

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER  
JUL 29 1976  
INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER SIXTY THREE 272

DECEMBER 4, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Inflation Soars--

# Nixon Plots "New Plays" Against Workers

BY THE EDITORS

In what amounts to an open threat against the living conditions of American workers, Richard Nixon told reporters Tuesday at his Camp David retreat that he is making "major decisions" that will

**completely transform the policies of his administration during the second term.**

"So, I think you can expect the next Administration to be one that will have some new players," Nixon declared. "We will have some new plays, although we will consider this not to be a game but very, very serious public business."

What Nixon is saying boils

down to this: after the inauguration in January 1973, he will lead a government unlike any other in modern American history.

The next Nixon government will not compromise with the working class as past administrations—including his own—have. Rather, he plans to run the equivalent of a war-time government that will confront the working class head-on, seek to smash its unions and living conditions, and establish a naked dictatorship that will whip American workers into submission.

These remarks by Nixon must be seen in the light of the deepening

economic crisis which has destroyed the basis for compromise. There is no way that a decisive collision between the government and the working class can be avoided.

While the Nixon administration is making its final preparations for the tightening of wage controls, the breakdown of any controls on inflation is tearing into the living conditions of the working class.

The Government is allowing the corporations to raise prices as high as they like, but is using the Pay Board to rip up contracts and to destroy the basic right of trade unions to negotiate decent wages for their members.

Last week, the Pay Board disregarded appeals by the International Typographical Union and cut down raises agreed to in 1970 from 11 to 8 percent. At the same time, printers in Cleveland had their picket lines smashed by mounted policemen carrying out Nixon's plans for physical assaults on the trade unions.

This attack on the ITU shows exactly what the government is preparing for workers in every section of industry: legal controls on the unions backed up by police and troops.

But the movement of the working class against the Pay Board

is reflected in the announcement by the New York Mailers Union No. 6 and the Newspapers Deliverers, both hit by the action against the ITU, that they now consider their contracts null and void.

This opens the way for strike action within 60 days as permitted under the Taft-Hartley law. This would mean a confrontation with the Pay Board that would demand the full support of the entire trade union movement.

## CONGRESS OF LABOR

It is this crisis situation that requires the calling of a Congress of Labor to mobilize the entire trade union movement in decisive action against the Pay Board and all the attacks on the working class.

The Congress of Labor must smash the Pay Board by pledging general strike action by the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and UAW in support of the contract demands of any section of the working class, starting with the ITU.

The Congress of Labor must build a labor party that will fight for power against the Nixon Administration in order to implement socialist programs that will defend the working class. Only in

(Continued On Page 18)



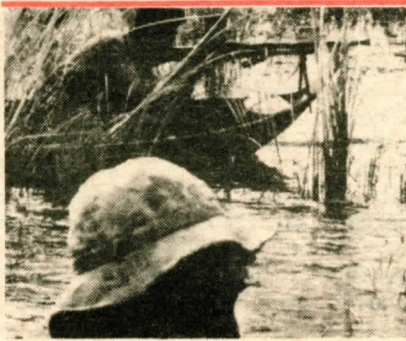
Florida farmworkers demonstrate in defense of sugar workers. While growers use vigilante squads to enforce state's open shop laws, Chavez calls for "non-violence" and for support to the same Democrats who protect the growers. See article page 16.

## Bulletin Expansion Drive Must Have Big Push

We have received \$2,755.40 this week on our \$50,000 Fall Bulletin Expansion Drive. This brings us to \$36,429.71 which is within \$1,000 of the three-quarters due at this time.

The biggest portion of this was \$1,327 which came in from general contributions. This included a collection at last week's Fourth International Today meeting at the Cleveland YSA conference, money pledged at the recent West Coast Educational Conference, and an individual contribution of \$700. Brownsville, New Haven, Hartford, Upper West Side, Chelsea and Florida have made their three-quarters goal.

The bulk of the branches have not reached the three-quarters mark and this is extremely dangerous so close to the end of the Fund Drive. All branches must meet this figure by next week without fail! At stake is the successful completion by December 15th of our drive which is the first stage of a two stage drive to raise \$100,000 to install a web offset press so that the Bulletin can be expanded to 24 pages, a monthly Young Socialist newspaper published, and a basis laid for a daily Trotskyist paper in the United States in the near future.



## Vietnam-- New Stage Of Imperialist Brutality

Page 8

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER SIXTY THREE 272

DECEMBER 4, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Inflation Soars--

## Nixon Plots "New Plays" Against Workers

**Bulletin  
Expansion  
Drive**

**Must Have  
Big Push**

We have received \$2,755.40 this week on our \$50,000 Fall Bulletin Expansion Drive. This brings us to \$36,429.71 which is within \$1,000 of the threequarters due at this time.

The biggest portion of this was \$1,327 which came in from general contributions. This included a collection at last week's Fourth International Today meeting at the Cleveland YSA conference, money pledged at the recent West Coast Educational Conference, and an individual contribution of \$700. Brownsville, New Haven, Hartford, Upper West Side, Chelsea and Florida have made their three-quarters goal.

The bulk of the branches have not reached the three-quarters mark and this is extremely dangerous so close to the end of the Fund Drive. All branches must meet this figure by next week without fail! At stake is the successful completion by December 15th of our drive which is the first stage of a two stage drive to raise \$100,000 to install a web offset press so that the Bulletin can be expanded to 24 pages, a monthly Young Socialist newspaper published, and a basis laid for a daily Trotskyist paper in the United States in the near future.

BY THE EDITORS

In what amounts to an open threat against the living conditions of American workers, Richard Nixon told reporters Tuesday at his Camp David retreat that he is making "major decisions" that will

**completely transform the policies of his administration during the second term.**

"So, I think you can expect the next Administration to be one that will have some new players," Nixon declared. "We will have some new plays, although we will consider this not to be a game but very, very serious public business."

What Nixon is saying boils

down to this: after the inauguration in January 1973, he will lead a government unlike any other in modern American history.

The next Nixon government will not compromise with the working class as past administrations—including his own—have. Rather, he plans to run the equivalent of a war-time government that will confront the working class head-on, seek to smash its unions and living conditions, and establish a naked dictatorship that will whip American workers into submission.

These remarks by Nixon must be seen in the light of the deepening economic crisis which has destroyed the basis for compromise. There is no way that a decisive collision between the government and the working class can be avoided.

While the Nixon administration is making its final preparations for the tightening of wage controls, the breakdown of any controls on inflation is tearing into the living conditions of the working class.

The Government is allowing the corporations to raise prices as high as they like, but is using the Pay Board to rip up contracts and to destroy the basic right of trade unions to negotiate decent wages for their members.

Last week, the Pay Board disregarded appeals by the International Typographical Union and cut down raises agreed to in 1970 from 11 to 8 percent. At the same time, printers in Cleveland had their picket lines smashed by mounted policemen carrying out Nixon's plans for physical assaults on the trade unions.

This attack on the ITU shows exactly what the government is preparing for workers in every section of industry: legal controls on the unions backed up by police and troops.

But the movement of the working class against the Pay Board

is reflected in the announcement by the New York Mailers Union No. 6 and the Newspapers Deliverers, both hit by the action against the ITU, that they now consider their contracts null and void.

This opens the way for strike action within 60 days as permitted under the Taft-Hartley law. This would mean a confrontation with the Pay Board that would demand the full support of the entire trade union movement.

### CONGRESS OF LABOR

It is this crisis situation that requires the calling of a Congress of Labor to mobilize the entire trade union movement in decisive action against the Pay Board and all the attacks on the working class.

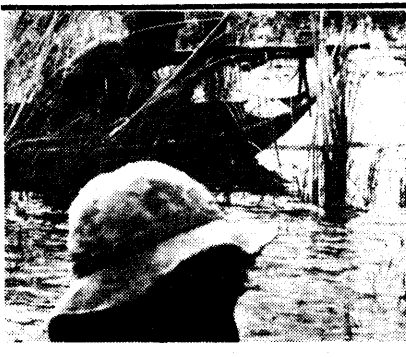
The Congress of Labor must smash the Pay Board by pledging general strike action by the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and UAW in support of the contract demands of any section of the working class, starting with the ITU.

The Congress of Labor must build a labor party that will fight for power against the Nixon Administration in order to implement socialist programs that will defend the working class. Only in

(Continued On Page 18)



Florida farmworkers demonstrate in defense of sugar workers. While growers use vigilante squads to enforce state's open shop laws, Chavez calls for "non-violence" and for support to the same Democrats who protect the growers. See article page 16.



**Vietnam--  
New Stage  
Of  
Imperialist  
Brutality**

Page 8

# New Zealand Workers Elect Labour Party

BY ED SMITH

New Zealand will have a Labour Party government, following Saturday's elections in which the ruling National Party was given a stunning defeat. Labour will hold 55 seats in the new Parliament to the National Party's 32.

Polls had predicted the two parties would run neck and neck, but Labour improved its vote 5.7 percent. In its campaign the Labour Party raised the issues of easing pay controls, tightening price controls, and improving social welfare, housing and development. It pledged to end New Zealand's role in the Viet-

nam War and end the military draft.

Despite the attempts of the Labour Party leaders like Norman Kirk to disassociate the party from socialism and make it a "safe," moderate party, New Zealand's workers and youth placed Labour in power to express their hatred of the bosses' National Party, which has engaged in open union-busting as well as support for imperialism in Vietnam.

This action by the New Zealand working class is an important example for Australia, where the Labour Party is attempting to oust the reactionary Liberals in elections this Saturday.

# Bolivia Dictator Calls Troops Out Against Striking Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

On November 24th, thousands of Bolivian textile workers, followed by bank employees, went on strike against the Banzer dictatorship and barricaded themselves inside the plant. They demanded an immediate wage increase to make up for the drastic pay cut created by the October 27 devaluation of the peso.

Banzer, charging a "conspiracy" to overthrow the regime, immediately declared a state of seige and ordered troops, tanks and police to surround the textile plant and to take up positions within the working class neighborhoods. In pre-dawn raids, many workers and labor leaders were arrested. The wives of the strikers vowed to stage a hunger strike until the men are released.

Interior Minister Mario Zamora openly provoked the workers the day before by claiming that "extremists" were trying to provoke a "confrontation" and added that the government would not tolerate "ultimatums" from the unions.

The latest reports indicate that the union leaders have ordered the strikers back to work after a rotten deal was arranged with Banzer providing for the release of eighteen prisoners and the "promise" of wage negotiations.

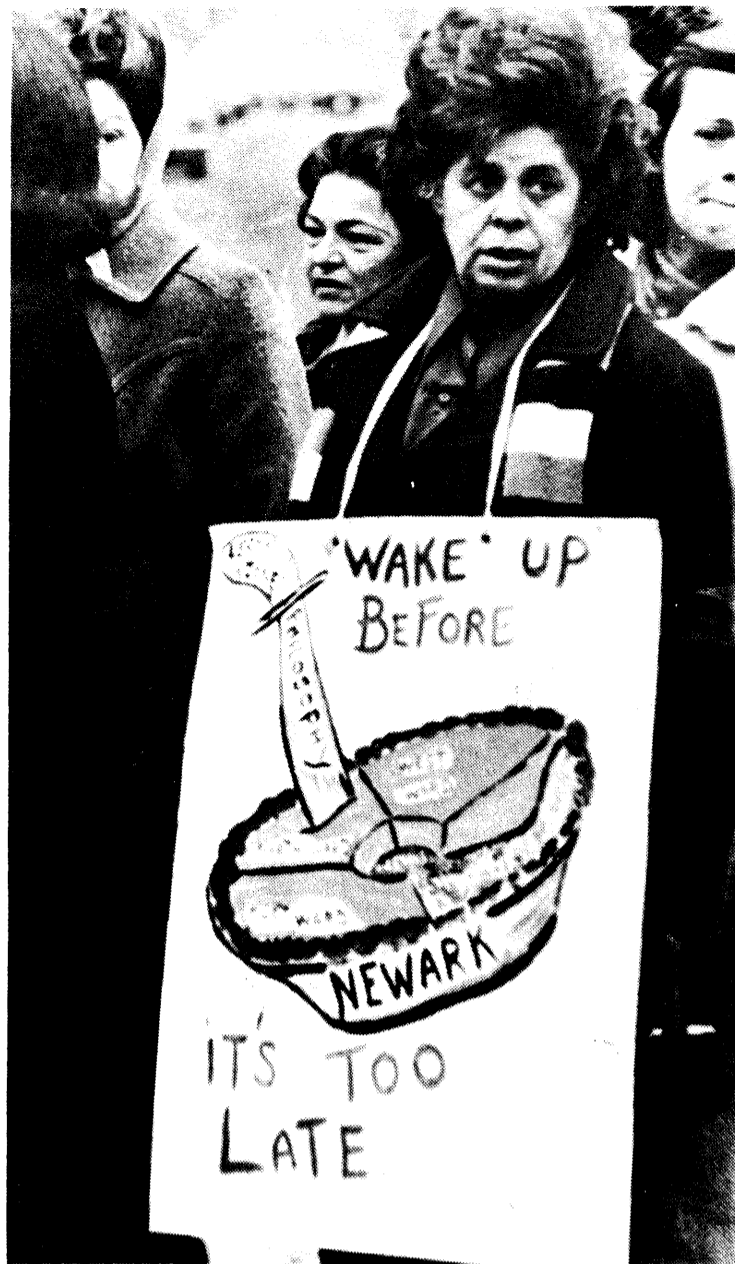
## DEVALUATION

Following the announcement in October of a 66 percent devaluation thousands of workers demonstrated through the streets of the capital, La Paz, carrying banners denouncing the govern-

ment as "fascist" and "anti-union." They stopped traffic and blocked the roads out of the city. When police fired on the workers, killing one and wounding many, a call was issued for a 24 hour strike.

The devaluation is creating the conditions to unite the peasants with the workers in a common struggle. Food prices have doubled and the Indians who exchange goods for dollars will have their only means of survival destroyed. In Bolivia, industrial workers earn no more than \$40 a month and are forced to live in squalid huts with no heat or water.

The temporary halt in the



Newark North Ward women picketing Kawaida Towers site. This week Imperiale led takeover of site with no arrests taking place.

strike will solve nothing. The crisis and instability of the Banzer military regime flows from the international crisis of capitalism. Bolivia's balance of payments deficit is rapidly worsening as prices for tin and other exports decline on the world market. Banzer seeks to preserve the Bolivian ruling clique with the most ruthless attacks on the workers and peasants.

The present revolutionary upsurge is striking proof that despite the coup d'etat of Banzer, together with the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the fascist Bolivian Socialist Falange, in August 1971, despite the repression and murder of many workers and students, the Bolivian working class has not been defeated. The events in Bolivia herald a new stage of class struggle throughout South America directed against all sections of the capitalist class.

The conditions for revolution

are there. What is lacking, what must be built, is a revolutionary party based on Marxism and the program of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

## BETRAYALS

The Bolivian workers are fighting on despite over twenty years of bitter betrayals by the Stalinists, nationalists and centrists like the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) and its leader Guillermo Lora, who masquerades as a Trotskyist. It was Lora, and his supporters in France, the OCI, who more than anyone else were responsible for the victory of Banzer.

In August of 1971, Lora together with the Stalinists and Juan Lechin, head of the trade

(Continued On Page 18)

**See statement of the International Committee on Page 9.**

# Quebec Court Rejects Union Leaders Appeal

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MONTREAL—In a ruling handed down on November 13th, the Quebec Appeals Court has upheld a contempt of court conviction against Quebec's three trade union leaders. Marcel Pepin, head of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Louis Laberge, head of the Quebec Federation of Labor, and Yvon Charbonneau, head of the Quebec Teachers' Corporation, now face one year in jail.

The convictions stem from the Common Front strike in April of this year when 210,000 public service workers went on an 11 day strike. The three union leaders counselled the 30,000 hospital workers to ignore government injunctions forcing them back to work.

The strike was broken by the Quebec Liberal provincial

government through Bill 19. The government put the three union leaders on trial in May for disobeying the injunction. When the three walked out in protest over the presence of riot police in the courtroom, they were held in contempt. They were then sent to jail for two weeks.

The jailings caused a massive wave of strikes across the province.

Within two weeks of the signing of the final contract, the Quebec Appeals Court handed down its decision rejecting the union leaders' appeal.

## "CRIMES"

The wording of this judgement is, in itself, revealing of the class character of this action:

"Serious crimes must be met with serious punishment. Never in Canada, and particularly in Quebec, has such a deliberate and open challenge of the law been seen; never before have citizens holding positions of authority provoked civil disobedience on such a large scale; never has the law been turned to such ridicule and the judiciary insulted with such gall.

"Nothing less than the maximum sentence set by the law could justly compensate."

# Dockers Call For Strike Against Heath

BY ED SMITH

Longshore shop stewards in Liverpool, members of England's biggest union, the Transport and General Workers, have called upon their leaders to call a national strike of all the Transport and General's members against the Pay Freeze ordered by the Tory government of Prime Minister Edward Heath.

The dockers have been told by the port bosses that an agreement on improved wages and lowered hours due to be implemented this week will be held up due to Heath's order freezing wages. Dockers throughout Britain face similar attacks on their conditions.

Last Thursday Heath's Tory government deliberately provoked a one-day strike by railway engineers by using supervisors to move a new high-speed train that had been "blacked" by the workers. The new trains are being used to speedup and worsen the conditions of the railmen, who have lost many jobs in the past several years.

## ANGER

But the tremendous anger building up inside the labor rank and file over Heath's pay freeze—maintained while inflation is going up at an annual rate of 8.7 percent—is ignored by the union and Labour Party leaders. In the past week, Trades Union Congress chief Victor Feather met secretly with representatives of the Tory government, despite an official TUC decision to break off talks after the pay freeze.

The Tories are making it clear that they intend the freeze to be permanent, with the working class facing a tremendous rate of inflation after entry into the Common Market. To solve their crisis they intend to drive down the working class's standard of living.

The call for strike action against the pay freeze by the Liverpool dockers shows the way forward. Conditions are being rapidly being prepared for the campaign of the Socialist Labour League to throw out the Tory government and bring Labour to power in a general election to be realized in action.

This judgement makes one thing very clear—it is not only the three union leaders, but the entire trade union movement that is on trial. It has become a "serious crime" for workers to strike in defense of their rights.

It is the direct and immediate responsibility of the entire Canadian trade union movement, especially the Canadian Labour Congress, to stop these jailings. The call by delegates at the last CLC convention for a General Strike must now be taken up. This means a fight against the Liberals and the Tories nationwide. The fight to stop the jailing of the trade union leaders must be linked to a clear strategy of bringing down the Liberals and the Tories and putting an NDP government in power pledged to stop all attacks on the unions.

# CBS Leads Network Drive To Break TV Unions

BY DAVID NORTH

**NEW YORK**—The strike by 1200 members of the Radio and Television Broadcasting Engineers (IBEW Local 1212) has entered its fourth week with CBS refusing to budge from its demand that the union give up basic jurisdictional rights.

With all negotiations suspended, this strike is of national significance because it exposes the offensive by management in every section of industry against the gains won by the labor movement in earlier battles.

In New York alone, the jobs of 250 out of 750 workers are threatened by CBS' attempt to deprive the union of jurisdiction over new electronic devices used in the production of programs. Past contracts guaranteed the safety of union jobs in the event that new equipment would be introduced.

CBS is determined to reverse this situation completely. It is insisting that the union relinquish jurisdiction over devices that are to be introduced in the future as well as those recently installed.

## UNION-BUSTING

All the broadcasting companies are backing CBS in this union-busting drive. Arthur Korff, business manager of Local 1212, charged that CBS "is acting in collusion with the other networks to break the back of the union hold on the television and radio industry."

In a statement last week, Korff declared that CBS "is fighting an industry battle."

"The entire climate of the industry is such that the broadcasters have gotten together and decided that the time has come to take a stand. The networks have a political ally in the Administration in Washington, so they recognize they can take a hard line," he said.

A top Local 1212 official told the *Bulletin* that CBS "is definitely a stalking horse for all the broadcasters."

In order to prevent well-known television personalities like Walter Cronkite from honoring the picket line, the courts have issued an injunction in behalf of CBS that bars a strike by AFTRA (The American Federation of

Television and Radio Artists).

Judge Hyman Korn's ruling stated that a strike by AFTRA was illegal because it would constitute a hardship to CBS.

The members of another union working in CBS, IATSE (International Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees), voted in 11 out of 13 locals to honor the picket lines but the international leadership has ordered its members to cross the picket lines.

## BITTER

Striking CBS employees were bitter over the refusal of the IATSE leadership to support the strike. "The leadership of the IATSE wants to keep on good terms with CBS at the expense of the ranks," one striker told the *Bulletin*. "They try to split up the unions by telling the membership that Local 1212 is after their jobs. But the fact is if CBS beats us, then AFTRA and the IATSE will get it very quickly."

Striking technicians on the picket line outside CBS offices on

(Continued On Page 18)

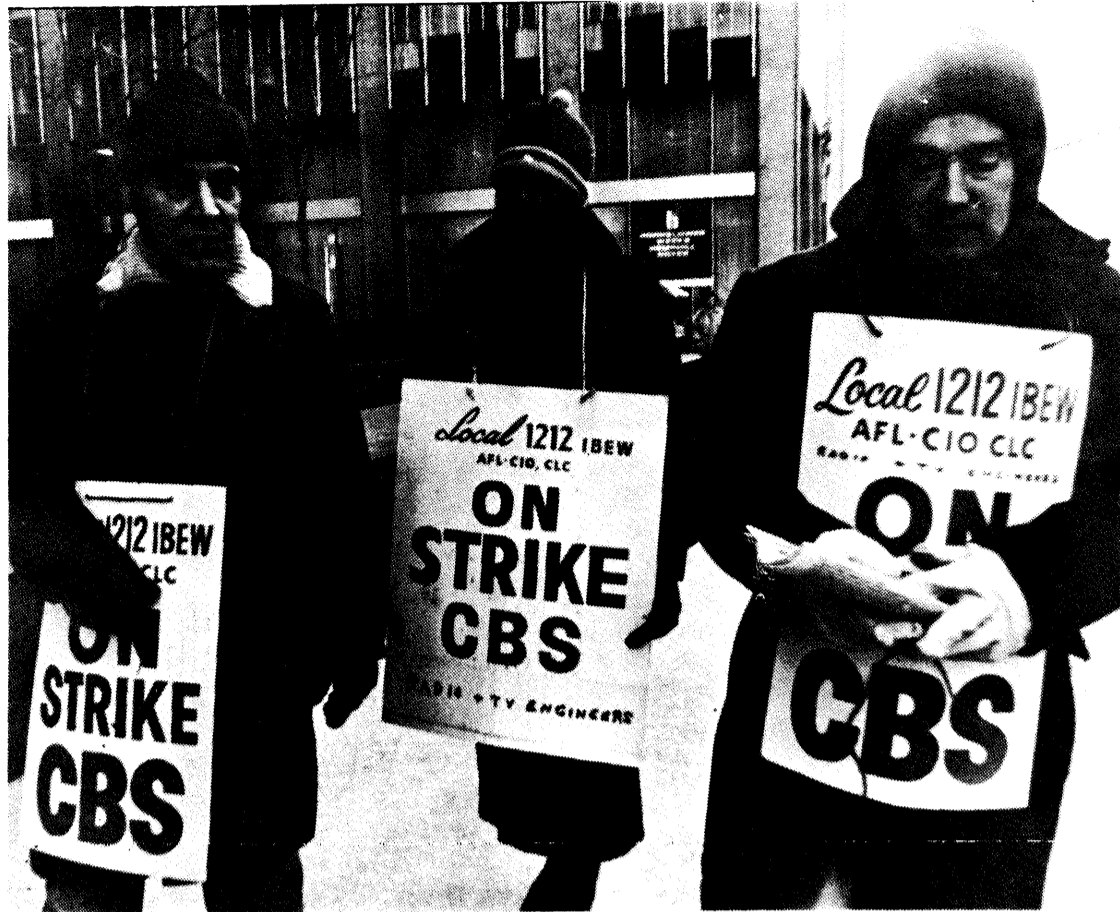
## Demand Strike At Janesville GMAD

BY LARRY SOMMERS

**JANESVILLE**—United Auto Workers Local 95 here at the General Motors Assembly Division plant is now threatening its third strike in recent weeks. The last strike began just one week ago, with the men going out at 2:18 p.m. Friday, November 17. This strike was not limited to the two-day "Apache" plan, although the union leadership continues to use this "hit and run" strategy to attempt to pressure the company to accept its demands and divert a real confrontation with General Motors.

A special membership meeting was called Tuesday morning to review the negotiations with the company. The second shift was then called back to work Tuesday afternoon. This strike was called after there was no progress in talks with the company over work standards.

Friday night, November 24,



CBS workers are on strike against the company's drive to take away union jurisdiction over new techniques and equipment. The Court barred a sympathy strike by artists and personalities.

## UAW Heads Get Word To Cancel GM Strikes

BY DAN FRIED

In response to the growing demand by UAW rank and file workers for a nationwide strike against the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), UAW President Leonard Woodcock is moving to end even the limited "hit-and-run" local strike actions of the past few months.

The recent wildcat strike against speedup at the Wilmington GMAD plant, the wildcats at GM's Frigidaire plant and in other sections of industry, the demand by local membership meetings for new strikes at the Wilmington and Janesville, Wisconsin GMAD plants have sent Woodcock into a near desperate attempt to douse the fires.

The attempt by Woodcock to sabotage the fight against General Motors must now be answered by a campaign in every UAW local demanding the calling

of a nationwide strike against GMAD until all Paragraph 78 speedup and safety grievances are settled, all laid off workers re-called, and all disciplinary suspensions lifted with full back pay for disciplined workers.

Following the recent Detroit meeting of GMAD local representatives, the International revealed in a "news leak" to the press that the "hit-and-run" (Apache) strategy was so "successful" that the next round of strikes was now being called off. Strikes that had been scheduled at 4 or 5 GM locals, including Delco-Moraine, Lordstown and Doraville, Georgia were abruptly cancelled.

At last week's meeting of UAW Local 696 (Delco-Moraine), local President Elmo Parish, who had obviously "gotten the word" from the International, told the membership that the scheduled 2 day "Apache" strike was off because of "progress" in the negotiations, which have been proceeding locally on a day to day basis.

In St. Louis, the Local 25 leadership and the International reps are claiming that the recent settlement at the St. Louis plant, the largest of all the GMAD installations, was a sign of the "success" of the Apache strategy. They base this on the fact that "only" 2000 of some 20,000 Paragraph 78 speedup grievances were not settled, and that "only" 400 of the laid off workers were still not recalled.

Emboldened by the refusal of Woodcock to call a nationwide strike and encouraged by Nixon's post election drive to smash the unions, General Motors has been pushing speedup and stepping up the attacks on all union rights and conditions in all plants.

Following the six month strike at the Norwood assembly plant,

GMAD management has been giving the workers an even more vicious treatment than before the strike. Brazenly ignoring the contract which calls for a minimum of four hours a day in pay, they are sending Norwood workers home en masse after only 2½ hours, also cheating them out of the contractually guaranteed SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) pay.

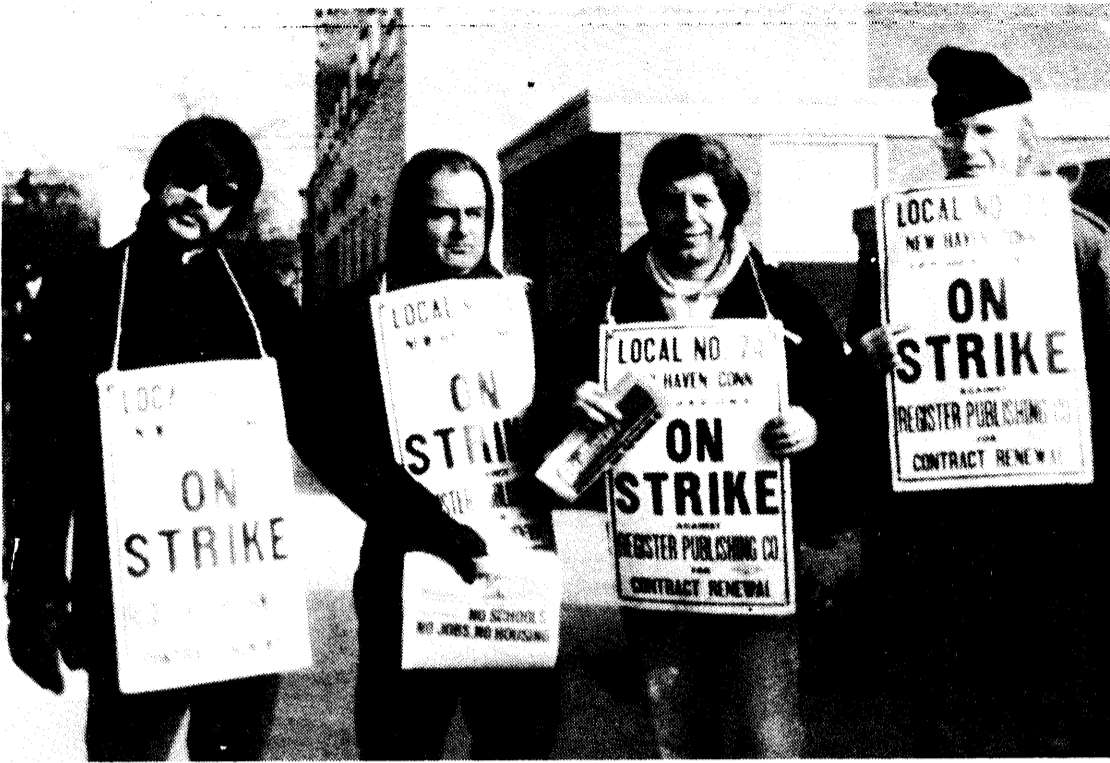
According to one Norwood worker, management is claiming "sabotage" and management representatives have stated that "there are 14 troublemakers in the plant and we're going to get them."

## SLAVE

In response to management's starve or slave strategy, which is aimed at breaking the union in the course of next summer's contract struggle, the International has been telling the Norwood workers that "it would be a long time before they would take another strike vote and that the workers should be satisfied."

Woodcock's refusal to mobilize the power of the union against General Motors' brazen violation of the contract is the biggest club in the hands of the company, which is preparing now to use widespread unemployment, government intervention and anti-labor legislation to crush the union.

But it is this power of the ranks, which Woodcock fears; which is the key to dealing a real blow to GM's plans. Now, more than ever, a nationwide strike against GMAD which brings General Motors to a grinding halt can stop the speedup and lay the basis for a decent contract next September. This fight must be taken into next April's UAW Special Convention.



New Haven printers on strike. Company is demanding new contract to eliminate jobs and force speedup. To prepare its onslaught, company sent white collar workers to school to man strikers' jobs.

# Conn. Printers Strike Company Layoff Drive

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CONN. November 25—"Everything we've been fighting for for 15 years, down the drain. We're going back to the Dark Ages if we accept the contract they want."

This statement expressed the sentiment of the 32 members of Local 74 of International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, who walked out against the Register Publishing Company's attempt to negotiate a new contract which would virtually destroy the union.

As one pressman explained, "Jackson (owner of the company) has called five and a half percent inflationary. They offered us 2.9 percent but only if we reduce press manning and let them send us to lunch one hour and 45 minutes after the beginning of a shift."

The company wants to realign scheduling so that two men can be taken off each of the two presses usually in operation. They deny that any jobs would be eliminated, but clearly the intent is to speed up the men to an intolerable level and prepare for layoffs.

The company's proposal would mean, for example, that one man would be expected to move an 800 pound paper roll on a dolly and then push it into the reel. The

company has been preparing for this situation for months. Last June a new printing process was introduced.

## SHUTDOWN

Twenty four non-union supervisory and white collar employees who were sent to a special training school in Oklahoma are now manning the presses. The company predicts that both morning and evening newspapers will be produced in the coming week.

Local 74 must campaign to shut down operations completely by bringing out the 180 members of the International Typographers Union and 25 members of the Steel Typers Union who are presently crossing the picket lines. One pressman protested that "The other unions haven't seen the light. The company's ambition is to break up the whole shop, not just our union."

In a public campaign against the union, the company has accused pressmen of sabotaging equipment just before the walk-out. However, union members deny this and point to the company's refusal to allow any of the damage to be photographed.

# Gibson Jails Tenants' Leaders To Bust Newark Rent Strike

BY DAVID NORTH

NEWARK, Nov. 27—Three leaders of the Stella Wright Tenants' Association were thrown into jail this morning as the Gibson Administration stepped up its drive to smash a two-year old rent strike.

Judge Ward Herbert ordered the arrest of Toby Henry, president of the Tenants' Association, Thomas Comerford and Edward Satterfield on charges of redistributing \$94,000 of rent money back to the tenants.

The Newark Housing Authority, which has been after the money for more than a year while refusing to improve conditions in the project, made a deal with Herbert in order to obtain the arrest warrants.

Herbert, who declared last November that he was disassociating himself with the case and would take no further action, met secretly with the Housing Authority over the weekend and issued an arrest warrant the following Monday.

"Without any warning," Henry told the Bulletin, "I opened up the paper last week and learned that I was about to go to jail."

## BATTLE

The battle of the Stella Wright tenants dates back to 1967 when they called a brief rent strike in order to get the Housing Authority to improve conditions in the project. "Back then, we thought we could work with the Housing Authority," stated Henry. "But even though the rent strike ended, the HA ignored every suggestion we made. They even laughed at us."

Because the Housing Authority would do nothing about the complaints, the Tenants' Association voted to join a city-wide rent strike on April 1, 1970. Even though it was one of the last projects to join the strike, Stella Wright is now the heart of the battle against the Housing Authority.

"Between April and December 1970 we followed the letter of the law," Henry explained. "We collected the rent from all the tenants and held it in escrow, waiting until the Housing Authority did something about conditions."

"The Board of Health conducted a study of the project and

before it got through half the buildings more than 5000 violations were uncovered. The city decided to discontinue the study—for obvious reasons."

## CELL BLOCKS

The conditions in the Stella Wright projects resemble the cell blocks of old prisons. Large rats chase small children down the lobbies; tenants suffer from allergies and diseases caused by the city's refusal to clean the projects; virtually none of the elevators in the 12-story buildings

function properly; apartments are filled with black smoke from improperly constructed incinerators.

The Housing Authority has shown that it does not care whether the lives of the tenants are endangered by conditions. Time and again, the tenants have been hit with power failures which either cut off the heat or destroyed their food because the refrigerators could not work.

One breakdown lasted 29 hours. "As long as we were collecting

(Continued On Page 18)

# Unionist Opposes Mayor In Ft. Pierce Election

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FORT PIERCE, Fla., November 23—Members of City Workers Local 1224, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, AFL-CIO (IBFO) will meet next Tuesday to elect local officers and discuss a collective bargaining proposal to present to the city.

IBFO international representatives have not met with the workers since September 23, when the union was first formed by Public Works Department employees. Instead, the leadership indulged in six weeks of fruitless talks with city officials supposedly designed to work out guidelines for a representation election.

The city-proposed election and the talks were nothing but an attempt by the city to gain time for efforts to demoralize union members and carry on undisguised union-busting activities.

The city commission showed its "good faith" from the outset by calling for an election among all city employees, including supervisors and Police Department employees. The city's next move was to hire a notorious union-busting lawyer from Miami, William Radford, at \$50 an hour.

Talks were finally broken off by the union when it became more than apparent that the city had no intention of holding an honest election. The union will now go forward without an election.

## DESPERATE

In desperate attempts to break the union drive, the city has given employees a 5.5 percent raise and made promises to review job classifications and salary scales.

The question of a political fight has been posed very sharply in this struggle, and city elections will be held on December 5, with three of the five city commission seats at stake.

The powerful movement among workers for a labor party has found expression here with the support of many Public Works workers for the candidacy of Charlie Frank Matthews, a Black member of the Retail Clerks International Union who is opposing Mayor Dennis Summerlin in the non-partisan election.

Matthews, however, although he has supported the efforts of city workers to unionize, has made no effort to campaign as an independent labor candidate, basing his campaign instead on an appeal to the "Black community" and middle class liberals.

# Taxi Rank & File Hits Arbitration

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—After two years without a contract and one month after receiving a massive strike authorization vote Harry Van Arsdale has sent Taxi Drivers Local 3036 into binding arbitration.

This action was planned in advance of the general membership meeting with the cancellation of garage elections, thereby keeping intact the Executive Advisory Board whose vote was necessary to go into binding arbitration.

Van Arsdale is trying to get around the militant opposition of the ranks to a contract that has chopped up the amount of ridership through a fare hike, inserted a 7 percent pay cut in commissions for new drivers, offered no increase for veteran drivers and stolen a dime from the drivers on each fare they pick up.

Owners have consolidated garages through actions like Eden's move to Queens. Owners with new cars have started instituting disciplinary layoffs along with firings for low bookings. This has happened at all the garages especially Butler in Brooklyn and Terminal and 55th Street in Manhattan.

They have also begun hiring even more 42 percenters and part time help. These owners are now in the position of pitting new drivers against the old, by giving the new drivers steady cars and forcing 49 percenters to shape up.

## BASIC RIGHT

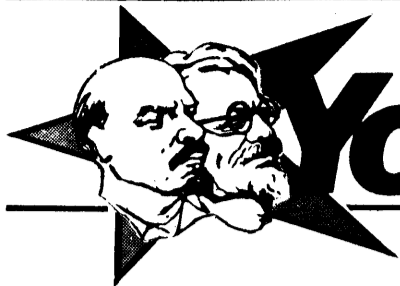
By accepting binding arbitration, Van Arsdale is throwing away the basic right of trade unionists to negotiate a decent contract. Arbitration means that the fleet owners and the city will

gang up against Local 3036 to rob its members of everything they have fought for over the last two years.

Throughout all of this the Rank and File Coalition is silent. Over the past two years it has held membership meetings of 50 to 100 men but now it does nothing. It is incapable of building or holding together an alternative caucus because it begins with the same position of Van Arsdale—the right of the bosses to make a bigger profit over the right of the drivers to a decent contract.

Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract is leading the fight against this treacherous policy. We are fighting to hold garage meetings to mandate garage chairmen to take the union out of binding arbitration, to reinstate garage elections, elect men pledged to a fight for 60 percent commissions to all drivers, and a return of the dime and the 7 percent to all 42 percenters.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: Dan Fried  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



# Young Socialist®

Send your letters to:  
Abby Rodriguez, Editor  
Young Socialist  
6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10011

## Young Socialists Must Take The Lead

Before the most enormous crisis of world capitalism where the opportunity for building the revolutionary movement is the greatest, the Young Socialist Alliance has refused to provide revolutionary leadership to the struggles of the youth and the working class.

The YSA, whose disintegration was so evident at its national convention, deserts the youth at a time when the principled struggles of the Trotskyist movement is the only defense for the working class.

Only a movement that carries out a relentless struggle against all forms of thinking that accept capitalism among the youth—particularly against the revisors of Marxism who disillusion the youth—can lead the fight.

The Young Socialists is entering this period with a totally different perspective from the pessimism which has encompassed every other political tendency.

We are answering the vicious policies of this corrupt government of Democrats and Republicans by building for the spring conference of the Young Socialists which will launch the movement nationally.

We are calling on the trade unions, which are the only weapons the working class has, to mount a political attack against this government by calling for a Congress of Labor to plan actions and build a labor party for the working class.

Already Nixon has moved to gun down students, slash education and create unemployment.

The working class is not sitting by watching this. The growing number of strikes show that it is moving against the attacks.

The labor bureaucrats and the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League have attempted to create a picture of tranquility within the working class. This is being done to demoralize every worker and youth in the face of Nixon's offensive.

The degeneration of the YSA lies precisely in its agreement and adaptation to Stalinism. They refuse to consciously fight Stalinism and the revisionists who cover up its betrayals.

The theory of Pablo said in 1953 that the Trotskyist movement should be liquidated into the Communist Parties to push these parties towards the left. After the SWP split from Pablo in 1953 the philosophical roots of this reactionary theory were never probed. Ten years later the SWP re-unified with the Pabloites on the most unprincipled basis of not discussing the previous split.

Behind the theories of Pablo and the SWP's capitulation to Stalinism is the refusal to train the youth in a study of Marxism to prepare them for revolutionary struggles.

Pablo did not begin from a theoretical understanding of the development of capitalism. He began with impressions.

The YSA today also begins with impressions and turns its back on the international crisis and the need to defend the working class internationally.

At a time when the revolutionary struggles of the Vietnamese must be defended the revisionists have dropped even their meager protest demonstrations.

The Young Socialists is being built with an understanding of this international crisis and in a fight to develop Marxism to prepare the working class.

We are going forward in the best traditions of the Trotskyist movement in a ruthless fight to arm the youth against the betrayals that the Stalinists are preparing.

That a revolutionary movement cannot be built without this conflict is evidenced by the decay of the YSA.

The lessons of this history must be understood and taken into the working class.

The Young Socialists are confident that a revolutionary movement of masses of youth will be built in this period. We call on every youth to take on this challenge by joining the Young Socialists and preparing for launching the movement nationwide in the spring.

## Pessimism Dominates Convention

# YSA Decides To Drop Anti-War Campaign

BY A YS  
REPORTING TEAM

The political report delivered at the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance marked a new stage in the crisis within the revisionist movement and reflected their sharpest turn to the right.

It stated that: "We see no sign in the immediate period of a possibility for mass action. The anti-war movement should not project plans for any demonstration. We are not thinking of building an anti-war conference."

This report shocked the 800 participants at the Young Socialist Alliance Conference. At

### 'COMMON AGREEMENT'

National Chairman Andy Rose stated in the report that "Since the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee are based on common agreement to demonstrate against the war, if a cease fire is announced, and it seems as though it will, there would be no basis for mass action."

This report added to the already dominant mood of pessimism and demoralization which existed throughout the four day convention.

The deepening economic crisis of capitalism and the movement of the working class to defend its rights has thrown the revisionists of Marxism into the most profound crisis they have ever experienced.

The YSA's participation and building of protest demonstrations was the heart of its political life.

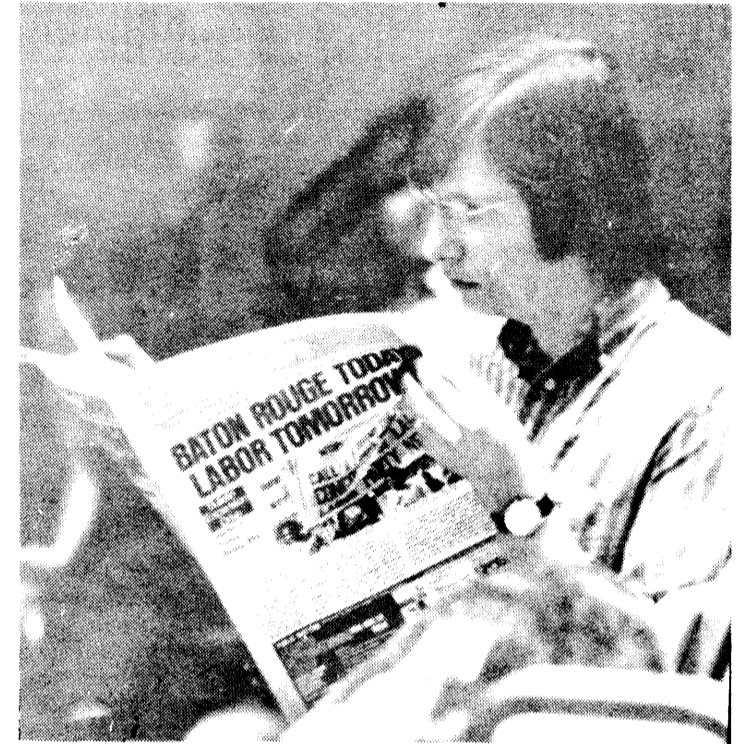
However, the protest movement which was built through unprincipled alliances with liberals of the middle class, sections of the capitalist class, and the counterrevolutionary Stalinists, on the basis that the YSA would not state the necessity for a socialist revolution, cannot be preserved in this period. Open battles and not compromises between the capitalists and the working class will prevail.

The middle class is being squeezed as Nixon prepares to do battle with the unions, producing panic and demoralization while the radicals attempt to run away from the economic crisis and see only a period of reaction.

This assessment was put forth by Rose when he described the political mood of the country as similar to a "return to the 1950s."

The refusal to confront the requirements of the crisis was expressed in the constant discussion on the past.

At a time when the ruling class



"Everyone reads the Bulletin!" YSAer reads Bulletin's "Open Letter to the YSA" at the Cleveland YSA National Conference.

will use its power to drive the working class down, the convention could not produce any strategy.

Rose stated that for the time being the YSA would just have to "keep our eyes open for whatever develops."

The rapid movement to abandon even the sheerest cover of a fight for socialism was presented when Fred Lovgren, prominent member of the YSA, said: "In the long run world revolution will be successful. In the meantime we have to face reality."

### EMBRACING

This and the plans to run the Socialist Workers Party candidate in mayoral elections in the coming year are preparations for a total embracing of reformism and social democracy to tie the working class to capitalism.

National Chairman Andy Rose openly said that the job of the YSA will be to "take every step in making this democratic society more democratic" and that this reformist policy would anger the capitalist politicians.

At the convention the working class was dismissed. It was mentioned only to be attacked.

During the international report it was stated that the Vietnamese revolution had been defeated because the Stalinists have called for a coalition government with the reactionary forces of South Vietnam.

YSA delegates said that the role of the YSA had changed because "reports indicate that a settlement will be reached."

The leadership expressed no confidence in the ability of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the American working class to defeat capitalism.

Rose stated that the working

class had been duped.

"Nixon, posing as a peace candidate," he said, "has recaptured the peace vote," and: "the wage freeze has not produced any movement amongst workers."

This despite the breakdown of negotiations as the Vietnamese refuse to surrender, and the growing number of strikes which expresses the determination of the American working class to defend its rights.

### PESSIMISM

From this flowed the pessimism of the middle class forces on which the YSA has been built.

It became clearest when the YSA's National Chairman said that the participants must be thinking: "God, we won't be building a demonstration next spring. It's almost like telling you that the sun won't come up tomorrow morning."

Another delegate said that she could feel the shock in the room when the proposal was made.

As the convention proceeded a number of delegates spoke of the lull in the student movement, and the lull in the "new radicalization" in general which according to the YSA has been caused by a lull in the Black movement.

The women's report along with the Chicano and Black reports showed the same tendency. Hardly any recruitment had been made even though they have completely adapted towards these movements.

Only a handful of Blacks attended the conference and very few Chicanos.

### MEMBERSHIP

The leadership was forced to note that despite their aim of doubling the membership of the YSA, nothing of the kind had occurred.

(Continued On Page 18)

## Join the Young Socialists!

— I would like to join the YS.  
— Please send me information  
YS activities in my area.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

Young Socialists 135 W. 14th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

# Young Socialist

## New England YS Tour Builds For Conference

BY A YS REPORTING TEAM

This past week the Young Socialists launched a national campaign to begin building its first national conference to be held in New York next April. Gil Gonzalez, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, initiated the drive with a speaking tour through New Haven, Hartford and Boston.

All the meetings clearly expressed the turn by the university students toward the Young Socialists. It is only the Young Socialists which poses a fight against the attacks that the government is waging against workers and youth.

At Yale University Gonzalez stated: "The depth of the capitalist crisis today poses grave dangers to the working class internationally. In order to preserve profits of the bosses Nixon is determined to use trade war to destroy the living conditions of millions of workers throughout Europe and Japan. This has created a situation of civil war in England where the question of the working class taking power is now on the agenda."

Gonzalez went on to say,

"Throughout Nixon's election campaign he has made preparations to make a massive assault against the trade unions. The Pay Board guidelines will be cut down to 2.5 percent and at the same time massive unemployment will be used against workers and youth."

He emphasized that the working class will not just sit and take it with ease. Already there has been action taken against these attacks. That was the meaning of the 15,000 construction workers demonstrating in Connecticut against the Pay Board. Several plants in the auto industry have been closed because of strike action by the workers against speedup.

The Fourth International

Today meeting was central to the discussion. With the re-election of Nixon and the plans he has to drive back workers and youth is posed the utmost urgency for the construction of a revolutionary leadership which can lead the fight that workers and youth must now undertake, and that is the fight for power.

"Only the International Committee of the Fourth International has prepared itself for this period. It has only been our movement which has fought to lead the working class against capitalism internationally. In the U.S. it has only been the Young Socialists and Workers League which has fought for a labor party against the parties of the



Dany Sylveire of the British YS addresses YS meeting during YSA National Conference.

ruling class," declared Gonzalez.

A struggle was also taken up against the revisionists of the SWP and YSA who today have strayed so far from Trotskyism that they now try to deny the essence of Trotskyism, that is, the fight against Stalinism and for a new socialist leadership among the working class. The YSA refuses to take up any fight against Stalinism.

Many youth came forward at the meetings to join with the Young Socialists in constructing the only youth movement which can take up the fight which youth and workers now face. At the University of Connecticut one youth who was around the YSA denounced the YSA actions and joined the Young Socialists on the spot.

## Minority Youth Quit Stanford

BY

A YS REPORTER

PALO ALTO—At Stanford University working class and minority students are practically being forced off the campus. For the first time in years the number of Black freshman actually decreased. There were 76 this year compared to 89 last year.

This stems from the rising costs for attending the exclusive university coupled with scholarship cutbacks. The Black Student Union conflicted with the administration recently over the admissions of Black students, but the nationalist leadership restricted the fight to a Black administrator whose job is to recruit Black students.

Acting President Miller has stated that "There's still a gap between income and expenditures that must be narrowed in the next few years." In order to narrow this gap he intends to eliminate the education of many working class youth. The Young Socialists are fighting against the cuts in admissions and tuition increases. It is necessary for students to fight for a Congress of Labor in order that the attacks be defeated.



Univ. of Wisconsin (Madison) students demonstrate against Baton Rouge murders.

## The Struggle To Survive In A Tennessee Town

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

There is no section of the country which has not felt the affects of Nixon's policies. Throughout the U.S., whole towns are disappearing as industries, which are the central life of these towns, move out because of lack of profits. They leave behind workers and youth which this system has no need for.

Towns such as Clarksville, Tennessee, with a population of around 36,000, have felt this crisis deeply. Youth forced to work under hazardous conditions many times do not last more than two weeks on the job.

Stormy Mullendore is 19 years old and has experienced what the government has in store for the entire working class.

### SENIORITY

"I worked for Vulcan Corporation as a compounder which means I mix all the ingredients. Because I have seniority I receive \$2.26 an hour. We get a ten cent raise after 60 days and then every six months.

"It's a very old place and the equipment is not repaired. The production manager asks if you are going to stay for more than two days, because many workers leave. This usually happens with the younger guys. Those who have worked for 15 or 30 years stay because they have nothing to do.

"Some departments are very unhealthy. Department 8720 is the dustiest and dirtiest. After you work there for two months you have to take a checkup because the company wants to see if breathing in all the ground

glass has affected you.

"In another department they have some kind of oil compound that affects your eyes. The workers come out of the mills tearing.

"Sometimes you are forced to work overtime. I work from 4 p.m. to 12:10 a.m. They come at 11:30 p.m. and ask you to stay. If you refuse twice you're fired.

"After taxes I have \$72.50 for the week. I had planned to go to college but I can't because you need a car and a place to stay.

"There is a lot of unrest. The younger guys are angry at the union for not doing anything. There's talk of trying to start another union or quitting.

"The bureaucracy has allowed this to occur. Most of these workers were employed by B.F. Goodrich. When Goodrich left, workers had to take a pay cut. Now many workers think that something was pulled off, and that B.F. Goodrich has control of stocks in Vulcan Corporation. Even the older workers think so.

### UNREST

"There is unrest like I've never seen. These workers are ready. If you talk to them through their experience they'll agree. All they need is some leadership to show them how to fight.

"That is why I joined the Young Socialists and I think that the young workers will agree also. We have to fight against the boss and the government and change the leaders in the unions.

## Racists Exploit Chicago School Crisis

BY A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—White and Black parents at Gage Park High School finally agreed on a policy that would allow the school to re-open on Monday. After two days of fighting between Black and white students and parents, Gage Park had been closed at the request of CTU President Robert M. Healey.

The agreement calls for more police and guards, equally divided between Black and white, to be placed in the school. It also calls for a six-block radius around the school to be off-limits to anyone who is not a student, with I.D. cards issued to every student. Also, a no-loitering rule in that area will be imposed and no student who left school during the day could return that day.

Behind this agreement is all the filth of the reactionary racists leading the white parents, and the reformism of PUSH, Jesse Jackson's Black organization, which refuses to oppose them.

### TEMPORARY TRUCE

A meeting of the Gage Park PTA voted to accept the temporary truce. The president of the PTA, Mrs. Irene Schrader, has used her position to carry off a 67 day boycott of the school charging over-crowding and

urging the redistricting of the Southeast corner of the school district, which would remove almost two-thirds of the Blacks who now attend Gage Park. Most of the whites who initially boycotted classes protesting the overcrowding returned to their classes before last Monday.

### FIGHTING

By Wednesday fighting had broken out inside the school and on the grounds. One girl got a broken nose and was taken away in an ambulance; many others were injured by rocks and flying bottles. White parents led the racial taunts as the Black Gage Park students were taken away in special buses after fighting broke out in the auditorium on Thursday.

Many students that the Young Socialist talked to do not agree with the racial divisions that have developed and were angry at the deteriorating conditions of the neighborhood and being forced to go to a school that has 800 more students than it is designed to hold.

The real enemies are the government and the School Board who have done nothing to alleviate the conditions. In the middle of the boycott they laid off nine teachers.

Jackson, who was a delegate to the Democratic Party Convention, stands against the interests of students, by calling for more Black police in school, and supports the very political machine which has created the overcrowded conditions.

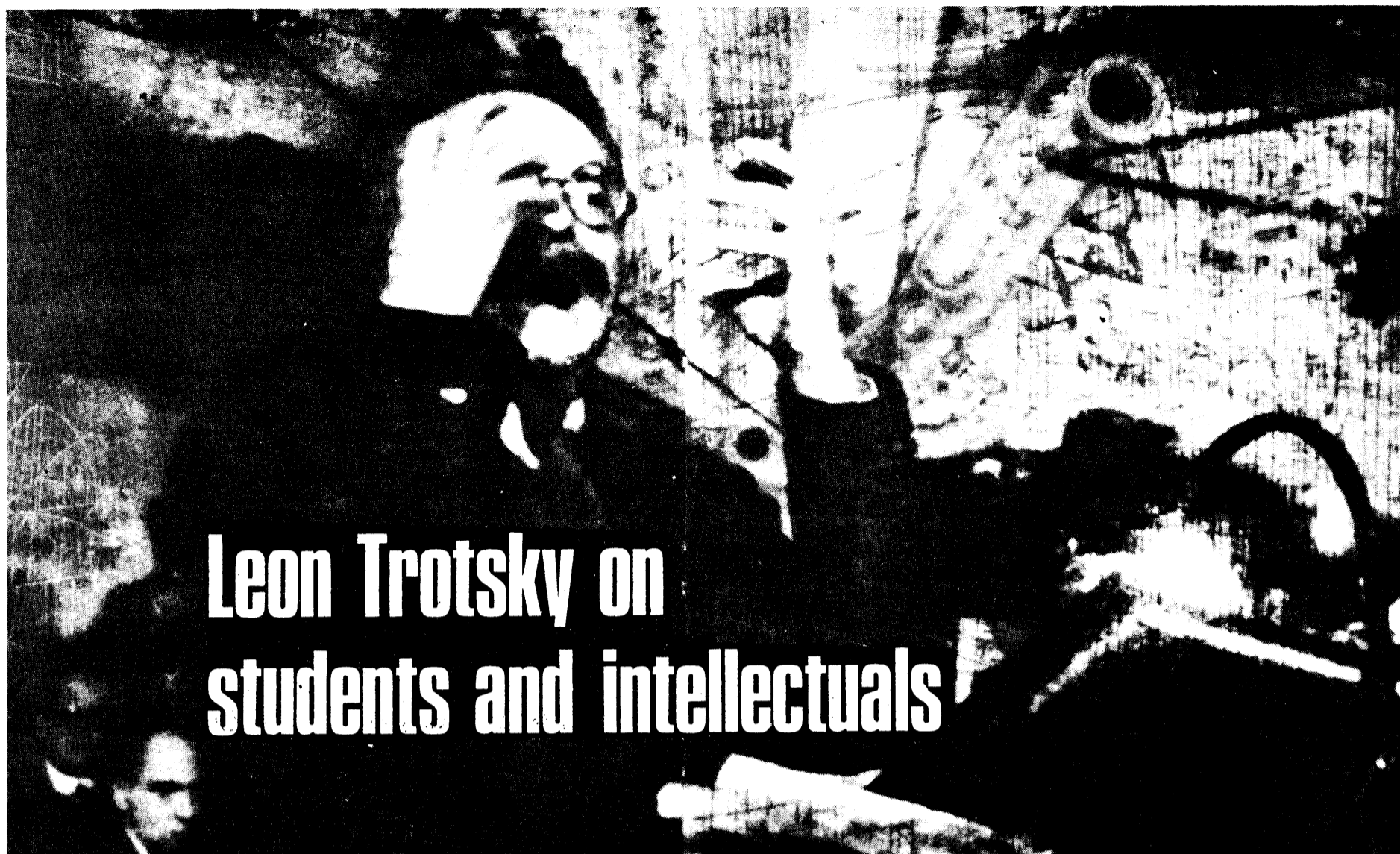
### FASCISTS

Meanwhile the Fascist forces, wearing swastikas, have held two rallies in Gage Park.

These forces have been unleashed by the Nixon election and back the racism that Nixon has used with his stand on busing.

It comes at a time when Nixon is preparing to launch big attacks on the trade unions to force down wages, and increase unemployment.

The Young Socialists have opened a club at Gage Park to unite the students, teachers, and parents by demanding an end to budget cuts, and layoffs.



## Leon Trotsky on students and intellectuals

Trotsky delivers speech in Copenhagen in 1932.

We reprint below an interview with Leon Trotsky which first appeared in the Danish *Studenten* bladet in December 1932. It was published in March 1937 in *Fjerde Internationale* (Fourth International). The English translation appeared in "Intercontinental Press" on November 13, 1972.

AND SO Trotsky arrived. Anyone expecting to be faced with an old, brutal, fearful figure would be disappointed. Quite the opposite. There was something friendly, highly cultivated, pleasant, and likeable about him. After greeting each of his visitors, he sat down in the empty armchair and waited for our questions.

### TROTSKY ON STUDENTS

Where does the revolutionary outlook of students come from—when in fact they are revolutionary?

At the addition of this last qualification, a very revealing and mischievous smile came over the familiar features of his face.

"There you put your finger on it!"

Do they owe this to their social and economic position, or do we have to turn to psychology, perhaps even to psychoanalysis, to explain it?

Once again a mischievous smile.

"First and foremost, you have to understand that students do not constitute a distinct and unified group in society.

"They fall into various groups, and their political attitude closely corresponds to the one prevailing in these various groups in society. Some students are radical-oriented; but of these, only a tiny number can be won over to the revolutionary party.

### WHEN ONE REACHES THIRTY

"The fact is that very often radicalism is a sickness of youth among what are actually petty bourgeois students. There is a French saying: 'Avant trente ans revolutionnaire, apres canaille'—Under thirty a revolutionist, thereafter a scoundrel. This expression is not heard only in France. It was also known and used in connection with the Russian students in the pre-war period. Between 1907 and 1917 I was living in exile, and I travelled around a lot, giving speeches to the various colonies of Russian students abroad. All these students were revolutionaries in those days. During the October revolution in 1917, 99 percent of them fought on the other side of the barricades.

### CAREERISM

"You find this radicalism among youth in every country. The young person always feels dissatisfied with the society he lives in—he always thinks he can do things better than his elders did. So the youth always feel they are progressive—but what they understand by progress varies quite a bit. In France, for example, there is both a radical and a royalist opposition. Naturally this radicalism includes a certain number of healthy oppositionist forces, but for the most part it amounts to what can only be called careerism.

"Here we have the real psychological motor force. The young feel shut out; the old take up all the space, and the young can't find any outlet for their abilities. They are dissatisfied quite simply because they themselves are not sitting in the driver's seat. But as soon as they are sitting there, it's all over with their radicalism.

"It's like this: Gradually these young people move into the available posts. They become lawyers, office heads, teachers. And so they come to look upon their earlier radicalism as a sin of their youth, as a simultaneously repulsive and charming error. As a result of this memory of his own youth, the academician comes to lead a double life throughout his entire life. What it is, is that he himself believes that he still possesses a kind of revolutionary idealism, and in reality he retains a certain liberal veneer. But this veneer is only a coating for what he really is—a narrow-minded, petty bourgeois social climber, whose real interests boil down to his career."

Trotsky shifted in his chair a bit and looked around with a kind, apologetic smile.

### ROLE IN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Can students be of any importance to a revolutionary movement?

"The revolutionary student can only make a contribution if, in the first place, he goes through a rigorous and consistent process of revolutionary self-education, and, in the second place, if he joins the revolutionary workers' movement while he is still a student. At the same time, let me make clear that when I talk about theoretical self-education, I mean the study of unfalsified Marxism."

### STEP DOWN FROM THE PODIUM

What should be the relationship between the academician and the workers' movement?

A stern and determined expression comes into Trotsky's eyes.

"He must realize that he is coming into the workers' movement as a learner and not as a teacher. He must learn to subordinate himself and do the work that is demanded of him, and not what he wants to do. The workers' movement for its part must regard him with the greatest skepticism. A young academician must first 'toe the line' for three, four, or five years, and do quite simple and ordinary party work. Then, when the workers have confidence in him and are completely certain that he is not a careerist, then he can be allowed to move up—but slowly, very slowly. When he has worked with the workers' movement in this way, then the fact that he was an academician is forgotten, the social differences disappear."

### ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL

What, then, is the role of the intellectual in the revolutionary movement?

"His role is to draw general conclusions on the basis of concrete facts. If this process of drawing generalizations out of current conflicting material is not constantly going on, the movement becomes banalized."

### WHEN MARXISM IS FALSIFIED

Earlier you said that by a theoretical self-education you meant the study of unfalsified Marxism. What do you mean by unfalsified Marxism?

"Criticism of Marxism is not so dangerous. Falsification is a different matter. What I mean by it is theories that go by the name of Marxism, but that have actually abandoned the essence of Marx's teachings. The revisionist Bernstein, for example, made the movement itself the main thing in his theory and pushed the ultimate goal into the background. What resulted from this 'Marxism'? In England, a MacDonald—or a Lord Snowden. You can find other examples yourselves. Such falsification only uses the name of Marxism in order to deceive the workers."

wrote, the world hasn't stood still since Marx's time, has it?

"Of course not. I'm not a fetishist—Marxism did not come to a halt when Marx died. Marx could also be wrong—mainly in his predictions of when events would occur, and then he erred only in his assessment of the timing. Lenin integrated newly emerged historical factors into Marxism and thus adapted it to our time."

### DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

Trotsky then took up the question of democracy and dictatorship: "We communists do not deny—as, for example, the anarchists do—the importance of democracy. But we recognize its importance only up to a very definite point. That point is reached as soon as the class contradictions become so great that the tension causes a short circuit to occur. At that point, democracy can no longer function, and the only alternatives are either a proletarian or a bourgeois dictatorship. Look at the evolution of the Social Democratic republic in Germany from 1918 to the present. In the early days, the Social Democrats had power, but now it is reactionary generals who are sitting at the wheel.

"Democracy can no longer even play its own game because of the class contradictions. Look, for example, at how the democratic right to asylum—the right of an exiled person to residency—is observed these days."

### TWO PIECES OF EVIDENCE

With the mention of the right to asylum, you could see that Trotsky was again coming back to Dalgas Boulevard. With a broad smile, he continued:

"I am not a stubborn Marxist. You can still get me to believe in democracy. But first you'll have to comply with two wishes: First bring about socialism in Germany through democratic means, and second get me a residence permit in Denmark."



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## A New Stage Of Imperialist Brutality

The collapse of the latest round of negotiations between Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese representative Le Duc Tho has opened a decisive stage in the war.

Even if the peace talks were to be temporarily salvaged, they would serve only as a cover for another offensive against the Vietnamese revolution by American imperialism.

This is because the crisis of capitalism drives the imperialists toward all-out assaults against the working class in Europe, Asia, and Latin America as well as in the workers states.

It is already clear that Nixon has used the past few weeks to step up the war behind the cover of negotiations. The heaviest B-52 bombings in history have been ordered against North Vietnam, hundreds of American military advisors have been secretly landed in Saigon to collaborate with Thieu's discredited generals, and a new counter-offensive has been launched in the area of Quangtri by the puppet troops.

Under these conditions, the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union attempts to disarm the working class so that it cannot meet the threat. The Stalinists extol "peaceful coexistence" at a time when the capitalists are plotting war against the Soviet Union itself. They agree to participate in a European Security Conference just as NATO unveils plans to mine the Baltic and blow up the Soviet navy.

At the same time, the American Communist Party lobbies for the Nine Point peace plan to sell out the Vietnamese Revolution. Last week, more than 1000 North Vietnamese soldiers rebelled against the signing of the treaty which the American Stalinists support.

Bowing before the Stalinists, the Socialist Workers Party has now decided to abandon the fight against imperialism and the war in Vietnam. The SWP is shutting down the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) because the middle class protest movement that it sponsored for ten years has finally disintegrated.

The Workers League now will carry forward the fight for the Congress of Labor to organize immediate action against Nixon and construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies. This is the only way to defeat Nixon's attacks on the working class internationally and in this country.

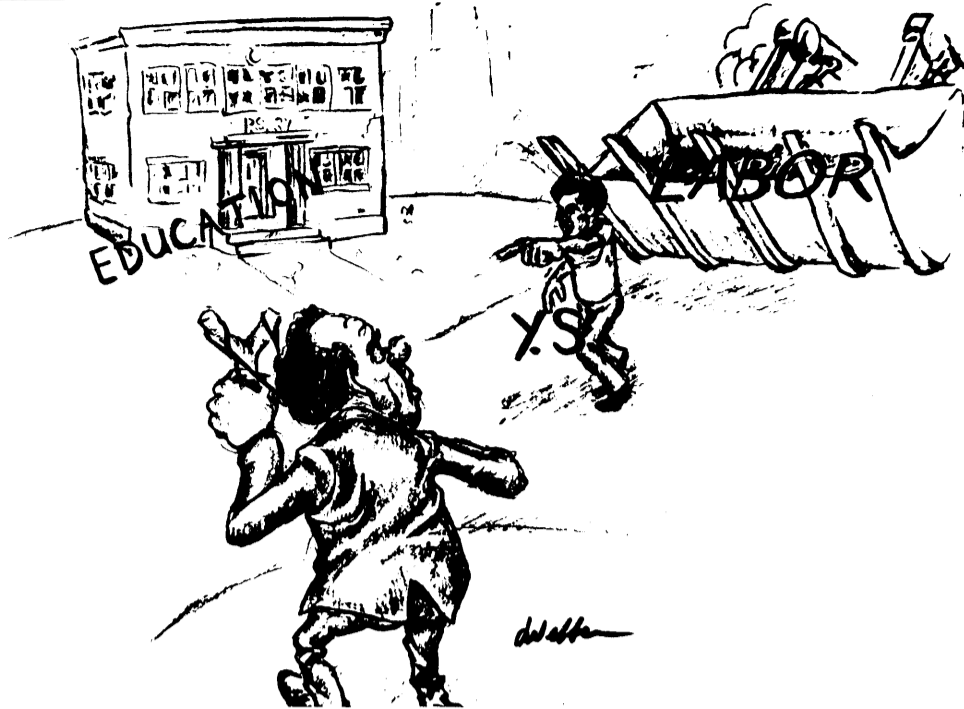
### Sub Drive At 1/2 Way Mark

As we reach the halfway point we have come very close to receiving one half our national quota on our 6500 Winter Bulletin Subscription Drive. This week we received 670 subs, bringing our grand total to 3142.

The leader by far was the Michigan-Ohio Trailblazing Team which brought in 254 subs, giving them a grand total of 522, going over their 500 quota for the two week tour New Haven, Chicago, Hartford, Los Angeles, Madison, St. Louis, Dayton, Fort Greene, and Upper West Side went over half while Palo Alto and Bronx came extremely close. A major problem remains in the San Francisco, Berkeley-Oakland and San Jose branches in the Bay Area. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Minneapolis are branches with big quotas which still are behind.

Every branch which has not made the halfway mark must do so immediately regardless of what steps are necessary. Our Trailblazers have shown that six people can get at least 50 subs in a single day even in completely new and unknown areas. The other branches must begin the campaign for the three-quarters mark immediately. We must now receive 670 subs each week.

The Bulletin is receiving a different response from even two months ago, reflecting the search of workers for leadership against the attacks which they know Nixon now prepares.



## What we think Lessons Of The YSA Convention

The 1972 National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance marks a whole new stage in the crisis of the revisionists of the United Secretariat. In the face of the biggest crisis of world capitalism and the offensive of the working class throughout the world, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are moving sharply to the right.

This convention was dominated from beginning to end by complete pessimism and fear of the crisis and the movement of the working class. Having built its movement in the middle class circles, it is swept with demoralization and scepticism as the working class enters into struggle.

Meeting only three weeks after Nixon's election and his statement to the Washington Star News of his intentions to end the "era of permissiveness" and go to war with the American working class, the YSA entered this convention with absolutely no perspective for the struggles the working class and youth now face.

Behind the explosion of the crisis of the revisionists at this convention lies the new stage of the world capitalist crisis unleashed by Nixon on August 15, 1971. His announcements on that day brought an end to the whole foundation of class relations since World War II. In each capitalist country, in order to survive, the capitalist class must put an end to the old forms of rule, institute bonapartist dictatorship and prepare for civil war against the working class.

This raises today the gravest dangers to the working class, and at the same time prepares the conditions for revolutionary struggles as an undefeated working class enters into direct confrontations with the government. The political struggles which result from this create the conditions in which the working class will be broken from its reformist and Stalinist leaderships and a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership constructed in the unions and among the youth.

This is the perspective of the International Committee against the revisionists, who stated that capitalism had entered a new stage of "neo-capitalism" in which all of the contradictions were overcome. Now, as these contradictions explode, the revisionists of the YSA are torn apart and move further and further to the right.

In August 1971, after Nixon's announcement of the end to convertibility of the dollar, the opening of the trade war and attacks on American workers, the Militant printed an article calling for a Congress of Labor and a labor party. But this was immediately dropped. Now, faced with the new stage of the crisis and Nixon's stated intention to implement the policies required by his measures on August 15th, the YSA turns consciously away from this crisis refusing at this convention to discuss the present.

At precisely the moment when Nixon

has announced that the confrontation with the American working class cannot be postponed, that the "era of permissiveness" and reforms is over, the YSA openly attacks the fight for a labor party and puts forward a perspective of building a parliamentary party based on making "this democratic society more democratic."

The fight for a policy for the American working class to prepare it for the struggle for power which is now posed by this crisis requires above all a break with American pragmatism and a turn to Marxist philosophy. This is what is now required to prepare a cadre which can develop a leadership in the working class in conflict with the present consciousness and practice of the working class.

But it is this responsibility which the YSA and its parent organization, the Socialist Workers Party, have refused to do. To confront the theoretical development required in this period the SWP-YSA would have to confront its own history and its break from Marxism.

In 1953, the SWP led the fight against those who sought to revise Marxism in the Fourth International; against Michel Pablo, who attacked every fundamental of Trotskyism. Pablo and his faction abandoned the Marxist method for impressionism and idealism, seeing Stalinism as capable of carrying through revolutions under pressure and rejecting the necessity for constructing the Trotskyist movement. While the leadership of the SWP led the split from Pablo, it refused to confront the theoretical roots of Pablo's revisionism. This required a development by the Fourth International of Marxist theory. Instead, Cannon sought to rest on the past, "to preserve" Trotskyism.

This is what led the Socialist Workers Party in 1963 back to the Pabloites, and a break from the International Committee. The reunification with the Pabloites took place on the basis of a refusal to discuss the 1953 split. As we said at the time, the SWP's reunification was based on the abandonment of the positions it stood on in 1953 and its going over to the method of Pablo.

For the SWP now to meet the tasks of revolutionary leadership would mean breaking from this past through the fight for dialectical materialism. But it is precisely at this moment that the leadership of the SWP has begun an open attack on dialectical materialism and a defense of American pragmatism in answer to our demand for such a discussion. This is the meaning of George Novack's recent articles.

Novack, in attacking what he calls the International Committee's "Secretarianism in Philosophy," returns to the position held by Shachtman in 1940 that the training of a cadre in dialectical materialism is optional in the revolutionary party. From there

he proceeds to defend empiricism and pragmatism. Novack sees Marxism not as a negation of all previous forms, as a leap in man's thinking enabling him to understand and change the material world, but a quantitative development of empiricism, which includes the good sides of empiricism.

Novack does not see change occurring through a conflict of opposites in which these opposites are transformed and something entirely new created by a process in which the positive, the old, is contained in the new only in its negative, in its negation. Instead, Novack sees negation eclectically through combination, not conflict.

What Novack says is that there can be a compromise between Marxism and bourgeois forms of thinking. He denies that Marxism can be developed only through a struggle against pragmatism. He denies the central question now posed is the development of consciousness in the working class and that is the fight by the revolutionary party against bourgeois thinking in the working class.

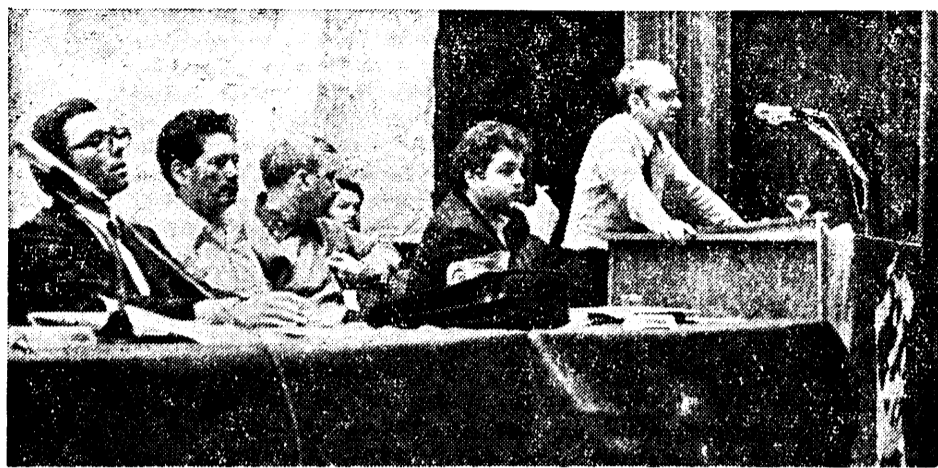
It is in fact through the process of negation that the working class is transformed from what it is today to what it must be in order to destroy capitalism. It is through the conflict of the revolutionary party against the present thinking and practice of the working class, against trade unionism, that the class becomes a class for itself, a class with an understanding of the necessity to take power.

It is Novack's method which is at the center of the SWP's evolutionary perspective of making democracy more democratic; of change occurring not through the destruction of capitalism but by adding reforms.

It is the SWP's abandonment of Marxism that today is at the heart of its crisis as the capitalist crisis explodes and the working class moves into battle. This is why they are completely unprepared for this period and try to run away from it. They run from the responsibilities now posed before the revolutionary party in developing the forces in the working class and youth who, now shaken by the events, seek an alternative, revolutionary leadership.

It is only the Workers League and the Young Socialists, together with the International Committee of the Fourth International, that have fought for this understanding, have fought to develop a cadre trained in dialectical materialism against pragmatism. It is through this struggle that we can now go forward in this period to construct the Fourth International and building a leadership in the working class and among the youth capable of meeting its revolutionary tasks. This is why we can now enter into the labor movement after Nixon's election with a strategy to mount the fight for a Congress of Labor to answer Nixon and to construct a labor party.

# OCI, POR & International Committee



OCI's Stephen Juste addresses Latin American "Trotskyist" Conference in April 1972.

## THE OCI CAPITULATES TO THE POR

IN APRIL, the so-called "Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" organized a would-be "Latin American Trotskyist Conference." This conference was attended by the following centrist organizations: *Política Obrera*, Argentina; the POR of Bolivia; LOM, Mexico; and POMR of Peru as well as the OCI from France which broke last year with the Fourth International. As they themselves say, the debate "centered" on the "Strategy for the Revolution in Latin America after the Bolivian experience." The development of such a "debate" is a good example of how the OCI, since its break with the FI, has gone further along a centrist line, capitulating completely to parties which—like the POR in Bolivia—have only served to lead the proletariat to defeat.

Although, while it was a member of the International Committee, the OCI did not hide its sympathy towards the POR—even to the point of considering it the "Bolivian section" of the FI—it always tried to maintain relative independence from the POR, by not conceding to its positions. This was because it had a minimum of distrust of an organization which had a long history of opportunism and had been one of the main supports of Pabloism in Latin America. In fact, Guillermo Lora, head of the POR, had attacked the IC from 1953 until, in a rapid change in policy, he decided to "support it" in 1969.

When the Congress took place of the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), in which the POR had developed and defended the so-called "Political Thesis of the COB," the OCI criticized this document most severely concluding: "Comrades, we can tell you without any evasion, with deep and even anguished conviction, that if this statement becomes the policy of the Bolivian workers' movement, and if the POR adopts it (or even maintained a silence for any length of time on the fact that it is the result of a compromise which only has cir-

cumstantial value), then the COB thesis can constitute a noose around the neck of the proletariat."

In effect, the Political Thesis of the COB became the guiding line for the political activity of the Bolivian proletariat, and "was the basis on which the "Popular Assembly" was built, and, after the Banzer coup, the "Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front." Lora himself does not hide this and declares: "Two basic documents acted as a programmatic base for the Popular Assembly: the Political Thesis of the COB and the so-called Constitutive Bases" (Bolivia: "From the Popular Assembly to the Fascist coup.")

The Bolivian proletariat was defeated and at the moment the fascist dictatorship is trying to liquidate the workers movement without hesitating to have recourse to bloody repression and intense repression of any opposition tendency. Just as the OCI said, the Political Thesis of the COB became the noose which would hang the Bolivian working class, since its capitulation to petty bourgeois nationalism could have no other result than the preparation of a large scale defeat for the Bolivian working class. As will be remembered, the Bolivian proletariat was completely disarmed at the time of the fascist coup and Banzer needed only three days to crush the supposedly most powerful proletariat in Latin America. Following the line of the COB Thesis (which we will analyze in the next part), the POR even went so far as saying that "General Torres would arm the workers" and that the Peruvian military dictatorship "would defend the Bolivian Workers State."

Eight months after the defeat of the Bolivian proletariat and after abandoning the ICFI, the OCI forgets that it ever criticized the POR or forecast the defeat, but quite on the contrary, it declares "its total agreement with the policy followed by the POR during the course of the revolutionary process in Bolivia in 1970-1971."

The OCI's break with the IC has accelerated its process of political degeneration and its total adaptation to centrist tendencies. Their conception of the International as an "apparatus" which led it to say that the FI had been liquidated by Pabloism, in this way giving revisionism a victory and denying the continuity of the FI in the struggle of the IC since 1953, gave it a justification to propose a kind of inverted "entrism." This consisted in assimilating centrist organizations within the International. Such a position led the OCI to vote together with centrist and opportunist organizations against the majority of the IC at the Youth Congress in Essen in Germany (June 1971). In Latin America this led it to assimilate opportunist organizations like *Política Obrera* of Argentina, the Bolivian POR, the Chilean OMR, the Mexican LOM, and Peruvian POMR. On the idealist pretext that centrist organizations can "develop towards Marxism" through "discussion" within an "organizational framework," the OCI tried to transform the International into a centrist amalgam completely useless in the struggle for revolutionary leadership.

The "Latin American Conference" which took place in April of the present year, clearly demonstrates the liquidationist content of the OCI's conceptions. Far from an "evolution towards

The following article is part of a series which recently appeared in *Comunismo*, the weekly organ of the Communist League of Peru. The Communist League is in political agreement with the International Committee of the Fourth International. The remainder of the series will appear in next week's Bulletin.

Marxism" taking place—as promised by the OCI—the opportunist organizations in Latin America have begun an offensive which receives from the French the reply of greater retreats and a complete adaptation to the politics of the centrists.

Thus, for example, when the Bolivian POR declared that "the OCI understands nothing about the application of Marxism to backward countries," or that the OCI "has adopted a centrist, hesitant attitude towards the whole of the Bolivian experience, prejudicing at the same time the construction of the Latin American Trotskyist movement and the reconstruction of the FI," the OCI replies that "it is necessary to work to maintain the framework for activity, discussion and joint development without forcing the process or bringing it to an end" and that, meanwhile they undertake "to open up their diverse organs and publications to the POR to allow it to defend the policy that it adopted against the Banzer government following the line of the anti-imperialist United Front in the framework of the FRA."

The total abstention on the part of the OCI and its adaptation to the opportunist positions of its proteges, is no more than the conscious rejection of Marxism, that is, the struggle for revolutionary leadership, a rejection which immediately converts them into the accomplices of Stalinism and trade-union bureaucracies in the preparation of a historical defeat of the proletariat. All this confirms once again that outside of the theoretical struggle of the FI, there is absolutely no possibility of constructing revolutionary parties.

What is behind the positions of the OCI is its break with Marxist theory, with dialectical materialism, and its replacing Marxism with idealist methods of analysis. The evolution of the OCI towards opportunism has its origin in its attitude to the denial or under-estimation of the importance of the struggle for all the theoretical gains of Marxism and the development of method, against all the pressures of the class enemy. The reduction of the International to an "apparatus" and Marxism to a "program" has this as its origin and its only consequence can be an adaptation to what exists instead of its transformation.

It is for that reason that in the Youth Rally in Essen the OCI opposed the amendment proposed by the majority of the IC which said in one of its paragraphs: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary party. Behind each opportunist development in the history of the workers movement, and especially Stalinism, is the revision of Marxist theory. The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary theory in the past, the struggle for the FI and the International Committee, constitute the only basis for the initiative which led to this rally and for the struggle to build the international revolutionary youth movement. It is necessary for revolutionary youth everywhere to devote itself to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms in which it is expressed in the workers movement. This is the only basis on which can be fought the dangers of adventurism, activism, and 'pure' militancy with which Maoists and revisionists mislead the youth and which can only lead the working class to historic defeats."

From 1952, Lora's POR became the main support of Pabloism in Latin America. It is a fact that Lora supported

the MNR in 1952, and that afterwards when the MNR began its offensive against the Bolivian working class and in particular the miners, the POR centered all its hopes on the left wing of the MNR. In the "Trade-union Theses of the POR," Lora develops his strategy of support for the left wing of the MNR against the right wing. That is a grotesque version of the policy of Stalin on the Chinese Kuomintang which in both cases had no other content than the preparation of the defeat of the working class.

Later on, Lora gave unconditional support to Castro's petty bourgeois government, capitulated completely to the guerrillas and preached a policy of entrism into them. In his pamphlet, *A Revaluation of the Guerrilla Method*, Lora writes: "The POR, from a position of clandestine organization, stated that it was putting on one side the discussion on the position occupied by the guerrillas in the revolutionary struggle in order to give them its determined support." The POR manifesto on Che's guerrilla claims: "The guerrilla is no less than the people's method of struggle against the anti-popular 'entreguista' gorillas...." Further on, it states: "At this moment when everyone is taking sides, the POR publicly states that it is in solidarity with and supports the guerrilla movement which, according to official sources, has just broken out in the south-east of the country. This attitude is adopted without previous consideration of its strength or weakness, its virtues or defects. The guerrilla fighters despite all the limitations they might have, are part of the advanced army of the people. Their objectives are national and social liberation and they are in the service of progress and the advance of history."

Logically, Lora abandons the building of the independent revolutionary party and replaces it with guerrilla warfare. Lora plumbs the depths of opportunism when he states that "the guerrilla movement seems to signify a return to early Bolshevism," and postulated entry into the guerrilla, arguing that "the Bolivian situation wants another type of guerrilla, that results from the United Front of all working class tendencies."

It was only after the guerrilleros themselves rejected the overtures of the POR that Lora criticized them: "This sick, absurd anti-Trotskyism characterized the training of the guerrillas and the attempts which were made to justify them technically. The result of this was to leave the POR on one side in obedience to orders which had come from afar and they closed the doors to any further participation."

The continuous conscious refusal to struggle for independent revolutionary leadership, and adaptation to the union bureaucracies and reformist, Stalinist and petty bourgeois leaderships have been the constant factors in the existence of the POR. This became clear in a very sharp way in the moments before and after the Banzer coup, as we shall see later, and the only reason for this is the POR's complete break with Marxism, which was both cause and effect of its support for Pabloite revisionism from 1952 and its break with the Fourth International.

For Lora, the revolutionary party is a product of the spontaneous development of the mass movement. All the centrist tendencies come together on this point and it is through this argument that they justify their adaptation to the traditional leaderships in the workers movement and their refusal to fight against them. In es-

(Continued On Page 12)

THE BOLIVIAN WORKING class has a rich tradition of revolutionary struggle against capitalism and imperialism. The armed tin miners have been at the center of the struggle of the working class of Latin America since the early 1950s. At the same time no working class has suffered more from betrayals of leadership, which have brought about first the Barrientos military dictatorship and now the Banzer dictatorship.

Today Bolivian workers fight on against tremendous odds. On October 30 workers held a massive demonstration in La Paz protesting against the 40 percent devaluation of the peso.

Carrying banners denouncing the government as "fascist and anti-union," workers stopped traffic at the city's center. One worker was killed and several wounded when the police fired into the crowd. Workers responded with a 24 hour General Strike and fighting was reported in the working class quarters of La Paz.

The movement of the Bolivian working class today coincides with the deepening crisis of world capitalism. This in turn has made the already tenuous position of the Bolivian and other South American national capitalists completely impossible.

#### CRUMBLING

Inflation and unemployment rages throughout Latin America. A working class which has grown in size in the period of the 1950s and 1960s now moves to defend itself against these new attacks. The capitalist class, their American imperialist backers, and their petty bourgeois followers must resort to brutal military regimes in a desperate attempt to hold on to their crumbling system.

The stage is now set for revolutionary explosions throughout Latin America. It is not a matter of a single country or the movement of isolated guerrillas. The explosions cannot be forestalled by Allende (Chilean President)-type popular fronts nor "left"-looking military dictatorships as in Peru today, and Bolivia under Torres yesterday.

The critical need of the moment in Latin America is the construction of independent revolutionary parties of the working class, constructed on the international perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International. This means starting from the whole history of the struggle within the Fourth International for Marxist philosophy against revisionism. The Bolivian struggle itself is the clearest expression and proof of this.

Because the position of the capitalists has been so bankrupt for so long in Latin America, the position of Stalinism that the revolution must be a two-staged one requiring support to the "progressive" bourgeoisie at this point has been widely rejected.

In these conditions there have emerged centrist tendencies which criticize Stalinism in the name of Trotskyism but which refuse to go over to a revolutionary perspective based on the international strategy of the Fourth International. Such tendencies function as a dangerous and reactionary cover for nationalism and Stalinism at a time when the movement of the working class constantly surges beyond these leaderships.

Such a tendency is the Bolivian POR of Guillermo Lora. Lora, like the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in Ceylon, never started from the construction of the Fourth International. He has always rejected the fundamental proposition of Marxism that the construction of a revolutionary party in a single country can only proceed as part of the construction of the international party itself. This in turn is primarily a theoretical task which requires the conscious development of Marxist theory through the struggle to build the national sections and combat re-

Statement of the  
International Committee  
of the Fourth Inter-  
national

# BOLIVIA: Year Two Of The Banzer Dictatorship



Above: Banzer's tanks rumble through heart of La Paz during Textile strike. Right: Nationalist MNR prepares to welcome Banzer as he returns.



visionism.

Instead Lora has seen his role as one of reflecting the movement in Bolivia, of developing or influencing what the movement is. Thus in 1952 he supported the petty bourgeois nationalist MNR of Estensoro Paz. Later, as the Paz government came into collision with the Bolivian working class, he shifted his support to the left wing of the MNR under labor bureaucrat Juan Lechin.

Still later, with the demagogic rise of Castroism, a form of radicalism of the petty bourgeoisie, Lora shifted once again to support guerrillism. As guerrillism receded from the scene because of its inability to take forward the struggle of the working class in any way against national capitalism and imperialism, Lora broke with Castroism, at least partially, and sought an alliance with the Communist Party of Bolivia and the forces around Lechin once again.

To Lora, the Fourth International existed to assist him in his adaptations.

In 1952 he fully supported Michel Pablo against the International Committee. He later broke but only in order to carry out his opportunism independently.

In the 1960s, in the midst of his adaptation to Castro, he fused with the Pabloites once more.

His attempt to affiliate with the International Committee in 1970 represented not a break from his past policies, but the desire for a new international cover for what was to become his greatest betrayal of the Bolivian working class. This the International Committee refused to give him, despite continuous pressure from the Organization Communists Internationaliste (OCI) of France.

In August 1971 Colonel Banzer, supported by the MNR and the fascist Falange parties, overthrew the Torres regime in just three days. The unarmed working class faced a modern army equip-

ped by U.S. imperialism with the latest weapons. Torres' army disintegrated and went over to Banzer. Torres refused to give arms in any number to the workers. The workers' parties, including Lora's POR, having left the working class unprepared and leaderless, went into hiding or exile.

#### LEFT COVER

At that time we published an assessment of these events in the *Bulletin*, organ of the Workers League, and in *Workers Press*, organ of the Socialist Labour League. We stated:

"Lora, in collaboration with the Bolivian Stalinists and with the agreement of the Bolivian and international Pabloites, failed to fight at any point for the overthrow of the Torres military regime. Thus he, along with the rest of the Popular Assembly, acted as a left cover for Torres while the rightwing element in Torres' own army prepared and finally executed their coup.

"Lora," we stated, "must share responsibility in the recent rightist coup."

The reaction of the OCI, however, was different. Immediately they issued hysterical declarations, distributed publicly throughout Paris, solidarizing themselves in a completely uncritical way with Lora and denouncing the majority of the International Committee. They stated:

"At the head of the Bolivian workers was the POR, armed with the program of the Fourth International, steeped in dozens of years of determined struggle for the proletarian revolution against nationalism, against Stalinism, against Pabloite revisionism and against all forms of petty bourgeois ideas, such as guerrillism, deeply entrenched in the most combative section of the Bolivian proletariat. Because the party prepared this struggle, it was prepared for it, and was able to seize the occasion and, at each

stage of the revolutionary process, it developed the conditions for the working class to take power...

"Today, the leadership of certain organizations of the International Committee, like the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, lacking clarity precisely on the question of the strategy for the conquest of power and the reconstruction of the Fourth International, have given in to enormous pressure in attacking the POR."

Those who collaborated to the end with the Stalinists, who never broke with Torres but in fact requested him to give the workers arms, are characterized as developing "the conditions for the working class to take power," while we who condemned this betrayal, fellow members and supporters of the International Committee, were condemned for lacking "clarity" on the strategy for the conquest of power!

The French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste provided Guillermo Lora with rationalizations for the betrayals by his party, the POR, during the Bolivian right-wing military coup of Hugo Banzer two years ago.

They did this by their distortions of the tactic of the United Front and their unprincipled defense of the Popular Assembly—organ of the Popular Front in Bolivia.

Lora helped to betray the Bolivian revolution (with the Stalinists), but the OCI embellishes the betrayal and presents the defeat to the European workers as if it were an inevitable and accomplished fact; the terminal development in an objective process beyond the control of any party or group leaders. By implication they blame the workers and peasants for the defeat.

This method of belittling the revolutionary potential of the working class is but the reverse side of the "theory"—Menshevik to the core—which



returns for coup d'etat. In 1952, Lora supported MNR and delivered to them support of thousands of peasants.

Wide World Photo

exaggerates the power of the national bourgeoisie and helps to paralyze the will of the vanguard.

This reformist argument is unambiguously stated in the OCI draft statement to their international pre-conference:

"...in 1963 at the Reorganization Congress of the Pabloites and organizations which, with the SWP, split with the IC, some documents on the 'colonial revolution' were adopted. To justify their capitulation to the petty bourgeois nationalists in the colonial and semi-colonial countries Pabloism established 'as a general social tendency, the numerical and economic weakness of the national bourgeoisie.'

"The mistake had also been made until 1958 by the French majority in the PCI...The theoretical mistake was obvious: Marxism teaches the following: however weak it is, numerically and economically, the bourgeoisie is powerful because of the power of its links with world imperialism."

#### SINISTER ROLE

'La Correspondance International' June 1972.

It is this Menshevik "theory" that is behind the opposition of the OCI to any support to the NLF in Vietnam and to their political patronage to the Menshevik policies of the POR in Bolivia.

Marxism, on the contrary, says that the national bourgeoisie is weak not only because of its belated development, but above all, because of the historical decline of world imperialism. To question this basic principle is to revise the historic prognosis of Lenin and Trotsky. This is precisely the role of the OCI.

In this the OCI needs no assistance even from the Stalinists. In doing this and in providing a convenient public forum for Lora in France, the OCI leaders have revealed the sinister role of centrism and

its shameless capitulation to Stalinism and bourgeois-nationalism.

The Bolivian events have proved in a tragic way that those who make a fetish of the program, as the OCI do, and use it as an alternative to the struggle for theory, are always the first to betray the program.

The International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) states that there can be no struggle for program without a simultaneous development of dialectical theory. The history of the struggle against every variety of revisionism has shown that the struggle to defend the program is inseparably connected with and subordinate to the struggle for perspective—a struggle which is impossible without the development of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the party.

In 1951-1953 Pablo proposed to abandon the Transitional Program of the FI, because he replaced the historical perspective of Trotsky with his middle-class theory of 'war-revolution,' 'liberalization of the bureaucracy' and 'centuries of degenerated workers states.'

The struggle against Pablo was much more than a fight for program. It was a struggle for a correct method of orientation. Today under essentially the same pressures, but under more critical objective conditions, the OCI-POR try to liquidate the FI and revise its program by attacking the foundations of Marxist theory and the concept of the revolutionary party—both of which are integral to a correct perspective.

#### UNPREPARED

As in 1953 the same question is posed by these unprincipled factionalists and opportunists: can socialist consciousness develop in the working class without a constant struggle waged by the revolutionary party armed with Marxist theory against bourgeois consciousness? We say unequivocally that the road adopted by the OCI-POR is the road of opportunist-centrist adaptation of the spontaneous labor movement to bourgeois consciousness and leads—inexorably—to betrayal and defeat. That is why in May-June 1968 in France and in August 1971 in Bolivia, historic events of the most favorable variety for building the party and International found these revisionist groups unprepared organizationally and disoriented politically.

Like the ILP and SAP in the 1930's, these groups are nothing more than 'left' appendages of Social Democracy or Stalinism; intermediate centrist groups which are not pledges for the future, but decayed survivals of the past.

The ICFI takes its stand with Trotsky against these middle-class liquidators of Marxism who serve the objective needs of monopoly capitalism and its Stalinist, reformist and petty-bourgeois agencies.

As the Transitional Program states: "The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats and consciously prepare for victory."

This tradition is completely opposed to the systematic centrist adaptation to bourgeois pressure, to the demagogic cover-up of defeats and the prostration before Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism which characterizes the POR and OCI.

It is indeed no accident that Lora—the revisionist who faithfully carried out Pablo's class-collaborationist line in the 1952 Bolivian revolution—should find himself in fraternal solidarity with the OCI leaders in derailing the most promising development in Bolivia in the last two decades.

The support which the OCI gave to Lora was motivated not by interest in the

struggle of the colonial peoples, but agreement with Lora on method and a determination to break with the International Committee, to proceed untrammelled on a course of centrism and opportunism. The OCI agreed with Lora that the role of the party was to reflect the present level of thinking of the working class, of necessity still within a bourgeois framework, rather than to conflict with it. They therefore agreed with Lora that collaboration with Stalinism on the basis of minimum agreements and compromises must replace a ruthless struggle against Stalinism.

The OCI had earlier made formally correct criticism of Lora's adaptation to Stalinism, but now ignored his continuing the same policy. Thus they agreed with Lora on the liquidation of Trotskyism! They used Lora to break from the Trotskyist movement internationally.

The fast-moving events since the split of the OCI from the International Committee fully confirm this assessment.

Immediately after a fund raising tour of France sponsored by the OCI, Lora proceeded to negotiate with the Stalinists, the Pabloites, the guerillaists, the Maoists, Lechin's supporters and...Torres himself. The result was the FRA, a popular-front formation combining workers' parties with the representatives of a section of the bourgeoisie.

Lora, quite consistently with his past practice and his method, proposed that the FRA itself will be the vehicle for the socialist revolution! "The anti-imperialist front," according to Lora, has the central aim of "the construction of socialism and the conquest of power."

Next the OCI called a special Latin American conference of its supporters (January 1972). At this conference Lora defended the FRA and insisted that it is the natural extension of the Popular Assembly and of his past activities in Bolivia. The OCI, however, tried in vain to differentiate itself from the FRA, while at the same time maintaining its support for the previous policies of the POR.

#### IMPASSE

The OCI's position was not one of principled opposition to a front with the national bourgeoisie and certainly not a call for the construction of the Trotskyist party. It maintained only that the "united anti-imperialist front" should be organized by the "united workers' front." The conference came to a complete impasse.

Then followed the pre-conference meeting of the OCI's split-off from the International Committee. Lora's POR did not even honor the gathering by sending a representative to attend! The main business of the conference was to declare that not only is the Fourth International dead in general but so also is the International Committee in particular!

In less than a year the full logic of the events of August 1971 has worked itself out, pushed ahead by the swift pace of the capitalist crisis and the international class struggle. The issue in August 1971 was whether or not we proceed to construct Trotskyist parties on the basis of a turn towards Marxist philosophy, breaking from Stalinism and nationalism, or liquidate Trotskyism completely into centrist amalgams with those who betray the working class.

The Fourth International will now be built by those who absorb completely the lessons of the Bolivian events. The renewed movement of the Bolivian masses indicates once again the determination of the working class in Latin America to destroy once and for all imperialism and its native capitalist henchmen. The movement of the workers in Latin America pushes spontaneously beyond the existing leaderships. But precisely at that point it must fall back if a conscious leadership is not constructed.

The horrors of fascism are in store if the task of constructing this leadership is not immediately undertaken. The International Committee is confronting this task.



Nationalist MNR prepares to welcome Banzer as he returns for coup d'etat. In 1952, Lora supported MNR and delivered to them support of thousands of peasants.

Wide World Photo

stage of the revolutionary process, it developed the conditions for the working class to take power...

"Today, the leadership of certain organizations of the International Committee, like the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, lacking clarity precisely on the question of the strategy for the conquest of power and the reconstruction of the Fourth International, have given in to enormous pressure in attacking the POR."

Those who collaborated to the end with the Stalinists, who never broke with Torres but in fact requested him to give the workers arms, are characterized as developing "the conditions for the working class to take power," while we who condemned this betrayal, fellow members and supporters of the International Committee, were condemned for lacking "clarity" on the strategy for the conquest of power!

The French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste provided Guillermo Lora with rationalizations for the betrayals by his party, the POR, during the Bolivian right-wing military coup of Hugo Banzer two years ago.

They did this by their distortions of the tactic of the United Front and their unprincipled defense of the Popular Assembly—organ of the Popular Front in Bolivia.

Lora helped to betray the Bolivian revolution (with the Stalinists), but the OCI embellishes the betrayal and presents the defeat to the European workers as if it were an inevitable and accomplished fact; the terminal development in an objective process beyond the control of any party or group leaders. By implication they blame the workers and peasants for the defeat.

This method of belittling the revolutionary potential of the working class is but the reverse side of the "theory"—Menshevik to the core—which

exaggerates the power of the national bourgeoisie and helps to paralyze the will of the vanguard.

This reformist argument is unambiguously stated in the OCI draft statement to their international pre-conference:

"...in 1963 at the Reorganization Congress of the Pabloites and organizations which, with the SWP, split with the IC, some documents on the 'colonial revolution' were adopted. To justify their capitulation to the petty bourgeois nationalists in the colonial and semi-colonial countries Pabloism established 'as a general social tendency, the numerical and economic weakness of the national bourgeoisie.'

"The mistake had also been made until 1958 by the French majority in the PCI...The theoretical mistake was obvious: Marxism teaches the following: however weak it is, numerically and economically, the bourgeoisie is powerful because of the power of its links with world imperialism."

#### SINISTER ROLE

'La Correspondance International' June 1972.

It is this Menshevik "theory" that is behind the opposition of the OCI to any support to the NLF in Vietnam and to their political patronage to the Menshevik policies of the POR in Bolivia.

Marxism, on the contrary, says that the national bourgeoisie is weak not only because of its belated development, but above all, because of the historical decline of world imperialism. To question this basic principle is to revise the historic prognosis of Lenin and Trotsky. This is precisely the role of the OCI.

In this the OCI needs no assistance even from the Stalinists. In doing this and in providing a convenient public forum for Lora in France, the OCI leaders have revealed the sinister role of centrism and

its shameless capitulation to Stalinism and bourgeois-nationalism.

The Bolivian events have proved in a tragic way that those who make a fetish of the program, as the OCI do, and use it as an alternative to the struggle for theory, are always the first to betray the program.

The International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) states that there can be no struggle for program without a simultaneous development of dialectical theory. The history of the struggle against every variety of revisionism has shown that the struggle to defend the program is inseparably connected with and subordinate to the struggle for perspective—a struggle which is impossible without the development of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the party.

In 1951-1953 Pablo proposed to abandon the Transitional Program of the FI, because he replaced the historical perspective of Trotsky with his middle-class theory of 'war-revolution,' 'liberalization of the bureaucracy' and 'centuries of degenerated workers states.'

The struggle against Pablo was much more than a fight for program. It was a struggle for a correct method of orientation. Today under essentially the same pressures, but under more critical objective conditions, the OCI-POR try to liquidate the FI and revise its program by attacking the foundations of Marxist theory and the concept of the revolutionary party—both of which are integral to a correct perspective.

#### UNPREPARED

As in 1953 the same question is posed by these unprincipled factionalists and opportunists: can socialist consciousness develop in the working class without a constant struggle waged by the revolutionary party armed with Marxist theory against bourgeois consciousness? We say unequivocally that the road adopted by the OCI-POR is the road of opportunist-centrist adaptation of the spontaneous labor movement to bourgeois consciousness and leads—inexorably—to betrayal and defeat. That is why in May-June 1968 in France and in August 1971 in Bolivia, historic events of the most favorable variety for building the party and International found these revisionist groups unprepared organizationally and distorted politically.

Like the ILP and SAP in the 1930's, these groups are nothing more than 'left' appendages of Social Democracy or Stalinism; intermediate centrist groups which are not pledges for the future, but decayed survivals of the past.

The ICFI takes its stand with Trotsky against these middle-class liquidators of Marxism who serve the objective needs of monopoly capitalism and its Stalinist, reformist and petty-bourgeois agencies.

As the Transitional Program states: "The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats and consciously prepare for victory."

This tradition is completely opposed to the systematic centrist adaptation to bourgeois pressure, to the demagogic cover-up of defeats and the prostration before Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism which characterizes the POR and OCI.

It is indeed no accident that Lora—the revisionist who faithfully carried out Pablo's class-collaborationist line in the 1952 Bolivian revolution—should find himself in fraternal solidarity with the OCI leaders in derailing the most promising development in Bolivia in the last two decades.

The support which the OCI gave to Lora was motivated not by interest in the

(Continued From Page 9)

sence, the OCI uses the same argument when it says that we are in a period of "imminent revolution" which "proceeds through different stages and in different forms to the International Soviet Republic," and in which parties and leaderships will "correspond" to this "process." Consequently, if there exists an "objective process" towards socialism, what is the point of a party, the International, the development of Marxist theory?

In the book *Perspectives for the Bolivian Revolution*, Lora states that "the exploited, when they reach a certain level of maturity express quite clearly their central objective: the constitution of their own government and to cease being material for political movements which are alien to it. The existence of the POR is justified because it expresses this basic tendency..." Thus, the party is reduced to "expressing" a supposed "objective tendency" which is produced spontaneously in the workers movement, a conception which is opposed to the Marxist conception that "the spontaneous development of the workers' movement leads directly to subordination to bourgeois ideology" (Lenin: *What Is To Be Done?*) and that "socialist consciousness is something introduced from outside into the class struggle of the proletariat, and not something which has developed spontaneously from this struggle."

In the document, headed "Methods of Struggle" (presented by the POR to the "Latin American Conference"), it is maintained that "the party does not reject or turn its back on spontaneous actions but links up with them and works with determination to give them a clear political content, to make them conscious."

Here again the POR, now with the complicity of the OCI, develops its opportunist conceptions which, if taken to their extreme, would mean that the proletariat could spontaneously carry through the revolution, build socialism etc. and that the purpose of the party is to make "conscious" what workers have already done unconsciously. All this verbiage is but the political reflection of adaptation to the state of mind of the masses and an explicit rejection of the idea of assuming the role of the conscious vanguard in the class struggle. It was with such arguments that Lora refused to put forward the call for a workers government because—according to him—the "masses had still not made it their demand" and to put it forward would be to "isolate oneself" from the masses. Once more we have the classic "it is necessary to link up with the masses" or "we must not be sectarian," which throughout the workers movement has always been the political justification of the centrists to revise Marxism. As Lenin said, that means "the refusal to be the vanguard in order to become the rear-guard."

The struggle of the party to introduce class consciousness into the proletariat is the struggle against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class, that is, the particular forms which bourgeois ideology acquires in the workers movement. Without a struggle by the party to develop and defend Marxist theory and method, dialectical materialism as a theory of knowledge, it is impossible to confront all the ideological pressures of the enemy class and equally it is impossible to develop Marxist theory without struggling against bourgeois ideology.

The development of class consciousness is a dialectical process which takes place through this permanent struggle of opposites. When Lora or the OCI affirm that Marxism is the "generalization of the experiences of the workers movement" or that "the Transitional Program is the highest expression of Marxism," it is with the object of consciously abandoning the theoretical training of their own cadres, by denying the struggle for revolutionary leadership and sinking their militants into pure activism and syndicalism.

The struggle to introduce socialist consciousness into the workers movement, which is the struggle to build independent revolutionary parties on an international scale, has been since 1953 the central struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Outside the International Committee there is absolutely no possibility of building revolutionary parties. The opportunist path of the POR from 1950 and its constant capitulation to

the traditional working class leaderships and petty bourgeois parties only corroborates the theoretical conclusions which the IC drew at the time of the "reunification" of the Socialist Workers Party with the Pabloites. The IC stated:

**"The struggle for the dialectic is the struggle to build the world party in every country. One cannot take place without the other. Dialectical materialism can only be understood and developed in the struggle to build the party against all enemies. The party can only be built if there is a conscious struggle for dialectical materialism against the ideas of the other classes."**

In Latin America, the political bankruptcy of the national bourgeoisies has been so great that it has been relatively easy for political groups to appear that are formally opposed to the Stalinist theory of "revolution in two stages," according to which the first of which would be supposedly led by the national bourgeoisie. However, such groups—which in some cases have even called themselves "Trotskyists" and supporters of the theory of the Permanent Revolution—have in neither case constituted an alternative revolutionary leadership for the proletariat, but have, on the contrary, invariably capitulated to petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies.

In Peru, the most typical example is



Lenin and Trotsky

Ismael Frias who today is a functionary of the military dictatorship, an apologist for SINAMOS and a bitter anti-Marxist in the "Nueva Cronica" and who used to call himself a Marxist and a Trotskyist. Frias himself has stated in an interview for television that he was first a supporter of APRA and that when "he realized that APRA had capitulated to imperialism, he became a Trotskyist." The logic of Frias is in no way alien to all the groups we are referring to which are today developing in the same way. Thus, today, the POMR talks about "petty bourgeois nationalism capitulating to imperialism" and that the proletariat has to "continue the process."

Without exception, all these tendencies give a limited or unlimited "anti-imperialist character" to the nationalist parties. With such views, all these pseudo-Trotskyist groups are transformed de facto into the "left" of the national bourgeoisies, and, consequently, into elements hostile to the working class, putting a brake on its political development and allowing Stalinism to cement its counterrevolutionary leadership.

In reference to APRA and Haya de la Torre, Frias affirmed, when he described himself as Trotskyist, that: "Haya has not denied Marxism but reneged on it" (Ismael Frias *The Peruvian Revolution*) arguing that Haya was once a Marxist and then gave it up. From this position to Frias' present position of ideologist and apologist for the corporatist tendencies in the military dictatorship, there is no capitulation but in fact a quite logical development. The present positions of Frias can be found in the writings of his "Trotskyist" period and no political or theoretical break has been necessary for him to change into a champion of SINAMOS.

In 1957, Frias stated that "bourgeois or petty bourgeois anti-imperialism is condemned to impotence and to be changed

into shame-faced support for imperialism;" the POMR declares: "The capitulation of bourgeois nationalists to imperialism is in their very nature" and, the Bolivian POR: "the attempt of bourgeois nationalists to carry through democratic reforms is condemned to failure." That means, with a slight variation in words, Frias, POMR and the POR all said the same thing and all ended up capitulating to the bourgeoisie. Trotsky stated that the mere act of talking about "capitulation" or "betrayal" by the bourgeoisie through a party calling itself "Marxist" is itself capitulation not by the bourgeoisie but of that party since such "bourgeois capitulation" can only exist in the heads of revisionist traitors.

The revolutionary party can harbor no illusions in any section of the bourgeoisie. The strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party can never be based on the support of any section of the bourgeoisie but on the liquidation of the bourgeoisie as a whole. This does not mean that Marxists do not take into account the different sections of the bourgeoisie but they recognize that neither side of these contradictions has a progressive content and that only the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat intensifies to the maximum these contradictions and opens up revolutionary situations which center on the struggle for power.

supported by the fascists. Lora not only never posed the struggle against General Torres or the slogan "Down with Torres," which would have opened up the perspective of a workers government, but did quite the opposite: he declared that Torres would arm the Bolivian proletariat. In his book *From The Popular Assembly to the Fascist Coup*, Lora says that "at that time the general idea—shared by the Marxists—was that arms would be handed over by the military government." With this treacherous policy, Lora disarmed the Bolivian proletariat politically and physically handing it over as cannon fodder to Banzer's troops and the fascists.

Such a betrayal was already implicit in the "Political Thesis of the COB" nourished and supported by the POR. When the proletariat made a gain and forced the bourgeoisie to retreat, Lora never saw an advance of the working class but rather of the progressive bourgeoisie. The inverted image of reality presented by Lora made the bourgeoisie seem real benefactors of the working class and not the class enemy which has to be liquidated. It should be no surprise that Lora should pursue a policy of "alliances," "fronts" and "support" for the national bourgeoisie, rather than posing the struggle against it.

The "Political Thesis of the COB" was the result of a compromise between the POR and the Bolivian Communist Party. Politically the Theses were through and through petty bourgeois nationalist and, as such, blocked any independent development of the proletariat. Passed in May 1970, they were incapable of giving the working class an independent perspective in September of that same year when, because of the advance of the proletariat, Ovando was forced to resign as was the military triumvirate presided over by General Miranda. The revolutionary crisis which opened up—and which was expressed in the fact that because of the general strike within a week four presidents were forced to resign—was betrayed by the POR and allowed General Torres to take over power.

The coming to power of Torres did not mean, however, a defeat of the proletariat. Quite the contrary, the immense power accumulated by the working class forced the bourgeoisie to retreat to such a point that Torres—to take and to keep power—had to grant big concessions to the proletariat. It was only through these concessions and the absence of a revolutionary leadership that the bourgeoisie could hang on to power in October 1970.

The POR, far from posing a struggle against Torres, capitulated to him and characterized him as "progressive." The correct thing would have been to pose from the start the struggle against Torres and in this way intensify revolutionary development which would allow the proletariat to move towards taking power.

With the Thesis of the COB, the Bolivian proletariat was condemned however to adapting to Torres and Ovando and then to defeat at the hands of the army and the fascists. A paragraph of the Thesis says: "The present process is contradictory while the government on the one hand takes anti-imperialist progressive measures, on the other it adopts pro-imperialist measures contrary to popular national interests. The proletariat supports everything which is positive for the emancipation of our people and at the same time, criticizes and fights against those measures which are against the masses, by struggling to impose new anti-imperialist measures."

This policy, the policy of "critical support," is transformed inevitably into its opposite in a situation of intensification of the class struggle as in Bolivia, since each retreat of the bourgeoisie is seen as a progressive measure of the bourgeoisie and leads not to the proletariat breaking with petty bourgeois nationalism but with it being further subjected to it. This is but the consistent development of the opportunist politics which led Lora to state that "Torres will give arms to the working class" and that "the governments of Velasco and Allende would defend the Bolivian Workers State." As is well known, Torres did not give arms to the proletariat and Velasco and Allende did not even defend the bourgeois government of Torres.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

# Cliff Slaughter Film

Joseph Losey's film *The Assassination of Trotsky* is a distortion of the life and work of Leon Trotsky. The distortion arises because Losey himself, like so many artists and intellectuals a supporter of Stalinism in the 1930s and long after, refused and still refuses to make any real evaluation of the political meaning of Stalinism and Trotsky's struggle against it.

Whether Losey likes it or not, the product is politically a film which directly assists Stalinism, by obscuring its real role and by reducing Trotsky to the level of a played-out eccentric who met his death through a chance crossing of the ways with an assassin.

A film which so thoroughly distorts the historical reality, which ignores the real forces driving the characters, cannot but be a failure, even as "entertainment." It has no chance of qualifying as art, the first criterion of which is truth.

However Losey's work has produced a reaction among certain revisionists which is very revealing. Leading members of the "Unified Secretariat" in Paris, which sets itself up as an alternative Trotskyist movement to the International Committee of the Fourth International, have leapt to Losey's defense...in the name of the freedom of the artist!

Pierre Frank, for many years the leading spokesman of the Pabloite revisionists in France, writes (in the *Ligue Communiste's* weekly *Rouge*): "Losey did not intend to make a political film and has not made an anti-Trotsky film."

This apparently excuses everything, and indeed Frank ends by insisting that filmmakers "like ourselves have every right to make mistakes!"

Frank's collaborator, Michel Lequenne, *Rouge's* "expert" on questions of art and culture, explains their position even more openly. (He is replying to a correspondent of *Rouge* who attacked the film.)

Lequenne's piece is entitled, "The work of a great filmmaker" and runs:

"The criticism of Sabathe and Nicello is terrorist. It is a criticism made by disillusioned militants. But an explanation is not enough. The Marxist criticism of this film which honors Losey remains to be done at every level in the work of this great filmmaker, in the epoch of the renaissance of Trotskyism which we are experiencing, in its relation to a general public which, in its vast majority, ignores the historical facts in question.

"Neither Marx nor Lenin has until now met a poet of their stature. That is not just mere chance, but the result of the historic relation of the proletariat to culture. The Losey film, like the recent work by Peter Weiss, is an event which shows that the basis of the world is changing. Such works have a place in the problematic of uniting the revolutionary proletariat with the intelligentsia. It is useless to point out that a criticism like that of our comrades is no contribution to this." (*Rouge* 156.)

First of all, why the epithet "terrorist?" It is fashionable among certain middle class intellectuals in France to brand as "terrorist" anyone who demands that their opinions and work are criticized from the standpoint of principle, and particularly the standpoint of the proletarian revolution.

So Lequenne is really fighting to make sure that *Rouge* faithfully prostitutes "Trotskyism" (i.e., Trotskyist phrases) to the requirements of these centrists, and on no account offend them by anything that even looks like paying attention to the working class and Marxism.

Next Lequenne demands an ap-

# Revisionism & The Assassination Of Trotsky

preciation of the film, "as film," as 'art,' "honoring" a great filmmaker.

This needs disentangling: it is deliberately designed to confuse the issue. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky certainly always fought against any vulgar conception that a writer or artist be judged by his explicit political opinions and insisted that his work be judged by literary or artistic standards.

But what are these standards? A creative work must illuminate the truth about the objective world. The writer or filmmaker may select and work on only one "aspect" of this world, but his greatness consists of the way in which he creates compelling images of its relation to the whole historical movement of which it is part.

What Losey does in this film is the opposite. He presumably claims to be portraying the meaning of death, of the tension involved in final decisions, of the nature of personal violence. But he abstracts these things from the real historical forces which produce them, shape them and determine their results.

He therefore cannot see individuals as representative of historic forces, internally torn in some cases by the conflict of these forces. On the contrary, his "psychological" presentation obscures the specific historic forces which form the real drive and tension to the events he portrays.

If this needs saying in reply to those who celebrate the supposed artistic or dramatic merit of Losey's film, it needs a million times more emphasis because Losey did after all choose a definite historical subject, the Stalinist bureaucracy's murder of Trotsky!

The revisionists are telling us that the truth about this—the most burning issue of our time!—must be placed second to the "art" of the filmmaker. The details of the assassination are therefore just an assortment of elements from which the filmmaker can select and make what he wants of them! This is exactly what the petty bourgeois centrists want to do with the traditions and theory of the workers' movement!

Lequenne goes further. His reference to "the general public which, in its vast majority, ignores the historical facts in question." The ignorance of the masses is invoked to justify the capitulation to bourgeois ideology.

Film is a medium which can reach many millions of people all over the world. It does not bear the same relationship to the masses as the traditional art forms (poetry, drama, music, the novel). Even without considering the effects of massive capital investment on films and filmmaking, it is necessary to understand that every film, particularly on a political subject like this one, has an immediate effect on consciousness, as well as being itself a reflection in consciousness of society's conflicts.

The working class today is forced by the crisis into struggles which demand, above all, that the question of alternative revolutionary leadership is raised and resolved.

To build such a leadership, against Stalinism, means bringing forward the whole theory and history of Trotsky and Trotskyism, which now have a changed meaning for the actual lives of millions. A film now which distorts this plays a very reactionary role.

The powerlessness of the ex-Stalinist petty bourgeois to really overcome their past and subordinate themselves to the proletarian revolution results in frustration and speculation, and among these results is Losey's film.

## EXPOSED

Revisionism prostitutes Marxism to crawl to this disintegration of bourgeois ideology and its bureaucratic assistants. This is exactly the source in past historical stages of "left" intellectual circles producing the elements of extreme right-wing ideologies.

Joseph Hansen was one of Trotsky's bodyguards at the time of the assassination. He is today a leader of the Socialist Workers Party which itself capitulated in 1963 to the revisionist Unified Secretariat



Joseph Hansen, then Trotsky's bodyguard, shields Natalya at Trotsky's funeral.

of Pierre Frank.

But Hansen writes an entirely different review from that of Lequenne and Frank. He exposes the historical inaccuracies of the film, he easily shows up Losey's abysmal political ignorance (Losey says he was "surprised" to find Trotsky was for defense of the Soviet Union, and that the theory of permanent revolution consisted only of "a few lines!"), and he rightly says that Losey's version of the assassination corresponded to the 1930s Stalinist versions of Trotsky and his role.

Now the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France, ex-section of the International Committee, has written in its *Informations Ouvrieres*, drawing attention to these conflicting interpretations.

"Joseph Hansen engages in a systematic demolition of Losey's film which can only appear as a severe polemic against Frank and his expert on literature, the ineffable Lequenne.

"The interest of this polemic is, of course, that Joseph Hansen was one of Trotsky's bodyguards in Mexico, but also that Hansen is one of the main leaders of the SWP, an organization which in principle is 'in political solidarity' with the Unified Secretariat."

The OCI leaders, in their haste to ingratiate themselves with the politics of Mr. Hansen, conveniently leave out the most Philistine section of Hansen's far from "systematic" criticism:

"The producers, naturally (sic) were not interested in spending \$2.5 million on a film devoted to the artistic presentation of a partially reconstructed Stalinist concept of Trotsky...What the producers had in mind was a profit on their investment..."

"This brings us to the moment of truth. *The Assassination of Trotsky* stands or falls on its merits as commercial art. On this level—the profoundest one in the film—Losey may well have scored a success... (sic). The production is a bid to the market for films reeking with violence."

Hansen tries to draw some invidious distinction between the demands of the box office and the political requirements of the producer. Does such a contradiction exist?

There is no contradiction at all. In fact there is a definite correspondence between the image projected by the Stalinist-turned-liberal Losey and the criteria of those who finance the film. The violence and sense of menace only subserve the real purpose of the film which is to discredit Trotsky's politics and distort his struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership in the working class. Contrary to Hansen

there is a real connection between what is commercially profitable and what is politically necessary for the ruling class.

## SCEPTICS

The financiers of the film no doubt believed, together with Hansen, that the film would be a box office draw. But, like Hansen, they seriously overestimated the credibility of their audience and underestimated the growing awareness of politically literate workers and professional people of the fact that Trotsky was a revolutionary leader, not a pompous old bore. (In London the film lasted only three weeks.)

If the OCI today finds themselves lavishing praise on Hansen and the SWP, it is precisely because they share the same political scepticism towards the working class which is expressed in Hansen's review. In practice this means opposition to the building of a revolutionary party as an alternative to Stalinism and constant adaptation to the ideas and needs of the ruling class.

The difference between Losey and the OCI and Hansen is this: whereas Losey distorts Trotsky's life struggle to suit the prejudices of middle class Philistines, Hansen and the OCI preserve a formally accurate picture of Trotsky, the man, only in order to revise more effectively and subtly the ideas of Trotsky—the Marxist. It is not difficult to say which of these is more dangerous to the working class.

The OCI leadership knows very well that Hansen and the SWP effected their agreement of 1963 by choosing to suppress all discussion of past differences and splits. This could only result in later splits and differences, as we have seen, particularly in Sri Lanka.

Instead of prosecuting the struggle to deepen Marxist theory by taking all these developments to their roots, the OCI leaders adopt the very pragmatic method which Hansen has always used, and which has produced the present degeneration in revisionist forces.

As we have seen, what is really at stake is that the reactions of the Pabloites to the Losey film take them a step further in the direction of reaction. Through the struggle against them, we must deepen our own consciousness of the tasks and the dangers confronting the movement. Hansen sees nothing of all this.

Ignoring these basic weaknesses of Hansen's review, the OCI rushes to compound once again all the errors and the confusion which revisionism has developed in its attempts to destroy the Trotskyist movement. They will have no more success than the revisionists of the past.

BY WILLIAM VAN

## HARTFORD—Saturday 650 drivers and mechanics in the Amalgamated Transit Union went on strike against the Connecticut Company, which operates buses in Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford, serving some 100,000 riders daily.

Charles W. Abell, General Manager of the Connecticut Company, says that the company is planning to shut down, if the current injunction against any shutdown is dissolved in court today.

The company has profited over the past five years by systematically cutting personnel and raises.

The union and the company have reportedly reached agreement on a 30 percent raise for drivers who now make \$3.95 per hour. But the company insists that the state must subsidize its currently claimed losses of \$10,000 a week, if any raises are to be granted. Connecticut drivers earn a full dollar less than bus drivers in other major cities. Particularly bitter is resentment of drivers to Governor Meskill, who most feel is trying to break the union by refusing to aid the company in any way.

Pickets have been organized at the bus lines at the state capitol and the parking lot set up by the city of Hartford and the Chamber of Commerce which serves scab shuttle buses. The estimated costs of the scab service is \$1500 a day.

In court, several cases concerning the bus company are now being considered. In one case, the company is suing the state for a subsidy. In another case, the city of Stamford is attempting to break its franchise with the company. It presumably would open the way for a scab line, such as are already operative in New Britain and Waterbury.

On the picket line many drivers feel the strike could last for months.

### INJUNCTIONS

The Superior Court in Hartford had recently granted a second injunction to the cities of Hartford and New Haven against the move of E. Clayton Gengras to close down the Connecticut Company which provides bus service to these two cities as well as Stamford, Connecticut.

Following on the heels of an ongoing lockout of the Connecticut Rail and Light Drivers in Waterbury, New Britain and Bridgeport, this injunction holds only the meager promise to the three cities served by the Connecticut Company of limping through the state wide transportation crisis.

Gengras has made it clear that when the injunction draws to a close, he fully intends to reopen his bid to terminate service and throw the 524 drivers and mechanics who work for the company onto the unemployment line.

The present stage of the bus crisis has taken the appearance of a three-way conflict between the company, Governor Thomas Meskill, and the city governments, with the courts playing the role of arbiter. Underneath all of this legalistic maneuvering, however, lies the sorting out, between the local governments faced with the prospect of taking over the service, and the company unwilling to accept any loss in profit, of the exact form which the plans initiated by Clayton Gengras will take. The inevi-

table content of these plans is the most vicious attacks on the Connecticut Company drivers and mechanics' right to a union.

Since Gengras, a multimillionaire, took over the line eight years ago, the company has followed a consistent policy of increasing fares while at the same time cutting back on the routes which the company serviced. These policies, developed in conjunction with the standard wages of Connecticut Company drivers (\$3.95 per hour, a full 20 percent lower than

any wage increases and demanded a 50 percent wage cut from the drivers as well as massive state subsidies making it clear it had no intention of continuing operations.

The mood of the drivers is bitter over the present bus crisis which they say is now being turned into a "political football," and their feelings towards Gengras and his hatchet man, executive Vice President Victor Abell, are of complete hatred.

"This man Gengras is only out to make his million bucks and doesn't give a damn about us, or anybody else. The buses should be a public service. Gengras doesn't deserve to make any money out of it. Abell should be thrown out for everything he's done for Gengras against us," were the feelings of one retired driver with 21 years.

Gengras has made his million bucks and quite a bit more. Now he is exerting his efforts to mini-

agency peopled with Meskill's six year appointees all collecting the salary of \$23,000 a year.

For what service do these gentlemen receive such a fat reward? It is the role of the P.U.C. to grant franchises for bus lines and to oversee any changes in operation. It was the P.U.C. which in June granted the 5 cent fare hike and service cutbacks that have resulted in the layoffs of twenty drivers. When this decision of the commission was overruled by the Hartford Court of Appeals, which enjoined the company to continue regular services, Gengras refused to hire back a single driver.

Instead a new system of overtime has been brought in as a weapon against the drivers still working. Instead of granting overtime on a strict seniority basis the new system has introduced a situation where drivers are kept waiting to pick up the overtime only to be bumped by a

Bridgeport, the scene of the lockout against the CR & L men. Here smaller scab companies, particularly the Grey Line, have already begun to increase their operations under temporary permits, posing the possibility of their completely replacing the unionized company.

These are the real dangers facing the Connecticut Company men, the denial of their right to a job and the destruction of their union. It is the state that stands at the center of these demands.

At the same time that Meskill and Gengras maneuver for fundamental attacks on the Connecticut Company drivers and mechanics, 100,000 workers and youth who depend on the bus service are met with their cynical unconcern for anything but profit.

Three weeks ago over 150 youth from the Wilbur Cross High School in New Haven rallied outside the state Capitol to demand that Governor Meskill keep the buses running. Wilbur Cross is a working class high school whose students depend on bus service to go to school. At the rally John Thomas, a Wilbur Cross senior, told Bulletin reporters, "We are told that we must help ourselves to get ahead and that means getting an education. But how do you get an education when you can't get to school? Most of us think that Meskill is just a rich man who doesn't care, but we have to do something."

### ARROGANCE

When the students asked to speak with Governor Meskill, they were told he was too "busy" as well as that he was out of town. A few youth who went up to Meskill's offices were greeted by palin clothes policemen guarding his door.

This unabashed arrogance towards working class youth is what bus drivers must expect from Meskill also. By letting the decisions of the P.U.C. go unchallenged the leadership of the Amalgamated Transit Union has opened the gate for the complete decimation of the union. John Thompson, representative of the Connecticut drivers told Bulletin reporters, "It is Gengras' privilege to lay off drivers as he feels he must in order to stay in business." James Brown, representing New Haven drivers, agreed with Thompson and said there was nothing the union could do about layoffs.

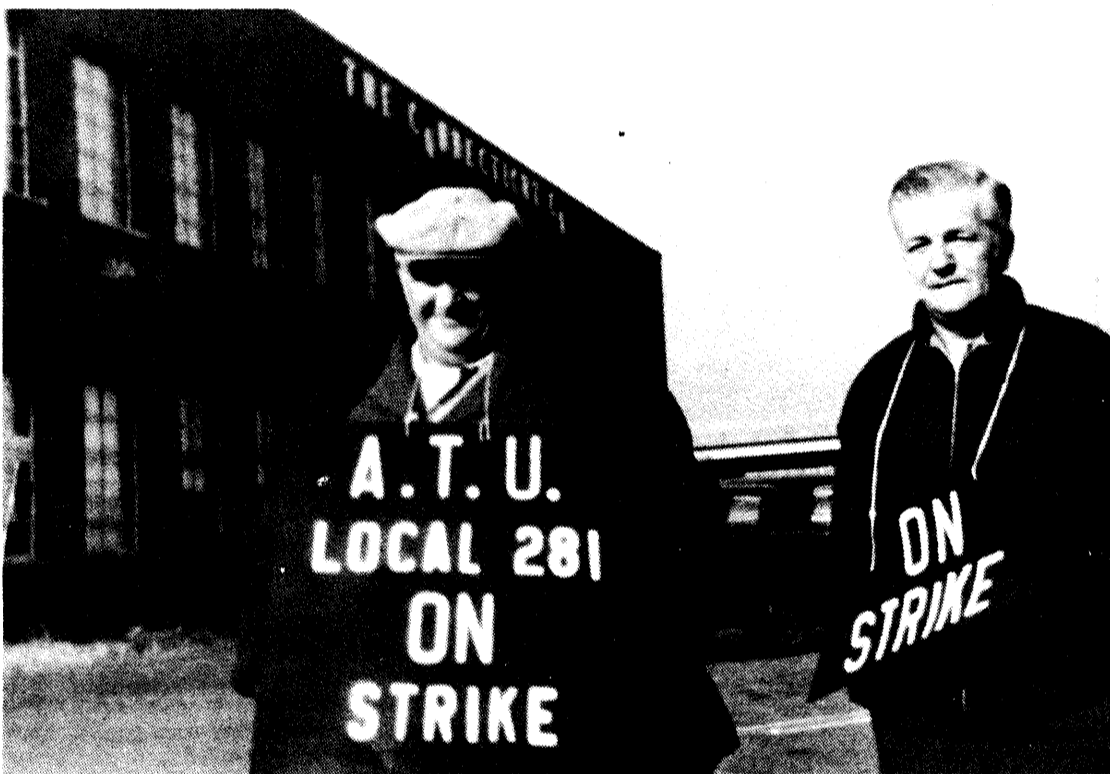
In court Gengras' lawyers are preparing for a possible takeover declaring that the company would oppose any "violation of the company's constitutional right not to have its property taken away without compensation."

It is within the present Connecticut bus crisis that the political questions, the question of a labor party is immediately raised. In order to maintain his profits, Gengras, like all his class must now turn towards brutal attacks upon the workers who produced those profits and against the 100,000 who depend on his buses for their only means of transportation.

It is no accident that Gengras' lawyers bring forward in his defense the sacred right of private ownership. It is above all his so-called right which now comes into complete collision with the right of the drivers and mechanics to a job and a union and the necessity of the workers and youth of Connecticut for mass transportation. The government takes a clear side with Gengras' right.

Only a labor party fighting for the rights of the working people and youth can defeat these attacks.

## Governor and Company Gang Up on Bus Drivers



Bus drivers and mechanics of the Amalgamated Transit Union went on strike against the Connecticut Company, which has lined up the support of Governor Meskill and the entire state apparatus to try to break the union.

average for drivers in other major cities), initially yielded handsome profits.

### LAYOFFS

From the beginning it has been the Connecticut Company drivers and mechanics who have borne the full weight of Gengras' profit-making schemes. With the cuts in service came the layoffs. Since 1969 alone union membership had dropped by close to 25 percent. According to one ex-employee, the company made a conscious policy of singling out to be axed those drivers who were only a short time away from collecting their pensions.

At the beginning of last summer Gengras' campaign against the drivers began in earnest with the layoff of ten drivers in New Haven as a brutal response to a protest against the layoffs and cutbacks. Since that time twenty more drivers and scores of bus runs have been eliminated by the company. Ten of these drivers were dumped when Gengras overbid on the Hartford school bus franchise. This was a conscious maneuver in preparation for the dumping of the company as a whole.

Shortly before the September 30th expiration date for the union's old contract the company declared itself unwilling to grant

any loss incurred in the demise of the industry whose profits he sucked dry. His hasty departure from the transportation industry is not quite the crushing blow that his protests of \$2000 in losses daily and the coverage given by the local press might lead one to believe. At this point Gengras is looking forward to devoting more time to his more profitable firm, the Security-Connecticut Life Insurance Company.

### GENGRAS

But in order to dump his company Gengras must now confront what the drivers have termed a political football. It is a game with which Gengras has some experience. A former Democrat, he switched to the Republican party to become the gubernatorial candidate in 1966. He was defeated in that contest and in 1970 lost the party's nomination to present Governor Thomas Meskill. It was revealed recently that Gengras made a contribution of \$100,000 to the Committee to Re-elect the President.

While the center of attention over the past month has been the Hartford Superior Court, there is another element in the present wrangling—the P.U.C. The Public Utilities Commission is a state

man with seniority at the last minute. In response to this pitting of the men against each other, many drivers are refusing the overtime and therefore the company is in practice now running fewer runs than even those agreed to with the P.U.C. Meanwhile the Commission has conveniently looked the other way.

### P.U.C.

It is this commission on which Meskill is now relying to "solve" the present bus crisis. While Meskill publicly denounces his former political opponent in the Republican party for "millionaire mismanagement," he quietly gives Gengras the green light for further service cuts and fare increases through the P.U.C. This body has from the beginning of the crisis placed foremost in its considerations the principle that Gengras cannot be expected to lose a thing. For obvious reasons it is towards this commission that E. Clayton Gengras has announced he will now turn.

Also within the P.U.C. lies the key to the kind of final solution to the bus crisis which would have the greatest appeal to Nixon's favorite governor. This is the power to revoke and grant bus franchises. The meaning of this power can be seen through the developments in Waterbury and



BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Max Shachtman died on November 4, 1972 at the age of 68. In the course of 50 years of activity in the socialist movement Shachtman evolved from being a leader of the early Communist Party and a founder of the American Trotskyist movement to his position at the time of his death as a supporter of Hubert Humphrey within the Democratic Party, of the American invasion of Cuba and of American intervention in Vietnam.

What is required now is an assessment of how this evolution took place so that a new generation of revolutionaries can learn from it. We cannot agree with the position of Milton Alvin in the current *Militant*:

"For those who knew him for many years Shachtman's political decline was sad to watch. At the same time this deterioration does not detract from his earlier contributions to the revolutionary movement in the Communist Party and as a founder of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International."

Shachtman started with the Russian Revolution, with Lenin and Trotsky, and he ended his life with the CIA and American imperialism. It is not a matter of sadness. This "deterioration" not only "detracts" from his earlier contributions but completely negates them. In fact his present political crimes are all the more unforgivable precisely because he began, whatever his limitations, as a revolutionist.

Shachtman died a traitor to his class and a counterrevolutionary. That is the long and the short of it.

Shachtman's role in the early Communist and Trotskyist movement was that of a speaker, writer and propagandist. In this respect he was similar to men like Jay Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe and others of the same generation who ended up in other political parties. However, such talents are insufficient for a revolutionist.

It is not enough to adhere to the correct line, formulated by others, and to utilize one's talents to effectively propagate it. Every revolutionist must begin with Marxist theory and on this basis start at all times from the working class, its problems, its situation, its development.

The critical period for Shachtman was the 1939-1940 period of crisis within the Socialist Workers Party. It was at this time that Shachtman delivered a body blow to the Trotskyist movement. If it had not been for the intervention of Trotsky the continuity of Trotskyism in the United States might have been completely ruptured.

An opposition formed within the SWP on the basis of differences on the Russian question as well as hostility to Cannon, the leader of the SWP. The main theoretical center of the opposition was James Burnham, a professor of philosophy at NYU, and an open anti-Marxist on the question of dialectics. He was assisted by Martin Abern, another founder of the Trotskyist movement, who had a long and disreputable record in the movement for clique factionalism.

Shachtman brought to this opposition the authority of the most important leader of the SWP outside of James P. Cannon himself. Without Shachtman's support the opposition could not have rallied the significant forces it did. Without Trotsky's intervention, it is doubtful if Cannon could have mustered a majority against Shachtman not to mention fighting out the issues in such a way that a political basis remained for the construction of Trotskyism in the United States and elsewhere.

Trotsky exposed the role of Shachtman as well as Burnham and Abern in his classic *In Defense of Marxism*. He exposed Shachtman's capitulation to the anti-Marxism of Burnham. In 1939 Shachtman wrote an article together with Burnham which viewed the differences between the two on dialectics as a matter of taste. "...Nor has anyone yet demonstrated," wrote Shachtman together with Burnham, "that agreement or disagreement on the more abstract doctrines of dialectic materialism affects today's and tomorrow's concrete political issues—and political parties, programs

1904-1972

# Max Shachtman & American Pragmatism



Top: Max Shachtman, once leader of IV International, with Trotsky and Natalya in Mexico. Below: With James P. Cannon when they were arrested during 1930s strikes.

and struggles are based on such concrete issues."

## FACTION

Taking this method forward into a political faction with Burnham a year later Shachtman maintained a position of agnosticism on the nature of the USSR but agreed with Burnham on the "concrete issue" of a refusal to defend the USSR in the course of its war on Finland and Poland. Trotsky exposed how this in turn reflected the anti-communist panic within the petty bourgeoisie at the time when the United States was preparing its entry into World War II. A bloc which began as a "philosophical bloc against Marxism" was transformed into a petty bourgeois political bloc which abandoned the Soviet workers state on the eve of the war and then split from the Trotskyist movement.

Let us look a little closer at Shachtman's method, for what is at issue here is the position of American radical intellectuals as a whole. After all, Shachtman's evolution took place at the same time as men like Sydney Hook and Max Eastman were scurrying for cover, men who like Burnham wanted an "American" Marxism cleansed of the dialectic. Other intellectuals stayed with the Stalinists or left the Stalinists for the camp of American

imperialism, never even coming as close to Marxism as the Eastmans and Hooks. Hook, it is well to note, today is a Nixon supporter while James Burnham is a staff writer for the right wing *National Review*.

Shachtman claimed to agree with dialectical materialism. However, he maintained that dialectics was a philosophical issue quite separated from the concrete political issues upon which parties are built. This is the position he maintained to his recent death. No doubt his decision to support Hubert Humphrey was based on concrete considerations while he still agreed in the abstract with dialectical materialism.

## ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE

Shachtman's position on the relation of the abstract to the concrete was itself a pragmatic position. He saw the abstract—both the philosophical method and the application of this method to an understanding of the state or other theoretical concepts—as unreal and unrelated to the concrete facts. Policy is to be based on what best describes these facts and what best works on the basis of this description.

Lenin discusses this question in the *Philosophical Notebooks*:

"Incidentally, in a certain sense, sensuous representation is, of course, lower. The crux lies in the fact that thought must apprehend the whole 'representation' in its movement, but for that thought must be dialectical."

Information comes to us in the form of concrete facts observable through our senses or extensions of our senses in scientific instrumentation. But these facts are not the whole of the material world in its movement. They are thus abstractions of a part of the material world. Our thought must go beyond this limited grasp of reality to a theoretical understanding of the whole in motion. But to do this we must think dialectically—we must bring into our thinking the conflicting opposites in the real world through which change is taking place.

Thus the critical importance of battling to master dialectical thinking as we construct the party and fight for its program. To fail to do this is to follow in Shachtman's footsteps. To fail to battle to break from the methodological thinking of the capitalist class means going over to the political positions of the capitalist class as Shachtman did. One cannot break out of the facts of capitalism to bring the struggle for socialism into the present struggle of the working class.

## NOVACK

The extreme importance of this lesson is shown by the evolution of those who fought Shachtman in 1940 only to return to his method later on. The present leadership of the Socialist Workers Party represents those who stood with Trotsky in 1940 against Shachtman but who failed to listen to Trotsky's warning of the extreme importance of training the youth and the trade union members of the party in the dialectical method.

This has now led to the point where George Novack, self-appointed Marxist philosopher, maintains a position identical with that of Shachtman. Novack writes in a polemic against the International Committee:

"The Healyite approach to this question is the converse of Burnham's and Shachtman's. Whereas Burnham asserted that dialectics had no value in politics, the SLL maintains that everything else is of subordinate importance. Whereas Shachtman was indifferent to the philosophical aspects and implications of Marxism, the SLL leaders are fanatically obsessed with them."

Novack feels there lies some golden mean between Shachtman's "indifference" and our "obsession." No doubt he has in mind mild academic interest in dialectics. But the issue is not a quantitative one of intensity but a qualitative one of the relation of dialectics to politics.

The question is still the one posed in 1940: Do the "abstract" questions of dialectics determine the political life of a party or do they not? If they do not then the struggle for dialectics has no meaning, no real relation to the construction of the party. The party can be—in fact with this approach must be—constructed with a pragmatic method while dialectics is opposed, ignored, or mildly played with separate from party life.

Novack's position on this is clear. He accuses us of drawing "the illegitimate conclusion that dialectical materialism is the central element in the political life of the revolutionary vanguard." He then proceeds to virtually paraphrase Shachtman: "The basis of the party is its principles and program, not its philosophical method."

## YOUTH

Proceeding in this manner, the SWP has adapted to the petty bourgeois youth forces it has recruited in the recent period just as Shachtman did in 1939 and 1940. These youth continue with the method of the bourgeoisie, pragmatism, which they learned in the universities. As a result there is a complete abandonment of the working class right at the time when the working class is renewing its struggle and the potential for a revolutionary movement here and internationally is so bright and so necessary.

We are neither saddened by Shachtman's evolution nor that of Novack. We rather strengthen our movement through an understanding of the evolution of both of them. At the same time we hold them responsible for their mutual abandonment of Marxism and therefore the working class. This responsibility is all the more heightened by the opportunity they once had to do better, to aid the American working class in breaking from its anti-theoretical traditions.



# UFW March Against Agribusiness

BY BRUCE MCKAY

**BELLE GLADE, Nov. 22**—Several hundred farmworkers and supporters from throughout Florida marched here Sunday in support of sugar workers who are engaged in a bitter battle to win a contract with the United Farm Workers Union.

Carrying union UFW eagle, marchers fended the union against the vicious attacks being launched by the sugar companies and Farm Bureau and to join in an all-out offensive to organize Florida agriculture.

This show of strength was a reflection of the growing power of the movement of farmworkers and a blow against the scare tactics and witchhunt campaign of the growers and their servile hacks of the capitalist press.

At the same time, however, the speeches which followed the march revealed the total incapability of the UFW leadership to pose any strategy to lead farmworkers forward against the assault which is being readied by American big business and the government which so willingly serves it.

## DESTRUCTION

What the agribusiness bosses are preparing with the aid of their Republican and Democratic political servants is: the destruction of thousands of jobs through mechanization and productivity schemes, the lowering of the already meager living standards of farmworkers to the barest subsistence level and even lower, anti-strike and anti-boycott laws. These are measures designed to more vigorously enforce the state's open shop law and laws similar to the defeated Proposition 22 in California which would place farmworkers directly under the control of the state and virtually outlaw the United Farm Workers Union.

The growers are literally girding themselves for war with the working class, arming themselves to the teeth, and behind the vicious campaign of lies and red-baiting directed against the union are all the forces of the extreme right—especially the Klan and the John Birch Society. In the face of these ominous

preparations, UFW leader Cesar Chavez complacently told the workers to follow the politics of Roosevelt and the Kennedys and to defend themselves and build their union with the idealist "non-violence" of Gandhi.

"We don't have to respond to violence with violence," said Chavez. "Let them, if they want to, use violence. We will use the other way, the way that Gandhi and Dr. King taught us to do. The right way. The powerful way. The way of men and women who are free and powerful. The way of non-violence, which has so much power that people will never be able to understand how much power it has."

This is a piece of idealist nonsense which goes hand in hand with Chavez' dependence upon the middle class for support, his utter refusal to pose the independence of the labor movement.

## MURDER

It is nothing less than a prescription for the murder of union members at the hands of capitalist bosses and a state which will have little respect for workers' lives or "public opinion" as the deepening international crisis forces them into civil war with the working class.

Coupled with this middle class pacifism was the complete support of Chavez and the state AFL-CIO—which broke with Meany's neutrality to openly endorse McGovern—for the Democratic Party.

Faced with the collapse of the Democratic Party nationally, Chavez and the rest of the "progressive" labor bureaucracy are desperately trying to keep the trade union movement tied to that rotten hulk.

What makes this all the more criminal is that both Chavez and the state AFL-CIO official who spoke clearly recognized that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are controlled by the big corporations and the growers.

Lee Fornari, state AFL-CIO vice president at large, told the workers:

"I'll bet that at this very moment, the owners of these farms are sitting somewhere with a legislator or someone like (state Agriculture Commissioner) Doyle Conner trying to get legislation passed against you like they tried to do in California."

But instead of calling for the independent political mobilization of the working class in a labor party to launch an offensive against these political assaults on the trade unions, Fornari and Chavez called for support—against "bad" Democrats like Conner—for "good" Democratic "liberals" like Dade Metro (Miami area) Mayor Orr and Senator Edward Kennedy.

## MYTH

Chavez repeated the same myth pandered by the labor bureaucrats since the 1930's that:

"During the time when there was a man in this country named (Franklin D.) Roosevelt, who was President of this country, there were some laws enacted that made it possible for the steelworkers, the auto workers, the construction workers and all other workers except farmworkers to have a union. They brought about good laws, and they protected those workers."

In fact, the American trade union movement was not made possible by "good laws" but only through the bitterest struggle by workers against the employers, the state and its courts, laws, police and army.

The AFL was forged in the heat of the class struggle long before Roosevelt stumbled on the scene, and he fought the construction of the CIO tooth and nail. Under the "New Deal," troops were used to break strikes, workers were killed, wounded and jailed, the banks and big corporations were deliberately strengthened, millions of workers were kept starving and every "good" law was spiked with dozens of reactionary provisions.

There is only one way forward for farmworkers, and this is a complete break from these bankrupt reformist policies and the Democratic Party.

The State AFL-CIO and the UFW must begin the political mobilization of the working class by demanding a national Congress of Labor that will organize immediate action against the attacks on all sections of the working class by the government and big business.

Furthermore, this Congress of Labor must adopt socialist policies to defend the interests of workers and construct a labor party that will win the power to carry them out.



# IUE Dumps Local Leader For Wildcat At Frigidaire

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—The treachery of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 801 leadership knows no limits. This is the leadership that signed a contract forcing a wage cut and the division of the union into two halves (automotive and appliance) which now have separate contract expiration dates.

Arnold Thompson, President of I.U.E. 801 and other top leaders are now in the process of officially filing

## Durkee Plant To Shut Down

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

CHICAGO—Staggered layoffs of about 15 workers at a time are being used by the management of Durkees Famous Foods to prepare for the April closure of their plant on Chicago's North Side. Nearly 300 workers face the loss of their jobs when the plant moves to Lorenzo, near Joliet, Illinois.

While some of the workers, members of Grocery and Food Products Local 738, affiliated with Teamsters District Council 25, will be offered transfers, the new plant is from 50 to 100 miles from their homes. In addition, the new plant will be organized by a different union, and pay scales will run at least a dollar under present pay.

"I've worked there eight years, since I graduated from high school," a Durkee worker told *Bulletin* reporters, "and I'm still an unskilled workers. I'll have to start at the bottom again somewhere else—if I can find a place at all. We don't know if I'll be out of work in April, or tomorrow, either, the way things are going."

### AUTOMATION

He explained how automation has been eliminating jobs even before the move was announced. "We used to get out a 60,000 pound batch of oil in 12 hours. Now they can get out 20,000 pounds in one hour, using just one or two guys manning a panel board.

The fight to defend the jobs at Durkee, and in plants all over the country, has to be taken up in each local through the fight to call a Congress of Labor. In the Teamsters, this means confronting head-on the reactionary leadership, which endorsed Nixon's re-election in spite of his open support to attacks like the Durkee plant closure.

charges against the Vice President, Hector Downing. Hector Downing was the only top leader to speak out against the contract-busting agreement at the mass meeting of 5000 workers at the University of Dayton Arena on November 21, 1971. These misleaders can never forgive Downing for exposing this rotten agreement and are now seeking to make him the scapegoat for the wildcat against speedup two weeks ago.

It was the Thompson leadership which signed this agreement that opened the membership to speedup and union-busting. The older workers have been divided from the younger workers. All the high seniority workers are concentrated in automotive where there was no wage cut. The wildcat strike took place in the appliance section where the wage cut and rampant speedup go hand in hand.

Now Thompson and Company have the gall to announce to the capitalist press, which did the propaganda spade work for the wage cut, that they are suspending Hector Downing from his position as Vice President and District Committeeman for "advocating and encouraging members of Local 801 to engage in a strike violation of the agreement." Besides being a brazen frameup, these very leaders have hung themselves with their own official "charges."

It was indeed Arnold Thompson and Company who did "encourage and advocate" that the I.U.E. 801 Frigidaire contract be violated down to the minutest details. This leadership railroaded through a contract violating agreement with a standup vote at the UD Arena. This vote and the minutes of this "special" meeting were rejected by the membership at a regular meeting the next Sunday. But Thompson had already signed this agreement.

Meanwhile Frigidaire is busily building massive warehouses here and all over the country in preparation for next September when the automotive section of the union is faced with negotiations. The warehouse expansion is taking place next door to the plants in the Lewis and Michael Warehouse, which was taken over by G.M.

Thus G.M. can develop a huge stockpile against the workers.

## Midwest News



ITU workers and supporters demonstrate to defend Fred Ferguson.

## Twin Cities Builders Use 'Christian Labor' In Union-Busting Drive

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The notorious company union, the Christian Labor Association, has now begun moving into Minneapolis and St. Paul in force. First victims of this assault on union wages and conditions have been members of Twin Cities Roofers Local 96. A roofing contract on a building owned by the Minneapolis Gas Company was given to a non-union contractor with a "contract" to the Association.

The CLA was formed in Michigan by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1931 to try and counteract the growing movement of the working class into trade unions. Its success has been little, limited primarily to a number of small, relatively isolated towns in the upper Midwest. Its Minnesota membership is around 4000, compared with

175,000 in the state's AFL-CIO building trades affiliates.

The CLA "contracts" are set up on the basis of few benefits and intense flexibility of labor. Thus a person hired as a laborer, with pay similar to laborers in the AFL-CIO union, will also work as a carpenter, plumber or other craft, enabling CLA contractors to undercut their rivals in job bids with the resulting

wage savings.

The building trades leaders have sat on their hands for too long as this plague inched its way towards the major cities. Construction workers must force their leaders to launch an organizing campaign to bring these non-union workers into the labor movement at union scale as the only way to put a stop to this situation.

## Newspaper Fires Militant

BY JEAN BRUST

MINNEAPOLIS, November 25—The latest attacks on printing trades workers was mounted by the "liberal" *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* in the recent firing of Fred Ferguson, union militant and former Socialist Workers Party member.

On election day, Ferguson and some co-workers, who have been organizing a caucus around a newsletter called "Pi Channel," took ten employees to vote on company time. This is strictly in accord with Minnesota state law. Later that week, Ferguson was fired for "working too slow."

This is the tenth time in five years Ferguson was fired. He sees the firing primarily as the *Tribune's* attempt to stifle dissent among its employees. As such, a group calling itself "The Fred Ferguson Defense Committee" picketed the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* building for several hours today. The group, comprised of members of a number of area trade unions included the Minneapolis Typographical Union.

The real meaning of this attack goes beyond a free speech issue—and far beyond an attack on one person. The company's excuse for firing reveals the real reason: the technological

changes and the bosses's need for increased "rationalization" of the industry call for utter ruthlessness in eliminating older, skilled workers, cutting the work force and setting work standards to force through this speedup in an industry that traditionally prided itself on its "skilled artisans."

Immediate plans of these Cowles-owned papers are to go over to off-set printing from letter press. This means a 50 percent reduction in work force, and will enable still more rapid production. Over 30 workers have already been pressured into early retirement by these papers in the past period. The next company step is the fight to speed up through the use of job standards.

First stage in this fight is getting rid of all opposition. Ferguson organized a "Dollar-an-Hour" committee in 1969 in the struggle for a decent contract. Added to that, the campaign of Pi Channel for a shorter work week, an end to wage controls, and for a labor party, despite its limited and propagandist character is a potentially explosive threat to the basic needs of the *Star Tribune* and must be eliminated.

Ferguson says about his firing: "We intend to expose the *Star's* hypocrisy in defending freedom of expression in their editorial

columns while not extending the same rights to their own employees. We refuse to knuckle under to the *Star's* attempt to carry Richard Nixon's anti-union attack into our shop!"

With the emphasis on the "free speech" aspect and on publicity seeking, the informational picket line of about a dozen, with slogans like "Keep your politics to yourself," and "Shut up and Work," set a non-serious atmosphere to the whole fight. Ferguson sees this as a personal attack, on a par with the nine other firings, and is convinced he cannot lose his appeal which the union submitted to arbitration, as it has in the past.

But the workers' understanding and strength was demonstrated by the number who joined the line or seriously discussed the issues. This was in spite of threats by the company and the union bureaucrats. One immigrant worker, for example, was warned he might be deported if he joined the bannering. Others were told that they would lose their union card if they participated.

These threats themselves only prove the strength of the workers' response to what they understand is an attack on gains won years ago and long taken for granted.

## NEWARK TENANTS . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

rent, the Housing Authority didn't bother to do anything about conditions because it was sure that it would eventually get the money," said Henry.

Up until December 31, 1970, the Tenants' Association collected \$94,000. As of January 1, 1971, the Tenants' Association stopped collecting any rent.

"That was the hardest part of the strike, but the people stuck together. Out of 1206 families in the project, 1126 are not paying rent," Henry stated.

### DYING

"Since the beginning, the Housing Authority has thought of nothing but the money. They

don't care about people dying. They didn't know where the \$94,000 was so they went to every bank in New York and New Jersey to find it.

"Last March, the Housing Authority threatened to throw the tenants into jail but that didn't scare us. Then they tried to split us up by saying that the leaders had stolen the \$94,000."

When the Housing Authority learned two weeks ago that the \$94,000 had been returned to the tenants, it sought criminal charges against the leaders of the Tenants' Association.

"The scene in the court was something else when they learned the money was gone," Henry said. "The man from the Housing Authority nearly col-

lapsed and started shouting for water."

Not only has Judge Herbert ordered Henry and the two other leaders into jail, but he has virtually deprived them of representation by holding their lawyers in contempt of court.

Toby Henry, who faces three years imprisonment, declared that conditions in the projects have gotten worse under Gibson. The Mayor supports the Housing Authority's attacks on the tenants of Stella Wright.



Toby Henry

## CBS. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Sixth Avenue said that Local 1212 was faced with an ultimatum by the company.

"The union is not making demands," stated one worker. "CBS wants to take away something that we've always had. In effect, CBS is saying: 'You have to give up part of your work.'"

A picket captain told the Bulletin that CBS rejected a union offer to arbitrate the jurisdictional issues over a period of several months.

"CBS answered this proposal with two words: 'Screw you,'" he revealed. "This all boils down to union-busting."

### SCABS

Although CBS claims that it has not been hard hit by the strike, reliable sources indicate that the scabs within the studios

are not properly trained to handle the equipment and are on the brink of exhaustion.

Also, leading shows may be cancelled because stars like Carroll O'Connor (*All In The Family*) and Carol Burnett have refused to cross the picket lines. At a recent AFTRA meeting, newscasters Walter Cronkite and Jim Jensen said that they would not appear on television if AFTRA goes out in support of Local 1212.

The Bulletin has learned that a leading Washington correspondent has been threatened with dismissal by CBS if he honors the picket lines.

The leadership of Local 1212 must meet the company's offensive by fighting for a total shutdown of CBS. It must demand that the international leadership of the ATSE submit to the membership vote and support the strike.

The actions of CBS, supported by all the networks, is a sharp warning of the dangers now facing the entire working class. While the government polices wages, the companies are trying to slash jobs and drastically alter work conditions with open union-busting.

These developments show the urgency for a response by the labor movement. The unions must call a Congress of Labor to prepare action against the attacks and construct a labor party that will fight for socialist policies that will defend the interests of workers.

## BOLIVIA . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

union federation, formed a "Popular Assembly." This Assembly which they called a "soviet" was seen as a substitute for the revolutionary party. At no time did Lora fight for the overthrow of General Torres who was then the President.

The POR based its fight on support to Torres as a "left" section of the military against the right-wing section. When Banzer made his move, Lora relied on Torres to provide the workers with arms. Torres flew out of the country and the workers, unarmed, were left to the mercy of Banzer's troops.

The POR never broke with

Pabloism and joined the International Committee. From its origins they have functioned on the basis of a nationalist perspective. This is why Lora could support the MNR in 1952 and Torres in 1971. Even when the MNR moved against the workers, and rejected nationalization, Lora did not break with this outlook. Typical is his remark in 1954: "We underline our disagreement with the economic measures of a government which has forgotten that it is Bolivian, to better serve the interests of the Yankees."

After the Banzer coup, Lora formed the Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front, and united with Stalinists, Pabloites and supporters of Torres. The basis of this coalition was nationalist defense of their own ruling class.

The statement issued by the Front stated that Banzer's anti-communism was "only the application of the dictates of North America to force a rupture of relations with countries in the socialist sector, to liquidate any sign of independence in foreign policy, to frustrate any plans for independent development of the vital sector of our economy."

In other words, Banzer is not to blame, it is only the imperialists who are the enemy. This is the kind of nationalist rubbish that has held the Latin American revolution back for decades. Today the POR and the Pabloites will find themselves openly on the side of the ruling class.

The new phase of working class struggle in Bolivia exposes all these tendencies and will strengthen the development of a revolutionary leadership as part of the construction of the Fourth International.

## YSA . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

curred.

Out of the 1186 who attended, 688 were YSA members and only 29 joined. This is based on YSA statistics as our reporters counted only 811 at the high point of attendance at the rally.

The revisionists have just about reached the breaking point. These are the results of the abandonment of Marxism and the refusal to struggle against the Stalinists.

While the YSA attacked the Stalinists of Moscow and Peking, they called for United Front action with the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, the youth movement of the Communist Party U.S.A.

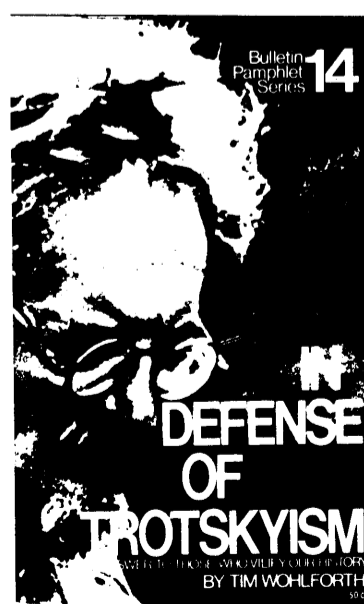
At no time did the conference address itself to the actual needs of the youth: the growing unemployment rate, and the only strategy that will mobilize the trade unions into a political fight against the government—the labor party.

## IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM

By Tim Wohlforth 50¢

This pamphlet focuses on the development of the centrist Leninist tendency within the Socialist Workers Party. This tendency, led by Barbara Gregorich, recently walked out of the SWP. Under the cover of left criticism of the current policies of the SWP, this group actually stands to the right of the SWP.

Their idealist method results in the destruction of the continuity of Marxism embodied in the collective experience of the F.I. at precisely the moment when the lessons of this history become decisive for the training of a leadership in the working class. Essential reading for a theoretical understanding of the lessons of the Trotskyist movement.



Order from:  
Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

## NIXON PLANS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

this way can Nixon and big business be defeated.

There is no other way forward for the working class. In 1973, 4.5 million workers will be negotiating new contracts. Not since the winter of 1945 have the conditions existed for such a decisive battle between big business and the trade unions.

The leadership of the trade unions have insisted—correctly—that they will demand increases in excess of the 5.5 percent guideline. But the bureaucracy is prepared to accept the cutting of the increases by the government in the expectation that the full increase will be paid up when controls are ended.

### ILLUSION

This is a dangerous illusion. Nixon—as well as all the capitalist leaders of Europe—are determined to establish permanent controls over wages. Only the mass action of the working class fighting for political power will put an end to controls.

Figures published last week revealed another big jump in consumer prices. For the months of September and October, prices increased at an average annual rate of 4.8 percent.

Especially sharp rises were recorded in the price of clothing and health insurance. During the past two months, the food prices have risen at an annual rate of 4.8 percent.

These figures expose the price "controls" imposed by the Nixon Administration as a complete fraud—simple window dressing for the clampdown on wages.

The real attitude of the government toward price increases was shown last week when it tacitly approved enormous price hikes by the major steel companies.

United States Steel Corporation has the go-ahead to raise its prices up to 7 percent and Bethlehem Steel will up its prices by 5 percent.

By letting the increases go through for basic American industry, the Price Commission

has given a green light for every other industry to follow suit. This means the virtual collapse of the price guidelines and skyrocketing inflation in 1973.

The rise in the price of steel must immediately translate itself into a rise in the cost of hundreds of essential commodities—cars, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, eating utensils, etc.

Nixon is allowing these price increases to go through at a time when big business is recording unparalleled profits. For the third quarter of 1972, profits stood at an annual rate of \$53.7 billion.

Big business is making no secret of the fact that it regards 1973 as a year of decisive battles with the trade unions.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported last week that the major corporations are demanding an extension of the controls beyond their April 30 expiration date. "With profits rising," writes the *Journal*, "many business leaders don't want to risk the gains of the last 15 months during a year of heavy labor negotiations."

A leading Chicago banker, Robert A. Wallace, admitted recently that wage controls give the corporations "an excuse for

resisting excessive (wage) demands."

### IMMEDIATELY

The labor movement, threatened by this big business-government gang-up, can wait no longer. Decisive preparations must now be made to call the Congress of Labor immediately after Nixon's re-inauguration and the reconvening of the Democratic-controlled Congress in January.

As Nixon begins his second term, he will promptly reveal his criminal program against the working class. In those policies, he will have the full support of the Democrats who voted the Pay Board into existence last year.

The Congress of Labor must answer Nixon's plans for the destruction of the working class. It must expose the total responsibility of big business for the economic crisis, prepare action to defeat Nixon's Pay Board, and build an American labor party against the Republicans and Democrats that will fight for socialist policies.

No time can be lost in taking up the fight for the Congress of Labor. We call on every trade unionist to immediately begin this struggle in his local.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

☐\$1.00 FOR 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB ☐\$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS  
☐\$4.00 FOR ONE YEAR 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

## Slave Labor Plan To Bust Unions

BY A LOCAL 535 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Nixon is a man having more than one plan to defend the interests of his class. Recent articles in the *Bulletin* have revealed his strategy to take on the unions directly—by breaking the construction unions with non-union labor, outlawing strikes for longshoremen and in the transportation industries, and with productivity drives coupled with layoffs in the basic industries.

Immediately after his re-election, his anti-labor activity has been stepped up in still other areas. Despite the temporary failure of his "revolutionary" Family Assistance Program, Nixon is proceeding with his basic plan to use that section of unemployed on welfare against the labor movement, in order to drive down wages and break the unions.

Recently in California there has been a flurry of activity on the part of government agencies beginning to implement the Federal Talmage Amendment along with local exploratory programs such as the Employables Contract.

These programs are designed to consolidate all existing job training programs such as Manpower, Job Corps, and various Title V projects under Federal Department of Labor control. Welfare recipients with families, with a few exceptions, will then be forced to work for as little as \$1.20 an hour.

First priority will be jobs in Public Services and will directly undermine Building Trades and City and County workers. Already there are examples like that of a former Eligibility Worker in New York who was laid off, went on welfare, and was then forced to do essentially the same job for \$60.00 a week that she had once made \$700 a month doing. Another tactic likely to be used is the creation of sub-categories such as Janitorial Assistants in order to justify a reduction in wages.

If these test programs are found to work, then they will be extended to private industries where a company that "trains" a welfare recipient could have most of the salary paid by the Federal government plus receive a 20 percent tax reduction based on the amount the company paid in salaries.

### LONGSHORE

Already in the Bay Area several longshore locals as well as the Farmworkers have expressed alarm that such programs may be consciously aimed to break their unions.

Immediately after Nixon's re-election, committees like the Labor Market Advisory Council in San Francisco are now under Federal mandate to produce, and the question of Employables Contracts is coming before most city councils.

The California Union of Social Service Employees Local 535, has set up a statewide committee to begin contacting unions to inform them of these programs as preparation toward mobilizing the unions against any serious implementation of these programs.

## West Coast News



Striking workers camp out across the street from the Ross and Brown Paper Box Co., defying company threats of being fired for their actions. Negotiations broke down between management and Local 7451 of the United Steelworkers over unsafe and intolerable working conditions and demands for a closed shop.

## Paper Box Strikers Demand End To Sub-Standard Wages

BY TOM NICHOLS

FONTANA, Nov. 24—On November 14 workers at Ross & Brown Paper Box Company began a strike here, resulting from a breakdown in negotiations over sub-standard wages, unsafe and intolerable working conditions, and demands for a closed shop union.

Of the 70 employees at Ross & Brown, approximately 60 walked off the job in the face of threats from the company of being fired for taking strike action. The company has so far refused to meet with officials of the United Steelworkers of America, Local 7451, representing the strikers.

Ross & Brown has a history of paying inferior wages, dating back to the company's founding. One man, a machine operator with 20 years seniority, makes less than \$3.00 an hour. Women with up to 18 years with the

company are making only the minimum wage of \$1.65 per hour, with no fringe benefits. About 80 percent of the work force are women and high school-age youth, most of whom rely on their paychecks as their only means of income.

### UNSAFE

The working conditions are both unsafe and inhuman. There are no lunch rooms, no lounges or smoke shacks. Workers are forced to eat in their cars during lunch, and take their breaks out-

side.

The building is filthy with glue and grease covering the floor. The roof leaks when it rains and with exposed wiring lying around, conditions become increasingly unsafe during the winter months. Absolutely no safety rules are enforced. There is insufficient lighting, cooling and heating.

### FIRED

"They fired one of our girls because she refused to work in a back room," one of the strikers told the *Bulletin*. "It was just too cold in there."

About ten of the workers are scabbing on the strike, and have recruited more help for Ross & Brown, mostly from their own families. They are driven to and from work by owner Phil Ross, in a large truck complete with an armed guard.

The strikers remain firm in their demands and have refused to be intimidated by the layoffs of the union organizers.

## Sailor Accused of "Sabotage"

BY MITCH PATTERSON

LOS ANGELES—Following the mutiny in San Diego on November 10, involving the USS Constellation where 130 sailors refused to return to the ship charging the Navy with discrimination, Patrick Chenoworth was charged with "war-time sabotage," the first case of its kind since World War II.

The Navy says Chenoworth dropped a paint scraper and two 12 inch bolts into the reduction gears of the aircraft carrier Ranger's main engine, costing \$800,000 for repairs, and 4 months delay on the vessel's return to Vietnam.

For this he faces maximum penalties: dishonorable discharge, reduction of grade, forfeiture of pay, and 30 years in prison. Chenoworth is now being held in the brig at Treasure Island Naval Station near San Francisco pending the start of the court martial.

At the same time, 21 Black sailors from the USS Kitty Hawk were thrown into the brig to await disciplinary action, and threatened with dishonorable discharge because of supposed "shipboard racial disturbances." The men aboard the Kitty Hawk were given strict orders not to speak to the newsmen about the incident that took place.

The capitalist press has attempted to whip up racism with statements like, "and he was beaten to a pulp by a group of Blacks." What actually took place was this: the ship was docked in the Philippines and the men had received notice that they were going home. The ship was suddenly ordered back for extended duty in Vietnam.

## ILWU Head Reassures Shippers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—1973 will be the year that both the Teamster and West Coast longshore contracts are up for renegotiation.

Throughout this time ILWU members have been working virtually without a contract. All provisions guaranteeing them rights to container work and container bonuses are still tied up in the courts while the slashes in wages have remained.

While the PMA continues its drive towards complete containerization the threat of labor explosions on the waterfront are their major concern. There is little doubt that they will do everything possible to be armed with anti-strike legislation before the contracts are up.

Harry Bridges recently ad-

ressed several hundred employer's representatives at a container conference here and did everything he could to assure them that he for one was on their side.

Bridges particularly addressed himself to the fears of the employers that the proposed merger of the ILWU with the Teamsters would create the most powerful labor organization in the country.

While Bridges admitted that this was true he hastened to add that the very power of such an organization would make it impossible to strike since no one would dare to unleash it.

All Bridges could really say about the legal blows that have been struck against the ILWU was to propose closer cooperation with the employers to see to it that this sort of thing is

## Lockheed Announces Layoffs In Sunnyvale

BY BARRY GREY

PALO ALTO—Despite Nixon's increased defense spending, Lockheed Corporation, the number one defense contractor, is sharpening its program of layoffs and cost-cutting in a desperate effort to avert financial disaster.

Last week Lockheed Missiles and Space Company President Stanley W. Burriss sent out a memorandum announcing 400 layoffs over the next month and a half at the Sunnyvale, California plant.

The layoffs will affect supervisors, administrators, plant guards and clerical personnel.

No production workers are immediately affected but there is no doubt that they are next in line.

Already Lockheed is planning to lay off 5000 workers at its plant in Marietta, Georgia this spring, when the C-5 Galaxie Transport program expires. The current work force there is 12,000, down from 33,000 in 1969.

### CRISIS

With the sharpening of the international crisis giants like Lockheed face imminent bankruptcy. Hundreds of thousands of these jobs are at stake, while the IAM bureaucracy refuses to defend their membership.

An IAM member at the Sunnyvale plant told the *Bulletin* that large scale pay cuts are being enforced in the form of downgrading of classifications. He said, "Everybody got raised back up before the election and now they're beginning to downgrade us again."

### LEADERSHIP

A new leadership must be built in aerospace based on the fight for a labor party which will nationalize the aerospace industries under workers control.

stopped.

Longshoremen stand warned. Government intervention in the 1971 strike was only an introduction to the sort of blows that are being prepared and Bridges is already talking to employers about the possibility of doing away with the strike.

The ILWU ranks must prepare now for the 1973 fight. Merger with the Teamsters must be fought for not to prevent strikes but to forge the strength to smash the Pay Board in strike action and guarantee a full week's work to every transport worker. This means a joint strike in 1973 and a fight taken up immediately to call a Congress of Labor that can rally the strength of the entire labor movement to defeat Nixon's anti-union offensive with industrial and political labor action.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103

PHONE 415-621-1310

## EDITORIAL

### "Law And Order" Against The Working Class

In no state in the union are preparations to destroy the legal rights of the working class being so openly conducted as in California.

It is no accident that so soon after the Nixon electoral landslide complete than the courts opened the way for the trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo in Los Angeles as well as that of Ruchell Magee in San Francisco.

The election was followed with the jailing of William Farr, Los Angeles Times court reporter, for refusing to reveal his news sources. Another reporter from the Los Angeles Free Press, Ronald Ridenour, now faces jail for the "crime" of photographing a police attack on a paraplegic Vietnam veteran. He is accused of "interfering" with police.

In the Ellsberg case the U.S. Supreme Court has denied the defense the right to examine evidence that would reveal government wiretapping.

In a recent California case Superior Court Judge Allen Miller admitted lie detector evidence in court as valid evidence against a defendant.

This takes place while court actions are being prepared to back up the reinstatement of the death penalty and the dismantling of busing, passed as propositions in the elections.

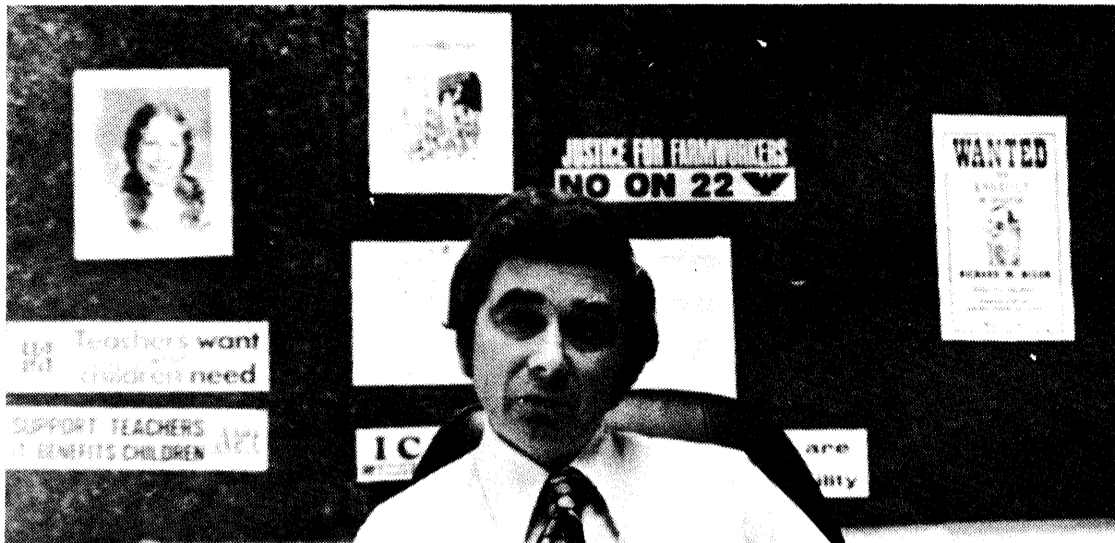
The recent passage of the Stull Act which was designed to destroy teachers' rights to tenure takes place at the same time that the growers defeated in the Proposition 22 drive are preparing to get similar legislation through the legislature piece by piece.

What is taking place here is a conscious systematic drive to destroy freedom of the press ultimately aimed at the working class press and law and order measures designed to see to it that there are no more Angela Davis and Billy Smith acquittals, that the "guilty" are punished.

All of these measures are aimed at the heart of the trade union movement. There must be no doubt on this score. Laws against the unions are being prepared that will make every worker who defends his conditions and wages by striking a criminal subject to fines, injunctions and jailing.

It is precisely for this purpose that the courts are being readied to hand down firm and swift "justice."

These developments drive home the urgency of a fight throughout the labor movement for the convening of a Congress of Labor that will take up the defense of the rights of the working class through the construction of an independent party of labor.



A leader of Los Angeles teachers' union. As teachers' militancy grows, the state of California has passed the Stull Act, which will lay off teachers regardless of tenure and allow schools to deteriorate.

## Reagan's Stull Act Strips Teachers Of Job Security

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The teacher tenure law, on the books in California since 1929, has been abolished with the Passage of the Stull Act.

The California state legislators, with the backing of Governor Ronald Reagan, passed the Stull Act which will, starting this year, require teachers to take responsibility for "expected student progress" in the classroom. Failure of pupils to meet these objectives will be grounds for teacher dismissals for the first time.

The Stull Act shifts the responsibility for firing tenured teachers from the courts to a three-member panel headed by a state hearing officer or a hearing officer alone. The decision of the panel or state officer can still be appealed in court, but the court may not, under the law, hold a new trial.

According to Larry Sibelman, vice president of the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) and national AFT vice president:

"The basic aim of the Stull Act is to get more education for less money. It will create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation."

### CUTS

The deteriorating conditions in the schools are already creating an impossible situation for both public school teachers and students. School districts throughout the state have been forced to cut programs because of lack of funds. Initially, cuts were made in custodial services and building maintenance, but now it is clear that the cuts are coming at the heart of the educational system—the teacher in the classroom.

### CLASS SIZE

There is no maximum class size in California; only the formula that there be one school person, not necessarily a teacher, for every 29.5 students. Some Los Angeles high schools have classes with as many as 45 students; the norm in elementary upper grades is 35.5, with some as high as 40.

On holding teachers responsible for the students' achievement under these conditions, Sibelman said:

"No one would say to an engineer: Look, we want you to design a bridge and we have some toothpicks and some glue. Build a bridge over the Mississippi River! He would not accept those conditions, but the teachers are forced into this position."

### ANGER

The implementation of the Stull Act will not be easy, with the reaction of many of the 15,000 members of the UTLA being one

of anger and fear of losing job security. One teacher rhetorically asked, "Isn't the end purpose to get rid of some percentage of us?"

Another teacher said, "This is just a case of the Legislature passing the buck and since they haven't funded the education, they're saying it's our fault."

When *Bulletin* reporters asked Sibelman how the union would fight this law, he replied, "I would not advise strike action, because a strike would not get the legislators to repeal the bill. We are active in Sacramento in attempting to amend the bill."

## Fremont GMAD Plant Speeds Line Up 22%

BY A CORRESPONDENT

FREMONT—Auto workers at GMAD in Fremont now face intensive pressure to speed up production.

Long considered a "soft plant" where management conciliated disputes, this situation is now rapidly changing.

Local plant management are now in all out competition with 18 other GMAD plants in order to carry out the tough line established at Lordstown and Norwood.

Because of high sales Fremont is increasing passenger line production by 22 percent. They are attempting to do this by increasing line speed, hiring the minimum amount of new workers and overloading the jobs of new hires in order to break down the established working conditions.

Because new hires are without union protection for their first ninety days, management is pushing this to the maximum.

The line speed is now in the process of accelerating to 45 from 37 jobs per hour.

Seniority workers are given

relief by having work taken off their operations and loaded on to the new hires who have to run to keep up.

It is becoming common practice to see the new hiree starting work one half hour early without pay in order to build up stock and prepare for the ordeal of the starting whistle.

New hires all tell about the extreme exhaustion and loss of weight they endure in hopes of obtaining seniority. The only advice they have received from shop chairman John Herrera is that they "should whistle while they work and not work before the whistle."

These developments are a dangerous warning to the older workers. GMAD is beginning the process of breaking down and destroying every practice and right established by the UAW.

The ranks must force Herrera to put an immediate halt to working without pay and must prepare now to fight GMAD with a national shutdown.

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

**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY**

LOS ANGELES  
SUN. DEC. 10 2 PM  
EMBASSY AUDITORIUM  
ASSEMBLY HALL  
839 S. Grand Ave. at 9th St.

ILWU HALL  
150 GOLDEN GATE  
SAN FRANCISCO  
SPEAKER: JEFF SEBASTIAN



Sponsored by Workers League & Young Socialists  
contribution \$1.50 75¢ students and unemployed

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103

PHONE 415-621-1310

## EDITORIAL

### "Law And Order" Against The Working Class

In no state in the union are preparations to destroy the legal rights of the working class being so openly conducted as in California.

It is no accident that so soon after the Nixon electoral landslide complete than the courts opened the way for the trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo in Los Angeles as well as that of Ruchell Magee in San Francisco.

The election was followed with the jailing of William Farr, Los Angeles Times court reporter, for refusing to reveal his news sources. Another reporter from the Los Angeles Free Press, Ronald Ridenour, now faces jail for the "crime" of photographing a police attack on a paraplegic Vietnam veteran. He is accused of "interfering" with police.

In the Ellsberg case the U.S. Supreme Court has denied the defense the right to examine evidence that would reveal government wiretapping.

In a recent California case Superior Court Judge Allen Miller admitted lie detector evidence in court as valid evidence against a defendant.

This takes place while court actions are being prepared to back up the reinstatement of the death penalty and the dismantling of busing, passed as propositions in the elections.

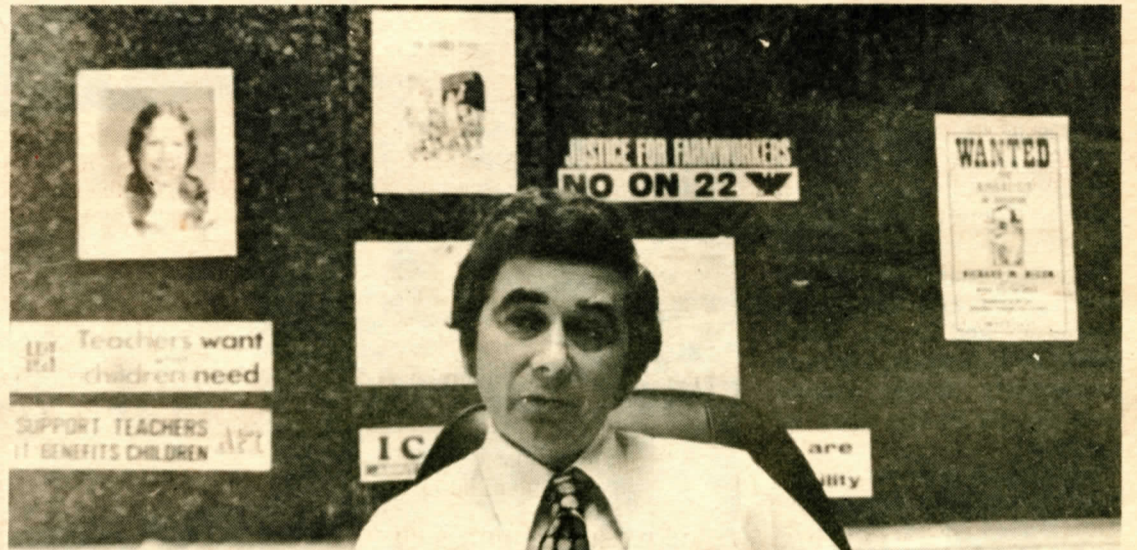
The recent passage of the Stull Act which was designed to destroy teachers' rights to tenure takes place at the same time that the growers defeated in the Proposition 22 drive are preparing to get similar legislation through the legislature piece by piece.

What is taking place here is a conscious systematic drive to destroy freedom of the press ultimately aimed at the working class press and law and order measures designed to see to it that there are no more Angela Davis and Billy Smith acquittals, that the "guilty" are punished.

All of these measures are aimed at the heart of the trade union movement. There must be no doubt on this score. Laws against the unions are being prepared that will make every worker who defends his conditions and wages by striking a criminal subject to fines, injunctions and jailing.

It is precisely for this purpose that the courts are being readied to hand down firm and swift "justice."

These developments drive home the urgency of a fight throughout the labor movement for the convening of a Congress of Labor that will take up the defense of the rights of the working class through the construction of an independent party of labor.



A leader of Los Angeles teachers' union. As teachers' militancy grows, the state of California has passed the Stull Act, which will lay off teachers regardless of tenure and allow schools to deteriorate.

## Reagan's Stull Act Strips Teachers Of Job Security

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The teacher tenure law, on the books in California since 1929, has been abolished with the Passage of the Stull Act.

The California state legislators, with the backing of Governor Ronald Reagan, passed the Stull Act which will, starting this year, require teachers to take responsibility for "expected student progress" in the classroom. Failure of pupils to meet these objectives will be grounds for teacher dismissals for the first time.

The Stull Act shifts the responsibility for firing tenured teachers from the courts to a three-member panel headed by a state hearing officer or a hearing officer alone. The decision of the panel or state officer can still be appealed in court, but the court may not, under the law, hold a new trial.

According to Larry Sibelman, vice president of the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) and national AFT vice president:

"The basic aim of the Stull Act is to get more education for less money. It will create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation."

### CUTS

The deteriorating conditions in the schools are already creating an impossible situation for both public school teachers and students. School districts throughout the state have been forced to cut programs because of lack of funds. Initially, cuts were made in custodial services and building maintenance, but now it is clear that the cuts are coming at the heart of the educational system—the teacher in the classroom.

### CLASS SIZE

There is no maximum class size in California; only the formula that there be one school person, not necessarily a teacher, for every 29.5 students. Some Los Angeles high schools have classes with as many as 45 students; the norm in elementary upper grades is 35.5, with some as high as 40.

On holding teachers responsible for the students' achievement under these conditions, Sibelman said:

"No one would say to an engineer: Look, we want you to design a bridge and we have some toothpicks and some glue. Build a bridge over the Mississippi River! He would not accept those conditions, but the teachers are forced into this position."

### ANGER

The implementation of the Stull Act will not be easy, with the reaction of many of the 15,000 members of the UTLA being one

of anger and fear of losing job security. One teacher rhetorically asked, "Isn't the end purpose to get rid of some percentage of us?"

Another teacher said, "This is just a case of the Legislature passing the buck and since they haven't funded the education, they're saying it's our fault."

When *Bulletin* reporters asked Sibelman how the union would fight this law, he replied, "I would not advise strike action, because a strike would not get the legislators to repeal the bill. We are active in Sacramento in attempting to amend the bill."

## Fremont GMAD Plant Speeds Line Up 22%

BY A CORRESPONDENT

FREMONT—Auto workers at GMAD in Fremont now face intensive pressure to speed up production.

Long considered a "soft plant" where management conciliated disputes, this situation is now rapidly changing.

Local plant management are now in all out competition with 18 other GMAD plants in order to carry out the tough line established at Lordstown and Norwood.

Because of high sales Fremont is increasing passenger line production by 22 percent. They are attempting to do this by increasing line speed, hiring the minimum amount of new workers and overloading the jobs of new hires in order to break down the established working conditions.

Because new hires are without union protection for their first ninety days, management is pushing this to the maximum.

The line speed is now in the process of accelerating to 45 from 37 jobs per hour.

Seniority workers are given

relief by having work taken off their operations and loaded on to the new hires who have to run to keep up.

It is becoming common practice to see the new hiree starting work one half hour early without pay in order to build up stock and prepare for the ordeal of the starting whistle.

New hires all tell about the extreme exhaustion and loss of weight they endure in hopes of obtaining seniority. The only advice they have received from shop chairman John Herrera is that they "should whistle while they work and not work before the whistle."

These developments are a dangerous warning to the older workers. GMAD is beginning the process of breaking down and destroying every practice and right established by the UAW.

The ranks must force Herrera to put an immediate halt to working without pay and must prepare now to fight GMAD with a national shutdown.

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

**FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL  
TODAY**

LOS ANGELES  
SUN. DEC. 10 2 PM  
EMBASSY AUDITORIUM  
ASSEMBLY HALL  
839 S. Grand Ave. at 9th St.

ILWU HALL  
150 GOLDEN GATE  
SAN FRANCISCO  
SPEAKER: JEFF SEBASTIAN



sponsored by Workers League & Young Socialists  
contribution \$1.50 75¢ students and unemployed