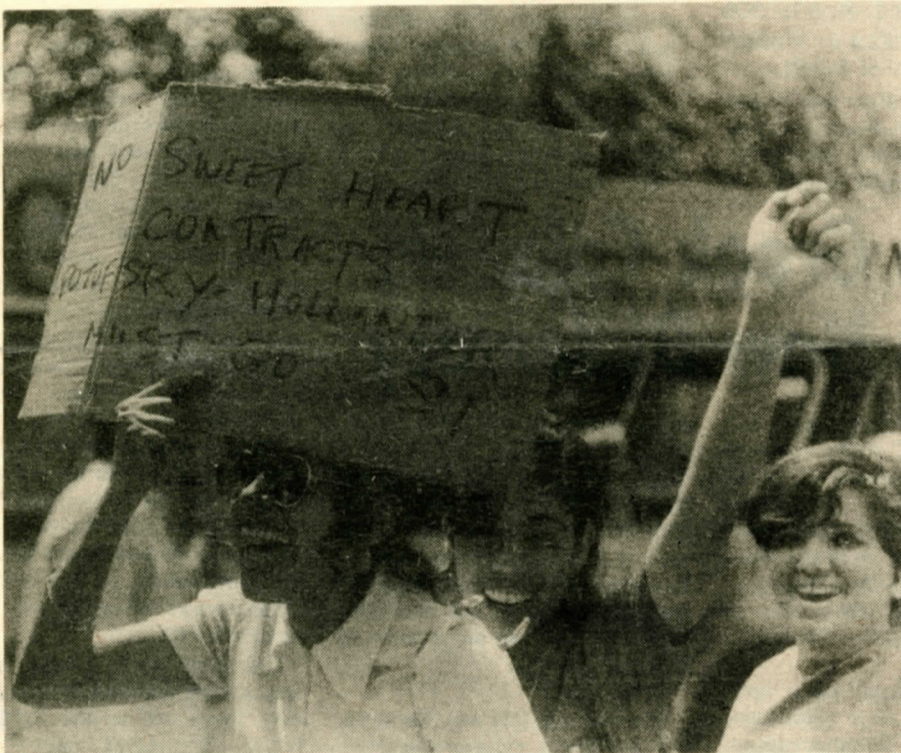
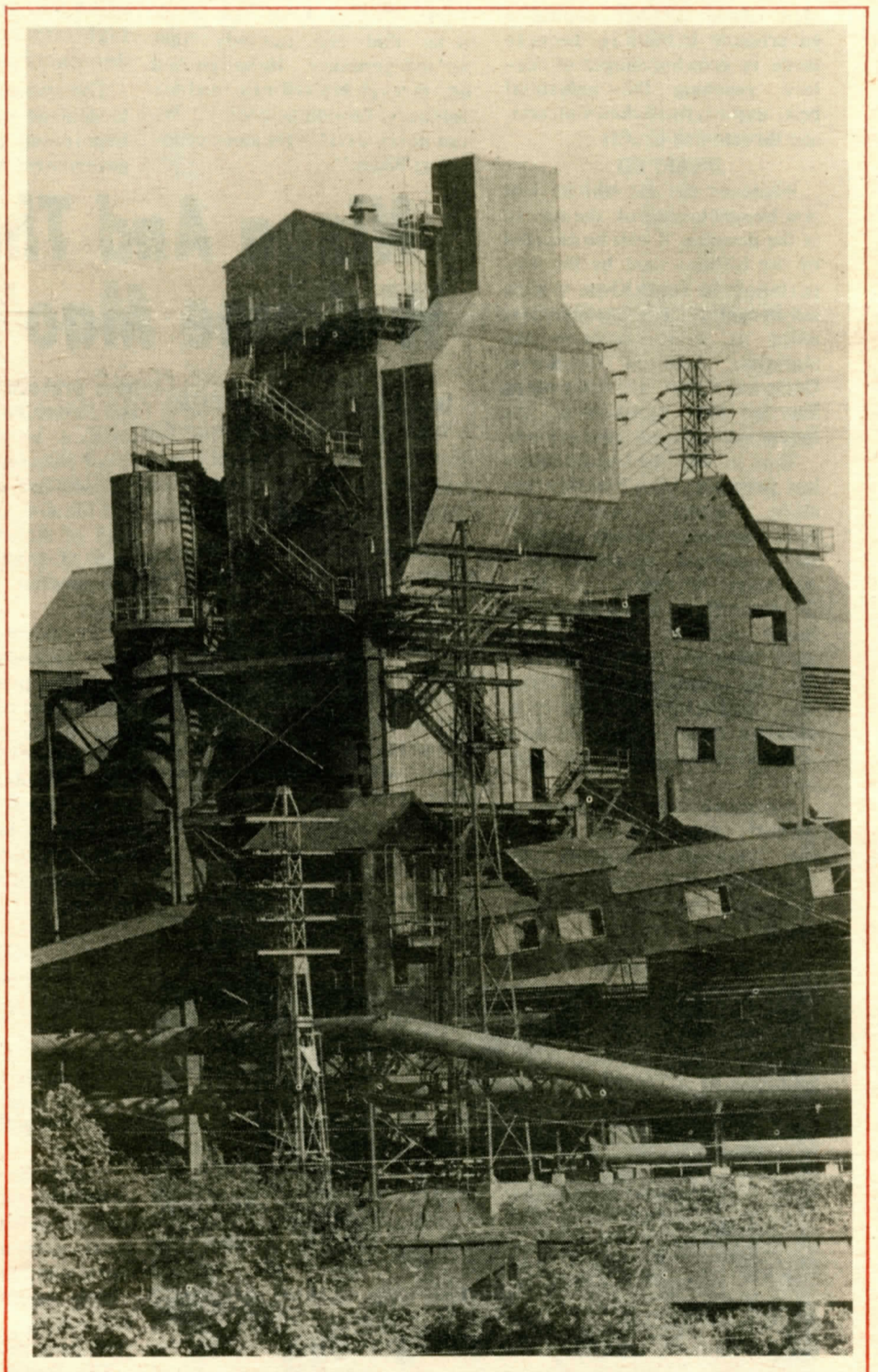
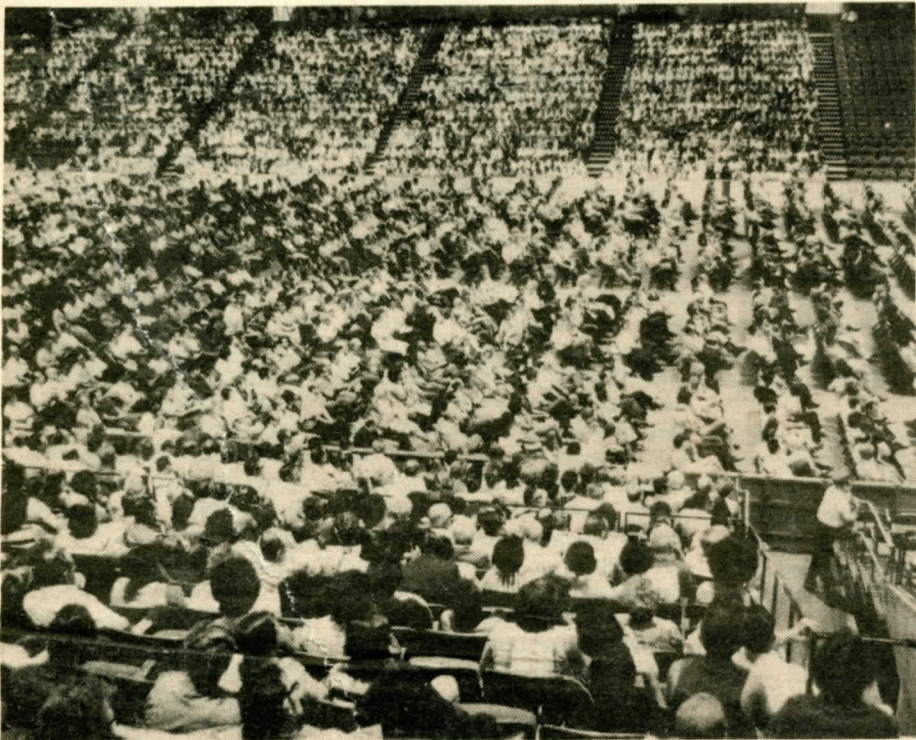


## Conspiracy Against American Workers Exposed

# NIXON SUPPRESSES THE VIETNAM REPORT



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Part of Bethlehem Steel plant in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania which is one of many plants where the Workers League is fighting to build opposition. See page three.

## How To Fight Racism In Steel



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Lessons Of  
The Sellout  
Of NYC Labor

Page 14

VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER FORTY-ONE (201)

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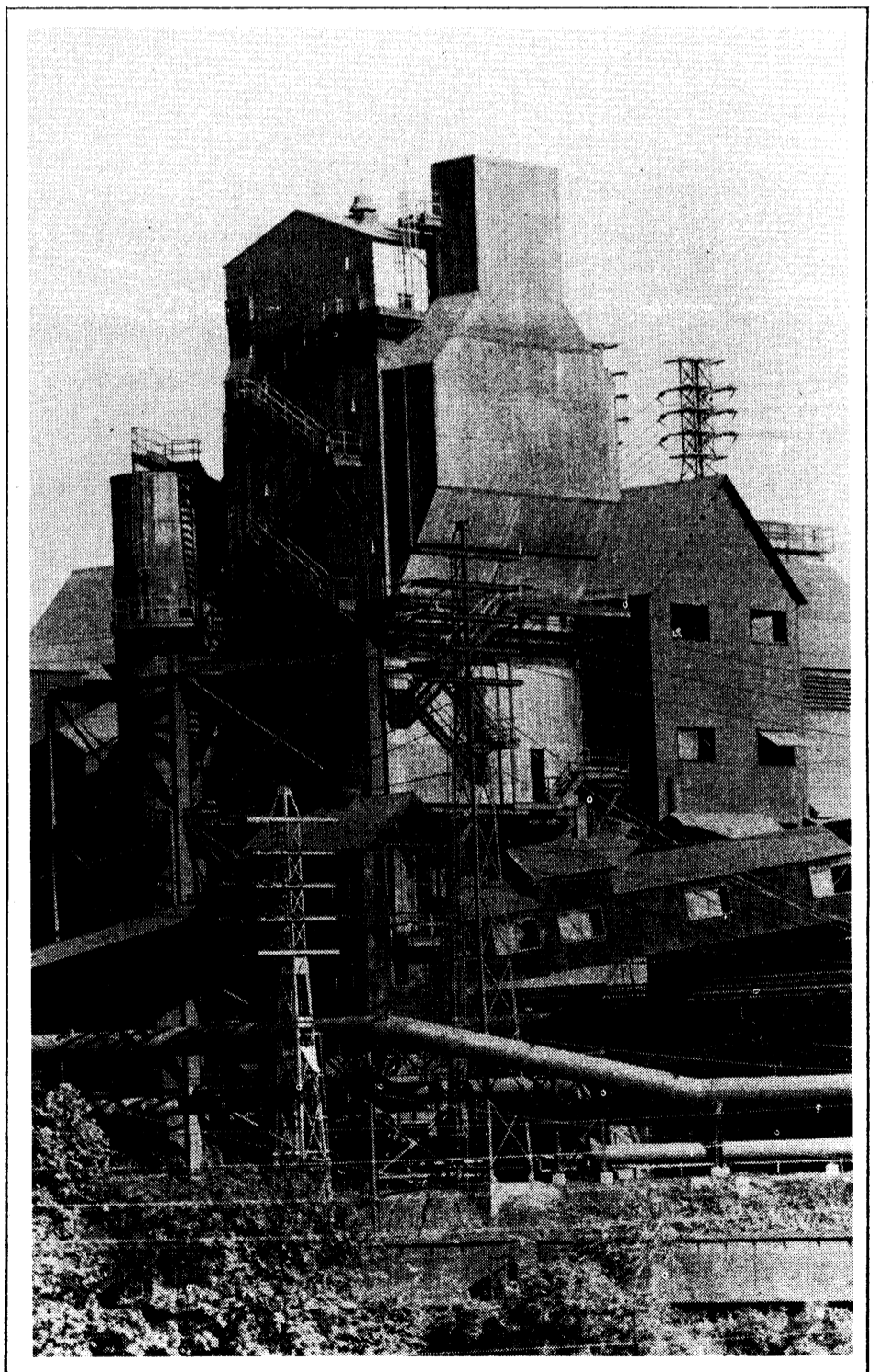
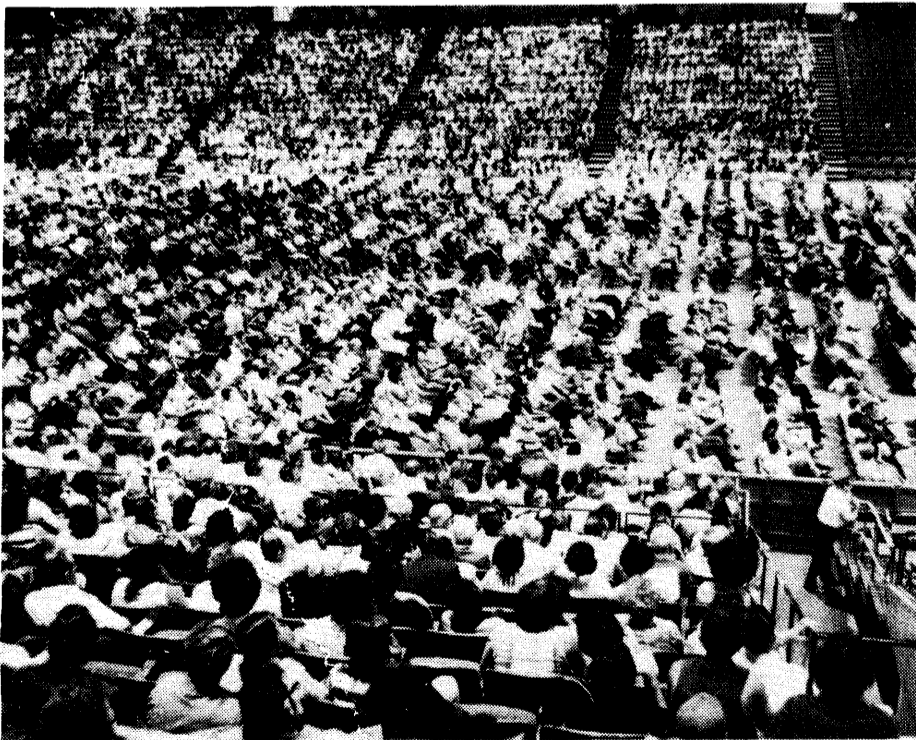
FIFTEEN CENTS

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## How To Fight Racism In Steel

Page 5

# E. Bengal— Millions May Die

BY MARTY JONAS

The imperialists and Stalinists are hoping that the current epidemic of cholera, coupled with monsoon winds in Bangla Desh will finish off the job that Yahya Khan's guns and tanks could not.

In almost a repeat of the tragic events of the East Pakistan cyclone last year, the imperialists have waited until the event has passed its peak before sending their measly aid.

Among the five million refugees from East Pakistan, there are 68,000 cases of cholera. At its peak, the death rate was 50% of those infected.

The difference between now and last year's tragedy is that the masses of Bangla Desh are in open revolt against the imperialist-backed Yahya Khan regime. This makes their elimination by any means expedient for the imperialists.

The concern now shown by Mrs. Gandhi and her capitalist government in India is because there is growing danger of cholera reaching the industrial belt, especially packed Calcutta, and threatening profits.

## DWARFED

Whatever the aid which will now be sent to control the spread of the disease, it will be dwarfed by the billions sent by the imperialists to Yahya Khan to wipe out Bengalis. The imperialists, aided at every point by the Stalinists both of the Soviet Union and China, are determined that the 1947 partition of the Indian subcontinent shall remain.

That is why the United States has proposed that Pakistan restore "normal" conditions in East Pakistan through "peaceful political accommodation." Assistant Secretary of State for Near East, South East and Asian Affairs, Joseph Sisco said, "Because of the possibility that the situation in East Pakistan and Eastern India could escalate dangerously we have counselled restraint on both sides."

American diplomats have reportedly suggested as part of the "peaceful" solution, the acceptance of the Awami League's "six points of autonomy."

Behind this proposal lies the

fear of imperialism that the war for self-determination of Bangla Desh will spread to West Bengal in India and threaten the imperialist stranglehold on that part of Asia. They hope to contain the struggle of the Bengalese within the slogan of "autonomy" and a quisling government in East Pakistan.

The imperialists and Stalinists will have a hard time in selling this rotten betrayal, however. The Bengali liberation fighters have gone beyond the Awami League's original call for autonomy within Pakistan.

As one Bengali militant told the Bulletin at a recent 250 strong demonstration in New York, "Yahya Khan has made it so that we can only fight for independence. He has pushed us, through his killings and his butchery, beyond autonomy. We can never exist in the same country as Khan."

## Nixon And The Greek Colonels Welcome Mao's New Diplomacy

BY A  
BULLETIN REPORTER

With great fanfare from the White House, the twenty-one year embargo on trade with China was ended on June 10th.

Nixon had first announced steps toward ending the embargo at the time of the much-advertised "ping pong diplomacy" in April. He had said then that final decision awaited security review.

Commodities cleared for export include farm products, house appliances, autos, and steel and other metals. Materials of possible strategic value can also be granted licenses in specific cases.

U.S.-Chinese trade just before the start of the Korean War totaled about \$200 million annually. Although some sections of capital, notably on the West Coast,

have pressed for some years for the loosening of trade restrictions, a large growth of trade is not anticipated.

Nixon has made it quite clear that his aim is far more the business of diplomacy than the business of trade. In the words of Presidential Press Secretary Ziegler:

"President Nixon looks upon these measures as a significant step to improve communications with a land of 800 million people after a 20 year freeze in our relationships. The President will later consider the possibility of further steps in an effort to re-establish a broader relationship with a country and a people having an important role for future peace in Asia."

## COLONELS

This new move comes at a time when Mao is energetically pursuing the "normalization" of trade and diplomatic relations with a whole number of capitalist regimes and military dictatorships, including Greece, Turkey and Iran.

Eleftheros Kosmos, a paper reflecting the views of the notorious Greek colonels' regime, boasts of its moves towards diplomatic and trade relations, saying "With successful handling and diplomacy, a Greek-Chinese ping-pong should start."

The grave danger posed to the Chinese Revolution as well as to the Vietnamese and other Indochinese freedom fighters is clearly expressed in Ziegler's statement about "a broader relationship" and "future peace in Asia."

The imperialists desperately want the aid of the Chinese leadership in betraying the Vietna-



Demonstrators in New York City demand a stop to United States aid to Pakistan dictatorship.

## Cops Let Fascists Shoot Mexican Students - 10 Dead

BY PAT CONNOLLY

At least nine persons were killed and 130 wounded in Mexico City on June 10th after an armed mob of 500 rightists attacked a student demonstration of 8,000.

The demonstration was called to demand the release of those imprisoned in 1968, after the government brutally suppressed

demonstrations by workers, peasants and students. Over 50 were killed by the police and army, and hundreds were jailed during massive demonstrations before the 1968 Olympic Games were held in Mexico City.

Many of these students have been held in jail without trial for three years. Last fall 150 were sentenced to from four

years to seventeen years in prison. Luis Echeverria Alvarez, who has been President of Mexico for six months, released some of the students but detained many in prison.

The attack by the rightist mob, whom students claim were members of the irregular police force, took place as the march began. The mob was armed and began shooting, and then rampaged through the streets, breaking windows and attacking people on the streets.

Heavily armed police stood by and watched the attacks and made no move to intervene. Later the army was brought in to patrol the streets.

This fascistic attack is not something separate from the upsurge of the powerful Latin American working class. From Mexico to Argentina, to Bolivia, the movement of the working class throws the capitalists into deeper crisis.

The fight to beat back these attacks and the class which carries them out is the fight to build Trotskyist parties in every country to bring the working class to power.

These struggle and safeguarding the status quo in all of Asia. They want an imperialist peace, and all of the history of the Chinese CP, especially its recent role in backing the counter-revolutionary bloodbaths in Pakistan and Ceylon, points ominously towards a new and more horrible betrayal.

The imperialists and Stalinists will use trade relations to move toward a political alliance against the workers and peasants of Asia.

## Mitchell Defends Use Of Wiretaps Against Left

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

In a speech before the Virginia Bar Association in Roanoke, Attorney General Mitchell defended the Nixon Administration's contention that it could use wiretaps against "dangerous" radicals without prior court permission.

What made Mitchell's remarks particularly important was that this very issue is now before the U.S. Supreme Court for decision. In April the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against the government, stating that in wiretapping of domestic groups the government had to obtain prior court approval.

The Justice Department decided to appeal that ruling to the Supreme Court. What is completely unprecedented is a public statement, along with a press release, on a matter on appeal. In the past, Administrations have refrained from actions that might make it appear they are attempting to exert pressure on the Court.

This is not Nixon's and Mitchell's worry. According to Mitchell, "never in our history has this country been confronted with so many revolutionary elements determined to destroy by force the government and the society it stands for."

Says Mitchell, there is no "dividing line" between hostile foreign forces and domestic "subversives." If it were possible to separate the two, "history has shown greater danger from the domestic variety."

This is another indication of the rapid move to the right of the capitalist class. Faced with the most explosive political and economic crisis, with the working class more and more coming into action, it is quite prepared to dispense with the Constitution and the Supreme Court altogether, if these become obstacles in the path of "law and order" and the preservation of the capitalist system against the masses of workers and youth.



Above is a section of the Puerto Rico Day march in New York City. The police carried out a brutal attack on the Young Lords when the YLP attempted to get at the head of the parade to protest its control by capitalist and reactionary elements and the police.





Part of the 800 Philadelphia high school students who demonstrated at City Hall against budget cutbacks in sports. These students entered the City Hall singing a song they made up: "If you don't give us back our sports there's gonna be trouble."

## Supreme Court Pushes Racism

BY PAT CONNOLLY

A recent Supreme Court decision and a government policy statement on housing mark a new development of the open racism of the Nixon administration.

The Supreme Court has just ruled that communities can close down publicly owned recreational facilities rather than comply with court orders to desegregate.

Jackson, Mississippi closed its five pools (four "white," one "Black") rather than operate them on an integrated basis. The court decision maintains that since the pools are closed to both Black and white, the decision did not violate equal protection of the laws for both Black and white, whether or not it was motivated by racism.

At the same time a Nixon administration policy statement issued on June 12th came out with the most blatant double-talk on equal housing.

The statement says that the government of course is opposed to racial discrimination in housing, since it is illegal, but it distinguishes between racial discrimination and "economic discrimination."

### "ECONOMIC"

The "affluent community" can refuse to allow any low or middle income housing to be built, thus preventing and excluding Blacks from living in a particular area as effectively as if there were a huge sign saying "No Blacks."

This is "economic discrimi-

nation" according to the Nixon Administration, not racial discrimination!

There can be only one meaning for this court decision and policy statement—to legitimize racism, to bolster it up, to show which side the government stands on. The Supreme Court decision really means that any public facility—schools, hospitals, playgrounds, can be closed to prevent Blacks from using them.

These developments take place less than a month after Nixon toured Alabama with George Wallace. They are meant to whip up racism, to turn the clock back on integration, to lay the basis for the real development of the right wing.

### REACTIONARY

The viciousness of these government policies exposes the rotten reactionary nature of the turn to "Black Capitalism" by Huey Newton and the Panthers, as well as the whole question of separatism and Black nationalism.

Nixon and the capitalist class are preparing to take on the working class Black and white in a massive battle on its wages, working and living conditions, on its rights, and survival itself.

The racist poison is part of a class attack. It can only be fought and destroyed through the fight to destroy capitalism, to unify the working class around a program for power, for the building of socialism.

creases in income and sales taxes.

But that is not all. MTA President Ronan now says that because the enabling legislation for tolls on East River bridges was not passed, the subway fare will have to rise to 50¢ next January. Ronan intends to use the subway fare increase in order to beat back the transit workers in their contract negotiations at the end of this year.

Then of course there is the rent decontrol, going into effect as of July 1st at a time when decent housing is already harder than ever to come by.

The Legislature topped it all

# CSEA Betrays State Workers

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK, June 16—The Board of Directors of the Civil Service Employees Association today called off a statewide strike of over 140,000 state workers. The strike, which was scheduled to start at midnight, was against the layoff of 8,000 state workers.

The agreement under which the strike was called off guaranteed only one thing: Layoffs.

Under the agreement, the union agreed to accept the 3,481 layoffs which have just been made. It recognizes that "Unanticipated economic conditions could require further staff adjustments": More Layoffs.

The state agrees to "attempt" to place laid off workers in vacant positions now filled by provisional workers. Even if the "attempt" is successful—and there is no guarantee—it would mean that provisional employees, many of whom have held

their jobs for several years on a "temporary" basis without civil service protection, would be laid off.

### GOTBAUM

The responsibility for this rotten sellout rests not only with the leaders of the CSEA. Major responsibility must be placed squarely on the shoulders of Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37.

After selling out city workers on the pension issue, Gotbaum stabbed CSEA workers in the back. Last Sunday, Gotbaum in a television appearance, con-

demned the proposed CSEA strike and refused to support it, saying that layoffs are a non-negotiable "managerial prerogative" and that the union's only right is to negotiate about who goes first, according to seniority.

Gotbaum then went on to say that DC 37 had never struck over layoffs and would not strike over layoffs.

But over 10,000 city jobs have been wiped out since October, 4,000 through layoffs. This is only the beginning. Gotbaum's betrayal plays directly into the city's hands as it prepares to eliminate tens of thousands of jobs.

For instance Lindsay claims that there will be 1,000 attritions in the Department of Social Services before September. But since workers are hanging on to their jobs because of skyrocketing unemployment, there is little of the traditional turnover in these jobs. So if there are not 1,000 attritions by September, then there will be 1,000 layoffs.

The city talks of attrition, but it is waiting for the situation to cool, for the impact of the pension strike to settle, and for workers to lose sight of Lindsay's demand for up to 30,000 layoffs. Then they will move in with the axe.

It is clear that the plan for layoffs stands, threatening the jobs of tens of thousands of city workers. The fight against these layoffs and attacks on wages, working and living conditions can only go forward by preparing for general strike action and for the construction of a labor party in opposition to the completely bankrupt and anti-working class Democratic and Republican parties.

## Cops Attack Yale Strike

BY MIKE CARLSON

NEW HAVEN, June 14—New Haven police today viciously attacked a demonstration of over 400 striking Yale workers and their supporters. One striker was sent to the hospital requiring 18 stitches, and seven were arrested, including union business agent Vincent Sirabella and Catholic priest Father James Groppi, as Local 35 attempted to stop Yale's graduation ceremonies.

This escalation of open union-busting tactics by both Yale and the state, must be met with strike action by New Haven labor and the call for the building of a labor party.

The Sirabella leadership of Local 35 has beaten a retreat in negotiating sessions with Yale on the basic issue of job security. Sirabella has agreed with Yale

to delay until next year any decision on the question of student employment, which Yale is using to gradually break up the union.

### OPPOSITION

The growing opposition to the leadership was sharply expressed at a meeting of black campus workers called by supporters of the National Welfare Rights Organization. After an almost tearful speech by a trade-union representative from this group, a black worker won enthusiastic support from the audience after hitting out against Sirabella, centrally on the matter of his candidacy on the Democratic ticket. A Workers League spokesman spoke on the need for the members of Local 35 to carry their fight to the entire New Haven labor movement.

## Dayton Frigidaire Slashes 6000 Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—1,152 Frigidaire workers are being laid off here June 18th. This makes 3,222 workers laid off from Frigidaire in the last seven months.

The company spokesman recently used a company stooge oriented "Quarter Century Club" (management and workers

with 25 years or more seniority) meeting to propagandize for a wage freeze or wage cut.

One club member termed the meeting a "pep talk" and added that the employers are "looking for more productivity." One woman worker said, she thought Campbell (Frigidaire General Manager) was "asking us to move to Japan."

Joe Shump, President of Local 801 IUE and Chairman of the

Democratic Party of Dayton and Montgomery County, claims that Frigidaire intends to close down the appliance section of the Frigidaire plant. The entire operation included 15,000 workers a year ago, is down to 10,000 now and with the new layoffs will leave 4,000 appliance workers still on the job.

Unnamed officials told Joe Shump they are considering three "solutions"—"relocate some place other than Dayton, let the work out (subcontract) to a Japanese firm, or let it out to some other plant in the US." This company statement is being issued through union "leader" Shump.

Clearly the rank and file workers who fought for the all out union defense for their Black brother Homer Burton (beaten by Moraine police inside the plant) must fight back against the company's offensive which is aided by the bankrupt leadership of Shump.

Demands must be raised for no wage cuts, no lay offs, a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay, the nationalization of the industry under workers control if the employers claim they cannot meet the needs of the workers.

## Legislature Votes Itself 38 Per Cent 'Lulu' Hike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—On every issue the New York State Legislature made crystal clear this year what the policy of the capitalist government is towards the working class and the unions: All out war!

While Rockefeller and Lindsay argued over the balance between increased taxation and social service cutbacks and layoffs, the workers lost on every score. The final outcome means brutal slashes in Medicaid, welfare and education spending, the loss of at least 25-30,000 jobs, and big in-

creases in income and sales taxes.

But that is not all. MTA President Ronan now says that because the enabling legislation for tolls on East River bridges was not passed, the subway fare will have to rise to 50¢ next January. Ronan intends to use the subway fare increase in order to beat back the transit workers in their contract negotiations at the end of this year.

Then of course there is the rent decontrol, going into effect as of July 1st at a time when decent housing is already harder than ever to come by.

The Legislature topped it all

off by increasing assemblymen's "lulus" (expense accounts) from \$3000 to \$5000 annually, and state senators' from \$5000 to at least \$8500.

Democratic Party frauds like Bella Abzug and Percy Sutton now claim the answer is statehood for New York City. The Lindsay Administration claims to be studying the idea.

### LULUS

The capitalist politicians will do anything to obscure the class issues, to keep the working class divided and behind one or another wing of the bosses. But it was six Democratic Assemblymen

who abstained from the vote on the rent decontrol measure—because they are landlords! It was Stanley Steingut himself, the Assembly Democratic leader, who said about the increase in lulus, "The boys deserve it."

No doubt Steingut and all the other think that millions of workers deserve cuts in already inadequate Medicaid and welfare allowances, while the Assemblymen deserve their increases.

Now is the time to fight for a political alternative, a labor party, that will give all these enemies and apologists for capitalism what they truly deserve.



# Scab Threat To Chicago Taxi Strike

BY JONAH GALLATIN

CHICAGO—Governor Ogilvy announced last week a forced labor policy that threatens the very existence of the trade unions in Illinois.

Ogilvy plans to force 1000 welfare recipients to scab for Chicago's major taxi firms threatened with a strike on July 1st.

The governor's move to provide the taxi bosses with a scab labor force is only a prelude to more massive attacks on all trade unions.

Two weeks ago Ogilvy called for a widespread reform of the Illinois welfare system. Then a week later he announced the first of his "reforms"—a plan to send the names of 1000 welfare recipients to Chicago's two major taxi companies for employment screening. This was only two weeks before the expiration of the drivers' contract.

## DROPPED

The capitalist press has billed the governor's plan as a bold move to reduce welfare costs in Illinois. Ogilvy has said that if a welfare recipient is offered a job with the taxi companies and refuses to take it he will be dropped from the welfare rolls.

This means that if the taxi drivers union goes on strike on July 1st and the "drafted" new drivers honor the picket lines, they will be out of work with no prospect of getting back on welfare.

After Ogilvy called for these reforms, Jerry Feldman, president of the Checker Cab Com-

pany and R.E. Samuels, president of Yellow Cab, publicly announced that they each needed 500 new cab drivers. Ogilvy then said he would send each company a list of 500 welfare recipients' names.

"Wonderful" was Feldman's reaction. "Just send them in and we'll make good cab drivers out of them."

Feldman and Samuels are lying from beginning to end.

In Chicago the competition for fares is so stiff that most cabbies must spend from ten to twelve hours on the street to make ends meet. Furthermore, Checker and Yellow have few cabs left except for a hundred or so old ones.

## APPEAL

In the face of this attack, E. W. Clark, president of Local 777 Democratic Union Organizing Committee (an affiliate of the Seafarers Union) said the plan would be unfair to the city's 3,000 full time drivers and had an "adverse effect" on collective bargaining presently underway.

Thus far Clark's only stated plan to oppose the attack is his appeal to the city's Vehicle Commissioner to insure that each new driver and vehicle is properly checked.

Every trade unionist throughout the state must raise the demand in his union that the AFL-CIO make immediate preparations for general strike action to beat back this attack by Gov. Ogilvy and the bosses. The ranks of labor must answer the attacks with the demand for full employment, for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

# Detroit Youth Chained And Brutally Clubbed By Cops



Youth look over the Bulletin at Hines Park before police in brutal attack arrest 148 of them.

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT, June 11—On May 21st, police from Westland and other surrounding communities arrested 148 youths in Edward Hines Parkway, just north of Detroit. This reporter heard many stories of vicious physical assaults, including people being chained to trees and then beaten.

One student was clubbed when he could not get his keys out of his pockets fast enough, another had his ribs broken. The only excuse the police had for the incident was that a few people were throwing beer bottles.

Other people told of police narcotics agents spying from the inside, and one youth told of being beaten by agents after being offered a ride to "get away from the cops."

The young workers and students were given only fifteen minutes to clear the area. The attack was launched when the picnic site was illuminated by parachute flares, and then the

cops closed in, arresting indiscriminately on charges of "disorderly conduct" and herded the people into waiting busses.

There will be more of this at Hines Park with the rising unemployment. As one youth said, "We have nowhere to go."

One worker said that the police were just practicing with these arrests. This is absolutely correct in that the government is now preparing this type of attack, and more, in order to drive the working class back to

the conditions of the 1930s.

The youth can see through Nixon's double talk, and this is precisely what the government is afraid of. This is why the capitalist class realizes that above all else it must smash the youth in America and around the world.

Only the Workers League is struggling to build a revolutionary youth movement to fight for the mobilization of the masses of young workers and students in a class fight against the government.

# 1199 Delegates Rebel Against Leadership

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Increasing disgust with the leadership of Local 1199 (Hospital Workers Union) among 1199 delegates burst into open rebellion at the June 10th Guild Delegates Assembly.

Once again the meeting was devoted to organizational issues, despite the bridge workers strike that had just ended and the impending attacks on hospital workers by Rockefeller and Lindsay.

President Davis gave a brief report on this crisis assuring the delegates that he had warned the city and state that "the lay-off of one 1199 worker would mean the lay-off of all 40,000." He said that the union was urging the Legislature (which just rejected the city workers pension) to hold a special session to restore the budget cuts.

Davis only presented this report because delegates at the last meeting demanded that action be taken against the cut backs.

Fred Mazelis, from the Rank and File Committee took the floor and proposed a city wide hospital rally, that the union fight for a general strike against the budget cuts and that immediate plans be made to build a labor party and run labor candidates in the 1972 elections.

Knowing that there was considerable sympathy for these proposals Davis quickly called

the vote without discussion to defeat the resolution.

It was then that the majority of delegates from Mount Sinai Hospital took the microphone to denounce President Davis and the way he conducted meetings.

When the delegates tried to intervene earlier in the meeting Davis had angrily demanded they sit down and wait until the end of the agenda and threatened to bring them up on charges for "disrupting" the meeting.

## "PUPPETS"

He was obviously hoping that by that time most of the delegates would have left.

The delegates from Mount Sinai accused Davis of dominating all meetings, only voting on what he agreed with, refusing to listen to the delegates or allowing them to make decisions on the agenda.

A delegate from the Triborough Methadone Program declared that "things have to change" and that Davis and the leadership were just "puppets for Rockefeller and Lindsay."

Other delegates from other hos-

(Continued On Page 12)

# Hospital Union Leader Framed

BY JIM HAYS

ST. LOUIS—In an open attempt to break the strike of Service Employees Union Local 50 against Normandy Osteopathic Hospital in St. Louis, U.S. Magistrate Garnet Taylor has charged the union's business agent, Ann Spears, with violation of the Federal Gun Control Act.

She is accused of directing three persons to fire bomb the hospital on May 25. Maintenance and service employees have been picketing at the hospital for the last month in order to obtain union recognition.

The bosses are so afraid of the growth of union militancy and organization in the crisis ridden St. Louis area hospitals that they must make the wild claim that Miss Spears paid three youths \$20 each to sit in the hospital parking lot with a fire bomb inside their car.

This attack on the labor movement comes just at the time two Washington University students were given stiff sentences

in the U.S. District Court for their alleged role in last year's ROTC bombings. Joel Achtenberg got fifteen years in prison and Napoleon Bland received a ten year sentence. Trade union leaders like Harold Gibbons of the Teamsters remain silent over the arrest of Ann Spears. St. Louis labor and student leaders must call a mass rally to prepare for strike action if the attacks on hospital workers and Ann Spears are not stopped immediately.

## FIREMEN

Meanwhile the wage offensive of city workers, led by the firemen continues despite the weakness of union leadership. Four city employees' unions have formed a bloc to demand that wage increases voted by the City Service Commission take effect on July 1 rather than August 22. Firemen at a firehouse on Natural Bridge Road told a Bulletin reporter that the situation in the Firefighters Local 73 was a "tinderbox" with all eyes on two militant firehouses

in the city which could start a wildcat at any moment.

They told of repeated delays in promised and legally voted wage increases. Moreover, there have been massive layoffs in the fire department with a cutback in manpower from 1100 to 900 in recent years.

Today many firemen are performing captains' jobs at private's pay. This comes at a time of increased workload and danger to the firefighters as housing and buildings in the city continue to decay. The Water Workers union has already taken a strike vote. Workers in all other city unions must insist that their leaders take strike votes and call for a citywide general strike if large wage increases are not granted immediately.

One fireman also told the Bulletin that he would like to see a labor candidate run for mayor. Firemen must continue with their petition campaign to recall Mayor Cervantes and back it up by building a labor party and running a labor candidate.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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# Clothing Workers Wildcat

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

PHILADELPHIA—Rank and file members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union closed down all men's and boys' clothing manufacturers in Allentown, Philadelphia and New York last week, demanding that the sweetheart contract accepted by the ACWA leadership be renegotiated.

On June 3rd, the ranks of the New York ACWA Local 4 wildcatted for two days against the contract before going back to work empty-handed.

But a week later, rank and file militants in the Allentown local sent delegations down to Philadelphia, where they gained immediate support among the ranks and extended the strike throughout the city.

Two days later they sent pickets up to New York. Members of New York Local 4 refused to cross their picket lines and joined the wildcat, picketing not only their plants but also the ACWA headquarters on Union Square.

This is the first major strike of the ACWA in over fifty years. A combination of pent-up anger over past and recent wage and pension settlements and frustration with a leadership that is tied hand and foot to the clothing bosses created the conditions for such a wildcat.

The contract with the Clothing Manufacturers Association (CMA) calls for an insulting 20c an hour raise per year over three years. This total package is less than what Nixon forced the unwilling railroad workers to

take as just a single year's increase!

### AUTOMATION

Yet Jacob Potofsky, President of the ACWA, was anxious to ram this through without the membership having a word to say about it. The grossness of the betrayal involved here becomes even more bitter when you add to it the way Potofsky has completely thrown out the window all restrictions on automation.

This particular bit of froth comes at a time when the employers are preparing to install new laser beam techniques which will pose the immediate lay off of thousands of clothing workers.

Even the pension plan reeks with false promises. If a worker leaves or retires before he is sixty-five years old—even if he has forty years on the job—he would get nothing, not even when he later turns sixty-five.

These are the questions facing the ACWA rank and file. The pressures which have sent Potofsky and his cohorts flying into the arms of the CMA are having the opposite effect on the ranks.

(Continued On Page 12)



Opposition leader at mass Amalgamated Clothing Worker meeting in Philadelphia urges wildcat.

## Antiwar GIs Demand Release Of Officer

BY DAVID NICHOLS

One hundred GIs in Britain announced last week that they would demand to be courtmartialled if the US Air Force went ahead with its plans to railroad Captain Thomas Culver through a court martial for his participation in an anti-war protest held there three weeks ago.

The top brass of the Air Force had Captain Culver arrested in an attempt to squash any further demonstrations. This backfired when a hundred GIs, who had participated with Captain Culver in taking a petition of 1,000 signatures against the war to the US Ambassador three weeks ago, announced that they too wanted to be courtmartialled.

Capt. Culver, a lawyer, was the highest ranking officer in the protest of over 200 American GIs in Britain. He was arrested on June 4th a few days after the protest and on the eve of his discharge from the

Air Force.

Although he has yet to be charged, Capt. Culver feels he will be courtmartialled for holding a demonstration and soliciting others to join him—a crime according to the Air Force which could net him a few years in Fort Leavenworth.

Capt. Culver feels that "...there's a real good chance that I'll be courtmartialled and there's a good chance I'll be acquitted."

### EXTEND

Culver is a Vietnam veteran who was just mildly against the war when he went there but now feels that the war is completely unjust to the Vietnamese people.

The decision to arrest Culver must have come from very high up considering that he was not arrested at the demonstration. In view of the fact that he was due to depart from the Air Force, one would think that they would be more than happy to be rid of him. But obviously

he was chosen to be an example.

The Air Force said that it can now extend time in the service through a drawn out courtmartial if a serviceman gets out of line or rather if he does not stay out of the picket line.

### CHARGES

In the US the Army is moving against GIs at Fort Greely, Alaska who published a GI newspaper entitled Arctic Arsenal. Court martial charges against Ed Jurenas, who was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance before he was inducted, are being sent for consideration to the Pentagon.

It is clear that Nixon and the military are well aware of the deepening crisis throughout the military services. The offensive of the labor movement against the attacks on the unions now lays the basis for a political struggle which will unite the GIs with the rest of the working class against the government.



Newark News striker takes a rest in what could be a long strike.

## BETHRUM BLACK CAUCUS DIVIDES STEEL RANKS

BY STEVE CHERKOSS

The struggle shaping up in the basic steel industry that comes to a head with the expiration of the United Steelworkers (USWA) contract with the Big Nine on July 31 will be a decisive test for the entire working class.

The question facing the steelworkers is whether they will continue the wage offensive and pattern of struggle set by the Teamsters in 1970 when they won \$1.65 in wage increases over three years, or be saddled by the sellout package of the can and aluminum settlements.

This kind of struggle requires a united fight of the rank and file in opposition to the unholy alliance of the steel barons, Nixon and the USWA bureaucracy headed by I.W. Abel. This is the basis of the Workers League campaign to build a national rank and file caucus around a

program which includes the demand for a \$2.00 an hour wage raise the first year of the contract, FULL AND IMMEDIATE cost of living escalator, the 4 day week at 5 days pay, and other essential points as spelled out in the Bulletin.

Just at the point where the development of such a movement based on the unity of Black and white workers against all forms of racism is urgent, we see the formation of Black nationalist groups such as the recently organized Bethrum

group at the Vernon, California mill of Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Bethrum is a "third world" caucus composed of Black and Chicano workers as well as community forces. Its alleged purpose is to fight racism, build an independent union only of Blacks and Chicanos to fight the company and the union sellouts.

Bethrum is patterned after DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) and the Revolutionary League of Black Workers based in Detroit. The pro-

gram of these groups, behind the radical, "revolutionary" phrasemongering is to avoid any struggle which really challenges the labor bureaucracy's domination of the unions. Their program actually pits Black against white worker, and thus strengthens the very racism it supposedly wants to fight.

### DRUM

During last year's General Motors strike, DRUM-type groups played absolutely no role (Continued On Page 12)



The Bulletin hit the steel plants: Left: Sparrows Point, Baltimore; Center: Duluth; Right: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Nixon Suppresses The Vietnam Report

The material contained in the 7,000 page secret report by the Pentagon on the history of the war in Vietnam now being released by the New York Times and Nixon's swift suppression of it leaves absolutely no doubt about the preparations towards open dictatorship being made by the rulers of the U.S.

This report commissioned by Robert McNamara while he was Secretary of Defense chronicles from the Truman to the Johnson Administrations, through a series of "scenarios," the plans for the brutal and bloody war against the workers and peasants of Indochina. At the heart of these "scenarios" at each point was the conscious deception of the American working people.

Behind all the forms of bourgeois democracy, the decisions for this war were being made and executed by the top circles of the ruling class and their military arm, the CIA.

Long before the Tonkin Bay incident in August of 1964 when Johnson accused the North Vietnamese of aggression and used this as a pretext to get a blanket support for the war from Congress, the Administration had been carrying out a war of aggression and provocation.

Under the direction of Johnson, the Military Command in Saigon and the CIA hired mercenaries to conduct raids together with U.S. and South Vietnamese forces against North Vietnam. The presence of the U.S. destroyer in Tonkin Bay was very much a part of U.S. imperialism's "provocation strategy."

This exposes the real face of imperialism. Behind all the talk about the silent majority's support to this bloody war is the fact that imperialism's strategy was developed with full cognizance of the hostility of the American working class to this war. It was necessary therefore to perpetrate lies and conduct this war from the dark halls of the White House and Pentagon.

The report is a clear indictment of both the Democratic and Republican Parties and their role in this war. Johnson the so-called "dove" became the strategist for the escalation of this war. Johnson did not act in a fundamentally different way than any other scoundrel in the Democratic or Republican Parties would in his position. One thing is absolutely clear in this report, that the rulers, from Truman to Johnson, at no point questioned the need to defend imperialism's interests in Southeast Asia and the possibility of any compromise there.

Nixon and Mitchell claim that the report releases information that threatens the so-called national defense. But what they really fear is that the working class will see the real class character of this war which is perpetuated against their interests.

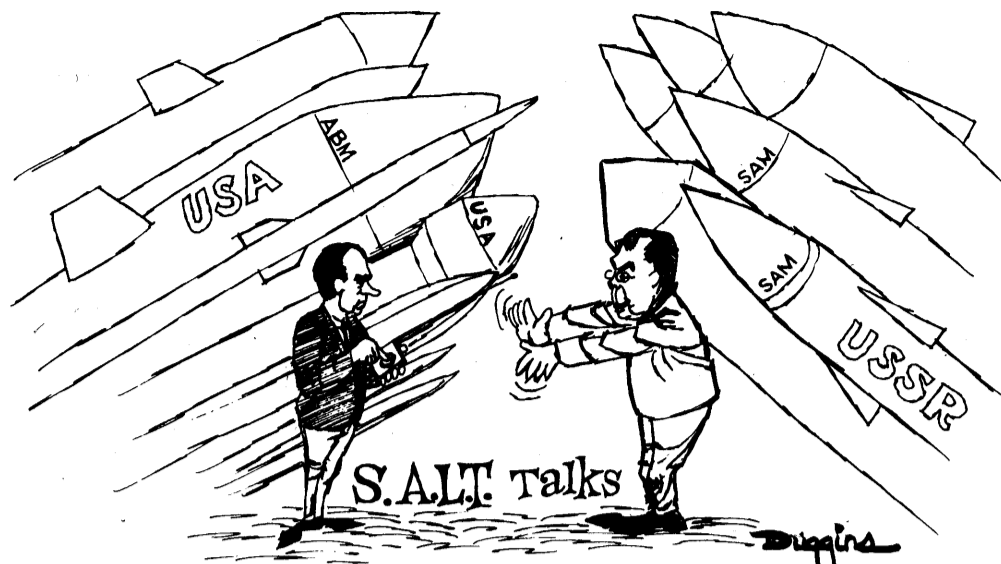
Now to preserve the vital interests of imperialism, the capitalist class must make a mockery of the bourgeois democracy behind which it rules. It must now move toward the suppression of even the capitalist press and the destruction of all democratic rights.

The content of this report and now Nixon's open moves to stop its publication only exposes the bankruptcy of the Stalinists and revisionists who seek alliances with the liberals whose perspective is based on "pressuring" the capitalist class.

The logic of this perspective was carried out by the Communist Party when it proposed a vote for Johnson as the lesser evil in 1964 precisely at the time when he was already preparing to carry out Goldwater's plans to bomb North Vietnam.

What the whole history of this war and now Nixon's action show is that the only thing the ruling class is pressured by is their own class interests and the preservation of their system. This means open warfare not only against the workers and peasants in Indochina but the working class in the U.S.

This raises sharply the urgency of the fight for the construction of a labor party. Only through the independent political mobilization of the working class against capitalism is the war going to be ended. The struggle against the war is part and parcel of the offensive of the American labor movement, of the general strike movement that is developing against the attacks on its wages and conditions. It is this movement and its political expression, the labor party, that will spell the doom for the imperialists and their filthy wars.



Come on, Mr. Nixon, let's stop this foolishness and get on with crushing revolutions.

## What we think

### CP Daily World Defends Castro's Attack On Padilla

The American Communist Party has taken up the cudgels for Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba, on the notorious Padilla case.

Heberto Padilla is a well known Cuban writer and poet who recently ran into difficulty with the Castro regime. He was jailed without charges on March 20, and released on April 25, three weeks after writing a statement of "self-criticism." This "confession" was read by Padilla to a meeting of the Cuban Writers' Union on April 27.

Several weeks later, a group of 60 prominent intellectuals from Europe and the Western Hemisphere issued an open letter which denounced Padilla's "confession" and voiced the suspicion that it was a result of physical torture.

This statement and the ensuing uproar has forced Castro to publicly deny that any torture was involved. And as always, the American Communist Party is ready and eager to defend the crimes of its fellow Stalinists or its Bonapartist and nationalist allies.

Hence the two page spread in the June 5th issue of the Daily World, reprinting Padilla's "confession," titled, "I Smear Cuba's Revolution."

The editors of the Daily World introduce Padilla's statement as follows: "It is a letter, slightly abridged, that he wrote to the Cuban government after a period of self-scrutiny and self-analysis. He had been taken into custody by the Cuban authorities for his unceasing defamation of the Cuban Revolution, supplying slanderous information to foreign writers, some of whom are actually sent to Cuba for purposes made notorious by the CIA..."

The editors of the Daily World actually admit that Padilla's "self-scrutiny" followed his arrest. And the charges? "Defamation...supplying slanderous information..." They cannot even show the slightest evidence for any connection with the CIA, so that charge is simply insinuated. Since everyone knows that the CIA is active in Cuba, and since Padilla admits he slandered the revolution, this kind of amalgam, backed up by a confession, becomes the proof of counterrevolutionary activity.

Decades of frameup trials by Stalin and all of his henchmen and heirs show quite clearly the way in which these amalgams have been used time and time again to cynically develop scape-

goats, divert attention away from the difficulties of the regime, and isolate and exterminate the revolutionary opponents of Stalinism.

The suspicions voiced on the Padilla case are therefore highly warranted. And the "confession" itself, as has been pointed out, reads like a total fraud, of which there have been thousands of examples in the long history of Stalinism.

In the 1930s the American Stalinists conducted a ferocious campaign around the Moscow Trials, designed to show that Lenin's old comrades, and Trotsky in particular, were agents of imperialism. These trials and all the confessions at them have been completely exposed as complete fabrications from start to finish. But the American CP has never repudiated these trials.

The American CP has never explained its own role during these trials, and in the preparations for the assassination of Trotsky himself, in 1940. And now this same party, this same leadership, wants the readers of the Daily World to believe another "confession!"

In 1956 and 1968 it was the U.S. Communist Party which played again the boldest role among all the foreign CPs in defending the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and the struggle of the Czech workers and youth against the bureaucracy.

When the Puerto Rican nationalists of the MPI attempted to stop the Workers League's criticisms of their policies with physical attacks, they knew that the logical place to turn for support of their charges that the Workers League were "CIA agents" was the American CP.

When the Ceylonese bourgeois coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Stalinists and the ex-revisionist LSSP was up to its neck in the blood of Ceylonese revolutionary youth, the Daily World rushed into print with stories about "Ceylon's misguided youth" whom, it seems, had been inveigled by the CIA to revolt against the Bandaranaike government—which explains, we suppose, why the U.S. government gave its 100% support to the suppression of the revolt.

The revolutionary movement needs no reminders on the counterrevolutionary activities of the CIA. It is the Stalinist bureaucracy which connives with the imperialists against the workers and peasants. Then it seeks to cover its policies by the most

gigantic frameups against its revolutionary opponents.

The Castro regime is in the deepest economic and political crisis in its history. Castro's economic policies lie in ruins. He is forced more and more to attack the Cuban working class, through the introduction of new labor codes, "anti-loafing laws" and the like.

At the same time Castro is silent on the true counterrevolutionary nature of the regimes in Mexico, in France, in Spain, in Pakistan and in Ceylon, where the working class and youth have taken up the struggle against imperialism and capitalist reaction.

It is no accident that Padilla's confession compares himself to "those writers who live in socialist countries and whose works are secretly published on the outside, and who become a kind of authority no state can touch..." The comparison to Soviet dissidents like Solzhenitsyn, Sinyavsky, Daniel, and Grigorenko is obvious.

Castro, like the Soviet bureaucracy, must seek to discredit every trend critical of Stalinism among the intellectuals and the youth, because these can be the beginning of the development of Trotskyism, the only revolutionary alternative, within the working class. That would be the finish of Castro and his Stalinist mentors.

The American Communist Party defends every crime of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and all of its allies. It defends unswervingly the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy here at home. With every weapon at its disposal it seeks to hold back the movement of the working class.

In the 1970s the betrayals of Stalinism can and must be stopped. The 1930s will not be repeated if an international revolutionary movement is built which takes forward all the lessons of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, and which makes these lessons real in the struggles all over the world, including Eastern Europe.

That is the tremendous significance of the International Youth Rally at Essen, West Germany, called for July 3 and 4, 1971. This rally, supported by the International Committee of the Fourth International, will bring together revolutionary youth from both East and West Europe, from the advanced and colonial countries. It will be a tremendous blow against imperialism and its Stalinist helpers.



### 3 Lenin as Revisionist

TODAY THE CRISIS of imperialism and the offensive of the working class internationally requires above all the construction of the revolutionary party, the building of a Marxist leadership in the working class. This leadership must be rooted and can only develop as part of the continuity of the Marxist movement, assimilating all of the lessons of the history of the working class.

The strategy upon which the revolutionary party must be based has been developed historically. The First International was only able to formulate the principles of revolutionary strategy and could test them only partially in the experience of various countries. The Second International dissolved strategy into tactics and the day to day movement. It was the October Revolution and the Third International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky that re-established revolutionary strategy and developed it for this epoch.

Stalinism historically represented a break with the continuity of the Marxist movement, its theory, its strategy for the victory of the world revolution and with all the strategical experiences of the working class. After Lenin's death Trotsky continued the struggle for the continuity of October and the early years of the Communist International in the struggle against Stalinism and the construction of the Fourth International.

Progressive Labor was born out of the Stalinist movement. The thread that runs throughout the development of this organization from *Road to Revolution I* to *Road to Revolution III* is its maintenance of Stalin against Trotsky.

The movement of the working class today into the struggle for power and the demands the leadership of this struggle places on the development of strategy has thrown PL into the deepest crisis. Refusing to confront the roots of revisionism in Stalinism and seeking at all costs to maintain its middle class movement, PL is driven into a war with Lenin and Leninism, into a war against the strategy which alone can lead the working class to power.

Stalin sought to destroy Leninism by reviving the theories of the Second International and covering them with Bolshevik phraseology and quotes from Lenin. Today PL goes even further. It has literally turned history upside down in its desperate attempt to defend Stalin. Lenin is openly denounced as a revisionist and even a capitalist and all of Stalin's counterrevolutionary positions are attributed to Lenin.

We have already seen how PL begins its attack on Lenin by calling into question the revolutionary role of the working class, accusing Lenin of not understanding that the peasantry is all proletarianized and "a main revolutionary force." PL then denies that Lenin fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat and essentially negates the October Revolution. The degeneration of the Soviet Union, says PL, is rooted in Lenin's New Economic Policy.

But this is not enough. PL must also destroy the whole strategy for world revolution which Lenin and the Third International developed. In doing this PL is driven to the ridiculous and to the greatest distortions.

In *Road to Revolution III* PL contends that Lenin's failure to understand the role of the peasantry led him to reject a socialist program and thus to make alliances and concessions with the bourgeoisie.

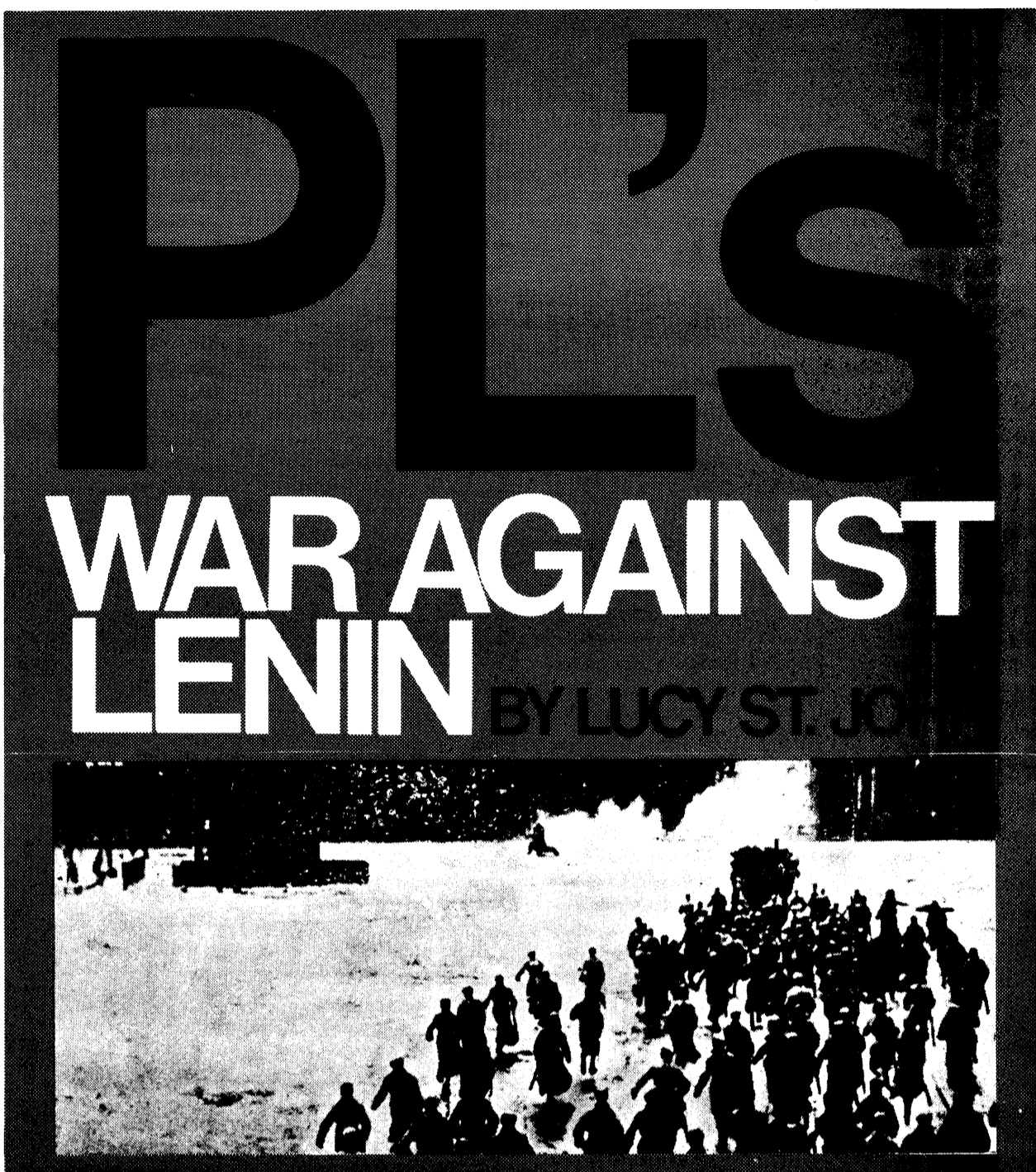
PL sees this revisionism and these alliances with the bourgeoisie expressed concretely in Mao's program of the New Democracy and in the policy of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern which outlined the perspective of the Popular Front.

The whole purpose of PL's analysis is to conceal the role of Stalin, his responsibility for not only Mao's development but the policy of the Popular Front. PL turns Lenin into a nationalist, a reformist and Stalin into an internationalist and leader of the world revolution.

#### LENIN AS "REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST"

Under the subhead "Traditional Communist Strategy Must Be Replaced," PL says the following about Lenin's strategy:

"The interaction between socialist revolution and national liberation is the heart of traditional communist



strategy. Their relationship to each other is the pivot of the strategy Lenin himself devised and fought for from 1903 on. This was the strategy of the Bolsheviks and all the parties of the Communist International. It is the strategy promoted by the Chinese Communist Party today.

"But on no matter is communist practice so pendulum-like, or Marxist-Leninist theory so equivocal, as on the matter of national liberation. The ambiguity of this strategy cannot be considered an accidental or incidental problem to be cleared up by further explication. Nearly 70 years of ideological struggles within the communist movement, and communist-led struggles, have clarified matters enough. It is crystal-clear that equivocation is inherent in the strategy and political activity derived from it is bound to swing from one course to its opposite. At its most successful it enables an organization to win the support of the masses of the working people on the basis of a radical reform program. . . ." (43)

According to PL, Lenin's ambiguous position on the question of national liberation led him to develop national liberation as a "strategy" of "revolutionary nationalism." (44)

To say that Lenin's strategy was a strategy of "revolutionary nationalism" based on the struggle for national liberation is simply to deny everything that Lenin wrote and did. It denies his whole struggle not only for the October Revolution, but his struggle beginning in 1914 to construct the Third International.

The foundations of the Third International had their roots in Lenin's struggle against the betrayers of the Second International who substituted their reformist program of "national socialism," that is, support to their own national bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, for the struggle of the world working class for power.

In the course of Lenin's preparations for the struggle for power in April, 1917, he was already outlining his plans for the convocation of the Third International. His *April Theses*, which PL incidentally has wiped out of history, had as its ninth demand the call for the construction of a new international.

Lenin began first of all with an understanding of the epoch, the epoch of imperialism, of world economy and world politics. As Lenin saw it a party could only be constructed on the basis of an international program which corresponded to the character of the epoch. The strategy of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist

International in its early period proceeded from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system as a whole in all its connections and contradictions.

It was precisely Lenin's understanding of the epoch of imperialism which led him to pay close attention to the national liberation movements. Under imperialism the whole world was partitioned by the monopolist powers. A system of exploitation and oppression was developed by the imperialists which cut off the possibility of further development of the colonial and semi-colonial countries along the lines of industrialization and the bourgeois revolution as it had developed in the advanced countries. Two thirds of the world was condemned to the role of tributaries to the imperialist countries, providing raw materials and cheap labor. National oppression was intensified creating tremendous resistance among the oppressed masses of these countries.

PL tries to pass Lenin off as a muddlehead who held "ambiguous" and "contradictory" positions on the question of national liberation. It is precisely Lenin's demand for analysis from the standpoint of dialectical materialism that disturbs PL. For on this question as all others, Lenin demanded a concrete analysis of the historical, social and economic source of the struggles. The different attitudes which Lenin, as Marx, held toward different "national" movements spring from one and the same socialist and internationalist outlook.

PL would, of course, feel much better about it if the question could be solved once and for all through formal logic. This is why it does not dare give its own "explication" of the question.

#### THE DEMAND FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

Lenin, as Marx and Engels, saw the demand for self-determination as one of many demands for democracy which had to be considered and supported within the context of the world struggle for socialism by the working class.

Lenin emphasized throughout his work on this question that the demand for self-determination is always associated with a country in a state of backwardness which has either not passed through the bourgeois democratic revolution or where this revolution has only been partially successful. Lenin considered the demand for self-determination to be a bourgeois democratic



demand and its only progressive content to be the right to secede.

Lenin's support to this demand in no sense entailed his support to nationalism. He did not see it as an end in itself or a "strategy" but he did see it as absolutely essential to unite the working class internationally, to unite the workers in the imperialist countries with the workers and peasants of the colonial countries in a common struggle for the destruction of imperialism.

"In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social Democrat of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a an imperialist. This is an absolute demand, even where the chance of secession being possible and 'practicable' before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand. . . ."

"People who have not gone into the question thoroughly think that it is 'contradictory' for the Social Democrats of oppressor nations to insist on the 'freedom to secede' while Social Democrats of oppressed nations insist on the 'freedom to integrate.' However, a little reflection will show that there is not, and cannot be, any other road to internationalism and the amalgamation of nations, any other road from the given situation to this goal." (45)

Lenin's understanding of this question played a big role in the victory of the October Revolution in uniting the working class and the peasantry in a country made up of nationalities.

PL claims that in answering Luxemburg's attacks on the demand for self-determination in April, 1916, Lenin contended that "To get to socialism the world must pass through a democratic phase. So the proletariat must fight for democracy, part of which is national self-determination." (46) To prove this PL quotes the following statement (without citation) from Lenin: "The socialist revolution is not a battle on a single front." (47)

If we look at the whole passage from Lenin's theses on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" from which this is taken we find that Lenin is hardly talking about the world passing through a democratic phase.

"Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism. In the foremost countries capital has outgrown the bounds of national states, has replaced competition by monopoly and has created all the objective conditions for the achievement of socialism. In Western Europe and in the United States, therefore, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day." (48)

Later on we find the quote which PL has extracted out of context:

"The socialist revolution is not a single act, it is not one battle on one front, but a whole epoch of acute class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e. on all questions of economics and politics, battles that can only end in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie." (49)

Lenin makes the point here that the socialist revolution is not just a single act but includes a system of actions and demands which by their association and growth lead the working class to take the road of power. This struggle, he says, must include an all-round, revolutionary struggle for democracy. He draws a sharp line between those who seek to limit the struggle simply to democracy and to pose it in a reformist way, limiting it to bourgeois legality and those who see the defense of democratic rights as part and parcel of the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

PL distorts Lenin's position here in order to link it to the position of the Stalinist Popular Front in the 1930s. "We know," PL says, "from the 1930s most of the communist movement stopped struggling for socialism in order to struggle for democracy." (50) But the Comintern in the 1930s did precisely what Lenin had warned against because under the leadership of Stalin it had rejected the struggle for world revolution.

### THREE QUOTES OUT OF CONTEXT

In a similar way PL attempts to reduce Lenin's perspective to simply a struggle for self-determination. It takes three quotes from Lenin which are completely torn out of context:

"The popular masses of the East. . . which up until then had been completely outside the orbit of historical progress, because (they) could not constitute an independent revolutionary force, ceased, as we know, to play such a passive role at the beginning of the 20th century."

"It is becoming quite clear that the socialist revolution which is impending for the whole world will not be merely the victory of the proletariat of each country over its own bourgeoisie. That would be possible if revolution came easily and swiftly. We know that the imperialists will not allow this, that all countries are armed against their domestic Bolshevism and that their one thought is how to defeat Bolshevism at home.

"Union of the proletariat and working masses generally of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. For this alone will guarantee victory over capitalism." (51)

PL then concludes:

"In this way Lenin merged the peasant with the national and colonial questions. His idea was two-fold. On the one hand, destroy the various imperialist, multi-national empires through secession, and on the other hand, unite the working classes of the separate nations organizationally. . . . Just as the middle peasants are the core of the 'democratic dictatorship' strategy, the national bourgeoisie is the core of the national liberation strategy." (52)

It takes the wildest stretch of imagination to come



Lenin addressing Third Congress of Comintern.

to such conclusions even from these remarks by Lenin. Nowhere does PL explain from this how Lenin merged the peasant with the national and colonial questions. Nor is there anything here about the national bourgeoisie being the "core" of Lenin's "national liberation strategy." PL contends from the excerpts that Lenin's strategy amounted to simply fighting for secession and uniting the "working class organizationally."

What Lenin actually outlined in these passages, the first of which are taken from Lenin's address to the Second Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East on November 22, 1919, and the third from his "Preliminary Draft Theses On the National and the Colonial Questions" written in 1920 for the Second Congress of the Communist International, is the perspective of permanent revolution.

In his address to the Peoples of the East, Lenin outlines the development since the growth of imperialism of the struggle in the colonial countries, the revolutionary struggles in Turkey, Persia and China. He shows how the imperialist war brought the colonial peoples into international politics. Far from it being simply a struggle of secession and "organizational" unity of the working class, Lenin shows how these developments now engulf the whole world in the struggle for socialist revolution. This PL leaves out.

"Hence, the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the dependent countries, against international imperialism. Characterizing the approach of the world social revolution in the Party Program we adopted last March, we said that the civil war of the working people against imperialists and exploiters in all the advanced countries is beginning to be combined with national wars against international imperialism. That is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and will be more and more confirmed as time goes on. . . ."

"It is self evident that final victory can be won only by the proletariat of all the advanced countries of the

world, and we, the Russians, are beginning the work which the British, French or German proletariat will consolidate. But we see that they will not be victorious without the aid of the working people of all the oppressed colonial nations. . . . The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organization, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately, and to join the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle." (53)

Lenin called for a "closer union of the proletariat and the working masses of all nations and countries" precisely because, as the section of the quote PL omits states: "The whole political situation has now placed the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day." (54)

In other words Lenin saw the struggle of the working class and peasantry in the colonial countries for national liberation merging with the struggle of the working class in the advanced countries against capitalism. The revolution in the backward countries will grow over into the socialist revolution to the extent that it comes under proletarian leadership. This is why Lenin emphasized the need to construct Communist Parties. The final victory of these struggles could only be achieved through the victory of the proletariat in the advanced countries. This is why Lenin sought to unite the working class "organizationally"—to construct an international party capable of carrying forward this struggle to victory.

Lenin's whole analysis is only confirmed by the world today in which the struggles of the workers and peasants in Indochina, in the Middle East, in East Bengal for national liberation are now joined by the struggles of the workers in Europe and America posing the possibility for the destruction and defeat of imperialism internationally. This is why today the strategy developed in the first five years of the Communist International lays the foundation for our struggles today. But it is this that PL seeks to destroy.

PL launches into its attack on the policies of the first five years of the CI by noting that the Comintern at its First Congress voted unanimously for the manifesto which had been drafted by Trotsky.

"Lenin and the rest of the congress unanimously accepted Trotsky's draft manifesto, which stated in part:

"The liberation of the colonies is only possible accompanied by that of the metropolis. The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also Persia and Armenia will only obtain the possibility for independent existence on the day when the workers of England and France will have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken state power in their own hands. . . . Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!" (55)

PL takes this and tries to attribute Luxemburg's denial of the struggle for self-determination in the colonial countries to Trotsky and Lenin.

"Speak of Luxemburgist deviations! How can we expect any one to take the role of revolutionary theory seriously when, under the passion of the moment, even Lenin can endorse such an outlook? . . . Or perhaps we should conclude that, for all his pronouncements on the subject, he just could not overcome his own ambiguous feelings, he could not win himself to uphold the 'right of self-determination.'" (56)

Needless to say Trotsky is not talking about denying the importance of the struggle for self-determination. PL's contention cannot stand up to either Lenin's or Trotsky's work on the question. Trotsky stated quite clearly to the Second Congress that:

"The socialist who aides directly or indirectly in perpetuating the privileged position of one nation at the expense of another. . . who draws a line of distinction between the races and colors in the matter of human rights (should) be branded with infamy, if not with a bullet, but in no case merits either a mandate or the confidence of the proletariat." (57)

The point that Lenin and Trotsky emphasized over and over again, and this is the point Trotsky is making here, is that without the socialist revolution in the advanced countries, it is impossible for the colonial countries to be fully independent or to be able to construct socialism.

This is absolutely clear if we look at the rest of the quote which PL cleverly omits:

"Even now the struggle in the more developed colonial countries, while taking place under the banner of national liberation, immediately assumes a more or less clearly defined social character. If capitalist





Trotsky at Third Congress.

Europe has violently dragged the most backward sections of the world into the whirlpool of capitalist relations, then socialist Europe will come to the aid of liberated colonies with her technology, her organization and her ideological influence in order to facilitate their transition to a planned and organized socialist economy!" (58)

It is not accidental that PL omits this. It was Stalin's denial of this basic principle of Marxism that formed the basis for his theory that socialism could be constructed in a backward country. In turning to this, Stalin, of course, broke with Lenin who over and over again reiterated that without the revolution in the West the Soviet Union was doomed.

#### THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE CI

PL contends that after the First Congress Lenin changed his strategy from a struggle just in the Western European countries to the colonial countries:

"In any case, a year later, with the revolutionary wave at its peak Lenin changed his views again. He used the Second Congress of the Communist International to lay down his new strategy, which was really his old strategy applied globally. This strategy encompassed a set of mutually contradictory premises.

"His starting point was that the central point of world politics is the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet movement and the Soviet Russian Republic. One cannot now confine himself to proclaiming the need for closer union of the working people of various nations, now the policy must be the unity of the liberation movements with Soviet Russia." (58)

These mutually contradictory premises according to PL, included temporary alliances with the bourgeois-democratic movements but only on condition that communist parties are permitted to be formed in the national areas. The other was that in the event the revolution did not occur in the West, "the most radical elements of the national bourgeoisie were to be supported." (59)

According to PL, Lenin's strategy of "unity of liberation movements with Soviet Russia" developed a foreign policy "based on the national interests of each socialist state." (60)

Here PL tries to attribute to Lenin the position developed by Stalin after Lenin's death, that the defense of the Soviet Union and the construction of socialism in one country requires not world revolution but unity with the national bourgeoisie. It was precisely on this basis that Stalin formed his alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek disregarding completely the perspective outlined in the Theses on the colonial question at the Second Congress.

The Second Congress, in fact, was in no way limited to a discussion of the struggle in the colonial countries, or to forming an alliance with the national bourgeoisie. The Second Congress occurred during a period of revolutionary upheavals in which the CI felt the victory of the revolution was possible in the West and preparations were made for this in terms of the construction of the Communist Parties.

The central task of this Congress centered around the 21 demands to draw a sharp line between the perspective of the Communist movement and the forces of the Second International, many of which now sought to join the CI.

In his "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Communist International" which were adopted by the Second Congress, Lenin said:

"It is a distinguishing feature of the present moment in the development of the international communist movement that in the great majority of capitalist countries the preparations of the proletariat to bring its dictatorship into being have not been completed, indeed, in many cases have not even been systemati-

cally begun. It does not follow that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future. It is quite possible for the entire economic and political situation is unusually rich in inflammable material and in reasons for its suddenly catching fire.... From what has been said it follows that for the communist parties the immediate task is to accelerate the revolution, taking care not to provoke it artificially before adequate preparations have been made. The preparation of the proletariat for the revolution must be promoted by action. On the other hand, the history of many socialist parties, previously referred to, makes it essential to see that recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not remain an empty word.

"From the standpoint of the international proletarian movement, therefore, the chief task of the communist parties at the present moment is to rally the scattered communist forces, to create a united communist party in each country...to multiply tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of state power in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (61)

It was within this context of an international strategy to organize the struggle for "state power" that the Theses on the colonial question was presented. The Theses stated clearly that the policy of the CI on the national and colonial question had to be based primarily on "bringing together the proletariat and working class of all nations and countries for the common revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie." (62)

The Theses was directed not towards forming alliances with the national bourgeoisie but constructing communist parties in the colonial countries. It was only on this basis that the Theses took up the question of alliance with elements in the nationalist movement for a common struggle against imperialism.

The Theses stated specifically that if the victorious proletariat organized systematic propaganda and with the help of the Soviet governments, "it is incorrect to assume that such peoples must pass through the capitalist stage of development." (63)

In addition a sharp differentiation was made between reformist and "national-revolutionary" movements. The communists could support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies if they were genuinely revolutionary and were not opposed to the communists organizing and training the peasantry and the exploited masses along revolutionary lines.

The Theses further made very clear the attitude of the CI towards bourgeois nationalist forces:

"A resolute struggle must be waged against the attempt to clothe the revolutionary liberation movements in the backward countries which are not genuinely communist in communist colors. The Communist International has the duty of supporting revolutionary movements in the colonies and backward countries only with the object of rallying constituent elements of the future proletarian parties—which will be truly communist and not only in name—in all the backward countries and educating them to a consciousness of a special task, namely that of fighting against the bourgeois-democratic trend in their own nation. The Communist International should collaborate provisionally with the revolutionary movement of the colonies and the backward countries, and even form an alliance with it, but it must not amalgamate with it; it must unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in an embryonic stage." (64)

PL is literally driven to madness in carrying the logic of its argument further. It contends that Lenin "included" Germany "in his list of dependent countries." On this basis PL claims the Comintern through its representative Radek developed the theory that

Germany was a "semi-colony" and on this basis the German Communist Party and the Comintern supported German nationalists and fascists in the 1920s.

This is a horrendous piece of falsification and of course PL cannot give any sources for it. Never will you find in Lenin's works his characterization of Germany as a dependent, colonial or semi-colonial country. It was precisely because Germany was an advanced capitalist country and had a developed working class movement that Lenin looked to revolution there to extend and protect the gains of October.

Laufenberg and Wolfheim, two ultra-lefts who were expelled from the German CP were the ones who advocated the policy of "National Bolshevism" which included an alliance with the German bourgeoisie. This was not the position of the German Communist Party. When a section of the German military organized a coup in 1920 it was opposed by a general strike of the working class which the German CP supported. Radek was in Germany at the time but not as an official spokesman of the Comintern. As irresponsible as Radek was, he never advocated "National Bolshevism" and in fact joined with Lenin at the Third Congress in denouncing it.

What PL seeks to completely avoid in all this is the strategy mapped out during the first five years of the Communist International not only for the colonial countries but for the advanced countries, for the construction of mass parties and the struggle for power.

#### THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE CI

At the Third Congress the parties of the CI in the Theses on Tactics developed the conception of a transitional program and the tactic of the united front. The strategic aim of these policies was the overthrowing of capitalism.

The Theses made a sharp contradistinction between the minimum program of the Social Democratic parties which had the effect of bolstering up capitalism and put forward a transitional program.

"The communist parties," said the Theses, "must put forward demands whose fulfillment is an immediate and urgent working class need, and they must fight for these demands in mass struggles, regardless of whether they are compatible with the profit economy of the capitalist class or not." (65)

The intent of these demands in their totality should be to destroy the power of the bourgeoisie. "The workers who fight for partial demands will automatically be forced into struggle against the entire bourgeoisie and their state apparatus." (66)

The united front tactic was developed to enable the Communist Parties in the countries where the Social Democracy held the leadership of the working class to win over the masses of the workers. It was a tactic developed for mass parties and for agitation to defend the working class against the attacks of the capitalist class through common action of the trade unions and working class tendencies.

The united front did not mean that the party should cease to struggle to establish its leadership of the class or to make completely clear the difference between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. But, as Trotsky pointed out, the united front did not mean that the Communist Party could go straight to the masses under reformist leadership.

The question was to develop a mass pressure which would force the reformist and centrist leaders either to take part in joint action on the specific issues or be forced to explain why to their supporters. This would create the most favorable conditions for the communists and make possible the winning of the rank and file of the organizations from their existing leaders. The united front did not mean a long term agreement on a common program. It above all excluded any alliance with the capitalist class.

The CI, in addition, made a sharp differentiation between the proletarian united front in the advanced countries and the united front in the colonial countries which permitted joint action with sections of the national bourgeoisie for common defense in war against imperialism.

"In the conditions prevailing in the West, where the transitional period is characterized by an organized gathering of forces, the slogan put forward is that of the proletarian united front, but in the colonial East the slogan must be emphasized at the present time is that of the anti-imperialist united front...." (67)

The Theses also made clear the limits even in the colonial countries:

"The workers' movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must first of all win for itself the position of an independent revolutionary factor in the anti-imperialist front as a whole. Only when its importance as an independent factor is recognized and its political independence secured, are temporary agreements with bourgeois democracy permissible and necessary...." (68)



It was precisely this strategy which was taken forward and developed by Trotsky and stands as the foundation of the Transitional Program of the Trotskyist movement.

#### LENIN AND STALIN

It is this strategy which Stalin sought to liquidate and with it the Communist International. PL concludes from all its work that it was only Stalin who understood the significance of the Russian Revolution, who developed a "socialist interpretation" of the struggle for self-determination involving the mobilization of the "laboring masses" against the bourgeoisie. Only Stalin, says PL, thus understood the international significance of the Russian Revolution.

Lenin, on the other hand, says PL, maintained a "bourgeois interpretation", meaning the working class could win power without the fight for socialism and through the democratic dictatorship.

But as we have shown, it was Lenin who developed the understanding of the problem of self-determination, seeing it as a democratic demand to unite the working class. In this way the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership were able to unite the Russian working class and peasantry in the fight for socialism and the establishment of the first workers state. He then fought to build a new International.

Stalin had absolutely no understanding of the question of self-determination and was openly hostile to it, displaying his anti-working class chauvinist "bourgeois interpretation" of self-determination. Lenin, in fact, opened a bitter fight with Stalin over Georgia where he was in charge of facilitating the unification of the Soviet Republic of Georgia. In Georgia, Stalin and his henchmen tried to solve this question through bureaucratic maneuvers and force. At one point, one of Stalin's henchmen even struck a member of the Georgian Bolshevik Party which was unprecedented in the whole history of the party.

It was in Stalin's resistance to Lenin on this question that he, not PL, first developed the theory that Lenin was a "nationalist socialist" and was putting forward a policy of national reformism. (69)

PL sees the Popular Front, which they admit was disastrous, growing up in the 1930s. However, they do not explain why or in any way hold Stalin responsible for it. While they do not directly link Lenin to the Popular Front it is implicit in their whole analysis of his strategy. PL sees Maoism and the take over in China by the "red bourgeoisie" as flowing out of both Lenin's strategy and the Popular Front as it was put forward at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

Despite every attempt by PL, however, to root the rise of revisionism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union in Lenin's policy, history stands against it, not only in the perspectives enunciated and practiced by Lenin in October and the strategy worked out in the first five years of the Communist International as we have revealed here, but also in the historical experience of the working class after Lenin's death.

It was Stalin who became the spokesman of the bureaucracy which grew up in the Soviet Union after October which reflected the pressures of imperialism on the isolated workers state.

Rather than fighting to overcome the obstacles through the fight for the Soviet Union to break out of its isolation through the struggle for international revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy adapted to the hostile class pressures after the revolution. This is the origin of its theory of "socialism in one country" which rejected the central struggle for world revolution and put forward the position, never, never, never advocated by Lenin, that socialism could be constructed in a single country.

What flowed from this was that the Soviet Union, and in particular the privileges of the bureaucracy, would be protected through alliances with imperialism and non-revolutionary forces. Retreating from the Leninist program of world revolution as the only long-term salvation, Stalin and his faction disguised its opportunism behind the slogan of consolidation and unity.

Socialism in one country is the real root of national reformism in the Soviet Union and the Comintern. The rejection of socialism in one country was naturally implicit in the creation of the Communist International.

It was precisely the "national roads" to socialism advocated by the Second International which Stalin revived. We can only recall that the Communist International was founded through the struggle against these forces and forced a sharp break from them in its program and its requirements for membership. Stalinism combined all the old programmatic illusions of the Second International with the forms and the phrasology of the Bolshevik Party.

Under Stalin, the Communist International led workers

into battle behind a program of subordination of the international working class to the narrow conservative and national interests of the bureaucracy.

In England in 1926 Stalin subordinated the British Communist Party to the trade union bureaucracy through its infamous Anglo-Russian Committee tying the working class to the bureaucracy and opening the door to the defeat of the General Strike.

In China in the 1920s Stalin revived the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in order to justify the liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party into the Kuomintang. Stalin used the formulation that the Kuomintang was a "bloc of four classes" and such a party was adequate to the democratic stage the Chinese Revolution had to go through. On this basis Stalin welcomed Chiang, the Kuomintang and its counter-revolutionary warlords into the Comintern. There was only one vote against this and it was Trotsky's.

Under this policy Stalin allowed Chiang Kai-Shek to come to power after massacring thousands of communists in Shanghai and other industrial towns.

This is the real source of Mao's New Democracy. Mao was able to make the Chinese Revolution only because he pragmatically broke from this policy, and broke with Chiang and fought for power. Stalin all the time and even after the Chinese Revolution was supporting Chiang against Mao. Mao's support to the butchery of the Bangla Desh only shows how completely he has returned to the arms of Stalin.

Trotsky, basing himself on the strategy outlined at the Second Congress of the CI, fought Stalin throughout the history of the early Chinese Revolution. He fought to construct a new international against the betrayals of Stalinism in the 1930s.

In Germany, Stalin refused to implement the tactic of the "proletarian united front," leaving the working class under the leadership of the reformists. But under the guise that the Social Democrats were social fascists, the German CP entered into an electoral alliance with the fascists. The failure to unite the class in the struggle for power is what opened the door to Hitler.

In 1935, as PL correctly points out, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern the Stalinist bureaucracy enunciated its perspective of the Popular Front, which only reflected its diplomatic maneuvers with the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie. This front had absolutely nothing to do with the policy outlined in the early years of the CI which sought to unite the working class against the bourgeoisie not with it. This led to the defeat of the working class internationally and to the rise of fascism in Spain.

Despite PL's denunciation of the Popular Front, it still maintains that in this period the "Soviet Union played a generally positive role." In other words at the time of the October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin, the policy of the Bolshevik party was reactionary and led to a compromise with the bourgeoisie. But at a time when the working class was driven down into bloody defeat by Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies the "Soviet Union played a generally positive role." Such is the logic of PL's perspective.

#### A BREAK WITH THE WORKING CLASS

With *Road to Revolution III*, PL has virtually severed every connection it had with the history of the working class movement. PL no longer defends the Soviet Union or China because they say they have become capitalist. Now PL has broken even its ties with Lenin.

PL's attack on Lenin serves above all as a justification for the liquidationism, and the fight against the construction of the revolutionary party. It is not accidental that PL in *Road to Revolution III* counterposes to Lenin's

strategy the Paris Commune and the Cultural Revolution. What both have in common is that no revolutionary party existed to lead these struggles. This is why they were crushed. But it is this that PL raises as an alternative against Lenin's lifelong struggle to construct not only the Bolshevik party but an International.

At the same time PL concludes from history that "Communists can win state power even though they follow a wrong political strategy." This is an open rejection of Marxism, of the necessity for a scientific consciousness which alone can arm the working class for struggle against capitalism. It means the rejection of the party which struggles against all the agencies of bourgeois consciousness and mobilizes the class for power.

But even further such a conception actually becomes the cover for the acceptance of the current leadership of the working class, the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism.

Having broken with Leninism, PL's "strategy" boils down to the worship of spontaneous struggles and simplistic formulas characteristic of middle class radicalism. PL is very clear on this. For them a "strategic outlook" consists of first recognizing that the world is simply divided between the capitalists and the workers, the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, combined with the formula "communist strategy must guide communist tactics" and "the proletariat must unite with its class friends." (70)

This is suitable for the living rooms of middle class radicals but not for the struggle to mobilize the working class for power. Behind all of PL's left mutterings lies its program of reform, its refusal to confront the difficult struggle to penetrate the working class with a program that can change the consciousness of the class in its struggles and prepare for the break with capitalism.

With the movement of the working class, it is thrown into crisis as it finds that it is not just a question of "serving the people." Unable to confront the new situation because of its break with Marxism, it turns against the working class and becomes a useful tool in the hands of the capitalist class.

At a time when the capitalist class is moving to break the offensive of the working class through destruction of its unions, PL sides with Nixon, advocating the workers leave their unions and dissolve their struggle into middle class protest marches. The other side of the CP's support to the trade union bureaucracy is PL's abandonment of the fight in the unions and the workers to their present leadership. PL stands with the CP and the revisionist forces against the central fight in the working class to construct a labor party.

There is a certain lesson for PL in the history of Jay Lovestone who broke from the Communist Party and sought to construct a movement in the working class outside the CP at all times maintaining the perspective of Stalinism against Trotskyism.

Lovestone, of course, ended up as the CIA's man in the trade union movement. While the leaders of PL may or may not end up precisely in this spot, one thing is clear—they are moving more and more to the right and into open alliance with the capitalist class.

This is the meaning of *Road to Revolution III* and its war against Lenin. In the past period whole sections of PL have taken up a struggle inside this organization to probe to the roots of revisionism, turning to the struggle of Trotsky. The construction of the Trotskyist movement, the Workers League, and the International Committee of the Fourth International is the only alternative to the betrayal of Stalinism. This is the only road to revolution.

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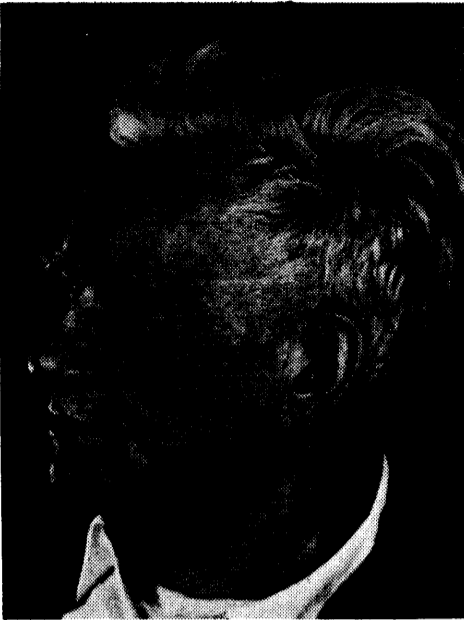
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# BOOKS

FRED MUELLER

## Opportunism And Empiricism



James P. Cannon

**OPPORTUNISM AND EMPIRICISM, Documents from the Socialist Labour League. Also includes: Trotskyism Betrayed, SWP Open Letter of 1953. Bulletin International Series, No. 2, June, 1971. 50 Cents.**

Not only have these documents not lost any validity over the years, they are more important than ever before. They trace the struggle against revisionism within the Fourth International, a struggle which is now more urgent than ever because of the capitalist crisis and the revolutionary tasks facing the working class.

In every section of the working class movement, the ideology and philosophy of the ruling class finds its expression and must be ruthlessly fought. Opportunism and syndicalism in the labor movement, and the most sophisticated revisions of Marxism which are clothed in Marxist phraseology, are both manifestations of the same pressure. They reflect capitulation to bourgeois pressure, to its philosophy, to the continuing strength of the capitalist class. The pressure is expressed in material and philosophical forms. The class struggle finds its highest expression in the struggle for Marxist theory and philosophy in the revolutionary movement against alien methods, bourgeois methods of thought and of work.

This is the significance of this pamphlet, which traces the struggle for Marxism precisely in that arena where it is most central and concentrated, the Fourth International.

"Opportunism and Empiricism" shows how the leadership of the SWP, and Joseph Hansen in particular, had been forced in the course of the struggle internationally to come out with an open defense of empiricism, with the claim that dialectical materialism was simply "empiricism systematically carried out."

The document shows that dialectical materialism developed through contradiction, not through a gradual evolution as the revisionists suggest. The denial of the contradiction, of the dialectical nature of the development of thought and cognition itself, expresses the method of the revisionists on all questions. They inevitably proceed with the method of the capitalists, with empiricism and pragmatism. They seek to uphold empiricism, to soften the struggle between dialectics and empiricism, precisely in order to soften the class struggle and the struggle to build the revolutionary party. The political expression of the empiricist method is opportunism.

The empiricist begins with "the facts." The Marxist begins with theory, with a class analysis. The empiricist says that "all statements, to be meaningful, must refer to observable or measurable data in their immediately given form." The empiricist is hostile to "abstraction." The Marxist understands that "facts"

are also abstractions from the infinitely complex historical reality. The "facts" are simply a first approximation. The Marxist must proceed from higher abstractions, from advanced theory. Truly scientific abstractions, based upon a class and historical analysis, are immeasurably closer to reality than the "factual" impressions of the empiricist.

The document shows how empiricism and pragmatism are expressed in the political development of the SWP. Thus, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, SWP leader James P. Cannon wrote in justification of Khrushchev, "What else could he have done under the given circumstances?"

By beginning with the "facts" as they are given, as they are determined by the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy, Cannon completely defends the bureaucracy. He does not see the "given circumstances" as the product of a long policy of class collaboration and betrayal for which we must hold Khrushchev responsible. He simply begins "fresh," and gives Khrushchev high marks for averting thermonuclear war.

That the Stalinists retreated before Kennedy in the most abject way, that they exposed the Cuban Revolution to additional danger, that they gave a diplomatic

and political victory to the imperialists, is of no concern to the revisionists. Similarly Cannon ends up actually labeling Bertrand Russell and Jawaharlal Nehru as "people unaffected by imperialist propaganda." Thus a "Trotskyist" referred to the leading anti-Marxist philosopher of the 20th century and the leader of the Indian bourgeoisie which was at that very moment engaged in an armed conflict with the Chinese workers state!

In relation to both the Cuban and Algerian Revolutions, the revisionists put forward the complete liquidation of Trotskyism and adaptation to the petty bourgeois nationalist forces of Castro and Ben Bella. Hansen had attempted in his document "Cuba—The Acid Test" to obscure the theoretical questions and center his attack on the Socialist Labour League on the question of Cuba. The document answers in detail all of the revisionists' charges and distortions on the question of Cuba by beginning with the Marxist method.

It is vital that we understand these questions in their entirety. The revisionist claims around Cuba and Algeria have been completely exploded by events. All developments have proven the absolute necessity of building revolutionary parties of the Fourth Interna-

tional against the treacherous conceptions of the revisionists, that the Stalinists can no longer betray and the petty bourgeois nationalists can take the road of Marxism and revolution.

We must understand the philosophical roots of this revisionism which is now tearing apart the revisionists themselves. It is vital that we prepare, in the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International with which we are in political solidarity, for the tremendous struggles opened up by the collapse of the post-war boom and the deepening of the class struggle all over the world.

It was precisely the boom which nurtured the revisionists, which encouraged them in their attacks on Marxism. The fight against these attacks, expressed above all in this pamphlet, can now be taken to new and higher levels in the construction of mass Trotskyist parties which will destroy the revisionists and Stalinists politically.

This new theoretical development must be a continuation of past struggles, so that the working class and its vanguard need not begin all over in each struggle. That is why the publication of "Opportunism and Empiricism" is so important in this period of world revolution.

# FILMS

PHILIP BRANCHE

## Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song

**SWEET SWEETBACK'S BAAD-ASSSSS SONG** A film of Melvin Van Peebles. A Cinemation Release

In the course of the international development of capitalism, certain historical features of the American experience have created and buoyed up to a critical and fundamental level the racial divisiveness necessary to disarm the workers movement and to divert it from its historic task of unfolding a new page in human society through the destruction of class society.

For several centuries, white supremacist ideology served first to justify Black slavery and since "Emancipation" to more efficiently carry out capital's exploitation of labor, Black and white. White racism as a chauvinist ideology of the bourgeoisie has shown itself to be a weapon of immense versatility: while it serves to depress the living standards and conditions of oppressed minorities, it at the same time uses the seething discontent arising from the ghettos to incite the most reactionary fears in the more backward layers of the working class.

The bourgeoisie now has had to find new, more "relevant" allies for its work in castrating the revolutionary movement and in this period emerges the dashikied, Swahili-tongued, mystical, Afro-sheened, Black and Beautiful and Cultural, BROTHER BLACK MAN, who, with his white counterparts—the reactionary bureaucracies, the white supremacists and the liberals, must serve to behead the unity of the working class and widen the gulf between the Black working class and the organizations that must express and be made to express the unity of the class—the trade unions. For the first time the bourgeoisie can dig just how beautiful the Black man is—so beautiful in fact that he has left the white folks far, far behind.

So beautiful, in fact, that everything this man does, and is in contact with, now takes on a new beauty—his ghetto, his living conditions, his rats, roaches and poverty, all the degradations that class society has imposed on him now become glorified as so Black and so beautiful.

This is why Melvin Van Peebles' "Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song" comes in right on time—for the bourgeoisie. For

class conscious workers and youth it is a declaration of war and a class affront, for it perpetuates and accepts every racist stereotype bestowed by the capitalist class on the Black race, and seeks to sow every illusion pushed by petty bourgeois radical adventurism.

The film is peopled by, quotes Van Peebles, "The Black Community—in other words, of course, whores, pimps, gamblers, Big Black Bucks, and assorted other perverts and sex machines that make up the Black race. (Ain't I right, Lester Maddox?)"

Sweet Sweetback is one such sex machine, who as all Black folks do, starts his sex career at the ripe old age of nine, but who goes on in the course of the movie to arm himself for the revolution by combining theory with practice. The theory comes from the Little Red Book of the Marquis de Sade and the Kama Sutra, and the practice consists in his becoming a fugitive after banging up a couple of oops who are mauling a militant ghetto youth. Sweetback singlehandedly outwits all the forces of reaction, and at the end of the film is still running from the Man, but promises us he'll return to collect some dues.

What Van Peebles does with this film is to reaffirm every mythical sensational attribute of ghetto life and deny any capacity of Black youth to take up a struggle against oppression with consciousness and theory. Using innovative color photography, a raucous, funky and really beautiful soundtrack and all the latest street language that succeeds in establishing a certain rapport among the Blacks in the audience, Van Peebles takes these youth through an experience that leaves them once more in the swamp of idealism and in the glorification of the misery that is the ghetto.

It cannot be denied by anyone that the conditions, the people, the events in this film exist, but what must be understood about the film is that all these things are seen through the eyes of the bourgeoisie. The ghetto becomes the entire world—so that the life and death struggle of the international working class in which this ghetto will play a major role, and the richness of the historical development of theory in the revolutionary party which consciously expresses that class movement all becomes empty idealism. This is why Derrick Morrison, writing



Sweetback attacks a cop.

in the *Militant*, the organ of the SWP, can give the film such an enthusiastic review, and hail it as "the awakening of African America." SSBS is tailor made for the liquidationist apologists in the SWP because they both first and foremost reflect the fears that the petty bourgeoisie holds of the awesome might that the working class wields. They cater to all the backward conceptions of ghettoism—nationalism, individualism, adventurism, culturalism, so as to avoid confronting the ideology of the bourgeoisie with that material force which can defeat it—the working class guided by Marxism, dialectical materialism, the distilled essence of the centuries of class struggle right at a time when that movement reaches its highest pitch historically.

Fundamentally behind all this is the most decadent scepticism and doubt that Marxism is the theory of the masses and that the continuity of Marxism, Leninism and Trotskyism, the revolutionary party, can and must be built today.

Contrary to Van Peebles' claim that this film is "dedicated to all the Brothers and Sisters who have had enough of the Man," SSBS is really dedicated to the Man, in the hopes that them ole niggers in them ghettos never break from the chains of the ghetto mentality. I'm sure Spiro would drink to that.



# Editor's Notebook

## You've Come A Long Way Baby

It was an extravaganza staged in the "Rose Garden" of the White House equal in television and press coverage to a moon shot and with the same diversionary purpose.

It was pretty hard to square the elaborate show that was put on for Tricia Nixon's marriage with her reported aversion to publicity. But the propagandists at the White House assured everyone that she was going through the ordeal for the benefit of the American people. The benefit, however, was only for a ruler who has inspired nothing but hatred from the American working class, a thin

sugar coating for a very bitter pill.

Yes, the Nixons had finally made it into the big bourgeoisie. They had come a long way from the days when Pat lamented over her cloth coat to the finery of the Rose Garden. The marriage of their daughter to Edward Cox, a scion of a family high on the social register, culminated a long strategy which began with Nixon's fall from the political scene.

The Nixons settled down to cultivate the airs of the "Eastern rich" and to prepare a new image for a new political career. Cox of course went to all the

"proper" schools and is considered the "superstar" of the social set. So Tricia "came out" at one the debutante balls and met Edward. The Coxes coming from that section of the bourgeoisie which shuns even former Vice Presidents who are not from their stock did not even invite the Nixons to call. Of course things changed slightly with Nixon's election. Despite the bad blood this man was still a representative for their class.

Behind all the flowers and violins however was the reality of the class war all this sought to cover, and Nixon's preparation for dictatorship. This could not be completely hidden. Those prominent in attendance were

J. Edgar Hoover, the Mitchells, Warren Burger, Billy Graham and Bob Hope. Not one member of Congress was invited. This decision flowed not so much from "social" consideration but from political ones. What better way to give a slap in the face to even the forms of bourgeois democracy for which the ruling class has growing contempt.

Also not invited were the growing number of Nixon's cousins who have been complaining that they are forced on welfare and cannot live on the grants that Nixon has cut.

But the tides are turning and the days of indulgence for the bourgeoisie are being numbered.



## BETHRUM . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

in fighting the sellout contract engineered by the Woodcock leadership of the UAW. Earlier DRUM had "fought" racism at Dodge Main by characterizing white workers at the plant as "Polish pigs." DRUM demands are for more Black foremen, Black plant managers, a "Black brother" on the Board of Directors of the Chrysler Corporation, and so forth.

None of these demands pose a real fight against racism or a threat to the power of the capitalist owners. They are nothing more than a call for Black oppressors to replace white ones rather than for the removal of ALL oppressors. But a boss is a boss—it is capitalism, not color that exploits all workers, uses racism to maintain higher profits, to weaken and divide the working class and to prepare the groundwork for the complete smashing of the unions as under Hitler in Germany.

Certainly this is seen very sharply at the Vernon plant of Bethlehem as it is in all capitalist enterprises. Racism is a big money maker for the bosses. The management keeps the majority of Black and Chicano workers down by giving them the lowest paying jobs. The majority of Black and Chicano workers are forced to work under the hardest, dirtiest and most dangerous conditions.

At the Vernon plant, Black and Chicano workers together comprise about 65% of the work force but only about 15% of the highest paying jobs. This discriminatory pattern is generally true throughout the entire steel industry in the US! Many of the top paying jobs have racist "test" interviews, and "attitudes" requirements. On top of this, Black and Spanish speaking workers are subjected to special harassment by racist foremen.

As spelled out in the Workers

League program for Steel in a leaflet issued at Vernon, the fight against racism requires the most uncompromising attack on all forms of "discrimination against Black and Spanish speaking workers in upgrading and all other working conditions. The union must have the right to strike against racist practices by foremen, A.B. Mauch and the rest of the management." But this program is meaningless if it is not seen as part of the fight against the Abel bureaucracy over wages and job security in the upcoming contract.

It must be seen as part of the strategy to unite all workers regardless of color or national origin in the building of a revolutionary leadership in the unions, mobilizing the working class politically through a labor party, and smashing capitalism and its racist poison by the working class taking power.

It is no wonder that Bethrum, carrying on its tradition of the separatism and reformism of DRUM, attacks both the program and the leadership of the Workers League in their leaflets. Where the unity of Black and white workers is required, Bethrum distributes its leaflets only to Black and Chicano workers.

Openly blaming the "white workers" for the discrimination at Bethlehem, they lump the white workers together with the millionaires who own Bethlehem and the ruling class that runs the U.S. They are ready without

so much as batting an eyelash, to give up the present unions entirely and replace them with unions of Black and Chicano workers only, and to set up a strike fund for Black and Chicano workers only.

This program of trying to defeat Bethlehem, U.S. Steel and other giants with the minority workers alone, in opposition to the white steelworkers is the program for the eradication of the unions entirely. It will mean the return throughout the steel mills of the wages and conditions that prevailed in the 1930s before the organization of the CIO, for ALL workers, Black and white. Imagine a "strike" with half the workers on the picket line and the other half inside. It is doomed to disaster and defeat.

Underneath the militant rhetoric and the demagogic appeal to Blackness that comes through the Bethrum leaflets, the real reformism of their program of "self help" emerges in the appeal to the Black and Chicano workers to join Bethrum in order to "create food co-ops, car pools, and child care centers for each other..." Bethrum's program is to "do something" about all the bad conditions in "the community: bad schools, housing, brutal police" by putting pressure on the system and not as part of a revolutionary struggle.

### REACTIONARY

Bethrum poses no program for jobs for all through the fight

for a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. It poses no fight against layoffs, and plant closings which are taking place at an increasing rate. A demand for nationalization of basic industry under workers' control is completely foreign to their conception.

Most importantly they offer no resistance to the steel bosses, Nixon and Abel on the wage question.

The reactionary character of Bethrum is sharply expressed in its anti-communist attack on Marxism in the second edition of "Voice of Bethrum" in which it lumps Stalinism together with the Trotskyism of the Workers League. While loudly proclaiming their "independence" and hatred of theory, they disassociate themselves from the Progressive Labor Party (PL), the Communist Party, "or any other white leftist group, including Steve Cherkas (sic) and whoever the hell he is affiliated with."

Today it is only the Workers League which beginning from the deepening capitalist crisis and the sharpened class struggle can lead the fight to destroy racism as part of the concrete fight to unite the working class. We are not mesmerized by the existing racist divisions but instead will give no quarter to these divisions.

A national caucus must be formed in the union that unites Black, Spanish speaking and white workers on a class program.

## CLOTHING WILDCAT . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

They are fighting mad and are testing their strength.

This was shown in the New York wildcat two weeks ago. Also, the Philadelphia union headquarters had masses of workers rallying outside every morning demanding to see the leadership.

On Saturday, June 5th, the Philadelphia ACWA leadership was finally pressured into calling a membership meeting. 5,000 workers showed up, the vast majority of them hostile to the contract settlement.

Anthony Cortigene and the local leadership realized this—the speakers' platform they were

on was ringed by half a dozen burly city cops, one of whom ominously carried a walkie-talkie.

Cortigene over and over again at the meeting attempted to explain the rottenness of the contract. He explained that the contents were the best they could get in the present stagnating economy.

Rank and file workers must demand that the ACWA leadership make the strike official, reject the present contract and fight for a \$2.00 an hour immediate pay boost and the thirty hour week at forty hours pay, and a decent pension plan.

## 1199 . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

pitals got up and said there should be more open discussion at meetings.

A number of the Mount Sinai delegates declared that the problem was a racial issue, that Davis could not represent them because he was not Black.

### HOSTILITY

This explosion is a reflection of the deep hostility to the 1199 leadership that has been building up throughout the entire union, in particular since the sell-out in the 1970 contract negotiations.

To take this movement for new leadership forward, a political perspective to fight the attacks of the government on hospital and all other workers, must be fought for.

It is not enough to demand more democracy within the

unions. This issue must be tied to a fight against the collaboration of Davis with the hospitals and the Democrats and Republicans, demanding that Davis prepare a fight against layoffs and for general strike action and the building of a labor party. Davis' fear of this fight is what forces him to try and control the rank and file.

The Mount Sinai delegates did not see these political issues as key and thus ignored the proposals of the Rank and File Committee on the budget cuts.

Davis capitulates to the bosses because he accepts the existence of capitalism even if this entails mass unemployment and starvation for the workers.

### POLITICALLY

If it is not seen politically the fight against Davis becomes a racial issue and the alterna-

tive is to elect a Black leadership. Black nationalism as expressed at the delegates meeting and in the development of HRUM is emerging within 1199. It divides the hospital workers and can play only a reactionary role at a time when the bosses are using racism to head off a real fight among Black and white workers against their economic attacks.

### LOGIC

The logic of this is the demand put forward at a meeting of the Health and Hospital Corporation that more Jews, Blacks and Puerto Ricans be elected to the Corporation.

The defeat of the Davis bureaucracy in 1199 must be linked to the fight to defeat the system which he defends and to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## Germany

# Youth Plan International Assembly

breaking away from the Stalinists and Social Democrats to the banner of the Fourth International.

In preparation for Essen, the Junge Garde held a conference in Frankfurt on May 23rd attended by 150 students, young workers and apprentices. A resolution to build the Essen conference was voted unanimously.

The AJS held a National Youth Conference on May 22nd and 23rd of 4,000 delegates from all over France. For the first time many sections of young workers from the Renault auto factories, the post office and other sectors were represented in large numbers.

Many of the groups endorsing the Assembly come from countries where there was no Trotskyist youth section a year or two ago. These groups have recently emerged after a bitter struggle with Pabloism and its break up and liquidationism.

### SPAIN

This is expressed most sharply by the development of the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo, Spanish section of Mandel's Unified Secretariat. In their message of solidarity to the AJS conference in Paris they state:

"We, militants of the Trotskyist fraction of the group Comunismo, salute enthusiastically your gathering.

"We, militants of the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo, intervened in the struggles of the last years through an organization more and more tied to the Unified Secretariat of Mandel and Frank and the Communist League. This organization responded to these great workers struggles by ultra-leftist capitulation, with contempt for the workers movement.

"We are a Trotskyist fraction because we rebelled against this dead-end policy and we were expelled from Comunismo

by its Pabloite leadership as soon as we proposed a fight for a workers alliance of the whole class, of the youth and peasantry against the Franco dictatorship, for a government of all workers..."

### PABLOISM

The movement of youth towards the International Committee is occurring in many countries of Latin America where Pabloism has openly liquidated itself into guerrilla warfare and terrorism.

Latin American organizations supporting the Essen assembly are the Bolshevik-Trotskyist fraction of Brazil which is re-establishing itself after having been severely affected by the government's repression last year, and the Marxist Revolutionary Workers Party of Peru.

The Marxist Workers League of Mexico which split with the Pabloites in 1966 and joined the International Committee in 1970, and Politica Obrera from Argentina which is working with the I.C. have also sent messages of support.

The POR Youth, youth section of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia will also participate. The POR Youth was re-established in 1970 after being disbanded by the Barrientos regime. On May 1st the POR participated in the most powerful May Day demonstration ever seen in Bolivia. For the first time hundreds of youth and workers marched with pictures of Trotsky and signs remembering the deaths of C. Lora and G. Camacho, leaders of the POR who were murdered by the government.

Other organizations supporting the Essen Assembly are the Iberian Communist Youth of Spain, Workers International League (Greece), Committee to prepare the Essen Assembly (Belgium), Liaison Committee of Students of Eastern Europe, Young Socialists (Ireland), Trotskyist



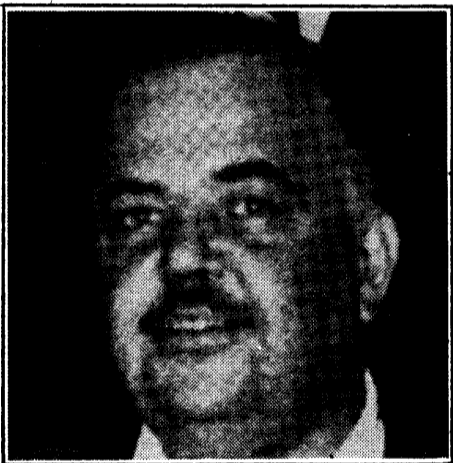
AJS members at Commune rally.

Fraction of Matzpen (Israel), Revolutionary Communist Youth (Ceylon), and the Workers League in the United States.

Individual militants from Tunisia and Dahomey have also resolved to bring youth from Africa to the Assembly.

The Essen International Youth Assembly will be a tremendous blow to the Stalinist and revisionist forces who fear the movement of the working class and seek to divert it away from a seizure of power.

Only the organizations supporting the Fourth International base themselves on the deep crisis of capitalism and seek to prepare a revolutionary leadership now to lead the massive upsurge of the working class that is ahead.



Juan Mari Bras

### BY JUAN P. FARINAS

Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) officially announced at a May Day rally in San Juan that the MPI would change its name to Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) at their Eighth National Assembly.

Despite the leadership's verbal insistence that it is not going to be just a change in name but a real transformation into a "revolutionary party of the working class," every other statement in the MPI's newspaper *Claridad* betrays the real nature of this "transformation."

In a number of articles written by Mari Bras the idea is pushed that the transformation of the MPI into a "Leninist" party is a gradual, quantitative process which only requires beefing up the organizational aspects of the movement.

This is how Mari Bras puts it in an article entitled "The Revolutionary Party" in the May 9th issue of *Claridad*.

"This does not mean that the MPI has not been able to fulfill its vanguard role because it called itself a movement and not a party. The name has very little to do with it. What happens is that, in practice, as the MPI began to transform itself from the wide front that it was at the beginning into a patriotic vanguard, it became more of a revolutionary party and less of a movement.

"Now we are seeking to perfect our

## Puerto Rico

# MPI Changes Name But Not Program

functioning as a revolutionary party. It is to organize a party with such disciplined cadres and militants that it will be able to resist victoriously all the attacks of the enemy...."

But the construction and development of the revolutionary party is not simply a quantitative or gradual process of getting one worker here and there or the building of "mass movements" a la the Socialist Workers Party. It is the fight to develop the theory and program of the Marxist movement and make this program the program of the masses of workers in their struggle against capitalism that is at the heart of the construction of the revolutionary party.

Above all the construction of a revolutionary party is an international task and can proceed only within the framework of the construction of an international revolutionary leadership of the working class. This can only be done by basing oneself on the continuity of the revolutionary socialist movement from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

But it is precisely on this fundamental question that Mari Bras spews forth all his venomous hatred of Marxism. He says:

"We are not nor will ever be satellites of any of the centers of power within the vast socialist camp today, nor will we accept hegemony from any foreign party...Our party will base itself in the Puerto Rican application of the universal science of socialism to the particular problems of Puerto Rico. We will decide here ourselves the strategy and tactics for the construction of socialism. Our party will be free, sovereign and independent, as we want all of Puerto Rico to be."

This "Puerto Rican road to socialism" is totally bankrupt and reveals that behind the thin veil of pseudo-Marxist phraseology adopted by the MPI's leadership, stands the same old nationalist outlook. It may come as a shock to Mari Bras and the MPI but the truth is that the "Puerto Rican reality"

on which they are going to base their "Puerto Rican application" of socialism is to a fundamental extent determined not in Puerto Rico itself but by the objective laws of capitalism as a world system in decay and crisis.

Moreover, ever since its birth and to a greater degree in its present stage of imperialism, capitalism has united and linked the whole world into one world economic and political system. That is why Trotsky in his fight against Stalin's nationalist and reactionary policy of "socialism in one country" explained clearly that in the present epoch of imperialism "not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country."

That is why today, as Trotsky explained, the program, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party "must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions....In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa."

But Mari Bras does not concern himself with this at all because he does not start from the continuity of the Marxist movement historically and its expression today in the International Committee of the Fourth International. Instead he starts from a narrow nationalist perspective which starts and ends in Puerto Rico and therefore throws him into the arms of the bourgeoisie.

Under the new name the same old rotten and bankrupt program remains. In the same article quoted above Mari Bras states:

"At the center of our party we seek to relate the patriotic goal of independence with the revolutionary goal of the con-

struction of socialism in Puerto Rico." The way the MPI seeks to "relate" the struggle for independence with the struggle for socialism is spelled out a couple of paragraphs further when he says: "In our case, we have to precipitate the latent crisis of the colonial system in order to achieve independence and lay the basis for the seizure of power in the republic which will take us to the truly revolutionary change of building socialism."

As we have pointed out in previous articles, and as it has been tragically proven by the living experience of the working class in Ceylon, this perspective has absolutely nothing to do with revolutionary politics. It has everything to do with the politics of counterrevolution.

And it could not be otherwise for it is a policy that ties the movement of the working class to the interests of the bourgeoisie, a policy which dupes the workers into believing that they have a common interest with the bourgeoisie, thereby delivering the workers and peasants to their own butchers.

We say that the perspective outlined by Mari Bras for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is the same perspective carried out by the treacherous LSSP in Ceylon. And we say that a "Ceylonese" government in Puerto Rico, which would most probably include the MPI itself, will carry out the same brutal and counterrevolutionary butchery.

The Workers League will soon be publishing, for the first time in the United States and Puerto Rico, a Spanish edition of the *Transitional Program*, the programmatic basis of the international Trotskyist movement, which embodies the revolutionary continuity of Marxism.

It is only on the foundations of the international program and strategy that a revolutionary party can be built in Puerto Rico.



## New York

# The Lessons Of A General Strike Betrayed

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

In the spring of last year when talk of layoffs and payless paydays first leaked out of City Hall, Victor Gotbaum stated in the **Public Employees Press**, organ of District Council 37, that this could not happen in the 1970s. He said this period is not the 1930s, that Lindsay was no LaGuardia. Another difference, he said, between then and now is that the municipal work force has its unions.

Now just one year later Lindsay is attacking the city labor movement far more viciously than LaGuardia ever attempted to in the 1930s. The one defense city labor has against the attacks—the unions—which indeed represent the big difference between the 1930s, Gotbaum is now doing everything in his power to paralyze and render impotent in the face of this attack.

In one of the biggest betrayals in the history of the New York City labor movement, Victor Gotbaum head of District Council 37 and Barry Feinstein of Teamsters Local 237 have sold out the first general strike in New York City. At its peak this strike encompassed Local 237 bridgetenders and at least ten locals of DC 37.

The sellout of this struggle does more than deny pensions to thousands of municipal employees who thought this pension was theirs when the City agreed to it last year.

### LESSONS

It effectively kills the principle of collective bargaining in New York City. At the same time it grants a major victory to Lindsay and Rockefeller in the virtual war that has been going on between the entire municipal work force and government for the past nine months over the issues of wages, layoffs and new contracts in which the very existence of the unions are at stake. But this war is not over by a long shot.

This is why the lessons of this sellout must now be sharply drawn throughout the entire labor movement. This is the only way the ground can be prepared to reverse this defeat and to prevent the even more serious betrayals that Gotbaum, Feinstein, Delury, Maye and others will otherwise deliver.

Gotbaum's betrayal on the pension issue is the big breakthrough against the unions that Rockefeller and Lindsay have been waiting for. For nine months Lindsay has been probing city labor looking for weak points in its resistance to his attack.

Up until now they had continually banged up against a solid wall of resistance. Efforts to take away \$2700 in back pay due firemen and police precipitated a six day police strike. Efforts by Lindsay to impose a 6% cost of living wage package on firemen resulted in a massive rejection by the rank and file.

Meanwhile Lindsay's threat to lay off 90,000 workers had by last week been met with open threats of general strike from Delury and a strike from Maye. At the same time Delury and Maye were threatening action against layoffs they were letting it be known in Albany that if the DC 37 pension was approved they would launch big offensives for new pension provisions in the uniformed services this year.

The terms upon which Gotbaum and Feinstein called off the two day strike amount to a complete capitulation. Gotbaum and his apologists like the Communist Party's **Daily World** and the Socialist Workers Party's **Militant** have called the settlement a victory. But this is a lie.

The terms of settlement cooked up by Arvid Anderson of the Office of Collective Bargaining specify simply that the pension bill now be resubmitted to next

year's legislature. If the next legislature does not pass it, it will become the subject of negotiation once again between the City and the union. If no agreement is reached the OCB will recommend an alternate package whose cost shall "not exceed" that of the pension.

Gotbaum now is trying to make out that this means Lindsay has agreed to fork over the full cost of the pension to the DC 37 even if the legislature prohibits this from taking the form of the improved pension that had been nego-

restricted and limited as possible.

This is why at no point would Gotbaum link the issue of pensions with the issue of layoffs which between them would have united all members of the DC, the younger workers afraid for their jobs and older workers facing retirement.

What Gotbaum feared more than the loss of the pensions or the jobs of his members was that the whole of DC 37 would hit the streets, pulling with it other city unions. Gotbaum feared that the ranks would extend their demands

that the vote for calling off this strike at this meeting was 45 to 1. On June 9th Les Phillips, the Executive Director of the SSEU, reported to an SSEU Delegates Assembly meeting that this was not exactly the case. Phillips informed the body that the real vote was approximately 20 delegates voting for, one against (himself) and 25 delegates not voting.

In other words what was revealed was that so bankrupt was this settlement that virtually a majority of the DC 37 Delegates Assembly could not bring themselves to vote for it. What it likewise meant was that had Hill carried out the fight against Gotbaum for a full fledged DC 37 strike, as he had been mandated, that whole sections of the District Council could have been won to oppose the sellout.

Joining Gotbaum and Hill in this betrayal were Maye and Delury. Delury openly engaged in strike breaking by calling upon his men to cross DC 37 picket lines at city landfill dumps. What is now clearly posed is the fight to construct a leadership in the city labor movement that is prepared to see the struggle against Albany and City Hall through to the finish.

### PREPARE

This means that in spite of last week's sellout, we must prepare for the reopening of the general strike offensive at the next opportunity. This must be prepared in the event Taylor Law penalties are imposed, the City refuses to meet contract demands of unions now in bargaining, or if the layoffs are renewed, as it now appears will happen.

At the same time it means opening up the fight against Albany and City Hall on the political level through an all out fight to put municipal labor behind the formation of a labor party for the 1972 elections.

Throughout the last nine months of severe attacks by the Lindsay Administration upon DC 37 members, Gotbaum has never once repudiated his support to Lindsay's mayoral campaign. In fact throughout the most vicious joint attack by Albany and City Hall where at every point the Democrats and Republicans, Lindsay and Rockefeller, have stood together on pushing back City labor, Gotbaum has played the game of uniting the District Council with Lindsay and assorted other liberals in Albany against Rockefeller. This was the theme that dominated the huge Albany demonstration last April. In the last weeks it took on the form of mass letter writing campaigns organized by Gotbaum to Albany legislators begging for DC 37 members' jobs and pensions.

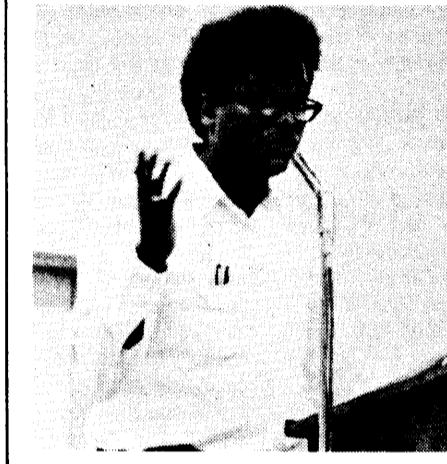
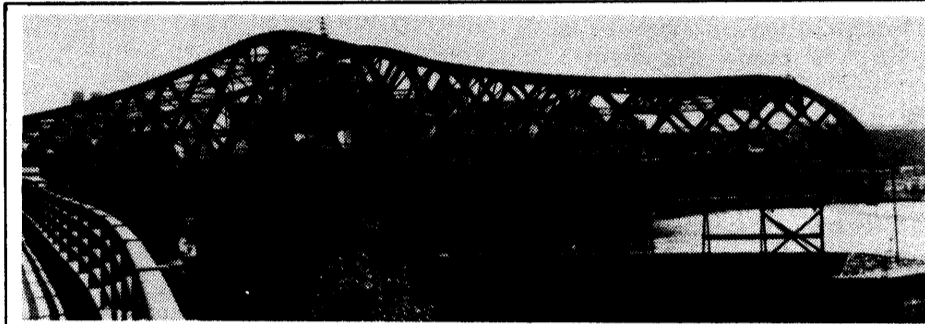
The strike movement of last Monday and Tuesday, however, has made exactly clear where every last Democrat and Republican in this state really stands.

### POLITICIANS

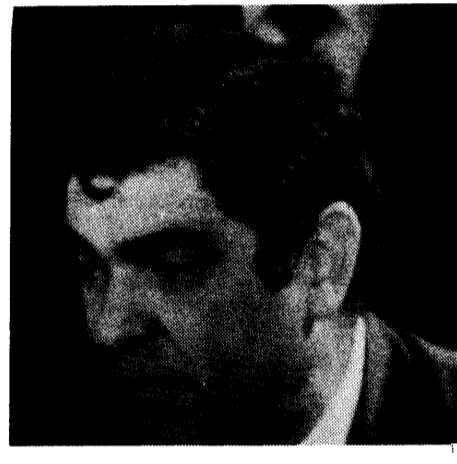
There was not a single politician in either party that came out in support of this strike. There was not one politician in either party, neither a Shirley Chisholm, a Herman Badillo nor a Basil Paterson or anyone else, who came out and denounced the use of the army and the threat of the National Guard to break this strike.

Yet when questioned at a news conference during the strike by a **Bulletin** reporter on his position on the formation of a labor party, Gotbaum declared he would never do it.

We say that city labor must now let Gotbaum know that they have had enough of his betrayals. There must now be launched the most serious and ambitious campaign in the District Council to let Gotbaum know that either he takes up the defense of DC 37 members against layoffs, and Taylor Law reprisals through the preparation for a new general strike and breaks with the Democratic and Republican labor haters in Albany and City Hall or he will be replaced.



Stanley Hill



Victor Gotbaum

tiated. But Lindsay, as he himself pointed out, is in no way bound to OCB recommendations. Lindsay has actually agreed to nothing.

This betrayal has now emboldened Lindsay and Rockefeller to open up a new stage in their offensive against city labor. The day after the sellout Lindsay announced his intention to fine 21,000 policemen for violations of the Taylor Law last January and 8,000 or more DC 37 members who had just gone on strike.

In the most recent development Lindsay after having indicated that perhaps the tax package granted by Albany would prevent the necessity for more layoffs at this time, has announced that there will indeed be 2,000 layoffs in the Department of Education and that "thousands of caseworkers" in the Department of Social Services will now be laid off.

Meanwhile Gotbaum appears on television reaffirming his stand that he will not defend workers from layoffs, that layoffs are management's prerogative and fully within Lindsay's right to execute.

The most damaging aspect of this whole betrayal is that it has broken the momentum of the offensive of city and state labor. Gotbaum knew full well that state workers in the 150,000 strong Civil Service Employees Association are scheduled to strike against the layoffs of 8,200 of its own members on June 16th. It is clear that if the actions of city and state workers were organized to coincide Lindsay and Rockefeller could have been solidly pushed back. Now, not only is this possibility seriously undercut but Council 50 (AFSCME) has now come out against the planned CSEA strike on June 16th.

More recently this has been supplemented by Gotbaum's statement on television Sunday night June 13th that he would refuse to support the CSEA strike

Not only in the sellout on the pension but in the whole course of action up to and including last week's strike, Gotbaum has done everything in his power to prevent a real general strike. Once it was forced on him anyway, he did everything to make sure that it was kept as

to include the fight against layoffs and for a new contract linking up with the state workers, breaking out of the stranglehold of the trade union bureaucracy, and turning it into a full fledged general strike which could very easily have spread on a national scale.

Against Gotbaum's attempt to limit and finally sell out this movement there was however a constant battle waged by militants in the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership even though SSEU was never brought into the strike itself. Three weeks before the strike the CNL succeeded in forcing official adoption in the SSEU Delegates Assembly of its program for general strike action, against layoffs, for the pensions and against the budget cuts, and a fight in the DC on this basis.

The subsequent refusal of Stanley Hill and the SSEU-371 leadership to adhere to the Delegates Assembly's mandate, that they fight at every point to bring the whole District Council out on strike, played a decisive role in allowing Gotbaum to sell out this strike.

On the morning of Monday June 7th immediately upon hearing of the bridge closings and strike of four DC 37 locals, the CNL launched a fight within the SSEU around the demands that Hill sharpen the fight to force Gotbaum to bring out the whole of the DC and specifically that he immediately call out the SSEU's 12,000 members in order to force such action. On Tuesday the CNL deepened this campaign to calling floor meetings and extending the circulation of petitions to Hill to this effect.

At the DC 37 Delegates Assembly held Monday night June 7th in the heat of the strike when even Gotbaum was calling for escalation of the selective strike, Hill refused to put forward the call for a Council-wide shutdown. At the SSEU Executive Committee meeting that followed Hill refused to recommend any action whatsoever by the SSEU.

But the real magnitude of Hill's betrayal was only fully exposed at the DC 37 Delegates Assembly on June 8th where the final sellout that ended the strike was put to the body by Gotbaum.

The entire capitalist press reported

# San Mateo Bosses Out To Smash Militants

BY JERRY ANDERS

SAN MATEO, June 3—The rank and file workers of Local 829 AFSCME were prepared for a sharp clash with Council 57 President Frank Gillis and the Executive Board of Local 829.

The Executive Board had refused to make no lay offs the principle demand in their up and coming negotiations June 15th with County management.

County management had threatened in December of 1970 to lay off 35% of all mental health workers and supporting personnel. Workers in the lower third of the seniority lists were facing the guillotine of massive layoffs, with no escape in today's jobless market place.

Local 829 President Bob Runnels opened the meeting of Local 829 on June 3rd by giving the floor to Frank Gillis who said that he would be willing to support the two published principle demands of the rank and file workers: no layoffs for any county employee, and no cuts in the mental health program.

These proposals were passed with a deafening shout of "aye," and absolute quiet when the "nay" vote was called. A third proposal of adding three rank and file workers to the present negotiating committee of the Executive Board was overwhelmingly passed. There was only surprised opposition from a small group of diehard conservatives who had until now

dominated the union's "keep it quiet" policy.

Council President Gillis then went on to tell of his and President Runnels' trip to Sacramento at the AFL's state-wide meeting of COPE, the rotten alliance between labor bureaucrats and liberal politicians.

The spokesman for the Rank and File Caucus took the floor and demanded that the Local must call on AFSCME and all other trade unions to call for a California state-wide convention for a labor party.

As a token of the power that the Rank and File Caucus had generated in its fight over the last six weeks, Council President Gillis gave the spokesman of the Rank and File Caucus a special service award for building the membership of the local. He said that he disagreed with the politics of the rank and file committee, but that he stood together with the speaker in building the union and in the fight against County management.

The following Monday, after seeing AFSCME Local 829 united in militant struggle against them, the Board of Supervisors issued the command to County management—Destroy the Rank and File Caucus of Local 829. The spokesman, a social service worker, had half his records seized by the Division head. (This technique is often used in Social Service offices to try and pin something on an "undesirable" worker.) Other members of the caucus

were called on the carpet by their supervisors to explain their "insubordinate attitudes." Another member of the caucus had leaflets torn from his hand by one of County Manager Tarshes' lieutenants.

County management knows that the Rank and File Caucus has aroused the militancy of county workers and has led the fight to force AFSCME to fight against lay offs and program cuts. But most of all, the Board of Supervisors fears the political power of the working class, voiced by the caucus's call for a convention of trade unions to create a labor party.

The political attacks on caucus members will be answered by deepening the fight in the union to mobilize the rank and file.

## Government Attacks I-J Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The labor bureaucrats may have forgotten the San Rafael Independent Journal strikers, but the government has not.

The NLRB has just turned down petitions claiming the IJ has refused to bargain in good faith. In addition the NLRB has now come to the defense of three scabs, reinstating them in the union.

COURTS

The courts have upheld the convictions and fines of union leaders jailed previously for fifteen days over the mass demonstrations in support of the strikers.

# Strike Looms As Santa Clara CEA Rejects 2.5% Offer

BY ALEX CRAIG

SANTA CLARA COUNTY—Santa Clara's labor crisis flared anew last week as the county government and its largest employee union deadlocked in an absolute impasse.

Labor contract negotiations between the Santa Clara County Employees Association (SCCEA) and the county ground to a halt for the second time in the last month, bringing the crisis to the verge of a strike situation. Leaders of the 5,500 member strong

SCCEA revealed that the county management had filed a formal letter of impasse with the union, meaning a conciliator from Sacramento will be called in to aid the county in their effort to smother the potentially explosive situation.

The impasse centers around the SCCEA's rejection of the county's paltry 2.5% salary hike offer. SCCEA's rejection of the county's paltry 2.5% salary hike offer and its demand that all employee The workers have insisted that all such employee relation items, particularly anti-racial discrimination language, be included in the new agreement.

Facing the SCCEA is a county government which is openly attempting to solve its financial crisis at the expense of the county workers. Its complete rejection of the union's basic demands is part of the same plan which surfaced last month in San Jose, Santa Clara County's largest city, where the new city budget offered municipal workers no wage increase whatsoever for the coming year as well as 150 layoffs.

It is no accident that the struggle of the county and municipal workers here comes to the forefront simultaneously with the massive movement of similar employees all over the country, particularly in New York. It is essential for all city and county workers to coordinate their fights into general strike action not only in Santa Clara and San Jose, but in every arena of working class battle in the United States.

# Probe Of SF Police Prepares Repression

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—For an entire week the press of S.F. has been filled with reports on the extensive investigation of the S.F. Police Department conducted by a special crime committee.

The entire affair has the most ominous implications for the working class. This committee is made up of lawyers, businessmen, retired police officials and assorted academics.

Its so-called "blast" at S.F.'s finest is in reality a call for a thorough shakeup of the police designed to create a more streamlined military establishment better able to cope with the crisis brought on by the sharpening class struggle. All of this is sugar coated with a sprinkling of liberal rhetoric.

According to the committee, S.F.'s police have low morale, poor equipment maintenance and are "often sloppy" in appearance. Stations are described as so disorderly and slovenly that it is impossible to respect the department.

The defenders of law and order are portrayed as lolling about the stations reading right wing literature and "girlie" magazines, discourteous and shabby. Who would have guessed?

The public will be shocked to learn that policemen often sleep

in their cars while on duty and have been known to eat free meals at restaurants while they are supposed to be protecting the citizenry.

We are further informed that headquarters are not controlling, inspecting and disciplining. Organization is poor, records are in a shambles, it is suspected that advancement in the department is "political," selection and training procedures are weak and believe it or not there exist racist attitudes and hostility to higher education.

These accusations have brought forth squeals of protest from Police Chief Nelder who maintains that under his enlightened administration the department has become a match for any Gestapo in the country.

It is only fair to point out that despite all the weaknesses and problems S.F. police have carried on. Their low morale and sloppy appearance has not prevented them from killing and terrorizing minorities, defending visiting dictators, cracking skulls at antiwar demonstrations, and helping poor defenseless scabs across picket lines.

The purpose of the crime committee is to see to it that these services to the community will be expanded and deepened. This report is part of a conscious ruling class preparation for civil war.

# Panthers On Trial In Los Angeles

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Thirteen Black Panther Party members, including former "deputy defense minister," Elmer Pratt, went on trial here, Tuesday, June 1, on charges that included conspiracy to murder Los Angeles police officers.

Eight of the ten male defendants, including Pratt, are charged with the murder conspiracy which the state charges was climaxed by a shootout between

police officers and Blacks on December 8, 1969 at the Panther headquarters not far from Watts in south central Los Angeles. Other charges include assault with intent to commit murder and possession of deadly weapons.

This trial is another in a series of attacks on the Panthers. In this trial it has been predicted that jury selection will take several weeks. Even the presiding judge, Judge Dell, announced that he would examine all prospective jurors and that he would put to them specific questions given him in writing by the prosecuting and

defense attorneys. Pressure from the Black community and the working class has resulted in the courts making such a conscious effort to appear objective and fair.

The recent conviction of David Hilliard on charges stemming from the Cleaver shootout that led to the death of Bobby Hutton exposes the reality. Hilliard now faces two years despite the fact that a former policeman has admitted the cops were out to get the Panthers and that an unarmed Hutton was simply shot down in cold blood.



Demonstrators in San Francisco protest genocide in Bangla Desh supported by United States.



# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN, WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

## CWA Ranks Wildcat In Five States

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—Two thousand Western Electric workers in 5 western states have hit the bricks over the overt violation of their contract.

The Walkout began in Fresno when Western Electric allowed an outside moving company to uncrate and load frames into a telephone building there.

The contract which ran out on April 30 has been extended on a day to day basis by the union bureaucracy. However, the company has completely ignored it.

The contract had defined work that was done by the outside moving company as Western Installers' work.

The walkout that began in Fresno quickly spread to the entire West coast section of the installers. In San Francisco installers who walked out were immediately suspended by the company and ordered to return to work after their suspension.

### SABOTAGED

The fight to bring out CWA operators in San Francisco and extend the walk out nationally has been sabotaged by the union leadership.

At an executive meeting of the operators' Local 9410 Robert Carr, President of Western Electric Workers Local 9490 called from Washington where he is in council with the national union leadership to say that a joint walk out with the operators was not necessary.

This was in the face of a situation in which large sections of the operators are in open support of going out.

The first morning of the walk out in San Francisco when "Informational Picket Signs" were set up the majority of operators at the 25th & Capp office of Pacific Telephone stayed out for half an hour.

They only returned when the operators' union leadership plus

the company called the workers back in and declared it an "illegal strike."

### BETRAYAL

This betrayal by Beirne and his local hatchet men must be smashed before it totally destroys the union along with the rights of the workers.

Beirne is paralyzed by the open political confrontation that is building up between the wage offensive of the working class and the union busting policy of the Nixon Administration.

All rank and file workers of the CWA must demand immediate mass union meetings to shut down all CWA operations and force a national shutdown.

The demand for an immediate 25% wage increase is absolutely necessary to catch up with the past inflation and Beirne must not be allowed to compromise it.

In addition the Workers League is calling for:

- Immediate solidarity with Western Electric workers
- Mass meetings to shut down operations here and force a national shutdown
- No contract No work
- Cost of living escalator!
- 30 hour week for 40 hours pay
- 30 years and out at full pay

## Bank Report Says Portland Shipyards Will Be Closed

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND, ORE.—The annual review issue of the Summary of Pacific Northwest Industries, just published by Seattle First National Bank, reveals the depth of the crisis in the Northwest.

It reports that the greatest economic setback since the 1930s has occurred in the state of Washington during 1970. The reduction in aerospace activity was the chief contributing factor, according to the report. Massive



Picket looks over Bulletin as Western Union workers wildcat in San Francisco over contract.

## Farm Workers Plan July Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—The San Diego headquarters of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has recently indicated that it plans to issue a call in July for a strike of all farms in San Diego County.

The activities of UFWOC thus far show that it has no strategy for rooting such a call in the actual movement of labor, and for enlisting the support of the San Diego working class.

In fact, exactly the contrary has been the case. The UFWOC is actually trying to pull the farm workers out of the forward movement of the working class, and

force them into an alliance with the middle class and the Catholic Church. In a period in which steelworkers are preparing for a class battle with capital, UFWOC is tying farm workers to the shoestrings and pursestrings of liberals and priests.

Beginning with a rally last month that was thoroughly dominated by doctors and lawyers, to the exclusion of many workers, UFWOC proceeded to enlist the support of the local Catholic diocese; which also came out in support of the growers.

The latest development has UFWOC going a step further in this process by participating in a farm workers march last week that was led by the priests. Who is supporting whom? It was ab-

solutely clear that the strike slogans were subordinated to the fact that this march was actually the celebration of a Catholic Mass. Its purpose was to enshrine in the fields a replica of "Our Lady of Guadalupe"; a "virgin" just for farm workers.

### BOYCOTT

UFWOC has subsequently announced a consumer boycott of farm produce in San Diego. While this may appear superficially to be support for the struggle of farm workers, in reality it is exactly the opposite. What these leaders are doing is using the power of the workers movement to "pressure" the capitalists in a thoroughly bankrupt reformist activity. What looks like middle class support for the farm workers is actually dissipation of working class strength into the middle class.

This is how UFWOC is preparing for a massive strike of farm labor in San Diego. The rush to establish "connections" in the middle class and the Church shows how much this leadership fears and hates the independent movement of the working class. They are trying to clamp a lid on the militancy of the ranks in order to maintain control, but it is clear that the situation is explosive.

This strike call reflects the pressure of the ranks on these leaders. Their own perspective is opposed to such a movement. Margo Cowan, the main organizer here, has already openly stated, "We don't like strikes...and they really serve no purpose."

Thus far, the record of UFWOC strike preparation has been one of sellout and actual attack on the workers themselves. But despite all attempts to tie farm labor to liberal reformism and to smother it in the robes of priests, a sharp struggle against the growers is shaping up here.

If the UFWOC leadership refuses to replace the Virgin of Guadalupe with picket lines, then they must be sent packing, and be replaced with a leadership pledged to fight openly on the side of the farm workers, and nobody else.

### CLOSING

In Portland, industry officials have said that it is only "a matter of time" before shipyards in Portland and other West Coast cities begin closing down due to lack of work.

George W. Wintz, President of the Western Shipbuilders Association, disclosed an estimate that the number of large private repair yards on the West Coast would possibly dwindle from fifteen to four or five. Ship repair has been one of Portland's chief industries during the post-war boom.

Until recently the industry did up to \$60 million worth of work annually, and employed up to 3,000 men. In the last eighteen months jobs in the yards have dwindled down to around 300.

### LABOR PARTY

The boom is over. The ruling class has been forced to repel the wage offensive with attacks which now require workers to counterattack politically with a general strike and the construction of a labor party.

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**4157 Solana Drive**  
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**Saturday June 19 8pm**

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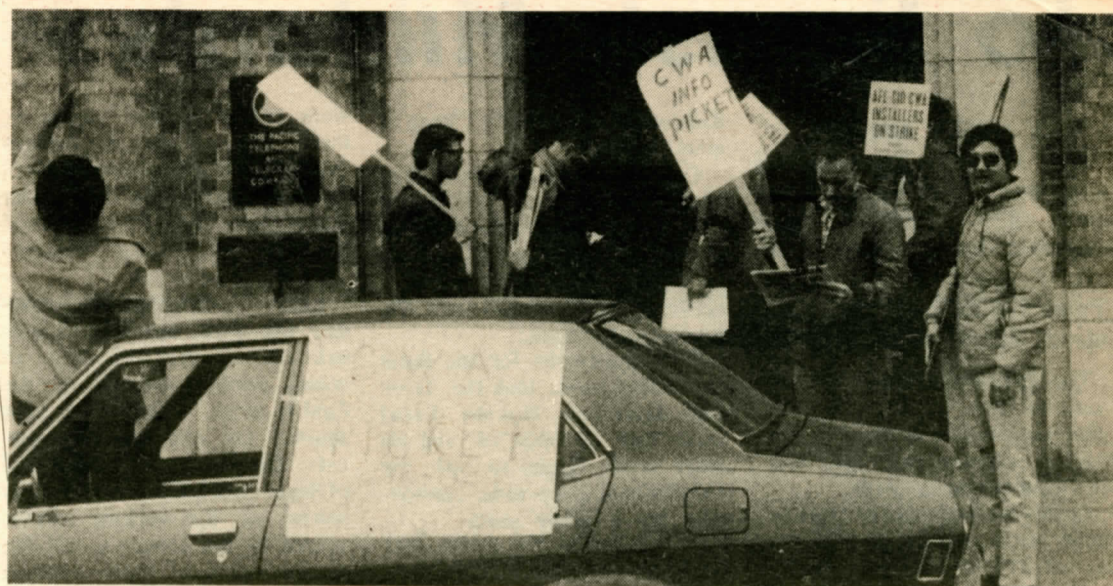
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