

HOOVER

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INSTITUTION

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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NOVEMBER 1, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

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Workers League banner at meeting of N.Y. Central Labor Council

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MARCH WITH WORKERS LEAGUE

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Chicago, Philadelphia,
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MARCH WITH WORKERS LEAGUE

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Army Tortures Irish Prisoners

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Street fighting exploded all over Belfast, North Ireland after British soldiers shot and killed two sisters driving in a car through Belfast on October 23rd.

The women, 19 year old Dorothy Maguire and Mary Ellen Meehan, 30, a mother of four children were driving through the Catholic Lower Falls District while British troops were conducting a house to house search.

The British Army Commander Major Christopher Dunphie claims that shots were fired out of the back of the car and that the women were dressed as men. This has been exposed as a pack of lies.

Workers in the area immediately surrounded the car and a picture was taken showing that the women were not dressed as men. No guns were found in the car.

William Davidson, the driver, stated at a news conference of the Central Citizens Defense Committee that there were no guns in the car and that he would be willing to have his car and clothing tested for traces of gunpowder.

The shooting was a blatant act of murder in a stepped up campaign of terror by the occupying troops of Britain against men, women and children in North Ireland who refuse to submit to worsening conditions of poverty and unemployment.

Brian Faulkner, Prime Minister of North Ireland told his Economic Council that "The screw on terrorist activity will most certainly be tightened" in order to "restore conditions in which industry can climb ahead

Strike Hits Fiat Plant In Spain

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Thousands of workers and students throughout Spain are demonstrating their solidarity with the struggles of 6,000 auto workers at the giant SEAT (Fiat subsidiary) plant in Barcelona.

Thousands of workers began a sitdown strike at the auto plant Monday after twenty men fired by Fiat for strike action last year were refused re-employment at the plant. In August a provisional court ordered their reinstatement but the company flatly refused.

When the twenty were turned away at the gate on Monday, October 18th, the entire work force sat down in support. Armed police rushed to the site and tried to rout out the workers with gas. The workers responded with stones and gas bombs. One worker was shot and thirty arrested.

Late the following night in another pitched battle the police evicted strikers from the plant. But when the factory reopened the next day only 25% reported back to work.

No matter which way it turns the Franco fascist regime faces the advance of a reawakened Spanish working class. A major confrontation between the two is rapidly becoming inevitable.

with some sense of reality and in which business confidence can be restored."

This statement was made just when documents were revealing the gruesome and fascistic torture methods being used by the British Army against prisoners. Faulkner clearly intends to continue these tortures on an even greater scale.

Full information gathered from direct interviews with prisoners jailed in detention camps under the Special Powers Act was published by the London Times and by the Association for Legal Justice in Belfast. Social Democratic and Labour Party Members of Parliament brought these dossiers to Prime Minister Heath.

The torture methods have been refined at the Joint Intelligence School where experiments were conducted on volunteers from the Special Air Services, the British equivalent of the Green Berets.

A psychologist has stated that the tortures are designed to destroy a man physically and mentally.

The prisoners are first hooded before they reach the camps, and are then placed barefoot against a wall in a spreadeagle position, legs apart and arms stretched up on the wall. Piped sounds, such as pulsating throbs or whining noises are kept going constantly. The prisoners are not fed and when they collapse are beaten and placed up against the wall again. After two days of this they are taken to the interrogation room.

A key element in this torture is the hood which causes the prisoners to lose any sense of time and contributes quickly to loss of sanity.

In one of nine documented torture cases in the dossier, Joseph Clarke, a 19 year old, describes what happened after he was brought to the camp August 11th and placed against a wall:

"All the time there was a constant whirring noise, like helicopter blades going around."

"...My ankles were swollen to almost twice the normal size... Still the noise was going steadily driving the mental resistance to the utmost. I thought I was going mad. This noise was the

only noise one heard save the groans of the other people lined up against the wall."

Desmond Smith, a 21 year old electrical engineer was arrested August 9th, hooded and flown by helicopter to an army camp. On arrival they were pushed out of the helicopter and fell six feet. Smith's statement continued:

"We were then placed against a wall with our finger tips touching the wall, our legs wide-spread apart..."

"Then the position was changed. We were set down for a period of time with our toes touching the wall, hands behind our backs, and leaning back as far as you could without actually touching the ground."

He heard members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary observing the proceedings say: "Oh, we know far better ones." The men were then left to the RUC who began to kick and beat them.

"...One man asked for a drink of water and a pail of water was brought in. But before anybody got a drink out of it the guard dogs were brought in and lapped out of it...After which the soldiers that were smoking threw butts into the water and if they were chewing gum they spat all into it..."

When one man couldn't move any more, Desmond continues: "They got a rope and laced it through his arms and legs and hung him to the rafters all trussed up like the way you would a chicken and they kept hanging him there..."

After seventeen hours of this Desmond lost consciousness and was again beaten. Finally he went into a convulsion.

"One of the red-caps, when he seen this, went back and said to another red-cap, 'Will you lend me your knife. This so-and-so calling me abusive names has taken a fit.' So the red-cap gave him a knife which he took out and the other red-cap, pushed it so hard into my mouth that he smashed several of my back teeth and according to witnesses the blade of the knife actually snapped in two with the force... he came back arrying the knife with blood dripping off it and he had a grin on his face..."

These torture methods used by British imperialism against Irish workers are just a beginning of the lengths that the capitalist class is prepared to go to preserve its system. Unemployment,

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English soldier looks on while Protestant families move out of houses in Northern Ireland. Meanwhile, they continue to shoot down workers.

Jury Convicts FLQ Member

BY STEVE FINNEY

MONTREAL—Just over one year ago, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act, supposedly to be used only to crush the FLQ. Over 400 people were arrested in over three thousand raids by the police and army.

Out of those arrested (most of whom were young militants and trade unionists) most were later released without being charged or had the charges against them dropped. Three people, FLQ members, have been found guilty of the kidnap-murder of Pierre Laporte, Quebec's ex-Minister of Labor. Bernard Lortie was the latest of the three. He was found guilty on Sept. 23rd of kidnapping Laporte.

These three people, Paul Rose, Francois Simard, and Lortie, along with Jaques Rose (not yet tried) had been kept in isolation cells for six months from the time of their arrest until July 22. Only a strong protest by the Quebec Bar Association forced the government to place them in regular cells. Lortie was already suffering from nervous depression from his treatment.

TRIAL

Lortie's trial proceeded in a similar manner to that of Paul Rose before him. Rose was sentenced in March to life imprisonment for the murder of Laporte. Lortie was supposed to be tried for the same alleged crime, but on September 7th, a week before the trial started, the prosecution announced that it would be trying

him on the kidnapping charge first. His lawyer was not prepared to defend him on this charge and Lortie was unable to find a new lawyer within the time allotted by the judge (a few hours).

He decided to defend himself. But his 'defence' was limited to verbal attacks on the court which he labelled a military stronghold and the judge who he called a buffoon. He refused to enter a plea and spoke of the selection of the jury members as people who "represented middle and not the labor class."

He was constantly expelled from the court by the judge, once after talking about the poor conditions of children in Montreal. But Lortie was convicted before he entered the courtroom. As he said of the futility of defending himself: "How can this be a court of justice when Paul Rose was condemned for a murder although he was five miles away from the scene at the time?"

In his final speech to the jury he spoke of the economic problems in Quebec and of the high rate of unemployment. These two factors are the real reasons for the continuing persecution of militants in Quebec and for the War Measures Act in the first place. The

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Brandt Gets Nobel Prize For Betrayals

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Continuing a tradition it began way back in 1905 when it awarded President Teddy ("Carry a big stick") Roosevelt the Peace Prize, the Nobel committee named West German Chancellor Willy Brandt as this year's recipient.

The citation of the Nobel committee praised Brandt for having "stretched out his hand to reconciliation between countries that have long been enemies."

In Bonn, it appears that the Chancellor is somewhat embar-

rassed by the award. Brandt told associates, "I am in the midst of my work" and pointed out that his work has not yet reached fruition.

Brandt's embarrassment is quite understandable. For the cleverest bourgeois politician in Europe today knows that Peace Prize trophy is going to look quite right on the family fireplace once his policies take their effect.

Chancellor Brandt's much ballyhooed "Ostpolitik" is nothing but a treacherous Social-Democratic camouflage of the aggressive German imperialist di-

plomacy that Bismarck bluntly labelled the "Drang nach Osten—Drive to the East."

Willy Brandt has been winning plaudits from the bourgeoisie for his subtle techniques in applying pressure against the Soviet Union. The first bourgeois politician to understand clearly the possibilities opened by the post-Czechoslovakia Stalinist crisis, he is carrying out the policies that he formulated while serving as foreign minister in the "Grand Coalition" of the Christian-Democratic and Social-Democratic Parties. Brandt has won decisive concessions from the Stalinists

of the Soviet Union and East Germany without even raising his voice.

But the policies carried out by Brandt are just part of the offensive of the world bourgeoisie against the working class; and this offensive is encountering sharp resistance by the evermore militant proletariat of Eastern Europe. It is this struggle that will expose the violent character of the "Ostpolitik."

The Peace Prize is worth \$87,000. Brandt better spend it before someone on the Nobel committee changes his mind and demands a refund.



Shown is a band which played at the benefit party held in N.Y.'s Upper West Side on Oct. 22 to support the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. Over \$75 was raised by young workers and students as part of the drive to get the Supreme Court to hear the case.

Schrade Calls For Labor Party

BY DAN FRIED

A massive, stormy revolt of the labor movement against Nixon's Phase II wage freeze is gathering force throughout the U.S., laying the basis for a drive to smash Nixon's policies through general strike action and the formation of a labor party.

Rank and file militancy is on the rise in the United Auto Workers where thousands of auto and aerospace workers are directly threatened by the wage freeze.

West Coast UAW regional Director Paul Schrade, reflecting the growing revolt in the ranks, has threatened:

"If Nixon and the Pay Board's program is to prevent working men from getting what they are owed, there should be a general strike and a new labor party."

Behind Schrade's statement is the beginning of a major struggle against the freeze. A resolution passed over the opposition of the union leadership by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the California Legislative Conference, calls for a nation-wide general strike led by the labor movement against any attempt to extend the freeze beyond Nov. 14. This gives a fighting lead to the entire labor movement across the country.

The decisive question in the fight against the freeze is now one of leadership. The labor leadership represented by the so-called "progressive" bureaucrats is trailing after Leonard Woodcock, Schrade's mentor and President of the UAW.

Woodcock's latest statement reflects the attempt by the labor bureaucracy to threaten and "pressure" the Nixon Administration into a more "fair and equitable" treatment of the unions, while refusing to break with the Board and mobilize the rank and file in strike action.

Woodcock stated that all unpaid increases negotiated before the freeze should be paid in full retroactively after Nov. 13. According to the New York Times,

Woodcock stated "that the case for granting such raises was so strong that he would not consider any other possibilities."

In response to the government's opposition to such retroactive increases and insistence that the final decision rests with the big-business dominated Pay Board, Woodcock still sits along with Meany on this Board!

Woodcock's criminal role is compounded by the information he himself has brought to light. Like millions of other workers, 20,000 UAW members at the McDonnell Douglas Corporation have been hit by the freeze. They were supposed to get a 34 cent an hour raise retroactive to July 19, worth a total of about \$5 million. Woodcock said, "Now if those workers don't get that money paid to them that \$5 million simply goes to swell the profits of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation. It is absolutely unfair. It is wrong and does nothing to restrain inflation."

The McDonnell Douglas workers are only a fraction of the more than 300,000 UAW members who are not getting the increases due them during Phase One of the freeze. In addition there are the 700,000 auto workers who are supposed to get a 14c an hour "productivity" raise and a 14c an hour cost of living increase—both negotiated in the last contract.

Woodcock and other top UAW leaders have indicated they are willing to compromise on these raises so that the workers will not get the cost of living increase.

CONVENTION

The recent announcement of a nationwide .2% increase in the consumer price index indicates the kind of robbery Nixon and the auto barons are trying to get away with. As reported in last week's Bulletin, the UAW ranks are telling Woodcock they will not stand for this and are demanding strike action to win these increases. They are demanding that Woodcock prepare now to carry out the threat he so readily dropped in September, of declaring all UAW contracts null and void in their entirety if the pay increases are in any way abrogated.

The fight for the full 28c together with the call to boycott the Pay Board and for general strike action of the entire labor movement against the wage freeze must now be taken into the Nov. 13 Special Convention of the UAW in Detroit.

The railroad workers of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees were supposed to get a 5% increase on Oct. 1st and want it in full and retroactive. "We are contending the railroads owe it to us under (Continued On Page 12)

Bosses Dominate Pay Board

BY OUR LABOR EDITOR

President Nixon's appointment of the public members of the Pay Board confirms what is obvious to most rank and file workers—the Pay Board is stacked 2-1 against labor.

Ever since tri-partite boards, panels and "fact-finding" commissions have been developed to deal with strikes and labor conflicts, the "public" members of these boards have invariably ruled in the interests of business and against the workers. This is more than ever before the case with Nixon's appointees.

Even assuming that management and labor balance each other off on the Pay Board—although there is not one single working man or union person on either Board—the public members are all connected with business interests.

Chairman George Boldt is a Washington State Federal judge who was an Eisenhower appointee. His judicial career has been distinguished by his presiding over the "conspiracy" trial of the Seattle Seven, the issuance of a warrant for the arrest of anti-war activist Leslie Bacon as a material witness in the case, and the prosecution and sentencing of former Teamster head Dave Beck to five years for income tax evasion. Boldt rounds off his career as a wealthy lawyer and conservative judge with membership in the American Legion and the Masons.

CAPLES

Next we have Mr. William G. Caples, who supposedly represents the "public" by virtue of devoting most of his career as the chief negotiator against the unions for the Inland Steel Co. He was also on its Board of Directors. Inland is a notorious union-hating firm involved in the Little Steel Strike in 1937. Needless to say he has also been a top officer of such "impartial" organizations as the American Management Association, the American Iron and Steel Institute and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Then there is Professor Neil H. Jacoby, a leading representative of the Business School of the University of California at Los Angeles which specializes in training corporate executives and advising the nation's largest corporations and banks. Dr. Jacoby has been a consultant of the

Rand Corporation, a member of various business groups and committees, a consultant for the Occidental Petroleum Corporation and a member of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisors.

Kermit Gordon, another public member of the Board is currently President of the Brookings Institution, an outfit whose sole purpose is to do research for the big corporations aimed at increasing profits. As an economic professor and professional economist he has held a number of posts under various administrations in Washington, where he currently serves Nixon as a Special Assistant in the State Department's Office of Economic Affairs.

WEBER

The last public member of the Board is probably the most 'professional' of them all—and the closest to Nixon himself who he served as Executive Director of the Cost of Living Council, Arnold Weber. Weber, a professional economist and former teacher at the University of Chicago's Business School headed at the time by former Labor Secretary George Schultz, is considered a friend and protege of Schultz who is now Nixon's Budget Director. Schultz is perhaps the nation's foremost "expert" on devising ways to deal with labor—in the interests of big business, of

course.

This is the Board that is supposed to represent the "public," but how can it possibly represent the overwhelming majority of the public, the working people, trade unionists, and their families in this country?

COMMISSION

When we turn to the members of the Price Commission, we find: a Black lawyer who has held high posts in Washington, William T. Coleman, Jr.; an economics professor who served recently on the staff of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisors, Dr. Marina Von Neumann Whitman.

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Meatcutters Blast Meany, Board

The October 26 Wall Street Journal reports that the local of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union in Baltimore has joined the revolt against labor's support of the Pay Board by withdrawing from all state and local AFL-CIO councils.

The local stated that "it's unbelievable to us that Meany would agree to a board weighted 2 to 1 against the workers of the nation."

Prices Soar .2% Despite Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The official U.S. Department of Labor statistics on the consumer price index for the month of September show that despite the so-called freeze on prices, the cost of living and prices are still going up.

The index rose by .2% nationally while in the New York area consumer prices shot up more than twice as much as the national figure, rising by .5%.

The question now is, if consumer prices continue to rise when they are supposed to be frozen, what is going to happen in Phase II when they are "allowed" to rise by Nixon and the Price Board.

This is the same fraud that was perpetrated on the working class during World War II and the Korean War. Then under the system of "controls" wages were

held down while prices soared. As one labor official, Henschel Mendelsund of the ILGWU put it, "When it comes to wages, we have a policeman. It's every employer. But if a grocer raises prices one cent on a can how can any customer remember?"

"EFFECTIVENESS"

While Paul McCracken, one of Nixon's economic advisors, is crowing about how wonderful it is to keep the increase down to .2% nationally, and saying that this proves the "effectiveness" of the freeze, New York regional director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics belittles these figures, especially in light of the New York increase. "The index for September is as full of holes as a sieve in terms of really measuring the impact of the freeze," said Mr. Bienstock. It appears that the economic "experts" want to have it both ways.

A recent survey conducted by

the New York Times further exposes the real way in which prices rise while wages are frozen. The Times article on Oct. 25 stated, "Leading retailers in New York City illegally increased the prices of 7 out of 27 meat cuts since President Nixon's August 15 wage-price freeze."

The proposal by New York's District Council 37 President Victor Gotbaum for the labor movement to set up "watchdog committees" to monitor prices is a complete diversion from the real task of labor—to smash the entire phoney system of controls, to get rid of the Price Board, the Pay Board and defeat the freeze.

Nixon has said that the aim of his "new economic policy" is to maximize profits which he sees as the key to a "healthy economy." It is perfectly clear that all the government agencies and boards involved are out to raise profits at the expense of the wages and conditions of the workers.

Court Moves To Break Philadelphia Dock Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—Striking dockworkers here are continuing their strike in the face of massive fines which have been levied against the three ILA locals, their officers and individual strikers.

Strikebreaking judge Edmund B. Spaeth slapped a \$56,000 per day fine on Local 1291. The fine doubles for each day of violation of the back to work injunction. Somewhat lesser fines were levied on the other two locals and officers. The President of Local 1291 was hit with a \$20,000 per day fine and all individual strikers have been fined \$50-\$60 per day.

At the same time, these same ILA bureaucrats have been scabbing on the strike by opening up the hiring hall to both union and non-union members.

In the face of these vicious attacks the bosses have only been able to put together 6 gangs to work the ships. The dockworkers are enraged, both at the leadership and at the strikebreaking action of the court.

The shipping bosses and the government are embarked on a strategy of trying to isolate the

strike to New York City by picking off each port one by one. Already injunctions similar to the one in Philadelphia have been issued against the Milwaukee and the New Orleans strikes. Philadelphia has become the testing ground for this strategy.

ATTACK

This attack is consciously backed, if not in fact organized by the Nixon gang in Washington. This is a serious warning of the kind of treatment that Nixon plans against the entire labor movement under Phase 2.

After the Monday meeting of Local 1291, at which all 700 of the men in attendance shouted down the leadership's back to work order, dragging one of the officials off the stage, President Richard Askew revealed the treacherous intentions of the leadership. When asked why there was no official vote taken to defy

the injunction, Askew replied: "Because I didn't intend to give members the alternative of not breaking the law."

The fight of the Philadelphia ranks to defy the injunction is therefore a question of national importance for the entire trade union movement, since it can be a spearhead in driving back the government's efforts to break down the ILA and can deliver a tremendous blow to Nixon's whole wage freeze.

Steps must now be taken in Philadelphia to set up massive picketing of the union hiring hall to prevent the use of scabs against the strike.

The Gleason leadership of the ILA must demand that the Philadelphia Central Labor Council take immediate steps to stop the strikebreaking and call a general strike of the entire Philadelphia working class in defense of the longshoremen and against the wage freeze. This is the type of action that can solidify the struggle of the ILA and force the ship-owners to grant the 40 hour weekly wage guarantee to all dockworkers in all ports.



Demonstration in front of Canadian consulate in N.Y.C. demanding that Humberto Pagan, a Puerto Rican independentist be allowed to remain in Canada. Ferre's courts want to lynch him in Puerto Rico.

Milwaukee Dock Strike Defies Leaders, Courts

BY MICHAEL PADLY

MILWAUKEE—Workers of Local 815 of the International Longshoremen's Association defied the local union leadership Tuesday, October 19 and went out on strike.

In a desperate attempt to maintain their profits, the Hansen Seaway Service tried to force the growing economic crisis onto the backs of the workers by refusing to honor the entire contract with the union.

The grievance which triggered the strike was the change in job assignments that violated the seniority provisions in the contract. The rank and file responded to this attack by walking off the job Tuesday morning.

Going against the instruction of the union executive board the workers refused to go back to work until other major grievances were satisfied. The operators refused to pay 15c an hour premium pay when the workers handle noxious cargo such as cowhide, graphite or certain chemicals. They also refused to allow a ten minute washup time when such cargo had to be handled by workers. Both provisions are in the present contract.

Daniel E. Meehan, Vice President of Hansen Seaway Service, refused to discuss the grievances while the strike was taking place and turned to the courts to get the workers back to work. Federal Judge Gordon ordered the men back to their jobs Friday, October 22 and issued a temporary order restraining the wildcat strike pending a hearing November 22. The judge claimed that great and inequable harm would be done to the shippers and the port of Milwaukee.

By using the court order, the union officials were successful in bringing the workers back into the

hands of the employers. Pete Kalil, President of Local 815 refused to be interviewed but before he left the Federal Building in his new Cadillac, he told the Bulletin reporter: "I ordered the men back to work but they refused. I'm only a messenger."

The Milwaukee longshoremen must unite with the East and West Coast dockers by staying out on strike and demanding that their leaders call for a general strike November 12.

North Star Strike Faces Wage Freeze

BY A USWA MEMBER

ST. PAUL—Over 400 members of United Steelworkers Local 7263 now move into their second month of strike action against North Star Steel, with very little having been resolved.

The company, with Nixon's full backing, is using the wage freeze as an excuse not to make an offer even on benefit improvements, which are also frozen. The last offer on wages was rejected by the union membership several weeks ago.

It is this and literally hundreds of similar strikes across the country that are serving notice to Nixon that the workers will neither calmly accept the freeze, nor allow their existing standard of living and unions to be destroyed.

Regardless of the local issues involved each of these strikes is a strike against the Nixon government.

The fight to win a substantial increase at North Star Steel cannot be left simply on the picket line. It must be viewed as part of mobilizing the entire labor movement to defy the freeze and force Meany and the other union leaders to resign from the Pay Board.

SSEU Ranks Rebel Against Workloads

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—As more welfare centers are reorganized, more and more workers are coming to understand the vicious nature of the SSEU-371 leadership's reorganization contract.

Workers are doing three and four times the amount of work done before the system was introduced. Further, the situation constantly worsens because of the number of workers who quit in disgust and are not replaced. Five man units which used to handle about 350 cases are now handling about 900-1000.

There have been several abortive moves toward wildcat work actions in the local centers demanding the setting up of more clerical units to lighten the workload. However, because of lack of union backing and the fact that the actions are not centrally organized—covering all the reorganized centers, the work actions fell apart.

Despite the difficulties, some centers nevertheless are carrying forward work actions. Wycokoff Center, for example, voted at a local meeting to limit the number of clients seen each day to eight per worker. In many centers, workers are refusing to work overtime.

Through all of this, the union leadership has said nothing. They continually hide behind the ambiguities in the contract in order to capitulate to the City's unfavorable interpretations of it. Further, despite the fact that the City has still not come up with a service program, proving that it is completely unserious about such a program, the union is still allowing the City to begin moving workers out into the communities with no job description, no specifications, and no control over working conditions.

ACTION

The Committee for a New Leadership is fighting to bring forward the dissatisfaction of the workers with the whole reorganization pic-

ture, into a unified, citywide work action. At the membership meeting planned for Oct. 27th, the CNL will propose that workers dump all cases in each section down to 500, and refuse to participate in the "Outreach" community service program, unless a limitation of 500 cases per section, and job description and guarantees for community services are set up.

Furthermore, the CNL will propose that the SSEU publicly endorse the call for a one-day general strike on Nov. 12 against any continuation of the wage freeze and any labor participation on the board. All workers in the union will be affected if Nixon is allowed to continue his freeze or controls in any form. Workers are due for a 9-10% increase in January which can be reduced to 5% if the fight is not taken up now.

CRISIS

The tremendous crisis in the SSEU is now having its reflection in the SSEU bureaucracy. Recently four supporters of Stanley Hill, SSEU President, on the payroll were fired, ostensibly because of budget problems. The right wing of the bureaucracy, the section closest to DC 37 head, Victor Gotbaum, has begun to move in on the Hill section, preparing the way for their return to office next spring.

Local 1199 Strikes Yeshiva Centers For New Contract

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Members of Local 1199 which represents hospital and university employees are on strike against Yeshiva University.

Yeshiva University has refused to negotiate a new contract for its workers to replace the old contract which expired last week. The University simply proposed to continue with the old contract with no wage increases.

The strike is not just against Yeshiva but against the wage freeze itself which Yeshiva is using to turn down any increases.

This section is trying to channel the dissatisfaction of the ranks with the contract into questions of constitutional reform, and to use these so-called reforms, to prepare for a very tight control of the membership and of dissention if they return to office. These people were all one hundred percent for reorganization and in many cases were the prime architects of the contract.

SLATE

The CNL will be running a slate of candidates in the spring election on the basis of a real fight for workload controls and for a return of caseworkers to service work with a clear job description and guarantees. The fight against Nixon's anti-labor policies and for his replacement with a labor government will be a central part of the CNL's campaign.

NEWSPAPER

To this end, the CNL will be replacing the union newspaper (whose last issue will be printed next week) with its own publication. This paper will be a real weapon in bringing together the struggles of workers in various centers and in all the agencies covered by the union, and will seek to take those struggles forward against the entire union leadership and the City.

TEST

The strike is an important test for the 1199 leadership. President Leon Davis has gone on record against the wage controls and the union issued a statement supporting the strike struggles of telephone and dock workers. At the same time Davis has said he will try to work within the controls.

Now the union leadership is forced to put its words into

practice. The union must fight for a substantial wage increase for Yeshiva workers, not the measly 5 or 6% that Nixon is talking about and full strike action by the whole union must be taken if necessary to beat back this attack.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jones
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SMC Runs Out On The Fight Against Freeze

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK—With the rapid sharpening of the class struggle, the fear of the revisionist and Stalinist forces of the revolutionary program of the Workers League is becoming increasingly clear.

On Thursday, October 21st, a demonstration was called by several "rank and file" caucuses dominated by the Communist Party and the International Socialist Party at a meeting of the Central Labor Council.

The demonstration was called ostensibly to fight the wage freeze, but it became quite apparent that what the organizers of the demonstration really stand for is preventing the only movement that can smash the freeze.

When the Workers League began to march with a banner calling for a general strike and a labor party to smash the freeze, supporters of the Communist Party demanded that the banner be taken down. When specifically asked what objections they had to the banner, a CP spokesman admitted that they were not calling for general strike action against the freeze.

The program raised by the Workers League banner exposes the reformism of the Communist Party. The call for the labor party now, completely exposes the Stalinists' cry of a "new coalition." The hostility of the Stalinists to the independent mobilization of the working class is forced out in the open in this period, to the point that they called the police over to have the Workers League forcibly removed from the demonstration.

The International Socialist group, an organization that has

its roots in the petty bourgeois opposition that broke from the Fourth International in 1940 shares the hostility of the Stalinists towards Trotskyism and the program of the Workers League. The role that they played in this demonstration was in total political agreement with the Stalinists.

It was only because of the strength of the forces brought by the Workers League that the IS was forced to defend our right to participate in the demonstration. It is only because of the movement forward of the working class in this period and the strength now being mobilized by the Trotskyist movement through the fight against Stalinism and those tendencies like IS that prop up the Stalinists that the Workers League was able to raise its banners and to have an important political impact on the demonstration.

SMC

A similar situation developed in the last city-wide conference of the Student Mobilization Committee. The Workers League brought 80 high school youth, workers and students from all over New York City to the meeting in order to put forward a class program to mobilize for November 6th.

It was precisely because these new forces were brought by the Workers League to fight for this

(Continued On Page 12)



Stalinists tried to use cops to remove Workers League banner at Oct. 21 demonstration outside of N.Y. Central Labor Council. Banner called for general strike and labor party.

Nixon Packs Supreme Court With Approval Of Liberals

BY MELODY FARROW

Nixon's latest nominations to the Supreme Court are a dangerous step towards a police state in which the President, backed up by the courts would have full powers to suppress any dissent and democratic rights.

Lewis F. Powell, a Democratic lawyer from Richmond, Virginia and William Rehnquist, Assistant Attorney General (Mitchell's right hand man) have been consistent crusaders against socialist and radical organizations and have defended the government's attacks on the rights of suspected political activists.

The new nominations were announced after the American Bar Association ruled that Herschel Friday and Mildred Lillie, Nixon's first choices, were unqualified to be on the Supreme Court. After receiving reports

that the Senate would not confirm these nominations, Nixon switched his choice.

Everyone in Congress and the Senate breathed a sigh of relief and confirmation is now expected. While Powell and Rehnquist are just as reactionary as the other nominees, their formal legal "qualifications" will provide a cover for their acceptance.

But while Nixon was making a switch the government was already moving to destroy any attempt to challenge its decisions. Attorney General John Mitchell informed the American Bar Association that potential nominees would not be referred for verification of their qualifications, as in the past, but would be sent directly to the President.

Mitchell and Nixon are enraged over the publication of the names of the prior six nominees and the public exposure of them as blatant racists. Herschel Friday, it was revealed, actually ignored Supreme Court rulings to prevent integration in Arkansas schools.

The President's press secretary said that Powell's and Rehnquist's qualifications were so obviously in order that referral to ABA would be just a "formality."

What this means is that Nixon does not give a damn for legal

qualifications but intends to fill the Supreme Court with men who will defend the government and private profit to the hilt and will not hesitate to change the laws if necessary. Powell and Rehnquist are perfectly suited to this task.

Powell, as a member of Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, disagreed with a Supreme Court decision limiting police interrogations and methods of extracting confessions. One of his articles on law and order was put in the **FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin** by J. Edgar Hoover.

He stated that charges accusing the government of suppressing free speech and dissent were "sheer nonsense" and that it was demonstrators who were violating free speech. He is a staunch advocate of wire tapping of radical organizations and forgiving the President full powers "to fight communism."

After a trip to the Soviet Union in 1958 he introduced a course on Life Under Communism into the schools in Richmond, Virginia and set up a committee in the American Bar Association called "Education Against Communism."

Rehnquist was an enthusiastic backer of Goldwater. As Mitchell's chief assistant he played a major role in the mass arrest of the May Day anti-war demonstrators last spring in Washington.

(Continued On Page 12)

Youth Face Barbarism In Prison

BY MARK ALEXIS

CHICAGO—Illinois youth testified last week to barbaric treatment in the state's juvenile prisons.

One 16 year old boy told the U.S. District Court here that he spent 31 months in a correctional facility for stealing a jacket when he was 10. He spent about a year of that time in solitary confinement, "in the hole, in a cell that would drive a man crazy."

The boy was one of four youths from Illinois State Industrial School for Boys at Sheridan, who testified to the long sentences and brutal treatment they endured. The four were brought to tell their stories only after the judge threatened Juvenile Court officers with contempt charges if the boys were not permitted to testify.

The four were marched into the courtroom bound in leather straps they said had been on for more than five hours.

The first boy to be questioned, Terry L. Wilson, also said he was routinely given injections which blacked him out for as long as two days.

The boy's attorney pointed out that Wilson had served 31 months for a crime that carries a maximum sentence of six months for adults.

Another youth, Carmen Tate, 16, spent 19 months at Sheridan and 8 months at other insti-

tutions for running away from home 3 years ago.

SHACKLE

Robert Earl Williams, 15, served 15 months for being truant from school while on probation. He testified that he was prohibited from attending classes at Sheridan.

Alton Stewart, 16, spent over 3 years in youth prisons for riding in a stolen car when he was 13. He pleaded guilty to that charge on the advice of a public defender.

The testimony put a magnifying glass over the attacks on all youth. The ruling class wants to shackle young people who rebel against the deadend future they face under capitalism. The courts and police are using the most brutal means to mold even the very young to the needs of capitalism.

LEADERSHIP

These youth must be given leadership through a fight to build a revolutionary youth movement.

Probe Reveals New York Police Corruption

BY ED SMITH

NEW YORK—A high powered drive to "reform" the police—i.e., to streamline and prepare them for massive repressive actions against the working class, has been underway in New York the past week.

Headed by a prominent Wall Street lawyer, the hearings of the "Knapp Commission" into police corruptions lay bare a vast underworld of graft, bribery, frameup and police-criminal collusion.

One Commission informant, Patrolman William R. Phillips, testified that "there wasn't a single plainclothesman in the city not on the take." A cop's illegal

income from "protection" of prostitution, gambling, and narcotics adds up to \$400 to \$1500 per month.

Pushers and brothel madams seem in particular to be generous in their support to their local police. Often enough their uniformed protectors were paid off in goods and services, the favors of prostitutes and supplies of heroin, to be planted later in frameups to pad out cops' arrest figures. Real pushers never had to worry about such matters, having the thousands of dollars necessary to buy off the police. This is really capitalist "law and order" in action!

Police Commissioner Murphy stated that he personally knew

a few policemen not on the take. The next day Albert Seedman, Chief of Detectives and the city's "model cop," was suspended pending investigation of his relationship with the New York Hilton Hotel. A few days later he was restored to his job, though there has been no word as to the results of the "investigation."

CONFIRMED

The Knapp Commission hearings have only confirmed what many know already. The police are maintained as an instrument of repression against the working class. This is their function and they cannot be "reformed" to do anything else. They enrich them-

selves by any means possible, even the most depraved.

We must note that this Commission expressed no interest in some of the cops' frameups, their persecutions of the Black Panthers, and murders of Black and Latin workers. No, this is one aspect of "police corruption" the Knapp Commission prefers to leave well enough alone.

The "guardians of law and order" are inextricably intertwined with the underworld—so much so they become indistinguishable from it. The interests of the bosses in all this is only to ensure that their guard dogs do not become too demoralized to carry out their murderous missions.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Smash The Freeze! All Out November 6!

As the end of Phase One of Nixon's wage freeze approaches, anger against the government and its attacks is mounting in the American working class. The November 6th demonstrations can play a decisive part in bringing forward this movement to stop Nixon's vicious plans to hamstring the unions and drive back the living standards of the entire working class under Phase Two.

Millions of workers are prepared to fight for their rights, their unions, and their wages. They are joined by the millions of youth who face a future of unemployment, repression and poverty.

The growing movement among the ranks of organized labor against the freeze found its expression in the statement last week by Paul Schrade, Regional Director of the UAW, that if Nixon and the Pay Board try to keep the workers from getting what they are owed, "there should be a general strike and a new labor party."

At the same time AFSCME in California has passed a resolution calling for no cooperation with the Pay Board and has joined the Illinois AFL-CIO in demanding a general strike against the wage freeze.

This gives a powerful lead to the rest of the labor movement.

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance have cemented their new "unity" in the anti-war movement on the basis of complete hostility to class action.

So far the CP has remained absolutely silent on Schrade's statement. The CP, as well as the SWP, is quite willing to support Schrade when he betrays his ranks but when he takes a step forward under the pressure of the ranks it is another story. Where do the CP and the SWP stand? Will they now fight to make Schrade carry out his threat?

In New York City last week the Stalinists called the cops to try to get a banner raised by the Workers League calling for a general strike against the freeze and the building of a labor party for '72 out of a demonstration against the freeze. The CP attacks the call for a general strike during the Newark teachers strike as "racist" and proposes instead that the working class put their faith in the capitalist politician Kenneth Gibson.

At the same time the SWP-YSA has fought tooth and nail to prevent a class program to fight the freeze and the war from being raised on Nov. 6th. They have opposed the demands for a general strike and the building of a labor party to the point of walking out of their own meeting.

This is why the Workers League is building an independent contingent for Nov. 6th. We say that the movement against the freeze is a movement of the working class and against the capitalist class.

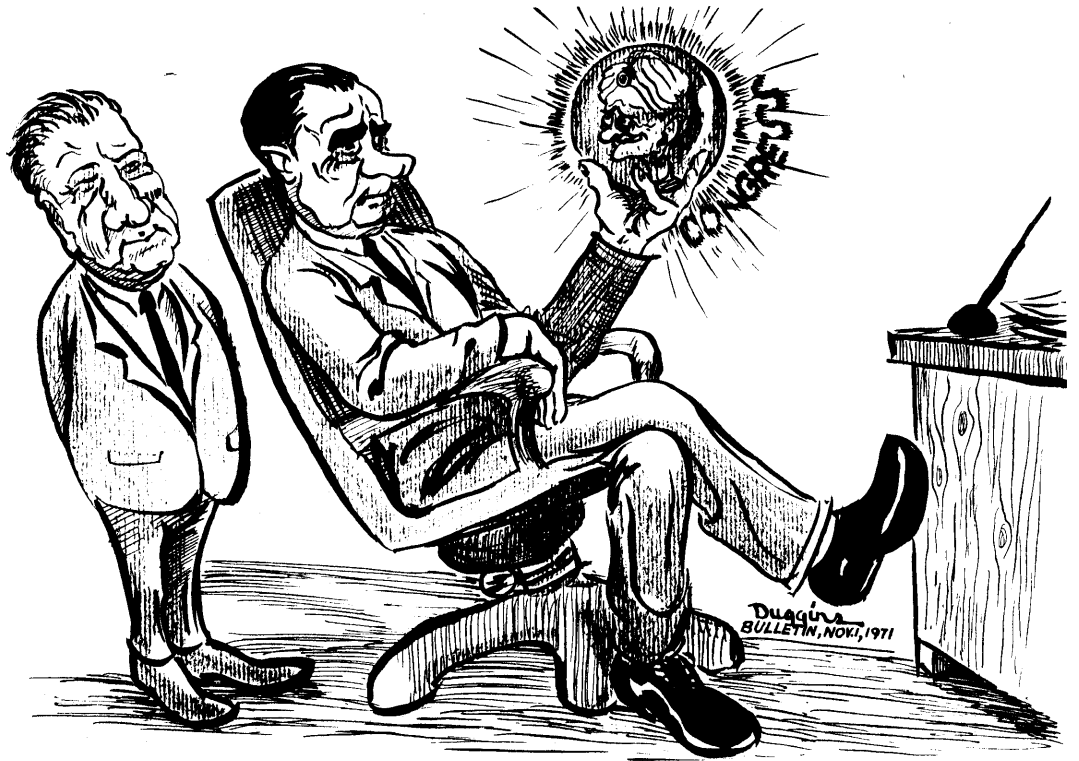
We say that the ranks of the UAW labor movement must now make Schrade live up to his threat and demand that the trade union leadership get off the Pay Board and demand it call a general strike on Nov. 12 to tell Nixon that labor will not stand for Phase Two. At the center of this fight must be the call for the building of a labor party to represent the interests of the workers, working people, the unemployed, the youth and minorities.

It is around this program that the students and youth must mobilize together with the trade unionists on November 6th. The youth can give a tremendous lead in this fight. Only through class action will Nixon be defeated, will the freeze, the war, and unemployment be stopped.

ALL OUT NOVEMBER 6th!

MARCH WITH THE WORKERS LEAGUE in New York, Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Minneapolis.

- Smash the wage freeze!
- No cooperation with control boards!
- Jobs for all—30 for 40!
- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina!
- Nationalization under workers control!
- Call a general strike for Nov. 12th!
- A Labor Party for '72!



"More power to freeze wages? Your wish is my command!"

Editor's Notebook

China Enters 'Den Of Thieves'

Premier Chou En-lai reportedly "beamed" as it was announced that China had been admitted to the United Nations. The Maoist leadership claimed that it was a "victory of the people of the whole world" as it celebrated at a lavish feast in honor of the Shah of Iran's birthday.

While there were protests in Washington about Taiwan's exclusion it is clear that this was a small price for US imperialism to pay for getting the cooperation of the Chinese Stalinists in its plan to attack the working class internationally.

While the Chinese bureaucrats

celebrated, not a word about this "victory" was reported to the Chinese masses. Only hours later was it announced on the Peking radio. No doubt these leaders understand that this is not going to sit well with the Chinese people who for so long have heard their leaders denounce the "running dogs of imperialism" in the U.N.

China's enthusiastic acceptance of a seat in the U.N. follows its whole recent history of treacherous betrayals. The Maoist leadership won its credentials for entry into this "kitchen of thieves," as Lenin once called such bodies, by supporting the crushing of the Ceylonese youth, by supporting the massacre of the Bengalis and the murders of the Sudanese Communist Party.

This is the fruit of the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" as the Chinese leadership takes

its seat to aid the imperialists in trying to crush the international socialist revolution.



Chou en-Lai greets Henry Kissinger as part of China's recent maneuvers with imperialism leading up to China's entry into the U.N.

Minutemen Go Scot Free

As the Supreme Court awaited the new right wing, anti-communist appointees, a lower court last week added weight to Nixon's plan to bolster the rightist forces in the U.S.

In New York charges were dropped against the ultra right wing Minutemen whose sole purpose for existence is the destruction of the working class and left wing movements.

Members of this organization which operates beyond the law were arrested in 1966 and charged with conspiracy to commit arson and endanger life in an attack

on camps run by left wing organizations. Rifles, pipe bombs, mortars and machine guns were seized during the arrest.

The courts have waited five years to bring this to trial under the guise that the arrest warrants were defective. Now the court has dismissed all charges and the Minutemen are free.

This follows on the heels of the moves by Attorney Justice Mitchell to get Meir Kahane and his neo-fascistic JDL off on similar charges.

It is clear that these armed

right wing gangs are now becoming very useful to the capitalist class as it goes to war with the working class.

George Jackson and Juan Farinas.

This is the real face of capitalist "justice" and "law and order." The government gives a blank check to the murderous activities of the Minutemen and the JDL while it murders George Jackson and tries to railroad Angela Davis to the gas chamber.

The Millionaires Reform

Sixty millionaires sat down to a steak dinner the other day at New York's exclusive "21 Club" to discuss "political reform."

These men always find time and money to fill their stomachs and dabble in politics. No doubt they had a few laughs over the fat profits they're making with the wage freeze. Their financial contributions to over a quarter of the campaigns, of course, assured this.

They didn't try to hide the fact that they are the ones who call

the tune when it comes to the policies of the government and the Democratic and Republican parties.

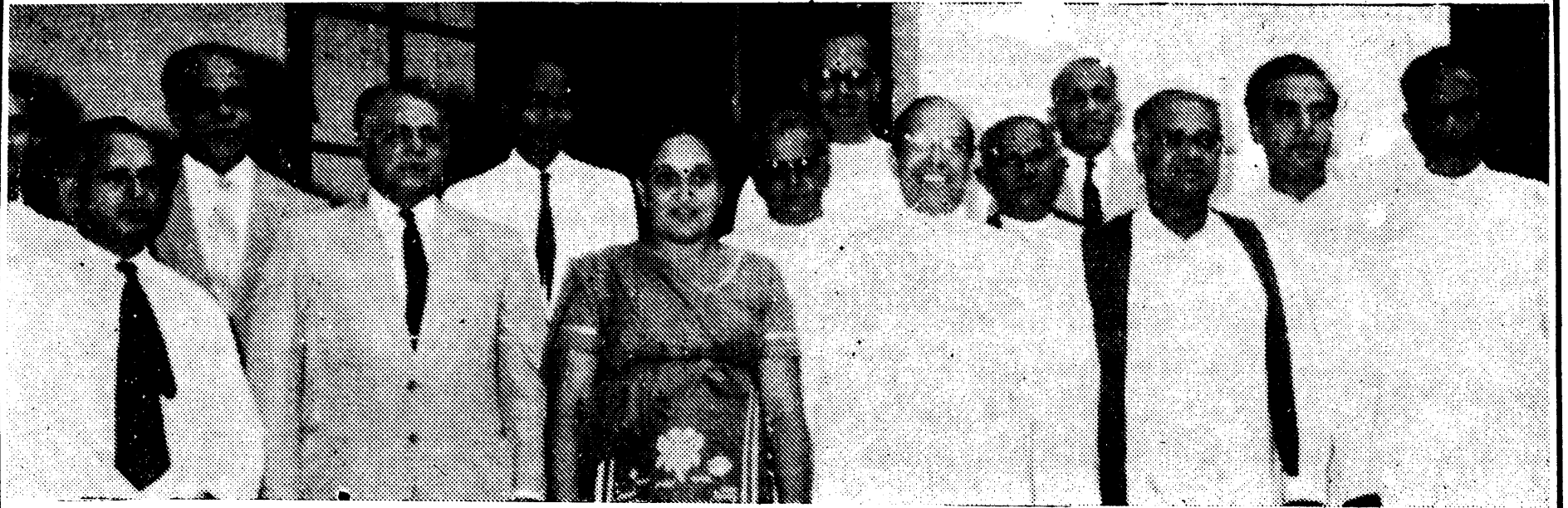
The organizer of this little meeting was none other than Howard Samuels, who now runs the city's Offtrack Betting Corporation. He was obviously doing some work for Lindsay's campaign there.

While there were a few Republican contributors there, most of these millionaires are the backer of the Democratic Party.

This gathering should make it clear exactly who owns the Democratic Party and to what class it owes its existence.

The great "political reforms" this group proposed, patting itself on the back for "taking on the Establishment," was to limit the campaign spending. They are quite confident of their control, and hope to save themselves a few of their pennies.

This is reformism all right and the millionaires are all for it.



The Struggle By Michael Ross for Trotskyism in Ceylon

PART THREE

THE BITTER REALITY OF COALITION POLITICS

CEYLON IN 1963 was marked by a continuation of the strike wave begun two years earlier. Beginning in January the Ceylon Transport Board (nationalized transport) was struck by unions under Lanka Sama Samaja Party and Communist Party leadership. This strike paralyzed all main road transport services.

The reaction of the liberal capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was to call in the army to drive the buses and scab on the drivers.

If anything was indicated by the strike wave it was that time was running out for the SLFP and the capitalist class in Ceylon. At no point in this period was the rightwing United National Party of Dudley Senanayake prepared to form a government. Nor could a coalition between the UNP or the SLFP, the dominant Sinhalese capitalist parties, with either of the Tamil capitalist parties, the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress have taken place without seriously affecting the relationships between the UNP and SLFP leaders and the extreme Sinhalese racist elements within their own ranks.

A coalition between the SLFP and the UNP was at that time also out of the question, as it would have exposed completely the fraudulent nature of Mrs. Bandaranaike's "smash the UNP" demagogy during elections.

Also out of the question was a coalition between the SLFP and Philip Gunawardena's MEP (Mahajand Eksath Peramuna - Peoples United Front). The right wing of the SLFP refused to work with Gunawardena; a coalition with him at the time would have meant the breakaway of a sizable section of the SLFP, when every vote for the government in Parliament was needed.

THE MOVE TOWARDS COALITION

So Mrs. Bandaranaike had only two choices left; either a move towards open dictatorship, placing greater and greater reliance on the army and police, OR—a coalition government with the major parties of the working class, the CP and especially the supposedly-Trotskyist LSSP. After much vacillating, she opted for this method as the best possible alternative.

The CP had always been willing to form a coalition government—in 1947 they had offered a coalition which included themselves—and the UNP!

The right wing of the LSSP, led by N.M. Perera and Anil Moonesinghe, also held a coalition perspective. The centrist section of the party, including the party's main political leaders, Dr. Colvin R. DeSilva and Leslie Goonewardene, were rapidly moving in this direction.

Only the left wing minority of the party, led by Edmund Samarakkody and Bala Tampoe, opposed the move towards coalition and projected a perspective of extra-parliamentary struggle.

If there was ever any chance for the course of the LSSP being turned around, it was now. And it is here that the revisionists led by Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel played their most despicable role, paving the way for a SLFP - LSSP coalition. The American Socialist Workers Party was also implicated in this, for their leadership knew what was going on, even while they were stampeding back to a reunification with Pablo.

It was now, in 1963, that several decisive events took place that were to destroy forever the possibility of the LSSP developing into a revolutionary party. Pablo, Mandel and the SWP were connected with all of these events.

These events were preceded by Pablo's final moves towards theoretical liquidation of the Trotskyist movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In the middle of 1962, writing a review of Franz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, Pablo expressed agreement with Fanon on the place of the working class in the colonial countries:

"The analysis which Fanon makes of the role of the urban proletariat can appear exaggerated to a European Marxist; however with qualifications it 'fits' well enough those countries with a weak industrial development."

Fanon had categorized the colonial working class as a privileged, protected and "bourgeois" stratum of the population. And with the workers out of the way, Pablo then informed his readers that:

"Thus the outbreak of the revolution in a number of countries of colonial and semi-colonial structure can be visualized by the union of a Jacobin leadership sui generis (unique leadership - MR), like the July 26 Movement or the Algerian leadership or the Angolan revolutionaries, with the masses impatient enough to be disposed to the direct armed action of the revolutionary peasantry."

Pablo's latest discovery was that the peasantry, not the working class, were the revolutionary class in the colonial countries, to be led to power by a "unique Jacobin leadership" of middle class intellectuals. And further it is asserted that:

"What is new for Revolutionary Marxism in relation to this experience is this: that we pass from the appreciation of the revolutionary role of the peasantry and the necessity of the workers and peasants alliance to the understanding of the possibility of beginning and carrying through for a whole period, the Revolution in a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries by the armed struggle of the revolutionary peasantry." (48)

By now Pablo and Mandel had become obsessed with the idea of a revolution in the backward countries without the building of a revolutionary party to lead it. The role of Trotskyists in these countries was reduced

to joining up with the middle class "unique Jacobin leadership." Pablo, along with his supporters such as Luftullah Solomon, promptly found posts for themselves in the new Ben Bella government in Algeria.

In addition, Pablo held down another job—that of ambassador to Algeria from the government of Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus. This was Pablo's reward for liquidation of the Cypriot Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist organizations on that island.

As far as the LSSP leadership, they saw this "Jacobin" leadership in Ceylon taking form in the SLFP, and to be consistent, shouldn't their role be to join in and speed up the process? If there was no need for a revolutionary party in Ceylon to achieve socialism, then the LSSP leaders of the right and center wings saw no course other than to join with these middle class nationalist (and capitalist) forces that could do the trick.

THE UNITED LEFT FRONT

Now came the decisive events of 1963:

In June, the Socialist Workers Party, although legally banned from direct affiliations internationally, gave its support to an unprincipled reunification between a small minority of the International Committee of the Fourth International and Pablo's International Secretariat, to form the United Secretariat.

Most dangerous to the situation in Ceylon were the perspectives the so-called "reunification" congress adopted. For the colonial countries, the revisionists reasoned, revolutionary parties were not essential because of the weaknesses of imperialism:

"The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power even with a blunted instrument." (49)

SWP leader James Cannon was later to give enthusiastic endorsement to this idea.

So much for the need for a revolutionary party in Ceylon. As for blunted instruments on the island, quite a few were around: the CP, the MEP, and maybe even the SLFP. What Pablo and Mandel's perspectives for the colonial countries did was to accelerate the degeneration of the LSSP, to turn it into a "blunted instrument."

This congress supported the LSSP leadership of Perera, DeSilva, and Goonewardene, who it praised as having:

"correctly raised the question of a United Left Front, both to arrest the movement to the right, and to help these masses to move towards an alternative left."

The United Left Front showed the complete lack of understanding by all of the LSSP and United Secretariat revisionists in regards to the question of a united front.

To begin with, a united front is an agreement between mass working class unions and parties for living standards of the working class. It does not refer to any sort of joint actions between small propaganda

groupings or to unity with non-working class organizations.

Revolutionary Marxists raise the demand for a united front of the working class organizations at specific times to both prepare the class to resist the attacks of the capitalist class and to expose the reformist and Stalinist leaders of the workers in the process. At no time is the united front meant to be the way in which the working class will seize power.

All of this was conveniently junked in Ceylon. What was now put together was a front along the line spelled out by DeSilva in 1948, and now revived with the blessings of Pablo and Mandel, a front of the "left" parties of the working class and of the middle class. What should have been clear by now was the class nature of the third element of the United Left Front, Philip Gunawardena's MEP. Maintaining a dwindling base among the Sinhalese workers in Colombo and a few other centers, the MEP's degeneration from working class politics had proceeded rapidly since its adoption of the racist demand of Sinhala Only in 1955. With only the vestiges of a working class program remaining, Gunawardena's party had degenerated into a middle-class party with support among a politically backward and racist section of Sinhalese workers. Gunawardena's real program by this time had become that of a raving racist and religious bigot, with his main demand being that the Tamil people be driven out of Ceylon.

With this man, however, the Stalinist and LSSP leaders were quite willing to coalesce.

To precede the formal creation of the United Left Front, the LSSP, CP and MEP held a united May Day rally in Colombo in 1963. At this massive rally of over 100,000 workers, praised uncritically by the SWP and the United Secretariat, it was conveniently forgotten to touch on the speech of Philip Gunawardena. With a slip of the tongue, he referred to the Tamil people as a "race" and then apologized and corrected himself to say "nation." To have referred to them as a "race" would have meant the most blatant exposure of his party's racism, and a denial of the right of self-determination to the Tamil minority on the island. But his real position was exposed when his supporters chanted back "not nation, race." No criticism of this was made by the CP or LSSP speakers, who sat silent on the platform as this was going on.

Further, it was at the insistence of Philip Gunawardena that the leaders of the Tamil Indian plantation workers unions were not invited to address the rally. This point is the only area of criticism that Mandel makes of this rally, not the fact that the LSSP showed itself willing to openly unite with racist elements.

The whole business of the United Left Front had marked a sharp change in the official policy of the LSSP leadership. On July 7, 1963, their Central Committee had adopted a perspective of a United Front with the working class organizations and parties aimed at mobilizing the working class against the SLFP government and all forces of capitalist reaction.

Three days later, 3,000 textile workers at the Wellawatte Mills, under LSSP leadership, struck work and moved into a head-on confrontation with the Bandaranaike wage freeze. And once again the LSSP leaders sought an "escape situation."

In less than a month, the party had the United Left Front thrust upon it by its leaders. The August 4 Central Committee meeting, which adopted the United Left Front perspective, rejected (14 for, 23 against, 2 abstentions) a resolution by the left wing introduced by Bala Tampoe:

"The Central Committee rejects the document for a United Left Front which the negotiating committee consisting of Comrades Leslie Goonewardene, N.M. Perera and Colvin R. DeSilva have accepted in consultation with the MEP and the CP.

"The CC further censures the negotiating committee for its acceptance of this document since it is materially different in regard to aim and programmatic content even from that which the CC adopted by a majority vote on 7.7.63."

If anyone should have been in a united front of the working class, it should have been the Tamil Indian plantation workers unions, the Democratic Workers Congress and the Ceylon Workers Congress. But again the LSSP leaders acceded to Gunawardena and excluded them.

The United Left Front was signed, sealed and delivered on August 12, 1963. And so the tenth anniversary of the great hartal became the preparation for the greatest of betrayals. Despite all of the attempts of the United Secretariat to make this into a great victory for the working class, the agreement did stipulate, among other things, that:

1. The reactionary Soulbury constitution was only to be modified, not abrogated.
2. No challenge to Ceylonese capitalist ownership in industry, commerce and the plantations.
3. Tamil was not to be made an official language. Nor was any action to be taken against the racist citizenship laws, making most plantation workers stateless.
4. No action to be taken to smash the army and police forces of the capitalist state and the creation of a workers militia.

This whole United Left Front business was really a parliamentary perspective for power. All of Mandel's criticisms of the United Left Front find ways of

skirting around this.

The crucial thing was not that the United Left Front included the MEP, excluded the DWC and CWC, or that the LSSP leaders refrained from criticizing the opportunist policies of the CP and MEP. What was crucial was the entrance of the LSSP into the United Left Front, whereby it exchanged its political independence for the most rotten compromise with middle-class and Stalinist allies.

It was through the cover of the United Left Front that a coalition with Mrs. Bandaranaike was prepared. How could one expect otherwise, with the LSSP's other two partners in the Front already committed to a coalition?

Although the plantation workers' unions had been excluded from the United Left Front, they did come together with the other trade unions and labor federations on September 29 in Colombo, where 800 delegates representing one and one half million workers formed the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations (JCTUO) around a 21 point program of demands on wages, hours, sick leave, housing and rent allowances, holidays, pensions, etc.

Also included were demands for an end to language discrimination in jobs and equal wages for women.

To fight for these demands and carry them through



Bala Tampoe, head of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and leader of the Ceylonese LSSP(R). would mean the end of the Bandaranaike government and of capitalism on the island.

It is here that the United Left Front leaders came forward to divert this struggle into safe, parliamentary channels.

What the decisive question now became was, who in the LSSP was the United Secretariat supporting? The right wing around Perera, the centrists around Goonewardene, DeSilva, Soysa and DeSouza or the left wing led by Tampoe and Samarakkody? We find that Pablo, Mandel and Co. try to blur this over more than anything.

Pierre Frank tells us on the one hand that the United Secretariat:

"In opposition to the proposal for a coalition with a bourgeois party, advocated the positive slogan of a workers and peasants government, and did this in the concrete instance by suggesting that as against a coalition with the SLFP, the Trotskyists should advance the formula of a government of the United Left Front." (50)

Expounding further, he states that:

"It happens to be a matter of public record that the Fourth International opposed any coalition whatsoever with the SLFP and supported the left-wing tendency...." and again that "the left wing has been conducting its struggle for the past year in consultation with the United Secretariat." (51)

The real feelings of the LSSP's left wing on the United Left Front were spelled out by Edmund Samarakkody:

"Then came the other fraud perpetrated on this country and the working class movement with due respect to my Friend the hon. Member for Kottawa (Leslie Goonewardene—MR). They said 'We have now to replace the SLFP Government: the left forces must get together and form a united front to overthrow the SLFP Government and the capitalist forces of reaction.' They started with that talk and the hon. Member for Dehiwala—Mt. Lavinia (Colvin R. DeSilva—MR) came to the polit-bureau of the party, of which I was a member. His position was that the united front we should form should include the LSSP, the Communist Party, the MEP, the CWC, the DWC and the working-class organizations in order to overthrow this Government and the forces of capitalist reaction. That was the picture he painted to our party.

"Having painted that picture, when it came to the question of forming the United Left Front the CWC, the DWC and the working class organizations were omitted. The aims of the United Left Front have been very clearly stated in the agreement. Vested interests in this country were alarmed that the left forces were getting ready to overthrow them and the Government, and even the Government got alarmed at it.

"This is the aim of the United Left Front. I am reading from the agreement. You will find the hon. Member for Avissawella, the hon. Member for Akuressa, the hon. Member for Yatiyantota (Gunawardena, Wickremasinghe and Perera—MR) who is now the Minister of Finance, all on the front page. According to this

document one of the aims of the United Left Front is as follows:

"In accordance with the needs of this situation and in response to this mass urge, the Ceylon Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna have agreed to form a United Left Front in order to mobilize and lead all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and socialist forces in Ceylon in the fight to establish a government that will give effect to the following general programme."

There was to be no fight against the SLFP Government and against the capitalist class.

"Shortly after that I prepared a small document, 'Whither the LSSP—the implications of the United Left Front.' This document is known to hon. Members who have now crossed over. We warned the party as best we could that the aim behind this move was a final coalition with the SLFP Government." (52)

THE ROLE OF THE REUNIFICATION OF 1963

In order to understand the real relationship between the United Secretariat and the various wings of the LSSP one must turn to the question of the Reunification of 1963 and its aftermath. At the same time this will expose the relationship of the SWP as well to the greatest betrayal of Trotskyism which was about to transpire.

The reunification between the SWP supported rump group from the International Committee and the Pabloite International Secretariat, which took place in the summer of 1963, was of fundamental importance for the fate of the LSSP. On the one hand the reunification sealed the doom of the LSSP as any kind of revolutionary formation and on the other hand its entry into a coalition government was the clearest reflection of the meaning of the reunification.

Above all it must be understood that the reunification took place on the basis of a general agreement NOT to discuss the Ceylon question. This agreement was part of a whole approach which said that the history of the Fourth International, particularly the history of the struggle against revisionism, could not be discussed. Reunification would take place on agreement on current "reality"—particularly the "Marxist" character of Castro and Cuba. Nothing, of course, could have suited the opportunists of the LSSP better.

If there is any doubt on this then the situation was made crystal clear in a factional struggle then being waged between a majority around Mandel and Maitan and a minority headed by Michel Pablo. Pablo's main position was one of open support to the Kremlin against the Chinese on the ground that the Kremlin represented "destalinization." In addition he favored a more open guerilla course in Latin America. But to cover it all up he and his supporters began to pick at Mandel's support for the LSSP. By so doing he let the cat out of the bag.

Pablo supporter Anderson put forward a motion at the December 22, 1963 meeting of the United Secretariat stating in part:

"The Minority tendency members of the United Secretariat consider the actions, letters and documents of the Majority of the United Secretariat on the ULF in Ceylon as contrary in essence to the Open Letter of the 7th World Congress of the 4th International to the LSSP. We therefore:

"1. Censure the non-publication, internally or externally, of the letter of the 7th World Congress, and demand its immediate publication internally and in the next publication of the FI, QI and CI,

"2. Protest the alterations made by the Bureau of the United Secretariat in the letter approved by the 7th World Congress, which softens its criticisms of the LSSP Majority,

"3. Protest at the scandalous support given to the ULF in the Resolution sent on the occasion of the establishment of the ULF, which is contrary to the line of the 7th World Congress, and also particularly protest at its publication in the last QI before the publication of the letter of the Congress,

"4. Demand the rapid publication of a dossier of all documents on the ULF, as agreed unanimously at the September meeting of the Un. Sec. and which has so far not been published." (53)

The United Secretariat wrote a lengthy answer turning down each proposal of Anderson's. First it made clear that its approach to the LSSP flows from its whole approach to reunification, and thus of course the complete implication of the SWP in the entire situation:

"As for the more or less political charges involved in the motion submitted by Comrade Anderson, a glaring omission should be noted. He cites the Seventh World Congress but leaves out the following Reunification Congress in which he nonetheless participated and approved.

"The Reunification Congress placed with the united new leadership the responsibility of doing everything in its power to cement the ties re-established after a long split and to work for fresh cohesion and stability in the world Trotskyist movement. This required a certain organizational relaxation for a period and a serious effort to ameliorate internal disputes in the various sections and in the components of the united movement—especially disputes inherited from the past—in order to help every area in the common problem of making a fresh start. All this was explained and

agreed upon unanimously by the delegates who participated in the Reunification Congress." (54)

So there was to be no discussion of "disputes inherited from the past" like Pabloism in general and more specifically the LSSP's long history of opportunism which was at this very moment preparing it to be the first party, calling itself Trotskyist, to enter a bourgeois government. On this basis the United Secretariat made clear its real relationship with Perera, DeSilva and others in the leadership of the LSSP.

"The United Secretariat 'in essence,' as Comrade Anderson puts it, has not modified in the least its criticisms of the LSSP made by the Seventh World Congress. What it has done is to place confidence in the capacity of the leadership of the LSSP to prove responsive to these criticisms." (55)

So much for all of Mandel's talk about its unswerving support for the left wing in the LSSP. Within just a few months of the actual entry into the government, Mandel and Co. were placing their confidence in Perera and friends! But, of course, it states that the United Secretariat's members:

"...Tend to sympathize politically with the left wing of the LSSP." (56)

Confidence is given to the right wing leadership and sympathy is given, more accurately tended to be given, to the left wing. The document then proceeds to differentiate itself from the left wing on the question of the United Left Front. Its position is:

"In and of itself the formation of the United Left Front cannot be condemned; under certain conditions it could prove to be the opening of new developments fraught with revolutionary possibilities." (57)

In the back of its mind was its interpretation of Cuba and Algeria. Then it notes that the left wing had:

"...Taken the view that the majority of the leadership are engaging in reality in an unprincipled electoral bloc. The majority, however, dispute this." (58)

Where did the United Secretariat stand on this? Did they side with those they "tend" to sympathize with?

"...The United Secretariat feels that it would be wrong for it as a body representing the movement as a whole to brush aside the declaration of the majority of the LSSP leadership and refuse to grant them the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand in relation to the United Left Front and the good faith of their assurances." (59)

They granted to Perera the time necessary to prepare his entry into the Bandaranaike government! Finally it urges that no serious struggle take place within the LSSP in order to preserve unity at all costs with the Perera opportunists. It attacks Anderson's proposals stating:

"It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism; secondly to exacerbate matters still further by transferring the dispute to the public arena. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the United Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP." (60)

Such was the real stand of Mandel and Hansen on the eve of the greatest betrayal of Trotskyism in history. Such is the relationship between this betrayal and the reunification of 1963.

THE CRISIS DEEPENS

It was the increased sharpness of the class struggle that sped up the move of the LSSP right and center leaders and quickly brought things to a head.

This struggle came out the sharpest in two events. Beginning in November, 1963, and continuing into January, 1964, 13,000 harbor workers in Colombo, led by Bala Tampoe's Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) took strike action to break the wage freeze of the Bandaranaike government. After 66 days the government intervened saying "return to work or else" and insisting that no more concessions would be made. But the CMU leadership held on, decided not to collaborate with Bandaranaike, and by January 12, had won a decisive political and economic victory.

So shaken was the government by the union's victory that Mrs. Bandaranaike shut down Parliament.

The crisis was being reflected in another war, inside the Ceylon Communist Party, an organization which had held solid during even the most desperate crises of world Stalinism, during the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian and Polish revolutions in 1956. The LSSP had not made one gain from the CP during this crisis—the LSSP leaders saw this as some sort of a virtue.

But now the crisis of Stalinism was reflected in the disputes between the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China, and this forced a quick polarization in the ranks and leadership of the Ceylonese Stalinists. A minority of that party's central committee, led by N. Sanmugathasan and Premalal Kumarasiri, both important trade union leaders, supported the Chinese on all the disputed issues. The majority of pro-Moscow Stalinists, led by Wickremasinghe and Keuneman then cut short what little discussion was possible in a Stalinist party, expelling Sanmugathasan and suspending Kumarasiri on October 27, 1963. They removed many of their supporters

from all responsible posts several weeks earlier in that month. In a blatantly racist move, only the Tamil supporters of the Chinese positions were at first purged.

The ousted pro-Chinese Stalinists quickly reorganized their own "Communist Party of Ceylon" and convened a special congress. In a public appeal to the members of the pro-Moscow party, signed by 118 pro-Chinese members, including leaders of trade unions, factory branches, youth and women's organizations, district committees etc., they charged the Wickremasinghe-Keuneman regime, among other things, with:

"6. Opposition to and refusal to lead workers' struggle, particularly the betrayal of the CTB strike of January-February 1963 and the present reluctance to organize a national struggle around the 21 demands approved by the All-Island Congress of Trade Unions.

"7. Exclusive reliance on the parliamentary method as the means of winning power peacefully for the working class and a refusal to prepare the working class and gather all revolutionary forces for a possibility of the non-peaceful transition to socialism.

"8. Failure to organize the peasantry.

"9. Failure to provide Party members and the working class with Marxist education; failure to translate sufficient number of Marxist classics into Sinhalese.

"10. Failure to produce a daily working-class newspaper.

"11. Attempting to disrupt mass organizations and fronts under the leadership of the Party.

"12. Resorting to communal propaganda to discredit and isolate comrades fighting for revolutionary principles." (61)

If anything, however, was revealed by the split inside the Ceylonese Stalinist movement, it was just how the United Secretariat had disoriented the LSSP, especially its left wing. Every faction of the LSSP was paralyzed by the CP's crisis, was unable to intervene for one moment in it.

For instance, left wing LSSP central committee member Sydney Wanasinghe, writing about the split to the American Socialist Workers Party, now firmly



Revolutionary minority delegates at the conference.

in the Pabloite fold, treats the situation as a commentator writing from afar:

"The Ceylon Communist Party, which did not register even the slightest impact of events like the Hungarian Revolution, Poznan and the Twentieth Congress, has cracked wide open in the current crisis facing the international communist movement." (62)

Why not even the "slightest impact" from the events in 1956 is never touched upon. Wanasinghe cites the charges quoted above against the pro-Moscow Stalinist leadership without comment, and then smugly goes on to tell his readers that:

"The bankruptcy of the leadership is seen from their helpless attitude of allowing things to pass by without intervening. They cannot afford to intervene because that will only strengthen the tide against them." (63)

Wanasinghe might as well have been talking about the leadership of the LSSP, who were guilty of many of the same charges.

So the leaders of the LSSP and the United Secretariat must take some of the responsibility for the development on the island of a virulent pro-Chinese Stalinist and anti-Trotskyist movement. Reviewing a biography of the pro-Moscow leader Pieter Keuneman several years later, a writer for the English journal of the pro-Chinese CP stated that:

"Another significant omission is the lack of any reference to the great fight put up by the Communist Party, from its inception, to the counter-revolutionary philosophy of Trotskyism. This is one of the few good things done by the Party. The Communist Party was born with the name of Stalin on its lips as it was founded by men who had been expelled from the LSSP which had embraced Trotskyism." (64)

It is significant that Mandel had almost nothing to say about the split in the Ceylon Communist Party.

Now, with the split in the CP, the victory of the CMU over the government, the shutting down of Parliament, the crisis in Ceylon was reaching a fever pitch.

And along came the United Secretariat leaders, still pushing the United Left Front, to further disorient the left wing of the LSSP they so lyingly claimed to

support.

They took further steps to obscure the class nature of the middle-class nationalist governments in the semi-colonial countries. In February, 1964, the Ben Bella regime in Algeria was awarded the title of "Workers and Peasants Government" by the United Secretariat.

But if a workers and peasants government could be formed in Algeria without any representatives of independent workers and peasants organizations, and moreover on the basis of the suppression of the Algerian Communist Party and the tying of the unions to the state apparatus, then what could one say against Mrs. Bandaranaike?

The answer to that question was becoming pretty obvious.

THE LEFT WING

At the same time that the LSSP left wing was trying to carry on a principled political struggle against the opportunists around Perera and Moonesinghe, they were not without their own weaknesses, weaknesses which definitely hindered them in this struggle.

To begin with, the left wing in the party had basic agreement with the centrists and right wing as to the extremely parochial nature they conceived of a socialist revolution in Ceylon as having. Revolution in Ceylon was seen as apart from the effect it would have throughout the Indian subcontinent. Samarakkody put out a two-part article on just this subject. (65)

But the greatest weakness of the LSSP's left wing was its failure to understand where the United Secretariat was leading it. It was the Secretariat's repeated endorsement of the United Left Front, despite occasional criticisms, that did the most to disorient the left wing. Samarakkody and other left-wing leaders knew this Front was a fraud and would pave the way for a coalition government. But their inability to see in the revisionism of Pablo and Mandel the source of this disorientation was what made the left wing incapable of decisively defeating the right wing in the party.

Mandel and Frank today are doing everything in their power to obscure how the United Left Front paved the way for a coalition government. While actually supporting the greatest promoters of this Front, Goonewardene and DeSilva, they now pretend to be the backers of the left wing. Long after their own creation blew up in their faces, they are still trying to deny their responsibility.

Now the trade unions, through the JCTUO, organized a massive rally in Colombo on March 21, 1964, in support of the 21 demands. Over 40,000 workers from all over the island massed on the Galle Face to hear leaders of all of their unions and parties, including Aziz and Thondamam of the plantation workers unions, call for a fight to the finish around the 21 demands.

For the first time in the island's history, the plantation workers and the working class in the cities and towns were united in action. Had the LSSP been a revolutionary party, they would have begun the organization of an insurrection to seize power.

PREPARATION FOR ENTRY

But by now, the United Secretariat's perspective of a United Left Front government had done its dirty work. Late in the evening of March 21, N.M. Perera, who had presided at the JCTUO rally, slipped through the servant's entrance to Temple Trees, the Prime Minister's official residence, to begin negotiations for a coalition government.

By the end of the month, the secret was out in the open, with the United Left Front leaders publicly agreeing to cooperate with the government and discuss the possibility of a coalition government. (66)

On March 16 further action had been taken in this direction, when the annual LSSP youth conference purged all left wing supporters from leadership positions. (67)

But Perera was still in trouble. Only a small minority of the LSSP's Political Bureau initially favored the idea of coalition, with the right wingers realizing that they would have to make partial concessions to the centrists around Goonewardene and DeSilva to get their support, as these centrists had originally held a negative view of the whole coalition idea. (68)

So Perera took his fight into the Central Committee, where 14 members had signed a left wing statement opposing coalition. With three members absent and one abstaining, coalition was rejected, 22-19. (69)

Perera then succeeded in organizing a second Central Committee meeting, where, by making concessions to Goonewardene and DeSilva (agreeing to make additional demands on the SLFP Government as the price of coalition), got their support and the Central Committee passed a coalition resolution with only twelve votes against. The Central Committee then summoned a special party conference to ratify this decision and elect a Central Committee more adaptable to Mrs. Bandaranaike. (72)

The handwriting was now on the wall for the United Secretariat. The leadership of the LSSP had unconditionally capitulated to Mrs. Bandaranaike.

If anyone understood this the best, it was Mrs. Bandaranaike. Speaking to the SLFP executive committee on May 10, she said:

"After July 1960, after I was made President of

the party on the invitation of Mr. C.P. De Silva and other well wishers, the SLFP was able to form a Government winning 75 seats in alliance with the Left parties, except the MEP. What is the real significance of this?—We who got 46 in March got 75 in July because we got the support of the left. This must be admitted honestly. If by any chance we got less than 75 seats those parties who supported us in the election would have had a place in forming the Government.

"However, after forming the Government we had to face certain questions. The leftists who worked with us began a series of strikes because they did not get a place in the government. In the North, while there were communal issues flaring up, there were various other issues cropping up on the language question, too.

"Though it is true that we faced this bravely, in the light of my experience, I must remind you of something. However much progressive work we do, we cannot expect any results unless we get the co-operation of the working class. This could be understood if the working of the Port and of other nationalised undertakings are considered. We cannot go backwards. We must go forward. Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows must be eliminated and the development of the country must proceed.

"Some people have various ideas on these subjects. Some feel that these troubles can be eliminated by the establishment of a dictatorship. Others say that workers should be made to work at the point of gun and bayonet. Still others maintain that a national Government should be formed to solve this problem. I have considered these ideas separately and in the context of world events.

"My conclusion is that none of these solutions will help to get us where we want to go. Therefore, what we should do is to travel on the path defined by our leader in accordance with our conscience. It is only by travelling this path whilst considering the changes that have taken place in our country that we can achieve our purpose.

"Therefore, gentlemen, I decided to initiate talks with the leaders of the working class, particularly Mr. Philip Gunawardena and Dr. N.M. Perera. Though both of them expressed their opinion, I must say that I did not agree with all they said. I then had further discussions on outstanding issues.

"Can we form a coalition government? If so, how could this be done? These are the questions we considered. Afterwards they informed me that they could form a Government on the basis of a common programme like the 1956 agreement binding on the constituent parties of the MEP. They were of the opinion that it was a government like this which could work for the common weal." (70)

Truly, one of the most thoughtful and revealing statements of a ruling class in its deepest crisis.

ROLE OF UNITED SECRETARIAT

So where did this leave the leaders of the United Secretariat, who were belatedly recognizing the direction in which their own creation was stampeding?

They had no intention of allowing their strongest affiliate to join in to what every political observer could recognize was a liberal capitalist government. But the actions they were to take did nothing to prevent this from happening.

No one could say they hadn't been warned. The Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International, and a leading member of the International Committee, had recognized the direction the LSSP was headed in since the late 1950s.

They publicly, on many occasions, warned the International Secretariat and the LSSP of its course, especially from the time the LSSP parliamentary fraction voted for the speech from the throne in 1960.

As the SWP reunified with the Pabloites in 1963, the SLL sent the SWP national committee a letter warning them what they were getting into. After a brief discussion and criticism of the LSSP's capitulation to Philip Gunawardena at the 1963 May Day meeting, they added:

"It is now freely admitted in the LSSP that the leaders are prepared to make real and large concessions on the question of parity of status for Tamil and Sinhalese. This is the logic of the capitulation which has led them to support the capitalist government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. You should have told your membership that N.M. Perera, Anil Moonesinghe and other leaders of the LSSP are practising Buddhists who worship regularly at the temples." (71)

So what did the United Secretariat do? First they sent the LSSP leaders a letter on April 23, 1964 opposing Perera's coalition proposal and stating that:

"Any form of coalition with such a party, as long as it remains the dominant majority within such a coalition, can only lead to the immobilization of the left in advance and its becoming itself a target for the growing resentment of the masses." (72)

But this meant that a coalition with the SLFP with that party in a minority was not ruled out. But would the class nature of the government be any different? We do not have to look too far to find out. Today in the Federal Republic of Germany, the government is a coalition of the reformist Social Democratic Party (SPD) of Willy Brandt and the Liberal capitalist Free Democratic Party (FPD), with the SPD holding the dominant number of posts in the

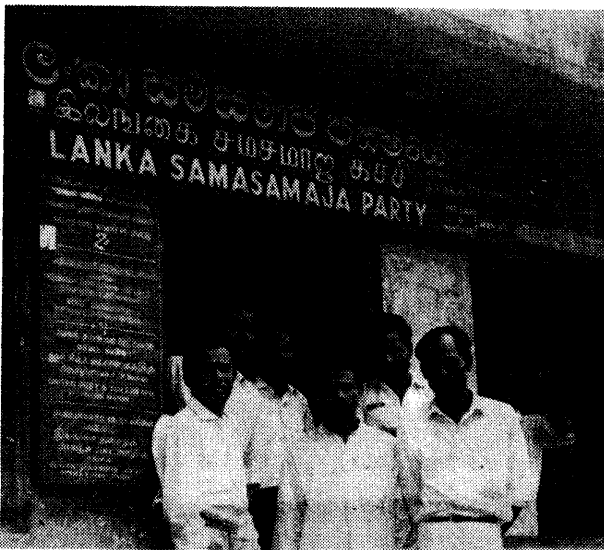
government. But what we have here is not a working class government with a few liberals thrown in for window dressing, but a working class party, collaborating with a liberal party in administering a capitalist government. The United Secretariat saw nothing wrong with such a situation in Ceylon if the LSSP would dominate the coalition.

They further warned the LSSP:

"Not to undertake a step which would be utter betrayal and counterposing to the idea of coalition with a bourgeois party the correct perspective of a united front government of all working class parties based on a socialist program. The Plenum of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International (the centrist fraud that Mandel tries to pass off as the Fourth International—MR) held in May, 1964 unanimously endorsed this stand." (73)

Therefore, the United Secretariat was continuing to foist the policy of a United Left Front government on the LSSP. And very significantly, among those voting "unanimously" on Mandel's Executive Committee for this resolution were—Leslie Goonewardene and Colvin DeSilva.

So instead of taking disciplinary action against the right wing and suspending or expelling their key leaders on the spot for such treachery as proposing a coalition government, the United Secretariat gave Perera's new-found allies, DeSilva and Goonewardene, several weeks precious time. They used this time to further disorient their party, having unanimous United Secretariat support to back them up on the United Left Front perspective that the left wing of the LSSP characterized as a "fraud" and the first step towards a coalition government.



Members of the LSSP(R) at their headquarters.

LSSP SPECIAL CONFERENCE

Time was running out for the United Secretariat as the LSSP special conference approached. So in desperation, they stuck Pierre Frank on a plane for Colombo, with instructions to speak against the coalition at the conference.

This he did. But the crucial thing is, what did he speak for? Let us remember what he said a bit earlier in this article, that the United Secretariat:

"—both before and during the conference—in opposition to the proposal for a coalition with a bourgeois party, advocated the positive slogan of a workers and peasants government, and did this in the concrete instance by suggesting that as against a coalition with the SLFP, the Trotskyists should advance the formula of a government of a United Left Front." (74)

Perera could not have asked for more.

If the situation inside the LSSP was ever to be revealed, it was from the three resolutions submitted to the special conference. The resolution of Perera's, openly calling for a coalition government, picked up Goonewardene's old formula of the SLFP as a "centre" party:

"Admittedly the leadership had feudal connections, but from the policy that was followed since July, 1960 it is clear that the main pressure on the government has been from the lower middle class and to some extent even from the working class. In fact the SLFP has shed some of the more reactionary elements that existed from 1956 to 1960, and being a center party, it has vacillated, sometimes moving to the right, and sometimes moving to the left. But the overall drive has been a steady movement leftwards."

This document also had some revealing words on the United Left Front and what it led to:

"The ULF was formed after prolonged negotiations in the midst of misgivings and opposition from some sections of the party. The tremendous enthusiasm with which the ULF was received, helped to dissipate doubts about the value and usefulness of the ULF as an organization to fight the menace of reaction. The ULF began to be projected as the only alternative force capable of forming a government opposed to the UNP."

Where did the SLFP fit into this? This capitalist party was not to be characterized as such or as one of the forces of reaction, but instead:

"Members of the SLFP both inside and outside parlia-

ment began to consider the ULF as the coming force to stem the tide of reaction." (75)

So the perspective had been to get the SLFP into the United Left Front all along.

The resolution of the left wing, which Pierre Frank lyingly claims to have supported, significantly omitted any mention of a United Left Front government.

If Frank and Mandel got their biggest shock of the conference, it was not from Perera but from the resolution of the centrists around Goonewardene and DeSilva, on whom the revisionists had staked their last hopes. They took the United Left Front perspective to its consistent conclusion, and called for a coalition between the SLFP and the United Left Front!

Then the vote was taken. The minority position was put first, receiving 159 votes, about one quarter of the total. Determined not to be a party to a vote for the coalition proposals of either Perera or Goonewardene, the left wing walked out.

The centrist resolution received 75 votes, with Perera's getting 507. And some 50 of the votes for the centrist resolution also went to Perera.

Finally, some four years too late, the United Secretariat on June 22nd voted to expel Perera, Moonesinghe, and Cholmondely Goonewardene who had accepted ministries in Mrs. Bandaranaike's government and suspended the other 504 who had voted for Perera's resolution.

But they still kept their foot in the door, refusing at that time to expel the group around Goonewardene and DeSilva, which remained in the LSSP when it entered the coalition.

The minority, reorganized as the LSSP(Revolutionary), was recognized as the new affiliate of the United Secretariat.

This overwhelming conference vote for the resolution of Perera showed exactly where the United Secretariat's perspectives led. As one leader of the Fourth International wrote shortly after the fatal June 7 conference:

"However, Dr. N.M. Perera now on the way to becoming Finance Minister, had no difficulty in leading a party which by now had become so thoroughly confused, corrupted and betrayed by the United Secretariat in Paris as well as its rotten leadership such as Goonewardene and DeSilva that it went the whole hog and gave him a massive majority." (76)

FOOTNOTES

48. "Colonials and Europeans" by Michel Pablo, Fourth International, Paris, May-June 1962
49. Dynamics of World Revolution Today, The Workers Vanguard Publishing Association, Toronto, 1964, p. 5
50. "The Wearing Out of a Revolutionary Leadership" by Pierre Frank, World Outlook, Vol. II, #28, July 17, 1964, p. 36
51. Ibid., p. 35
52. Samarakkody, op. cit., pp. 41-42
53. "Motion on Ceylon Submitted by Anderson," International Information Bulletin, May, 1964—I Socialist Workers Party, New York, p. 47
54. "Statement by United Secretariat on Anderson's Motion Concerning Ceylon," op. cit., p. 48
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 49
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. "To All Marxist-Leninists Inside the Ceylon Communist Party," Peking Review, Vol. VI, #50, December 13, 1963, pp. 16-17
62. "Split in Ceylon Communist Party," International Socialist Review, New York, Winter, 1964, p. 2
63. Ibid., p. 31
64. "Portrait of a Renegade," Red Flag, Vol. I, #37, Colombo, November 9, 1967, p. 10
65. "Dynamics of the Ceylon Revolution," by Edmund Samarakkody, Young Socialist #'s 11 and 12, Colombo, 1964
66. New York Times, March 31, 1964, p. 3
67. Ceylon Observer, March 16, 1964
68. Ceylon Daily News, April 4, 1964
69. Ceylon Observer, May 8, 1964
70. Ibid., May 11, 1964
71. Fourth International, Vol. II, #1, Summer, 1965, London, p. 36, letter dated June 12, 1963
72. See "From Wavering" op. cit., p. 116, note 15 for the substance of this letter
73. Ibid., p. 116
74. cf. note 50
77. "Behind the Ceylon Coalition" by G. Healy, The Newsletter, July 4, 1964, Socialist Labour League, London

FILMS

LOU BELKIN



SACCO AND VANZETTI. Directed by Giuliano Montaldo. Photographer, Silvano Ippoliti. Screenplay by Fabrizio Onofri and Mr. Montaldo. Starring Gian Maria Volonte, Riccardo Cucciola, Cyril Cusack, Milo O'Shea, Geoffrey Keen, William Prince.

On May 5, 1920, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, anarchists and immigrants from Italy, were arrested by police for "suspicious conduct." Six months earlier they had been picked up during the hysterical witchhunt known as the Palmer Raids.

John Palmer was Attorney General during the Coolidge Administration. In the wake of the October Revolution, the revolutionary events in Germany, Italy and Ireland, the Boston General Strike of 1919, he instituted a campaign of terror against the American trade union movement, socialists and immigrant workers. Socialist and Communist leaders were hounded, shot and thrown out windows. Eugene Debs, Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, Frank Little and others were jailed. But the question of simply deporting aliens or shooting down militants became, in time, somewhat offensive to liberal circles. Palmer lost his job after the 1920 presidential elections, and the unions and whole sections of the intelligentsia began opposing the methods of terror. New means had to be found for the witchhunt, means which were candy-coated with respectability, morality, fair play and "justice."

The film about the two Italian working class martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, directed by Giuliano Montaldo, attempts to truthfully recreate the trial of the two anarchists, the events surrounding the conviction, and the subsequent battle to free them from death. It tries to expose all the class forces at work in the trial, the courts, the defense and the investigation. Despite certain weaknesses, the film represents a noble chapter in the history of the working class movement.

Sacco and Vanzetti, subsequent to the arrest, are framed for the robbery of a shoe factory in South Braintree, Massachusetts and the murder of two employees.

The major question posed in relation to the trial and the efforts to free Sacco and Vanzetti were succinctly stated by James P. Cannon, then a member of the Communist Party and leader of the Party's International Labor Defense, which was prominent in the defense movement after 1926.

"One policy is the policy of class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity and demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale..."

"The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks

from the 'vulgar and noisy' demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them."

The defense lawyer, Moore, gregariously and impishly played by Milo O'Shea, wishes to leave politics out of the trial. Vanzetti is unhappy about this. But the defense committee, composed of middle class elements, enjoins Sacco and Vanzetti to "trust" the system. When it becomes clear that both the prosecutor Katzman, and the Judge, Thayer, are openly conspiring against the defendants, and slandering the lawyer with accusations about aliens, riff-raff workers, Black and Puerto Rican "undesirables," Moore shouts "racists," "supporters of the Ku Klux Klan." But this is all to no avail.

Just before they are convicted by the blue-ribbon jury, Sacco weeps, but Vanzetti says to Moore: "You wished to leave politics out of this trial. We are anarchists. The workers must have no faith in the bourgeois courts." The subsequent proceedings find the defendants on the stand. Their words are memorable. Sacco recounts how he drudged twelve and fourteen hours a day merely to feed his family. He reiterates his belief in anarchism and socialism "where money means nothing and human beings can get along, black and white, without wars and exploitation."

The prosecutor uses their support to the October Revolution and their working class hatred for the first world war to slander them. At last the politics are out in the open. Upon hearing the conviction Sacco swoons. He is subsequently to break down and be committed to an asylum. Vanzetti never gives up. He shouts back at the judge, the jury and the

prosecutor, in a marvellous wide angle long shot: "The workers will free us!"

Moore leaves the case. A liberal lawyer, Thompson, and a former journalist fired for his "biased" reportage, pursue the investigation. We have previously learned, in almost caricaturish detail, that witnesses are openly perjuring themselves, are unable to see more than five feet in front of them and yet are positive they recognize the defendants, from fifteen yards, and that a ballistics expert admits that the gun found in the possession of Sacco at the time of the arrest, was not the murder weapon. But the two liberals plod on. The middle class elements on the defense committee still cling to their illusions in bourgeois justice.

Sacco and Vanzetti begin a correspondence both to their families and to the working class. Sacco is pushed back by the events. He simply accepts and awaits his fate. New information comes to light when a group of immigrants openly confess to the crime. The ringleader resembles Sacco. But Judge Thayer refuses to reconsider.

While Montaldo carefully and consciously exposes bourgeois morality and liberal middle class illusions about faith in the American democratic way of life and justice, he neglects to point out that the International Labor Defense was organizing massive rallies, demonstrations and protests in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. It was precisely the mass class opposition that stayed death for seven years. Eighteen thousand workers attended a meeting at Madison Square Garden. Millions of workers in Russia, England, Italy, France, Bulgaria, Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay and Germany came to Sacco and Vanzetti's defense.

The International Labor Defense conducted a class defense throughout the years of the trials. They fought against all attempts to convert the issue into one of merely pious protest and faith in the legal system. "The defense of Sacco and Vanzetti is an issue of the class struggle. They are not criminals, but the symbols, and standard bearers of the militant labor movement. The fight for Sacco and Vanzetti is the fight of the working class;" wrote Cannon in May 1927.

Although there are important film clips of massive rallies held by the Communist Party International Labor Defense and by anarchists and workers' organizations in defense of the accused, they appear as an

addendum, as a sort of "excessiveness of sympathy" in the film.

After seven years Sacco and Vanzetti came to court for sentencing. Vanzetti cried out to the judge, "You are the one that is afraid. You are the one that is shrinking from fear, because you are the one that is guilty of murder."

The final sequence shows the preparations for the execution. Vanzetti is in his cell while his comrade is led off. The lights dim, the current has done its work. Vanzetti is then led into the room. He turns to the witnesses and shouts "I am innocent of all crimes." He seats himself in the electric chair. His head is covered by a metal mask and the frame freezes.

The film serves as the sharpest warning precisely in this period. We need only point out the murders of George Jackson, the massacres at Attica, the frame-up of the Panthers, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee and Juan Farinas. It is on a class defense that Farinas has based his case, in the tradition of the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. This is the only way forward for all political prisoners.

We need only point out from a technical and aesthetic point of view that both Volonte (outstanding in "Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion") and Cucciola are powerful, sympathetic figures. The English dialogue is dubbed but is not disarming. The actors O'Shea, Cusack, Keen and Prince, though somewhat stereotyped, are quite convincing. Only the theme song sung by Joan Baez is notably offensive.

The direction is crisp and constantly flowing. Flashbacks are brief, and underscore the hideousness and transparency of the trial. The color alternates between a pseudo-documentary gray scheme, to pleasant and natural Eastman-color tones. The camera prefers to remain rather stationary and as such record. But the director-editor's bias is self-evident.

Just before conviction Vanzetti, as Sacco had done previously, looks at the judge, prosecutor and jury, invokes the name of Debs (who just before he died wrote a letter to the men) and ends his poignant monologue with the following: "When your bones and the bones of Rockefeller are ground to dust, when the skin has long since come off your skeleton flesh, the names of Sacco and Vanzetti will be emblazoned on the hearts of millions of workers everywhere."

FILMS

CAROLYN SWIFT



HELLSTROM CHRONICLE. Produced and directed by Walton Green. A David Wolper Production.

At a time when there is a current in top scientific circles for revival of the old theory of the genetic inferiority of Blacks, it is not too surprising to find leading U.S. scientific foundations pushing a film like *The Hellstrom Chronicle*.

Posing as scientific fact, conceived by a graduate student of the California In-

stitute of Technology, it uses the fictitious character of Nils Hellstrom to put forth a new version of the escapist theme of impending world doom—the destruction of humanity.

Professor Hellstrom, obsessed by his new discovery of the almost omnipotent supremacy of insects, expounds his theory through melodramatic narration, accompanying splendid close-ups of a whole range of ordinary to exotic insects. He states his case through an indiscriminate combination of fact and imbecilic descriptions (e.g. anthropomorphizing—instilling insects with human characteristics.)

The camera zooms us into an army of ants motivated, we're told, by "an insatiable urge to survive," and we are treated to glimpses of a black widow spider "throbbing with obese sexuality" as her partner exhibits "mindless ecstasy."

The social content behind Hellstrom's theory is revealed in his dissertation on bees. He describes their "class" society as the ideal—i.e. stable; analogous to his concealed desire for a stable class society.

Hellstrom Chronicle

It is no accident that this tripe is endorsed by leading entomologists, the California Institute of Technology and nearly every major scientific foundation in the United States.

ESCAPIST

Faced with a sharpening class struggle, the middle class leaps into escapist preoccupation. The contradiction in modern bourgeois science is expressed in the conflict between the technical prowess it took to produce this film and its disgusting theme of a world doomed to destruction. The scientists who support this rubbish are saying that despite scientific technological developments, mere insects will overcome them.

This sort of film makes clear that science, rather than producing a quality movie to educate, is used to perpetuate the existence of the capitalist class. For that reason it is turned completely against the working class. It peddles the worst forms of escapism—concocting fantastic fears as a way to avoid facing social crisis.

At the same time, it is an expression of the very real fear of the bourgeoisie that despite their advanced scientific accomplishments, that science alone cannot save the ruling class from its impending doom.

SCHRADE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

our contracts and we're going to get it," said the union's president, Harold Crotty. "The average railroad man, he isn't putting money in the bank."

One official of Detroit Teamsters Local 247, George Standloff said, "I have 1,200 people that should have had their increase in September. It was negotiated two years ago. The contractor gets the money that my people did not get." At the same time Standloff expresses the capitulation of the labor bureaucracy to Nixon when he gives support to the Pay Board, saying "I think we're all conscious about holding it down. We all know what has to be done."

The policy of criticizing the freeze or some aspects of it, while trying to make it "work" for labor, is typified by Victor Gotbaum, President of New York's District Council 37 (AFSCME) who covers up his support for the Pay Board with a demagogic call for "watchdog" committees by labor to check up on price increases during Phase II.

Meanwhile, Gotbaum can only say of the Pay Board, that as for the five labor representatives: "They are all good men."

DAVIS

The same kind of position is taken by Hospital Workers Local 1199 President Leon Davis, who is considered even more "progressive" than Gotbaum by the Communist Party. Davis viciously attacked members of the 1199 Rank and File Committee for demanding at a recent union meeting that the union fight for the same demands now raised by Schrade—a general strike against the freeze and the formation of a labor party.

IRELAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

internment camps, mass terror and destruction of all rights are the price workers are asked to pay in order to restore "confidence" in the profits of the gigantic corporations who grow fat on this oppression and slavery.

Ireland today is the true face of capitalism when faced with a fight for survival. The North Ireland government is rapidly dropping any pretense of keeping the peace and is ruthlessly conducting a war against the working class. The tortures make it clear that religious divisions

SUPREME COURT . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

ton. Last March he opposed legislation that would restrict the government's right to gather information on citizens.

SUPPRESS

In a speech at the University of Arizona he said it would not be "unreasonable" to reverse a Supreme Court decision, *Miranda v. Arizona* which states that arrested suspects must be informed of their rights to a lawyer and to remain silent. He openly declared that the government should not be forced to honor former decisions of the Supreme Court. Rehnquist was also Nixon's and Mitchell's "legal advisor" in their attempts to suppress the Pentagon Papers and the press. And these are the men who are supposed to "interpret" the Constitution, men who have nothing but contempt for democratic rights.

Powell, Rehnquist and their allies favor a virtual dictatorship in which militants would be

Davis is absolutely opposed to a fight for any sort of mobilization of the rank and file of the unions against Nixon, simply saying that "we will fight within the controls for everything we can get."

CP

The duplicity of the Communist Party is seen in the fact that while it supports resolutions such as were passed last week by the CP dominated trade union committee conference in Chicago calling for a nation-wide work stoppage to protest the freeze, it refuses to carry the fight for that resolution into action, particularly in unions run by so-called progressive bureaucrats such as Davis' 1199.

SLANDERED

In fact, the Workers League and the 1199 Rank and File Committee has been denounced and slandered by the CP as working for the FBI and CIA for bringing this fight into 1199 and the Social Services Employees Union 371 headed by "progressive" Stanley Hill. Such is the treacherous role of Stalinism which more and more comes forward in support of Kennedy, of Lindsay, of McGovern in opposition to Nixon rather than fight for a labor party.

The point now is that the fine words of Mr. Schrade must be

CP & SMC . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

program that the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance had to prevent at all costs any political discussion. One spokesman from the YSA even claimed that the only crisis that existed was in the minds of mem-

were consciously encouraged precisely in order to cover up the real aims of British imperialism.

Fascism is possible in Ireland, Britain, the United States and all advanced countries today unless this parasitic capitalist class is thrown out and replaced by a workers government.

The Irish workers can only be defended by their brothers in Britain who must demand immediate withdrawal of all troops from Ireland and actually carry this out by throwing out the Tories with general strike action and re-electing a Labour Party.

stripped of any rights and would be railroaded to jail without even a trial. They would give the green light to the police and FBI to hunt down radicals to extract information.

Under the cover of a hysterical witchhunt campaign against communists and Black militants, Nixon seeks to destroy the growing struggles of the working class against the attacks on its living standards.

The courts will not only be used against left wing organizations but will be Nixon's tool to attack the trade unions and strip them of their power. This is the meaning of the decision of the United States District Court, a three man Federal court, which just ruled against the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers of North America.

UNIONS

The union's attempt to declare the wage freeze unconstitutional and as a delegation of too much power to the President was unanimously rejected by the

translated into action. If Schrade is serious, he will bring his proposal for a general strike and a labor party into the UAW Special Convention together with a motion for Woodcock to resign from the Pay Board.

At the same time, we cannot rely on Schrade, but only on the independent mobilization of the rank and file in the UAW and all unions.

ILLUSIONS

There can be no illusions about Schrade who has been involved in the peace movement as a favorite "progressive" labor leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. At the same time, Schrade has attempted to stifle all left wing opposition by militant rank and filers to the Woodcock leadership.

The ranks of the unions must take up the fight for the demands raised by Schrade, centering now on the fight for a nationwide general strike on November 12, no cooperation with any control boards, and the building of a labor party for '72.

The fight to mobilize the largest contingent of trade unionists, students and youth behind this program in the November 6th anti-war demonstration is the next step in this struggle.

bers of the Workers League.

The chairman called on four speakers, deliberately refusing to recognize any speakers from the Workers League, although it was clear that almost half the people at the meeting were Workers League supporters. After charging the Workers League with "elitism" and "bureaucratism" for daring to demand fair representation at the meeting, they finally conceded to one speaker.

CONDEMNED

The Workers League spokesman condemned the middle class character of the protest politics the SMC was putting forward, and called for a turn to the working class and the youth through mobilizing for November 6th around the program for immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Indochina, an end to the wage freeze and all control boards, an

judges, one of whom was chief counsel for the Office of Price Stabilization during the wage freeze in the 1950s.

Today, as the capitalist class fights to defend its system the laws of capitalism are insufficient to fight the growing wave of opposition and hatred of millions of workers and youth for the government.

The government is preparing to create new laws to deal with this opposition and to rule beyond the law when necessary.

This is what Nixon has in store for the workers who are going to move in massive numbers against the wage freeze. While Meany ignores his own statement that the wage board is a step towards fascism, workers must not ignore the warning.

The working class must prepare for what will surely be a vicious counterattack by Nixon by immediately fighting for general strike action against the wage controls and a labor party for the next elections.

PAY BOARD . . .



(Continued From Page 3)

Then we have the chairman of the Price Commission, Charles Grayson Jr., currently on leave as dean of the Business School of Southern Methodist University, who is something of a real "southern gentleman." He is the son of a Louisiana plantation owner, a former FBI agent and member of a number of management organizations.

Robert Lanzillotti is another dean of a Business School—of the University of Florida at Gainesville. He also was connected with the Brookings Institute, a former consultant for the Michigan Bankers Association and a member of the American Economics Association.

John Queenan is a former managing partner of a large international accounting firm. In addition, Queenan has been a member of the following management groups: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, American Management Association, the Commerce and Industry Association of N.Y.,

the National Industrial Conference Board and the National Management Council—to name a few.

James Wilson Newman, listed in *Who's Who* as a "Business Executive," has been the chief executive of Dun & Bradstreet, and a director or trustee of Chemical Bank N.Y. Trust Co., General Foods Corp., Consolidated Edison of New York, Atlantic Mutual Insurance Co., Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Last, but not least on the Price Commission is the former governor of Pennsylvania, William Scranton. Mr. Scranton was born in the city of Scranton, Pa., named for his own family, one of the leading aristocratic families in the U.S. which traces its lineage back to the Mayflower. Trained as an engineer and in Business Administration, Scranton has been an executive of several New Hampshire corporations as well as a contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1964 and a member of a number of Nixon's panels. He is, of course, independently wealthy.

One thing is for sure—unlike the working class, none of the members of the Pay Board or the Price Commission need to worry about the impact of the wage-price freeze on their personal finances. They are all pretty well fixed.

The composition of these Boards only serves to emphasize the criminal role of Meany and the other labor representatives who sit on this Pay Board. The Board is for one purpose and one purpose only—to destroy the unions.

The fight must now be taken into every local of every union in the country for the withdrawal of labor from the Pay Board and the preparation of a general strike on November 12 to stop the freeze.

FLQ . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

economic crisis in Quebec, the weakest part of Canadian imperialism, has been shown in the unemployment rate in September being the highest in ten years.

Now, as the crisis of their economy intensifies, as the Canadian bourgeoisie feels the pressure of Nixon's 10% surcharge, the capitalists are again trying to stir up the middle class in a hysterical reaction to supposed renewed FLQ activity.

In the past few weeks the press has played up many robberies and arms thefts as being "work of the FLQ." On October 6th, seven alleged members of the FLQ were arrested in two separate raids. The police are again talking about "FLQ cells" and the press is playing it up.

TRAP

It is very clear as to what this means. Trudeau and Bourassa are running scared in the face of this new crisis; they are afraid of the reaction of the working class to the new rise in unemployment.

So they have begun a new wave of repression against militants. They see the mass strike wave in Quebec especially, and again try to bring back the phantom of the FLQ in order to have an excuse for the re-invocation of the WMA or similar repressive measures.

Trudeau, Bourassa and their class will attempt in the next period to whip up in the middle class nationalist, anti-U.S. sentiment on the one hand, and on the other red scares. This is a deadly trap for workers to fall into.

Anti-Soviet Hysteria

Right Wingers Mount Terror Campaign

BY DAVID GREEN

THE WORLD-WIDE diplomatic offensive of the Soviet bureaucracy was answered last week by two right wing assaults upon representatives of the Soviet Union.

The first attack occurred Monday in Ottawa. Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin was grabbed by the throat and nearly knocked to the ground by an assailant as he strolled across the grounds of the Canadian parliament with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. The assailant, 27 year old Hungarian refugee Geza Matrai, is reportedly affiliated to reactionary emigre groups.

Two days later, a member of the Jewish Defense League fired four shots into the headquarters of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations in New York. Charged with possession of the rifle used in the attack, Isaac M. Jaroslawitz was released on \$25,000 bail.

Although the United States and Canadian governments conveyed their "regrets" over the incidents, the attacks took place in an atmosphere of mounting anti-Soviet hysteria carefully nourished by the regimes of Nixon and Trudeau. The "spy-scare" initiated by the English Tories has

been picked up by capitalist governments all over the world. The latest "plot" was announced Tuesday by the U.S. Air Force, which disclosed the arrest of a soldier believed to have passed secret documents to Soviet agents in Mexico.

These wild spy stories are being given

an ominous significance by Defense Department claims about a growing Russian nuclear arsenal. The *New York Times* reported Wednesday that "A number of officials charged with responsibility for national security are increasingly sounding the alarm—privately more than pub-

lically—over the Soviet build-up of strategic nuclear weapons."

The rash of spy stories, the revival of the arms race, and the right wing fascistic provocations give a more real picture of the relations between the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union than the Kremlin's Pollyanna claims about a new era of peace and understanding.



Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin being attacked by member of reactionary emigre group. Kosygin was strolling with Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau at the time.

OBSCURE

The Stalinists are seeking to obscure the deeper significance of last week's attacks by emphasizing the cordiality of the talks held by Kosygin in the United States and Canada. Kosygin himself declared at a press conference in Ottawa that "The friendly attitude of Canadians to the Soviet Union and our good impressions of Canada, of the people of Ottawa, cannot be spoiled by any malicious sallies from anti-Soviet groups."

The *Daily World*, organ of the Stalinist American Communist Party, asserted that "Provocative attempts to disrupt the improvement of relations between the two countries, including bomb-planting and a physical assault on Kosygin, have failed."

All this talk about improved relations is rubbish. The emergence of fascist groups is induced by the need of decaying capitalism to assemble shock troops against the working class.

The fascist movement has as its objective not only the defeat of the working class domestically, but also the destruction of the workers states. As Trotsky pointed out forty years ago, fascism ultimately reveals itself to the people of the Soviet Union as a "Super -Wrangel."

Argentina

Allende Consorts With Lanusse



Argentine dictator Lanusse

BY JOANNA DIMARCO

ARGENTINE DICTATOR, GENERAL Lanusse, has just returned from a new round of visits to Peru and Chile. This is his second conference in three months with Chile's "Marxist" President Allende.

On the agenda next is Fidel Castro's visit next month to Chile—his first visit to Latin America since 1959—and a summit meeting of American rulers who plan to come together regardless of "differences" in ideology.

The boost of support for Lanusse's government from the so-called "Marxist" governments of Latin America has come at an opportune time. Lanusse seized power in Argentina at the height of enormous strike waves throughout the country.

Inflation has risen 45% in the last year and is expected to continue at a rate of 20% every five months. Beef is rationed now in a nation which is one of the world's largest producers of beef as the cattle oligarchy responds to growing financial pressures from the international market.

Lanusse took power when the previous military dictatorships were unable to stem the growing strike movement of the organized Argentine labor confederations.

The strikers developed their own leadership against the regular union leaders who were overwhelmed in their attempts to limit the militancy of the workers.

The powerful Argentine labor confederation is controlled by followers of ex-dictator Juan D. Peron. Peron rose to power after the Second World War. He used concessions given to the labor movement in order to win their support for his Bonapartist dictatorship. He also had the support of a section of the military. In 1955 he was deposed by a right-wing military coup d'etat and since then has been living in comfort in Franco's Spain.

AID

Under pressure of the growing economic crisis and of the coming class battles in Argentina, Lanusse has now enlisted the aid of the Stalinists. With the bourgeois nationalist government of Peru, he supports China's entrance to the UN as a move which will line up the Stalinist bureaucracies and the imperialist nations in a common effort to break the working class movement internationally.

The Argentine Foreign Office is now preparing to re-establish full relations with Cuba and Allende is serving as Lanusse's bridge to Fidel. The scenario is complete with no objection on Castro's part to cooperating with fascist Lanusse to "preserve harmony" on the continent and "unity" among Latin America's "progressive" governments.

Internally, Lanusse has promised elections "within the next few years" and has given some semblance of legality to the illegal Peronist Justicialist Party. The Peronist leadership has been exposed as a force completely hostile to the working class as it now conducts meetings with Lanusse in an effort to lead the working class to defeat.

The feverish pace of diplomacy between Lanusse's government and Chile and Cuba reflects the critical character of events now in Latin America and internationally. These governments together with the Peronists are providing Lanusse with the left cover he would hardly have otherwise.

Peronism was never intended to come up against capitalism in Argentina and today it is even more clear how far it has gone from the appearance of a working class force. Today even minimal gains for the Argentine working class cannot be won

without the overthrow of capitalism. This is why Peronist leaders bend all their energies to stop the growing strike wave and sell it out to Lanusse.

With the aid of Allende and Castro, Peronism seeks to turn the movement of the working class into a move to re-call Peron. Lanusse now moves to set up a government with Peronist support.

BETRAYALS

The responsibility for these betrayals of the Argentine working class lies not only with Peronism but with the Stalinists and revisionists who have never sought to provide an alternative to Peronist leadership. The Argentine Communist Party threw its support to the oligarchy. The Castroites and Guevarists sponsor futile guerilla adventures.

The crisis of leadership is reflected now in Argentina as the ranks of the Peronist movement are splitting in every direction. The crisis of leadership must be resolved by the building of a revolutionary Marxist party based on the mobilization of the working class.

Only the International Committee of the Fourth International can lead this struggle.

WRANGEL

Wrangel was a reactionary white general defeated by the Red Army during the Russian Civil War.

The inability of the Soviet bureaucracy to meet the challenge posed by these attacks was revealed by the manner in which it chose to answer its enemies. In the United Nations, which houses governments quite accustomed to employing terror against communists, Soviet Ambassador Yakov Malik engaged in a shouting match with the Israelis. And he charged the capitalist American government with the responsibility of putting "its own house in order" by cracking down on fascist groups like the JDL.

Just how the United States Justice Department intends to curb the right wing was shown by the dropping last week of criminal charges against 16 members of the paramilitary Minutemen.

The Stalinists today, as they did during the 1930s, rely upon imperialism for the defense of their privileges. This policy, unless exposed and reversed by the victory of Trotskyism within the working class, can lead only to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

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Newark Teachers Strike

Stalinists Applaud Gibson's Strikebreaking

BY BOB MICHAELSON

THE CLASS COLLABORATIONIST policies of the Stalinist Communist Party which have led to countless defeats of the working class movement internationally are being defended once again in the pages of *Political Affairs*, theoretical journal of the U.S. Communist Party.

In the October issue—the same issue in which Stalinist theoretician Herbert Aptheker writes about Bangla Desh without a word of the Soviet Union's support to Yahya Khan's butchery—there is an article entitled, "The Lessons of the Newark Teachers' Strike." Written by the CP's "National Labor Commission" and the local CP of New Jersey, the article consists of a defense of the Gibson administration of Newark and an attack on the attempts by the trade union movement to defend itself against Gibson.

Kenneth Gibson is a Black "liberal" Democrat who was nominated for the mayoral race by a coalition of Black and Puerto Rican groups, including LeRoi Jones' Black nationalist Committee for a Unified Newark. His election as Mayor in 1970 was hailed as a great victory by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, which supported Gibson and considered his election an important step in the construction of a "Black political party."

The SWP later tried to back off from its stance of support by claiming that Gibson had not later applied his election platform "consistently." But the Stalinists fell over themselves in their efforts to support and defend Gibson against anything but the mildest criticism.

Thus, the *Daily World* stated in an earlier statement on the Newark Teachers Union (NTU) strike (April 10, 1971): "None, and especially working men and women—or their leaders—should be quick to blame the first Black mayor of a major Eastern city for the problems confronting the N.T.U., the Black and Brown community, the Newark school system, or, for that matter, the problems of Newark."

BLAME

According to the CP Gibson is not to "blame for the cuts in education and welfare in the same way that Nixon and the ruling class are to blame. They cannot help it if they are facing an economic crisis which is heading toward a new depression. They cannot help it if they are forced to lay off millions of workers, slash education and welfare, and close down whole industries. It is the only way they can even hope to save the capitalist system from complete collapse.

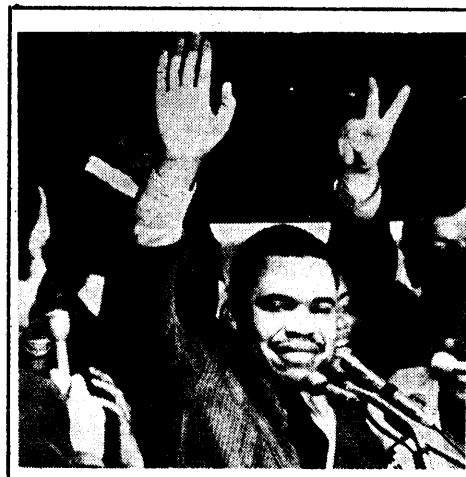
But if we use this criterion when faced with these attacks on the working class' wages and working conditions, then we may as well just sit back and wait for the axe to fall.

This is precisely the program of the CP. They say Gibson isn't to blame. The working class, according to this logic, must respect Gibson's efforts to work within the confines of the capitalist crisis and accept whatever Gibson has to offer.

When Gibson continually refused to give the NTU a wage increase the first year of the contract and only \$500 the second year (which is endangered now by the wage freeze), the *Daily World* went along with it.

Now in their new analysis, the Stalinists make some mild criticisms of Gibson in order to continue to support him. They try to cover up his role during the strike by stating:

"Faced with responsibility to the working people of Newark as a whole and with no solid support of the trade union movement, Gibson tended to vacillate." (emphasis added)



The Communist Party supported the role of Mayor Gibson (l) during Newark Teachers Strike (r). His and LeRoi Jones' use of "community control" helped to break the strike.

So it becomes clear that they blame the trade union movement for Gibson's "vacillations" because the unions refused to support Gibson to the hilt in his attacks on them.

CONSISTENT

But it must be made clear that never once did Gibson "tend to vacillate." No, his policy was consistent throughout the strike. Even the NTU leadership, which capitulated to Gibson, never considered him a friend of the labor movement.

One of the major weaknesses of the NTU leadership was that, as the strike wore on, they began to see Gibson as an "impartial arbitrator" in their desperation for a settlement.

But the Stalinists, in their frantic attempts to find liberal allies, deny the class nature of Gibson and his administration, and his role in the capitalist crisis today. What the capitalists fear more than anything is the mobilization of the working class on a political basis independent of and consciously against the ruling class and its political spokesmen.

The CP realizes this and acts accordingly, in defense of the government. When Carole Graves, President of the NTU, was arrested on March 4 at a labor rally that

was held to defend the striking teachers, the Workers League supporters started a cry of "General Strike" against this attack. Soon, the whole rally was demanding a general strike.

Under this pressure from the rank and file, Charles Marciante, head of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO called for a general strike and demonstration on March 11 to support the NTU.

GENERAL STRIKE

But the tremendous pressure from these same rulers was too much for Marciante and the labor bureaucracy, and he called off the strike, explaining that the Board of Education agreed to start negotiations again.

Such a general strike, however, posed the kind of mobilization of the working class that Gibson and the Board were deadly afraid of. It could have been the beginning



feated the government which is responsible for the attacks on all sections of the working class.

The CP contends that when the labor movement defended the NTU with the call for a general strike, it was taking a "racist attitude toward Gibson."

REPRESENTING

The CP sees Gibson as representing the "Black community," and so, they say that among the early errors they made "was the publication of a statement in the *Daily World* which, while correctly supporting the union, failed to stress the need for struggle against racism within its ranks. Later, some white comrades in the shops gave full support to the proposed general strike, directed against Gibson. This, despite the fact that Gibson had spoken out for labor at the Chicago Rank and File Conference. Such a position was in contradiction to the necessity to build support for Gibson among the trade unionists, which was vital if his reliance on the Baraka (LeRoi Jones) forces was to be ended."

ANTI-WORKING CLASS

This openly reveals the real anti-working class perspective of the CP which seeks to prevent a united CLASS front of all workers, unemployed youth and minorities against the government.

The point is that Gibson relies on Jones because they have much in common. They represent the Black politicians who use nationalism for their own political ends, and for the interests of the ruling class.

Gibson is in no way independent of Prudential or the bankers who own Newark. He has no intention of becoming independent of these rulers. He in no way represents the interests of the working class or any section of workers.

This disgusting capitulation to Gibson was precisely the reason why the Communist Party is not able anywhere to propose any way to fight Imperiale, the neo-fascist who is today whipping up racist hostilities in the Newark high schools.

CLASS

The only way Imperiale and his racist attacks can be fought is by beginning with the class nature of the struggle. This the Workers League did, and we fought tooth and nail against Imperiale, in order to unite the working class in Newark—Black and white—politically, and on a class basis, against Imperiale, Jones and Gibson.

To propose the defense of the NTU in any other way meant to give in to these other forces—Jones or Imperiale—and to leave the workers tied through them to the ruling class.

The dangers involved in the Stalinists' program is that their policies leave the working class divided and tied to the capitalist system. This is the real meaning of the role of the CP in the NTU strike and throughout the working class movement.

BREAK

The Stalinists must denounce the demand for a general strike by the labor movement against Nixon and the government's attacks because such a strike would raise in the working class the necessity to break politically with the two capitalist parties and to develop its own political party, a class party based on the trade unions and the needs of the workers and against the needs of the capitalists.

This is why the Stalinists insist that workers support Gibson and, instead of relying on their own tremendous strength, they call on the working class to rely only on Gibson's good will and the good intentions—despite their unanimous support to Nixon's wage freeze—of the liberal "friends of labor."

This struggle can only go forward, though, with the most determined effort to destroy the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism and revisionism through the building of a Trotskyist leadership in the working class.

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West Coast News

SDS Abandons Adventurism For Food Reform

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The break up of the student power movement and the death agony of the SDS has been turned into an absolute farce by the San Francisco State chapter of the SDS.

Thousands of students have learned the hard way that student power, building seizures and isolated student strikes were futile and bankrupt gestures. Many of these students are seeking alternatives precisely at the point that enormous confrontations now open up between the ruling class and the labor movement.

The diehards of the SDS however, insist on learning all the wrong lessons from the defeat of the S.F. State strike and the smashing blows dealt the organizers of student power adventures.

For years, SDS was in the forefront of those advocating such tactics. They covered what was essentially middle class protest with ultra-left slogans and rhetoric about student-worker alliances combined with an almost mystical idealization of the working class.

All of this was calculated to head off any real movement among students toward the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Today the working class faces

the greatest battles since the 1930s. The very existence of the labor movement is at stake as Nixon moves to establish total state control over the independence of the unions.

Under these circumstances what does the SDS advocate? A fight back against the freeze perhaps? A warning to the working class of the great dangers ahead? Not at all. The key task as seen by the great leaders of the S.F. State SDS is the organization of a mass student boycott of the cafeteria in order to secure better food and the reduction of prices on all items by a nickel.

The SDS now puts forward a program even blander than the food in the student cafeteria. They have concluded from all the past defeats that even the hint of a political program would be too advanced for the students.

We will not be at all surprised to learn in the future that the SDS leadership will decide that the way forward is to take a page from Huey Newton and organize free breakfasts for S.F. State students.

This is indeed an expression of the bankruptcy of Stalinism. For all its denunciations of Mao's betrayals, Progressive Labor is unable to reach any conclusions but to reduce the student struggle to the most blatant reformism and to prepare the way to liquidate even the pretense of a revolutionary student movement.

Leaders Sabotage Fight Against Police Terror

BY L. CRAIG

SAN JOSE—The fight of thousands of youth here to avenge the cold blooded murder of John Henry Smith by local police has in the month since his death been diverted in every conceivable reactionary fashion by a Stalinist and nationalist leadership.

Smith, a Black IBM worker, was beaten, maced, attacked by a police dog and shot to death as he fled three San Jose policemen, one of whom originally stopped him for a minor traffic violation.

This killing, as well as statements from police chief Murphy defending his triggermen has set moving a tide of outrage among East Side workers and youth.

Four others have been killed by police here in the last year. These conditions shape the massive sentiment of the youth to fight back.

This fight has been sold out 100% by a coalition thrown together by both Black and Chicano nationalists and the Communist Party and labelled the "Ad Hoc Committee." This committee continues to lead hundreds of youth week after week in a hopeless plea for reform from the San Jose City Council.

None of the original demands of the committee have been granted, although the council has made

some token moves to "cool off the tensions."

In reality the council meetings have been used by the Stalinists and nationalists as forums to build sentiment for community control of the police and for a Berkeley type radical coalition for the elections.

Particularly deadly has been the role of the Chicano and Black nationalist forces mobilized in the Community Alert Patrol—a group designed to ward off police attacks by following them about.

They have put forth the view that the killing of Smith was another instance of the growing racial oppression between whites and "their" police and the Black and brown people of San Jose.

These forces have been particularly vicious in red baiting anyone who dared put forth the perspectives of Marxism and a class fight.

Workers League supporters who were earlier shouted down by these "leaders" have now been physically threatened as it becomes more and more clear that a political alternative to reformism is being offered.

The nationalists now emerge totally hostile to the working class and they are being backed all the way by the Communist Party which is delighted to use this reactionary force against Trotskyism.



Iranian students and emigres demonstrate at the Iranian consulate in Berkeley against the Shah's reactionary 2500th anniversary party.

Portland School Year Cut By Fiscal Crisis

BY JOHN LOCK

PORTLAND—The attempt of the capitalist class represented by the Nixon government to turn the clock back one hundred years on the working class and youth in this country, has been reflected very sharply in this state by the worst fiscal crisis for the state government in 112 years.

A special 27-volume tax study has revealed that there has been a lack of sufficient tax dollars to provide for the governmental services of state, county, and municipal agencies. What is important to take note of is that now the ability of these agencies to meet the needs of the working class are brought into question.

One of the basic rights of the working class threatened by the financial crisis is the right to a decent education. Portland schools will be closed in mid-May because of a lack of funds. Portlanders already staggering under the ravages of Nixon's new economic policy turned down a tax levy in late September for the third time this year, thus cutting 17 days off the normal school year.

The two major sources of taxes in Oregon are property and personal income. Due to the refusal of the working class to be burdened with an onerous personal income tax, local governments have had to rely on property taxes. Oregon has one of the highest property tax rates in the nation, but the cost of education is rising faster than the ability to increase revenue through taxes. A significant portion of these rising costs has been through the wage offensive of teachers attempting to keep up with inflation.

One of the key statements in the study reflects a situation that the working class must be very aware of: "A major factor contributing to increased costs of local government has been the

desire of a more affluent society for an improved quality of living." This statement is a warning: The state is putting into question the ability of the working class to improve their quality of life. The government will now smash the rights of workers and youth to a decent standard of living to meet the costs of running an operation designed to meet the needs of the capitalists and their profits.

That labor has been able to improve its quality of living is an indication of the great power that it has. It is this power with Trotskyist leadership which will enable it to overthrow a bankrupt capitalist society and establish socialism.

Bridges . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

the wage freeze and Phase II.

The only fight this leadership has made was in the courts where they argued that Taft-Hartley was illegal as they had done everything possible to prevent a national crisis. Needless to say the courts made short shrift of this argument stating in effect that it already had its orders.

All of this prompted from Bridges the remark "So the executive branch of the government becomes the executive committee of the shipowners."

Surely Bridges has not forgotten so much about Marxism that this comes as a surprise to him.

The union leadership is now launching a campaign to prove that the Taft-Hartley will have little effect. In essence they say that the ILWU can simply wait and then go back out when it sees fit. This perspective is a big indication that this leadership has no intention of uniting the fight on both coasts if it believes it can casually sit out the next three months.

If the ILA is pushed back or sold out in this period the potential for a successful West Coast strike is dealt a bitter blow.

Jury Clears Calderon In Frame-up

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—Carlos Calderon, one of the "Califas Three" who were indicted early this year for possession, manufacture, and disposal of a firebomb, criminal syndicalism, and soliciting the commission of murder, has been cleared of all criminal charges.

The original indictment was based on the publication of a picture of a firebomb in a local newspaper formerly edited by Calderon. Further strong evidence was entered in the form of hearsay testimony of militant statements supposedly made by the defendants at various times, and a picture of Carlos in Cuba some time ago as a member of the Venceremos Brigade.

The whole indictment was so flimsy that not a single charge could be sustained. The case never went to court. Further Court of Appeals in Los Angeles, law, a weapon forged by the capitalists in their early attempts to smash the workers' movement, has recently been declared unconstitutional by the District Court of Appeal in Los Angeles.

It is cases like these which show that the courts are not reliable enough for future attacks on workers. The murder of prisoners at Attica, and the preparation of Congressional legislation to give the President more direct authority to break strikes by executive order, point out the future of the sharpening class struggle in America.

The legal system created by the American ruling class in the period of its growth is becoming less and less an effective instrument in a period of crisis and decay. It is in the struggle to unify the American working class politically that weapons for defense of that class against the employers and their state will be forged.

The resolution passed at the recent California AFSCME conference is a real indication of the strength that can now be mobilized. It is criminal that the most powerful union on the West Coast refuses to lift a finger to unite the labor movement in the fight against the freeze.

Now is the time to force the ILWU leadership to fight or get out of the way. The next period should be one of mass campaigning in the labor movement for the strike action to bring down Phase II of Nixon's program.

There are now thousands of dockers looking for a lead. The development of a caucus at this point committed to a program of rallying labor against the freeze in general strike action, of uniting with the ILA in a nationwide fight to stand together till the 40 hour guarantee is won for every category of dockers in every port and of launching a political struggle for a labor party committed to a workers' program in '72, can unite big forces in the unions against Bridges' betrayals. Dockers have little time to launch this fight. It is now a matter of life and death. The alternative to this fight is mass unemployment on the waterfront.

West Coast News

EDITOR: J. SEBASTIAN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 400 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1300



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Dockers Push Fight On Hiring Hall Rights

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—Longshoremen here and in Long Beach have not taken the Taft-Hartley and the Bridges sellout lying down. Immediately after the Taft-Hartley was invoked, the PMA demanded the right to hire and fire whichever "steady men" it so chose. This dispute, which was a direct attack upon the union hiring hall, tied up the docks for a week.

Finally the PMA went to the arbitrator who "impartially" decided in favor of the PMA. Union leaders did their usual song and dance and managed to get everyone back to work just prior to being hit with contempt citations.

The fight that the union leadership stepped away from, the ranks are themselves steadily pushing forward. Of the 200 or so "steady men" (i.e., crane operators, fork lift drivers, etc.) 30 have so far resigned from their jobs for the PMA. If resignations continue the docks could well be closed down again since the PMA refused absolutely to take men sent by the union.

Needless to say the government has no intention of letting the PMA suffer even the most minor reverse if it can help it. Govern-

ment officials will shortly go to court to try to prove that all of this quitting is part of a "plan" to defy or impede the Taft-Hartley. Nothing could be further from the minds of the union leadership who not only advised compliance with the T-H, but also warned the ranks against taking advantage of the legal grievance procedure to annoy the PMA.

The reaction of the union leadership to the new situation has been a show of confidence in the law. One Local 13 official stated that "if they don't want to work on a year-round basis then there is no involuntary servitude law which will keep them on the job."

RAMMED

Famous last words. Every smug prediction by the union leadership about how the laws were not going to be used has been rammed down the throats of the ranks. The government has no intention of letting the PMA come out second on the hiring hall dispute. And if that means finding an involuntary servitude law, the government and its courts will surely do their best.

The only solution to the crisis on the docks lies in mobilizing the working class for a general strike against Nixon, the PMA, and all of their strike breaking allies in the Democratic Party.

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The conference demanded that the International president call an emergency national conference of all AFSCME locals to develop an action program against the freeze.

The delegates demanded complete refusal from labor of any form of cooperation with Nixon's freeze and a complete boycott of all boards or commissions administering the freeze.

They called for a policy of strike action supported by the entire labor movement of all unions whose contracts had been voided by the freeze.

In addition the militant delegates demanded that AFSCME call

on the labor movement to lead a nation-wide general strike against any attempt to extend the freeze beyond November 14th.

In addition University of California campus AFSCME locals have called for a one-day strike on California campuses on October 28th over demands for a 5% cost of living increase and an end to budget cuts, lay-offs and speed-up.

This policy was passed over the opposition of the AFSCME leadership who wished to conduct the fight through a series of court battles.

With this resolution the AFSCME delegates have summed up

the feelings and fighting spirit of millions of workers who are prepared to respond with such action if given a real lead.

This is the answer of the rank and file to the revisionists of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party who wish to confine the struggle to alliances with the labor bureaucracy and impotent peace protests with labor brought in as a means of pressure.

ILLUSIONS

The major weakness of the series of resolutions passed at this conference is that there are still dangerous illusions about the political nature of this struggle. Thus the delegates confined their political action proposals to demands to inform Congressional leaders to remove the President's discretionary power to carry out his program.

Nevertheless, these resolutions are a clear indication that the labor movement is preparing the greatest leap in its history breaking free from the bureaucracy and uniting its power for an all out confrontation with the government.

CONFIRMATION

These resolutions are a tremendous confirmation of the fight taken up by the Workers League to prepare the labor movement for general strike action to smash the freeze and for the political struggle to launch a labor party for 1972.

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Bridges' strategy if it can be called that is simply to keep the ranks at work, demoralize them and hold off the possibility of a strike till well after New Year's.

The Taft-Hartley injunction has been timed very well by the government to expire during the winter season when a dock strike would have only a minimal effect.

Meanwhile Philadelphia dockers show the way forward by defying injunctions and Bridges can only speak vaguely about some kind of a hoped for alliance with the ILA. He refuses to so much as outline the sort of fighting alliance he has in mind.

It is now absolutely clear from elements of the PMA offer published in the Dispatcher that the

basis for a settlement is no nearer than at the beginning of the strike as the PMA absolutely refuses to offer a real pay guarantee. They are convinced that there will be a huge decline in work opportunity and are determined not to be responsible for huge numbers of unemployed workers.

It is also very clear that Bridges has already agreed to sell out the "B" men with the acceptance of an 18 hour guarantee. There has been of course absolutely no concession from the PMA on the question of the steady men as indicated in their actions in Los Angeles.

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BY CATHY HUNT

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This plant, which at one time employed 4500 workers, could have its workforce cut to 1800 in the near future. More than 500 workers have already been laid off at this time.

NASSCO is the company which was struck by the Ironworkers' one year ago, as reported in the Bulletin at that time. After a hard fight, ironworkers lost even their minimal wage increase under the new contract to Nixon's wage freeze. Now NASSCO plans to kick everybody onto the street as the ship orders decline.

This could be only the beginning. Although an official statement has yet to be released, workers at ROHR Corporation, a large aerospace firm in San

Diego, are concerned over possible initiation of layoffs there very soon.

These developments have great importance for the San Diego working class. Nixon's attack on the ILWU has shown that he is prepared to break strikes whenever necessary. And employers have embarked on a conscious policy of creating unemployment in order to soften up workers for further attacks to come.

It is clear that nothing less than a struggle for survival is what workers face under these conditions. This is the real significance of the recent march for jobs at ROHR Corporation. The way forward from there is an all out fight in the trade unions against leaders who are pledged to sit on their hands while the employers prepare to layoff the ranks or automate them onto the scrap heap. Alternative leadership must be built that is pledged to no more layoffs and jobs for all at a living wage. That is the only possible answer to these attacks.

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