

# STOP PHASE TWO

# DEFY THE FREEZE

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Demonstration in Montreal, Quebec, in which a woman was killed while helping to defend the La Presse workers from massive layoffs.

## Allende Regime Totters As Crisis Grips Chile

BY ED SMITH

The danger signals of another Bolivia are rising now in Chile. The "Popular Unity" government of Salvador Allende is facing a determined new drive by the Chilean capitalists and American imperialism.

The Allende government's attempt is running into big economic trouble. To finance its programs, it has increased the money supply 75% since December. Chile's balance of payments has dropped from a \$132 million surplus last year to a deficit that may reach \$200 million this year.

The cost of producing copper, which the Allende regime has relied on for a major part of its revenue, has risen to 47 cents per pound while the international market price is only 49 cents per pound. Allende recently flew to nationalized mines to try to convince the miners out of demanding a 50% wage increase.

Meanwhile, the Chilean bosses have not been remaining idle. The New York Times reported that: "The speakers who drew the most applause at a recent meeting of Chile's Confederation of Commerce and Production were those calling on businessmen and workers who do not want to be state employees to begin 'political action' against the establishment of a full Marxist regime."

### "FAILURE"

The opposition Christian Democratic Party stated that Chile faced "the worst economic crisis in her history." Allende himself warned a meeting of government department heads recently that without a greater sense of public responsibility in public management "we are headed for an irremediable future in the short run."

What lies behind the fundamental crisis of the Allende regime is that it refuses to make

any fundamental break with capitalism. Allende and his Stalinist and liberal friends imagined a "peaceful road to socialism" without any need for a breaking up of the bourgeois state, a confrontation with imperialism or spreading revolution to the advanced countries.

Allende not only thought he could get along with Chilean capitalism, but with American imperialism. This is why he "expropriated" American corporations in Chile only to turn around and offer to assume their debts (more than a billion dollars, greater than the assessed valuation of their property in Chile).

Nixon's Secretary of State Rogers contemptuously threw this back in Allende's face, threatening to invoke the Hickenlooper Amendment to cut off all aid to Chile unless "fair" compensation as well is paid.

### DEMANDS

But the most important factor of all in the situation is the relationship of the Chilean working class to the Allende regime. The Allende government came in on the crest of a tremendous upsurge of this class. But the massive wage demands of key sectors like the miners on the government, combined with the recent resumption of land seizures by peasants outside of the agrarian reform program, demonstrates that there exists a growing hostility to Allende.

The movement of the Allende regime to the right, plus the preparations by the bourgeoisie to dispense with Allende entirely and attempt to solve its desperate situation by the most ruthless exploitation of the Chilean workers, will stiffen the resistance of wider and wider sections of workers to the course of the Popular Unity government.

But this opposition can only be carried forward successfully by the construction of a Trotskyist party inside the Chilean working class fighting for a workers' government.

# Cops Kill Worker At Quebec Rally

BY A CORRESPONDENT

MONTREAL, Oct. 29—A young woman died and hundreds more were injured in a night that followed a massive demonstration of 15,000 held here today.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Quebec Federation of Labor, the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Teachers Corporation, was called to support the locked out La Presse workers—but it involved a great deal more than that.

The La Presse management and the parent company, Power Corporation, have begun an open attempt to destroy the unions. In this attempt they have been ably assisted by the courts, the police, the regime of Mayor Drapeau and provincial Minister of Justice Choquette.

This week, the war against the trade unions in Canada was stepped up to an unprecedented level. Drapeau and Bourassa Choquette, backed up by the federal government are laying a trap for the Quebec working class. They have initiated a campaign of provocation, union baiting and vicious repression against all opposition.

The city administration of Montreal has invoked the notorious municipal bylaw which allows it to ban demonstrations for any period of time, any place, anytime it wants. This law is reminiscent of Duplessis's famous

Padlock Laws. Drapeau, the lawyer-bureaucrat, who imagines himself to be a modern day Bonaparte, has declared demonstrations in a downtown region of Montreal unlawful for a period of 30 days. The La Presse building is situated in this area.

The demonstration, called by the Front Commun Contre L'Exploitation, was a march on the La Presse building. When marchers attempted to break through police barricades, violence began. The fight lasted most of the night.

Louis Laberge, Chief of the Quebec Federation of Labor, replied that next time demonstrators would use steel pipes to carry their posters. This is empty demagoguery coming from the man who, two days before, stated that it was a shame that La Presse had finally closed down, because the public had lost an important source of information.

Laberge is doing his best to disarm workers politically as the capitalists are attempting to tie a noose around the neck of the organized movement. If he is serious about winning the La Presse struggle, why is he even refusing to call out his own members who continued work?

The Workers League passed out a leaflet at the demonstration calling for the centralization, the unification of all the separate struggles of the Canadian working class into a political offensive against Trudeau and all the provincial capitalist governments. Today this means the election of NDP governments, based on the trade unions, pledged to socialist policies.

The workers movement is in severe danger. The capitalists are incapable of taking on the class as a whole. They attempt to impose a decisive defeat on the organized workers movement in Quebec, in order to split and weaken the entire class. They required their allies—nationalists, and labor bureaucrats—for this task.

Two steps are urgently required: first specifically in Quebec, a conference of all the trade unions to place the NPD, dominated by the petty bourgeoisie, on a firm socialist and trade union basis; and second, a national conference of trade unions to initiate a campaign against Trudeau, the Liberals, and the Tories, to initiate a campaign for an NDP government.

The war against the working class, in the new period since Nixon's measures, has been escalated. This requires a political solution.

## Tory Hoax Covers For Murder

The British capitalist press is stirring up a vicious witchhunt to cover up the revelations of the torture of internees in the prison camps of Ulster and the cold blooded murder of North Irish workers by the British occupation forces.

In an exclusive story the British Trotskyist daily paper, Workers Press, exposes that the sensational Tory charges of Czech gun running to the underground Irish Republican Army (IRA) were in fact a hoax set up by British intelligence from beginning to end.

The right-wing Daily Express

had headlined on October 18: "Russia Aiding IRA." The article claimed: "The seizure of 116 crates of arms, destined for the IRA, at Amsterdam airport on Saturday has revealed a potentially explosive new situation for the British government: a direct link between the Irish terrorists and the Kremlin."

Leaving aside the fanatically anti-communist nature of the IRA leadership itself (IRA General Order 2, Article 3 states: "Membership of the Communist Party is forbidden. Any volunteer found promoting Communism or distributing its literature is automatically dismissed."), there are several very suspicious aspects to this "sensational" story.

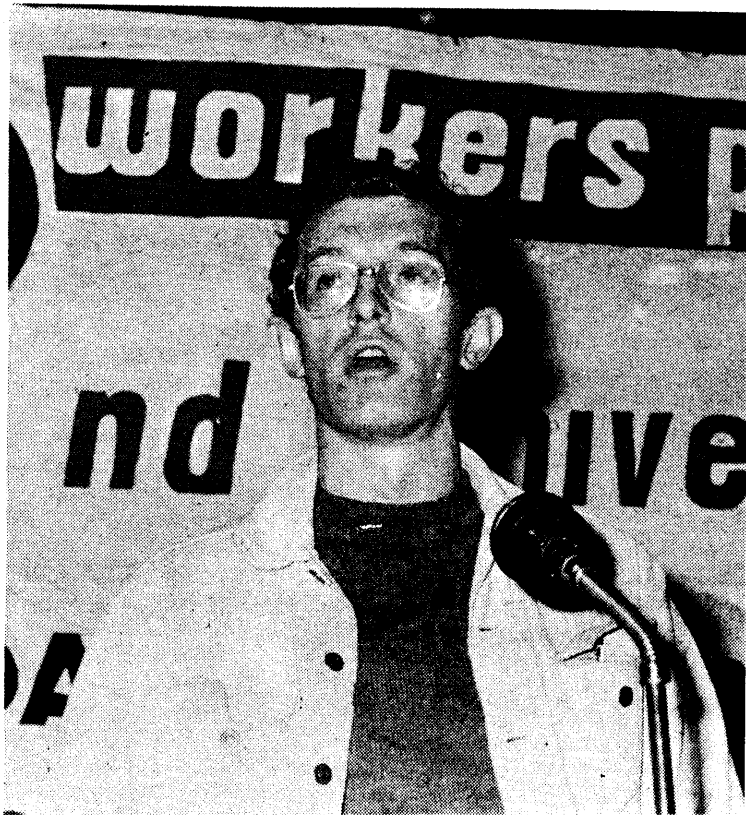
### MYSTERY

The arms plane that landed in Amsterdam was greeted by two reporters for another Tory organ, the Daily Telegraph, who in turn "tipped off" the Dutch police. How they had found out about the shipment is a mystery.

Moreover, Terry Koenig, the American arms dealer who supposedly arranged the sale, was picked up by the Dutch police after the "discovery" and was quietly set free one week after the "sensation."

Finally, and most extraordinarily, the two "IRA gun runners," David O'Connell and Moira McGuire, supposedly the "two most wanted" people in Europe, apparently "knew the British secret service was following us right along." But they were not picked up in Amsterdam. Instead, they took a train out of town. O'Connell later took a plane to London, and finally a domestic flight to Cork—all with no interference from the British police who had been "following him all along." From there he gave long, lurid interviews with the British tabloid press tying his "gunrunning" to the "IRA terrorists" to "the Kremlin."

The Workers Press concluded (Continued On Page 12)



Actor Corin Redgrave speaks in London at the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Workers Press, daily Trotskyist paper of the SLL.

# Philly Docker-'They're Trying To Break Each Port'

PHILADELPHIA—In a move to break the East and Gulf Coast dock strike of the ILA by picking off one port at a time, the Philadelphia locals of the ILA were hit by huge fines against the locals the officials of the unions.

Despite the ILA officials' support for opening the port, as well as fines of \$50 per day against the rank and file, the rank and file took a great step in defying the court injunction as long as they did. They defied it in a situation of outright betrayal by their leaders and of the Philadelphia Central Labor Council leadership which stood by and did absolutely nothing.

The Workers League is fighting for the formation of rank and file caucuses on both coasts to fight for victory in the inevitable battle still ahead on the docks against Nixon and the ship owners.

Last week, **Bulletin** reporter, Dan Fried, talked with men on the Philadelphia docks. The following is a discussion with one of the rank and file longshoremen.

**Bulletin:** Apparently most of the men have yielded to the injunction and returned to work. Is that right?

Longshoreman: Well, we had to

yield to the court order. Working people don't have fifty dollars a day.

**Bulletin:** The present injunction covers the period up to November 13. What do you think is going to happen then?

Longshoreman: I think the men are going to walk. They should walk because we don't have a contract.

**Bulletin:** These fifty dollar fines are unprecedented. I think it's the first time you've had fines against the rank and file in recent years in addition to those against the union and the officials. This is similar to the fines last year against the New York telephone workers when they just about tried to put the local out of business.

Longshoreman: Right. That's what they're trying to do here.

**Bulletin:** Do you think that this is connected with the whole strategy of the ship owners on both the East and West Coasts?

Longshoreman: Yes. Strategy. They're really trying to break up each port. They want us to negotiate our contract. They want New Orleans to negotiate their contract. They want New York to negotiate their contract, and so on. They're using each judge in each city to try to put us back to work.

**Bulletin:** Philly is a sort of testing ground for them. Now they're hitting with injunctions in New Orleans and other cities.

Longshoreman: Yes. This strategy is no good for labor.

**Bulletin:** Do you think this also applies to the division between the East and West Coasts?

Longshoreman: Yes. We would have had a nationwide strike if Bridges had stayed out. Between me and you, that's what we were figuring on.

**Bulletin:** As far as the Philadelphia situation what was the basis of the injunction?

Longshoreman: They had a letter from the union officials saying we would work under the old contract until November 13. But we were never consulted on it. We never took a vote. It was illegal. We all know it was illegal.

**Bulletin:** The injunction shows that the unions are faced with government attacks at every point. That's what the wage freeze is all about.

Longshoreman: The man froze wages, but he didn't control the food prices. They should have frozen everything, but he only froze wages. Then they're going to send someone around and tell you what you're supposed to get. It's wrong. In America it is anyway.

**Bulletin:** Nixon is also behind the injunction against the longshoremen.

Longshoreman: We know that Nixon is strictly against labor. We know that one hundred percent. The only thing labor can do in America is stand up.

**Bulletin:** But the Democrats are in with Nixon. In fact, liberal Democrats like Lindsay and others wanted the wage freeze sooner, and were calling for it for more than a year.

Longshoreman: Let's face it. As far as the rich man is concerned, he can be a Republican or he can be a Democrat. He just keeps me and you working. We ought to know that. We did get a little bit of a break from

the Democratic administrations but we had to fight for it, right?

**Bulletin:** But what you got you got only because you fought for it.

Longshoreman: Yes. Neither party ever gave us anything. You're right.

**Bulletin:** Now we have a situation where East Coast and West Coast are divided and the strategy of Nixon and the shipowners is to maintain this division.

Longshoreman: As far as the West Coast is concerned, the problem is that Bridges gave away containers to the Teamsters and that's why they were out for 97 days. Now they want it back, of course. They'll be out another 100 days before they get that.

**Bulletin:** But if they have a war, the shippers come out on top.

Longshoreman: Well, they have to compromise. The longshoremen will work so many containers and the Teamsters so many.

**Bulletin:** There are not enough jobs to go around, though. That's the problem. The only way to win the jobs and 40 hour guarantee for everyone is a nationally coordinated strike.

(Continued On Page 12)



Striking longshoreman being interviewed by **Bulletin** reporter. Strike is in second month.

## ILA And ILWU Pledge United Contract Fight

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW YORK—Presidents Thomas Gleason of the ILA and Harry Bridges of the ILWU pledged here last Thursday that their unions would strike if Nixon's Pay Board refused to approve their contract settlements.

They issued a statement which called for a national contract agreement covering all coasts handling containers. The statement also stated that "the two unions work for a common ex-

piration date and that both unions map plans now to insure that gains won in collective bargaining are not taken away by government action."

These statements come at a very crucial point in the dockworkers' struggles. Nixon has made it clear that he is giving full backing to the shipowners in their attacks on the longshoremen.

After waiting for three and a half months, Nixon slapped the Taft-Hartley Act on the West Coast, sending the ILWU ranks back to work just as the ILA had come out on strike. Now the government is hammering away at the East and Gulf Coasts with local injunctions, using them in an attempt to break the strike in key ports like Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans.

### STARVE

In the October 27th issue of the "1814 Report to the Membership" newsletter of the Brooklyn ILA local, president Anthony Scotto stated, with emphasis, "There is no question that the employers are out to starve the members and bust the union. They hope to grab back all the gains we've won after years of struggle and sacrifice..."

This is true. But it is also true that if nothing is done about this situation, the dockers will be defeated.

Rank and file longshoremen in New York must now demand that the national leaderships of both longshore unions be kept to the pledges they made last week. It is obvious now that the only way to defeat the combined attacks of Nixon, the courts and the shipowners is through a permanent fighting unity of the ILA and ILWU and joint strike action.

## Baltimore ILA Faces Injunction

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Oct. 31—As the ILA strike enters its fifth week, the fate of dock workers here has been placed in the hands of the courts by the local ILA leadership.

The ILA is facing an injunction demanded by the local employers' Steamship Trade Association (STA) to return to work immediately. The STA sought the injunction only after two days of bargaining here last week.

The terms agreed upon or discussed at these meetings have yet to be announced. But in light of pronouncements made by both the STA and ILA officials, most dock workers here have concluded that it spells sellout.

The legality of the injunction is presently being fought by the ILA and no workers have returned to work. The STA had originally stated that it was in such bad financial trouble it could not survive a one week strike. Still alive and kicking after five weeks, it has joined

the other employers' federations in an all out attack on the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI).

### GAI

Joining in the campaign to slander the ILA as abusing the GAI, the STA has been trying to break down the militancy of the ILA ranks who had pushed their leaders both here and nationally to take the stand that the GAI was an important issue to be settled nationally. This meant, of course, that the provisions won by the New York dockers, 2080 hours or 40 hour work week, would be fought for in every port.

### INJUNCTION

The injunction against the Baltimore strikers charges that the issues at stake in their struggle do not concern them but indeed constitute a secondary boycott making the strike illegal. What this means is that the local leadership in the bargaining sessions has completely given in on the question of fighting for a 40 hour guaranteed work week in Baltimore.

The interests of ship owners can only be advanced at the expense of the interests of the working class. As one member of ILA Local 858 put it:

"I've been around this waterfront 23 years. I've worked myself to the bone and I'm ready to retire. Only problem is if I retire I'll starve to death. So you've got to keep working even if I make it to 30 years, the retirement fund is still too small. A man should be able to retire in time to have some fun."

"Now, the way things have been going in Baltimore, I've watched them build up this port through automation and at the same time drive people out of work. Now we've got enough facilities here to handle more cargo so everybody can work, but do they want to do it that way? No. They're trying to starve half of us while they drive the other half to death."

### BATTLE

Another 858 member said: "You know, you never hear too much about what's happening in

Baltimore. I used to think all I'd have to do is speak up but that's not the case. Take the ILA. The New York dockers give the shippers a lot of trouble so you hear about the battle between the dockers and the shippers. The problem with Baltimore is that we haven't organized a strong caucus or something that's going to fight the shippers harder. People have got to start hearing about Baltimore, but only because we start fighting back to win."

### PERSPECTIVE

A third 858 member added: "The political perspective of this caucus would have to be the most important element. I've only been around the waterfront for a few years and yet even in this short time I've seen a drastic fall in jobs and money earned. I figure there's a reason why this is all happening and if you look at Nixon and his policies you start to see what it is. I agree with the need for a labor party for building a political party to fight for the interests and the needs of working people today."

# 3000 Youth Fight Cuts

BY JEANNIE COOPER

NEW YORK—Last week hundreds of students from Music and Art High School demonstrated against the cut-back of special class periods. This Thursday, October 28, between 2000 and 3000 high school youth from all over New York City walked out of their classrooms and held a massive demonstration in front of the Board of Education.

The demonstration was called by word of mouth through the high schools to protest the budget cuts which will mean no more reduced fare and free bus and subway passes for students. This means a

minimum fare of \$3.00 per week for each student to get to and from school.

The youth at the demonstration were demanding that the cuts be restored and the passes con-

tinued. But as one girl that this reporter spoke with said, "We came down about the subway passes, but now that we're here we're going to tell them about everything." The students also demanded that school be cancelled on November 1 for Black Solidarity Day, and on November 3 for the student strike that has been called by the Student Mobilization Committee.

Another youth told the *Bulletin*, "If they cut out the passes I just won't go to school. Who wants to go there when there's 40 kids in a class and you have to sit on the floor and the radiators?"

The militancy of the youth clearly frightened the Board of Education and Lindsay, who were at the heart of the students' opposition. After the demonstration had been in progress about an hour, the cops suddenly moved in without any provocation, swinging at anyone who got in the way.

## COPS

The youths regrouped and two youths who had a megaphone told them to sit in the street. At that point the police charged again, determined to drive the students out of the street. The cops pushed and swung with their sticks, swearing at the youth. One girl fell and injured her leg, the cops stood over her and beat her with their sticks. It was clear that the police were carrying out their orders with a malicious vengeance.

After the main attack by the police, many of the students dispersed. Some stayed in groups,

standing on the sidewalk, not knowing quite what to do. The cops came over and said, "You better get the—out of here or I'll beat your head in!" When one youth got beaten by the cops, his friend said he had to go to the hospital, that an ambulance should be called. The cop's reply was "You take him. He's your friend. I don't know where the hospital is."

## FIGHT

New York has not seen a demonstration of this size of high school students in the past period. The youth that came to the demonstration want to fight back against the attacks by the ruling class: against the budget cuts, against political repression, against the war.

## MOVEMENT

Thousands of high school youth were mobilized to the demonstration without any leadership, but will be incapable of carrying this fight forward without political leadership. Without mobilizing the youth into a revolutionary youth movement, the militancy of these youth will be led into further adventures with the police.

The Workers League is fighting to bring these youth into a revolutionary youth movement based on the fight for jobs, training programs, education, the fight against racism. This movement will be taken forward at a conference to be held on December 18th to launch a Trotskyist youth movement in the United States.



Students from N.Y.C. high schools rallying in front of the Board of Education (top and right) against cuts in school budget which provided for free subway fare.



## Farinas Speaks At Jefferson

A BULLETIN REPORTER BROOKLYN—Over 25 students and several teachers came out on Black Solidarity Day to hear Juan Farinas speak at Jefferson High School in Brooklyn despite the efforts of the nationalists, who at all costs insisted on keeping the day's ac-

tivities confined to the reactionary and narrow perspective of Black nationalism.

Juan was denied a place on the speakers platform which was to include such people as Louis Farrakahn of the Nation of Islam, and Hannibal, of the Harlem Eight. Monday, though, all that could be mustered for what was

supposed to be a mass assembly was an African dance performance.

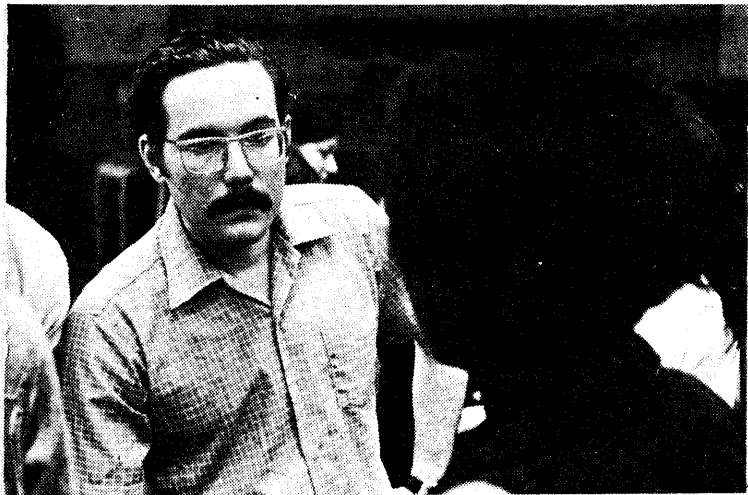
Workshops and discussion groups had been organized as well, and again the only workshop which took place was built by the Workers League supporters at Jefferson for Farinas.

## MILITANCY

Farinas spoke on the necessity to take forward the deepening militancy among the working class and youth in the face of the economic and political onslaught of the capitalists and their government. Key in the fight against the wage freeze and Pay Board, unemployment, the war, and repression, must be the building of labor's own party.

## DEFENSE

The developments of Juan's defense case were also discussed, bringing in the political repression being mobilized against socialists and working class militants and youth who seek to give a lead to the struggle against capitalism.



Juan Farinas speaks to a student about his case at Jefferson High

## Nixon Honors Tito With 21 Gun Salute

BY DAVID GREEN

The author of the reactionary "special road to socialism" theory, Yugoslav President Tito, arrived in Washington last Thursday for talks with Richard Nixon. The capital of world imperialism paid tribute to the Stalinist with a 21-gun salute, a military band, an honor guard, and a state dinner in the White House.

It was not immediately revealed what new economic concessions were opened for the penetration of American capitalism into Yugoslavia, but Tito spoke glowingly of President Nixon as "a statesman who has boldly undertaken major initiatives for important and necessary contracts, thus opening up new avenues for negotiations."

Tito, who has been identified with Stalinism since entering into politics nearly fifty years ago, is consciously liquidating the vic-

in the interests of the ruling bureaucracy. Intimate economic connections have been established with the capitalist World Bank in order to expose the workers of Yugoslavia to the exploitation of international finance.

Tito, who supported the United Nations invasion of North Korea 20 years ago, informed Nixon that he endorses his up-coming visit to China. All the other remarks made by Tito that were reported in the press reeked with the stench of collaborationism. He expressed his desire for a prompt "settlement" in the Middle East and admitted his uneasiness for the troubled bourgeoisie of India and Pakistan.

It is not surprising that Nixon, according to the *New York Times*, "is said to have a deep respect and even affection" for Tito.

Tito's visit to the United States is just the latest stopover in the frantic world-wide diplomatic offensive of the chief spokesmen of Stalinism. The itinerary of the traveling bureaucrats has been determined by the objective fac-

tors of the capitalist crisis. The development of the deepest economic disaster in world history has ended all possibilities of peaceful negotiations between the ruling class and the proletariat.

## AGENT

While pretending to deny the logic of the class struggle through talk about peaceful coexistence, the Stalinists are thrown into panic. Tito flatters Nixon, Kossygin walks arm-in-arm with Trudeau, Brezhnev pays homage to the bourgeois tri-color of France, and Mao enters the United Nations all for the purpose of appeasing imperialism through conscious betrayals of the working class.

The relationship of Tito and the Yugoslav bureaucracy to the World Bank expresses with the greatest clarity the real role of Stalinism. It is the bribed agent of the bourgeoisie within the working class. It must be exposed and destroyed through the struggle for the Fourth International.

## Newton Makes Pleas To Nixon-Mao Talks

BY GIL GONZALEZ

At a time when the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies are uniting with the American imperialists to beat back the working class internationally, Huey P. Newton "Supreme Servant" of the Black Panther Party has begun to make political overtures to Chairman Mao Tse-tung of China.

On his return from a recent visit to China, during which he and Young Lord's leader Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman had a friendly dinner with Premier Chou En-lai, Newton had nothing but words of praise and admiration for Mao and Chou.

Newton's praise for Mao comes after Mao supplied General Yahya Khan of West Pakistan with the weapons which were used to murder 250,000 Bengali workers and peasants as they fought for their independence. It comes at the very time that Mao and Chou have agreed to join the U.N. which, five years ago, Mao labelled a tool of imperialism. It comes at a time when Mao has invited President Nixon to China for talks on the world situation. It comes at a time when Mao has pledged financial support to the reactionary emperor, Haile Sellasie.

Newton ignores these criminal acts. He sees Mao as the leader of all "Third World people" rather than what he is—the enemy of the working class and pea-

santry internationally.

Newton only expresses his idealism when he told the American press that he had given Chou En-lai a proclamation. Newton asked Chou to present it to Mao as a basis for negotiations with President Nixon during his upcoming visit on the freedom of oppressed workers and political prisoners in the U.S. Newton believes that the Mao-Chou-Nixon talks will help the Blacks in the U.S. when in fact they will be the preparation for all-out war against the working class internationally. Newton thus is putting his good faith in the auspices of Nixon.

Newton correctly called for a turn to dialectics but he refused to root this in the class struggle and the history of the Marxist movement.

Oppression will be stopped only by the struggle of the working class for power. We must build the revolutionary party against Stalinism which betrays the working class and youth.

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# Lindsay Moves To Outlaw Strikes

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The City Council here is preparing to immediately push through one of the most vicious pieces of anti-labor legislation.

The bill first proposed by Mayor Lindsay in 1970 will force compulsory arbitration on all city unions. There are only two other cities in the country with such a law. In this way Lindsay and the Council will make strikes in the city illegal and break the back of the powerful labor movement in this city.

The Council has been very quiet about this bill, holding it off until elections so they wouldn't "antagonize" the 400,000 workers who will be affected. But now the elections are over they are moving to rush it through. Every Democratic politician in this Council which the labor bureaucracy has backed is patting himself on the back, assuring everyone that it will pass without much trouble.

## LEADERSHIP

The leadership of the city unions have been behind it all the way. They have kept the great dangers of this bill from their memberships and have refused to lift a finger against it.

The New York Times reports: "Many of the labor leaders, who publicly denounce compulsory arbitration have privately endorsed the legislation. They regard compulsory arbitration as help in dealing with militant factions within their own unions, which the leaders feel sometimes make unreasonable demands."

## COLLABORATE

The labor bureaucracy is willing to collaborate with the employers and the government in taking away the most basic rights of the unions, the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike. This is the extent to which these treacherous leaders will go to protect their own privileges against the movement of the ranks now for decent wages, jobs and working conditions.

One of the open spokesmen for this bill Victor Gotbaum head of District Council 37, who is considered by the Socialist Workers Party to be a "progressive."

This bill now poses the greatest dangers to the unions precisely at a time when Nixon is determined to destroy the unions slash wages and increase unemployment. The ranks of city labor must demand that their leaders take strike actions against this bill as part of the whole fight for the pending city contracts and against the wage freeze. This must be combined with the fight for a labor party in 1972 to throw out all the Democratic and Republican strike-breakers.



Workers at the Schmidt bakery in Baltimore are threatened with the loss of a wage increase because of Nixon's wage freeze.

# 'Frozen' Prices Keep Soaring

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

While Nixon's Price Commission was sitting down in its plush setting in Washington for its first meeting last week, it was becoming very clear that this Commission and the price "freeze" itself is a complete fraud.

Housewives whose husband's salaries have been frozen are finding that they are paying more and more at supermarkets. Corporations, businessmen, big and small, have taken the opportunity under Nixon's freeze to raise their prices and fatten their profits. Working people are ordered now to pay for the bosses' economic crisis with cuts in wages and higher prices.

While the government was claiming that the "freeze" was a big success, the consumer price

index went up nationwide 0.2% and soared 0.5% and 0.9% in New York and Philadelphia.

Everything from apples to fish has gone up. The biggest increases are for daily staples—meat, bread, margarine, canned goods and milk.

Last week the New York Times reported that stores, including for the most part big supermarkets, had increased the prices of seven out of 27 cuts of meat. This week prices for fish, supposedly "stabilized" by the government under the freeze had soared 25%.

While Nixon is setting up a court and getting powers for his Attorney General to get injunctions and take necessary action to deal with any union that defies the wage freeze, he has said the price controls are a "voluntary" matter. In other words

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# Nixon's Judge Worth A Million

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Reports issued by the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Justice Department are revealing all the dirt about Nixon's Supreme Court nominees, Lewis Powell, Jr. from Richmond, Virginia and William Rehnquist, Attorney General Mitchell's assistant.

It is no surprise that Powell turns out to be one of the wealthiest men ever nominated to the Supreme Court with a net worth of at least one million dollars. He and his son own stock in 38 of the most powerful corporations in the United States, among which are included: American Telegraph and Telephone, Eastman Kodak, General Electric, IBM, Philip Morris and the Xerox Corporation.

In the Sperry and Hutchinson Co. alone (which operates the S&H Green Stamp concern), Powell owns \$321,556 worth of shares.

Some people are concerned about a "conflict of interest." Justices are supposed to be impartial and fair, not the defenders of any special interest group.

Naturally there will be all kinds of talk about putting Powell out of reach of his millions but in the end, Powell with all his connections will find a way to hold on to his money.

This is the man who, as

a member of the Supreme Court, can be appointed to Nixon's special court which will have the power to rule for or against unions' appeals for wage increases if they are rejected by the Pay Board. There is not much doubt in whose favor he will rule.

In addition, Powell is a member of two segregated clubs in Richmond, Virginia, and played an important role in re-zoning the city so that several all white suburbs were annexed in order to weaken the Black vote.

## RABID

Rehnquist is not exactly poor either with a net worth of \$77,050. Rehnquist who worked his way up through right wing Arizona politics around Reagan and Goldwater distinguished himself as a rabid hater of unions, Blacks and radicals.

The Justice Department revealed that Rehnquist wrote two letters to the Arizona Republic in 1964 and 1967 opposing integration of high schools and public places.

In 1968, Rehnquist opposed the Arizona civil rights bill. A state senator has called him a "John Birch" and an Arizona labor lawyer stated that Rehnquist is known for his consistently anti-labor positions.

Nixon is doing everything possible to stack not only the Pay Board but the Supreme Court as well with bitter enemies of

# Bosses Pocket Bigger Profits

BY DAN FRIED

The recently released figures of 1971 third quarter corporate earnings show that a large section of America's capitalist giants continue to pile up huge profits.

At the same time the working people have had to struggle to make ends meet as supposedly "frozen" prices continued to soar, wage increases were eliminated and unemployment continued at 6%.

Nixon said in his last televised message that he would not interfere with profits which he said, were the key to a "healthy" economy. One thing is for sure—the profits of U.S. millionaires have been going up at the expense of the working class. But the economy, far from being healthy, is on the brink of world-wide recession and crash as a new outbreak of trade war and monetary crisis threatens.

The third quarter figures show an 11% increase in profits over the same period of 1970. This represents an increase in the combined aggregate profits of 1,256 companies from \$6.1 billion to \$6.8 billion. Some of the biggest increases were reaped in the auto industry.

General Motors reported earnings of \$217.4 million for the quarter as compared to a loss of \$77.1 million last year at a time when the company was hurt by the strike of the UAW. Chrysler more than doubled its profits—from 5 cents to 12 cents per share and Ford's profits went up from 68 cents to 83 cents per share. At the same time these companies expect to further raise car prices from 2 to 3% under Phase II while attempting to welch on wage increases due the auto workers negotiated in last year's contract.

A number of labor leaders have

charged that a good part of the increase in profits resulted from the reaping of "windfall" profits as a result of not having to pay increases that were negotiated before or during the freeze. William Bywater, President of District 3 of the IUE, charges that the total windfall for the bosses during the 90 day period ending November 13 would probably reach \$1 billion.

Two examples put forward by labor officials concern the Raytheon Corporation and Dow Chemical Company.

According to an official of IUE Local 1505 in Waltham, Mass., the local's contract with Raytheon calling for an immediate 22 to 32 cents an hour increase on September 1, has been "deferred." The official, James F. Mulloney, stated: "The increases that have been denied by law to the workers are going right into profits... every day it goes on the higher the windfall gets."

Another official, representing 5,200 Dow Chemical workers, said: "If it wasn't for the freeze, we would have gotten another 3 cents an hour on September 6. When you don't pay that amount to 5,200 people, it represents a lot of money, and it's going into the company's pocket. We're not getting it."

The Cost of Living Council has openly said that it has neither uncovered nor even investigated such windfall profits even though it is obvious that hundreds of corporations either deferred wage increases or held off signing new contracts as a result of the freeze, while at the same time recording higher third quarter earnings. It must be remembered that the man who administered this Council, Arnold Weber, now has a seat as a supposedly impartial "public" member of the Pay Board.

The Cost of Living Council further admits that although "windfall" profits are supposed to be reinvested in new production and in expenditures for new plants and equipment, this has not happened. Apparently, the profiteers

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# Steel Union Militants Fight For Reinstatement

BY A USWA LOCAL 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—Stan Giesen, a chief steward of United Steelworkers Local 2175 at the Thermo-King plant of Westinghouse here, and Laurel Hilk, a wireman at the same plant, have won half of their battle for full reinstatement on their jobs.

Using a loosely worded and obscure rule covering "insubordination," plant superintendent Kenneth Gaines had personally suspended the two, pending discharge, for allegedly being involved in "humiliating a foreman."

The foreman supposedly "humiliated," Joe Marquardt, is well known for his repeated threats, insults, abuse and open racism towards numerous as-

sembly line workers.

Westinghouse had been looking for an opportunity to get rid of Giesen for over a year. Giesen had opposed the imposing of the rotten General Electric and Westinghouse wage pattern on this plant last year. And the current union leadership did not dare to put up a candidate to oppose him when he ran for reelection as chief steward.

## BACKING

Now the union has secured the reinstatement of Giesen and Hilk with a five day suspension without pay. Members of Local 2175 must give full backing to these men to get them reinstated with full back pay. This will mean preparing to go beyond the confines of the present grievance procedure. Union control over working conditions and work rules must be fought for.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Stop Phase Two! Defy Wage Freeze!

The American labor movement must now stand up and fight. The time is short before Nixon proceeds with his Phase Two and the dangers are great.

What is at stake now as Phase Two approaches is the very existence of the unions. The Nixon Administration had made clear that Phase Two will continue as long as necessary. In other words, it will continue until the working class is driven back in its fight for a decent standard of living. Phase One only prepared the groundwork. During Phase One Nixon sought to bring the unions to toe through the cooperation of the trade union bureaucracy.

What is at stake is every basic right won by the trade union movement since its very beginnings. What the government—Nixon, the Democrats and Republicans who rule for the big corporations and banks, are saying is that the unions cannot legally negotiate for wages on behalf of their members without the government's consent. The standard of living of the working people is being forced down by law to preserve the profits of big business. This is the job of the Pay Board and all the legal machinery Nixon is creating to implement its decisions.

While wages have been frozen solid, prices and profits have soared. Unemployment continues to rise. All of Nixon's figure juggling cannot hide these facts. This is what happened under the controls of the Second World War and the Korean War. This is how such measures have always operated in every capitalist country. It cannot be otherwise.

Nixon made it clear from the very beginning that profits were to be protected. This is what the capitalist system of production is based on not on the needs of the masses of people, the working people. The working class must be driven back into poverty and starvation, back to the conditions of the 1930s if capitalism is to survive.

Nixon has been emboldened to go on the Phase Two by the capitulation of the trade union leaders who have agreed to help in implementing the wage freeze. Behind all of Meany's and Woodcock's left talk about making sure the contracts are honored, they are working out a deal. Nixon and the head of the Cost of Living Council are hoping for a deal under which some deferred wages would be granted while fringe benefits and increases for 1972 are held up. This is the deal by which Nixon hopes to not only stop increases but slash wages in the future.

We say that the ranks of labor must accept nothing less than the contracts that were won by the unions, every single clause of them. At the same time the unions cannot stop their struggle for their demands for decent wages. The unions must defy Nixon's freeze and his Pay Board no matter who is sitting on it and continue their fight for higher wages.

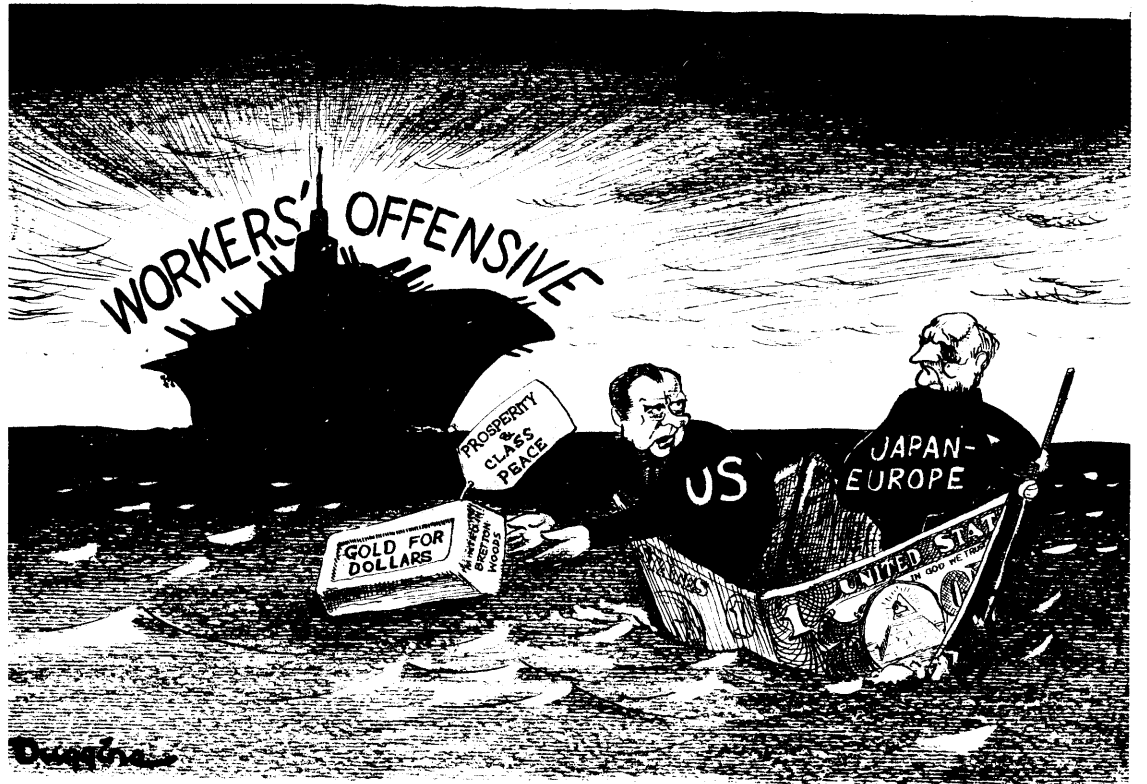
We must demand that Meany, Woodcock, Abel and Company get off the board. The board is stacked against labor and stands against the interests of the working people. It will only work to keep from the workers what they are due.

In the 1930s American workers through years of bitter and bloody battles created one of the most powerful union movements in the world. Now the whole strength of the working class must be mobilized to defeat the attacks of the employers and the government.

We believe that the way to bring a halt to this onslaught is through a national one day general strike which will bring out tens of thousands of trade unionists. This is the call that The Illinois AFL-CIO and the California AFSCME have put out. We believe that this strike should be called on November 12th to tell Nixon and Congress exactly where the labor movement stands.

The trade unionism of the past is not sufficient today. Every single union now confronts not just the employers but the entire state. The government can only be fought today by building a labor party based on the power of the trade unions which will fight for the interests of the workers, unemployed, youth and minorities.

This party must fight for the basic rights of the working people: the right to a decent living standard, to substantial wage increases and an escalator clause in every contract, for the right to jobs and full employment through the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. We must answer the employers pleas of bankruptcy while they reap profits with the nationalization of industry under workers control. This is the way forward.



"There, that won't hold us down any more. Now row faster!"

## What we think

### SWP Endorses Mao's Betrayals

Lenin called the League of Nations a "Thieves Kitchen" and refused to have the Soviet Union participate in it. His position was that the League represented world imperialism and that the task of the first workers state was to build the Communist International dedicated to the defeat of imperialism everywhere.

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky said the following of the League of Nations in 1919: "...The League of Nations... will only play the part of a Holy alliance of the capitalists to suppress the workers' revolution. Propaganda for the League of Nations is the best way of introducing confusion into the revolutionary consciousness of the working class...The revolutionary proletariat of all countries of all the world must wage an irreconcilable struggle...against entry into this League of robbery, of exploitation, and of imperialist counter-revolution."

It was Stalin who took the Soviet Union into this Thieves Kitchen in September, 1934 and this act marked a sharp turn on the part of Stalinism in the direction of collaboration with capitalism in all countries. Trotsky assessed this entry in his basic work *The Revolution Betrayed* in unequivocal terms: "The entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations—represented to the Russian population, with the help of a stage management worthy of Goebbels, as a triumph of socialism and a result of 'pressure' from the world proletariat—was in reality acceptable to the bourgeoisie only as a result of the extreme weakening of the revolutionary danger. It was not a victory of the Soviet Union, but

a capitulation of the Thermidorian bureaucracy to this hopelessly compromised Geneva institution, which, according to the...Bolshevik program, 'will direct its future efforts to the suppression of revolutionary movements.'"

When the United Nations was formed in 1946 to carry forward the same thieving policies as the League of Nations, the Fourth International condemned the Soviet Union's entry. The correctness of this policy was illustrated so dramatically when it was the United Nations which conducted the imperialist war in Korea which was aimed at overthrowing the Chinese revolution itself. It was also the United Nations which arranged the murder of Patrice Lumumba as part of its efforts to subjugate the Congo to imperialism.

Now the Peoples Republic of China enters the United Nations having done its best in Pakistan, Ceylon and elsewhere to prove to the world imperialists that it, too, was impotent in the struggle against them. The entry of China was not a victory of the masses, but, as in the case of the USSR with the League of Nations and the United Nations, the capitulation of the Maoist bureaucracy to imperialism.

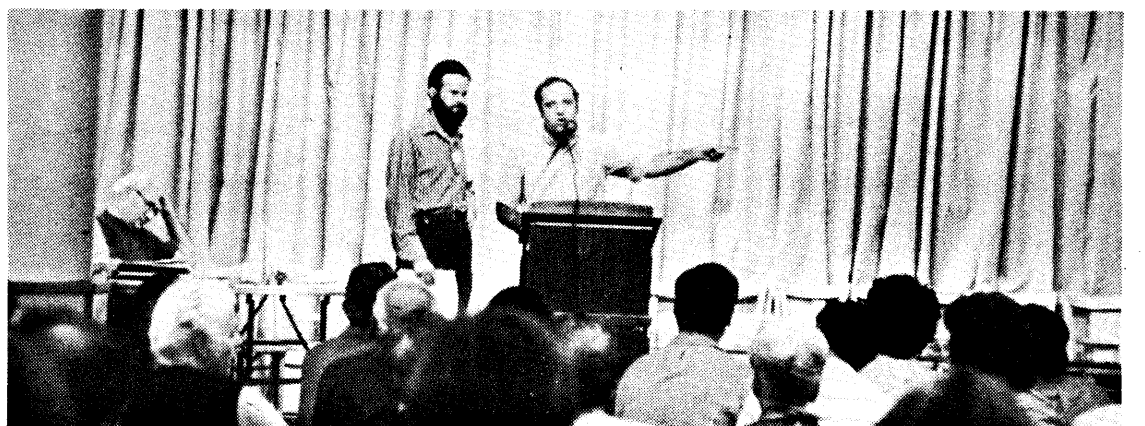
The Socialist Workers Party looks upon it differently in the Nov. 2nd Militant. They see it as "an historic event" and as a result of the "continued weakening of world imperialism." And finally: "The decision to seat China is a victory for the world revolution everywhere."

How far the SWP has travelled from the political outlook of Lenin and Trotsky! How close today it stands with Stalinism! The posi-

tion of the SWP on the United Nations is the political expression of the close collaboration with the Communist Party in the anti-war movement against the class perspective put forward by the Workers League. It is the fruit of its refusal to take up a theoretical struggle against Pabloism, its reunification with Pabloism, and its nationalist and opportunist line ever since.

In 1963 the SWP united with the Mandel forces to form the United Secretariat. This unity took place on the basis of an agreement to have no discussion of the LSSP and Ceylon. In 1964 the LSSP entered a bourgeois coalition government expressing the political fruit of this unification. In 1971 the LSSP, back again in a coalition government, prosecuted a war against rural youth with the support of China and collaborated with China to give aid to Pakistan for butchery in Bangla Desh. Now the SWP greets China's entry into the Thieves Kitchen as a victory for the world revolution!

After Nixon's August 15th speech declaring war on the world working class nothing remains the same. The revisionists are thrown into deep crisis, broken into bits, and driven into the arms of Stalinism and the bourgeoisie. The Trotskyists find that their long, and at many times very lonely and difficult, struggle for principle leads immediately to strength, to development, to support from the forces of the working class moving forward and those who reflect this movement. This is the meaning of the SWP's endorsement of the United Nations as the Workers League makes its greatest strides forward in its history.



A recent joint meeting of NPAC-PCPJ, in which SWP liquidated itself into the Stalinists.

# THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE & THE OCI

## STATEMENT OF THE OCI

PUBLISHED IN "INFORMATIONS  
OUVRIERE" OCTOBER 20-27, 1971

-From the O.C.I. (French section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International).

-From the P.O.R. (Bolivian section of the International Committee).

-and from the Organising Committee of the Communists (Trotskyists) from the Eastern European countries.

The delegations of the Political Bureau of the O.C.I., French section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, of the P.O.R., Bolivian section of the International Committee and of the Organising Committee of Communists (Trotskyists) in the East European countries, discussed questions of common interest raised by the struggle carried out by the P.O.R., of which the significance is outlined as follows:

Since the General Strike in France and the process of political revolution in Czechoslovakia, the political power of the working class is posed at the centre

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## STATEMENT OF THE OCI

SEPTEMBER 19, 1971

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the OCI, section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, having examined the situation in Bolivia, on the basis of all the documents available, and in particular on the basis of the report of the development of the revolutionary struggle drawn up by comrade Guillermo Lora, secretary of the POR of Bolivia, reaffirms completely its absolute solidarity with the POR, Trotskyist party, member of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, in its struggle waged in Bolivia for the workers' and peasants' government and for soviet power.

The Central Committee of the OCI recalls that the International Committee characterized the period opened by the General Strike of May-June 1968 and the process of political revolution in Czechoslovakia as the period of the imminence of revolution, that is the period when class confrontations will take place posing the question of power.

The CC states that the process of class struggle in Bolivia completely fits into this perspective. In Bolivia it is, in fact, around an organ of a soviet type that the worker and peasant masses organized themselves in their struggle against the domination of yankee imperialism and the miserable Bolivian bourgeoisie.

Like the soviet in Irbid in

Palestine, like the workers, councils in the Baltic ports in Poland, the setting up of the Popular Assembly expresses the fundamental trend of the period, the will of the proletariat and peasant masses to enter into the struggle for power.

The CC of the OCI, member of the International Committee, salutes the heroic struggle carried out by the Bolivian POR in a situation where all the forces of imperialism sought to break this deep aspiration of the Bolivian masses to destroy the bourgeois masses and the relations of production of capitalist property to build workers power.

The CC of the OCI states that in the coup d'etat organized by the CIA and the military dictators of Brazil and Argentine and facilitated by the action of the Torres government is the proof that the policy carried by the POR was fundamentally based on the interests of the Bolivian proletariat and of the world proletariat.

The facts confirm this: at each stage of the process, the political struggle of the POR enabled the masses to preserve their independence of the class from Torres and to outdo all the manoeuvres aiming against to subordinate them to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

It is the policy of the POR which enabled the maintenance right to the end of the form, raised to the level of power, of the United Class Front of the political and trade union organ-

## STATEMENT OF THE IC (MAJORITY) OCTOBER 24, 1971

### A NEW PERIOD FOR THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

The Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, now faces the greatest change and the greatest challenge in its history. Capitalism's international economic crisis entered a completely new stage on August 15th, 1971 when President Nixon administered the death-blow to all the economic and political relations imposed by the ruling class, assisted by the Stalinist bureaucracy, in 1944-45. In the new conditions, the working class is everywhere driven into struggles for power, and the Trotskyist movement has now unprecedented opportunities for assembling and training the revolutionary working class leadership. The conditions of defeat in which the movement was founded, the war which followed, and then the long years of post-war boom, means that the fight for the continuity of revolutionary Marxism was a fight against Stalinist repression, against isolation and under conditions unfavourable for the development of Marxist theory. Trotskyism suffered from revisionist attempts to liquidate the Fourth International, and since 1953, when Pablo and his group split from the Fourth International only the International Committee of

the Fourth International has fought for the continuity of Trotskyism. Now the International Committee has the task of building parties in every country capable of leading the struggle for power.

The leap in consciousness, the development of revolutionary theory and practice, necessary to meet this responsibility, involves an ideological struggle within the IC itself.

On October 12th, 1971, a minority of the I.C., i.e., two sections: The Hungarian LSH and the French OCI, published a declaration denouncing the Socialist Labour League, the British section, and the Workers League USA (in political solidarity with the IC) for their criticisms of the Bolivian POR. One of the signatories of the declaration is Guillermo Lora, Secretary of the POR, which is not a section of the International Committee. Its application for affiliation was to be considered at the next IC Conference (Fourth). The IC consists of British, Greek, Ceylonese, Hungarian, French and Canadian sections, together with the Irish and Mexican (LOM) sections admitted at the 1970 pre-Conference of the IC.

Lambert (OCI) and Nagy (Hungary) do not speak for the IC, and this present document is the reply to their minority statement by the IC majority.

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izations, expressed in the Popular Assembly.

It is the unity in and around the Popular Assembly, organ of dual power, which under the leadership of the Trotskyist party, the POR, dominated the whole revolutionary process before and after the confrontations of August 20 to August 23.

The Moscow bureaucracy recognised this; they condemned their party in their press for having capitulated before the POR.

The POR gave to all the petty-bourgeois currents the example of an armed struggle based on workers' militias and completely integrated in the movement of workers in struggle for their emancipation.

It is consciously that, through the voice of the 'Washington Post', yankee imperialism stated that, on the first day of the fascist uprising in Santa Cruz, the Bolivian situation was far more serious than that in Chile, that it confronted the United States with a more dangerous state of affairs than even the Cuban revolution of 1959, because the Bolivian masses had taken up the struggle for a 'workers' government'.

The CC of the OCI declares that the Bolivian revolution is an integral part of the E Berlin uprising of 1953, of the Hungarian workers' council revolution, of the movement towards political revolution of the Czechoslovak people, of the struggle of the Polish workers, of the May-June 1968 General Strike in France, of the struggle of the English proletariat against the Tory government, of the General Motors strike in the United States, of the struggle of the Spanish proletariat against Franco, of the struggle of the

Argentinian proletariat against military dictatorship, of the struggle of the world proletariat to destroy the domination of imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy which coalesces with it.

It is this which determined the intervention of imperialism and which explains the hatred of the Bolivian revolution shown by the world bourgeoisie, by the Moscow bureaucracy and its Stalinist parties, and by all petty-bourgeois parties.

The CC of the OCI, member of the International Committee, states that those who attack the Bolivian POR, attack the party which was the instigator and motive force of the Popular Assembly, that is the organ which concretized the struggle of the Bolivian proletariat to build its own power and which opened the road towards the dictatorship of the proletariat in Bolivia. All those who attack the POR through this, represent the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They take the sides of imperialism and Stalinism. They are agents of counter-revolution and are enemies, conscious or unconscious, of the Fourth International.

The CC of the OCI, member of the International Committee, notes that those who attack the POR and expose their total incapacity in understanding the meaning of the struggle of the Bolivian masses, are the same people who characterized Ho Chi Minh as a revolutionary, the man who covered up the murder of the Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Tau those who subordinated the Palestinian resistance to Nasser, then to the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Palestinian resistance, who tried to justify, by talking of so-called counter-revolutionary threats, the intervention of the

Kremlin bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia.

They take their rightful place in the camp of slanderers of the heroic struggle of the POR of which numerous leaders fell in the civil war paying the heavy price of the struggle for the international proletarian revolution.

The CC of the OCI, who took up the struggle in 1951-1952 to maintain the continuity of the Fourth International, that is the link with the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky and of Bolshevism, against the attempt of those who with Pablo agreed to liquidation in the face of the Stalinist bureaucracy, states that the Pabloite Unified Secretariat has once again taken a stand against the POR and the Fourth International, as they did in 1953, at the time of the E Berlin uprising and the French General Strike, as at the time of the second intervention in Hungary in 1956, and as at all crucial moments in the class struggle, on the side of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Today, when the whole of the perspectives on which the struggle of Leon Trotsky were founded become clear and concrete more and more as the linked crisis of imperialism and bureaucracy accelerates, and when confrontations posing power multiply, the CC of the OCI affirms that it will continue with all the necessary firmness the struggle taken up 20 years ago, because it is the struggle for the victory of the world proletarian revolution, for the universal power of soviets, for the building of revolutionary parties, sections of the Fourth International in each country, and the rebuilding of the Fourth International, the indispensable instrument for victory.

September 19, 1971.



*Continued From Page 7*

The calling of a meeting in Paris advertising as Chairman, Stephen Just, "Secretary of the IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International," shows that the OCI has arrogated to itself the functions of the IC, rejected the IC, and nominated its own "Secretary" as opposed to the elected secretary. This is a split from the IC and its politics. It is a split by a minority.

On September 22nd, the OCI issued a public declaration denouncing as "enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, agents of counterrevolution and enemies, conscious or unconscious, of the Fourth International, all those who attack the POR (Bolivian)". They refer to the SLL and the Workers League.

There is the International Committee of the Fourth International, resting on the foundation laid down by Trotsky in 1938, the first four Congresses of the Third International, and all the work of the IC since 1953, particularly the decisions of the 1966 Conference. And there is the bogus "IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International," represented by the OCI and the Hungarian sections, who want to regroup with centrists against the Fourth International. This split, and not the Bolivian revolution and the Bolivian POR is the basic issue.

## 2 THE SPLIT AT ESSEN

This became crystal-clear at the Essen Youth Rally in July 1971. There, representatives of the OCI, the Hungarian section and the Mexican LOM, voted along with centrists and even right-wing organisations against the amendment to the main resolution put by the representative of the SLL and supported by representatives of a majority of the IC sections (Ceylon, Ireland, Canada, Greece, SLL). The issue was clear: the OCI and its associates voted against amendments stating that the only revolutionary international and revolutionary parties are the Fourth International. In their opposition they naturally received the support of the POUM (Spain) and other centrists, as well as of the right-wing American National Students' Association. NSA is a right-wing student organisation directly tied to the bourgeois establishment, even to the extent, under a previous leadership, of admittedly receiving funds from the CIA. Its spokesman used the Essen rally as a platform for the Stalinist-supported "People's Peace Treaty in Vietnam" campaign. Such are the dangers involved in the OCI's movement to centrism and centrist methods.

The OCI and its associates opposed and voted down the following amendment: (presented by the SLL and supported by the majority of the IC sections: Greece, Canada, Ceylon, Ireland).

"There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially of Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory. The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this rally and for the struggle to build the international revolutionary youth movement. Revolutionary youth everywhere must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combatting the dangers of adventurism, activism and "pure" militancy with which revisionists and Maoists mislead the youth, and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class."

This was already a split, the real split. They do not want the FI built on the foundations of dialectical materialism and the politics of Lenin and Trotsky, but they want a centrist amalgam of all those who want to disarm the masses by talk about "revolutionary united fronts" and "expressing the will of the masses." Their "IC for the reconstruction of the FI" is their fraudulent attempt to use the revolutionary name of the IC of the FI for their own opportunist aims. They will never succeed in doing this. The majority of the IC rejected their unprincipled manoeuvre at Essen. Now they have chosen to stake everything on the issue of Bolivia, as a smokescreen for the real issues which they will not discuss. Running away from the real theoretical and practical questions of building the FI, they propose to intimidate the movement with shouting about solidarity with the POR of Bolivia. This was the old trick used by the SWP on Cuba in 1963: no theoretical discussion and no criticism of Cuba; they are involved in a revolution. Similarly, Pablo excluded political discussion with his theory of the imminent Third World War. And it must never be forgotten that the suppression of discussion on Cuba and Ceylon, used to effect the "unification" of 1963, had as its direct consequence the entry of the LSSP, while still a section of the Pabloite Secretariat, into the bourgeois coalition of Bandaranaike.

The vote of the OCI and the Hungarian section at Essen against the IC majority was carried out in front of an observer of the American Spartacist group of Robertson. This has an historical significance which cannot be overstated.

At the Third Conference of the IC in 1966, the French and Hungarian sections voted with the rest of the IC delegations for resolutions affirming the revolutionary

continuity of the Fourth International. Opposing this were two groups invited as observers to the Conference, Robertson's Spartacists and the French "Voix Ouvriere" (now Lutte Ouvriere). As opportunists and pragmatists they denounced the IC's struggle for continuity against revisionism. After the Conference, Robertson collaborated with Hansen and the revisionist SWP in wholesale slander of the SLL and the IC. In its resolution at the 1966 Conference, the IC, including the OCI, unanimously stated: "...The IC not only disassociates itself from the activities and publications of the Spartacists (Robertson) group but insists that a Marxist party can be built only in opposition to it." Robertson's politics since then have been opportunist on every question, and his group has worked in complete opposition to the International Committee. To admit Robertson's group as observers at Essen at this stage is in effect to junk the whole struggle for principles upon which the IC is based. The OCI will reply that the invitation was issued on individual initiative by Comrade Berg, secretary of the AJS, and that they have condemned it. On July 9th, after Essen, the OCI Political Bureau carried unanimously the following resolution:

"The Political Bureau regrets that the Robertson "Spartacist" group was invited as observer to Essen, without this decision being taken responsibly. The PB considers this individual initiative to be wrong and condemns it." This leaves unanswered the point that the OCI leadership is itself politically responsible for the

**WE ARE INTERRUPTING THE SERIES "THE STRUGGLE FOR TROTSKYISM IN CEYLON" WHICH WILL BE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE.**

opportunist politics of Berg.

Is it accidental that the OCI at Essen returned to an alliance, against Trotskyism, with a tendency such as the POUM, hostile to the very foundation of the Fourth International, and prepared to collaborate with the OCI only on the basis of abandoning the struggle for its foundation and continuity. Precisely at the point in the world crisis where everything depends on the conscious creation, on the basis of Marxist theory and programme, of revolutionary parties, where the struggle against liquidationism and against the revision of dialectical materialism comes to a head, at this point comes the split! The OCI runs clean away from this historic struggle and, in the name of "expressing" spontaneous movements of the masses, joins sworn opponents of the FI, collaborates with the centrist riffraff against the IC.

## 3 THE FIGHT FOR DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

When the French delegation at Essen opposed the

SLL amendment on the struggle for Marxist theory, they set the seal on an opposition to dialectical materialism which was not at all new. One year earlier, in June 1970, at the international pre-Conference of the IC, these differences became explicit. And for very good reasons objectively founded in the struggle. Anticipating the profound worsening of the economic crisis and the struggle provoked by it, the SLL delegates stressed the urgency of the basic training of the youth in dialectical thinking.

What was most essential in the preparation of the sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a struggle to understand and to transform the consciousness of the working class in the changing objective conditions. This means the understanding and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism. Reflecting the attacks on dialectical materialism by the petty bourgeois intelligentsia of the advanced capitalist countries, especially France and Germany, and of Eastern Europe, the OCI and Hungarian delegations declared that dialectical materialism was not a theory of knowledge, and took up the position that only programme was the basis of the building of parties. Here is the very essence of revisionism which prepares the way for liquidating the party into centrism.

We insist once more, with all our force: only a basic struggle for dialectical materialism against all enemies of Marxism and carried forward in struggle against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class, can equip the youth for the building of the Fourth International.

In the polemic with Burnham and Shactman (1939-40), Trotsky wrote:

"In the United States...where the bourgeoisie systematically instills vulgar empiricism in the workers, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level."

The theoretical struggle at this basic level is essential for every section of the Fourth International. And against those who refuse to "acquire and develop dialectical materialism," Trotsky wrote: "This is nothing else than a renunciation of Marxism, of scientific method in general, a wretched capitulation to empiricism."

## 4 THE OCI AND THE FRENCH WORKING CLASS

This opposition to the basic theoretical struggle for the revolutionary youth has roots in the orientation of the OCI towards the French proletariat. At no time has the OCI been able consistently to put forward a policy and programme to bring it close to the mass of the French workers who vote for the Stalinists and are organised around the Stalinist-led CGT. Instead they have orientated towards those sections still

## OCI STATEMENT

*Continued from page 7*

of each struggle of workers and youth throughout the world. In the face of decaying imperialism which offers only misery, unemployment, fascist barbarism and a war of extermination, in the face of the bureaucracy which threatens to destroy the conquests of the glorious Revolution of October 1917, which puts a brake on and dislocates their struggles, all the resistance and demands of the workers, all their will to live requires the direct and immediate struggle to take power, to impose a workers government.

Never before has the conquest of power by the proletariat been such a clear, achievable and urgent task!

The creation of the Soviet in Irbid by the oppressed Palestinian masses, the committees and councils formed by the Polish working class, the Bolivian Popular Assembly concretise these struggles converging on this immediate goal, proceeding although through different stages and different forms, towards the Universal Republic of Soviets.

It is in Bolivia that this march forward of the working class towards its power reached its highest level, rich in experience, expressing and concretising the deepest aspiration of the whole of the international working class. At the head of the Bolivian workers was the P.O.R., armed with the programme of the Fourth International, steeped in dozens of years of determined struggle for the proletarian revolution against nationalism, against Stalinism, against Pabloite revisionism and against all forms of petty bourgeois ideas, such as guerilla-ism, deeply entrenched in the most combative section of the Bolivian proletariat. Because this Party prepared this struggle, it was prepared for it, and was able to seize the occasion and, at each revolutionary process, it developed the conditions for the working class to take power. We can see, in the development of the Bolivian revolution, not only the aspiration of the workers throughout the world for their government, but also mainly the lessons and experiences on the means and methods to achieve this. The achievement of the unity of the class through the workers United Front, motive force of the anti-imperialist United Front, materialised in the Popular Assembly, organ of power. The P.O.R. of Bolivia, member of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the

Fourth International worked for this unity to create the indispensable conditions for the taking of power.

This experience of a struggle for a workers and peasants government, under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a vital experience for the international working class, brings to life the universal lessons of the 1917 October Revolution. It is the most worthy commemoration on the eve of its next anniversary. This is then the positive reply to the Hungarian revolution of workers councils, which fifteen years ago, sought in vain for its organised political leadership. Here is the Trotskyist demonstration of a struggle to give centralised and organised strength to the struggle of the whole of the proletariat marching towards power against the French Stalinists who betrayed and dislocated the 1968 General Strike, and fought the attempt of the O.C.I. to achieve such an organised centralisation.

Today the French CP carries out a slander campaign against the P.O.R. with the aim of turning the proletariat away from the carrying out of its revolutionary tasks.

The international apparatus of the Kremlin finds in this work the greatest of support from the campaign of the obedient Pabloites (Ligue Communiste, Lutte Ouvriere), against the P.O.R. in struggle.

No one can be mistaken. All the open and concealed enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Party, today pour out mountains of lies and slanders against the P.O.R. of Bolivia. The Stalinists who, at each point and on an international scale, fight the class independence realised in the Popular Assembly, which was firmly maintained by the P.O.R., glorify the class collaboration in Chile, condemn not only the P.O.R. but the Bolivian Communist Party which, in the Popular Assembly was forced to accept the United Front. All the petty bourgeois currents spit out their hatred of the Bolivian P.O.R. because it vigorously resisted sectarian adventures, firmly guiding the struggle of the popular masses towards the workers' government. Particularly active in the petty bourgeois Front against the P.O.R., the Pabloites find their place with all their nuances: The "Lute Ouvriere," the so-called Ligue "Communiste" of the Unified Secretariat, the renegades of the Fourth International, those who glorified

supporting the social-democrats, primarily in the older industries. They sought support outside of the orbit of the Stalinists instead of fighting for policies which would break the main body of workers from their mass party. One of the consequences is that the rapidly accumulating effects of the world crisis find the OCI paralysed in its political work in the French working class. Their hysterical outbursts on Bolivia, their frantic desire to find an issue to separate from the SLL and the IC—these are the reactions to the deepening crisis of a petty bourgeois group which falls back on revolutionary shouting, not of a party which goes deeper into the masses to fight for a development of theory. This characteristic resort to radical phrasemongering is, again, connected with the failure of the OCI to struggle on every level for dialectical materialism against the dominant forms of bourgeois philosophy, in this case French rationalism and its twin, pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric.

The Essen rally itself was conceived and carried through by the OCI as a diversion from the unresolved problems of their work in the French working class. An artificial formula was constructed which made West Germany the focal point of the workers' struggle in Europe, and then the OCI led their youth movement to a rally where less than 200 German youth participated, and real political work to build sections of the FI was replaced by demagoguery and showmanship. It could not and did not have the slightest effect on the workers of France or of Germany. The SLL participated reluctantly, and only on the understanding that we received the preparatory document in time. It was received untranslated, only a few hours before our delegation left for Essen. The SLL and the majority of the IC sections, having moved their amendment, voted for the general resolution despite differences, only in order to preserve public unity of the IC during the period of preparation of the International Fourth Conference, at which the disputed questions would be discussed.

May-June 1968, with the French workers on general strike themselves striving for an alternative government, was the greatest testing time for the OCI. But what did the strike reveal?

It revealed the theoretical bankruptcy and political impotence of the OCI whose leadership—guided by a superficial impressionist analysis of De Gaulle's coup in 1958—had exaggerated the strength and viability of the Fifth Republic, abandoned its revolutionary perspective and written off the revolutionary capacities of the French working class. This defeatist conception, which extended even to the Vietnam war, was summed up in the rationalisation of Lambert that the French working class was "decisively defeated in 1958." This pessimistic and essentially middle-class outlook expressed itself in all the organisational and agitational work of the OCI and the AJS before and after 1968. It is an undeniable fact that at no time during the general strike did the OCI leadership advance a

socialist programme. Nor did it attempt to undermine the political credibility of the Stalinist leadership by critically supporting the demand of the Renault workers for a "Popular Government" by advancing the demand of a CP-CGT Government. Instead, the OCI leaders tail-ended the working class and restricted the political scope of the strike by demanding a central strike committee. This was a complete evasion of the political responsibilities of revolutionary leadership.

Is it necessary to remind the OCI leaders that one of the chief reasons for the definitive split with the Pabloites was their refusal to address political demands to the trade union bureaucracy and fight for a CP-CGT Government in the French General Strike of 1953? Revolutionists do not abstain on basic political questions—only centrists and syndicalists do.

The Socialist Labour League had warned the French section of the dangers before 1968: 15th May 1967, "Now the radicalisation of the workers in Western Europe is proceeding rapidly, particularly in France. The election results there, the threat of a return to the political instability of the ruling class in the Fourth Republic, the mounting strike struggles, the taking of emergency powers all these place a premium on revolutionary preparation. There is always a danger at such a stage of development that a revolutionary party responds to the situation in the working class not in a revolutionary way, but by adaptation to the level of struggle to which the workers are restricted by their own experience under the old leaderships, i.e., to the inevitable initial confusion. Such revisions of the fight for the independent Party and the Transitional Programme are usually dressed up in the disguise of getting closer to the working class, unity with all those in struggle, not posing ultimatums, abandoning dogmatism, etc." (Reply to the OCI).

Even from this 1968 experience the lessons were not learned. In fact the abstentionist methods and omissions of the general strike period were continued into the presidential elections of 1969. In the referendum in March of the same year, the OCI had correctly campaigned for a vote against De Gaulle, in contrast to the abstentionism of the Pabloites. However the gains from this correct turn were lost in the presidential elections, the class character of which was ignored by the OCI. Basing themselves on their fraudulent theory of the "United Class Front", the OCI leaders used the failure of the CP and SP to agree on a single candidate as a pretext for not supporting the CP candidate, Duclos, against Pompidou. The task of revolutionaries was to raise the consciousness of Stalinist rank and file by critically supporting Duclos and pointing out that the main enemy was Pompidou. The OCI should have campaigned throughout the labour movement to demand that the CP candidate be pledged to a socialist policy against the banks and monopolies. To carry forward this fight, while calling for a massive vote for Duclos, was the

best way to exposing the Stalinists and their programme of "advanced democracy" and fighting for alternative revolutionary leadership. Any other course leaves the Stalinist control undisturbed. It was also necessary to expose the SP candidate whose party refused to vote for Duclos in the second ballot and supported the bourgeois candidate, Poher. The OCI leaders did none of these things. Some members voted for Duclos, others for Deferre (SP) and others, including comrade Lambert, abstained. What was worse, the OCI attacked the Stalinists for having dared to stand a candidate in the elections despite the fact that the Stalinists in the previous presidential elections in 1965 did not do so and instead supported Mitterand, a bourgeois politician. In 1965, the OCI did not even intervene: thus in France, as in Bolivia, the policy of the "united class front" and the "united workers front" has become a means for disorienting the workers and strengthening the grip of the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists over the mass movement. The sectarian absence of any policy towards the Stalinists in France easily turns into opportunism, so that the OCI now writes in *Informations Ouvrières* about the Clyde struggle in Britain without any criticism of its Stalinist shop steward leaders—in the same issue as their denunciation of the Socialist Labour League and Workers League as agents of counter-revolution!

## 5 THE CAPITULATION TO SPONTANEITY

Just as the difference over dialectical materialism at the IC's pre-Conference was the necessary and conscious anticipation of the essential theoretical problems to be overcome in the impending revolutionary crisis, so Essen was the anticipation of the open split which these problems would produce on the International Committee. The real split was already effected at Essen, when the OCI lined up with anti-Trotskyists in a public vote against the majority of the IC. They ran away from the principled questions raised at Essen. They raise the question of Bolivia in a totally unprincipled way in order to keep around them their middle-class allies. We will never accept this running to the centrists, and we will oppose to the end the OCI and anyone else who does it. As the Secretary of the SLL wrote to comrade Lambert of the OCI on 14th July 1971, in reference to Essen:

"We have not spent all our lives fighting centrism to suddenly decide to capitulate to it on the eve of the greatest class struggles in history."

It is necessary to make one other major point on the split pronounced by the OCI. They carry out this split while a Congress of the IC is in preparation and due to be held before the end of 1971. Even though the events at Essen created conditions where day-to-day collaboration with the OCI became impossible, nevertheless it was agreed to proceed with the preparation of documents and arrange the Conference, as the only way of dealing with the differences. These documents are now prepared. But the OCI and the Hungarian sections have chosen to split before the Conference. They act in the same tradition as the SWP, which in 1963 avoided the Conference of the IC and effected its "unification" with the Pabloites.

At the very heart of the attacks of revisionism has been the attempt to liquidate the party into spontaneous and so-called "objective" processes. This is the expression of an anti-dialectical method which denies the role of revolutionary consciousness in changing the material struggle itself under specific conditions. Thus Pablo held that given a changed world balance of forces in the postwar period a "new reality" existed whereby the "revolutionary process" would force the Stalinist Parties, the social democratic bureaucracies and the petty-bourgeois nationalists in a "rough way" to make the revolution.

We now find this method developed once again by the OCI. We are told we are in a period of "imminent revolution." Within this period there is a "revolutionary process." Parties and leaderships then "correspond" to this "process." We are even told of an overall process occasionally "concretised" in something like the Popular Assembly in Bolivia, which proceeds "through different stages and different forms towards the Universal Republic of Soviets." The revolutionary party's task is to "express these processes."

This is nothing more than idealism in the form of French rationalism gone mad. We repeat what Lenin said: "The truth is always concrete." Only through a detailed and specific analysis of the actual development of the class struggle under the specific conditions of the capitalist crisis can we begin to relate our strategy to the actual changes in the consciousness and life of workers. This requires of us a conscious development of dialectical materialism as we struggle within the workers movement. This struggle is at all times the struggle to construct Trotskyist parties independent of centrism and Stalinism. Such parties and only such parties can lead the revolution. They can only lead the revolution in the bitterest of struggles against the counter-revolutionary Stalinist and social democratic betrayers.

Within this framework the OCI's position on the "united class front" becomes a complete liquidation of the party and its subordination to the Stalinist and social democratic parties and union apparatus. Lenin and Trotsky saw the united front as a tactic and not

## CONTINUED

petty bourgeois leaders - Stalinists like Gomulka as well as Yasser Arafat - who carried out an unprincipled agreement with representatives of the bourgeoisie in the "Vietnam Committee." These same petty bourgeois attack the P.O.R. who were able to express the revolutionary process in Bolivia. They capitulate in Latin America as in France and everywhere in front of so-called spontaneist currents of the petty bourgeoisie to participate in the Stalinist attack against the revolutionary upsurge of the masses who, in each country, pose the dictatorship of the proletariat, the democracy of workers councils.

It is precisely because the Bolivian events concentrate at their highest point the march towards power of the international working class, posing as the most important thing all the decisive questions in the conquest of power, as well as the activity of the Trotskyist Party at the heart of this world process in an epoch of upheavals and sharp turns, that the unresolved problems come out of the crisis of the Fourth International which in 1950 Pablo, Mandel, Frank etc., wanted to destroy finding their expression also in the heart of the International Committee.

Only the petty bourgeoisie find this surprising. The history of the Fourth International, since its foundation by Leon Trotsky in 1938, was difficult struggle for its maintenance against immense forces grouped together to destroy it. Only the Fourth International, through its programme and through its untiring struggles, has always fought for the class independence of the proletariat, for the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and Stalinist class collaboration. That is why it was, and is today the centre of sharp attacks by all the enemies of the proletariat. The Fourth International is decisive in the outcome of the world class struggle as it is the continuation of Bolshevism, of the October Revolution. The Trotskyists who, since 1950, resisted the policy of capitulation in front of the bureaucracy which is the essence of Pabloism, the Trotskyist organisations which, in 1953 set up the International Committee, they alone ensured the continuity of the Fourth International and thus preserved the conditions for its reconstruction indispensable to the building in each country of the leading Revolutionary Workers Party, national section of the

Fourth International.

What is more natural than that all the difficult problems of the international class struggle be reflected and concentrated at its heart? What is more natural than the fact that the decisive factor in the outcome of the gigantic world struggle be reflected in the crisis of the Fourth International as it is in the crisis of all the organisations of the working class?

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

The three delegations, meeting in Paris, considering that the discussion is legitimate, as much between the sections adhering to the I.C. as inside each of its sections, they condemn the method used by the Workers League and the S.L.L. who publicly condemned the Bolivian section of the I.C.

It is for this reason that the delegations of the O.C.I. and of the Organising Committee for the Eastern European countries agree with the request made by comrade G. Lora, demanding that the I.C. be called to a plenary meeting in the most rapid way to take a stand on the report on the Bolivian revolution and the tasks of the reconstruction of the Fourth International which the leadership of the P.O.R. has prepared.

Paris 12th October 1971

**Guillermo LORA, Secretary of the Bolivian P.O.R., member of the I.C. for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.**

**Pierre LAMBERT, from the C.C. of the O.C.I., French section of the I.C. for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.**

**Balazs NAGY, leader of the League of Socialist Revolutionaries of Hungary, member of the I.C. for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, leader of the Organizing Committee of Communists (Trotskyists) of E. Europe.**

a strategy as the OCI claim. They saw it as a relationship between mass workers' parties of a temporary character for the purpose of winning the masses to the Communist Party. The OCI has transformed this into an overall "unity" of the class achieved on the basis of its present leadership, without the participation in the united front of our party. This "united class front" more and more, in their theorising and practice, takes over the role of the revolutionary party itself.

In the October 12th statement we find reference to "the achievement of the unity of the class through the workers United Front, motive force of the anti-imperialist United Front...." This carries the liquidation one step further dissolving even the workers united front into a broader "anti-imperialist" one—broad enough no doubt to include the bourgeoisie or at least its petty-bourgeois representatives.

In the 1950s, the OCI made an identical mistake in their policy in Algeria. The bourgeois-nationalist MNA of Messali Hadj was elevated to a revolutionary party not only in Algeria, but in France itself. The Pabloites supported one wing of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the FLN, and the OCI supported the other, the MNA. In Britain, the SLL had given critical support to the MNA, but broke off all relations with their representatives in Britain when the MNA approached the United Nations for intervention in Algeria. The OCI continued its relations with Messali Hadj even until the open collaboration of Messali with De Gaulle. The OCI's position today on the "united class front" and "anti-imperialist" front, even after the defeat in Bolivia, shows that their "correction" of the Algerian adventure has been purely formal, and that its theoretical roots remain firmly implanted in the OCI.

Related to this has been the OCI's position that it is not a party, and that the Fourth International does not really exist. It sees the national and international party in quantitative terms rather than from the point of view of the development of Marxist theory. This in turn led it; on the eve of the May-June 1968 events, to not even have the post of secretary of its organisation, so far had the capitulation to spontaneity developed.

On the question of the struggle in the colonial and ex-colonial countries, the anti-Marxist method of the OCI has had the obvious results, and not only in Algeria. The OCI refused to campaign in support of a

lory for the NLF, because of its Stalinist leadership, and called instead for the "victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants." This led to a situation on the eve of the 1968 Tet offensive where comrade Berg openly stated an abstentionist position on Vietnam. And now, after years of refusal to support the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, and inability to take the side of the Arab revolution against Zionism and U.S. imperialism, the OCI welcomes the Irbid "Soviet" as some manifestation of a world process towards the Universal Republic of Workers' Councils! Inability to fight against the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists in a real fight for independent leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle, and at the same time an abstract demagoguery about the victory of the workers and peasants and the international striving for Soviets.

## 6 THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

Bolivia is being used as a smokescreen to cover up the bloc with centrism against the International Committee. As if this were not criminal enough, in proceeding in this fashion, the OCI turns against the most fundamental lessons of our movement on the question of political principle and at the same time covers up for the worst sort of opportunism in Latin America. We take back nothing from our criticisms of Lora and his role in the defeat of the Bolivian working class. How could we have proceeded otherwise than with an open attack? The road to coalition government in Ceylon was paved by such cover-ups time and again on the part of the Pabloite leadership. How could we draw the lessons we do from their betrayal in Ceylon and practice the same politics in relation to someone on the periphery of the International Committee? We cover over nothing. We build the Fourth International on the basis of political principle and complete honesty.

It was in fact the OCI which first publicly criticised the politics of Lora and the POR. The October 1970 issue of *La Verite* carried a lengthy criticism of the thesis passed at the April 1970 Congress of the COB (Bolivian trade union federation). This thesis was the product of the joint collaboration of the POR and the Stalinist Bolivian CP. It was voted for by both parties and the Popular Assembly was later to base itself politically on this document. The OCI wrote:

"...We are dealing with a text which after having made certain concessions to the idea of constructing socialism in Bolivia alone, takes on the one hand, a Stalinist type view of the Ovando regime, and introduces in the chapter on proletarian internationalism, a Stalinist analysis. We have found in the COB thesis on the one hand passages of direct Stalinist inspiration, and on the other a serious omission concerning Czechoslovakia."

The OCI concludes:

"Comrades, we tell you without evasion, moved by a profound and even anguished conviction, that if this

really became the charter of the Bolivian workers' movement and represented its orientation and if the POR was to adopt it (or even for a long time keep silent on the fact that it is the result of a compromise and only has a very circumstantial value) then the thesis of the COB can constitute a noose around the neck of the Bolivian proletariat for it encloses it within the framework of Bolivia."

Was the OCI at that time giving in "to enormous pressures" as the OCI now says of the SLL and the Workers League? Was the OCI in making those criticisms identifying itself "as enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and placing itself "on the side of imperialism and Stalinism"?

The truth is that in 1967 the OCI held the position that revolutions could not be made in the underdeveloped countries until such time as mass revolutionary parties were created in the advanced countries. So distant was the struggle in the underdeveloped countries from the thinking and perspectives of the OCI leadership until very recently that the basic resolution around which it wished the Fourth Conference to be organised "For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" hardly mentions Latin America and does not mention Bolivia at all. And yet the Bolivian question is now made the pretext for a split from the International Committee.

We cannot educate a new generation of cadres as revolutionaries with such factional and dishonest methods. We cannot allow the question of Bolivia to be used rather than assessed for the purpose of actually developing theoretically a new leadership in the underdeveloped countries.

We restate what we said about the history of the Lora group. Lora was the major supporter of Pablo in Latin America in 1952. With Pablo's help he gave critical support to the bourgeois MNR Paz government. Here is how a member of his party reported the POR's position in the Fourth International at the time.

"The POR began by justifiably granting critical support to the MNR government. That is, it desisted from issuing the slogan 'down with the government'; it gave the government critical support against attacks of imperialism and reaction, and it supported all progressive measures."

This is just the way the LSSP began its move towards openly joining the Ceylonese coalition government.

The POR broke with Pablo, but it turned its back on the International Committee refusing to take up a fight for the IC in Latin America though urged to do so. Lora from then on played only a national role. This is the history as we printed it in the *Workers Press* and *Bulletin*. The OCI does not deny this.

We can add to this some more. Understanding the past background of Lora, a background of Pabloism, nationalism and opportunism, the Socialist Labour League refused to put up any money toward his fare and collaboration in bringing him to the 1966 International Conference as the OCI had proposed. When he appeared in Europe in 1970, the Socialist Labour League made it quite plain it would not favour his admission into the IC unless a full discussion was held on his whole history and an understanding reached on this basis. We do not have one policy for the LSSP and the Pabloites and another for Lora.

In our public statement we made this fundamental assessment of Lora's role in the Bolivian events:

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

Then after writing this we received Lora's own account of the Bolivian events which we published in the *Workers Press* and in the *Bulletin*. The OCI has yet to publish this account. Lora himself in this account states:

"At the same time everybody thought—including we Marxists—that the arms would be given by the governing military team, which would consider that only through resting on the masses and giving them adequate firepower could they at least neutralise the gorilla right."

Lora thus admits to what we had accused him of. Never really fighting to overthrow Torres, he had, along with the Stalinists, counted on one section of the bourgeoisie to arm the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a whole! Lora thus was carrying out the very same policy he carried out with Pablo in 1952. At no point did he raise the slogan "Down with Torres". This was, of course, Lenin's policy in the "April Theses," while Lora stands with Stalin and the "old Bolsheviks".

Even after the defeat Lora is unable to draw any lessons at all. He openly defends his reformist position in the pages of the OCI's *Informations Ouvrieres*:

"The ultra-lefts and the Pabloites forget the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky: they draw up their 'documents' in a simple-minded way and place Torres and Ovando-Banzer on the same level. These people refuse to understand the various shades that bourgeois nationalism can take in underdeveloped countries.

"Since they are removed from the class struggle they do not understand the difference between bourgeois democratic demands of Torres and the methods of the fasc-

ists; that is the difference between going to prison legally or getting killed by a bullet in the back of the neck.

"Revolutionary tactics must begin with this difference. It is not a question of supporting Torres but of crushing fascism to impose a workers' government."

Revolutionary strategy does not begin with the differences between left and right wings of the military but from the perspective of the overthrow of the whole bourgeois order. It does not base its policy on a bloc with the left bourgeoisie against the fascist threat, but on the understanding that there is no way to stop fascism without taking up the independent struggle for socialism. Thus lessons which Trotsky repeated thousands of times particularly in regard to Spain, are once again borne out in the paralysis and complicity of Torres in the right-wing military takeover and in the prostration of the working class before this takeover because of the misleadership of all the workers' parties, but especially the POR which claimed to be Trotskyist. In the end the workers of Bolivia got both the bullet in the head and the jail.

The policy of the POR was consistently opportunist from beginning to end. Under conditions of a mass revolutionary situation it acted as the left cover for Stalinism and bourgeois nationalism. Nowhere did it decisively break from the CP. In fact if put forward a common candidate for the presidency of the Popular Assembly with the CP. The policy of Lora had nothing whatsoever to do with the policy of Bolshevism, of Trotskyism. The construction of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America, as elsewhere, requires a decisive break with the narrow national outlook and a return to internationalism and the struggle to develop Marxist theory. The POR and Lora repeat the policies of the POUM in Spain in 1935-38 and are in no fundamental way different from them. Their relations with Torres and the COB parallels those of the POUM with the Republican Government and the CNT. The OCI's support for the POR now makes clear the political meaning of their bloc with the POUM at Essen.

## 7 THE WAY FORWARD

The essence of the struggle of the International Committee since 1953, has been the conscious construction of independent revolutionary parties of the Fourth International. Revisionists have always attacked this fundamental conception, Pablo with his "new reality," "mass pressure," and "the revolution in all its forms," the LSSP with its "united left front." Now the OCI, using the formula "imminence of revolution," elaborating a schema of natural stages through which the working class passes on the road to power, distorting the tactic of united front of the working class, has taken the road of liquidationism laid down by these revisionists. The split comes now, when the stand at the point of transition from one phase of the class struggle to a higher one, the stage in which Trotskyist parties are called upon to win leadership in the struggle for working-class power. In this transition it is inevitable that a decisive clash, and a split, becomes necessary with all those like the OCI who rejected the struggle for dialectical materialism and refused to break from the old propagandist conceptions. This hostility to theory always leads to centrism and opportunism.

The record shows clearly that on all the disputed questions, and above all on the importance of theoretical development and training, the Socialist Labour League and the IC majority tried patiently to correct the course of the OCI, and never proceeded precipitately or in such a way as to provoke a split. The decision of the OCI to join the centrists at Essen against the International Committee and their manoeuvring and demagoguery on Bolivia, constitute a decision to reject and oppose the struggle to build independent revolutionary parties of the Fourth International. We call upon all Trotskyists in every country to reject completely the OCI line and to fight on the principled positions of the International Committee.

The Fourth Conference of the International Committee will meet in the first weeks of 1972. There it will be necessary to make a balance-sheet of the struggle against revisionism and the fight to establish the Trotskyist cadre throughout the period since 1938. A new period opens up, a period in which the Fourth International is called upon to lead struggles for workers' power. The perspectives of this struggle in the advanced capitalist countries, in the colonial countries, and in the fight for the political revolution in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China, will be discussed and decided.

The draft resolution for this Conference is now complete, and the discussion now begins in all sections of the International Committee.

WORKERS' LEAGUE, USA (sympathetic to the IC of the FI)

LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST WORKERS OF GERMANY  
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF CEYLON  
WORKERS' INTERNATIONALIST LEAGUE OF GREECE  
LEAGUE FOR A WORKERS' VANGUARD OF IRELAND  
SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, BRITAIN

24th October, 1971.

# BOOKS

DAVE GREEN

**TROTSKY IN EXILE.** By Peter Weiss (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970) 175 pages.

1970 was proclaimed by the International Committee of the Fourth International as the year of Lenin and Trotsky. The centennial of Lenin's birth and the thirtieth anniversary of Trotsky's assassination was marked by the broader offensive of the working class in both the backward and advanced countries against the tyranny of capitalism, and by the conscious development of the struggle carried forward by the two great revolutionaries during their lifetimes. The forces of the Fourth International observed the 1970 anniversaries by establishing through a living fight the continuity of Marxism.

It is the daily struggle of the working class and the Marxist movement that preserves all the work of Lenin and Trotsky. Without an unremitting struggle for their principles, it is possible to have only an academic and lifeless appreciation of their historical roles. All those who stand outside the ranks of the Fourth International—especially radical intellectuals who "sympathize" with the proletariat and blow kisses from the sidelines—can do no more than lower Lenin and Trotsky to the level of icons.

The German playwright Peter Weiss is simply an admirer of Marxism and its heroes. It is for this reason that he managed to write in this epoch of spectacular revolutionary upheavals a passive and tedious study of Leon Trotsky's final years. Although he endeavored to produce an historically faithful account of Trotsky's work, there is barely the scent of revolutionary spirit in *Trotsky in Exile*.

## DEFENSIVE

In its entire conception the Peter Weiss play is defensive. The author reconstructed the outlines of Trotsky's career through a series of tableaux focused upon certain famous highlights. It was clearly against Weiss' intention to assert the revolutionary credentials of Trotsky against the slanders of the Stalinists. But in this period it is necessary to pass into the offensive by struggling to clarify the political meaning of Trotsky's fight against Stalinism.

The inability of Peter Weiss to make a profound assessment of the historical and contemporary significance of Trotskyism stems from his total misunderstanding of the political development of Trotsky himself. Weiss practically dismisses the importance of the political battle waged by Lenin against Trotsky in the years before the October Revolution. But it was this struggle that was central not only to the construction of the Bolshevik Party but also to Trotsky's theoretical preparation for the fight against Stalinism and the construction of the Fourth International. In what must be considered the most vulgar passage in the entire play, Weiss staged this fictitious dialogue between Trotsky and Lenin on the night of the insurrection against the Provisional Government:

**LENIN:** And the fight between us? Is it over?

**TROTSKY:** Was it a fight? Wasn't it just a measuring of strength? We drove each other forward. We borrowed thoughts from each other. We brought contradictions to a synthesis. The Revolution was still untested. Certain opinions and probabilities had to bump into each other in order to prove themselves in practice. And in the future there must be controversies, contradictions. If there were not would we be Marxists, dialecticians?

**LENIN:** Ha. Ha ha ha. I was often very angry at you. Because you were not with us. Because you attached yourself to a false humanism. Did you perhaps want to outplay me. Tear the leadership toward yourself?

**TROTSKY:** Perhaps there existed such

impulses. Somewhere there remained the poor Jew-boy Lev Bronstein from Yanovka. This fantastic drive toward power and influence. It is difficult to admit; but all that does not exist for you. Ambition, craving; that does not influence you. All that doesn't exist for you.

## MEMOIRS

We have only a few memoirs to tell us what Lenin and Trotsky said to each



Lenin and Trotsky celebrating the Third Anniversary of the October Revolution.

other on the night of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. But there is no possibility that Trotsky suggested that the struggle for the Bolshevik Party was not really a fight. Many times in the future, Trotsky was willing to admit that in their disagreements, Lenin had been correct on every principled question. Furthermore, Weiss' petty-bourgeois conception of the struggle for Bolshevism led him to some of the most gruesome speculations about Trotsky's motives for opposing Lenin. To put into Trotsky's mouth the old Stalinist slanders about his "drive toward power

and influence" is an open assault against the integrity of the man Weiss set out to defend.

The character placed by Weiss upon the stage is at best a reflection (when the lines are directly borrowed from Trotsky) and sometimes a distortion of the organizer of the Red Army. The Trotsky of Peter Weiss is barely able to defend the October Revolution and the science of Marxism against the doubts expressed by Andre Breton in one scene. Answering Breton's declaration that the crimes of Stalin must throw the entire cause of socialism into an uncertain light, Weiss' Trotsky proceeds not with a materialist explanation of the roots of Stalinism but comments on the unfortunate failure of Bolshevism. "to destroy human cowardice and human baseness."

## IDEALIST

Such an answer is totally idealist and therefore would have been completely alien to Trotsky. Even when dealing with Stalin, Trotsky did not consider his character to be the central problem. He insisted that Stalin became the tool of the bureaucracy because of his hostility to theory. Stalin adapted to the class pressures exerted by the bourgeoisie through the bureaucracy. As Peter Weiss represents the issue, the fundamental crisis confronting the world today is not the crisis of leadership for the proletariat but rather of human nature.

Peter Weiss does not capture the essence of Trotsky's struggle. The exiled revolutionary who wrote in 1935 that he required five more years of activity to complete the most important task of his life—the building of the new International—is all but removed in Weiss' lifeless drama.

# FILMS

AL BERENSON

## The Last Picture Show

**THE LAST PICTURE SHOW.** Directed by Peter Bogdanovich. Starring Cybil Shepard, Ben Johnson, Timothy Bottoms.

Small Town, U.S.A. has been dealt with with so much sentimentality and overwrought drama in such films as *Peyton Place* and more recently, *Summer of 42*, that the subject has become something of a cliché.

Peter Bogdanovich, in the new film, *The Last Picture Show*, tries to approach the subject on a more credible and intelligent level yet still finds himself lapsing into those same absurdities he would have liked to have avoided.

The film, which has been received with laudatory notices from all the leading critics, is set in a small Texas town in the opening of the 1950s. The film tries to establish and explain the general deadness, boredom and decay of the town in terms of the personal and sexual lives of the main characters, but fails to successfully relate these to the social and historical aspects of the town's deluge within the context and framework of Texan society and the general development of American capitalism as it pushed to the Pacific.

Bogdanovich does, at certain points, touch upon these questions and subsequently hints at the racism, class differentiations, and the impact of industry on the town, but then shies away from developing them completely and, instead, descends to lugubrious sentimentalities and personal melodramas of the most ridiculous sort.

Anarene is a town that has been forgotten on the wayside of the American system. The cattlemen of the 1800s have been replaced by oil merchants and it is their dominant well which surmounts everything else in the town. It is the constant reminder of the town's position,

for while the drill pumps incessantly into the ground, its black gold offers nothing to the majority of the citizens. There is no room for self development or fulfillment in Anarene and the people sense the creeping uselessness of their lives.

The advent of television has destroyed yet another tradition of the town—breaking down the old style community and isolating the inhabitants even further away from each other. The people are drawn into their homes and seek escape from them via the oddly shaped boxes fixed into the panels of their inlaid bars. The movie house goes bankrupt and people stay in their living rooms.

It seems that the only way to get out of Anarene is to travel thousands of miles—to fight in an imperialist war, which is what one of the characters ac-

tually does. This leads to an important point—one which the director ignores—and it is this point which underlines the most important weakness of the film. The movie is deliberately centered upon Anarene, which is acceptable for dramatic purposes. However, the uselessness and unhappiness of life in Anarene are never tied to the growing crisis and decline of the rest of the nation.

Duane, played by Jeff Bridges, does go off to Korea, and his friend Sonny, played by Timothy Bottoms, wants to go with him. However, the lesson to be absorbed from that seeming paradox is never emphasized. Anarene is not the central problem. The decline and crisis within American capitalism is. There is nothing inside Anarene for its youth; but all the outside has to offer is possible death in Asia. This is not brought out in the film.

Certain social aspects of the town's deluge are dealt with credibly in the film. The scenes depicting the decadence of the town's wealthy brats, and those dealing with the character of Anarene's little rich girl, expertly played by Cybil Shepard who gives a fabulous performance, and finally, the ironic showing, to an empty movie house, of John Wayne's grandest Old West epic, *Red River*, are the film's best.

They represent the director at his keenest and make up the high points of the movie. Unfortunately they are surrounded by numerous subplots concerning various mysterious and not so mysterious older women and other ridiculous sentimentalities of the same genre.

Unfortunately it is these scenes which make up the bulk of the film and they reduce its level. And despite the excellent acting and Mr. Bogdanovich's basic talent, it is these scenes and the director's failure to connect Anarene and the rest of the nation, which make *The Last Picture Show*, in the final analysis, so disappointing.



Peter Bogdanovich

# Editor's Notebook

## Marriage, Bourgeois Style

The marriage of Jackie Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis, Greek shipping magnate and big supporter of the military junta, conveniently united two great fortunes. This international merger required 170 clauses to sew it up. It was "thrashed out" between their lawyers in New York.

These are trusting souls indeed. They even have legally contracted what months of the year they can see each other.

One provision provides for "separate bedrooms." This means Onassis has his own apartment in New York and she has her own house on his island in Greece.

Jackie, of course, not satisfied with the piddling Kennedy millions has racked in quite a pile with this contract. She gets \$600,000 a year for "travel, pleasure, safety and children." If Onassis ever leaves her she

will get \$9.6 million for every year of marriage. If she leaves him, she gets a lump sum of 18 million. If he dies and they are still married she will get \$100 million.

Mind you Jackie's yearly allowance is way over what most workers in the U.S. make in their lifetime.

Mr. Onassis has said he wants his wife "sheltered from want."

## Blame It On The Stars

As capitalism decays, so does its ideology. Of late there has been a rapid growth of every brand of mysticism and religion from the "Jesus Revolution" on the West Coast to the occult sects on Long Island. Even the scientists and educators have become the spokesmen for this idealist rubbish.

The latest outburst has come from New York City's Board of Education head, Isaiah E. Robinson. Mr. Robinson, a great supporter of community control, and described by some as "a man

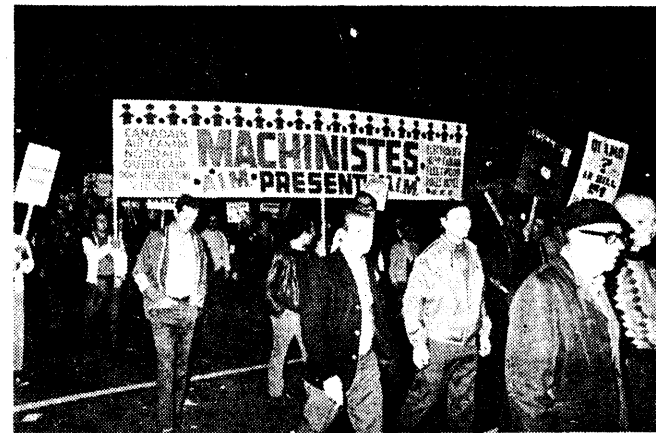
who has devoted his life to the service of the people," has come up with the ultimate solution for the schools.

Mr. Robinson who we might better describe as a man who has devoted considerable time and effort to the service of capitalism claims that the cause of problems in the schools is not the bankruptcy of capitalism but that the astrological signs of some children conflict with the signs of their teachers. The solution, of course, is to make astrological charts for each student to "pre-

dict" how he is going to act.

Mr. Robinson, mind you, is not the ordinary crackpot fortune teller but is the President of the Board of Education. In addition Mr. Robinson's suggestions seem to be very well received by the mayor and other educators and government officials.

Never mind, parents, they can now all say, about the budget cuts, the overcrowded and decaying schools, never mind that your children can't get to school, as long as they have their zodiac chart.



Labor leaders marching at the La Presse demonstration in Montreal

## PROFITS. . .

(Continued From Page 5)

have decided to hold on to as much as they can.

As with the stock market, which has continued to fall of late, this reflects anything but a "healthy" economy that Nixon says results from higher profits. Far from being healthy, the economy is stagnating.

### ANGER

Meanwhile, there is a rising pitch of anger among working people and housewives over the increase in prices which was listed as .2% nationally by the Department of Labor. However, many areas showed higher increases—New York City, .5% and

Philadelphia a whopping .9%! Is it any wonder that with wages frozen there is a growing movement in the working class to junk the Phase II wage controls.

The *New York Times* reports that thousands of irate letters have been sent to union leaders and government officials on this question. A typical example is the following:

"My husband's salary was frozen due to the President's August 15 order. But this store's food prices are not frozen. It seems they have no honor and do as they like.... There should be some justice."

As the *Bulletin* has said over and over—price control is now and has always been a fraud perpetrated by the capitalists on the working people to bolster profits.

Even when retail store managers furnish charts showing price figures, those charts furnished by the big chains are virtually incomprehensible to the average consumer. In addition, as a leading executive of Montgomery Ward admits, there is no way of knowing if the original prices (before the freeze) listed are correct. "I could dream up any old figures," he said.

Millions of workers today are learning a lesson about justice under capitalism. The basic rights of the working class and the existence of the trade unions themselves are threatened by the vicious attacks of Nixon. The fight to stop Nixon must now be stepped up.

## PRICES. . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

prices can rise while wages must be slashed. Last week "under heavy business pressure" the government announced that it will not force stores to provide lists of price limitations under the freeze.

This is what the so-called "price freeze" is all about. The government has absolutely no intention of holding down prices and cynically Nixon has in fact given business the green light to go ahead with the price increases. But wages are another matter. Unions and workers will be fined and leaders jailed if necessary to

keep wages down.

This exposes the complete bankruptcy of labor leaders like Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 in New York. While thousands of workers in Gotbaum's union face the wage freeze and are working without contracts, he sets up price monitoring committees. This is a complete fraud and diversion from mobilizing the ranks of labor in strike action against the freeze.

The employers and the government can only be defeated now with a general strike against the freeze.

## IRELAND. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

from its investigation:

"Stories that the Czechs are supplying IRA arms are a gigantic phoney. Fleet St. is deliberately ignoring the British army's indiscriminate shootings, brutality and fully-documented accounts of torture."

"Instead the press has joined the Tory government in creating the biggest red scare since the notorious Zinoviev Letter, the Tory-forged document which led to the fall of the MacDonald government in 1924....

"These sensational articles

don't get into the press accidentally. They are consciously prepared by the Fleet St. proprietors to provide a smokescreen behind which men and women are gunned down and Irish workers are dragged from their beds to be taken to the torture chambers."

With the recent "IRA bombings" in London, the dangers of such Tory frameups are more sinister than ever. They are setting the stage for a large scale slaughter on the order of the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa in 1960 in order to cow the Irish workers.

## PHILA. INTERVIEW. . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

minated strike that the workers will have the power to win.

Even though Bridges, in effect, scabbed on his own strike by allowing the shipments to come in from Canada and Mexico, now Bridges and Gleason are forced to fight back against the ship owners by taking a step in the right direction: common expiration dates for contracts; national agreement on containers; and working together to protect the gains against Phase II.

They even sent pickets from the ILA to the West Coast. In the meantime, even if the men in Philadelphia go back after the 13th, they may face a Taft-Hartley injunction against the entire East Coast in order to maintain the division between the two coasts. The men will have to fight that.

Longshoreman: But we're not worried about Taft-Hartley. I wish they had put it on us.

Bulletin: But this only gives them more time to come in with new legislation that is stronger than Taft-Hartley. And then there is Phase II.

Longshoreman: I don't care if there's Phase II or Phase III. We're going to get a raise.

Bulletin: Well, then, you're going to have to take on Nixon and the wage freeze. Gleason and Bridges have said that they will

strike if necessary against Phase II.

Getting back to the question of the guarantee. Through automation and containerization the employers would like to eliminate two thirds of the jobs. We are fighting for a 40 hour guarantee for all men in all ports. The men in Philadelphia are trying to support the New York men in their fight to keep the 40 hour guarantee.

Longshoreman: They're not trying to reduce the guarantee in New York they're only trying to eliminate abuses. The men abuse it. We got the whole lowdown on it here. The men abuse the guarantee.

Bulletin: That's just the shipping association's story.

Longshoreman: Well, let's talk facts. 3,500 men in Manhattan didn't want to go anywhere but Manhattan.

Bulletin: But it's not only the Manhattan men, but Brooklyn men as well who the employers want to send to Staten Island or Newark where they will be forced to take a job away from men with less seniority who don't now have the guarantee, the '69 men. And they have to clock in or travel long distances and through the present arrangement don't even get paid if they're sick. This is just a tactic to divide the union just like the division between the

West Coast longshoremen and the Teamsters.

Longshoreman: Well, that's what they say. They abused it. Maybe you're right.

Bulletin: We get back to the same basic question. Through containerization and other forms of automation men's jobs are at stake.

Longshoreman: As far as the employers are concerned they don't ever lose money. In three years time how many billions of dollars do they make.

Bulletin: The question of jobs is much sharper than in 1967.

Longshoreman: Even now after they got us back to work they're cutting down the gangs. They don't need the men.

Bulletin: But the men need the jobs if they don't want to be on welfare.

Longshoreman: They have to fight for the guarantee. If they don't get it now the next time they're going to be on welfare like you say. We once had 100,000 men on the East Coast, now it's 45,000. Next time it will be 36,000.

Bulletin: It's not only on the docks and shipping but in the steel industry, for example, where they had mass layoffs after the last contract and now plan to bring in more basic oxygen furnaces to eliminate thousands of jobs. Men with seven years seniority are threatened. This is

the basic problem of capitalism.

Longshoreman: Right. They may never get back.

Bulletin: On top of this, Nixon's measures against the European and Japanese economies threaten a worldwide crash, another 1929. A worldwide recession has already begun.

Longshoreman: Yes. You mean this 10% business.

Bulletin: And at the same time, Nixon uses the wage freeze against the US workers and tries to break the dock strike. Phase I is supposed to end on November 13. We are fighting for a general strike on November 12. There is a growing sentiment for this type of action. More and more union locals are passing resolutions demanding no cooperation by labor with Phase II. It may very well be that longshore becomes the center of the explosion against the freeze.

Longshoreman: Remember the time when the railroads had a big explosion. It was three years before they got a contract. Every time the railroads went out, they put some kind of law on them. It's the same thing here.

Bulletin: Yes, it took Congress only one day to take action against the railroad strike. This is why we say that the Democrats and Republicans have it completely stacked against the workers, just like Nixon's pay board is stacked.

Longshoreman: Both sides

(Democrats and Republicans) are the same, just different names when it comes down to labor. I'm going to tell you something. I'm going to say it here today and I hope the whole world hears it. The only way this country is going to get straightened out is by bringing in a new party system.

Bulletin: Then you are for a labor party.

Longshoreman: One hundred percent. And I'll fight for it any day, anywhere! The Democrats get in the White House and promise all kinds of things and we have to hit the streets for strike. The Republicans get in and we still have to hit the street. It's the same thing. We need a new party.

Bulletin: We are fighting to bring it into the November 6th antiwar demonstrations against those who want to end the war through protest, by putting pressure on Nixon instead of mobilizing the working class independently against Nixon.

Longshoreman: I agree with you. I'm going to be down there. The only thing I'd like to say is about November 13. What we're going to do in the port. We have to stand with New York. - I say no contract, no work, and if there's any more fines, well, I'll definitely go to jail before I'll pay \$50 a day. I don't care.

## Common Market

# Big Class Battles Loom With British Entry

BY MELODY FARROW

ON OCTOBER 28TH Britain's Tory Party together with a right wing section of the Labour Party, won a majority vote for entry of Britain into the Common Market.

This step marks the drive of the British capitalist class to unite with its European allies in an all out attack on the living standards of the European working class. This is their solution to the deepening economic crisis of capitalism.

The final vote, 356 to 244, would not have been possible without the key 69 votes from the traitors in the Labour Party which has split over the question. These 69 Labourites have irrevocably deserted the British working class which was overwhelmingly opposed to entry and openly declared their solidarity with the capitalist class led by Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath.

The consolidation of the Common Market is the prelude to tremendous working class battles in Europe. The working class will simply not accept the conditions that the industrialists of Europe intend to impose upon them.

The Common Market will establish huge trans-national industrial monopolies operating on a European wide basis. These gigantic combines will, as Heath stated, instill "common sense" in the unions by threatening to transfer production from one country to another wherever workers refuse to accept low wages.

In this way it will use the threat of unemployment to play workers of each country off against each other.

But the dream of the European bourgeoisie for a united front against the economic attacks of the United States is already quickly falling apart.

Absolutely no agreement was reached at the latest Group of 10 monetary talks of the leading capitalist countries. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally, is

demanding that the European countries make sacrifices in their trade to bolster U.S. exports. The United States is determined to drive Europe to the wall using the threat of continuation of the surtax to extract concessions.

Connally insists on an adjustment of \$13 billion in the United States balance of payments to eliminate its deficit to be gained by reducing European exports and revaluation of their currencies. The European members of Group of 10 want to hold the amount down to \$8 billion.

### TRADE WAR

Now it is reported that Connally made a secret deal with the West German government to exempt it from the 10% surtax. Unable to force the European countries to agree to its terms the U.S. is playing one country off against another in competition for U.S. markets. The deal with West Germany will be a blow to the British economy which is heavily dependent on exports to the U.S.

The strategy of Nixon is to bolster up West Germany in preparation for war with the Soviet Union. The re-capture of the Russian and Chinese markets remains a key part of the United States' plans to preserve capitalism.

The exemption of West Germany has forced France and Denmark to take protectionist measures against the U.S. as well as against each other. All pretense of unity is collapsing as preparations are made for trade war.

On October 19th the Social Democratic government of Denmark placed a 10% surtax on imports. This will immediately bring an industrial cutback in Sweden and Britain which export goods to Denmark.

In a similar move, Henri Zeigler, head of the French aerospace industry, announced that in retaliation, France would work for a 15% customs barrier of the Common Market against U.S. ex-



West German workers march against unemployment recently.

ports.

Once again, the talks of the Group of 10 ended in failure. Each capitalist country is faced with a deficit in its balance of payments as production strains at the limits of the capitalist mode of private profit. Each country tries to solve this at the expense of the others, only hastening the threat of a world economic collapse.

What was clear to the capitalist leaders at the Group of 10 meeting is that they must all fight it out against each other and

above all against the working class.

The surtaxes will lead to a sharp rise in unemployment in every country as protectionist measures force the capitalists to cut back on production. The capitalist class seeks to restore its balance of payments through the destruction of the unions and the wage gains of the working class.

A report issued by the Executive Committee of the European Economic Community (Common Market) reveals the economic crisis gripping Europe.

In West Germany, 6,000 steel workers at Daimler-Benz have been put on short time and two steel mills in the Ruhr town of Hagen are slated for closure.

In Britain industrial production only rose 1% from August 1970 to August 1971 and unemployment is at 900,000 and rising.

Renato Lombardi, head of the Confederation of Italian Industry, said that the state of the economy is the "gravest since World War II." Italy has nearly one million unemployed. Industrial production dropped 3.5% in the first seven months of this year.

In Canada unemployment rose to 7.1% in September, while in the U.S. Nixon lashes out at the unions with wage controls and unemployment.

The bourgeoisie tries to perpetrate the lie that if workers of one country unite against workers in other countries their national economy will be saved. The truth is that economic slump is inevitable in every capitalist nation.

In this situation the working class has no national interests. As the General Secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation said in Geneva:

"The only forces which today to some extent can uphold the wage-earners' and consumers' interests in relation to these companies are the international trade union movement and solidarity between the members and member unions in these organizations."

Heath boasts of his "victory" by Britain's entry into the Common Market. But the British working class is unalterably opposed to this entry and will not accept it. The real battle is just beginning.

The deepening economic crisis forces the world bourgeoisie to take the road to fascism. The offensive of the capitalist class against the working class, now coming to a head with Britain's entry into the Common Market, means the working class of every country must prepare for the taking of power.

## Spanish Speaking Conference

# Youth Explode Coalition With Liberals

BY MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans took place over the weekend of October 23-24 in Washington, D.C. This is the first time that a conference bringing together the two largest Spanish speaking minorities in the United States was organized.

The conference, presented as the "Spanish Speaking Coalition Conference" was called and sponsored by Senator Joseph Montoya (D-N.M.) and Congressman Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.), Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) and Manuel Lujan (R-N.M.) with the alleged purpose of dealing with the various political, economic and social problems of Spanish-speaking people in the United States.

However, its real purpose was to organize support for some liberal candidate in the Democratic Party for the 1972 elections. This became very clear as the conference proceeded and a number of outbursts, unexpected by the organizers, took place.

From the very beginning of the conference, the participants, who came close to 2,000 showed their contempt for the liberal politicians who organized it by shouting at them and interrupting their speeches. But more important, resolutions from the different workshops were presented which called for the independence of Puerto Rico, the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, an end to the wage freeze and the formation of a third political party.

These resolutions, more than anything, served to expose the character of Badillo



Senator Montoya

and the other politicians who either refused to take a stand, as in the case of the resolution calling for the independence of Puerto Rico, or wholeheartedly came out in support of the Democratic Party and against the formation of any third political party.

### ANGER

These resolutions reflected the anger and determination to fight of the young people present at the conference, who themselves represent the rising movement of Spanish-speaking youth in the United

States against the conditions that face them daily.

At the same time, however, they exposed the totally bankrupt political outlook of such organizations as the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico and the Young Lords Party, whose forces, like the Raza Unida Party, along with Chicano groups, led the fight for those resolutions.

### INDEPENDENT

These forces pushed through the perspective of forming a third political party for "La Raza" along the lines of the Raza Unida Party. This course is one that leads only to the further division of the working class along racial and national lines, precisely what the ruling class wants most at this time. This is completely contrary to the fight to unify the working class into a political force independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, which can only be done through the fight for the labor party.

At the same time, the resolutions against the war in Vietnam called for an endorsement of the farce being organized for November 6th by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, who are doing everything possible to have the November 6th demonstration dominated politically by the very same liberal bourgeois forces who organized the conference.

The nationalist outlook of the MPI, Young Lords and the RUP makes them turn back to the arms of the bourgeoisie despite their "militant" shouting and resolutions. That is the logic of nationalism and the rejection of the fight for Marxism.

## On The Spot Report

# Italian Workers Demand General Strike

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE CLASS STRUGGLE in Italy, as the tremendous crisis of international capitalism deepens, is entering now into a very decisive period. All the rights, social, political and economic conquests of the Italian proletariat, students, farm workers, small owners are threatened now.

The militancy and strength of the Italian proletariat and youth is very great. For years they have questioned the incapability of the capitalists and their various governments to solve the crucial problems of housing, education and poverty. Every minimum gain has been won after bloody confrontation with the owners and the state.

Now especially since the August 15th announcement by Nixon, the situation has changed dramatically. Huge sections of workers are faced with permanent unemployment and poverty as small and middle sized factories are closing one after another. Drastic reduction of the working force and increased productivity are the policies of the big private or state financed industry. There is not one factory or company that is not implementing or considering this policy in order to survive this period of crisis.

### STEEL STRIKE

The laying off of 800 steel workers in the province of Venice was answered with a continuous strike of all industrial, administrative, city and transportation workers of that region. This strike is now entering its second week and is developing into a national general strike of all steel workers despite all the efforts of the trade union federations to cool it off.

Hundreds of thousands of workers today in various parts of the country are engaged in struggles to save what they have won up to now. Steel workers, auto workers, transportation workers, longshoremen are only a small part of the huge number of workers engaged in this fight to answer the owners' attacks on their jobs, living standards, rights and organizations.

In this critical situation and with the increased militancy of all sections of workers and youth, the leadership of the three trade union federations and of the political parties of the class are playing a very treacherous role. The three federations have refused up to now to unify in their common struggle despite the de facto unification on the rank and file level. For a long period now all the steel workers have been united in their common struggles and have forced their leadership to sanction their actions.

It is not accidental that while the ranks are organizing common actions and posing

a general strike as an answer to the owners' attacks, their leadership is openly trying to rescue the bosses from the crisis through consultations and meetings.

### FASCISTS

The bosses and the government cannot make any concessions or reforms whatsoever. The turn of the capitalist parties to the right, the financing and organizing of the right-wing fascist bands, the severe sentencing and the killing of working class militants, and the open turn to the right of the national attorney general are all signs of what "concessions" the bosses and government can make and what preparations are being made to confront the workers and youth.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party (presently a partner in the government) has called for a "new and more progressive equilibrium" at the level, of course, of the government. The Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party has thrown off its mask. Immediately after the explosion of the economic crisis the Stalinists came forward with suggestions and plans of how to avoid and remedy the crisis. For them nothing has changed. Their perspective, worked out at the 1968 congress, are still valid. When they are accepted as part of the bourgeois government their strategy of the "peaceful road



Steelworkers march during strike in Milan

to socialism" will be fully vindicated!

It is very important to see how far these counterrevolutionaries can go. Right now they are working out deals with the Vatican and the Christian Democratic Party for the election of a right-wing politician, A. Fanfani, as President of the Republic, and their eventual participation in the government.

The CPI policies mean the strangulation of the struggles of workers, youth and peasants for their very existence. The Stalinists will not hesitate to take

forward their plans. In this period, faced with tremendous fascist provocations, they are engaged in limited demonstrations which not only fail to answer the provocations but create instead a dangerous sense of security. At this point the only force that keeps the bankrupt government in power is the Stalinists.

A conscious campaign is being undertaken also to normalize their relations with the Church. The danger of a violent and bloody counterrevolution is very real and is exactly what the big owners, the Church, the army, the attorney general and the right-wing politicians are preparing for.

They are fishing among the small owners, the middle class, and the lumpen using their discontent and fears to prepare the terrain for fascism. A big section of the working class realize this and are seriously questioning these bankrupt policies of the biggest Communist Party in the capitalist countries. They are questioning their leadership day by day as they fight to save their jobs and in their willingness to stopevery fascist provocation. The various Maoist or radical groups do not pose any alternative. The Manifesto group today is doing nothing other than giving a left wing cover to the counterrevolutionary politics of the CPI.

A new leadership is drastically required. The daily struggles of the class pose the question of power and the construction of a Trotskyist party of the Fourth International.



Banner of the united rank and file workers of the three steelworkers union of Italy. The banner reads "United We Win." The workers' struggles are sweeping the country.

## China

# U.N. Rewards An Obedient Servant

BY AL BERENSON

COMMUNIST CHINA ENTERED the United Nations last week with the support of every major capitalist power and the special blessings of U.S. imperialism.

While Nixon waved an angry finger at delegates who were wildly enthusiastic over Maoism's betrayal of the international working class, the presence of special toady Henry Kissinger in Peking counting the votes with Chou En-lai proved that America considered the ouster of Taiwan a small price to pay for Stalinist collaboration.

China's entrance into the "thieves' kitchen" exposes the reactionary character of Stalinism. Mao Tse-tung earned his welcome in this sacred assemblage on the East River by giving imperialism such a helpful hand in Ceylon, Bangla Desh, and the Sudan.

But Nixon's approval of China's entry

is dictated by more than gratitude. As the crisis of capitalism grows more acute, the leading bourgeois governments recognize the absolute necessity of gaining the support of the powerful Chinese bureaucracy. Nixon and his European co-conspirators need all the help they can get from their Stalinist agents as they prepare for violent attacks against the working class.

China is entering an organization that only twenty years ago sponsored an imperialist war against workers rule on the mainland. Although Mao would like to ignore the terrible fact of the Korean War, his government found it difficult to break the news of entry into the United Nations to the Chinese proletariat which has a better memory than the ruling bureaucracy.

### STALIN

That China could enter an organization dedicated to the enslavement of the international working class proves the

reactionary character of Stalinism—from which the Chinese Communist Party never broke. Maoism never represented any sort of split from the rotten fundamentals of Stalinism. Mao Tse-tung was throughout his career a nationalist and revisionist of Marxism. His collected works are replete with essays on "The Signification of Marxism" which espouses a variation of "Socialism in One Country" while portraying as a hero the gravedigger of the Russian Revolution: Joseph Stalin.

Mao has written that all the truths of Marxism could be summed up on one sentence: "To rebel is justified." Today, this slogan which ignores the class divisions in society takes on its true Stalinist meaning. The only rebellion that Mao and his cohorts engage in is a desperate reaction against every revolutionary action of the working class. Maoism must be branded as the treacherous accomplice of imperialism. It has supplied the bullets used by Bandaranaike in Ceylon, by Yahya Khan in Bangla Desh, and by General

Numeiry in Sudan.

At the moment when the capitalist crisis is posing revolution to the working class, Maoism is working overtime to salvage that tottering system. In the 1930s, Joseph Stalin led the Soviet Union into the League of Nations by stepping over the ruins of the Third International which his policies had destroyed. In this epoch when the need to reconstruct the Fourth International is the primary task for the advance of the world proletariat, Maoism does all in its power to sabotage its fulfillment. This is done at the risk of the destruction of the Chinese Revolution itself.

In connections with this, it must be understood that the ouster of Taiwan from the U.N. is only a tactical move. Having welded the Maoist bureaucracy to the chore of butchering the working class, Chiang or his still youthful son will be employed for imperialism's ultimate goal: the restoration of capitalism on the Chinese mainland.

# West Coast News

## FBI Stirs Up Witchhunt Against RU

BY ANN LORE

SAN FRANCISCO—The Soviet bureaucracy and China have recently mounted a tremendous diplomatic offensive in order to stave off a collision with the international bourgeoisie. They need these alliances in order to maintain their "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism. The response of the West has been to propagate a series of spy stories against the bureaucracies and recently in the U.S. against their Stalinist representatives.

Two FBI informants have come before the House Internal Security Committee as having been former members of the Revolutionary Union. The RU is an open supporter of the Stalinist bureaucracies, a "Stalinist-Maoist" organization, and the informants have attacked them for allegedly leading the demonstration held against Nixon in San Jose last spring. They told Congress that this "highly secretive and well-armed organization" had spread to several other major cities across the U.S., and gave information involving the RU in activities intending to radicalize GIs at Ft. Ord.

What is significant is the intent of the government to whip up an anti-red sentiment in the U.S. against these groups to be used against the Soviet Union and China. This attack which was initiated by the British Tories with their expulsion of 105 Russian representatives on charges of espionage is rapidly extending to all the capitalist governments. The mask of "peaceful co-existence" is constantly being ripped away exposing the true nature of capitalism as it consciously prepares to destroy all the gains of the 1917 Revolution. The Stalinists by relying on imperialism essentially to protect their gains, expose themselves to all the vicious attacks of capitalism, disarming and betraying the working class internationally.

Similarly, Stalinist organizations like the RU, which grew out of the student-power protest movements, remain poised between the working class and the bourgeoisie. As long as they maintain this position of holding back the independence of the working class they are leading them into active betrayals.

This attack on the RU, happening in the midst of the present crisis shows the way the government is preparing to deal not only with left-wing groups, but all youth and the working class.

Tendencies like the RU, by refusing to fight for a Marxist leadership in the youth and prostrating themselves before every nationalist and reactionary tendency disarm the working class and allow the way for the bloody assaults being prepared by the capitalists.

It is essential that the RU be defended against this vicious attack by the government, but their politics must be exposed, which are a betrayal to the working class here and also to the working class in the Stalinist countries.



Students at the California Institute of the Arts (CIA) which was founded by Walt Disney and his brother, Roy, both political conservatives. The radicalism of the students wasn't to their liking and Disney demanded that the radicalism be halted lest he cut the funding of the school.

## PMA Sets Out To Bust ILWU Hiring Rights

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—The Taft-Hartley used against the dockers settled nothing. In many ways the injunction has sharpened the whole struggle on the docks, for it has expressed the real intentions of Nixon and his gang, the real plans of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), and the real bankruptcy of the Bridges leadership.

Immediately after the Taft-Hartley was issued, the PMA demanded that it have the exclusive

hiring right over "steady men" (i.e., crane operators, etc.) The ILWU in L.A. refused for one week to send men out except through the hiring hall, and consequently shut down the docks for an extra week. The PMA took the case to arbitration and, predictably, the arbitrator decided 100% in favor of the PMA. Thus the way was opened for an all out attack upon union rights.

The PMA, of course, is more concerned with breaking the union than anything else so it has refused to take men from the hiring hall.

The docks in L.A.—Long Beach are near paralysis and the go-

vernment is going to court supposedly against both the ILWU and the PMA. This is an old trick borrowed from FDR who once said "A plague on both your houses," and proceeded to become a strike breaker almost without equal.

The situation now is that the government may well be able to institute an involuntary servitude law against the steady men. The ILWU leadership has consistently based itself on compliance with the law and reliance on the courts. All this has done is encourage the PMA and Nixon in their union busting attacks.

Now is the time to call a halt; now is the time to defy Nixon, his T-H, and his masters in the PMA; and now is the time to build a political alternative which can fight back in the interests of the working class, a labor party based on the trade unions.

The period since the injunction was issued has shown that the PMA has a strategy for the docks that begins with the breaking of the union. First no hiring hall for the steady men, then no hiring hall for anyone, then no union. The show down is coming on the docks no matter how hard the ILWU leadership tries to avoid it.

## IAM Local Votes 98% To Shutdown Lockheed

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—800 members of District Lodge 508 of the IAM (International Association of Machinists) met here Sunday to vote 98% for strike authorization. District Lodge 508 which represents 5,700 workers at Lockheed's Sunnyvale plant has been without a contract since their contract expired on July 23, 1971. The vote to strike follows similar IAM strike vote authorization at Lockheed and McDonnell aircraft in the Los Angeles area.

The union is demanding a wage-fringe benefits package of 30% over the next three year contract and a new pension plan.

The sentiment to fight against the government-backed Lockheed Corporation was expressed before and after the meeting by the ability of the Workers League to sell over 60 copies of the Bulletin to the delegates assembled. But there must be no illusion as to how the fight for a new contract must be taken forward. The reason why a new contract does not exist now, 3 months after the last contract expired is because the union bureaucracy wanted to give Lockheed some time to work out "its problems." This leadership says that the strike vote was just an instrument to pressure

Lockheed. For the bureaucracy to spread such dangerous illusions about "pressuring" Lockheed into a new contract is criminal.

The rank and file of Lodge 508 must join with the other strike pledged IAM locals for a total shutdown of the aerospace industry and a political fight to rally the labor movement in strike action against the freeze.

## Santa Ana Turns School Into Jail

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SANTA ANA—Santa Ana High School is the scene of open rebellion as students fight back against the repressive conditions and atmosphere that are created on the schools are increasingly turned into prisons for young people.

The administration mixes a little pseudo-sociology and a lot of racism in dealing with the situation. First, they claim that the problems are the result of poor planning and then they try to pin the blame for their troubles on the Chicano students. Their solution to the problem is to ship 650 students to other schools.

Now, for the time being, the administration has backed down. It claims that students are not

"making an effort to live with each other and work things out."

Students interviewed by Bulletin reporters see things differently: "Things aren't really quiet. What they do is—teachers who don't have classes or some people that are about 24 or 25 patrol the halls and keep them clear, so you can't hang around with your friends." Another commented that "things haven't really changed at all; they're just patrolling more—they're even going to have the Santa Ana police patrol the school."

While this is going on the administration works consciously to divide the students on racial lines. Another student commented that the administration claims "that it's all the Mexican students' fault and it's really not." No, the fault lies with capitalism and its faithful ser-

## Laney Strike Ends With Promises

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Laney students' boycott of classes ended last week leaving conditions virtually unchanged. The cafeteria and bookstore have been reopened, but the administration and the Peralta College district were unable to come up with money for the book loan and lunch programs.

The boycott ended with promises to use what money is on hand (less than \$100,000, and far less than the \$800,000 needed to finance the programs), and to investigate the matter further.

What this means is that the Peralta district, which is nearly broke, is going to continue to carry out its vicious cut-backs.

All of the words of the leadership of this boycott about the "Laney Family" and unity, are exposed. All of their attempts to bring in the liberals, like Ron Dellums, D'Armie Bailey and Ira Simmons, have been proven to be worthless.

Likewise, PL-SDS's line, of more militant student politics now is shown to be a fraud. The unity that the strike leaders were talking about was unity with the liberals, unity with those who carry out a policy to drive unemployment up and wages down while they talk about the community. SDS-PL did everything they could to cover this up.

All working class youth and students must draw the lessons of this strike. The student power politics of the middle class are impotent in the face of the bourgeoisie in crisis. They must be firmly rejected for the dead end that they are.

Now is the time when a revolutionary youth movement, based on the principled class politics of the Trotskyist movement, must be built. The deteriorating conditions of education are only part of the overall attacks now being made on the working class. These attacks can only be beaten by political action of the entire working class. This fight, the fight for general strike action, and the building of a labor party, is the fight that youth must now make.

vants, the school administrators. The system is increasingly forced to make jails out of schools, cops out of teachers, and repression not education as it tries to shift its crises onto the backs of the working class.

To successfully discipline the working class, capitalism must break the spirit of young people, keep them from fighting back, divide and split them in any way possible. Finally the administration will even be willing to have students fighting if they are fighting among themselves.

The solution for the students at Santa Ana High—and all young people—is to consciously take up the fight to build a revolutionary, socialist youth movement based upon a program and method that can unify young people because it meets their real needs and can lead to victory.



# West Coast News

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

## AFSCME Strikes To Defy Nixon

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY—Thursday, October 28, AFSCME Local 1695 at the University of California at Berkeley gave a fighting lead to the entire American working class. As part of a statewide action by AFSCME Council 99 well over half of the non-academic employees of the university struck for the day.

Offices on campus had signs posted saying "this office closed to protest freezes and cut-backs." This action was part of the implementation of the resolution passed at the AFSCME legislative meeting which called on labor to build for a general strike to smash Nixon's freeze.

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The employees of the University of California have been at the very center of those hit by freezes both from Reagan and Nixon. Layoffs, speedup and salary freezes have become the norm.

One librarian on the picket line described his department as totally understaffed and a year behind in its work, meaning overwork for the staff and deteriorating academic conditions for the student body.

Although the professors did not strike and most classes were conducted they have now gone over two years without a raise in salary.

This one day strike takes on an enormous significance in the context of the vicious attacks being launched on the labor movement. Although the action was confined to the university it is a deep reflection of the change now taking place in the labor movement, as section after section begins to conclude that the old methods of trade unionism are not enough and must be replaced with political action.

### DEVELOPMENT

This strike expresses the rapid development of sentiment for a general strike now developing among masses of trade unionists. For all its limitations as a local protest, this strike was a conscious political action against the government. It was a kick in the

teeth to the labor bureaucracy that advocates participation in Nixon's labor board and watchdog committees to observe price changes.

It demonstrates the enormous potential of the rank and file to take up a fight when given the slightest lead or opening. It is developments such as these that are behind the recent call of UAW leader Paul Schrade for a general strike and the building of a labor party to fight Nixon's wage freeze.

It is significant that the Communist Party and the International Socialists both active in AFSCME did everything possible to confine this action to a protest against Reagan's policies and isolate it from the developments in the rest of labor.

The impressionists of the Socialist Workers Party will simply attempt to dismiss this development as a protest and blindly continue their fight to confine labor to anti-war demonstrations.

The Workers League sees this development as a confirmation of our entire fight for a general strike and a labor party. This is the time to redouble efforts to bring this perspective into every union local in the country.



Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU and Thomas Gleason (r) president of the ILA.

## Editorial

### ILA-ILWU Ranks Must Make Unity Pact Basis For Action

SAN FRANCISCO—A joint statement from Harry Bridges and Thomas Gleason of the ILA expresses the big potential for united action by the dockers on a national scale.

While up to this point these bureaucrats have done everything in their power to restrict and isolate the docks' fight the refusal of the ranks to cave in places them in a desperate situation.

Both leaders pledge a fight for a common expiration date, a joint container agreement for all coasts and a joint fight against any attempt of the Phase II board to take away negotiated gains.

In addition they announced plans to dispatch ILA pickets to the West Coast to shut down operations of national shipping com-

panies here.

These are extremely important developments as they open up the opportunity for dockers to forge a real fighting unity. But with Bridges doing everything he can to force total resumption of work and the ILA bureaucracy caving in to local port injunctions and ordering returns their pledges are not worth very much.

If the dispatch of pickets is to be more than a protest the ILWU will have to be prepared to defy the injunctions that will be immediately granted by the courts to force them back.

Bridges continues to operate on the perspective that the Phase II board can be convinced to grant an exemption to dockers and the leaders on both coasts refuse to commit themselves to an all out

fight for a national strike

The ILWU-ILA leadership is hoping against hope that their talk of unity will provide them with sufficient pressure to contain the ranks and win a few concessions against the government. This is an absolutely bankrupt perspective.

The actions of the AFSCME workers, the bitter battle in the mines, the strike vote of the IAM and the building sentiment for strike actions among the auto workers shows the real way forward.

The forging of a caucus on the waterfront that will fight to rally this growing labor hatred of the freeze into general strike action against Nixon while battling to develop a national docks strike is absolutely urgent.

## Aerospace Machinists Vote Strike At Rohr

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—As current contracts expire in the aerospace industry on the West Coast, Local 755 of the International Association of Machinists has voted to strike ROHR Corp. here. The current contract expired on November 1st.

A strike of IAM-aerospace on the Coast poses a major threat to Nixon's "Phase 2," coming as it does on the heels of the present walk-out in coal and on the

docks, and the Taft-Hartley attack on the ILWU. The aerospace industry has shown its grave sensitivity to the international market crisis with the decline of Boeing in Seattle and the Lockheed-Rolls Royce debacle.

Under these conditions, and with a whole section of American industry threatened with collapse, this IAM contract renewal can become a test for the extent to which Nixon can continue to use the union bureaucracy as agents to divert the ranks away from an all out struggle for wages, and jobs.

Such a fight would mean inevitable confrontation with Nixon's wage freeze and the labor leaders, including the President of the IAM, who have agreed to administer it. That can only show, even more clearly, that the reality of the wage freeze is "control of inflation" through strikebreaking. The attack on the

ILWU must be duplicated with IAM, and union after union.

The vote to strike ROHR Corp. is very much connected with the recent demonstration by workers there against the shipping of work to Mexico and for more jobs. The fight for jobs at a living wage is the central question for this strike. The crisis of Boeing and Lockheed are the future for all of aerospace. And this means that unemployment is very much the future for aerospace workers if the fight to protect jobs is not mobilized by the union leadership during their current contract negotiations.

The union leaders in this area know that also. Despite the willingness of Mr. Floyd Smith, International President, to serve on the wage board, it was San Diego District President Baffone who took his "militant" stance in favor of a general strike when Nixon first announced the wage freeze. He has since neglected to raise the question again.

Mr. Cruse, Local 755 President at ROHR, was not blind when those workers demonstrated for jobs. That is why he has declared the main issue in the contract ne-

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The real meaning of "seniority" however, is that it covers over the fact that everybody's jobs are coming under attack. Seniority, protection of the jobs of older workers in the sense that union leaders speak of it, cannot be separated from an all out fight to protect every aerospace worker from unemployment.

This strike vote comes at a crucial time. Aerospace was very much a part of the post-war industrial development on the West Coast. That development is threatened by the capitalist crisis itself that portends the closing down of whole industries, and the creation of mass unemployment.

The ability of a large section of the American working class to survive with their jobs is at stake here. The capitalists of aerospace can no longer employ workers at a profit. That means that this industry must immediately be nationalized under workers' control in order to secure the jobs of all employees.

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