

**Stop The Scabbing**

OCT 29 1971

INSTITUTION

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Nixon's Pay Board is leading American workers onto that road. This is the road that Meany's counterparts in Germany took in the 1930's and the road along

*(Continued On Page 6)*



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**BUILD  
CONTINGENT  
for NOVEMBER 6th**

- Defy the Freeze!
- Immediate  
Withdrawal  
from Indochina!
- Build a Labor Party!



**The Struggle  
for Trotskyism  
in Ceylon p.7**

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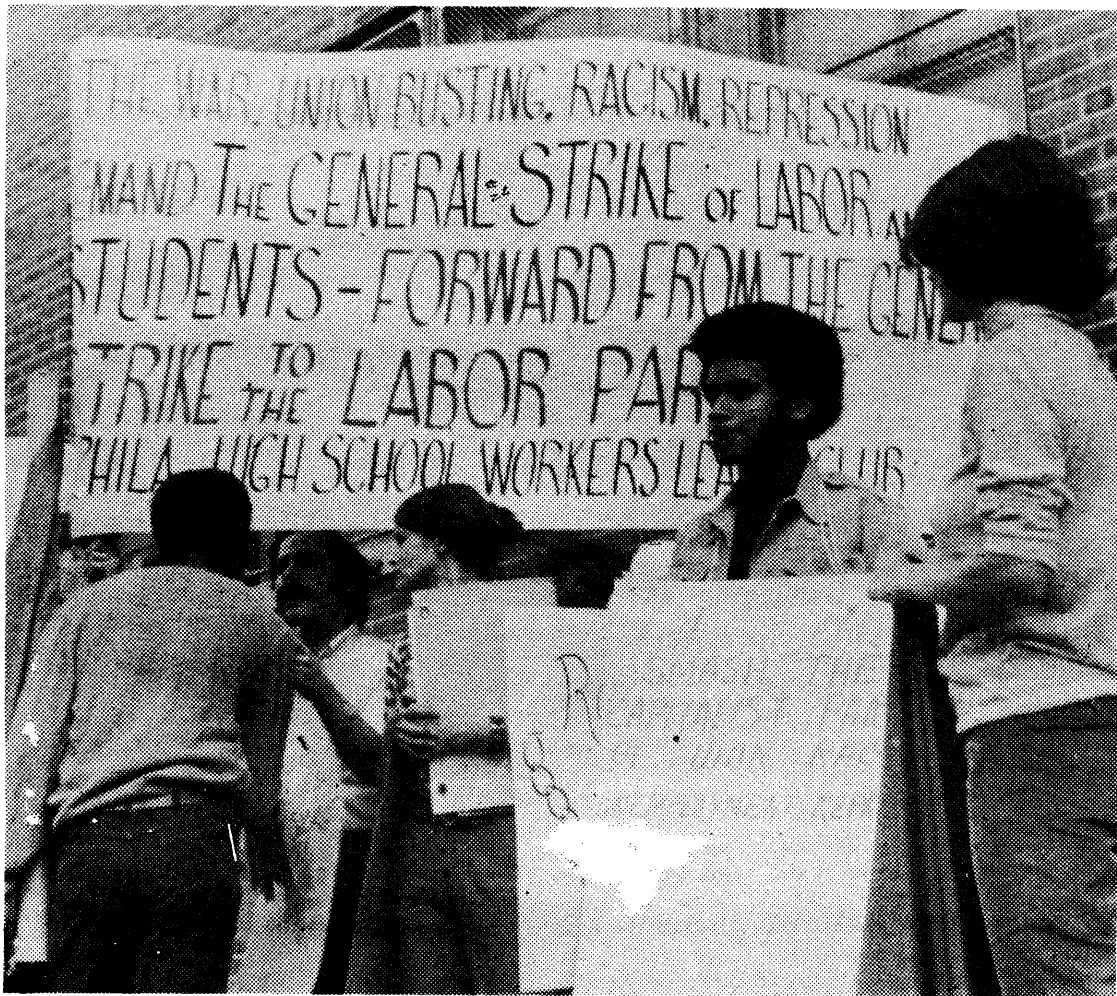
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## The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon p.7

# Mao Greet Ethiopian Emperor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The meeting of Mao Tse-tung with Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie underscores the sharp turn to the right by the Chinese Stalinists.

The capitalist press made great play of the meeting between the 77 year old leader of the Chinese workers' state and the 79 year old feudal monarch who has held power for many decades.

According to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Mao was cracking jokes and was in a jovial mood during the public part of the meeting, and he posed for photographs with various Ethiopian visitors, according to the (Ethiopian) sources."

The royal visitor for whom Mao reserves his most "jovial" greetings has many years of experience in the brutal repression of the workers and peasants in his own country. Ethiopia remains one of the African states most closely linked to U.S. imperialism.

Perhaps this is why the Chinese Stalinists are going out of their way to welcome the Emperor. Chou En-lai revealed that the decision to invite Nixon to China was made by Mao himself, and what better way to smooth Nixon's path than to wine and dine Washington's most servile and reactionary puppet in Africa?

## NOBILITY

Ethiopia is ruled by a tiny and all-powerful feudal nobility. No political parties are allowed. The per capita income as of 1969 was between \$35 and \$50, and this figure is swollen by the huge incomes of the ruling families.

The imperial family and feudal

nobility own 65% of the land. The infant mortality rate is between 50 and 60% in the first two years of life. Ethiopia maintains the most liberal investment policies for the imperialists, including various tax exemption schemes and special laws protecting foreign capital against expropriation.

Emperor Selassie has struck back savagely at workers, pea-

sants, and students who have questioned living conditions and political life. Just two years ago thousands of students were placed in concentration camps, and many were imprisoned or murdered for protesting government educational policy and increases in student fees.

## NATIONALIST

Selassie now joins Yahya Khan

and Numeiry of the Sudan on Peking's list of bourgeois nationalist and ultra-reactionary friends. And recent visitors to China like Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party and Pablo Guzman of the Young Lords help the Chinese Stalinists to support these forces by their refusal to take up any of the political and theoretical questions raised by Peking's policies.

# Nixon Chooses Ex-Ku Klux Klanner

BY ED SMITH

West Virginia Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democratic majority whip, close friend of Nixon and ex-organizer for the Ku Klux Klan, has now come forward as the Administration's top choice for one of the vacant Supreme Court seats.

Byrd has a law degree earned part-time as a Senator and has never practiced. But he is completely tailored to Nixon's requirements for a "new," reactionary Supreme Court.

After his experiences in the Klan, Byrd did not end his filthy racist activities. In the Senate he only refined and expanded them. He led a 14-hour filibuster against a civil rights bill in 1963 and has been a vociferous opponent of school busing.

As a "strict constructionist," close friend of Nixon, and enthusiastic supporter of the wage freeze and all Nixon's attacks on the working class, Byrd is

an obvious choice to help make the Supreme Court into a sledgehammer to break up the working class movement.

It is not hard to imagine the decisions such a man will make when cases involving the labor movement, the minorities, the youth come before the court.

## RACISTS

Racists and labor haters staffing the courts are an important part of the capitalist class' drive to Bonapartist rule. It is important to note that people like Sen. Sam Ervin, hailed in liberal and "radical" circles as a great "defender of civil liberties," applauds this stooge of Nixon's as

"a good choice—I would be for him."

Ervin has been joined by Sen. George McGovern who has nothing but praise for Byrd. McGovern said on Sunday: "Senator Byrd is a man of enormous industry and personal pride. I think if he were given the nomination he would bend every effort to become a great justice... I think the probability is that if the President sends his name up, the Senate will confirm him."

When the rulers crack the whip, the liberals certainly know which side to line up on. They are united in their fear and hatred of the working class as it now moves against the joint efforts of the Democrats and Republicans to slash wages and break the trade unions.

The nomination of Byrd comes precisely at the time when Nixon announces Phase Two of the wage freeze. The Nixon Administration and the capitalist class behind it are revealing their intentions blatantly. They are finding less and less room for compromise. Moves such as the Byrd nomination strengthen the racist, right-wing forces in preparation for open war on the working class.

# Ferre's Police Beat Up Strikers In Puerto Rico

BY LUCIA RIVERA

Employees of Fomento Industrial are continuing their two-week old strike in Puerto Rico despite the wage freeze and continuous attacks by the government.

The workers at Fomento, which is a government agency for seeking and investing American capital in Puerto Rico, went on strike after the obstinate refusal of the agency to negotiate left them with no other way out. The agency had refused to engage in negotiations with the union during the last 16 months.

Since the strike broke out Ferre's government has attempted every means to isolate it and break it up. This has included police attacks on the picket lines which have resulted in several strikers being injured. At least one striker has been hospitali-

# Ceylon Jails More Youth

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Lord Avebury, a British peer who visited Ceylon recently on behalf of Amnesty International, has reported that thousands upon thousands of youth continue to be crowded into prisons and concentration camps in the aftermath of the "Che Guevarist" rebellion of six months ago.

The Ceylon government, which is the keeper of these jails and concentration camps, is run by a coalition of the "radical" bourgeois party of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, and the Stalinists of the Communist Party and the LSSP.

Currently, 14,744 people are imprisoned, according to Lord Avebury. The government says the prisoners will be sorted out into categories of "innocent," "moderately guilty" and "seriously guilty"—all of this without trial, of course.

After enthusiastically assisting in the massacre and imprisonment of the youth in the best bourgeois manner, the Communist Party calls for "democratic rights to be restored," where it is militarily convenient. At the same time Kueneman, the CP secretary, continues to sit as one of Bandaranaike's cabinet ministers.

The LSSP's role has been even more traitorous. This party still presents itself as "Trotskyist." Notwithstanding this it not only jails the youth, it has forbidden members who are lawyers from defending them under penalty of expulsion.

Curfews and military operations not only continue on the island, they are increasing. Nearly 15,000 have been imprisoned, thousands are dead, entire union leaderships simply "disappeared." Revolutionaries like members of the Revolutionary Communist League, Ceylonese section of the International Committee, are arrested at will.

The thousands of political prisoners of the "United Left Front" of capitalism must be released and this traitorous popular front itself must be thrown out before it carries out an even deadlier "second stage" of its attack on the Ceylonese masses.

# Montreal March Backs Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—Two thousand people marched here on October 7th to protest the attacks on the former LaPalme mail delivery truck drivers. These men have now been locked out for 18 months.

They were thrown out of their jobs by the Trudeau government in one of the most vicious attacks on the working class in this country, since the end of World War II. The men were asked to accept the destruction of their union and the loss of all their seniority rights or be thrown out of work. They chose to fight. Police were used against them and scabs were hired to replace them.

Trudeau is teaching the Canadian working class a lesson. He intends to crush a militant section of the class and demoralize it. This is why he told the LaPalme workers that they could march to the end of the Earth, but it would not help them. For Trudeau and his class, there is no more time. They could never give in to LaPalme.

The leaders of the LaPalme union and the CNTU did not see it this way, nor do they wish to. Their whole policy has been limited to protest, pressuring Trudeau, and militant trade

unionism.

The march they organized was in a long line of marches, songs, protests, posters, pamphlets, etc., which have been put out about LaPalme, all designed to somehow force Trudeau to give them back their jobs.

There is only one way to win the fight at LaPalme, to spread the strike specifically to the Post Office workers and unite all workers in a movement to throw Trudeau out and replace him with an NDP government pledged to guarantee workers their rights and to protect their unions.

But this is a political fight. The bureaucrats of the CNTU have avoided this fight at all costs. Now the LaPalme workers themselves face a choice. They have done everything conceivable within the context of militant trade unionism and they have shown great courage in doing it.

On October 7th, workers were mobilized from CNTU locals from all across the province to join the march. There were no poli-



Chairman Mao welcomes Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to China

## Phase Two

# Nixon Rips Up Union Contracts

BY THE EDITOR

The American labor movement today faces the biggest threat from the capitalist government in its entire history. This is the meaning of Phase II of Nixon's wage freeze.

The plan of attack on the unions which Nixon outlined last Thursday in a nationwide speech will slash wages and rip up the contracts won by the unions in the past, many in bitter strike struggles.

But even further than this, Phase II involves a direct chal-

## Minn. Steel Ranks Reject Pay Offer

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

ST. PAUL, October 10—Striking members of the United Steelworkers Local 7263 today rejected the latest contract offer from North Star Steel. The strike now moves into its third week.

Behind this rejection was a determination by the strikers to get what they felt was entitled to them, wage freeze or no wage freeze.

The company's offer averaging \$1.10 over three years might have been accepted if there was no freeze, because the offer was retroactive to the old contract expiration date. However, with the freeze retroactive pay is made illegal. North Star strikers wanted the offer made high enough so that when they did get it, it would make up for what had been

But Nixon's latest pronouncement means that the freeze will continue. The vote to reject the latest North Star offer must now be seen by other steelworkers and by millions of union members as a symbol of defiance to the freeze, and an indication of the road all of them will have to take.

lenge to the very existence of the unions as independent organizations to defend the wages, conditions and rights of American workers.

The future of the unions now requires a direct confrontation with the government and a bitter battle against the trade union leaders who are doing the dirty work for the employers and Nixon.

Behind Phase II lies one thing and one thing only, and that is the government's intention to protect the profits of the banks and big corporations in the deepest economic crisis of the capitalist system. It is the working class that is to be driven into poverty to save capitalism and its profit system. Nixon made this quite clear in his speech:

"Let me turn now to the subject of profits. Many of my good friends in the field of politics have advised me that the only politically popular position to take is to be against profits."

### PROFITS

"But let us recognize an unassailable fact of economic life. All Americans will benefit from more profits." "Higher profits," said Nixon, "would be good for every person in America."

Nixon is not fooling anyone. Higher profits are good for only the employers and they are to be gotten at the expense of the American working class. That is what the wage freeze is all about.

As the head of the United Electrical Workers put it, Phase II "does nothing but continue the Nixon policy of putting the blame and burden for inflation on the working people of America, fat-

tening the pigs while shearing the sheep."

"The program as announced tonight is designed to make profits the highest form of patriotism with the people asked to voluntarily tighten their belts while corporations continue to feast on swollen profits."

The machinery which Nixon has designed for Phase II of the freeze puts the living standards of the working class under the control of the government. Under Phase II Nixon plans to rule the economy with three boards, the Price Commission, the Pay Board, and Secretary of the Treasury's Cost of Living Council.

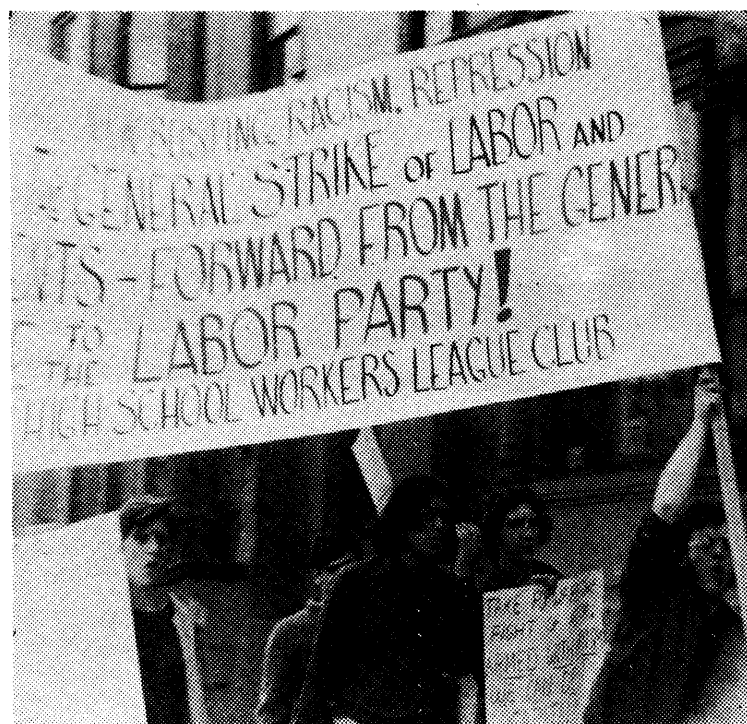
### "PUBLIC"

The Price Commission will review price increases and in many cases it will simply require the notification of increases already made. The Commission will be composed of members from the so-called "public" appointed by Nixon. This board will simply be a rubber stamp for the corporations. As the history of controls has shown, while wages are held down prices rise.

The Pay Board is to consist of five representatives of labor, employers and the "public." We already have an good idea of what Nixon terms "public" representatives who are "not beholden to any special interest group." Nixon's first "public" appointment to the pay board was William Caples, now president of Kenyon College and a former vice president of Inland Steel, a corporation that played a big role in the Little Steel massacre in the 1940s.

On the pay board Nixon hopes to use the collaboration and treachery of the labor bureaucracy to help police the ranks of the

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High school youth join the Workers League contingent in a recent demonstration in Philadelphia in support of the Attica prisoners.

## UE District 11 Meeting Discusses Labor Party

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS—Leaders of the District Eleven Council of the United Electrical Workers (UE) did everything to avoid taking a stand on the issue of a labor party at a council meeting here October 10 and 11.

The question of a labor party and when to form it dominated the discussion of fighting the wage freeze. It began when one delegate announced his opposition to the UE's stand in the last presidential elections, saying that neither Humphrey, Nixon nor Wallace were worth voting for. This delegate thought it would have been better to vote for Humphrey.

Others were for making one last try with the Democrats before taking action to form a labor party. Some were for remaining tied to the liberals as a way of averting fascism—as if this ever

averted it before.

Stalinist and pro-Stalinist officials, such as district president Ernest DeMaio, tried to patch everything together by saying that yes, we need a labor party, but now is not the time for it—instead we must hustle for the Democrats and try to get them to adopt a "progressive" program.

No motions were taken on the question. Instead, DeMaio said that the discussion at the Council meeting must be taken back into the shops. This was correct, but it was put forward as a way of avoiding any leadership responsibilities by the District Council.

DeMaio concluded with proposing that we work to: "1. Block fascism, and 2. Build the forces of the people," a call for the creation of a popular front.

This discussion must be taken into the shops—but it must be part of a struggle to build a new leadership that will no longer tie the working class to the coattails of the capitalist parties.

# HISTORY OF WAGE BOARDS: UNIONS ARE TARGET

BY FRED MUELLER

Now that Nixon has dropped the other shoe with the announcement of Phase II of his all out war on the working class, the historical experience of the labor movement is more important than ever.

The lessons of history must be learned and absorbed by bringing them into the struggles of the present. In the United States the working class faced wage freezes and controls during both World War II and the Korean War. The most recent experience with controls in the advanced capitalist countries took place in Britain between 1965 and 1970.

U.S. labor now faces the most determined and vicious attack on wages ever. And it faces it in a totally different situation. The tremendous economic crisis makes the lessons of the past more burning than ever.

In the August 30th Bulletin the real history of wage controls during World War II was discussed. The capitalist class through its government imposed a no-strike pledge on the labor movement, using patriotism to attack the wages and working conditions of labor.

The Wage Labor Board decided on all wage claims. First it attempted to freeze wages as of the levels existing in January, 1941. After a series of strikes struggles led to the Little Steel Formula, this was changed to the levels of January 15, 1942. Through most of the war the majority of organized workers were simply told they could have no increases. Meanwhile prices and profits soared as never before.

According to the UAW, prices increased by over 30% in the two years, 1941-43. A joint AFL and CIO report stated that prices had risen 43.5% from January, 1941 to January, 1944. Profits rose to record heights in all areas, especially in the war and related industries.

### WW II

Only the miners defied the no-strike pledge and the wage freeze. They held out against the combined onslaught of the entire capitalist class and the government from Roosevelt on down.

They also defeated the allies of the employers in the labor movement, the main sections of the trade union bureaucracy as well as the Communist Party.

The Communist Party, as every trade unionist who went through these struggles knows very well, was the most enthusiastic booster of the no-strike pledge, wage freezing and speed-up, and the most vicious opponent of every section of the working class which resisted these attacks.

With the aid of the union leaders and the Stalinists, wages were held down drastically during the war. This was a contributing factor in the immediate postwar strike wave, as the pent up hostility and demands of the workers exploded throughout basic industry.

The Korean War period was a different one. The capitalists were not able to use the war to dampen the class struggle. The number of strikes was to reach an all time high in the midst of the war itself. Although the employers used the war to deepen the witchhunt they could not convince the workers that it was their duty to sacrifice.

On January 26, 1951, President Truman announced a wage-price

freeze covering most sectors of the economy. This was just over six months after the beginning of the war in Korea.

A Wage Stabilization Board was set up. This Board consisted of nine members, including three labor representatives. At the same time it was subordinate to the overall Office of Defense Mobilization, headed by Charles E. Wilson, the President of General Electric.

Controls were set up partly in response to a big strike wave which had begun very soon after the start of the war in June, 1950. Truman set up a system which included a tripartite wage board subordinate to the government, just as Nixon now proposes. And the union leaders obediently took their places on this Wage Stabilization Board. However, it is important to understand that this Board did not have legal enforcement powers.

The union bureaucrats found themselves caught between the government and the ranks very soon. On February 16, 1951, the Wage Stabilization Board adopted a new freeze formula which held wages to a 10% ceiling above the levels existing back on January 15, 1950, a full six months before the beginning of the war.

Considering that prices rose by more than 15% in the period between July and December, 1950 alone, this was a wage cut for the entire working class. The three labor members had asked for a 12% ceiling. They were outvoted 6-3, at which point they resigned from the Board.

On February 28, the labor movement announced the withdrawal of all 24 labor members from the war mobilization agencies. At the same time the union leaders announced that they would "participate in a reconstituted Wage Stabilization and Disputes Board which would administer a fair and equitable policy."

The two years of controls during the Korean War saw another period of price increases at the expense of workers' living standards. Only through the most prolonged and determined strike struggles against the wage-freezing capitalist government was the organized working class able to beat back some of the attacks and hold on to minimum gains.

The labor leaders were caught in the middle of the crisis, between the massive movement of the ranks on the one hand and the attacks of the employers

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Bulletin salesman sells newspapers to longshoremen on the Baltimore docks who are on strike for wages and a guaranteed annual income.

## Shipowners Want End To GAI, Port Seniority

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

**BROOKLYN**—On Tuesday, October 12, ILA pickets at one dock here held a spontaneous meeting which discussed the situation facing them in their two-week old strike. The meeting began when some workers were talking to a Bulletin salesman. Others soon joined in, voicing their opinions. One docker, an ILA shop steward, referring to the refusal of the shipowners to continue the Guaranteed Annual Income, said "There's no doubt about it. If we don't get the guarantee, the men here are finished. They'll take all our jobs away."

Another picket was a Cuban who

the Brooklyn ILA Local 1814) which was in the New York Daily News and said: "This man has never been on the docks. He never worked here. He's like a politician, like the other politicians."

Another docker blamed Scotto for the scabbing on the Gulf Coast. He said that Scotto had always gotten a settlement for the New York ports, then ignored the needs of the other ports. "Now the other dockers are making him pay for it."

### RIGHTS

Later another striking docker explained that the shipowners were not only out to take away the GAI completely. They are also demanding that instead of portwide seniority rights, the men be limited only to company seniority.

The companies are insisting that the union do away with permanent job functions and classifications, so that a driver may be forced to work in the hold and so forth.

The docker also said that the union leaders were mishandling  
(Continued On Page 12)

The men were very angry at their own national leadership as well. One worker pointed to a picture of ILA vice president Scotto (who is also president of

## Jones Joins Imperiale To Crush Youth Revolt

BY BOB MICHAELSON

**NEWARK**—Last week, two schools in Newark and Irvington erupted in rebellion against the repressive atmosphere dominating the educational system.

This rebellion—primarily an expression of the struggle of Black and Puerto Rican youth against racism—took the character at Barringer High School of a confrontation with a section of white students.

At Irvington High, the issue at first was not as racially divided as at Barringer, and many white youth took part side by side with Black youth.

But in both cases, it was the intervention of the racist Anthony Imperiale and the Black nationalist LeRoi Jones which actually aggravated the situation along racial lines.

At Irvington High, Imperiale immediately went in and set up a citizens group among the white parents, and leaders of the NAACP began speaking for Black parents. What began as a rebellion supported by youth of both races was thus turned into a bargaining session between Imperiale and the NAACP and Jones.

At Barringer High School, the situation was even more blatant. Here, the real meaning of Imperiale's and Jones' intervention became very clear.

On Wednesday, October 6th, Jones and Imperiale arrived at Barringer. Imperiale told Jones, "I'll take care of my boys." And then and there they joined hands in order to quiet down the rebellion among the students. Above all else, they had to keep the rebellion along "peaceful" channels.

Imperiale and Jones played this role at both schools. They quickly divided the students along racial lines and made sure they remained divided. Then they began the "negotiations" at the schools in the same racial atmosphere, as if the interests of white, Black and Puerto Rican youth are separate.

### BREAK

The students must immediately break from the control of both Imperiale and Jones. The real cause of the problems facing education are not local in origin, but they flow out of the whole crisis of the capitalist economy.

Gibson is making cutbacks in education. The working people and youth are made to suffer while the profits of the corporations are protected.

White youth must begin with this understanding and support the struggle against racism and repression. Imperiale will only lead them down the road to fascism and defeat otherwise.

### CONFINES

At the same time, Jones certainly has shown that he poses no alternative for Black and Spanish youth. His recent support to a Black bourgeois party based on a hostility to the needs of youth and workers is now being clearly shown in his role today. Now he unites with racists like Imperiale in order to crush any attempt by youth to go beyond the confines of capitalism.

The youth must unite with the working class against such ilk who would only betray them. Only the building of a revolutionary youth movement can solve the problems facing youth today.

# 1199 Leaders Urge Rejection Of Pay Board

BY AN 1199 MEMBER  
**NEW YORK**—Phase II of Nixon's wage freeze program must come as a bitter blow to thousands of hospital workers who expected to get their 10% October increases after the end of the 90 day period.

In addition to strict controls on wages backed up by government enforcement, Phase II has put off indefinitely all increases that were due to go into effect during the first stage of the freeze. These increases were negotiated well before August 15th.

Nixon's first statement was that these increases would simply not be paid. The latest report is that a final decision may be referred to the new wage review board that will be set up. Even if they are referred to this board the increases may well be lowered.

Workers must have no illusions that such a board could represent their interests. Nixon seeks labor's participation just for window dressing while the real decisions would be in the hands of the government.

The Rank and File Committee of Local 1199 warned that this

attack could only be stopped by decisive action by Local 1199. Protests alone could not stop Nixon's moves to extend the freeze and hamstringing the unions even more.

Phase II is a trap for the unions. Nixon will proceed to hold down wages to less than 6% and viciously prosecute unions that refuse to comply.

The Local 1199 leadership can no longer adopt a wait and see position. The October 1st rally of 6,000 hospital workers showed the ranks' readiness to fight.

On October 11th, Leon Davis, President of 1199, telegraphed George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, not to cooperate with the Review Board.

This must now be carried forward by a one day general strike November 12th to put Nixon on notice that hospital workers will not wait one more day for their increases.

The Rank and File Committee will fight for this policy at the October 14th Guild delegates assembly. We urge all hospital workers to begin this fight at every hospital in the city.

## Taxi Ranks Run Slate

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

**NEW YORK**—The Taxi Rank and File Coalition came out strongly against Nixon's wage freeze this past week. In a strongly worded resolution which stated the Coalition "absolutely opposes Nixon's wage freeze," it emphasized that the freeze is an attack on all workers and unions.

The Rank and File Coalition is running a full slate of candidates in the citywide elections against the entire Van Arsdale leadership of Local 3036. Pledging return of the "dime" and 42% differential retroactively, the Rank and File candidates for

president and secretary, Leo Lazarus and Dan Zuger respectively, have launched a campaign centered around 60% of the meter, \$300/month pension for twenty non-consecutive years with an escalator clause, a guaranteed daily wage, proportional benefits to part-timers, and no productivity clauses. All Rank and File candidates are pledged to call a citywide strike meeting three weeks after election if these demands are not met.

The Rank and File Coalition must now take up the fight for a labor party. The opposition to the wage freeze must be seen as the first step in the mobilization of all workers against the bankrupt policies of the Republicans and Democrats.

Both parties back Nixon's policies to the hilt, and cabbies must face the fact that any increase in their wages or any other workers' wages is going to require a political fight.

The Watchdog Committee showed its true colors as whole sections of the caucus led by dissident secretary Thomas Iandole announced they would not oppose Mr. Van Arsdale since he "is going to renegotiate!"

This confirms the fact that the Rank and File Coalition slate is the only alternative with a fighting program that can beat Van Arsdale.

## 'It's Worse Than 1929'

BY MIKE ROTH

**PHILADELPHIA**—Workers at Budd of UAW Local 813 face a sharp struggle against the wage freeze and massive lay offs. At the October 10th membership meeting the local leadership reported on the tremendous loss of pay, benefits and bonuses stolen from the men by the freeze.

The imminent closing of the Fort Washington plant will throw thousands of Budd workers out on the street to join those already sacked at the Philadelphia plant. S.U.B. benefits are drying up and the company threatens to discontinue pensions. Pres. Gryn said, "It's worse than 1929." As the worst capitalist crisis in history deepens huge companies like Budd are facing bankruptcy.

Every move by the company is aimed at the union to be able to reduce wages and working conditions to the levels of the '30's. The opening of a new non-union foundry and the installation of a breathalyzer device to harass men on the job are measures that are backed 100% by the government and both major parties in Harrisburg and Washington.

The position taken by Local 813 of non-cooperation with the wage board and calling it a farce is

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas  
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# SMC Rejects Class Fight For Nov. 6

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK—With the intensification of the class struggle posed by Nixon's Phase II of the wage freeze, the last citywide Student Mobilization Committee meeting took a further turn to the right.

The Young Socialist Alliance which controlled the meeting made every attempt to stifle any political discussion and to prevent any real perspective for a class fight against the war and the wage freeze for the November 6th demonstrations from being seriously discussed.

Rather, their whole perspective reiterated their intention to completely subordinate any question of a fight against the wage freeze to middle class protest politics.

The potentially revolutionary struggles of working class youth in the high schools, as well, were seen only in terms of civil rights and "bring the boys home." The SMC tried to cover up its political bankruptcy by organizational maneuvers to prevent people from speaking. There was heavyhanded chairmanship reminiscent of the Stalinist movement and a preoccupation with technical questions of organization. It was probably the most undemocratically run meeting in the history of the SMC.

## Bethlehem Throws 2000 Steelworkers Onto Jobless Line

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BETHLEHEM, PA.—The magnitude of the August 1st sellout, in basic steel becomes clearer with each passing week. The ranks have paid dearly for the spinelessness and treachery of Abel and the steel union bureaucracy.

Here at the big Bethlehem steel works, the ranks face the loss of every gain they have won. Aside from the planned construction of a second basic oxygen furnace which means the eradication of many jobs, over 2,000 workers have been thrown out of work. Inside the mill, many of the workers only work for four days a week at four days pay.

In many cases workers hold down two jobs in order to support their families. Last week, steelworkers elected their new shop stewards according to the new contract agreement which drastically reduces the number of stewards to one for every sixty men.

### PRODUCTIVITY

At the same time the Abel leadership has consented to cooperate with company attempts to increase productivity. Abel has every intention of giving assistance to Nixon's wage control board.

The fight must now go forward to mobilize the ranks at the Bethlehem mills against the government and its servants in the union bureaucracy. Within each local the demand for absolutely no cooperation with the wage control board must be taken up along with the call to smash Nixon's wage freeze with general strike action on November 12th.

This clearly flows from the fear of the SWP-YSA that with the present political situation their policies are more and more exposed. The SMC defended their backing for the demonstration to be held on October 13 organized by the Stalinists who invited all their friends from the labor bureaucracy plus Mayor Lindsay.

This demonstration was ostensibly called in preparation for labor participation in the big anti-war demonstration on Nov. 6, but will lay heavy stress on the fight against the wage freeze. When questioned, however, about Mayor Lindsay's stand on the wage freeze, the chairman had no answer.

In opposition to all this the stand of the Workers League was clear. The Workers League proposed that the youth and students be turned towards the critical struggles of the American working class against the employers and the government. Students and working class youth have a critical role to play in the fight against these policies, but isolated from the working class can do nothing but protest.

### CLASS

The perspective of the SWP-YSA was clearly to keep the struggles of the youth far from a

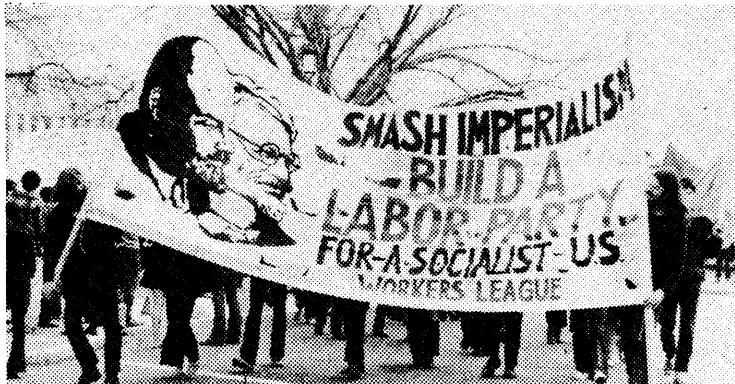
class perspective and confined to protest only. Contrary to this the Workers League proposed that the SMC take up the fight to mobilize youth on a class basis around demands not just for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam but calling for full employment through a shorter work week, no cooperation with the wage stabilization board and an end to the freeze, substantial wage increases and escalator clauses in every contract, nationalization of basic industry and for a labor party in 1972 to carry forward these demands against the Democratic and Republican Parties.

It is only through this kind of a fight that imperialist war can be ended. The Vietnamese revolution cannot be defended without taking up the struggle against the capitalist class in the United States.

### CONTINGENT

This means the fight to expose the labor bureaucracy as well. The labor bureaucracy is simply given left cover by the Stalinists and the SWP who invite them to peace rallies without posing the fight they must take up to defend the American working class.

The Workers League intends to mobilize in the unions, campuses, high schools and communities, building a contingent around this program for the November 6th demonstrations.



Workers League contingent to the April 24th demonstration centered march around fight for a labor party, opposing capitulation of SWP to middle class pacifism and the Stalinists' alliance with the liberals.

## Dyna Truck Cuts Jobs By 70%

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—On October 4th, Dyna Truck Corporation, a subsidiary of Dynamics Corporation of America, laid off 375 men out of a total work force of 515. These lay offs are, in the company's words, "tentative for two weeks."

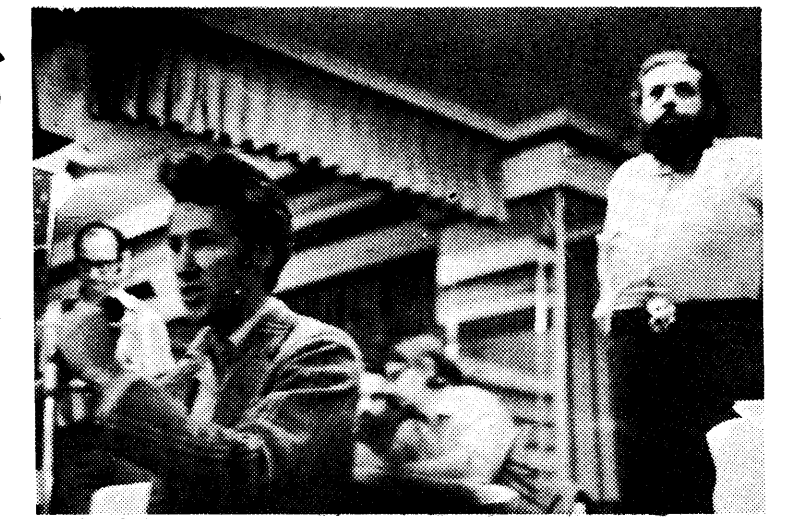
Along with the layoffs came a warning that the company is in serious financial trouble. It is clear to most of the men of UAW, Local 505, that the layoffs are a warning—that if the workers do not accept the company's offer, which is to continue the present contract, they will shut down entirely.

The present contract has no cost of living coverage, no job security, no job classification system, and the average hourly wage is \$3.06—30% less than the average wage in the large auto

and truck plants.

Local 505 members are not taking the attacks lying down, but are determined to fight back. At the local meeting called to discuss the upcoming contract fight a strike vote won—287 for and only 22 against. A representative from the UAW addressed the men. He told the men that the layoffs were only tentative for two weeks and implied that they may be recalled even sooner. But in reality, the "tentative" the company is talking about is just the opposite.

It is the opinion of many men that it is only Dyna Truck which is suffering financially, and not the mother company. But the UAW representative told this reporter after the meeting, that the union officials had seen the financial statements which show that it is Dynamics Corp. which is in serious trouble. This he did not mention in his report to the union meeting. He also said, "We want parity with the na-



Dennis Cribben of the Committee for a New Leadership speaking against the SSEU-371 leaders' fraud of "constitutional reform."

## Right Wing Goes On Offensive In SSEU

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—There is a growing rebellion on a rank and file level against the overwork situation in the reorganized centers of the Department of Social Services. Against this, the SSEU-371 leadership has made every attempt to head off actions and avoid a union-wide confrontation with the City against the violations of the contract and the speedup.

The leadership, and particularly its right wing, pro-Gotbaum section, has moved in to divert the militancy and dissatisfaction of the ranks into the issue of "constitutional reform." They have been trying to get themselves off the hook by pushing the idea that the problems in the union, and the refusal of the leadership to really deal with them is due to an outmoded constitution.

The so-called reforms they are pushing, however, amount to no more than a consolidation of the power of the bureaucracy and splitting the ranks further into chapters. They propose decreasing the number of elected officials, and increasing the number of appointees, as well as increasing the powers of the chapters, and thus taking powers away from the delegates assembly (which more directly represents the ranks in the centers).

Their purposes in raising the "constitutional reform" issue at this point are twofold. Firstly, it

is a diversion from the real fight which must be taken up now against the overwork and contractual violations in reorganization, and secondly, it prepares the way for a new, right-wing leadership, controlled more directly by Gotbaum and the District Council.

The ranks made clear, however, last week, where they stand on such a move. There was no quorum at the membership meeting built by the leadership for the sole purpose of discussing this issue. Although the bureaucracy put a good section of its forces into building this meeting, they could not get the ranks to come.

Despite the leadership's maneuvers, workers around the City are beginning to engage in limited work actions to press forward demands for more staff. In several centers, workers for the past several weeks have been refusing to work overtime. Workers in another center have been limiting the number of clients they see during the day.

In Fulton Center, workers unanimously voted to refuse to staff a unit which, according to the contract, should have been filled with excess clerks. The City refused to authorize this, however, as they are waiting for the replacement of staff by welfare clients at below minimum wage, rather than moving regular civil service lists. Workers at Fulton further resolved that they will not handle cases from any unit which the City dissolves, and will back any workers suspended in this action with a complete work stoppage.

### FREEZE

This is the kind of movement that must now be taken forward citywide. This is the only way to force the leadership to take a centralized stand on the overwork, and get some guarantees from the City. This must further be connected with the fight to get a job description for those workers who are to be sent out to the community under Sugarman's "Outreach" program.

Finally, the Committee for a New Leadership is fighting to force the leadership to come out clearly against any participation in Nixon's pay board, and to publicly call for a one day strike action against the wage freeze on November 12th. The unions must let Nixon know that they will not let the ranks pay for the employers' crisis. Workers in the SSEU will directly feel the effects of Nixon's policies by not receiving the pay owed them since last January, if a fight is not taken up against the freeze.

tional UAW contract," but then went on to accepting the wage freeze as an immovable barrier.

The union leaders' position is that if the company can prove through their books that they are in real trouble, then the union's position is that they do not want to ruin the company and they will find some way of cooperating.

There can be no cooperation with these plans. This government must be defeated. That is the only way to protect jobs, wages, and the unions. The men of UAW Local 505 must demand that the UAW boycott Nixon's wage board and call for general strike action. They must fight for parity with the national UAW contract, job classification, and job security—30 for 40, and answer the employers' claims of bankruptcy with the demand for nationalization of the industry under workers control.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Drive George Meany Off The Pay Board

(Continued From Page 1)

which Hitler travelled to power. This is the result of Meany's long history of class collaboration. It now poses the gravest dangers to the entire trade union movement.

Meany is not alone. He has been joined by Leonard Woodcock, head of the UAW, and Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters. Despite all of the protests from Meany and Woodcock, who only last Friday said he would not take a seat on the Pay Board, these bureaucrats are beating a fast retreat from a fight with the government.

This is the first step. They will go on retreating until the unions are shackled to the capitalist state. This is what happened in Germany. Each retreat only encourages the employers and the government to make their moves against the working class.

Their decision to sit on this board does not represent the interests of the trade unionists but the needs of the employers. No matter what they say about their continuing differences with Phase Two, these men have agreed to become the policemen for Nixon and the employers inside the labor movement. These leaders, whose wages are paid by the ranks, are now playing the role of scabs.

Meany is trying to cover his treachery by making it look like he got some concessions from Nixon. Ultimate authority on the freeze will rest not with Connally's Council but Nixon who can hire and fire from the boards. In other words he is asking the labor movement to put their faith in Nixon, the spokesman of the employers and the architect of the freeze!

Nixon made clear on Tuesday that his freeze could not work without the cooperation of the labor bureaucracy. This only exposes the role of these leaders.

They begin first of all with their support to capitalism seeking concessions for the workers through a compromise. But Phase II spells out the fact that there can be no compromise. The bureaucracy's wheeling and dealing today leads to the destruction of the unions. These leaders have hamstrung the unions to the Democratic Party. This policy now becomes disastrous for labor as it can no longer avoid a fight with the government.

The right to collective bargaining, the right to strike, and the existence of the unions as organizations to defend American workers is now at stake.

Trade unionists are not going to give up their hard won rights and gains so the bosses can fill their coffers with bigger profits. The ranks of labor must demand that Meany, Woodcock, and Fitzsimmons get off the board or get out.

We must demand that those union leaders like Leon Davis of 1199, who sent a telegram to Meany urging rejection of the board, Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37, Fitzgerald, head of the United Electrical Workers, and others who have attacked Nixon's plan, force Meany off this board and take up a fight against this freeze. There must be absolutely no cooperation in any way shape or form with this freeze.

The Communist Party has given uncritical support to Woodcock and to all his sellouts. In its press on Tuesday, the CP stated that "Nixon's Pay Board proposal is a fraud because it will be stacked and called for 'No cooperation with the Phase Two steal.'" If the CP is serious about this, it must take up a fight not only against the freeze but against Woodcock who will now take a seat on this board.

The Illinois AFL-CIO has called for a one day general strike against the freeze. This demand must be taken into every union for a strike to shut down the country on Nov. 12th to tell Nixon labor will not stand for Phase II.

Not one inch can be given, to Nixon, not one contract violated or one union stopped from fighting for substantial wage increases and decent working conditions.

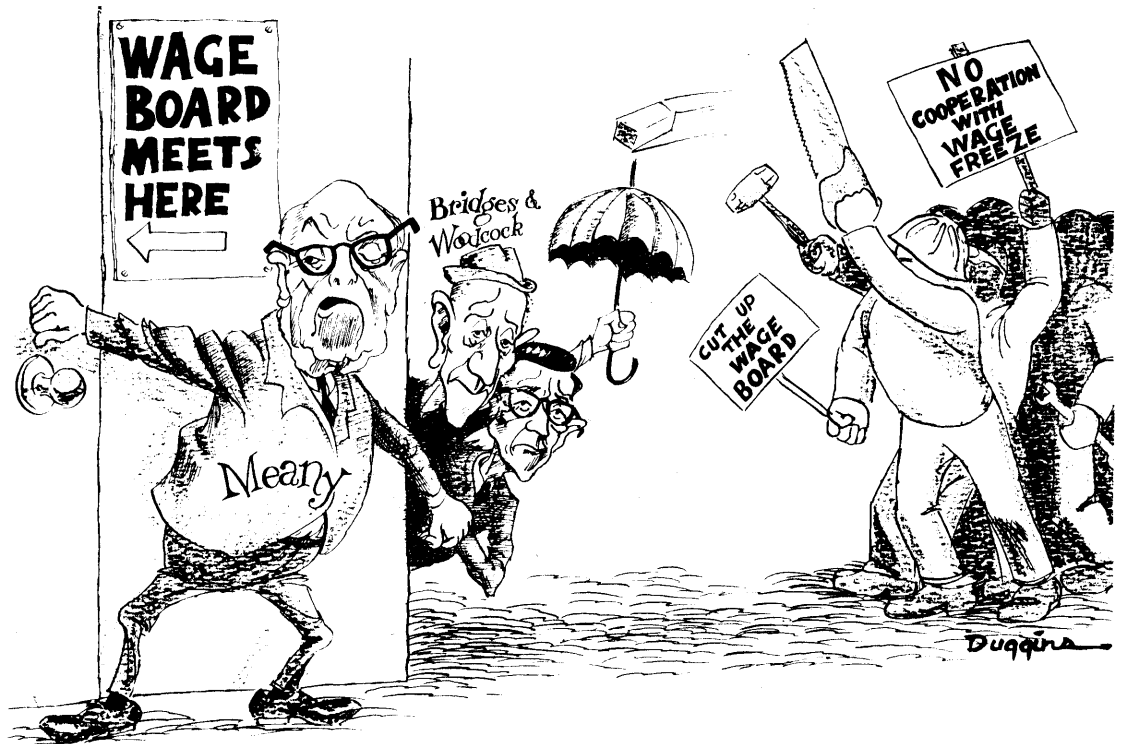
The only way that Nixon, the Democrats and Republicans who are all behind this freeze, can be stopped is by carrying this fight through to the end and building a labor party now for '72.

- End the Wage Freeze—No cooperation with the Pay Board.

- Substantial wage increases and cost of living escalators for all workers.

- Nationalization of basic industry under workers control.

- Build a Labor Party to dump Nixon and the Democrats in '72.



## Editor's Notebook

### Senile Fantasies In The Kremlin

According to the New York Times correspondent in Moscow, a public lecture on "The Crisis of the United States Dollar" attracted a huge audience in the Soviet capital a week or so ago.

The lecturer was a certain Mikhail I. Zakhmatov, an economist on the staff of the Institute for Research on the United States. According to the Times correspondent, Zakhmatov "gave a well-informed and factual account of the series of events that began in mid-August when the United States suspended the convertibility of the dollar into gold, ending the system of international payments in effect since World War

II."

But the Times man must have certainly been impressed and perhaps a bit surprised by Zakhmatov's "analysis." For he writes that "the lecturer cautioned his audience against assuming that the dollar crisis meant the United States economy was in serious trouble."

Nothing of the sort, according to the Soviet bureaucracy and its economic "experts." This expert in particular predicted that "political solidarity of the capitalist nations would probably prevail in the end and the Western countries would help the United States out of the present impasse."

There you have it! A very crude and revealing example of the complete bankruptcy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its complete prostration before American imperialism, its wishful thinking and desperate hope to avoid the crisis and the revolutionary questions that it poses.

So it joins hands with Nixon in hoping for the best, and praying for some kind of technical solution to the mortal crisis of capitalism. But the working class will forge a leadership to break through the solidarity of the capitalists and their Stalinist agents as well.

### She Represents Only The Ruling Minority

A few weeks ago the New York Daily News attempted to whip up a vicious racist hysteria against "illegal aliens" in order to cover the conscious policies of Nixon and the employers to increase unemployment.

Last week the Los Angeles plant owned by Mrs. Banuelos, Nixon's nominee for the treasurer of the U.S., was raided because she employed "illegal aliens." Mrs. Banuelos argued that the raid was set up by her political opponents. But the plant had been raided five times before.

Nixon's press secretary Ziegler said that it was not against the law to employ illegal immigrants and that his boss had given no consideration to withdrawing

the nomination. Ziegler also said that Mrs. Banuelos had been subjected to a "very extensive security check."

It is clear that the capitalists and the government have created the situation which faces these workers, a situation which virtually forces them into slave labor. Nixon obviously finds this a very laudable practice.

These workers are denied free access into the U.S. as they seek jobs and a better standard of living. At the same time the government is fully aware of their entry. They are denied all rights in the U.S. and put at the mercy of the employers and the government forced to live in fear and work at low wages and under

slave conditions. They are threatened with deportation if they do not submit.

It is not surprising that Mrs. Banuelos combines her sweatshop operation with bitter hatred and hostility to the unions which she has fought. This is what brings her together with Nixon.

Mrs. Banuelos' nomination is part of Nixon's plan for the Republicans to appeal to minorities by appointing "religious, patriotic, hard working ethnic Americans" or to put it straight, those who will defend capitalism.

But Nixon isn't fooling anyone. Mrs. Banuelos is despised by the masses of working people and youth in the Chicano community.

### Liars Sure Can Figure

In Nixon's disgusting appeal for American workers to back his Phase II last week, he contended that workers should joyfully give up their wages to increase profits. Higher profits, lied Nixon, create more jobs.

But so cynical is this man that it appears he is now preparing behind the scenes to hide his lie by juggling the statistics drawn up every month by the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

It seems that recently there have been some strange goings on in the Bureau. First the actual writing of the reports has been taken over by the Secretary of Labor Hodgson. Up un-

til June these statistics had been prepared by the technical experts responsible for the collection and analysis of unemployment data.

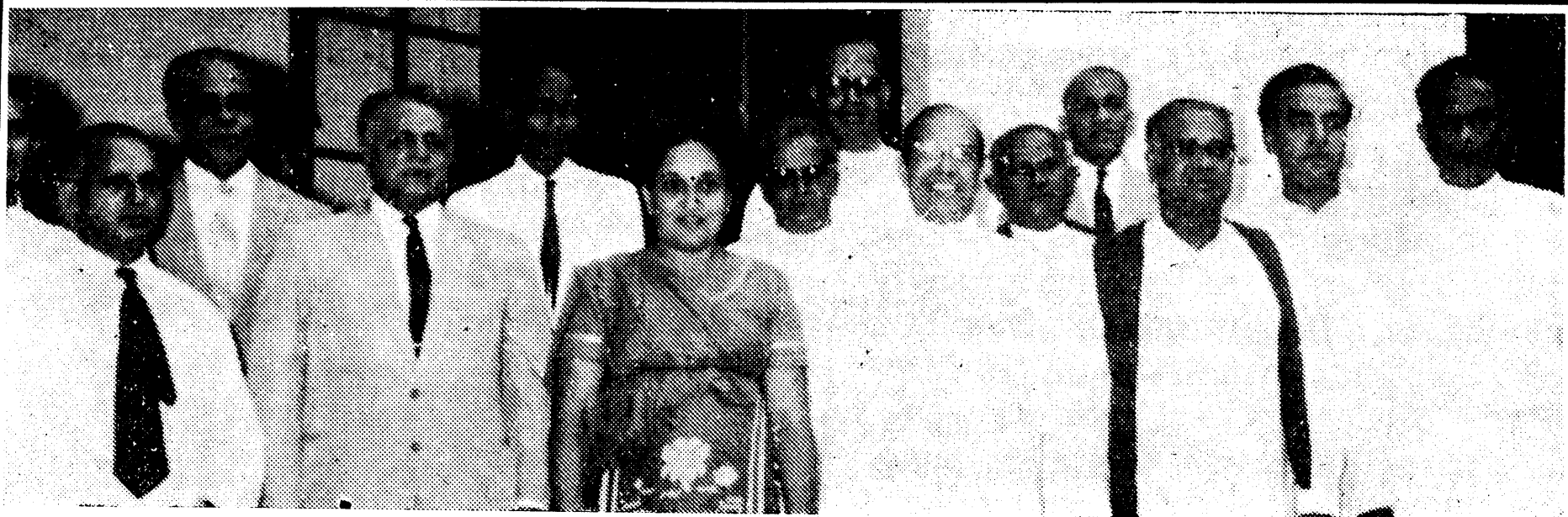
In June the report made up by the technicians had warned that the June decrease in unemployment was due to a statistical fluke and would be expected to rise again in July. Which, of course, it did. But this did not fit Mr. Nixon's propaganda campaign to deceive American workers and he had it out with the experts.

Since then the two most important men in this bureau have been mysteriously given other jobs. The Commissioner of the Bureau denied that the changes were not the result of the experts'

refusal to interpret the statistics like Hodgson and Nixon wanted. But this obviously doesn't jive with their removal and the fact that Hodgson now writes the reports.

September figures prove this out. Important information has been hidden on page 4 when it used to be on page 1. In September the unemployment sample was not taken until the end of the month to get the best possible results. Of course there was not the routine warning about the reading of this figure as there always has been in the past.

This pretty much sums up the extent of Nixon's program to "reduce unemployment."



# The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

By Michael Ross

## PART ONE

### THE ORIGINS OF TROTSKYISM & REVISIONISM IN CEYLON

## Introduction

THE RECENT BLOODBATH against rural and unemployed youth in Ceylon, backed up by all the major imperialist and Stalinist powers, requires that once again we turn to the question of Ceylon and its significance in the development of the Fourth International. This bloodbath was directed by a government not only including the Stalinists but a party which for years was a part of the Fourth International, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP-Ceylon Equality Party).

What this means is that revisionism can and must lead now to direct material actions in the interests of imperialism and against the working class. It is not a matter of wrong theory, but that the turn against Marxist theory leads to direct treachery, to the actual murder of the working class.

It is also true that through the struggle against revisionism, if this struggle is seen as part of the actual penetration of the class, a revolutionary movement can be built today on a mass scale capable of coming to power. What appeared to many in an earlier period as a struggle over ideas among a handful of people today takes on the greatest historic importance.

The Marxist movement is the memory of the class. It is the repository of all its history. Only through a conscious turn to this history can a new revolutionary generation be educated today to meet these new tasks. Understanding this, the Third Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, held in April, 1966, proposed that a history of the Fourth International be written.

We see this series of articles as a contribution to this history. It only scratches the surface of a history of the LSSP itself, not to mention that of the Fourth International as a whole. However, the importance of the material involved requires that we proceed to publish what we do know of the history of the LSSP. This way its essential lessons can be brought into

the movement now and at the same time we can hope to encourage further work on this question.

It is our position that the LSSP's betrayal of the Ceylonese working class is rooted in its narrow national and anti-theoretical outlook and in the failure of Pabloism to struggle against this outlook. In fact revisionism within the Fourth International was in the forefront of encouraging the opportunism of the LSSP. Pablo and Ernest Mandel in particular, were personally and deeply involved in each opportunist step of the LSSP. The Socialist Workers Party, by failing to take up the struggle against Pabloism after 1954 and actually reunifying with it in 1963, is as deeply implicated.

The bitter lesson of Ceylon is that a mass revolutionary party can only be built on the basis of internationalism and the struggle for the Marxist method against revisionism. Those who turn away from this struggle, who seek to go around revisionism through work within their own working class rather than confronting it directly and internationally, must in the end stand with their own bourgeoisie against the working class.

CEYLON HAD LONG been dominated by imperialist interests in Europe prior to the creation of that island's labor movement. A brief span of Portuguese control at the turn of the seventeenth century was followed by Dutch domination for almost 200 years, with the

British empire seizing the island in 1795.

These imperialist powers developed an economy based heavily on tea and rubber plantations, with large numbers of Tamil Indian immigrant workers being brought in to work these plantations in the late 19th and early

20th centuries. Today, 75% of the population speaks Sinhalese, 20% Tamil, and the remainder are scatterings of Europeans, Burghers (Dutch), Malays and other minorities.

With the development of plantation labor, driving many Sinhalese peasants off their land and into the urban centers, came the creation of an urban working class, laboring in the warehouses, tea and rubber packing houses, transport services and the Colombo harbor.

Prior to the formation of the LSSP in 1935 the labor movement in Ceylon had been dominated by reformist organizations, through the Ceylon Labour Union (formed in 1923) and the Ceylon Labour Party (formed in 1929). Both of these organizations were led by A.E. Goonesinghe, and degenerated in the early 1930s into a one-man show around him. These were social democratic organizations which never developed beyond trade union and reformist consciousness.

#### THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

In the 1931-35 period, a group of young intellectuals, with their roots in Ceylon's native plantation aristocracy, returned from Britain and America. They had been trained mainly at the London School of Economics, and were heavily influenced by the arch-reformist perspectives of the Fabian Society, whose leaders, such as Harold Laski, controlled and taught at that school.

One of this group, Philip Goonewardene, went to the United States, where he received his political training at the University of Wisconsin from such Stalinists



Militant workers such as these were led by the LSSP which later turned against them.



as Scott Nearing.

And though they all returned home speaking of revolution against British imperialism, a reformist outlook had already been deeply imbedded within them.

But what made impossible the development of the LSSP into a Marxist party was not the particular weaknesses of its founders, but the lack of any sort of theoretical development—a development that would have enabled the party to root out these weaknesses.

This group of intellectuals, including Dr. N.M. Perera, Vernon Gunasekera, Philip and Robert Gunawardena, Leslie Goonewardene, Dr. S.A. Wickremasinghe and Colvin R. DeSilva began to influence the direction of the labor movement by organizing trade unions, youth leagues, and carrying out anti-imperialist propaganda under the cover of helping Ceylonese veterans of the British army.

Their outstanding success of this period was a victorious strike at the Wellawatte Mills in 1932.

From the forces gathered in these struggles, the LSSP was formed on December 18, 1935. Beginning with some 20 members, it expanded to 80 within a year, and to some 800 by 1939.

The opportunist actions of many of the LSSP leaders in the subsequent years by itself is not the reason for investigating the development of that party—but using the cover of being a Marxist party, a Trotskyist party, it was able to attract to its ranks hundreds and thousands of revolutionary workers. We study the development and degeneration of the LSSP because of the role it played in leading, and then misleading, several generations of the Ceylonese working class.

The revisionists presently grouped around the United Secretariat played a crucial role in this degeneration. Despite Mandel's contention that the LSSP was "born Trotskyist," it never was and never became such. As these articles will later develop, it several times showed the promise of developing in this direction, especially in 1939-40, 1942 and 1953. But each time it was held back from such a development both by its leaders in Ceylon and their political godfathers in Europe, Michel Pablo, Pierre Frank and Ernest Mandel.

With all of its weaknesses, the LSSP was able to make some very important moves forward in the 1930s. Within two years of its founding conference, it had established a strong base among the island's motor transport workers, and had begun important work among the plantation workers, largely Tamil Indian immigrant workers, by 1939.

A mass rally in Colombo against imperialism on April 1, 1937 drew 35,000 workers to hear speakers from the LSSP and the Congress Socialist Party of India.

Within the next two months, the LSSP took on the entire colonial government's apparatus—and won, in the "Bracegirdle Affair."

Mark Bracegirdle was an English tea planter's apprentice, who was fired for supporting the efforts of Tamil Indian plantation workers to organize a union. He joined the LSSP in 1936 and went to work at setting up union organizations on the estates.

This was too much for the British planters, and they got the island's governor to issue a deportation order, under an obscure Order in Council of 1896. The order was timed so as to make impossible the testing of its legality in the courts.

Rather than accept this order, Bracegirdle was sent into hiding, while the LSSP mobilized mass support for him. This support forced most of the native capitalist members of the State Council into temporary opposition to the British authorities. This campaign reached its height with a mass rally on the Galle Face Green, Colombo, where 50,000 heard LSSP leaders and sympathetic State Council members attack the Governor and his Chief Secretary. They showed their contempt for the colonial administration by bringing Bracegirdle out of hiding to address the rally.

Arrested two days later at LSSP headquarters, Bracegirdle and the LSSP had built up the mass support necessary to force the courts to overrule the Order in Council.

Despite these successes, there were a number of important weaknesses showing up in the LSSP's earliest days, weaknesses which were subsequently never rooted out by any sort of political and theoretical struggle against them.

The party's first program derived much more from Fabian Society influence than anything else. There was barely a word mentioned about the struggle for national independence:

"The first manifesto of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party declared that its aims were the achievement of complete national independence, the nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the abolition of inequalities arising from differences of race, caste, creed or sex." (1)

How this was to be achieved, and the development of the working class consciousness and organization necessary to achieve this—all of this was left extremely vague, leaving room for all sorts of illusions in parliamentary and protest politics.

The first program of the LSSP was reformist, because it in no way was based on the perspective of the working class taking power to achieve these aims. Mandel's denial notwithstanding, the LSSP leadership never understood the theory of permanent revolution at any time in that party's history.

In 1936 the LSSP contested four seats in the elections of the State Council, successfully electing Dr. N.M. Perera and Philip Gunawardena.

But instead of using the council chamber to put forth a revolutionary program, the LSSP councilors spent four years promoting each and every reformist scheme in their program, as well as a few which were not.

Within a year of their election, Sinhalese chauvinist elements started a big racist agitation against the Tamil Indian and Ceylon Indian minorities.

And the representatives of the party that Mandel characterizes as "born Trotskyist?" They capitulated completely to the racist pressure. Writing the official LSSP history some 23 years later, Leslie Goonewardene unashamedly stated that "another Samasamajist motion (in the State Council-MR) 'not to grant any recruiting licenses under any circumstances whatsoever' aimed at a ban on Indian immigration was debated and defeated in September 1937 on the specious plea that there was a shortage of labour in the plantations." (2) (my emphasis - MR)



Sir John Kotelawala, a leader of the reactionary UNP and one-time premier of Ceylon.

Arguing for this motion, Perera said:

"I would emphasize that it is our bounden duty to find work for indigenous (meaning Sinhala-speaking Ceylonese - MR) labour whenever possible. We know very well that there is unemployment and underemployment in Ceylon. Our duty is to provide employment for those people before we agree to labour being brought into Ceylon from outside it." (3)

One major effect of this racist campaign, aided by A.E. Goonesinghe in a desperate attempt to rule or ruin in the labor movement was the collapse in many locations of all forms of trade union organization, not the least of these being the LSSP's Wellawatte Mill Workers Union.

In the light of its treatment of racism, the LSSP's leadership had a hardly surprising record on religion. Buddhism is the religion of the bulk of the Sinhalese masses, and the Buddhist priests in Ceylon are among the greatest promoters of Sinhalese chauvinism.

Far from leading any sort of fight against religious prejudices and the divisive effects these prejudices have on the struggles of the working class, Perera and many others in the LSSP were practicing Buddhists who worshipped regularly at the temples.

Mandel openly admits the main theoretical weaknesses of the LSSP:

"The party never had a theoretical organ in the Sinhalese or Tamil languages; it never translated the bulk of Trotsky's writings or even the bulk of the resolutions and decisions of the congresses and other leading bodies of the Fourth International into these languages. But most of the rank and file and virtually the entire proletariat understand no other languages..." (4)

These are the words of one of those most responsible for the political guidance of the LSSP from 1950 through 1964.

Mandel further reveals that the bulk of what pamphlets and books the LSSP leaders did write (and these were mostly for the English-speaking intellectuals) were paraphrases of the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, or republications, again in English, of their writings.

Mandel goes on to praise as "excellent" (5) such worthless books as K. Tilak's *Rise and Fall of the Comintern* (Spark Syndicate, Bombay, 1947). This book is nothing but a crude polemic against the Stalinists, consisting of large numbers of quotes from Lenin and Trotsky, with very little original analysis.

The author of that book is better known as Leslie Goonewardene, LSSP General Secretary.

#### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST STALINISM

If anywhere in its long and tortuous history the LSSP showed its lack of theoretical development, it was in

the 1938-41 period, during the struggle against the Stalinist elements in the party.

The leaders of the party that Mandel deems "born Trotskyists" never tried to consciously bring out the differences between the various elements within it, until these differences threatened to blow the organization into fragments.

It was only late in 1938, with the publication of Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* in English that the majority of the LSSP leaders began to be disturbed by the massacre of the Old Bolsheviks by Stalin, the Moscow Trials and all the distortions of the gains of the October Revolution.

But by this time, a Stalinist faction in the LSSP had crystallized around Wickremasinghe, Bracegirdle, M.G. Mendis and Pieter Keuneman. This group was rapidly moving to turn the LSSP into an instrument of Stalinist foreign policy, to make the LSSP like all the Communist Parties of the world.

This move was bitterly resisted by a majority of the leadership, who by now had been in collaboration with the American Socialist Workers Party, as well



N.M. Perera, a right wing leader of the LSSP since before World War II.

as with the English Trotskyist movement. Only new visa restrictions had prevented LSSP representative Selina Perera from entering Mexico to visit Trotsky in 1939.

But the entire fight against the Stalinist faction in the LSSP was never carried out in a theoretical or political manner. The political level of this fight on the part of the Trotskyist faction in the LSSP leadership never went beyond criticism of current Stalinist policy, as expressed by the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, and the opportunist actions of the European and Indian Stalinist parties in relation to this.

For instance, LSSP leader Leslie Goonewardene could write:

"Let us suppose for a moment that the present war was a war with France, England and the Soviet Union on one side and Germany on the other. What would be the duty of British workers, of colonial people like ourselves. To support the war because Russia is on the side of Britain, or to oppose the war and make our Revolution.

"It is true, opposing such a war and making a revolution would appear to be to the military disadvantage of the Soviet Union. But such disadvantage, if any, would be temporary. . .

"The best way that the British working class could contribute to the ultimate defence of the Soviet Union would be to make their own revolution and establish a Workers' Government.

"On the other hand the British imperialism would be in such a war not to help the Soviet Union, but for their own Imperialist purposes. To support the war therefore would be an act of treachery to the British working classes. But on the instructions of the 3rd International, it was precisely this act of treachery that the Communist Parties of England and France were preparing for. Expecting to be on the same side as England and France in the coming war, the Soviet Government, through the 3rd International instructed the Communist Parties of England and France to support the war.

"That there was such preparation for betrayal is proved by the French Communist Party voting for conscription and supporting the war for several weeks and by the British Communist Party supporting the war for over a month." (6)

While such criticisms of present Soviet foreign policy could correctly be made, the LSSP leadership never saw it as their responsibility to take this fight against Stalinism into the ranks of the party, to translate and distribute the relevant documents and pamphlets in Tamil and Sinhalese.

The struggle instead remained confined in large part to the English speaking leadership. Goonewardene and DeSilva never saw it as being important to insist that every member of the party be brought into this

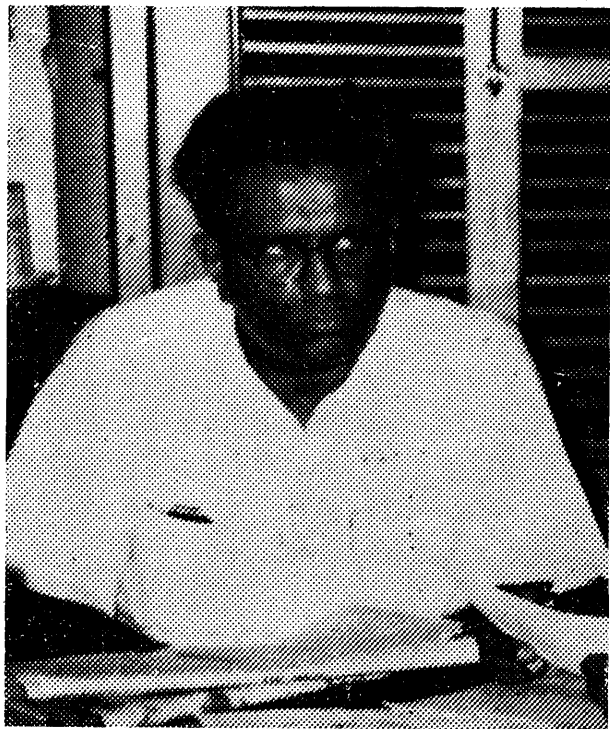
struggle, a struggle to probe Stalinism to its theoretical roots, going back to the 1924 struggle around Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" theory, and its consequences for the working class and the colonial peoples.

Such a struggle would have enabled the LSSP to reduce the Stalinists in Ceylon to an insignificant minority and hinder their growth for a long time to come. But this is precisely what was not done.

The majority of the LSSP leadership now moved quickly to deal with these most important political questions through organizational maneuvers.

In December, 1939, the Party's executive passed a resolution of no confidence in the Third International. It was the Stalinist minority on the executive which demanded, and never got, a party conference to discuss the issue.

Had the LSSP leadership been a Marxist leadership, they would have called such a conference to further isolate the Stalinists. This they were not prepared to do. The LSSP executive expelled its Stalinist members early in 1940 and removed their sympathizers from



Colvin R. DeSilva, a leader of the LSSP.

all posts.

By such maneuvers, the Stalinists in the LSSP had gotten off rather lightly as no fight had been taken up to expose the meaning of Stalinism to the working class. Within several months, the Stalinists had formed a front group, the United Socialist Party (reconstituted as the Communist Party of Ceylon in 1943) and the Ceylon Trade Union Federation.

#### THE WAR PERIOD

As a result of their stand on the war and their organizing of the plantation workers, the British moved against the LSSP, and by the middle of June, 1940, the main leaders of the LSSP, including Perera, Goonewardena and DeSilva, were detained, their press sealed, and regulations put into effect making legal political work nearly impossible.

Work continued illegally and semi-legally, with two papers published legally until banned in November, 1941. Goonewardene, then in hiding, supervised this work and convened a party conference in April, 1941.

At this conference, paper members were dropped and a program and rules based on those of the Fourth International adopted.

It was in this program for the first time that the understanding was reached that revolution in Ceylon was an integral part of the Indian revolution. They began to give the struggle for national independence serious consideration.

The LSSP leaders now merged with several groups of Indian Trotskyists to form the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (BLPI), affiliated with the Fourth International.

It was over this subordination of the movement in Ceylon and India to international discipline that a whole group of the BLPI, including a majority of the organization in Ceylon, split away and reconstituted the LSSP. This was led by N.M. Perera and Philip Goonewardene, who had escaped from jail in April of 1942. After this escape the LSSP and BLPI were both outlawed.

With the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the fortunes of the Stalinists in Ceylon turned completely. With full British protection, they were able to establish the Ceylon Trade Union Federation as the dominant labor organization in the tea and rubber packing houses. With the illegalization of LSSP-dominated plantation workers unions, the bourgeois nationalists of the Ceylon Indian Congress were able to set up reformist unions on the plantations.

During the war, the BLPI leaders spent most of their time in India, although a number of their leaders were arrested and deported to Ceylon in 1943.

The leadership of the BLPI was maintained by Colvin R. DeSilva, and Vivienne Goonewardene and Selina

Perera who evaded arrest all the way through the war.

In India the BLPI leaders were active in the mass movement against the war and for national independence, beginning with the "Quit India" movement in 1942, treacherously sabotaged by the Indian Stalinists, and culminating in the Indian Navy Mutiny of 1946.

In Ceylon, the remaining BLPI leaders and the LSSP were active in organizing illegal struggles in the factories and shops, with the LSSP leading an island-wide general strike of hospital workers in 1944.

The LSSP had also won control of the Government Workers Trade Union Federation.

As contrasted with the BLPI, the LSSP during the war maintained a limitation of the struggle against British imperialism to the island of Ceylon. The BLPI however, was working to base itself on a perspective for revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent. It was only after the end of the war that it began a head-long retreat from this perspective.

During the First World War, Lenin had returned to a study of Hegel's *Science of Logic* and other of his works, and in the course of this study, had made a



The Ceylonese Stalinist leader Keuneman.

development of Marxist theory and philosophy, a development which proved crucial to the taking of power in Russia in 1917.

During the Second World War, however, the LSSP and BLPI leaders in the main ignored the philosophical questions. Those who did not took up the study of the works of—Buddha!

S.N.B. Wijeyekoon, who if not an LSSP member, was an extremely close sympathizer, wrote a book in 1943 which tried to blur the contradictions between Buddhism and Marxism.

Writing under the pen-name of "Leuke", he informed his readers, among other things that:

**"Buddhism and Dialectical Materialism are two of the very few systems of philosophy which do not assume the existence of God. . ."**

And that:

**"Both Buddhism and Dialectical Materialism consider man to be the sole architect of His Own Destiny...independent of divine assistance." (7)**

One will search in vain for any attempt by the LSSP and BLPI leaders to take up this challenge to Marxism, a challenge which turned Marxism into a dogma, a religion, and not the living, developing body of theory based on the historical experiences of the working class that it is.

And how could it have been otherwise, with many of these "Marxist" leaders worshipping regularly at the temples.

This was the first of many attempts to accommodate themselves to the reactionary Buddhist priests on the island, the same priests, who, from the 1950s onward, were the greatest promoters of Sinhalese Buddhist chauvinism and racism.

In light of this being the internal situation in the LSSP and BLPI, the most amazing thing is that they made what forward developments that they did in the next ten years.

#### POSTWAR PERIOD

The end of the war brought the legalization of the LSSP and BLPI, and, as part of the developments on the Indian subcontinent, brought out the question of national independence. The newly elected Labour government in Britain quickly showed that it had not the least intention of granting independence to a single acre of the British empire without a most bitter struggle on the part of the colonial peoples.

What was the role of the BLPI and LSSP in this struggle? We get very contradictory accounts from the revisionists.

First Ernest Mandel:

**"The small group of Trotskyist intellectuals suddenly found themselves at the head of the largest working class organization in the country. They correctly applied the theory of permanent revolution under the conditions prevailing in Ceylon and audac-**

**iously took the lead in struggling for national independence against British imperialism. They rapidly acquired great influence among the masses, becoming leaders of the popular opposition, first against the imperialist regime and then the regime of the 'national' bourgeoisie, a position they held for twenty-five years." (8)**

Then Leslie Goonwardene:

**"No mass struggle for independence had taken place." (9)**

What had actually happened is that the movement for national independence took place in the framework of a wage offensive of the Ceylonese working class in the 1946-47 period, culminating in a general strike in October, 1946.

The results of this strike compelled the employers and the colonial government to make wage concessions and promise more.

Their refusal to go through with these promises triggered a second general strike in May-June 1947. Police repression broke this strike, and the resulting ebb in the working class movement allowed the British to turn direct control over to its clients, the much compromised Ceylonese capitalists, organized in the United National Party under the leadership of D.S. Senanayake.

Four years after the defeat of the 1947 general strike, Colvin R. DeSilva would write that: "The trade union movement, in Colombo especially, which was then shattered to pieces, awaits revival and reorganization." (10)

The 1947 elections for the first Ceylonese Parliament were easily won by the UNP, with the BLPI getting 7 seats, the LSSP 10 and the Communist and Labour Parties one each.

Goonewardene's Labour Party promptly joined the government, with its leader becoming Chief Government Whip and later Minister of State for Ceylonization, the racist program to drive all Tamils out of government employment.

And during the so-called "independence" celebrations in 1948, the CP and BLPI held a united front meeting of over 50,000 to demand real independence, while Perera's LSSP held that—there really was something to celebrate. (11)

Mandel, however, attributes this to Perera's "systematic opportunist inclinations." (12) But even in 1948, it was clear that Perera and Philip Gunawardene were opportunists of the first order, and did not just "incline" that way occasionally.

#### SPLIT AND FUSION

Left to their own devices, the LSSP and BLPI might have remained for some time what they were in 1948: left-centrist parties.

But at that point the then-leadership of the Fourth International, dominated by a developing revisionist trend including Michel Pablo, Pierre Frank and Ernest Mandel, took steps that began the destruction of the BLPI and LSSP as organizations capable of developing into revolutionary parties.

The first step in this process occurred in 1948 when Pablo and Mandel intervened to split the BLPI into separate Indian and Ceylonese organizations. The new group on the island was renamed the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party. Underlying this was the acceptance by Pablo and Co., of the imperialist partition of India in 1947. Today this is underscored when leading British Pabloite Tariq Ali devotes a whole book to the need for a "socialist Pakistan."

Yet Mandel today accuses the then-leaders of the BLPI in Ceylon of "abandoning" the Indian section of the movement. (13)

This split fits in rather well with the theoretical level of the Goonewardene-DeSilva leadership of the BSP, whose lack of perspectives for the Indian subcontinent had been growing more pronounced. Their own ideas of revolution began more and more to resemble a theory of "socialism on one island."

A much more serious departure from Marxism occurred in 1950, when Pablo and Mandel sanctioned an unprincipled merger between the BSP and the LSSP.

If anything was shown from this merger, it was that neither DeSilva, Goonewardene, Mandel nor Pablo had any understanding whatsoever of the 1942 split.

The last clash in public of the LSSP and BSP was in a by-election in 1949. DeSilva later wrote that there was no need for this conflict, because it "was between two Trotskyist parties which had no fundamental reason for separate existence at all." (14) (emphasis in original)

Since Perera's and Gunawardene's hostility to the discipline and program of the international movement was not "fundamental," the merger was the first order of business.

This merger was preceded in May, 1950 by another by-election contested by a joint BSP-LSSP candidate, W.A. DeSilva, in which they defeated the UNP with all of its resources.

But this candidate with whom they defeated the UNP was no socialist at all, but until right before the election had been Director of Education in the UNP government. His sole qualification was to have been Colvin R. DeSilva's brother.

The 1950 merger was carried off in a spirit of mutual backscratching with no criticisms or discussion of the previous eight years. And the real purpose of the new LSSP was to make major gains, if not win

the upcoming 1952 general elections. DeSilva stated that the purpose was to ensure "not just one more seat in Parliament immediately, but the ultimate triumph of the Left as a whole over the Right as a whole. (Or, as you put it, to ensure not merely 20 but 50 seats in the next Parliament.)" (15)



Ernest Mandel, leading theoretician of revisionist United Secretariat, who covered for the LSSP's rightward turns while that party was in his organization.

And to resist the growing attacks on the labor movement by the capitalist class, the LSSP leadership had adopted an essentially Popular Front approach. Speaking to Bengali students in India in 1948, DeSilva called for "a UNITED FRONT OF THE LEFT PARTIES as the first step towards the mobilization of the masses." (16) (emphasis in original)

This call for a united front of left-wing parties all classes, the United Left Front (DeSilva uses that term later in the same speech) in 1948 was refurbished by Pablo and Mandel in 1963-64 with disastrous results.

**RISE OF BANDARANAIKE**

But the Ceylonese capitalists considered the 1950 merger, with all of its weaknesses, to be a serious threat to their continued rule. And therefore an alternative capitalist party was necessary, to divert the attention of the masses when the UNP had fully discredited and exposed itself.

Such a party was created in 1951, the Sri Lanka (Revered Ceylon) Freedom Party (SLFP) led by a former UNP minister, the racist demagogue S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. The SLFP was a continuation of that man's original group, the Sinhalese Buddhist chauvinists of the Sinhala Maha Sabha. Bandaranaike was

shortly to receive covert support from a group of ex-members and supporters of the LSSP, around Philip Gunawardena who had split away shortly before the 1950 merger.

Shortly after the election of the UNP government in 1947, the Senanayake cabinet rushed through Parliament several acts of a blatantly racist nature which banned further Indian immigration to Ceylon, provided for deportation of Indians, removed most Tamil Indian plantation workers from the election rolls and deprived them of citizenship, and provided for the purging of Indian workers from government service (so-called "Ceylonization" program).

These acts disfranchised virtually all supporters of the Ceylon Indian Congress. But these racist measures could have never been pushed through—had not the Tamil Congress, a communal party in the North and East provinces, based on the Ceylon Tamils, collaborated in this and held several ministries in the government. The official LSSP history barely touches on the crisis this touched off in the Tamil-speaking areas, for the LSSP made little effort to intervene in it, and correspondingly little gains. A split in the Tamil Congress ensued, with a new group, the Federal Party, rapidly becoming the main vehicle for Tamil-speaking voters.

Following the 1950 merger, the LSSP was defeated in a number of by-elections. These setbacks had their basis in a temporary economic boom created by the Korean War, and the resulting demand for Ceylonese tea and rubber. The temporary high prices for these commodities had allowed the UNP government to reduce the price of a measure of rice to 25 cents, and at the same time increase the price it paid the peasants for their rice harvest.

Following the death of the Prime Minister in 1952, he was succeeded in office by his son, Dudley Senanayake, who immediately set a general election for May of that year.

The existing weaknesses of the LSSP, which the 1950 merger had done nothing to overcome, now began to come out in the open.

The first question facing the party was the class nature of Bandaranaike's SLFP. Instead of characterizing this as a capitalist party using "socialist" phrases to drum up support, Goonewardene writes that: "As early as November 1951 the LSSP had written to the SLFP asking for a meeting to discuss the elimination of contests in the General Election which was even at that time considered a distinct possibility. No reply was at the time received to this letter. However, with the dissolution of Parliament, representatives of the two parties met for the above-mentioned purpose. It was not found possible to avoid a number of clashes, and the discussions were, generally speaking, unsuccessful. But it was decided to issue a statement pointing out the quite large number of seats in which clashes had been avoided." (17)

No election agreement was reached with the United Front, an unprincipled alliance between the Communist Party of Ceylon and Philip Gunawardena's group which had been demanding a Popular Front "democratic government."

But if the LSSP could reach no electoral agreement with the Stalinists and their allies due to programmatic differences, then why did Mandel and Pablo sanction the no-clash agreements with an openly capitalist party, the SLFP, by their silence?

With all of its unprincipled maneuvers, the LSSP did not enter the 1952 elections with any sort of perspective relating this work to the working class taking power: "The Party contested the elections with a 14-point anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist program

under the slogan of a Samasamaja Government. This slogan, however, did not have anything but a propaganda value, since only 40 seats were contested out of a total of 95." (18)

Think about that. The leader of a supposedly revolutionary party in a predominantly peasant, semi-colonial country, announced that his party can contest 45% of the seats in a parliamentary election—but this only has a propaganda value!

Despite every maneuver, the LSSP gained only nine seats, and held approximately the same number of votes received by the BLPI and LSSP candidates together in 1947. The UNP was returned to power with a minority of votes, but an absolute majority of parliamentary seats.

Besides the economic boom in its favor, the UNP had other ways of winning elections. One was the outright buying of votes. Its finance committee chairman, Sir John Kotelawala, blatantly admitted that "If we got money it was to win the elections!"

Within the UNP were some of the most corrupt politicians it was possible to find on the globe. UNP leaders and ministers went up and down the island threatening social service cuts in those districts where UNP candidates were not returned. They used the government machinery to keep known anti-UNP voters off the election rolls, and pressured village headmen to support government candidates. The UNP got full backing from the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, which threatened and intimidated its communicants into voting for UNP candidates and against those of the left.

On the surface it appeared that the UNP was riding high and would continue to do so. The LSSP based its analysis of the period on such surface impressions, which to Goonewardene meant a move to the right by the masses. What they failed completely to understand is that building up beneath this surface was a qualitatively new situation, which would virtually shatter the UNP in its development, and bring the LSSP into one of its greatest tests, as well as into its third major crisis.

**FOOTNOTES**

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# BOOKS

DAN FRIED

**REBELLION IN THE UNIONS—A Handbook for Rank and File Action.** By George Morris, New Outlook Publishers, 1971, \$2.75.

This book is in reality the opposite of what it claims to be. It could more correctly be described as a handbook for the defense of the so-called progressive labor leaders AGAINST the rank and file. While spending most of his time explaining what most rebellious rank and filers already know—that the “conservative” wing of the labor bureaucracy typified by George Meany and Joseph Beirne is not only conservative, but reactionary, the heart of Morris’ attack is on the Trotskyists. It is the Workers League which is the central target of Morris’ distorted Stalinist view.

Morris is particularly well equipped for his job of political lying, slander and distortion against Trotskyism. As current Labor Editor of the Communist Party’s *Daily World* and its predecessor the *Daily Worker*, he has faithfully followed the Stalinist line based on the foreign policy needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy for close to 40 years.

The entire book is permeated with the thesis that the dominant leadership of the AFL-CIO—the Meany-Beirne-McDonald type leadership is conservative pro-capitalist bureaucracy, while another whole section of the labor bureaucracy are not bureaucrats at all, but genuine “labor leaders” who range from Frank Fitzsimons of the Teamsters to Leon Davis of 1199, Stanley Hill of SSEU-371 and the Matles-Fitzgerald leadership of the U.E.

It must be made clear however, that the Communist Party’s policy, while lauding the “progressives,” is to cover up for the sellouts and apologize for all labor bureaucrats that face a real rank and file opposition over sellout contracts. This was seen in the recent steel settlement engineered by I.W. Abel, who tends to go along with Meany on most questions. The *Daily World* attacked the so-called “assortment of ‘left’ frauds, from Trotskyites to Progressive Labor” who dared call the steel settlement a sellout.

Despite his obvious knowledge of the struggle by the Workers League to construct rank and file caucuses in all unions, including the Steelworkers and the International Longshoremen’s Association, the chief crime of the Trotskyists according to Morris is that we attempt to form such groups “mainly in unions led by progressives or others who are considerably to the left of George Meany. Those groups are not formed for positive purposes...They use those groups to factionalize the life of the union, disrupt its meetings and leaflet the members with slanders of those leaders who are distinguished in a progressive way.”

The Trotskyists are guilty of “inciting antagonism towards that union’s officers” in Hospital Workers Local 1199 and of leading an opposition to the betrayal by SSEU President Stanley Hill. Morris singles out a story in the May 25, 1970 *Bulletin* which allegedly “showed slanders like ‘traitor’ against the young Black president, who had been in office for only a week.” This sympathy for Leon Davis of 1199 and Mr. Hill of 371 is most touching—but Mr. Morris doesn’t tell his readers **ONE WORD** of the content of the alleged slanders of these “progressives.”

Morris doesn’t mention, for example, that the Workers League fight against Hill, in this example, as throughout Hill’s presidency, was against Hill’s continual capitulation to the City of New York’s elimination of jobs in the Department of Social Services.

Instead, Morris revives the old Stalinist slanders, implying that the Trotskyists are in some sort of sinister conspiracy with right wing forces, the old discredited garbage that the Trotskyists are anti-Soviet:

“For whom are they really working? Whom does their splitting and disruption serve? Their basic approach is that the main fire should be directed against those in the labor movement who follow a progressive course on the ground that their achievement of some success and reforms ‘absorbs’ what they call the ‘revolutionary’ spirit. This of course makes them objectively in accord with a George Meany who hates progressive union leaders and finds the Trotskyist anti-Soviet line most pleasing.”

The closest thing that Morris actually comes to dealing with the political content of the Workers League is in his confused “description” of the intervention of the Trotskyists at the Stalinist dominated “National Rank and File Action Conference” in Chicago, on June 27-28, 1970. Morris especially denounces the proposal for formation of a “Labor Party” which the Workers League alone fought for in opposition to the Stalinists in the Political Action Workshop. This was also raised in our leaflet at the conference, which said “Build a Labor Party Now” and raised other demands including a labor march on Washington, the fight against inflation, the 4 day week, etc. To Morris, the call for a labor party now and a general strike against the war in Indochina were simply “very radical-sounding demands to deceive the new people coming into the left.”

Morris’ attack and the official stand of the Stalinist leaders of the conference expose the real meaning of Morris’ call in his book for a “labor party or a mass peoples party.” Morris and the Stalinists stand 100% with those “progressive” bureaucrats who are only too happy to assure you of their support for a labor party—but not now. For them and for Morris, it is always “premature.” In like manner, for Morris, socialism is premature in the United States where “The immediate choice...is not between socialism and capitalism. We are still considerably short of that stage.”

This reformist, capitalist view of political action was spelled out in the Stalinist-endorsed “Declaration of Labor Political Independence” for the Chicago conference: “...We recognize that there are individual Democrats and Republicans who are pro-labor, pro-peace, anti-racist, and anti-repression, who merit labor’s support...” The list of such Democrats and Republicans, we know, has included John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Robert Wagner, John Lindsay, to name but a few.

Morris is an old hand at the use of lies and slander in attacking Trotskyism. His pamphlet, *The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement*, published in January, 1945 is, along with Herb Tank’s *Inside Job*, a classic of the Stalinist school of falsification.

This pamphlet is a conscious and de-

# Rebellion In The Unions

liberate lie from beginning to end. It claims that the “Trotskyites...found themselves allies of, and eventually working companions with, the most reactionary forces—czarist plotters, foreign imperialists and fascists who sought the overthrow of the Soviet government.”

Basing himself on the testimony of what he calls the “celebrated Moscow Trials of 1936-38, when their top leaders made full confessions of their crimes” (those are the infamous “confessions” which Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders admitted were totally fraudulent), Morris wrote, “The world knows today that in liquidating the Trotskyites...Hitler was deprived of the fifth column which he found so helpful in other lands he invaded.”

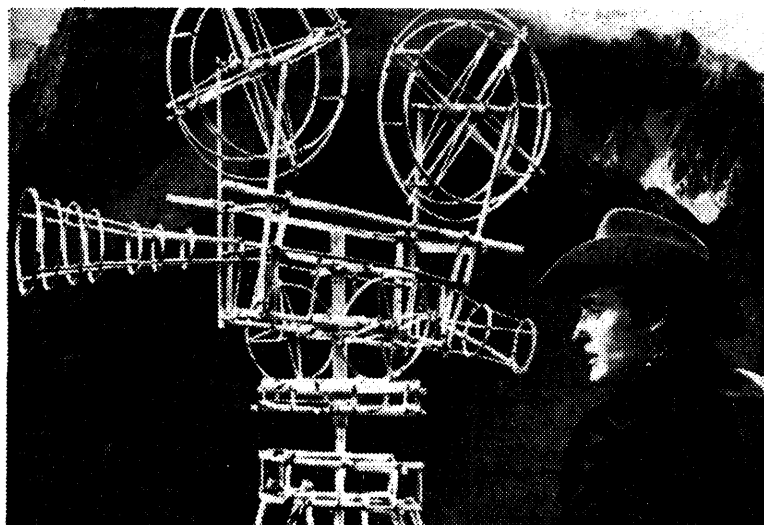
Just as today, Morris is indignant over attacks on “progressive” Democrats and Republicans, Morris in 1945 is most venomous in attacking the Trotskyists for their political opposition to Roosevelt, their fight against the no-strike pledge, and attack on the war as an “imperialist war.”

Morris’ patriotism of World War II and his support of liberal reformism today, flowing alike from the Stalinist “theory” of Socialism in One Country and the defense of the Soviet BUREAUCRACY, must be thoroughly studied and exposed in order to build a Leninist party that can lead the “rank and file” to power in the U.S.

# FILMS

MARTY JONAS

# The Last Movie



**THE LAST MOVIE**, Directed by Dennis Hopper, starring Dennis Hopper, Stella Garcia, Julie Adams, Don Gordon.

This is a movie that has nothing to say—and it takes extravagant delight in telling you just that.

It begins to shape a liberal message, but by the time the movie is over, it cannot even face up to that feeble, cliched message.

The film concerns itself with the aftermath of the shooting of a Western movie high in the Andes in Peru. The film-within-the-film is about Billy the Kid, and it is a fair satire of modern gory Westerns, where everybody gets wiped out by the end of the film. Veteran director Sam Fuller appears in the role of the director of “Billy the Kid.” After the film is wrapped up, the crew departs, leaving behind the sets of the Western town.

Dennis Hopper, playing Kansas, a bit player in the film, stays behind as well.

At this point the peasants and townspeople, who had been watching the production and playing bit parts, start doing their own movie production, using the discarded sets and their own makeshift equipment—cameras, lights, etc., made of straw.

## RELIGION

They leave the Catholic Church to devote themselves to this new religion of film-

making. The local padre, out of desperation (or madness), goes along with it, shouting “Joy! Joy!” throughout the film.

At the same time Kansas is degenerating. He takes up with a resident American broom manufacturer and his sick coterie, beats the native girl he is living with, stays continually soused, and becomes more sullen and enigmatic-looking. The natives continue their frenzy of film making, one assuming the priest-like role of the Director. Into all this wanders Kansas, and — wouldn’t you know it—the natives crucify him.

We think.

That is, by film’s end, everything has become so involved with flash-backs, flash-forwards, fantasies, enigmatic looks and various devices reminding you that you are only watching a film, that we can only guess that this is what happened.

This would hardly rate writing about as anything more than another obscure pretentious film that Cannes has given a prize, and Hollywood has picked up, except that it brilliantly exhibits the direction that reactionary sections of artists are taking.

Hopper backs off from his message, and disintegrates even this meek parable in a frenzy of mugging for the camera, clapboards, and other “smart” gimmicks to jar you into the “reality” that this is only a film.

And what was this message? Simply

that Americans are exploiting the natives of South America (and, we suppose, Indochina) by frequenting whorehouses and sex circuses, drinking a good deal and just generally acting gross. For these sins, America must be crucified.

Not too daring, is it? Nothing about the real material exploitation of workers and peasants around the world, for which imperialism must be completely overthrown. Nothing about the harrowing, wretched conditions under which the peasants in the Andes live.

## DEADEND

But even this mawkish, liberal parable of crucifixion, which comes nowhere near the truth cannot be tolerated by Hopper. So he destroys it by the end with all sorts of chic filmic tricks and so declares that he has nothing to say—it’s all totally absurd anyway.

Hopper’s film can only relate to itself or other films. Thus, on a gold seeking trip with one of his drinking chums, Hopper asks, “How do you know what gold looks like?” “I don’t know the friend answers, “But Walter Huston was able to find gold in *Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and so I guess I can.”

The key to truth lies in other films. This ingrown approach to truth ends up with *The Last Movie* seeing no truth outside of film. Hopper is thus in the same mental deadend as the natives in his film who see film making as religion.

The direction Hopper has taken shares with the rest of those artists who glory in art as the absolute, a despair and panic which can only end up serving the ruling class.

Absurdity and mysticism are concepts that have played in the past an important role in the growth of fascist movements. A section of the middle class, caught in the struggle between the classes, will in their panic, seize upon irrational and anti-intellectual solutions. Whole schools of art, based on irrationality, and having “nothing to say” will provide valuable cultural material for the growth of fascism.

Hopper’s movie fits right into that. Hopefully, having nothing more to say, *The Last Movie* will be just that for Hopper.

# TV

## JEANNIE COOPER

# Behind The Lines

On Friday, October 8, National Educational Television premiered a new show called "Behind the Lines." The subject of the first show was a 12 minute piece of film made by Paul Jacobs of educational TV on the West Coast exposing the FBI as instigators of bombing and building burnings by students.

The Public Broadcasting System, censorship arm of NET had at the last minute insisted on deleting this segment from a weekly NET show called "The Great American Dream Machine," claiming that there was "insufficient documentation".

The central impact and importance of Jacobs' film was effectively quelled by putting it in the context of a debate over its journalistic merits. Among the participants on the panel discussing the piece was A.M. Rosenthal, managing editor of the New York Times, who immediately attacked Jacobs for his "poor journa-

lism," refusing to discuss the content of Jacobs' work.

Jacobs filmed and interviewed three young men who admit being informers for the Federal Bureau of Investigation who were bought off after being busted on drug charges and actually encouraged and participated in the burning of buildings and bombings in Seattle and Tuscaloosa.

As one of these men stated, after he taught radicals how to make bombs, set up a bombing (the Seattle Post Office), he informed the FBI of the time and place, the radicals were arrested and are still in jail facing charges of conspiracy to bomb and bombing Federal property.

The informer spent one night in jail, was released the next morning and handed five hundred dollars.

### CANCELLED

The managing editor of the New York Times, and Hartford Gunn, president of PBS refused to discuss this. Gunn



Paul Jacobs and FBI informer interviewed by Jacobs in film.

clearly cancelled the segment under threat of losing Federal funding to NET, or of giving any support to even the right of Jacobs to present his expose as he had filmed it.

As Robert L. Shayon, TV critic for the *Saturday Review* pointed out in the course of the discussion, Rosenthal refused to take a stand in any way on the issue. These representatives of the big bourgeoisie stand firmly behind the censorship of this kind of journalism, and stand firmly behind

the acts of the FBI in this period.

Jacobs' piece revealed very sharply the warnings that the *Bulletin* has been making on the moves by the government to frame and attack militants in this period. How many students and youth have been intimidated and paid off after getting arrested for drugs? How many bombings, building burnings and explosions, even ending in the death of some of these radicals have actually been the work of J. Edgar Hoover and his boss in the White House?

## HISTORY. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

and the government on the other. In many instances, such as the 1952 steel strike, the union officials were almost literally dragged into battles after months of pleading for postponement and compromise.

### BRITAIN

Beginning in 1964, the British capitalists sought to use a Labour Party government to discipline the working class. The experience of the British workers over the next five years with the government wage freeze and "incomes policy" is also a very important one for U.S. workers as the tremendous confrontation with Nixon and the employers develops rapidly today.

The Labour government brought in the so-called Prices and Incomes Act in 1965. The Prices and Incomes Board was set up to tie wages to productivity, to begin the process of tying the trade unions completely to the capitalist state. The background to this attack was the deepening economic crisis of British capitalism, which foreshadowed by several years the complete collapse of the postwar boom and the current international economic crisis leading to trade war and international recession.

At the outset the British Trades Union Congress (equivalent of AFL-CIO) voted to accept the prices and incomes legislation. The newspaper of the British

### ILA. . .

(Continued From Page 4)

the strike fund. There is a fund of \$120 per man. But the union said its plans are to loan each striker \$300 and then take the interest on the loan out of the strike fund. The leaders also stipulated that after the strike, the dockers would have to pay back the loan at the rate of \$75 per week.

Meanwhile, the workers continue to clock in for their guarantee, as they are locked out and would work under the old contract if the company agreed. Clearly, the rank and file ILA members must now call a halt to the bankrupt policies of their leadership. Only a strike based on a nationwide contract settlement with a nationwide uniform GAI and wages can unite the longshoremen against the attacks of Nixon and the shipowners.

Trotskyists, the *Newsletter* (forerunner of the daily *Workers Press*) warned at that time, "This can mean the end of trade unionism as we know it. If the unions cannot legally negotiate for wages on behalf of their members without state consent, then we are moving closer towards the corporate state reminiscent of Nazi Germany."

British workers waged a continuous struggle against any attempts to shackle their unions or hold back their wages. At every point the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, our co-thinkers in Britain, were in the forefront of this fight exposing the nature of the Labour Party leadership in the trade unions and amongst the youth.

The movement of the working class forced a retreat upon the capitalists and their errand boys like Labour Party leader and then Prime Minister Harold Wilson. By 1968 the annual TUC Conference voted by a 6.2 million major-

### PHASE TWO. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

labor movement for the employers.

The job of the Pay Board will be to set guidelines consistent with Nixon's orders and to review settlements. Ultimate authority will rest with Connally's Cost of Living Council and Nixon himself. The Council will have the power to ask for legal sanctions against all those who defy the freeze.

Nixon made it quite clear in his speech that the government will use penalties and will act against the unions who do not bow to his orders.

"But if there are some who try to take advantage of the patriotic cooperation of their fellow Americans, I can assure you that the Government must be and will be prepared to act against them."

Now Nixon has added a temporary Emergency Court of Appeals to deal with cases arising under review. The Court is judicial dressing for the government's use of force and penalties against all those who fight this freeze.

No matter what Nixon or Meany contend about autonomy and semi-autonomy in relation to this board, the point is that the government and Nixon in particular will be the ones that have control over wage increases with

the power to get injunctions, and call out troops if necessary to defeat any union that defies the freeze.

Under Phase II all of the contracts negotiated this past year are being torn up. All increases won in these contracts and those presently being negotiated must be reviewed. Nixon has made it clear that any raise over 5-6% and not linked with productivity increases will violate his plans.

All contracts now under negotiation including the ILWU on strike for three months, the ILA, the miners and all those who face new contracts will have their wages cut. If they get any increases at all they will be limited to 5 and 6% and will be tied to productivity, in other words, to speedup and layoffs.

Nixon's Phase II represents a major step towards placing the unions directly under the control of the state. Under state control the very reason for the existence of the unions is destroyed. The unions were formed as organs of the working class to fight independently to defend and improve wages, and working conditions and hours.

By ripping up contracts the government is attacking a basic right the unions have won to guarantee their wages, hours, conditions and rights against the employers. The contracts have

controls taken up by a President who until very recently claimed he was opposed to any such interference. Nixon is accustomed to talking of free market conditions like his Tory friend Heath but today the enormous crisis of the capitalists forces their chief spokesmen to discard old shibboleths and use the weapons at hand.

This means for Nixon the Democratic-sponsored legislation which makes the wage freeze, including Phase Two, possible.

This is the end of the boom, the midst of an international monetary crisis which expresses the law of value and the underlying pressure on the rate of profit, and requires the most fundamental attacks on the trade unions.

That's why Nixon demands a wage board with enforcement powers, unlike the Wage Stabilization Board of 1951 and the War Labor Board during World War II. In the earlier period the capi-

talists were able to use the union bureaucrats as well as the patriotic atmosphere created by the war to put the labor movement on the defensive.

Now this is impossible. Nixon must have the weapon of legal enforcement and he must be prepared to use it. And that is why the union leaders themselves, already on the hot seat, may not be able to bail Nixon and the employers out by taking the even hotter seats on such a board.

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### CONFRONTATION

In 1951 the union officials were forced by the attacks of the employers and the massive pressure of the ranks to resign from the Wage Stabilization Board. Now the ranks must fight not only for a boycott of the wage board, but also for a one-day general strike against the wage freeze and preparation for an all out general strike to smash the freeze and all controls entirely.

called liberals and "friends of labor" have shown their class interests in backing the freeze and urging labor to join the Pay Board. The ranks of the unions have not fought just to see Nixon arrogantly tear up their contracts and gains. The ranks are not going to sit by and have their wages slashed while the bosses get fat on profits.

The employers and their state can be defeated only through a political fight. This means building a labor party now for 1972 to fight for a workers government. The ranks of labor must now take up the fight in their unions to boycott Nixon's board and demand that Meany and his friends get off or get out. This must be combined with the fight for a general strike on November 12 which will tell Nixon where labor stands. We must center our fight around a program that meets the needs of the working people and youth:

- End the wage freeze—No cooperation with the Pay Board! All contracts must be enforced!
- Jobs for all—30 for 40!
- Substantial increases and escalator clauses!
- Immediate withdrawal of ALL US troops from Indochina!
- Nationalization of basic industry under workers control!
- Build a labor party to dump Nixon and the Democrats in '72!

# Yugoslavia

## Tito Conspires With World Bankers

**BY ALEXANDER PLAMENIC**  
**WORLD CAPITALISM IN** crisis can no longer delay its attempt to destroy the historic gains of the world proletariat. Concentrating on the points of greatest weakness, capitalism has renewed its attack on the Soviet states of Eastern Europe, coming down hard on Yugoslavia. After 25 years of the most sickening appeasement of world capital and the most vicious attacks on the Yugoslav workers, peasants, and youth, the arch-Stalinist Tito along with his bureaucratic clique are now well on the way to being reduced to mere colonial managers. Although capitalist economic aggression has been greatly stepped-up with the recent surge of the world crisis, the plans now placed in action have been a long time in the making.

In 1968 the U.S. initiated a plan designed to make possible the operation of its subsidiaries in Yugoslavia with full profit repatriation privileges. The architect of this plan was none other than the ex-Pentagon warrior Robert McNamara, head of the World Bank. Hopelessly in debt to the World Bank, Tito had no recourse but to "co-exist" with McNamara's demands.

As his first concession, Tito purged his party of "dissidents" and chose Mita Ribicic, a Slovene nationalist, as the new Federal Prime Minister of Yugoslavia. Ribicic was given the task of doing "what is necessary" in order to clear the path for a compromise with imperialism in Yugoslavia. After being assured that Ribicic well understood his role, McNamara formed the International Investment Corporation for Yugoslavia (IICY), with head offices in the Barclays Bank of London.

The aim of the corporation is to establish as rapidly as possible capitalist joint ownership of productive facilities in Yugoslavia. The initial capital was supplied half by a consortium composed of the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank plus 39 European, American and Japanese banks. Ribicic saw to it that the earnings of Yugoslav workers subscribed the other half. The president of this corporation, chosen earlier this year, is a Mr. Anthony M. Solomon, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

According to a recent report, the IICY has managed to clinch deals for American capital in "extractive and processing, pulp and paper, and transportation equipment." For this Tito and his bureaucratic clique stand guilty for sacrificing to imperialism one of the most hard won pillars of a workers state: the right of the proletariat not to have their surplus value sucked off by capitalist profit interests.

### HISTORY

To anyone who knows the history of Yugoslavia since World War II, this is only one of a growing list of hard won proletarian gains conceded by the Tito bureaucracy to imperialism. This is the real history of Tito's so-called "path towards the construction of socialism in Yugoslavia." The Yugoslav workers and peasants fought and died to take the forests, fields, mines, and factories out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, both foreign and domestic.

They time and again struggled forward to transform their agrarian economy into an industrialized urban society with full political, educational, cultural and employment privileges for all workers. Time and again they reaffirmed their will to fight to the end for socialism. But from their beginnings, from their first lessons in Moscow in 1926, Tito and his Stalinist bureaucratic clique have seen differently. Nowhere has the Stalinist doctrine of the construction of socialism in one country been pursued so consistently as in Yugoslavia. Perhaps only in the USSR itself was the Trotskyist left opposition exter-

minated with more vengeance than in Yugoslavia.

Faced with the growing crisis of capitalism, the Tito bureaucracy has never once hesitated to do what was required to maintain its privileges. The history of the last 25 years known by the workers, peasants and youth of Yugoslavia consists of sacrificing all "in the name of communism." But what was peddled as communism was merely a cover for the reactionary policies dictated by the bureaucracy in its frantic efforts to both appease imperialism and maintain its privileges at home.

### SINGULAR

The singular political aim of Tito's "path to communism," is the division and weakening of the proletariat. The Yugoslav bureaucracy's first major step in this direction was the establishment of "socialist self-management of enterprises."



Robert McNamara, head of World Bank (l) who formed international corporation to exploit Yugoslav workers such as in Fiat factory (r).

In reality this policy meant the destruction of the trade unions and the division of the class on the basis of producing collectives directed by bureaucrats.

The second step was the "abolition of bureaucratic centralized planning" and in its place the substitution of the "socialist market economy." This move was designed as a final blow to the solidarity of the working class by pitting their interests as a class against those of collectives competing in the market.

The third step, never openly rationalized as such, was the establishment of convertibility of the Yugoslav currency on the international capitalist market. This step in effect meant that Tito accepted the capitalist evaluation of the worth of Yugoslav labor. Almost overnight entire sectors of the economy were forced into head-on competition with commodities of capitalist production. Under the slogan of "socialist productivity" workers were asked to sacrifice again. The result was rampant unemployment.

As if in return for this, capitalist countries opened their borders to great numbers of skilled workers thrown out of their jobs in Yugoslavia. The Tito clique has negotiated work contracts with nearly every capitalist European country. Today there are over one million Yugoslav workers employed in Europe, the U.S., Canada, and Australia. These workers, usually highly skilled engineers, architects, technicians, and mechanics are forced to work at slave wages and are often used as scabs by capitalist factory owners.

### STRIKES

In spite of the best efforts of the Tito clique, the revolutionary will of the Yugoslav working class has not been broken. After 1960, strikes for higher wages spread throughout the country. In 1968 the students of the University of Belgrade openly re-

volted against the bureaucracy. The workers of Bosnia held a general strike and marched on the capital. The Yugoslav trade union movement was given new life by the upsurge of new militancy. The peak of this offensive of the working class corresponded in time with the previously mentioned imperialist demands voiced by McNamara. It is important to grasp the contradictions here for they are typical of Stalinist bureaucracies the world over.

On the one side stands imperialism demanding that Yugoslavia be reduced to colonial status, reducing in turn the bureaucracy itself to mere managers.

From the other side comes the militant working class demanding the abolition of capitalist in-roads as well as the destruction of the bureaucracy's power and privilege. The direction taken by the bureaucracy is predictable: towards minimizing the loss of personal power and privilege. Invariably the direction is one

told that they were no longer Yugoslavs but instead Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, etc. Where the bureaucracy saw the need they whipped up three wholly novel nationalities. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was officially disbanded and reformed as a coalition of nation state parties.

In a Balkan country like Yugoslavia, no more reactionary policy could be imagined. Tales of ancient tribal rivals were broken out and sung again. Vineyards of neighboring peasants of differing nationality were cut down in the night, university groups formed wearing national symbols around their arms on bands. Street fighting broke out between Moslems, Catholics, and Orthodox Catholics. Teachers from now "foreign states" were asked to leave.

Ancient wartime Yugoslav fascist parties lying dormant in Germany were reborn and rapidly expanded their activity. In Zagreb, for the first time since 1908, the student body of the University of Zagreb elected a president running on a separatist ticket. So quickly did the intentions of the bureaucracy take hold amongst its functionaries that Tito was forced to lecture his fellow Stalinists that it was the workers who were to be divided, not the bureaucracy. But the forces of violent counter-revolution have been set in motion and this time their is no bureaucratic zig nor zag that will stop what it has started.

### VETERANS

In spite of the years of treachery, the working class of Yugoslavia has by no means lost its militancy. Workers in Germany and Austria have formed independent parties to defend from abroad the interests of the working class. The youth of Belgrade and Ljubiana openly attack the bureaucracy and call for a new united workers-peasants-students front against them.

In probably the most important move in recent days, an open split has occurred between the League of Revolutionary War Veterans and the Stalinist Communist Party. The veterans have begun a campaign to struggle against the destruction of the working class solidarity and against the new investment policy. In a recent trial as traitors, two heroes of the revolution called openly for the international solidarity of the working class and branded the bureaucracy as the "arch-enemy of the Yugoslav people."

As Trotsky predicted, unless driven out by the working class, the final result of the bureaucracy's struggle for power is the counter-revolution. As the forces of reaction build, the workers, peasants and youth of Yugoslavia must carry out the political revolution. The struggle of the Yugoslav working class, the defense of its historic gains, the defeat of the collaborationist bureaucratic clique is at the same time our struggle.

As a young Yugoslav militant recently told me, our struggle cannot be carried out in ignorance of the history of Marxism and its present continuity in the international working class: the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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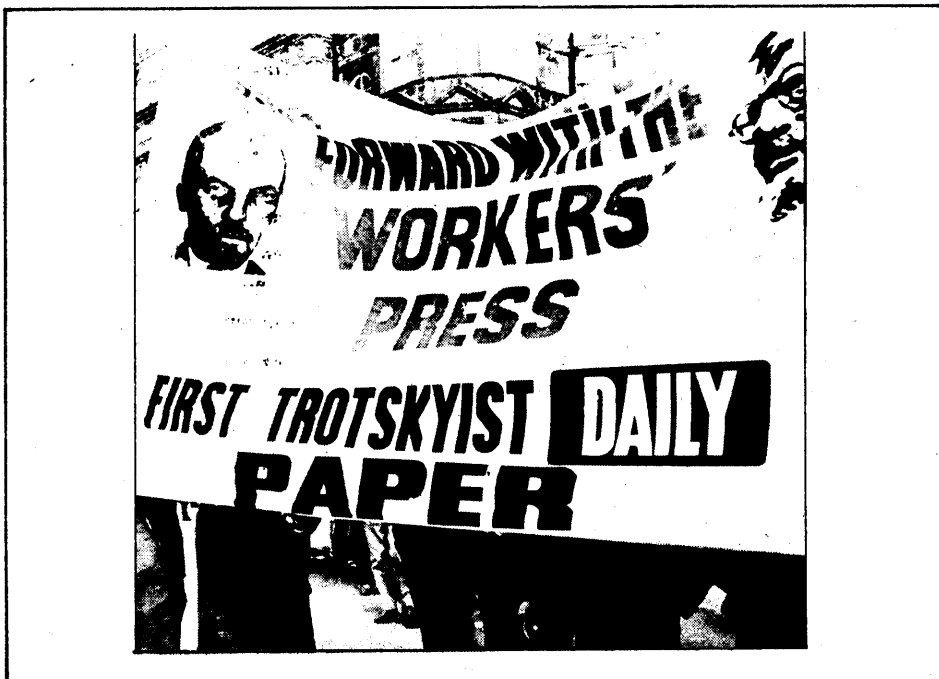
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## England

## Workers Press Marks Second Anniversary



BY MELODY FARROW

OCTOBER 2ND MARKED the second anniversary of the **Workers Press**, the daily paper of the Socialist Labour League in England and the first Trotskyist daily paper in the history of the Marxist movement.

The **Workers League** is tremendously proud of the success of the **Workers Press**. We see this achievement as a giant step forward for the whole Fourth International which has fought since the dark days of the 1930s to fulfill Trotsky's goal that the program of the Fourth International would become the rallying pole of millions of workers.

The Pabloites and all the middle class tendencies laughed when the **Workers Press** was launched in 1969. They said it couldn't last.

What these forces cannot understand with their complete lack of faith in the revolutionary role of the working class and their underestimation of the crisis is that the sole source of the political and financial strength of the **Workers Press** is its readers, that is thousands of workers and youth.

The **Workers Press** has always begun with the objective tasks facing the working class and the need to give leadership to the broadest sections of the masses. It has consistently taken the lead in every important battle facing the working class and has fought to defend its rights against the attacks of the Tory government.

The development of the **Workers Press** was only possible because the SLL saw itself as the only party that could provide revolutionary leadership not as commentators or merely propagandists and because it began from the standpoint of constructing an international movement.

Above all the **Workers Press** would not

have been possible without the sharpest theoretical struggle against revisionism and Stalinism and the fight for dialectical materialism.

The **Workers Press** is the continuation of Lenin's struggle to build a daily paper in Russia which was inseparably linked to the construction of a mass revolutionary party.

## LENIN

In the early days of Russian Marxism in the late 1890's and early 1900's it was Lenin who fought to turn the movement from study groups towards an intervention in the massive strike struggles that were developing. This could not be taken forward without a revolutionary press. Lenin stated:

"The organization and disciplining of the revolutionary forces and the development of revolutionary technique are impossible without the discussion of all these questions in a central organ."

Thus, for Lenin at the heart of such an organ was the conception that the working class could not win without the conscious leadership of a vanguard party, that they could not come to a Marxist understanding spontaneously. All the theoretical questions in Lenin's time, the fight against the economists and all the tendencies which adapted to the present level of the masses were fought out in *Iskra*, and later in *Pravda* the daily paper established in 1912.

This did not mean that the less political layers of the working class for whom theory was difficult were ignored.

While educating advanced workers in Marxist theory Lenin's paper also established a dialogue with more backward sections and while fighting agitationaly against the government, sought to break these workers from their reformist and syndicalist illusions.

Lenin wrote: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer... With the aid of the newspaper and through it, a permanent organization will naturally take shape that will engage not only in local activities but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop means for the revolutionary party to influence these events."

These traditions are carried forward in the **Workers Press** today. First it is based on Trotsky's whole fight against Stalinism. The first regular organ of the British Trotskyist movement was **Socialist Outlook** which appeared in the 1940's as the organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party. This paper fought inside the Labour Party to expose the imperialist war and the aims of the British and German bourgeoisies.

For its struggle against Stalinist collaboration with imperialism in WW II the Trotskyists, with the aid of Stalinism, were framed and imprisoned.

In the 1950's the Trotskyists fought the Pabloite tendency in the Fourth International which sought to adapt and liquidate the Trotskyist parties into the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies. They successfully defeated the attempt of the British Pabloite Lawrence to gain control of **Socialist Outlook** and liquidate it.

In 1954 the paper was banned by the Labour Party and in 1962 **Keep Left**, the youth paper, was also banned.

The government obtained a court order to liquidate the printing press and for two years the movement had no paper. In 1956 the **Newsletter** was founded as a weekly and later became twice weekly, the forerunner of the **Workers Press**.

The **Workers Press** and the Socialist Labour League are in the lead in the fight against the Tory government. It is the only paper to fight day in and day out for a General Strike to force the Tories to resign and to return a Labour Party pledged to socialist policies. They fight to defend all the conquests of the British working class but state that this is only possible today through the conquest of power.

Today the Tories can use a provision of the Industrial Relations Bill to ban the **Workers Press** and jail its leaders just for supporting the strike struggles of the working class.

But the **Workers Press** will be prepared. Its wide support among large sections of workers will be its surest defense against persecution while the revisionists will crumble like dry leaves at the first onslaught of the government.

We are confident that just as the workers in Russia rallied behind Lenin's Bolshevik party in 1917, the struggle of the **Workers Press** against bourgeois ideology, and for a program for power will place the SLL in the lead of the working class revolution in Britain.

## France

## Pompidou Demands Sacrifice

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

A new wave of strikes is hitting France in the wake of Nixon's economic measures announced August 15th. On October 5th subway conductors in Paris went out on strike, completely paralyzing the city. They were supported by all sections of subway workers.

On September 28th ground crews at all the major airports went on strike. They have refused to accept complete reorganization of salaries and working conditions meaning more "productivity," layoffs and abolition of classifications.

In Nantes more than 1,000 printing workers demonstrated against the massive layoffs in the printing industry.

Nixon's 10% tax on imports and the development of a trade war means that French capitalism must now turn against its own working class in order to protect its profits. The government has made it clear that expansion of the economy and a halt to inflation must be achieved through restrictions on wages:

"I would like the French people to realize that the expansion that the government is committed to can only be pursued by the collective and conscious refusal of inflation," said Pompidou recently.

Prices continue to rise. Taxes have been raised by 15% and the cost of transportation, increased in August, has risen 33% since 1970.

While the government offers civil servants a measly 2.8% wage increase, it has awarded businesses a fat 20% increase in tax credits on new equipment and is increasing military spending by 14%.

Unemployment is now over 500,000 and is still rising.

The Pompidou government, conscious that it must go to war against its working class, is taking measures to bolster its police apparatus. Marcellin, Minister of the Interior, has proposed to add 2,700 new policemen and is asking for huge sums of money to "modernize" the force.

These steps taken together with the growing concentration of executive power in the hands of Pompidou are clear steps being taken towards a dictatorship.

The strengthening of the police however will not be enough to save the Pompidou regime. The crisis facing the government is sharply expressed in the open rebellion of the very cops who Marcellin is trying to bolster up.

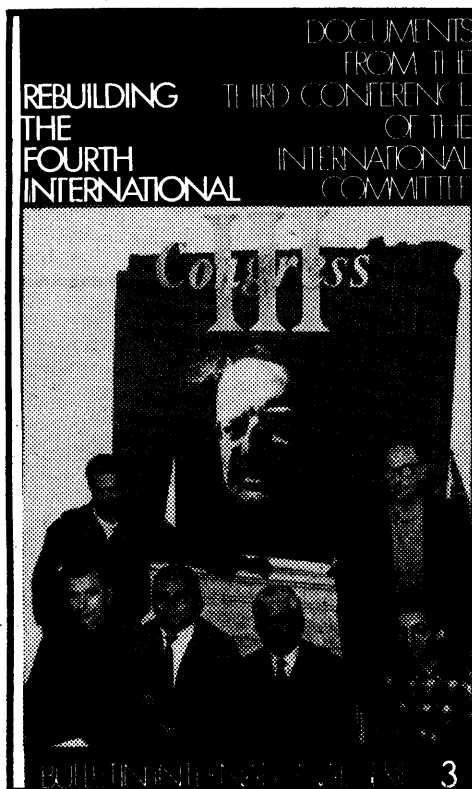
Just days after Marcellin announced his measures to strengthen the police, the Congress of police unions issued a statement opposing Marcellin and threatened to march on the Minister of Finance. The police are rebelling against what they consider intolerable working conditions.

Marcellin has threatened to conduct an investigation and take action against rebellious union leaders. One police union official stated: "We will react as we see fit to the threats of our 'bosses.' We are prepared for anything but we will not give in."

Sections of the bourgeoisie, terrified by a rebellion in one of the capitalist state's main pillars are opposing Marcellin's action against the unions fearing that this will lead to a complete breakdown in the police force.

This crisis combined with a series of financial scandals involving high ranking Gaullist deputies reveal how shaky the Pompidou regime is. Only the betrayals of the Communist Party enable the government to stay in power at all.

As the Pompidou regime intensifies its attacks on the working class, the French workers are preparing a new offensive that will be on an even greater scale than the 1968 General Strike.



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# West Coast News

## Youth Speaks Out On Racism Chicanos

### Walk Out For Crumbs

The following is an interview with Harold Benford, a Black youth from East Palo Alto. On Sunday, September 26 he attended a Workers League meeting for youth interested in building a youth club to fight for the Workers League's program for a revolutionary youth movement. Later that night, he and his cousin, Carlos Blackman, were stopped by police patrolling the East Palo Alto ghetto. On the pretext that he was speeding, the police beat up Carlos Blackman, arrested him, and charged him with assault and battery, a felony.

**Q: Describe what happened.**

**A:** It was about 1:35, early Monday morning. Me and my cousin and another friend were coming back from the apartments in East Palo Alto. We stopped. All of a sudden the police came up behind us and put their red light on us as we were parking and getting out of the car. The policeman asked my cousin if he could see his license. My cousin said yes and showed him his license. My cousin said, am I getting a ticket? The police said yes. He said, for what? The policeman said, for speeding. He said, I wasn't speeding. In fact, we were only going

about forty-five miles an hour. My cousin took out his last cigarette and threw the cigarette pack on the ground. One policeman asked him, did you throw that paper on the ground? I should make you pick it up! Another policeman walked over and said, don't say nothing. That's all right. They live here anyway. Like we were trash, because we live in the ghetto.

Then the police told my cousin to shut up. I said, be cool, Carlos, they can't take you to jail for throwing a piece of paper on the ground. So the police said, you better shut up too! Another

policeman took out his flashlight and told my cousin he was going to bust him in the mouth. They were fixing to jump on him, but another policeman told them to call for more cars, because there was a bunch of Blacks standing around watching it all and it looked like there was going to be trouble.

So four police cars came. Six policemen jumped on him and started beating him on the back and arms. They took him to Redwood City County Jail. They say he hit a policeman on the nose and made him bleed, but that's a lie. He didn't have a chance. He was backing up with his hands behind his back the whole time the six police were coming at him. It's a big lie. I know, because I was there. I saw the whole thing.

**Q: The point is not to see the arrest as an isolated thing. How do you see the role of the police in East Palo Alto?**

**A:** They're down on the average Black person, because we're Black and live in this ghetto. They

patrol the area twenty-four hours a day just looking for something. There might be a little quarrel going on, they'll stop and stick their nose in it just to be nosy.

I'm going to go all the way to help my cousin out. Assault and battery now is a year. He's only eighteen. First they'll put him on a ranch. I started out on a ranch. But he doesn't know anything about institutions.

They try to put him through changes. They gave me the run-around and this is what they're doing to my cousin. Really, they're just trying to make the money. It all boils down to taking orders from Nixon and Reagan.

**Q: What happens to a youth with a record when he gets out? What does he face?**

**A:** With assault and battery! If he does something, if he gets into a fight, they'll check back and see assault and battery and send him right back up for the same thing.

**Q: And what about getting a job?**

**A:** Negative. I don't even bother looking for a job. When I first got out I looked for a job for five months straight. They kicked my ass in the ground. You got a record, get out of here!

**Q: We have in our paper eyewitness reports about Attica after the massacre, about guards going around beating up prisoners and calling all kinds of racist insults. The question is, who does racism serve?**

**A:** It doesn't serve anybody's interest, if you ask me. But it serves the police and people like Reagan and Nixon and the people in Washington. This is what's backing it.

**Q: If white and Black and Chicano working class youth unite and fight against the system...**

**A:** That threatens the police and Nixon. That's the big threat to them. This is what they don't want to see. They see this happening, then they have to call in the National Guard, like they're about to do on the docks.

If it wasn't for the police and Reagan and these people there wouldn't be any racial problems in the world.

**BY STEVE CHERKOSS**

**LOS ANGELES**—On October 2, 52 Chicano workers of the Los Angeles Economic Youth Opportunities Agency walked off the job protesting discriminatory hiring practices. The demonstration was against the government agency's supposed favoritism towards Blacks in regards to hiring and upgrading.

The Director of EYOA who is Black claims that the Chicanos have been getting preferential treatment in regards to hiring and upgrading. This whole struggle is completely reactionary. It's a fight by petty bourgeois nationalists over who should get the biggest share of the crumbs from the master's table.

In this period of deepening world capitalist crisis the order of the day is wholesale attacks on the working class and youth

Even the crumbs these two bit nationalists fight over are being cut to ribbons.

A racial "strike" such as this simply plays into the ruling class' hands. Such an action which pits race against race sets the stage for the ruling class to drive back all conditions to the 1930s and smash the unions as Hitler did in Germany. The only revolutionary answer to racism is to fight for the complete unity of the entire working class in the fight against the government. This fight is part and parcel of the fight for a revolutionary youth movement, a labor party, an end to political repression, nationalization of industry under workers' control and the struggle for socialism.

The perspective of fighting over crumbs from a dying system in the deepest crisis must and will be completely rejected by all class conscious workers and youth.

## Docker.. 'Put A Stop To Nixon'

**SAN DIEGO, Oct. 7, 1971**—The following is an interview with a member of ILWU Local 29, San Diego, on the day of the signing of the Taft-Hartley injunction:

**Q: The president of the Los Angeles local said this morning that he will send his men back to work, but the ranks don't seem to agree. They're still on the picket lines. When the union says "back to work" today, will you go back?**

**A:** No! I've been on strike too long to unload all those ships out there so the owners can get their Christmas profits and then try to starve us out for another three or four months!

**Q: But Bridges said he'll comply with the court injunction and order all of you back to work. Does that mean you're willing to defy him and his bosses in the PMA?**

**A:** Look, Bridges has screwed us up on this whole thing by keeping the Mexican and Canadian ports open, but now we've got the East and Gulf ports shut and we aren't going to let him ruin us again, now that we've really got things tied up tight.

**Q: How about the threat of fines and the use to troops to enforce the court order?**

**A:** Let them fine us, but how are they going to collect? I really



Longshoremen in San Pedro grimly line up for first day of work after Bridges ordered them back in compliance with Taft-Hartley.

don't think Nixon will use the National Guard against us.

**Q: They didn't hesitate in the least to use troops at Attica, why don't you think they'll use them on the docks?**

**A:** They tried that once before, as you pointed out in the *Bulletin*, and they found themselves in a general strike in San Francisco. See, we're in a little different position from the prisoners at Attica; we've got the means to defend ourselves, and Nixon knows that. He may be under more pressure from those owners than I figured on, but he's still going to have to think twice about using troops. He's backed off twice already, first he announced the wage freeze and ordered all strikes halted and then he threatened this Taft-Hartley as soon as

the ILA went out, but he had to wait a week while he sized things up. He's scared.

**Q: But he's moving with a certain determination now that will have to be answered by all the labor movement coming to the defense of the ILWU in a general strike. Do you agree?**

**A:** Yes. In fact, we're overdue for a general strike to put a stop to Nixon and his storm troopers!

## VENCEREMOS. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

internationally, and particularly in the advanced industrialized countries, Venceremos is driven into a frantic attempt to maintain its middle class independence against the working class. This is why they line up with Cleaver, affirming his reactionary conceptions of "protracted war based on urban guerrilla warfare." This is why they hold up terrorist adventures as the way forward for the workers and youth, insanely claiming that armed struggle by a handful of terrorists can stave off fascism.

And in all of this there is not a word about Mao's rapprochement with U.S. imperialism, his support for reactionary dictatorships around the world, his move to crush the last remnants of the Red Guards, and his open endorsement and aid to counter-revolution in Bangla Desh, Ceylon, and the Sudan.

Venceremos denounces Newton for the very sins it shares with the entire Stalinist movement: re-

formism and class collaboration. All of the Maoist rhetoric about "the people" is in its essence a cover for class collaboration. The Panther program has always been essentially reformist, but for Venceremos, reformism with a gun is somehow revolutionary.

Venceremos adopts the entire line of Cleaver, although they do not throw their support behind him, presumably because there is little political capital to be gained from such a move. But Cleaver has, since the split, openly stated what is implicit in his entire perspective, the position that the American working class is reactionarily allied with the bourgeoisie. Though they are not principled enough to state it, this is the real position of Venceremos. Thus they are able to make the incredible statement that we are now in a period of mass defeat and demoralization of the working class similar to the situation in Russia following the defeat of the 1905 revolution!

The very same issue of their newspaper contains an analysis

of the collapse of the entire international monetary structure and Nixon's wage freeze, an analysis which is wrong and reactionary through and through precisely because it completely leaves out the movement and strength of the organized working class, which has forced the capitalists to the wall. In fact, all this hogwash about demoralization and the ebb in the revolutionary tide is nothing but a projection of Venceremos' own demoralization and despair.

Venceremos' split with Newton is a turn to the right. It exposes the complete bankruptcy of their pragmatic and opportunist method, and their hostility to the working class. Whatever twists and turns this organization makes as it is buffeted about by the massive class struggles ahead, it will play the most reactionary role, because it is rooted in the middle class and the middle class theories of Stalinism. The building of a Trotskyist youth movement requires that this organization be politically and theoretically defeated.

## ILWU. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

communist leadership.

It is absolutely clear that while longshoremen, relying on militancy alone, have been able to beat back the immediate threat of a Bridges sellout on the contract, this militancy is not enough to take up the political fight against Nixon. It is for this reason that despite overwhelming sentiment against the Taft-Hartley, no real leadership emerged in the ILWU to take up the fight to expose Bridges and rally the union for defiance of the injunction.

It is necessary to use the brief time now available to organize such a leadership through

the construction of a rank and file caucus. The fight must go forward to force joint negotiations with the ILA to obtain the forty hour guarantee for all categories of dockers in every port in the country. Preparations must be made for a political strike that can unite dockers and rally the rest of labor for the victory of the longshoremen and an all out fight to bring down Nixon's anti-labor program.

The first step in this fight is a big campaign in the ILWU to take the lead in fighting for a one-day general strike against the freeze on November 12th when Phase I is due to expire.



# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN    WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313    304 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104    PHONE 415-621-1900

## Dockers Ready To Renew Fight

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Fifteen thousand West Coast longshoremen have been pushed back to work under the Taft-Hartley Act. This return was prepared and defended by the spineless leadership of the ILWU.

The fight, however, has just begun. Bridges may have temporarily been able to pull off a peaceful return to work but the ranks remain absolutely determined not to accept a sell-out contract. Nothing has been solved and the period now opening up on the waterfront will be one of bitter and relentless resistance coupled with the most fundamental assessment of the lessons of the last three months and the strategy of the union.

There is no possibility of a PMA offer acceptable to the rank and file. Despite all the press and government reports on "progress" the differences are fundamental. On the question of a guarantee the PMA offer contains a yearly ceiling of 6 million dollars which breaks down to about eight dollars per man per week. Further this guarantee is only for 36 hours for "A" men and a complete betrayal of "B" men with 18 hours. With the approaching recession that threatens mass unemployment on the docks this pitiful offer will not even provide a guarantee for three months. All demands for a big raise now face Phase II of Nixon's economic program which means government determination to hold wage raises to token amounts.

These are only a few examples of the differences that made it impossible for Bridges to recommend a settlement. He ordered the return to work precisely at the point that the strike became national and that a fighting unity between the ILA and the ILWU became a reality. Defiance of Taft-Hartley could have rallied the entire labor movement to the support of the dockers. Such a fight could have delivered a smashing blow to Nixon's union-busting program and forced major concessions to dockers on their fundamental demands.

Dockers must learn the les-

sons of this strike. The retreat now forced on the union is a crushing refutation of the Bridges' strategy of not mobilizing the full strength of the union or the labor movement hoping the government would stay out.

Right up until the return to

work the Communist Party continued its role of covering up and apologizing for Bridges. The latest issue of the People's World while forced to reflect some of the militancy on the docks refuses to advocate any fight to defy Taft-Hartley. The PW also acts to play down the historic development of the simultaneous ILA strike. This is part of a consistent policy of refusing to fight for a real unity with the ILA on the basis of its anti-

(Continued On Page 15)

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Shop Steward Lois Joseph who placed the motion on the floor pointed out that at the same time that Juan's appeal was denied Captain Medina was acquitted.

She said, "The reality

and threat of jail hovers over anyone who opposes the war or Nixon's wage freeze. A threat or a crisis should not have to be brought up to anyone's doorstep before they recognize it because then generally it is too late and this is why we must recognize where the lines are being drawn up. The bosses' president, Nixon, is backed by the Democratic wage freezers against Juan Farinas, rank and file workers of the ILWU, Local 829 and all wage earners."

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The first thing to be said about Venceremos is that it is an organization completely devoid of principles. Although they publicly proclaimed the Black Panther Party to be the true revolutionary

vanguard party in America and their own political masters, they waited a full six months before publicly commenting on the Newton-Cleaver split. And it was only when the ramifications of the split began to interfere with their immediate, narrow concerns that they took a public stand. To quote from their statement and analysis of the Panthers in the September 1-9 issue of Pamoja Venceremos: "...we had to draw the line and clarify our position when we saw that our own practice was suffering and being misdirected away from the struggles of the revolutionary people."

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Harry Bridges, president of ILWU, who meekly obeyed Nixon's Taft-Hartley Act. The CP sees him as a "progressive" and covered for his betrayal even though it may mean defeat now for both coasts.

## S.F. Cops Murder Clarence Johnson

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—Following the political assassination of George Jackson and the massacre of prisoners at Attica, police here have murdered a Black worker of the Hunters Point Housing project.

Clarence Johnson, 32 and the father of two young children was stopped last week by police supposedly for investigation of burglary. The police put Johnson and two of his friends who were in a car with him against the side of the car with their hands on

the roof of the car for searching by police.

Johnson said some words to the searcher, Tactical Squad patrolman Richard Lewis, whereupon Lewis shot Johnson through the head while he was standing with his back to the officer.

Immediately after the shooting the police declared that "It was an unfortunate and regrettable thing, however it was an accident since Lewis certainly didn't mean to shoot him."

Thirteen witnesses who live in Hunters Point and saw the incident all have testified that Johnson was "spread eagled" over the car when he was shot in the head.

It is not an accident that this murder took place. Lewis who is still on the job and the rest of his accomplices daily have the job of intimidating, harassing, and murdering workers and youth, particularly minority members of the community.

The response to this open murder was extremely illuminating. The NAACP immediately called for the intervention of the FBI in the case to "investigate the violation of federal civil rights laws" since "We (NAACP) have no confidence that local police will deal with this matter."

This is the same FBI that hunted down Angela Davis and openly calls for the stepping up of repression and police activity. The FBI was only too happy therefore to investigate the murder and immediately entered the case to cover up the local police.

The Progressive Labor Party in response to the killing called for a protest against Alioto who was speaking the next night at San Francisco State College.

At the meeting PLers spent 35 minutes booing and shouting at Alioto in a futile protest.

Both PLP and the NAACP refuse to take the fight against repression into the unions for political strike action against this government by the working class.

The only defense of Johnson and others like him is the mobilization of thousands of youth and workers in a conscious movement that fights for a Marxist leadership in the unions and in the working class.

The failure of Newton to break from empiricism and take up a real fight for Marxism against the nationalists and Stalinists has led him into open class collaboration with the church and the liberals on the Berkeley City Council, as well as support for so-called "Black capitalism." The response of Venceremos, after waiting six months to see which way the wind was blowing, is to denounce Newton for abandoning the gun and affirm the entire line of Cleaver.

MORASS

However, one thing emerges clearly from this theoretical morass. In the face of the massive movement of the working class

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