as to vote out of office the only real friends and champions they had? He found it exceedingly hard to do, but he did manage to swallow the hurt long enough to congratulate the victor..."

The obvious favoritism displayed toward the Stalinist trade unionists was merely the other side of Benson's arrogance toward and his numerous run-ins with non-Stalinist unionists, who sought to defend their members' interests by militant means. Encouraged by the Stalinists, the governor sought to "tame" militant unionism by "New Deal" type "harmony" between the workers and their bosses. This is what helps explain the unbelievable loss to the FLP of the two most powerful labor strongholds in the state, "Minneapolis and St. Paul by a full third of the votes cast."



Shields describes an interesting and significant incident during Benson's governorship that throws a bit of light on still another aspect of mid-west populism.

During his governorship in 1937, Benson's good friend from the neighboring State of Wisconsin, Governor Phil LaFollette, had paid a visit to both Germany and Italy. What had particularly struck the fancy of this "progressive" was the ability of fascism in both countries to stir the youth. Returning home, the Wisconsin Governor was imbued with ambitious plans to aid a "great resurgence of youth" in this country. He even enlisted the moral and financial support of some fairly substantial, if middle-aged, industrialists.

One such figure was the millionaire president of Brown & Bigelow, the huge calendar and card publishing company of St. Paul, Charlie Ward. An enthusiastic convert, he lost little time in contributing plenty of cash for producing and circulating literature and buttons emblazoned with the Swastika emblem. To win additional forces to his new move-



ment LaFollette invited his Minnesota friend to a private party at Ward's forest retreat on the Wisconsin side of the St. Croix River. Benson came as an honored guest bringing with him "quite a bevy of Farmer-Laborites," including a judge, a general of the State National Guard, a State director of personnel, and many other VIP's.

After wining and dining his guests at a sumptuous outdoor barbecue, Ward asked them to relax and listen to LaFollette's message:

"He gave a stirring description of the youth movement abroad in Germany and Italy, and the rise of National Socialism to transcend the power of the cartels and trusts. It was all a gigantic mass movement of the poor, the dispossessed, the rank and file of people in those great nations, led and inspired by upsurgent youth from factory and farm as well as colleges—the Great Hope of the Future! Turning to Benson in climactic fervor the Wisconsin governor exclaimed, 'Oh, had I but the young people of your great university to depend upon, what great things we might accomplish together!'"

Shields admits that virtually the entire Minnesota delegation of right-wing FLPers "showed interest, even Judge Daye, political realist that he was!"

Earlier we saw how Benson and the CP, using their organizational control of the FLP apparatus at the Duluth convention in 1938, thwarted the anti-war sentiments of the delegates to push through a savage pro-war plank. It was done in direct support of Roosevelt's global military strategy for eventual participation in the Second Imperialist World War. Shields, after making but a single reference to January, 1939, abruptly transports us to the FLP convention in Rochester, Minnesota, on March 8, 1940. In so doing, he wipes out eleven crucial months of the previous year without leaving a trace.

At this convention, Shields notes, Benson was invited to address the body by virtue of a motion made by a delegate, Congressman John T. Bernard, long identified with the CP.

"Benson, thoroughly primed, rose to the occasion with his first public address since his defeat. What did he talk about? Peace and neutrality, of course.

"The Farmer-Labor party has always been opposed to war. Under no circumstances is our party going to stand idly by while this nation drifts into war. The repressions of the people will be ten—yes, a hundred times worse than during the last war. Liberals must take the lead in combating hysteria."

Without even a work to explain the change in line, our author simply links the prowar jingoists of 1938 with those who have "always been opposed to war." No clarification for this volte-face is anywhere offered in the book.

Suddenly the CPs of the world turned from being the most avid supporters of the western imperialists into chanters of slogans such as "The Yanks aren't coming" and "Let God save the King."

The FLP was badly split at the 1940 convention between the now thoroughly discredited CP on the one side and, on the other, an unhomogeneous bloc of anti-Stalinists, some of whom had become rabidly right wing. The Benson forces and the right-wingers were able to achieve a compromise. This time Benson was to run for U.S. Senator and his chief conservative rival, Hjalmar Peterson, agreed to make the Governor's race.

Unlike his reticence concerning the Stalin-Hitler Pact, Shields feels far more comfortable reporting the attack on the USSR.

"And then on June 22, 1941, came the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Nazis. Immediately certain elements in Farmer-Labor ranks changed their conception of the conflict, some out of devotion to the 'first great land of socialism,' others from an increasing awareness that there was more to this war than a sheer power struggle between Fascist Germany-Italy and British-French imperialism."

The American CP responded with an alacrity and enthusiasm that surpassed pure concern for the fate of the "socialist fatherland." For it meant their return to the "main stream" in which they had previously felt so terribly comfortable: the middle class swamp of FDR's liberal imperialism.

So the Young Communist League (YCL) members could put aside the chant "The Yanks are no longer coming!" Instead they now intoned "Open up that Second Front!" And then at the end of that same year came Pearl Harbor. What a relief for Benson, who had already moved all the way over to the position of the Stalinists. Indeed, he blended in perfectly with that patriotic upsurge engulfing the nation. His American fervor swelled to such heights that he seriously considered serving his country "as major or lieutenant colonel, perhaps even full colonel."

#### BENSON AND LABOR

Though the biographer has omitted much that was relevant and essential to an understanding of Benson, he simply found no way to ignore the 1934 Drivers' strikes led by the Trotskyists in Minneapolis. In a modest paragraph encompassing hardly 10 lines of his book, this is how he chronicles that event:

"In those desperate years of the early 1930s labor really came alive in the Twin Cities, despite—or perhaps because of its continuous battles with what was probably the tightest employer antiunion organization in the whole country, the Citizens' Alliance of Minneapolis. The great truck driver strike of 1934, when violence erupted all over city streets, ending in a massive funeral parade for the martyred, proclaimed to all and sundry the end of the reign of the Alliance, which earlier in 1934 had boasted it had defeated every major strike in Minneapolis since World War I."

Shields is clever enough to anticipate the inevitable questions from any and all quarters about his failure to mention, even in a passing reference, the role of the Trotskyists in leading this "great truck driver strike of 1934" and his deceitful cover-up of Stalinism during its ultraleft Third Period, when it so vehemently condemned the Trotskyists for "selling out the strike" to the Citizens' Alliance.

Our sleight-of-hand artist shows his talents in dealing with another episode concerning labor's struggles in Minnesota. It involves the efforts of employees to form and get recognition for a union of their own choice at the American Gas

Machine Company in Albert Lea in 1937. Their picket line was assaulted by union-hating Company thugs and sheriff's deputies. Men and women strikers were physically beaten, tear gassed, terrorized, and thrown into jail.

"The union wired for help. Armed deputies paraded triumphantly through streets. But by noon a hundred furious workers arrived from a CIO packing plant in Austin. The Minneapolis truck drivers wired that 1500 men would arrive by nightfall. Many sympathetic citizens and neighboring farmers joined the outraged crowd of nearly 2000 which swarmed about the plant and took control of the streets."

The "CIO packing plant in Austin" was the Hormel plant organized into Local 1 of the Packinghouse Workers Union, and whose Local president and leadership were well known throughout Minnesota as Trotskyists. Likewise the 1500 "truck drivers" were from Local 544, also under SWP leadership. Clearly such facts had no "impact on him" and in the interest of economy had to be left out.

Apparently, it did not violate his tenets of economy for Shields to include the names of Stalinists, who while they brought no forces, appeared on the scene and wallowed in the victory of the Albert Lea workers. But the biographer was the happy facility of balancing his sins of omission with plenty of sins of commission.

Daniel Tobin, president of the International Teamsters Union, tried to sabotage the great '34 strikes by denouncing the leaders in the public press as "Communists." But even after the victory of the truck drivers, that bureaucrat never ceased his efforts to remove by force the Trotskyists from leadership of Local 544.

Among Tobin's tactics in his unceasing war against the drivers' leadership in Minneapolis was the importation of armed goons from as far away as Chicago and Detroit. Two of the leaders of 544, Bill Brown and Pat Corcoran, were felled by these musclemen on Tobin's payroll.

Instead of coming to the defense of the revolutionaries, whose very lives were threatened by Tobin's criminals, the CP of that day, in true Moscow-Trial fashion, concocted and fanned rumors throughout the entire State about how the "gangsters of 544 were killing each other off." On more than one occasion was the union forced to threaten libel action against the Stalinists unless they retracted such vicious slanders in their press.

Yet even after such public retractions, they continued their fantastic charges by word of mouth. The sensation-hungry, anti-labor newspapers in the State were only too eager to pick up such innuendos and use them against the Trotskyists in the same way the Kadet press under Kerensky slandered the Bolsheviks, accusing them of being in the pay of the German Kaiser.

Now in the seventies Shields can hardly manufacture lies in that same crude and brazen way he and his gang did in the thirties. So how does he make his charges?

"It should be noted here, also, that the Governor's relations with leaders of the powerful Teamsters Union of Minneapolis were never really cozy. Like Olson before him, Benson questioned the sincerity of the Teamster leaders of those days, the notorious Dunne brothers, Vincent ('The Brain'), Miles ('The Mouth'), and Grant ('The Muscle'), along with Farrel Dobbs, Patrick Corcoran, William Sinnott, William Brown, etc."

Shields, under the guise of "objective" reporting, notes that Benson offered a \$500 personal reward for the identification of the killers of Pat Corcoran who "was waylaid back of his Minneapolis home and shot to death by unknown assailants." He adds that by now "Elmer Benson was very unhappy over Teamster leadership squabbles generally." What a Stalinist amalgam! The lives of the 544 leadership are threatened and actually cut short by Tobin's imported goons, and Shields, with feigned indignation, makes the victim and the criminal equally guilty before his bar of justice.

Another incident, we are told, that irked Governor Benson deeply was the militant milk drivers' strike in 1937. But imagine, workers daring to close down a plant in April when the Governor wanted them to hold off at least until after "the June 21 primary," so as not to offend the petty bourgeoisie and risk losing their votes.

Stalinist super-sensitivity to middle

class thinking and just plain hostility to working class militancy during the heyday of Browder's Democratic Front is revealed in Shields' report of still another labor struggle.

"It was about this same time that another alleged incident was talked about; to wit, that in the town of Buffalo, Minnesota, some fifty miles west of Minneapolis, a local physician was having an apartment house built by local workers. Suddenly Walter Frank, organizer for the Twin City building trades, appeared and demanded to see their union cards. When none was produced, he loudly announced, 'By God, you've got just 24 hours to show cards or there will be the goddamdest explosion here you ever heard.' Accordingly, for several days and nights the premises were patrolled by indignant citizens armed with shotguns. Word of this alleged incident was circulated far and wide."

Shields' purpose in relating this incident is to arouse in the reader genuine pity and understanding for Governor Benson's plight. For if only the labor movement had "behaved" itself during his term of office, he would presumably have been easily re-elected as Governor.

#### WITCH HUNT AGAINST TROTSKYISTS

In early June of 1941, Tobin, one of Roosevelt's most obsequious labor lieutenants, ordered the Trotskyist leaders of 544 to appear before the International Executive Board of the Teamsters in Washington and stand trial on charges preferred against them. At the same time the local leadership was informed that a receiver had already been put over 544 with absolute authority to expel anyone for any reason from the union. Behind the action by Tobin lay the refusal of the 544 leaders to bow to Roosevelt's increasingly urgent insistence that the unions without exception give up their independence and militancy as a key part of America's imminent entry into the second imperialist war.

Rather than allowing the hard-won gains and democratic rights of members to be destroyed by Tobin, the Trotskyists decided to fight back. On June 9, 1941, to the full membership of 4,000 workers that filled the huge union hall, the entire basement, and overflowed into Plymouth Avenue and its side streets, the leaders soberly outlined the harsh realities facing the union and the alternatives. Their recommendation was for 544 to disaffiliate from the AF of L and accept a charter from the CIO. When the vote for disaffiliation was put, a deafening roar of yesses from both within and outside the union hall rent the air of northside Minneapolis on that warm summer evening. When the no vote was out, there was absolute silence.

Tobin acted at once. His goons, hundreds of them, were shipped into Minneapolis the very next day and for weeks that army (they were armed) swelled. Four days after 544 switched its affiliation Roosevelt also took a direct hand. His secretary, Stephen Early, according to the New York Times of June 14, 1941, admitted in a White House press conference that Tobin had asked for prompt assistance from Roosevelt's office.

And while Tobin's and Jimmy Hoffa's goons were forcing an unwilling membership to remove their 544-CIO buttons from their caps, FBI agents invaded SWP headquarters in both Minneapolis and St. Paul, seizing books, pamphlets, and newspapers that were to be found on most public library shelves. Within a month 29 members of the SWP (most of them leaders of 544) were indicted under five counts.

The first one was based on an 1861 statute aimed at Southern slave-holders during the Civil War. The fifth charge was the infamous Smith Act. Later, under Joe McCarthy, the Stalinists, who did their utmost to sabotage broad union defense of the Trotskyists, were themselves indicted through this same "Omnibus Gag" law.

The following bit of information, not previously published, demonstrates how the Stalinists, through Benson, still functioned in Moscow-Trial fashion:

"That June the press carried stories that the national CIO had accepted or was about to accept the Minneapolis Teamsters' Local 544 with its Trotskyite leadership to membership in good standing. Benson was horrified. He immediately wrote Lee Pressman, CIO general



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#### GVERNOR

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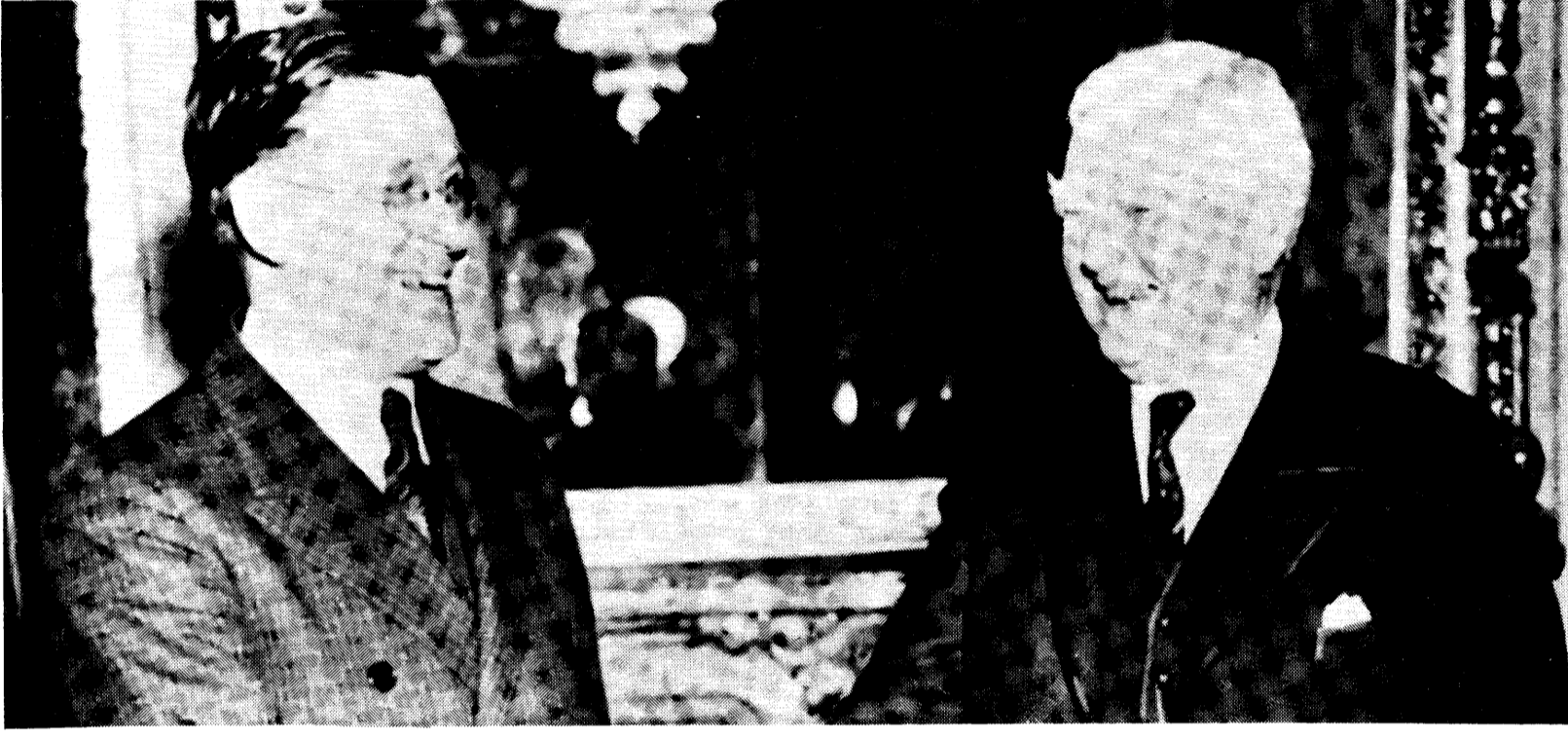
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populist rag-tag

army of a few score out-and-out Sta-  
linists, marched into St. Paul on April 4,  
1937, and "seized" the legislature. They  
held it overnight, frightening a few timid  
legislators, but never succeeded in prying  
even a penny loose.

The futile act served merely as the pre-  
text for some outraged editorials and red-  
baiting up and down the State. The "mob"  
was photographed eating, lounging, and  
even sleeping in the sacred halls of the  
Capitol. They depicted Benson as the evil  
sorcerer, who had "reds" and "anar-  
chists" at his beck and call to terrorize  
law-abiding citizens.

The CP forces at the convention also  
forced through a plank taken right out of  
Roosevelt's arsenal. It was a call for  
"quarantining the aggressor," a direct in-  
citation to imperialist war. That ac-  
cording, of course, with the Kremlin's line  
at the time, actually less than one and a  
half years before the infamous Stalin-Hit-  
ler pact. The program in its essentials was  
indistinguishable from that of the na-  
tional Democratic Party.



The Benson and Bernard Team.

But there was opposition, serious op-  
position from trade unionists and from a  
good many of the farmers. They could not  
believe their eyes and ears at what was  
happening to their party.

Since one of the issues the Stalinists  
were clearly identified with was their  
support of the Spanish Popular Front  
government in the Civil War against Fran-  
co, some of the red-baiting centered on  
this question. Without a flicker of em-  
barrassment or a twinge of conscience  
Shields mentions in an off-hand manner  
how the Stalinists simply surrendered  
"the Spanish issue in return for no red-  
baiting."

In his campaign for a second term as  
governor Benson cloaked himself in  
Roosevelt's New Deal. Despite the efforts  
of Benson and the entire FLP leadership  
to get a public endorsement from the  
White House for Benson's candidacy,  
Roosevelt remained aloof. The President  
was obviously unhappy about the Sta-  
linists to whom the Governor was so be-  
holden. At last, in response to a desperate  
wire from some Minnesota Newspaper  
Guild supporters of Benson and after  
waiting until just a few days before the  
1938 election day, the Presidential office  
forwarded a telegram to the Guild. Shields  
protests that its text was so inadequate  
that even the Democrats, who were run-  
ning their own candidate for governor  
against both the FLP and the Re-  
publicans, "made no complaint."

About five weeks before the end of the  
election, the SWP issued its own en-  
dorsement of the FLP ticket, including  
critical support to Benson himself. Ap-  
pearing in the form of an "Open Letter to  
Governor Benson," it was actually a fif-  
teen page brochure signed by V.R. Dunne,  
as Organizer of the Minnesota Section of  
the Socialist Workers Party. Six main  
points, with a number of sub-divisions,  
constitute the socialist platform proposed  
to Benson and the FLP State Campaign  
Committee as a substitute for the liberal  
bourgeois program adopted at Duluth.

The first two paragraphs addressed to  
Benson and his Campaign Committee

stated:

"Dear Friends:

"We—the members of the Socialist  
Workers Party in Minnesota—gave our  
support to Governor Benson in the pri-  
maries, and we shall do our utmost to  
assure his victory in the coming election.  
In the trade union movement, we have  
thrown our influence to securing, not  
merely perfunctory endorsements for the  
Farmer-Labor ticket, but a real mobi-  
lization of the organized workers to  
make certain the defeat of the capitalist  
party candidates.

"We had hoped that those guiding the  
Farmer-Labor campaign would realize  
the need of going beyond the issues  
touched upon in the 1938 platform adopted  
last Spring by the Duluth Convention of the  
Farmer-Labor Party. Life itself, one  
would have thought, would impel the cam-  
paign committee to speak out on the prob-  
lems confronting the workers and farmers  
of Minnesota. Unfortunately, however,  
Governor Benson's keynote speech at Ap-

pleton on September 20th was no im-  
provement over the Duluth platform...

"The present program of the Farmer-  
Labor Party is one which can scarcely  
inspire the workers and farmers to close  
ranks and conduct the stubborn fight  
which is necessary for victory in the state  
elections. The truth is that the Farmer-  
Labor Party is in mortal danger of a  
defeat at the hands of reaction, unless the  
workers and farmers can be armed with a  
program which will spur them to the  
utmost efforts to achieve victory."

#### PLANKS

The last two major planks from the  
Open Letter were "V. For a nation-wide  
labor party—Break with the 'New Deal,'  
VI. Down with Stalinist wreckers!"

The Trotskyists made a far more real-  
istic appraisal of the political situation  
and the ingredients required by the FLP to  
win than did the Benson-CP forces. This is  
how Shields describes the bitterness of  
defeat:

"Elmer Benson was deeply shocked and  
almost broken-hearted. Up to the very end  
he had counted on victory—close, yes, but  
still victory. How could the PEOPLE,  
whom he had sought so valiantly to serve,  
be so deluded by the red-baiting mono-  
poly-dominated opposition as to vote out of  
office the only real friends and champions  
they had? He found it exceedingly hard to  
do, but he did manage to swallow the hurt  
long enough to congratulate the victor..."

The obvious favoritism displayed  
toward the Stalinist trade unionists was  
merely the other side of Benson's arro-  
gance toward and his numerous run-ins  
with non-Stalinist unionists, who sought to  
defend their members' interests by mili-  
tant means. Encouraged by the Stalinists,  
the governor sought to "tame" militant  
unionism by "New Deal" type "har-  
mony" between the workers and their  
bosses. This is what helps explain the  
unbelievable loss to the FLP of the two  
most powerful labor strongholds in the  
state, "Minneapolis and St. Paul by a full  
third of the votes cast."

Shields describes an interesting and  
significant incident during Benson's  
governorship that throws a bit of light on  
still another aspect of mid-west populism.

During his governorship in 1937, Ben-  
son's good friend from the neighboring  
State of Wisconsin, Governor Phil LaFol-  
lette, had paid a visit to both Germany and  
Italy. What had particularly struck the  
fancy of this "progressive" was the ability  
of fascism in both countries to stir the  
youth. Returning home, the Wisconsin  
Governor was imbued with ambitious  
plans to aid a "great resurgence of youth"  
in this country. He even enlisted the moral  
and financial support of some fairly sub-  
stantial, if middle-aged, industrialists.

One such figure was the millionaire  
president of Brown & Bigelow, the huge  
calendar and card publishing company of  
St. Paul, Charlie Ward. An enthusiastic  
convert, he lost little time in contributing  
plenty of cash for producing and cir-  
culating literature and buttons em-  
blazoned with the Swastika emblem. To  
win additional forces to his new move-

"Benson, thoroughly pri-  
vately, on the occasion with his first pub-  
lic defeat. What did he tal-  
and neutrality, of course.

"The Farmer-Labor p-  
been opposed to war. Un-  
stances is our party going  
while this nation drifts  
repressions of the people v-  
a hundred times worse than  
war. Liberals must take t-  
bating hysteria."

Without even a work-  
change in line, our author  
prowar jingoists of 1938  
have "always been oppos-  
clarification for this vol-  
where offered in the book

Suddenly the CPs of th-  
from being the most avid s-  
western imperialists int-  
slogans such as "The Yar-  
ing" and "Let God save t-

The FLP was badly sp-  
convention between the  
discredited CP on the one  
other, an unhomogeneous  
Stalinists, some of whom  
rably right wing. The Be-  
the right-wingers were ab-  
compromise. This time Be-  
for U.S. Senator and his  
vative rival, Hjalmar Pete-  
make the Governor's race.

Unlike his reticence  
Stalin-Hitler Pact, Shields  
comfortable reporting the  
USSR.

"And then on June 22,  
invasion of the Soviet Union  
Immediately certain elem-  
Labor ranks changed their  
the conflict, some out of  
'first great land of socialis-  
an increasing awareness  
more to this war than a she-  
gle between Fascist Ger-  
British-French imperialis-

The American CP resp-  
alacrity and enthusiasm  
pure concern for the fate o-  
fatherland." For it meant  
the "main stream" in w-  
previously relet so terribl-  
the middle class swamp o-  
imperialism.

So the Young Communis-  
members could put aside  
Yanks are no longer cor-  
they now intoned "Open  
Front!" And then at the e-  
year came Pearl Harbor. V-  
Benson, who had already  
way over to the position o-  
Indeed, he blended in per-  
patriotic upsurge engulfing  
American fervor swelled  
that he seriously consider-  
country "as major or lieu-  
perhaps even full colonel.

#### BENSON AND L.

Though the biographer  
much that was relevant an-  
understanding of Benson, h-  
no way to ignore the 1934  
led by the Trotskyists in M-  
modest paragraph encom-  
lines of his book, this is ho-  
that event:

"In those desperate year-  
1930s labor really came al-  
Cities, despite—or perhaps  
continuous battles with wh-  
the tightest employer an-  
zation in the whole countr-  
Alliance of Minneapolis. T-  
driver strike of 1934, v-  
erupted all over city stre-  
massive funeral parade fo-  
proclaimed to all and sund-  
reign of the Alliance, whic-  
had boasted it had defeate-  
strike in Minneapolis since

Shields is clever enoug-  
the inevitable questions fr-  
quarters about his failure t-  
in a passing reference, t-  
Trotskyists in leading thi-  
driver strike of 1934" an-  
cover-up of Stalinism dur-  
Third Period, when it so v-  
demned the Trotskyists f-  
the strike" to the Citizens

Our sleight-of-hand art-  
talents in dealing with a  
concerning labor's struggle  
It involves the efforts of  
form and get recognition  
their own choice at the



counsel:

"Regardless of what the national organization of the CIO does or had done in this matter, I want to assure you that I am going to continue my opposition to this type of labor and political leadership. We need aggressive, radical, intelligent and honest leadership in the labor movement, and eventually we are going to get it, but not from this type of leadership. To be sure, these men are intelligent, but they are crafty, corrupt, dishonest leaders of labor, and dangerous men both in the political and economic movement. I hope you will realize the necessity for cooperating with some of the fine leaders you now have in this state and not permit a racketeering group to gain control."

It was hardly much of a secret that

them the support of the national Democratic organization, but above all the power represented by Roosevelt in the White House, a man before whom the Stalinists stood in awe. The Humphryites were demanding no more than actual control of the new party. So what was the "left" to do?

"During the bickering between the merger committees Benson took the position within his own committee that it really didn't matter too much if the Democrats kept the top jobs in the new organization, providing the Farmer-Laborites could maintain parity in the merged central committee. Let them have the county chairmen for now. That could be taken care of at the next county conventions. The main thing was to accomplish the

political career of Humphrey. His anti-labor record as mayor had disillusioned workers throughout the city including whole sections of trade union officialdom. The latter were even prepared to vote with the Stalinists to rid themselves of Humphrey. Indeed, so hostile were the questions put to H.H.H. by a leading group of unionists at the convention, that the Mayor, who was seeking their support for his candidacy as Governor, broke off the private meeting and in a fit of petulance left the room:

"But after he left there was a long consultation among convention leaders. They certainly had the votes to promote whatever program and slate of officers or candidates they pleased, and they were all set to endorse only liberals of their choice.

foreign policy of Harry Truman, and on the other with the domestic hardcore Republicanism of Dewey."

In January of 1948 Benson accepted chairmanship of the Progressive Party. The Stalinists made a final try to capture the DFL by bringing what they thought was Wallace's impeccable credentials and prestige into the party to do battle with the State-Department liberals in Minnesota. But the tarnished image of the man, who under Roosevelt had plowed under hundreds of thousands of pigs before the eyes of America's hungry millions, only isolated the Stalinists even more. Neither the farmers nor the labor movement were the least bit interested in that kind of shoddy bargain.

Thus the efforts of the CP to capture the DFL through Wallace backfired completely. So badly were they defeated at the DFL convention in June, 1948, at Brainard, that the Stalinists and their hangers-on pulled out in a huff and went to Minneapolis where they set up a rump "DFL" convention of their own.

To salvage what could be salvaged Benson and his people chose a committee of seven to supervise the gathering of signatures aimed at getting the Progressive Party with Wallace as its President on the Minnesota ballot. It was composed of "Elmer Benson, Selma Seestrom, Orville Olson, Tony DeMaio, Henry Supak, Carlton Todd, and Jerome Kaner..."

Now these same worthies, who had just been kicked in the teeth by the anti-communist liberals of the DFL announced their support of whom?—of Humphrey for the Senate. Hear the reasoning of these "principled" politicians:

"Despite their antipathy to the candidacy of Hubert Humphrey for the Senate, they decided against opposing him for the reason that it might detract from the likelihood of defeating the hated Republican incumbent, Joe Ball, and hence prejudice union people who supported Wallace but hated Ball more."

So once again the CP with their customary pragmatism and cowardly fear of isolation from "a solid rank and file base" simply helped decorate with bunting the shillelagh held in Humphrey's hand and which he was to continue to use with such effect on Stalinist and, unfortunately, on workers' skulls as well.

In 1939, that is, long before the present degeneration and abandonment of Marxism by the SWP, Vincent R. Dunne, so maligned in Shields' book, wrote about his view concerning the defeat of the FLP in 1938 and his estimate regarding a resurgence of a labor party in the state and nation. We ask the reader to contrast his grasp of reality with the whinnings of the Bensons, the Shields. The passage is taken from Colvin's book, *A Rebel in Thought*:

"The shattering of the Farmer-Labor Party in November, 1938 (it was not merely an electoral defeat) was the inevitable culmination of a course shaped by politicians, compromisers of all sorts, and outright charlatans. Only the smug and timid will conclude, however, that the Labor Party has been destroyed.

"The idea of independent political action is based upon something much firmer and more important than the hazy whims of the campus radical or the wishes of semiskilled intellectuals who look at their belt buckles for inspiration. When the Labor Party, or Farmer-Labor Party, comes back into Minnesota, it will be as part of a nation-wide movement based on and dominated by the mass trade unions, dispossessed farmers' organizations, and unemployed sections affiliated with the trade unions. The driving force of such a political party will bring to its support the so-called middle class in present day society.

"...That the trade unions will finally tread this path, there can be little doubt. The New Deal has evolved into a war deal. The millions who have been taken off the breadlines will not return to selling apples on the street corners. The Republicans, even as the Democrats, have only one program of 'reconstruction;' cut wages, hamstringing the unions, starve the unemployed, drive the farmer into bankruptcy, and give all the Coughlins free rein. The trade unions, either with the present leadership, or against it if necessary, will be forced to organize and lead a labor party toward conquest of state power, thereby clearing the way for the reconstruction of our world on the plane of reason, logic, and justice."



Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Truck Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis are arrested by cops under the Smith Act in 1940.

Pressman at the time was himself a strong sympathiser, if not actually a member, of the CP.

Thus, the Stalinists, who had done all in their power to sabotage the victory of the Minneapolis truck drivers, could now claim considerable credit in separating the fighters of the '34 strikes from their elected leaders, forcing the men back into Tobin's gangster-ridden union.

#### BACK TO ROOSEVELT

With Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the role of the Minnesota section of the CP was to push the FLP into an electoral bloc with the state's Democratic Party. Their conscious aim was to lay the ground work for rapid organizational fusion with the Democrats.

In Chapter XVIII of his book entitled "MERGER," Shields with unconcealed brazenness confides that the first consideration impelling the "left wing" (the Stalinists, of course) toward fusion with the Democrats was the matter of financial and job handouts from Washington.

But another important factor for "...people like Rutchick and Elmer Benson, was the strong possibility that in the coming national election, with a split liberal vote, the Republicans might well carry the state against FDR—or whom-ever the Democrat candidate might be should Roosevelt decide against a fourth term. That was a calamity to be avoided at all costs."

But there were extreme difficulties faced by the Stalinists in seeking to bury the FLP. Hatred of the Democrats in the state ran as deep among broad sections of both the workers and farmers as hatred of the Republicans. Hence, the merger struggle that began in earnest in 1943 was carefully fought out within the narrow confines of the organization itself. None of the factions took the issues into the ranks of the working class, not even those who fought for FLP independence from both capitalist parties.

Already dominant in the FLP thanks to both their bloc with the populists and their own superior cohesion and discipline, the Stalinists confidently began negotiations with the much tinier group of professional Democrats led by one Hubert H. Humphrey.

But the Democrats compensated for their smaller numbers by having behind

merger itself and set up a campaign organization in which all forces could cooperate."

Within a year of the merger, says Shields, "the shotgun wedding honeymoon of Farmer-Laborites and Democrats was nearing an end." But let us quote this most revealing passage from Shields in its entirety:

"Hubert Humphrey was now mayor of Minneapolis, thanks to Farmer-Labor and especially left-wing labor support, along with heavy backing from the Minneapolis Tribune and Star Journal and financial tycoons in the milling industry. Humphrey, likewise, was the highly ambitious symbol of a coterie of young Democrats in the Political Science Department of the University of Minnesota. His first act as mayor had been to go back on his pledge to labor leaders that they were to name the chief of police. Instead he gave that privilege to a special law enforcement committee headed by Bradshaw Mintener, vice president of the huge milling firm of Pillsbury Mills, Inc. Mintener's committee chose a typical J. Edgar Hoover type of 'red hunter' by the name of Ed Ryan, a move that served to disillusion left-wing union leadership and at the same time give the ambitious mayor a willing tool to use later in his efforts to wrest control of the DFL from its left leadership."

We have presented this long and incredibly incriminating quotation because in it Shields really gives the whole thing away. The "left wing," that euphemism for Stalinism, was admittedly the "father" in this sordid "shotgun wedding" that had so quickly turned sour.

Furthermore, Shields insists on credit for helping to create that monster on labor's back known as Hubert Humphrey. Shields withholds the nature of H.H.H.'s substantive first act on becoming mayor of Minneapolis with that "especially left-wing labor support." For even before selecting a committee to choose a police chief, Humphrey ordered his cops to escort scabs through the picket-line and help break the strike of the Bell Telephone Co. employees, who were bannered the Company's entrances immediately across the street from the Court House in which the new Mayor had just settled.

Shields confides that as late as the 1946 convention of the DFL the Stalinists were in a position to definitively destroy the

But one persuasive voice was raised for compromise, for unity, for 'the good of the party in the future.' The voice was none other than that of Clarence Hathaway, one-time editor of the Daily Worker but ousted some years back allegedly for personal problems. Hathaway, now organizer for the CIO Electrical Workers Union, was highly respected both for his political judgement and for his reformed personal life. Now he persuaded Benson, Rutchick and others to agree, for the sake of party unity, to elect a mixed slate.

"Accordingly, the final convention choice of officers included two opposition vice-chairmen and—most important of all—as party secretary young Orville Freeman, ex-Marine lieutenant and one of Humphrey's closest associates. As Benson commented years later, 'Thus the door was held open to the termites, and once in they never left.'"

Whether or not the "termites" were indeed really trounced then or not, an international Stalinist leader, Hathaway, aided them in their come back. It was, incidentally, this same Hathaway, who in 1928 voted to support the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern for their support to Trotsky, who was being so criminally vilified by the Kremlin. 1.

Honing their axes over the grindstone of Truman's Cold War, which shortly afterwards broke out, the Humphreyites, like happy chicken butchers, began to lob off one Stalinist head after another in the DFL.

Previously, the Stalinists always clucked proudly over their ability to outmaneuver their liberal opponents. Now, however, they suddenly found themselves the rather easy victims of a cabal of younger Democrats, most of them from "the Political Science Department of the University of Minnesota." These ambitious, career-minded young professors had indeed studied their Machivelli thoroughly. And like Arthur Naftalin, the future Mayor of Minneapolis, knew how to apply the Florentine statesman's teachings against the CP.

Very soon the Minnesota branch of the Communist Party joined the rest of the nation's Stalinists in reaching for the tailcoats of Henry Wallace and his capitalist third party movement.

"Elmer felt that Wallace was a godsend at the time to progressives faced on the one hand with the intransigent anti-Soviet



# David North Theater

## Gorky In 1905

**ENEMIES**, a play by Maxim Gorky. English version by Jeremy Brooks and Kitty Hunter-Blain. Directed by Ellis Rabb. Robert Symonds as Zakhar Bardin, Joseph Wiseman as Yakov Bardin and Nancy Marchand as Tatiana.

Maxim Gorky was among the greatest dramatists of this century, and his talent consisted in expressing the conflict of the irreconcilable enemies of modern society: the working class and the bourgeoisie.

This is the conflict upon which *The Enemies*, written in 1906, is centered. Set against the background of the Revolution of 1905, Gorky's play exposes the crisis of the doomed possessing class as it awaits its final exit from the stage of history.

Writing as a partisan of the revolution, Gorky counterposes the confidence of the working class as it enters into battle to the despair and panic of the capitalists as they confront revolution.

The first act opens in the garden of the wealthy proprietor and co-owner of a factory, Zakhar Bardin. His family and friends complacently sip tea and recline in soft sofas. But their philistine tranquility is disturbed.

Mikhail Skrobotov, the partner of Zakhar Bardin, bursts into the garden in a state bordering on hysteria. The workers are demanding that he fire the foreman or they will go on strike. Skrobotov blames Zakhar's leniency for having encouraged the militancy.

While Zakhar and Mikhail quarrel

bitterly, their families and friends are bewildered by the sudden turn of events. Zakhar's wife, Pauline, continually complains that "It was such a nice day" before the workers started threatening strike action.

### FIRM ANSWER

Convinced that only a firm answer to the demands will quell the resistance of the workers, Mikhail decides to shut down the plant. But, pleads Zakhar, such a course would be unjust. However, Skrobotov, encouraged by his reactionary brother Nikolai, insists that there is no other way. There is no place for justice in business, he says.

Within minutes, the workers learn of this decision and Mikhail is killed outside the plant.

Having anticipated violence, troops had already been called to the estate. The full power of the state is mobilized to protect Bardin's property and to find the worker who shot Mikhail.

And yet, even with the police and troops patrolling the estate, the Bardins and their friends feel helpless against the working class.

Zakhar's drunken brother, Yakov, admits that the life of his class is pointless. He himself has been tortured by the image of a sturdy worker who stares at him and asks: "Well?"—as if to say "Why fight us."

Gorky uncovers the stupidity and senseless brutality of the ruling class. Bardin's uncle, General Pechenegov, amuses himself by bullying his elderly staff assistant, and recalling with delight "the good old days" of unrestricted sadism.

Nikolai Skrobotov, a prosecutor, takes charge after his brother's death, and organizes the crackdown. He orders the arrest of all the popular leaders in the plant, and it is with malicious satisfaction that he discovers that the clerk Sintsov is actually a socialist agitator.

### COLLAPSE

But even as the workers are being rounded up, the Bardin family is on the



Maxim Gorky

verge of emotional and physical collapse. The arrested workers defy them in a determined show of unity; but the Bardin family is torn by dissension.

Zakhar's niece, Nadya, protests against the brutality of the troops, and points out that the family does absolutely nothing worthwhile but is defended by the state.

Tatiana is a glamorous actress who declares that the Bardin family reminds

her of "amateurs in a bad play." Finally, she says with delight that the working class "will win" in the end.

The production is the best that has been seen in the Vivian Beaumont Theatre in years, but it also may be one of the last. Financial difficulties threaten the theatre with a shutdown, and the director of the Vivian Beaumont, Jules Irving, has resigned in protest over cutbacks.

## The Bloated Parasites Of The Ruling Class

### Lou Belkin Film

**THE DISCREET CHARM OF THE BOURGEOISIE.** Directed by L. Bunuel, Script by L. Bunuel, C. Carriere; Photograph by L. Champlais; Cast: F. Rey, D. Seyrig, J.P. Cassell, S. Audran.

*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie* is Luis Bunuel's 29th picture. It is very much a restatement of many of the visions and views that the 72 year old master of movies has preoccupied himself with. The title is of course deadly ironic—Bunuel despises the well-to-do parasites, the nobles, the businessmen, the flamboyant, but he invariably makes movies about them. He enjoys taking the stuffing out of them, ribbing them, grilling them, but never really resolves anything. In a sense he is a master dissector and explorer.

Bunuel, who left Spain after the Civil War, has been most markedly influenced by surrealism. This picture is closest to the early almost totally surrealist opuses, such as *L'Age D'or* and *Chien Andalou* (Andalusian Dog), but it is in that gloriously refined color that we associate with the later pictures. Bunuel was influenced by Andre Breton, a good poet and leader

of the surrealists who made an important contribution in collaboration with the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s in the struggle against the demoralization and distortion introduced into art by the Stalinists.

Breton's colleagues, including Bunuel, sought not so much to get away from reality, but, as Breton explained: "To uncover reality through exploring the subconscious." The surrealists utilized the work of the cubists, and the anarchistic and nihilistic dadaists in their contempt for commercial art forms and academic social values.

### DREAM

Yet, it was the fascination of the dream, the automatic writing or painting anything that came to mind without pause, the shifting of sequences in time and space, spontaneity, surprise—these were the facets that particularly tickled Bunuel's fancy. Bunuel weaves his movies around dreams themselves. They bridge the gap between scenes, they focus upon individual characters or groups of characters.

In this film, we see the five protagonists walking along a highway dressed very nicely, as though for a party, coats in hand. They are seen walking from left to right in one sequence and from right to left in another. Invariably Bunuel cuts or pans from a cloud-filled sky to them. The sequences seem meaningless in themselves except to denote transitions from dreams to reality, but you cannot be certain even about that. Bunuel laboriously and tenderly puts these sequences together. They are always beautifully composed and imaginative.

There is no real plot. There are several sub-plots but everything is guesswork. We

meet five people, two married couples and a fifth person (Fernando Rey, who was so outstanding in Bunuel's *Viridiana*) who is fooling around with one of the married women. These people are simultaneously involved in cocaine-smuggling, very definitely are sexual fetishists or satyrs, have absolutely no taste in foods and wines although they pretend they do, have utter contempt for the working class and the youth, and are involved in situations which always expose their impotency, muddle-headedness and foolishness.

Fernando Rey, shrewdest of them, plays the ambassador from Miranda, which everyone has heard about but which no one can place geographically. He is constantly being abused by army generals and by civilians in high places about the corruption of his regime.

He is also confronted by youthful guerrillas from Miranda and seems to get the better of them. In one sequence a very pretty young revolutionary is seeking toys outside the ambassador's apartment. He takes aim and shoots the toy. He blows away the smoke from the end of the barrel. Bunuel is far too simplistic about these sequences.

We were most impressed by the hilarity and contrivance of the opening sequence which exposes these parasites for what they are. Three of them are to attend a dinner party at the home of their married friends. They arrive and are told by Madame that she asked her husband to invite them the following day. They then suggest dinner and they take Madame, who is dressed for bed, with them to a favorite eating place.

The restaurant is mysteriously dark. They knock on the door, get no response and prepare to leave. Suddenly, the door

opens and a young waitress escorts them into a light filled, though empty dining room. They can't make up their minds about what to eat. They don't know which wine goes with which dish but it doesn't much matter.

They are informed that the restaurant, now under new ownership, is out of most things. Suddenly they hear wailing and crying in the back room. It seems that the manager had died that afternoon and his body is reposing next to the kitchen. This is too much for the "heroes" and they leave. The young waitress tells them to "hurry back soon."

Everything is presented without any real consideration of time. There are flash forwards and reverses. People are constantly coming up to the five and explaining why they are so sad all of the time; army maneuvers around the house are interrupted while a soldier recounts for the one hundredth time a strange dream that possesses him—a dream about him and his fiancée who may have died and are joined together in life.

The movie is a lot of fun and Bunuel has still another go at his favorite target. His anarchistic preoccupations seem limitless however, if there is one thing that can be said of him. Technically he has never been an innovator.

His films are conventionally made and lit. There are never excessive camera ploys or shifts, no dramatic editing sequences. Rather, the actual content itself is unconventional. We have almost a series of vignettes within which are marvellous touches which serve one purpose only—to expose the decadency, the barbaric stupidity of this class of leeches. Too bad Bunuel never tells us how we are really going to deal with them for good. That is the film's real weakness.





Italian cops attack workers during growing strike struggles.

## Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

# A NEW STAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS

In every capitalist country, the struggle of the working class now goes forward in conditions where the preparations for taking state power are beginning to predominate.

The effects of the international economic crisis are now being reflected directly in politics; and the political effects of the class struggle are having immediate reactions on the development of the economic contradictions.

This combined character of the contradictions, this revolutionary process, has been accelerating ever since the decisions of U.S. President Nixon on August 15, 1971: non-convertibility of the dollar for gold; ending of the Bretton Woods system of fixed parities and international support to capitalist powers, 10 percent import tariff into the U.S.

Since that day, revolutionary leadership of the working class could be fought for only on the basis of understanding that the whole foundation of adjustment of class relations since World War II was removed.

Henceforth, the bourgeoisie of each capitalist country, in order to survive in the trade war unleashed by Nixon, must break the old relationships of trade union pressure, Keynesian policies of concessions and parliamentary democracy, in order to impose Bonapartist forms of rule.

The political struggles which result from this necessity to break the old forms of rule, a necessity which clashes with the working class's trade union strength built up in the boom, are the furnace within which the working class will be broken from reformism and won to revolutionary politics. This was and is the perspective of the International Committee, against all those revisionists who started from the theory of "neo-capitalism," a new capitalism which could overcome its contradictions.

Since August 1971, these opposed perspectives have been put to the test. At

this moment, the spectre of uncontrollable inflation threatens the internal stability of every capitalist country, as well as the whole range of international relations. One year after Nixon's measures the price of gold on the free market rocketed to over \$70 per fine ounce, more than twice the official price in the Bretton Woods period, before settling temporarily at some \$65.

The reality of the inflation caused by the 25-year outflow of paper dollars suddenly burst through the surface. This inflation means that the living standards of the masses must be brought into line with the real value of money, and this can be done only by crushing the working class.

Every capitalist publicist is uttering warnings that there is an inseparable connection between uncontrolled inflation and the growth of authoritarian and fascist regimes. The treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist leaders, instead of fighting for the overthrow of the capitalist governments, collaborate in the "fight against inflation," thus granting valuable time to the capitalist class to prepare its repressions and disarming the working class in the name of "defending democracy."

### Disarray

Not only has the gold price rocketed. The December 18, 1971, Smithsonian agreement on parities, far from staving off the monetary crisis, has been followed by a period of further uncertainty and speculation against weak currencies. Every meeting of bankers and ministers has ended in disarray. Step by step the capitalist class is forced to the basic problem: settle accounts with your own working class!

The European powers, and particularly Britain, are now the center of this crisis. Summit meetings of ministers and bankers together are called to discuss measures against inflation, i.e. against the working class.

The U.S. Treasury sets up a commission to study the implications of sterling's weakness; Nixon's aides are "studying the

implications of more intensive trade war."

So hopeless has been the search for a new monetary agreement, and so clear has become the prospect of bitter trade war, massive concentration of capital, wiping out of competitors, massive shut-downs and unemployment, that the point has now been reached where the factor of confidence, a vital one at a certain stage of capitalist crisis, is now verging on collapse.

This was the warning contained in the rush for gold and out of dollars, it explains the periodic rounds of speculation against weak currencies, especially the pound sterling at this time. Share markets drift down in a state of nervousness and unit trust values are collapsing. Speculation is rife. The rate of industrial investment is declining, while property speculation goes on unchecked. These are unmistakable signs.

The British capitalists are set to follow their European counterparts into the EEC, with the aim of merging their economic and political power against the working class. The renewed pressure for rapid political union and for joint European wage controls reflects this strategy of trying to overcome the contradiction between the nation state and the development of productive forces. But this cannot be done.

Ever since 1969, the mass strikes of the Italian workers have forced the EEC powers to support and tolerate a constantly weakening Italian economy. Pirelli, Montedison and other Italian monopolies, as well as the massive state enterprises IRI and ENI, have just recorded runaway losses. Once again, the ability of the bourgeoisie to settle affairs with the working class, or of the working class to take the power, intervenes immediately in the development of the economic crisis and the proposed solutions to it.

Inflation, resulting in the first place from the use of the dominant dollar to back domestic policies of containing rather than confronting the working class, now faces the capitalist class in every

country as the very incarnation of the basic character of the capitalist system: a mode of production which raises itself as an independent power against the producers.

It is the latest, uncontrollable expression of the insoluble contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the maintenance of capitalist private property and the nation-state.

The capitalists in the metropolitan countries cannot have their hands free to deal with their own working classes. The colonial masses are intensifying their revolutionary struggles even after nearly 30 years of continuous battle.

### Deals

Behind this coming together of the metropolitan and colonial revolutions is the same world economic crisis. For years the imperialists have staved off the approaching crisis in Europe and America by intensifying colonial exploitation. The point has been reached where repayment of colonial countries' debts to the World Bank actually exceeds the total amount of new "aid."

Just as the Stalinist bureaucracy collaborates with the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary tasks, so it now seeks to break the colonial peoples. The pressure of Moscow and Peking on North Vietnam for a deal with the American imperialists contains the greatest dangers to the people of Indochina and of all the world. It follows the treacherous role of Moscow and Peking in Bangladesh and in support of the repression of the revolutionary youth in Ceylon.

All these betrayals are part of the new trade agreements and proposed security and military agreements between the Stalinist bureaucracy and U.S. imperialism. The wave of repressions in Czechoslovakia and the USSR is the bureaucracy's internal preparation of these betrayals. Here is Stalinism in its counterrevolutionary role. All those revisionists who capitulate to Stalinism share the criminal responsibility.



In August 1971 there were those who prepared an opportunist adaptation by surmising that Nixon's measures, while seriously affecting some countries, would only marginally damage others. This completely missed the universal nature of the crisis.

The inflation problem confronts countries like the U.S. with high unemployment, as well as those like Germany with a serious labor shortage and internal boom. The continued capitalist expansion in Japan and Germany, far from representing an alleviation or moderation of the world crisis, on the contrary aggravates it enormously, because the strength of the yen and the Deutsche-mark threaten afresh the stability of international payments and currency markets. Yet for Japan or Germany to revalue would mean an immediate slump, so dependent are these bourgeoisies on export of manufactured goods. To make any "contribution" to international stability would mean for them immediate sacrifice of profits and an onslaught on the working class.

In the weaker capitalist powers, this immediate sensitivity of the international economy to the internal class struggle is even more serious and is now the crux of the political and economic contradictions. The British capitalists' strategy of European entry, helped at every turn by the Labour and trade union leaders, has foundered on the rock of the strength of resistance of the working class. Now the surge of inflation in Europe in the last weeks has forced the decision of the British bankers to turn and use the inflation directly as the instrument to beat the working class. They hope to drive down the standard of living as well as creating the panic conditions in the "fixed income" middle class

which can turn them against the working class, giving backing to the introduction of authoritarian measures.

This is the pattern for all Europe. And it has already resulted in severe constitutional crisis in Holland. The outbreak of struggles in any one of these countries will be a spur to the next stage of the European revolution. In these circumstances the French franc will be forced to devalue and a round of competitive devaluations could follow. In the case of Italy a whole collapse of the economy is in prospect. Even in fascist Spain, the police have clashed with housewives over rising prices and new economic controls have been instituted.

The bourgeoisie turns more and more to the Bonapartist solutions necessitated by inflation. Its organ in Britain, *The Times*, is clear: "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 trade unions cannot govern. Such a collision will of course leave scars and divide further a divided nation. It will also produce new impositions of state authority."

### Training

This is certainly the meaning of uncontrollable inflation, the latest stage of the crisis: either Bonapartist rule, with the state standing with brute force "above" the classes, as a short transitional phase to fascism; or the building of a revolutionary political leadership in the working class for the breaking of bourgeois state power.

In every country, the sections of the Fourth International are called upon to in-



tervene in every mass struggle provoked by the new stage of crisis, training, on the basis of Marxist theory, the cadre which can build for the decisive struggle for working-class power.

In the conditions of mass struggle forced by the international inflation, the program of demands by the working class must start from the fact that there is no way out whatsoever within the framework of continuation of capitalist economy. Defense against inflation by the most determined struggle for wages, resisting all attempts at state control; but this struggle can be successful only insofar as it is turned politically against the capitalist governments, and linked with the fight for alternative leadership.

The fight for the right to work must start from rejection of all sackings and closures: through strikes, factory occupa-

tions and political mobilizations against the governments, the demand of expropriation of the bourgeoisie, nationalization without compensation and under workers' control, the fight against unemployment must become a central part of the working class's struggle for power.

At every point, the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state must be fought for. But this can be done only in the fight for a revolutionary leadership which will mobilize the unions against the whole enemy class and its government.

Against the capitalist Common Market, we fight for the United Socialist States of Europe. The core of every one of these struggles is the building of sections of the Fourth International in every country.

October 30, 1972

## Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

# AGAINST THE REPRESSION IN CEYLON



Mother grieves for her son who was murdered by Ceylonese army during JVP rebellion.

The political trials involving about 14,000 youth who are being held in the so-called "rehabilitation camps" are now in progress in special law courts in Ceylon.

These camps were specially set up by the bourgeois coalition government when the mass killings and arrests of youth started 18 months ago. The government also recently brought in new statutory laws to set up special judicial procedures for the hearing of these political trials.

These political prisoners were arrested during the abortive uprising in April 1971, led by Janatha Vimukthi Paramura (JVP). This organization, which came into the open in 1968, was mainly composed of university and rural youth who had exper-

iened long periods of unemployment. No doubt these youth could be an invaluable motive force for the socialist revolution if they were trained and organized on the principles of Marxism and the traditions of Bolshevism.

But from the very beginning the JVP opposed this perspective of building and training an alternative leadership in the working class. In fact they condemned the working class and its traditional organizations, the trade unions, as reformist, and abandoned any fight to transform the workers and their organizations into cadres and organs of revolutionary politics.

They believed in a revolution from the country to the town, believing that the workers in the towns would join the revolution spontaneously as they saw the rural masses fighting. In this way they developed a conception completely hostile to Marxism on the development of revolutionary consciousness in the working

class. They showed this hostility towards Marxism concretely when they attempted several times to physically beat the members of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), the Ceylon section of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), who fought uncompromisingly to build a revolutionary leadership among the workers and peasants on the basis of Marxism.

### Massacre

The crisis-ridden bourgeois coalition government provoked these petty-bourgeois romantic revolutionaries of the JVP to a battle in March 1971 and with the aid of all the centers of imperialism and Stalinism perpetrated a massacre on the militant youth throughout the country.

The responsibility for these youth who were thrown into a struggle unprepared and isolated, ending up in a bloodbath, lies with the Pabloite revisionists of the Unified Secretariat in Ceylon who covered up for the petty-bourgeois politics of the JVP. They encouraged the JVP in their suicidal attempts by their theories about "natural Marxists," after the example of Castro.

It also must be stated here that the conscious treachery of the Unified Secretariat is unpardonable as it deliberately covered up for Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the Pabloite section in Ceylon. On the one hand he encouraged these youth for blind terrorism and on the other hand maintained close relations and made himself a source of information to the worst reactionaries, like MacNamara, the head of the World Bank, and ex-Nazi Kissinger, West German Minister.

Today these same Pabloite revisionists have abandoned any struggle to defend these youth in the jails. Instead, starting by writing petitions to Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike preaching to her about Buddhist principles and appealing to her to pardon futile one-day hunger strikes in the worst tradition of pacifism.

Aided by these policies of the Pabloite revisionists, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) desperately attempt to maintain their counterrevolutionary alliance with the bourgeois party of Mrs. Bandaranaike. But the working class of Ceylon, with its powerful trade union organizations, has come forward today to oppose this condition in all its struggles to defend its basic rights. This is the central political issue involved in all the major strikes which have occurred in the last year. The bank employees have shown their determination not to bow down in front of the government's threats or strike-breaking attempts, by carrying forward their fight for a wage demand now over a period of more than ten weeks.

The International Committee of the Fourth International demands that all the political prisoners in Ceylon be released immediately and all the democratic rights of the workers and peasants be restored.

It believes that these demands can only be met by the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government which will take the political power from the bourgeoisie. The mobilization of the working class and the peasants for this political task can be achieved today by training a new alternative leadership in the working class and the rural areas, by breaking the grip of the LSSP and the CP reformists who try to tie the workers and peasants to the bourgeoisie. That is why the fight to mobilize the masses to force the LSSP and CP leaders to break from the coalition and fight for their own government has become so vital and urgent today.

Only through this mobilization of the mass movement for its political independence can we train a new leadership.

The RCL, the Ceylon section of the ICFI, fights rigorously against all the revisionist elements who try to divert the workers and peasants from this central political struggle to build an independent Marxist leadership in Ceylon.

October 30, 1972



# THE BATTLE TO ORGANIZE FLORIDA'S SUGAR PART FOUR



BY BRUCE MCKAY

**CLEWISTON, Fla.**—United States Sugar Corporation was born of the crisis of the Great Depression when incorporation papers were filed in Delaware on April 28, 1931.

It was formed with the backing of Charles Stewart Mott, long a major stockholder in General Motors, to acquire the Florida properties of the tiny Southern Sugar Corporation in Clewiston.

Since that time, the Mott family—following the logic of GMAD boss Joseph Godfrey—has forged the most profitable sugar enterprise in the world. This will be a decisive factor as the capitalist world plunges into a trade war in which the victors are those capitalists who can sweat the most surplus value out of each dollar of capital.

U.S. Sugar is the dominant force in this, America's Sweetest Town. It operates the Clewiston Inn, where the Motts have a plush suite, and a cattle ranch on the outskirts of town. In one way or another, most residents here depend on the company for their livelihood.

Altogether, U.S. Sugar owns 104,800 acres of Florida land. It operates a mill here and one in Bryant, both with a daily grinding capacity of 10,000 tons.

#### COMPANY TOWN

Bryant is a company town—a sign at the entrance warns trespassers will be arrested—about 40 miles from here, conveniently near the Department of Agriculture's Canal Point sugar cane research center.

In 1971, U.S. Sugar realized net sales of \$45,373,954. Not only is this an increase of \$11,000,000 since 1965 but a phenomenal rise of \$5,000,000 in just one year.

Combined with this substantial gain in earnings was a net profit in 1971 of \$7,435,806—a rate of return on sales of 15.5 percent.

In comparison, the world's largest sugar refining company, Amstar Corporation (which among others refines the "Domino" brand), returned a net profit of only \$20,000,000 on sales of \$659,800,000.

Behind these impressive fig-

ures lies a bitter class struggle and one of the most ruthless attacks on workers in the history of American capitalism.

It is a history which pays tribute to the combativeness of the working class but which also warns of the dangers facing the working class as employers and the state prepare to attack every basic right and gain won since the 1930s.

The few workers who survived the brutal conditions imposed by U.S. Sugar during the 1930s described for the *Bulletin* what it was like.

#### ARMED GUARDS

Most of the workers were forced to live in company camps and were prevented from leaving by armed guards. Conditions were little better for sugar workers at U.S. Sugar than under slavery.

"In order to leave the camps at night, you had to go way 'round, through the cane fields," John Quincy Adams told the *Bulletin*. Adams remembers when the Clewiston mill was first moved to its present location.

"You might just as well have been working on the chain gang," he said.

During the Depression when millions of workers were unemployed in the South with the break-up of the sharecropping system, U.S. Sugar was able to use domestic labor as cane cutters.

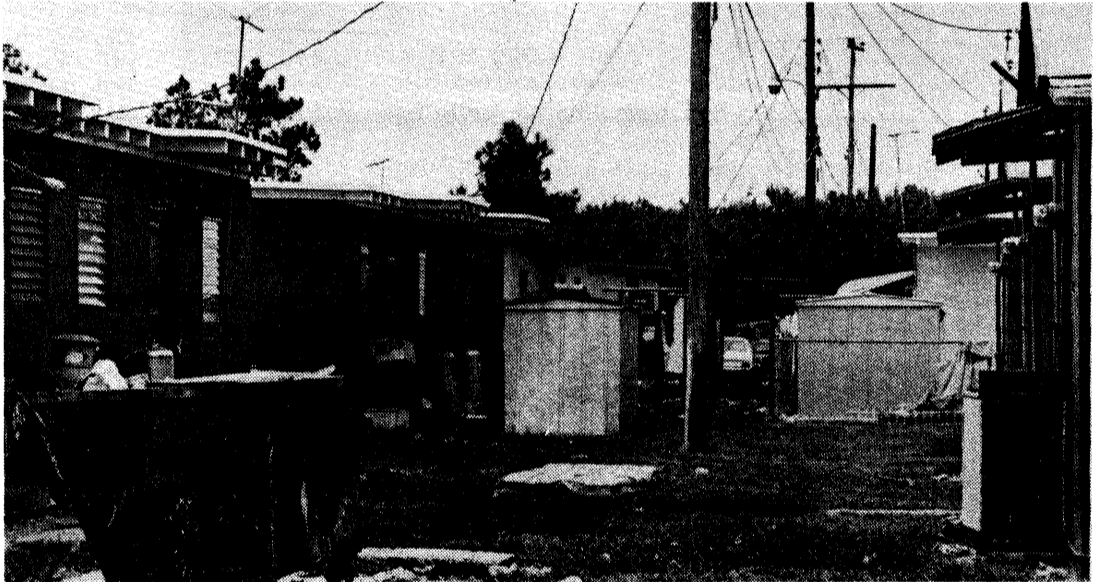
Workers were imported from Alabama, Mississippi, southern Georgia and other parts of the South with glowing promises about the work on the sugar plantations. They rarely returned for a second season.

Cane cutters were paid less than a dollar a ton to cut cane in those days. They were kept like convicts in the company camps out in the swamp and usually left to find their own way home after the cutting season.

Adams told the *Bulletin* many ended up murdered and dumped in drainage canals.

Charles Stewart Mott supervised this reign of terror from his Clewiston Inn suite during this period.

## SUGAR BOSSES DEMAND RETURN TO THE '30s



Top: Sugar farmworkers demonstrate in Florida against unemployment. Above: Housing for farmworkers is unfit to live in.

Workers did not take this treatment lying down. Mill workers joined the tremendous upsurge which resulted in the formation of the CIO and unionized the mill under CIO leadership.

The reputation for brutality which U.S. Sugar gained among workers throughout the South partly explains the reluctance of workers today to cut cane. In the mid-1940s the company was forced to start importing Jamaican and Bahamian workers.

Since World War II, the sugar fields have been the scene of continual class battles.

Faced with a unionized mill, the company after the war broke that union in order to begin a vicious attack on mill workers' jobs.

Automation was introduced, both in the mill and the fields, and workers experienced the most ruthless speed-up, which one worker described for the *Bulletin*:

"They used to have 10 tubs to dry sugar with, with 10 men. Now they still have 10 tubs, but they use only two men. They also used to use 25 men in the boiler room. Now there are only four or five." He said this has brought a con-

tinual deterioration in safety conditions in the mill.

#### STRIKES

Mill workers fought back to form an IAM local about six years ago, and the company has faced continual strikes and other work actions by the West Indian cane cutters as well.

These workers have struggled to bring cutting wages up from the slave wages of the 1930s to the present hourly minimum of \$1.85, and most cutters earn over \$2.00 an hour, which while a mere pittance for the severity of the work, was won only through the bitterest struggle.

"They'd strike and fight like the devil," one worker said. "I've seen them strike and close down everything until they got what they wanted."

Faced with the international crisis of capitalism, the sugar companies have begun a new assault on every gain which sugar workers have won, and on their very jobs. And the companies are fully backed up by the government.

At the forefront of these new attacks is the industry drive to mechanize cane cutting.

Workers described U.S. Sugar's many efforts since the 1940s to introduce mechanical harvesters. Although they said early efforts with crude machines failed, trials with several machines in the last few years have met with varying degrees of success, and Talisman Sugar Corporation is now well into its harvest using nothing but machines.

"They're working on it now," said one U.S. Sugar worker. "They've had a machine out there. There's no reason why they can't do it."

What is being prepared by U.S. Sugar and American big business as a whole is not merely a return to the 1930s but a whole new stage of attacks on the working class, when millions upon millions of jobs which once existed will be eliminated.

Defending farmworkers from this onslaught is what confronts the United Farm Workers Union in its organizing drive here and throughout the country. This defense can only be taken up through a struggle for the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

CONCLUDED



## Dana Corp. Workers Walk Off

BY REX HENRY

ECORSE, Mich.—Last week, workers at Dana Corporation here, an industrial suburb of Detroit, walked off their jobs, shutting the plant for two days in protest of job reassignments connected with a gruelling speedup imposed by Chrysler bosses.

The walkout at Dana, a facility primarily involved in assembly of Chrysler trucks, began last week when foremen threatened to fire a worker with 20 to 30 years seniority for working too slowly. One Dana worker described the incident to the Bulletin:

"They had one of the guys that had quite a bit of seniority back there doing a pretty hard job where it's hard to keep up. The foreman was trying to fire him for not keeping up. So the whole line took an attitude about it. They slowed down the work.

"Then they started talking about firing the whole line. The union president came out. And they told him he could consider himself fired too. That's when it all started."

Immediately after the walkout began, Chrysler's representatives managed to get a federal court injunction against the picket line which had been thrown up around the plant. Far from defending the local from the attacks by the court, representatives of the International agreed that the picket was illegal, and with the eager help of the president of Local 2, were successful in pushing through a back-to-work vote in a special local meeting last Sunday.

The ranks of the local agreed to this on the condition that after 30 days, Dana could be struck legally and with the full support of the UAW leadership.

### FOCUS

This incident occurred on the only of three assembly lines at the Dana plant which produces Dodge's one-half ton and pickup trucks. This line has been the focus of the Dana bosses' attacks on the rights of Local 2 members since it was introduced less than a year ago. Until that point, line speeds at Dana averaged less than 35 units per hour.

However, Dana has used the more advanced machinery on the Dodge line to push production there up to more than 50 units per hour, and have backed this up with threatened firings and disciplinary actions ever since.

One worker at Dana described the general conditions in this way: "The company is belligerent to every man that works in here. First they raise standards. They had three men on a job before, now they've got one and they expect the same standards. It's the same throughout the plant. It's just ridiculous to work here."

### HAZARD

These conditions which provoked the walkout last week have continued this week with the same intensity. "Yesterday we were again threatened with being fired if we wouldn't work even though a safety hazard existed," said one worker on sub-assembly near the Dodge truck line at Dana.

# Midwest News St. Louis Kicks

## 25,000 Out Of Public Housing

BY HOWARD WEST

St. LOUIS—The Housing Authority board of commissioners unanimously voted to close the housing units under their control in view of the lack of federal operating funds.

The commissioners had requested a four million dollar subsidy, but only 1.6 million dollars was promised. Later it was announced that St. Louis would be one of 3000 cities to share a further 100 million dollar operating subsidy.

However, none of these promised funds have been received and the Authority is existing at present on tenant rental payments. The reserves will be depleted by early 1973.

Thomas Costello, executive

director of the Authority said he expected to have the closing plan prepared soon and would present it to the commissioners for them to make public.

### CLOSING

There are 25,000 people living in the 5000 housing units presently run by the Housing Authority in St. Louis. Difficulties in obtaining funds have led the housing commissioners to discuss the closing of these projects, but never have plans been drawn up before this year.

The Democratic Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development are trying to smooth over the situation. They are claiming that the funds will come from somewhere although at this point there are no specific proposals being made.

In the light of the recent elections, there can be no room for optimism. Following his re-election, Nixon lost no time in stating that cutbacks in funds for welfare and federal funds would be the first steps to be taken in stepping up the government attacks on the working class.

The situation facing the tenants of the St. Louis projects shows the urgency with which unions and all sections of the working class must take up the political struggle against these attacks through the construction of a labor party.



Chrysler workers struck for two days at Dana Corp. near Detroit.

## UE Leaders, Courts Gang Up On Dayton Foundry Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—The November 6 walkout of the third shift of the GH & R Foundry, which employs 1000 workers and makes castings for General Motors, has shut down the company.

Workers told the Bulletin that one electrical repairman had been injured while performing a job that was not in his classification. As a result of his injury, his leg might be lost.

Two electrical repairmen were fired when they refused to perform the same job as the injured electrical repairman. The firings, which sparked the walkout, came on top of rotten and dangerous working conditions, speedup, and company harassment.

Once the workers were out on the street, the attacks by the company were intensified. A restraining order was issued by Judge Walter Right, a liberal Democrat. Radio broadcasts tried to trick the workers back to work through announcements saying the strike was over.

The company, seeing the continued resistance by the strikers, asked Judge Right to issue an injunction ordering the men back to work or face contempt charges. Six men were named as defendants for refusing to discontinue the strike.

### DEFENDANTS

At the hearing, many workers filled the courtroom. Judge Right had these workers give their names, even though they were only spectators. When the workers protested against being required to sign their names, Judge Right said they were all "defendants." He further said they were all subject to fines and jail sentences for refusing to work.

A company representative was able to take the names, thereby enabling the company to use this information at a later date against the workers.

The strike at GH & R was threatening to close Frigidaire's automotive division, as GH&R supplies the castings needed for

air conditioners. Other plants in the area have also been affected.

On the fourth day of the walkout, Bob Birchfield, president of the United Electrical Workers (UE) local, after failing to meet with the workers or take a strike vote, advised the workers to return. On the fifth day, the workers, having been exposed to the repressive

machinery of the courts, returned with their grievances unresolved.

During the strike, the UE president and stewards, when questioned by the Bulletin, would give no information. This is the same leadership that supported McGovern and the Democratic Party, which includes Judge Right.

## WLWD Execs Scab On Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—"Execs pitch in at WLW-D" is the headline of an article in the Dayton Journal-Herald which describes the company use of art directors, publicity directors, and other personnel to run the station. Local 1266 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) has been on strike since October 6.

With the assistance of an injunction limiting picketing to three at a gate and an order that the strike is not to interfere in any way with persons going into

the station, supervisors and other non-union employees are being used to man the electronic equipment and prepare the station, taking the jobs of striking engin-

eers and production workers.

### PITCHING IN

Ron Niess, executive director for the station, bragged: "We're all pitching in to help out. Salesmen, office personnel, execs are all doing their part."

Strikers turned off all their equipment at the beginning of the strike, forcing programs off the air for 35 minutes at WLW-D in Dayton. At the same time, the IBEW locals in Indianapolis, Local 1225 and Cincinnati Local 1224 walked off their jobs.

Strikers have been working without a contract since November 1971. Shortly after the strike started, Judge Rodney Love issued an injunction. Love, Democratic Congressman from 1964 to 1966, had been called a friend of labor.

Production workers are asking for an increase from \$100 a week, to bring Dayton wages to that of Cincinnati workers who are making \$127. "As it is," one worker said, "some of the men in Cincinnati qualify for food stamps, and this is a multimillion dollar organization. We've been working without a contract for a year, and the company never heard of the word retroactive."

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55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

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# GMAD . . . MEETINGS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

plant, which assembles much of the Fisher Bodies of the United States.

Following changeover this year, Fisher Body is again threatening a speedup of line assembly from 42 frames per hour to 52 frames per hour, with no addition of manpower in the plant. Because clean up crews had to be constantly used to maintain production, health and safety conditions in the plant began to deteriorate to the point where smoke from disabled machinery sometimes fills exits to the plant.

Since the strike vote there last month, the Local 581 leadership has been involved in negotiations with the local Fisher management. The local president told the Bulletin today that negotiations were proceeding well until last week when GM hatchet man Johnny Didasho, arrived from Detroit.

Since then, negotiations have been completely stalled. Despite this arrogant attack on the local by GM, the president of Local 599 maintained: "This is not a GMAD issue. It is strictly a Fisher issue. We hope that GMAD has nothing to do with it."

This is exactly what the Woodcock leadership is insisting. Despite the centrality of the Fisher Body assembly plant, the International is trying to assume a hands off policy.

Although even the 581 leadership believes their pending strike was one of the issues discussed today, representatives of the local were not even invited to attend the GMAD Council meeting. With the Flint strike deadline tentatively set for 3 p.m. Friday, the International has not even notified the local of its authorization of the shut-down.

### HALT

A strike at the Fisher local will have immediate ramifications throughout GM and the Michigan area. Within four hours of a shutdown at Fisher, Local 599 at the Flint Buick assembly plant will run out of bodies and assembly will roll to a halt.

Local 599 President Krishner told the Bulletin today that the only action he could foresee in that situation would be to sign up the 16,000 members of his amalgamated local for unemployment benefits. The response of the UAW rank and file has been different.

Woodcock's recent threat of a national strike at American Motors must be taken up by the UAW and combined with a national GM shutdown to bring speedup in auto to a halt.

(Continued From Page 1)

working class enters into battle with Nixon. Nixon has not wasted a day in making clear that his election is now the signal for wholesale attacks on the American workers—massive unemployment, wage cuts, anti-union laws, slashing of all social services.

### LEADERSHIP

The construction of a Marxist leadership for this struggle can only take place as part of the building of the Fourth International. Only the forces of the

## PUERTO RICO . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

there is a population of more than one and one-half million Puerto Ricans.

In Puerto Rico, the drive to destroy agriculture has increased and the unemployment is still as high as 18 percent, and including part-time workers, 30 percent. Ferre came to power because of his demagoguery about ending unemployment, higher wages, and decent living conditions for workers.

Ferre's government has been one of the most corrupt that Puerto Ricans have ever had. During these past four years, there has been fraud in almost every department of government. Prominent figures of the PNP are under investigation by the Income Tax Department. The youth movement of the PNP, headed by Navedo, is an ultra rightist organization responsible for bombings and physical attacks against "independentistas."

Behind the Ferre government, the most reactionary forces have rallied, especially the Cuban refugees and the most corrupt politicians of the island. The PPD, taking advantage of the hatred of the working masses against these elements, has promised that it is going to bring Puerto Ricans to where they belong in the country. But they do not have anything to offer to the working class.

### M.O.U.

Last year when Nixon on August 15 presented his measures to attack the living standards of the working class internationally and impose the wage freeze, the Workers United Movement (M.O.U.), which represents more than 40 trade unions on the island, started a fight against the wage freeze.

Ferre in order to prevent the sharpest crisis his government had ever confronted, accepted the demands of the M.O.U. against the wage freeze. The offensive of

International Committee have fought, all through the 1950s and 1960s, to prepare for the changes that are now taking place. Only the International Committee is able now to put forward a revolutionary international perspective at this stage.

The Stalinists and the centrists including those who call themselves Trotskyist, the Socialist Workers Party and the United Secretariat, based themselves on the theory that the capitalist boom has made it no longer possible for the workers of the advanced countries to overthrow

the Puerto Rican working class has been shown in its struggles for union recognition, wage increases, and better working conditions.

Now with the PPD back in power, this victory over the wage freeze is in danger. Before the elections, a leading politician for the PPD suggested that the only way to prevent strikes would be to establish a "Puerto Rican Institute on wages," patterned on the U.S. Pay Board.

Emmanuelli, ex-member of the Communist Party and president of the Sindicato Obrero Insular (island trade union) has fully supported this call.

Hernandez Colon, new governor from the PPD, has already said that as soon as he gets into office he will set up a commission composed of trade union leaders, bosses, and public representatives to work out a plan to stop strikes.

### ABSTAINED

The left movement on the island, especially the PSP-MPI, has always abstained in the electoral fight, refusing to pose any alternative for the working class and break them from the bourgeois parties. They have supported time after time the betrayals of the union bureaucracy.

A fight has to start now in the trade union movement against the plans of the PPD to destroy the right to strike and to have decent wages. In this fight the call for a labor party is central as the only way to defend the victory over the wage freeze, jobs for all and for an independent Puerto Rico.

This fight has to be carried out against all "independentista" tendencies like the PSP and in particular the PIP, which got more than 70,000 votes in this past elections by calling for independence, but whose program is no different than the other bourgeois parties.

capitalism.

With the deepening of the world capitalist crisis the international Stalinist movement has moved into closer and closer collaboration with imperialism. This is the meaning of Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking.

Now they seek to behead the struggles of the Vietnamese revolution. The Stalinists in fact have played a critical role in the re-election of Nixon.

The rapid development of the economic crisis and the revolutionary movement of the working class have provoked a sharp crisis within the ranks of the revisionist United Secretariat. Having based their movement on the rejection of Marxist theory and abandoning the struggle to build revolutionary parties, they



Generalissimo Franco

## SPAIN . . .

(Continued From Page 2) including "progressive sections of the Catholic Church."

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the CP, made a point of emphasizing that democracy could be won by a "political revolution," deliberately omitting any mention of socialism and even claimed that this could be done with "less violence than the regime has provoked in a normal year of repression."

The rightward turn of the Spanish Communist Party towards alliance with a "liberal" section of the bourgeoisie and the Church comes at the same time that the Soviet Union is concluding an important trade agreement with Franco which for the first time since the Spanish Civil War will reopen diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The agreement already provides for the Soviet export of one million tons of crude oil in the next year, trade of ships, and export of citrus fruits and steel to the USSR.

This deal by Stalinism with a fascist government has already been denounced by the illegal

are now torn apart by the crisis and completely unable to put forward a strategy for the working class. They now become the main prop for the Stalinists.

### PREPARATIONS

Against the Stalinists and revisionists, the Fourth Conference of the International Committee centered on the preparations for this period. The measures taken by Nixon on August 15 underlined the urgency of building revolutionary parties based on the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. The cadres of the IC were prepared for this by the long struggle against Pabloite revisionism and centrism. The conference discussed the program of struggle to enable the working class to emerge as a politically independent force.

It was with this understanding that the Workers League fought during the election period for the building of a labor party against the policies of the Communist Party and the trade union leadership and to prepare the American working class for what it would face after Nixon's election. Now we are able to carry forward this struggle with the fight for the unions to call immediately a Congress of Labor to map out action against Nixon and to set up a labor party.

The meetings on the Fourth International will now mark a turning point in this struggle.

Spanish workers commissions. The Spanish Communist Party has been forced to condemn the trade pact not out of any principle but only because if it didn't it would lose all credibility with the workers.

### DEAL

This pact is a conscious stab in the back by the Stalinists of the Spanish working class. While this deal was being discussed in private meetings Franco's police were shooting and jailing the Citroen auto workers who staged a long and heroic strike in September. Only recently a youth distributing a leaflet outside a Madrid factory was shot and killed.

Thousands of students have been banned from entering the colleges this fall and teachers and students are carefully watched for any indication of anti-Franco feeling.

So desperate is the Soviet bureaucracy to ingratiate itself with the worst enemies of the working class that it is even prepared to close its eyes to the repression and persecution of its own Spanish CP by the Franco regime.

## NEWARK . . .

(Continued From Page 4) real issues they are faced with. The trade union movement must come out unequivocally against any attempt to divide workers along racial lines. This means a fight against Imperiale's racist movement which defends segregation.

### ANTI-UNION

The support that the anti-union, Wallaceite American Party is now giving to Imperiale's campaign, as well as the open support given by the heads of the Newark Police Force, must be seen as a warning to all workers.

Imperiale's movement must be seen by all workers as part of the strategy of Prudential, the banks, and corporations to set up police-state rule over the city in order to take away the rights of

the working class and their ability to defend their living standards against the economic crisis.

For this reason, Jones' Black nationalist position and his political ties with Gibson's administration would only aid the defeat of the working class. His perspective of preparing for a racial conflict with Imperiale would lead Black workers into the trap being laid by the ruling class.

The trade union movement must take a stand on this issue in order to defend its members from the attacks being prepared under the cover of Imperiale's campaign. City workers, and the Newark Teachers—whose contract expires in February—will be the first to suffer the consequences on inaction.



**Bulletin**  
weekly organ of the workers league  
JULY 3, 1972

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# Conference Confronts Theoretical Tasks To Meet Nixon's Attacks

## West Coast News



Above, Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth speaks at West Coast educational conference.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

**SEBASTOPOL, Cal.—**The theoretical tasks confronting the working class in the aftermath of the landslide election of Nixon dominated the Third Annual West Coast Educational Conference held in the Redwoods near here.

Close to one hundred workers and youth were represented, including particularly strong contingents from Southern California and from the Palo Alto area. A number of trade unionists, particularly from auto and steel, were present.

This conference concentrated, as did similar conferences held this fall in the East Coast and Midwest, on the meaning for today of the lessons of the history of the United States as well as on the nature of capitalism itself.

Held only three days after the re-election of Nixon, the conference turned its attention to a discussion of a similar period, that just preceding the American Civil War, when the political parties of the period disintegrated under the impact of the intense irrepressible conflict between the free labor system of the North and the slave system of the South.

"Now," Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, emphasized, "a new irrepressible conflict is emerging between the capitalist class, which emerged victorious in that war, and the working class."

Wohlforth insisted that this situation required a conscious preparation through a struggle to construct the Workers League and develop its cadres theoretically. Necessity is now expressed in this.

### HESITANCY

At the same time we can see signs, particularly among the middle class, of the same hesi-

tancy and compromising which dominated Lincoln. Lincoln was able to win despite his hesitancy because of the great power the capitalist class already possessed, its wealth, its state apparatus.

We cannot afford any hesitation in preparation for the confrontation now immediately ahead of us here and internationally.

The lecture on Marx's *Capital* as seen in the light of Marxist philosophy was given by Jeff Sebastian, West Coast editor of the *Bulletin*. In the discussion

period Sebastian centered on the question of the contradiction which exists in the commodity between use value and value.

### VALUE

He explained how these two aspects of the commodity become separated physically, in the sense that it is the physical characteristics of one commodity which is used to express the value or worth of another. This separation is further deepened as one commodity, gold, emerges as money, to represent the value of

all other commodities. This separation develops in time to an opposition, and finally into such an opposite movement that the creation of use values themselves is threatened.

So today, when the money system has gotten out of whack in relation to what it is supposed to express in the actual creation of goods and values in the factories, that a collapse in the monetary system is posed. This in turn means a closing of factories, or the turning against the working class of the very capital which was created through its efforts.

Thus, the irrepressible character of the present opposition between capital and labor following the election of Nixon was explained in terms of the fundamentals of capitalism itself.

### PERSPECTIVES

An important part of the conference was the presentation Saturday evening of a special report by Tim Wohlforth of the perspectives developed at the recent International Committee meeting and by the Political Committee. Wohlforth explained the new stage of the international capitalist crisis.

He spoke of the inflation, now raging through Europe, which is being used to whip up the middle class against the working class, as well as a weapon against the living standards of workers. He explained the virtual collapse of capitalism in Italy.

At the same time he explained how inflation would bring with it great class battles as the workers fought back for wages. The center of this development is England where Heath now prepares for a revolutionary showdown with the working class with his wage freeze.

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

This situation makes it clear that the construction of a party in the United States will take place, and can only take place, as part of the construction of the Fourth International. This in turn means that the American working class will now enter an intense period of struggle learning in the process from the great revolutionary explosions in Europe.

This learning process must be conscious through the struggle of the Workers League and the

development of the *Bulletin*.

Wohlforth stated that only the Workers League prepared in the course of the pre-election period for the situation which the working class would face with the re-election of Nixon. This is the meaning of the Chicago Conference for a Labor Party, which exposed the dangers which Nixon posed and the complete bankruptcy of the trade union leaders to offer any alternative.

Now, we are able to immediately launch a campaign for a Congress of Labor, so that the entire labor movement can come together to discuss a program and action to answer the attacks Nixon is preparing. We propose that such a Congress take immediate steps to construct a labor party.

Wohlforth urged that comrades turn to philosophy in order to confront the new tasks the working class faces. This means a turn to the question of contradiction.

The great danger now is that the members of the party will distinguish the opposites in a situation, the present level of thinking of the working class and a socialist alternative based on the actual situation the working class faces, and leave it there.

### CONTRADICTION

But the heart of philosophy is to bring the opposites together in a struggle to bring about a change. This can only take place at the point of contradiction itself, which is in the struggle of the working class. We must be in the contradiction, actually constructing the party, in this theoretical way.

There was great interest in the questions of American history, Marxist economics and Marxist philosophy that were discussed at the camp, itself expressing the new situation in the working class. A tremendous collection of \$905.62 was raised for the *Bulletin* Fund Drive. Seventeen workers and youth expressed their intention to join the Workers League. A new West Coast branch in Claremont, California was launched.

In a spirited volley ball game Southern California defeated Northern California. Everyone enjoyed the excellent food and beautiful scenery.





# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115 PHONE 415-774-1111

## Sailors Mutiny Against Officers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, Nov. 10—One hundred thirty sailors, charging the Navy with discrimination, refused to return aboard the carrier USS Constellation until their grievances are met.

This opposition comes after weeks of the Navy's charges of sabotage, and job actions by the crewmen. The sailors had been on training exercises for Vietnam.

The men, most of whom are Black but including at least 10 white crewmen, are demanding review by higher authority of administrative discharges they said were unfairly issued to Black enlisted men for "alleged under-achievement," equal punishment for equal offenses committed by Blacks and whites; and amnesty for all those involved in the airing of grievances.

After the men stood ashore alongside the 80,000 ton ship, refusing to return to duties at 8 a.m. Thursday morning, the Navy broke the men into three groups and transferred them to Navy shore duty.

The Navy is claiming that the men were AWOL for six hours and can be brought up on charges. The men have been

## Kellogg Strikers Hit Overtime

BY TED BAKER

SAN LEANDRO, CAL.—In a strike with serious implications for the entire labor movement, the American Federation of Grainmillers has shut down all of Kellogg Company.

Kellogg, one of the world's largest producers of breakfast cereals, has taken up Nixon's union busting campaign with a vengeance.

When workers at its Battle Creek and San Leandro plants walked out in sympathy with a strike at the Memphis plant last year, the company brought suit to have the strike declared illegal. Now it is demanding that the union sign a no strike clause as the basis for any new contract.

The union walked out last week when efforts by union leaders to negotiate a peaceful settlement were met with an order by the company introducing compulsory overtime in its plants.

Union members must not allow these negotiations to continue until Kellogg has dropped its suit and its demand for a no strike agreement.

ordered not to speak to any reporters.

The rebellion comes only days after Nixon's election and reflects the growing movement of the working class and youth against his plans to deepen the attacks on American workers and to continue the Vietnam war. The capitalist press has attempted to portray this struggle as a racial one, of Black sailors against white and to conceal the explosive situation developing in the armed forces.

## Bakeries Lockout Unions

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 500 Teamsters, Bakers, and Stationary Engineers have been locked out by the major San Francisco bakeries, in an attempt to break the workers' demand that they be given two consecutive days off.

Hundreds of workers in other areas are being locked out throughout California. Last Friday the Bakersfield Dolly Madison product distribution plant shut its doors, locking out 85 Teamsters.

The lockout began on last Monday, when Teamsters Local 484 set up a picket line at the ITT owned Continental Bakeries in San Francisco. Immediately, the bakeries retaliated with a lockout of all employees at Kilpatrick's Bakeries, Inc. in San Francisco, Chico, Modesto, and Fresno.

The lockout is a show of solidarity of the employers.

The three major unions in the bakeries all have their contracts up and all are demanding that consecutive days off be given.

The Bakers Union contract expired in October, and after a 30 day warning to the employers, another 10 day extension was worked out by the union leadership. This extension expires on Saturday, and poses a coastwide strike bringing out over seven Western states, and stopping all large scale production of bread.

Pickets at the Continental Bakery told the *Bulletin*: It could be a long strike. If they don't compromise, we'll be out until next year at least.

"If we don't get Saturday and Sunday off now, we'll never get it," a baker at Continental said. "We never had a situation where all the union's contracts expired close together so we can strike for the same thing.



Hundreds of workers from three unions in California bakeries have struck solid to demand that they get Saturday and Sunday off from work. This is the first time the unions went out together.

## Mates & Pilots Leaders Let Ships Through During Strike

BY DENNIS BROWN

LOS ANGELES—On November 9, after 16 days on strike, the Masters, Mates & Pilots Union resumed negotiations.

They had broken off on November 6 when the PMA tried to reintroduce issues which were already agreed on. The same day talks broke off, the union agreed to let five American flag East Coast ships from Sea Land and Sea Train Co. sail from the struck West Coast ports to supply so-called emer-

gency goods to Hawaii.

Hawaii is supplied entirely by American flag ships from the West Coast. Just as the strike was becoming effective, the union leadership agreed to release the five ships under the threat of an injunction which Senator Bush of Hawaii was seeking to obtain under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The main issues of job security, security rights, and pensions are now jeopardized by the leadership's retreat.

The union faces an unemployment rate of 50 to 60 percent, a situation that can only be resolved with more frequent rotation of crews and double crews on all container ships with a guaranteed year's pay.

The PMA is demanding the right to pick their own captain and chief officers. According to Hank Walters, head of the Wilmington local: "They could choose the young guys that just got their papers and pass by the guys with 20 years of service."

The PMA is \$1,500,000 behind in their payments to the pension fund and want this to be written off in the new contract.

With the elections over, Nixon now feels strengthened to carry out his mandate to outlaw transportation strikes. The ILWU (West Coast dockers) Local 13 in Los Angeles has been chosen by the administration to try to obtain an anti-strike injunction.

All maritime workers face the threat of automation and Nixon's determination to break the unions. Now is not the time to weaken. An all out offensive of both on-shore and off-shore maritime workers must now be launched to shut down both East and West Coast ports.

125th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto  
55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution  
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# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN. WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115. PHONE: (415) 771-1111

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BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, Nov. 10—One hundred thirty sailors, charging the Navy with discrimination, refused to return aboard the carrier USS Constellation until their grievances are met.

This opposition comes after weeks of the Navy's charges of sabotage, and job actions by the crewmen. The sailors had been on training exercises for Vietnam.

The men, most of whom are Black but including at least 10 white crewmen, are demanding review by higher authority of administrative discharges they said were unfairly issued to Black enlisted men for "alleged under-achievement," equal punishment for equal offenses committed by Blacks and whites; and amnesty for all those involved in the airing of grievances.

After the men stood ashore alongside the 80,000 ton ship, refusing to return to duties at 8 a.m. Thursday morning, the Navy broke the men into three groups and transferred them to Navy shore duty.

The Navy is claiming that the men were AWOL for six hours and can be brought up on charges. The men have been

## Kellogg Strikers Hit Overtime

BY TED BAKER

SAN LEANDRO, CAL.—In a strike with serious implications for the entire labor movement, the American Federation of Grainmillers has shut down all of Kellogg Company.

Kellogg, one of the world's largest producers of breakfast cereals, has taken up Nixon's union busting campaign with a vengeance.

When workers at its Battle Creek and San Leandro plants walked out in sympathy with a strike at the Memphis plant last year, the company brought suit to have the strike declared illegal. Now it is demanding that the union sign a no strike clause as the basis for any new contract.

The union walked out last week when efforts by union leaders to negotiate a peaceful settlement were met with an order by the company introducing compulsory overtime in its plants.

Union members must not allow these negotiations to continue until Kellogg has dropped its suit and its demand for a no strike agreement.

ordered not to speak to any reporters.

The rebellion comes only days after Nixon's election and reflects the growing movement of the working class and youth against his plans to deepen the attacks on American workers and to continue the Vietnam war. The capitalist press has attempted to portray this struggle as a racial one, of Black sailors against white and to conceal the explosive situation developing in the armed forces.

## Bakeries Lockout Unions

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 500 Teamsters, Bakers, and Stationary Engineers have been locked out by the major San Francisco bakeries, in an attempt to break the workers' demand that they be given two consecutive days off.

Hundreds of workers in other areas are being locked out throughout California. Last Friday the Bakersfield Dolly Madison product distribution plant shut its doors, locking out 85 Teamsters.

The lockout began on last Monday, when Teamsters Local 484 set up a picket line at the ITT owned Continental Bakeries in San Francisco. Immediately, the bakeries retaliated with a lockout of all employees at Kilpatrick's Bakeries, Inc. in San Francisco, Chico, Modesto, and Fresno.

The lockout is a show of solidarity of the employers.

The three major unions in the bakeries all have their contracts up and all are demanding that consecutive days off be given.

The Bakers Union contract expired in October, and after a 30 day warning to the employers, another 10 day extension was worked out by the union leadership. This extension expires on Saturday, and poses a coastwide strike bringing out over seven Western states, and stopping all large scale production of bread.

Pickets at the Continental Bakery told the *Bulletin*: It could be a long strike. If they don't compromise, we'll be out until next year at least.

"If we don't get Saturday and Sunday off now, we'll never get it," a baker at Continental said. "We never had a situation where all the union's contracts expired close together so we can strike for the same thing."



Hundreds of workers from three unions in California bakeries have struck solid to demand that they get Saturday and Sunday off from work. This is the first time the unions went out together.

## Mates & Pilots Leaders Let Ships Through During Strike

BY DENNIS BROWN

LOS ANGELES—On November 9, after 16 days on strike, the Masters, Mates & Pilots Union resumed negotiations.

They had broken off on November 6 when the PMA tried to reintroduce issues which were already agreed on. The same day talks broke off, the union agreed to let five American flag East Coast ships from Sea Land and Sea Train Co. sail from the struck West Coast ports to supply so-called emer-

gency goods to Hawaii.

Hawaii is supplied entirely by American flag ships from the West Coast. Just as the strike was becoming effective, the union leadership agreed to release the five ships under the threat of an injunction which Senator Bush of Hawaii was seeking to obtain under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The main issues of job security, security rights, and pensions are now jeopardized by the leadership's retreat.

The union faces an unemployment rate of 50 to 60 percent, a situation that can only be resolved with more frequent rotation of crews and double crews on all container ships with a guaranteed year's pay.

The PMA is demanding the right to pick their own captain and chief officers. According to Hank Walters, head of the Wilmington local: "They could choose the young guys that just got their papers and pass by the guys with 20 years of service."

The PMA is \$1,500,000 behind in their payments to the pension fund and want this to be written off in the new contract.

With the elections over, Nixon now feels strengthened to carry out his mandate to outlaw transportation strikes. The ILWU (West Coast dockers) Local 13 in Los Angeles has been chosen by the administration to try to obtain an anti-strike injunction.

All maritime workers face the threat of automation and Nixon's determination to break the unions. Now is not the time to weaken. An all out offensive of both on-shore and off-shore maritime workers must now be launched to shut down both East and West Coast ports.

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

**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY**

**FRI. DEC. 8  
7:30pm**

**ILWU Hall  
SAN FRANCISCO  
150 GOLDEN GATE**

**Speaker: Jeff Sebastian  
In Los Angeles—December  
10, place to be announced**



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