

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Lessons Of
Rahway
Rebellion

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER 143

FIFTEEN CENTS

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Pages 3, 6 & 16



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TOWARDS A HISTORY
OF THE
FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

by
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What we think

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Bengali liberation fighters on the march against Yahya Khan.

Tories Cheer 'Independence' For Rhodesia

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On November 23, Tory Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home clinched an agreement with the apartheid regime of Ian Smith providing for the "independence" of Rhodesia dependent on "guarantees" for the country's Black majority of five million against the regime of 250,000 whites.

Conservative politicians were described as "jubilant" and Prime Minister Vorster of the totalitarian police state of South Africa sent his congratulations to the Rhodesian and British governments, hailing the settlement "for the sake of Rhodesia, states in southern Africa and the free world."

What the settlement really represents is British capitalism's seal of approval for the regime of racism and superexploitation of the Black Rhodesian working class. At news of the agreement the London Stock Market cheered and shares in tobacco and other companies involved in the farcical embargo against the apartheid regime soared.

What they were cheering was a regime whose constitution gives the 250,000 whites 50 seats in Parliament and the Blacks only 16. Despite the massive disproportion in numbers the land and educational money is divided in half between the races and professional and administrative jobs are reserved for whites. Of course, huge profits are being raked in as a result of this arrangement.

The "settlement" arranged by Home (who also helped Chamberlain negotiate the Munich agreement dismembering Czechoslovakia for Hitler in 1938) in fact is nothing but a veneer for a maintenance of this situation. Even the British concede that majority rule is most unlikely before the year 2000, if ever.

From North Ireland to Rhodesia, imperialism is throwing all pretense of "democracy" to the winds in the face of the necessity of keeping down the working class of the colonial and advanced countries alike. This means the fostering of every sort of racist, sectarian and totalitarian regime in these countries with the full approval and assistance of imperialism. But this means an inevitable confrontation with that same working class, determined not to

bow to the future of misery the capitalists are planning for it. This is what Labour Party spokesmen like ex-Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley fear. In stating his opposition to the settlement, Bottomley said, "Africans will realize they cannot get what they want by democratic and peaceful development, and they will be turning more and more to violence."

The struggles of the colonial and advanced workers joined together under Marxist leadership will spell the end to the whole system of capitalist exploitation and institutionalized racism.

Castro Urges Peace With Imperialism

BY ED SMITH

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro spoke in Santa Cruz, Chile last week as part of his tour to bolster up the "peaceful road to socialism" of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government.

He used the opportunity to make plain his eagerness for an accommodation with U.S. imperialism in the face of one of the deepest and most sustained offenses of the Latin American working class in decades.

He drew the line, at least for the time being, at making an accommodation with Richard Nixon. "Nixon is not a progressive and the most that can be said of him is that he is a political realist who wants to be re-elected," said Castro. "When the United States has a government that does not represent reaction and does not act as a gendarme, then there can be peace with Cuba." Castro advised reporters he was a "great admirer" of the "American people" but added, "But later, with the growth of power, came American imperialism." "Nixon does not respond to the realities now and to the new spirit of the people of the United States."

To a man who gives full support to strikebreakers and murderers like Peruvian General Velasco and goes all out in support of popular frontism in Chile, to a man who supported the elections of both John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson as victories for "progress" against "reaction," it is clear that a "progressive" government responding to the new realities and

Bengal Army Victories Shake Gandhi Regime

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Both the Indian and Pakistani rulers are being put up against the wall by the liberation struggle in Bangla Desh. After the shaky halt to Indian military activity called last week by Mrs. Gandhi, a renewal of hostilities would put capitalists of both countries in a desperate situation. Yet at the same time the massive struggle of the Bengali workers and peasants is tremendously deepening the crisis for Yahya Khan and Gandhi.

On November 22, joint forces of the Indian Army and the Mukti Bahini (liberation army) attacked many points along the border of East Pakistan, concentrating on the Sylhet, Comilla, and Chittagong districts, with the major thrust going into Jessore from the area near Calcutta. Indian forces actively committed to the battle totaled 200,000 men in ten divisions. They are aiding 100,000 Mukti Bahini fighters in their battle against 80,000 Pakistani soldiers who are scattered over a wide area, short on ammunition, and totally isolated within a hostile Bengali population.

By the time of the attack, the Bengali fighters within Pakistani-occupied territory had already dealt big blows against Yahya Khan's troops. Even in the capital, Dacca, every night there are explosions set off by the liberation fighters and not a policeman is to be seen on the streets.

In a series of swift advances during the joint Indian-Bengali operations, much of the Pakistani armor was destroyed. At the same time Pakistani troops were forced to pull out of the interior of Bangla Desh giving the Mukti Bahini a virtual free hand over most of the nation's territory.

But before the end of that week,

Mrs. Gandhi had called a halt to the advance. For Mrs. Gandhi and the Indian bourgeoisie have nearly as much to lose from a Bengali victory as Yahya Khan himself. At the same time as the influx of over 10,000,000 refugees from East Bengal into India puts an intolerable burden on the economy, a growing economic recession is also eroding Mrs. Gandhi's position. Combined with this is a deadly fear of what a breach in the imperialist partition of the subcontinent could do to galvanize India's increasingly restive working class and peasantry—especially the masses of West Bengal.

So the role of Indira Gandhi is to supply arms and tanks to the liberation fighters only to pull them out at the crucial moment before victory—just as she did last week. In this way she can seize control of the independence movement and use the Mukti Bahini fighters as pawns in a "political settlement" resulting in a capitalist East Pakistan subservient to the crisis-racked Indian bourgeoisie.

"The rulers of Pakistan must realize that the path of peaceful negotiation and reconciliation—is more rewarding than that of war and the suppression

of liberty and democracy," she told Parliament on Nov. 24.

THREAT

In the meantime, she said, liberation army bases in West Bengal pose "a very real threat" to the security of India. Indian army dispositions have in fact been made with an eye to suppressing Bengali revolts inside India. And concentration camps have been set up to confine "political undesirables" in case of all out war.

While attempting to hold back the Bengali liberation forces on the one hand, on the other Mrs. Gandhi is threatening to recognize Bangla Desh and calling for the release of Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

By releasing Mujib, she hopes that a settlement will be negotiated which will avoid revolution in India and set up an "autonomous Bangla Desh" which can be exploited by Indian capital.

But a war—even a victorious one—could only be a cover for Mrs. Gandhi in the short run and only exacerbate the crisis of Indian capitalism in the long run. As for Khan and the Pakistani rulers, the most they could gain from an all-out war would be a retention of the status quo, which is already disastrous for them. So both governments find themselves more and more united in their attempts to blunt the struggle of the Bengali people and turn it into the "safe" channel of a "political solution."

The Soviet Union, the United States and China have combined

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Castro walks arm and arm with Allende in recent visit to Chile.

"the spirit of the people" need not be socialist. For Castro's purposes, the political heirs of JFK and LBJ—the McGoverns, the Ted Kennedys, the Edmund Muskies will do fine.

As for any remaining support to guerrilla ventures against extreme reactionary Latin regimes, Castro says: "The day that intervention (U.S. sponsored refugee raids and sabotage) ceases, Cuba is prepared to respect norms of international cooperation."

So much for "the guerrilla road to socialism" so beloved in the past of revisionists everywhere. Castro is unconditionally behind the strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy to contain and disperse the movement of the Latin American workers and peasants with popular frontism, the illusory "peaceful road to socialism," and support to "structural transformations" by "progressive nationalists." With this Castro finds himself in complete accord.

OVERTURES

So on his Chilean trip he makes heavy overtures to U.S. imperialism on the one hand. With the other he extends the olive branch to the historic twin pillars of Latin American reaction—the military and the Church. In a press conference during his Chi-

lean tour Castro stated that he foresaw "a point of convergence" between the revolution and the Church. He remarked that in Cuba "there is now a climate of respect and coexistence between the revolution and the Church, and there is no longer any kind of problem."

On a visit to a Chilean Army barracks on the anniversary of the murder of "liberal" General Rene Schneider, a personal friend of Allende, Castro remarked on the "progressive role of the army" in the Popular Unity regime. In response a colonel presented a regimental plaque to Castro, expressing his belief that it was "in good hands." Thus Castro disposes of the lessons of the Bolivian military coup, bought with the blood of workers, peasants and students.

The political expression of this took place on a joint visit of

Allende and Castro to Puerto Montt, a stronghold of the Independent Revolutionary Movement (MIR), strong critics of Allende's popular front government. When part of the crowd listening to the two leaders began to shout "Revolution, Revolution," during Allende's speech, Allende told them, "We will never accept impositions from the extreme left." Castro stood beside him when he made this threat, only one in a series.

What do the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party have to say about these developments? In an article in the November 26 issue of the *Militant*, David Thorstad called the visit "a dramatic sign of the growing breakdown of the U.S.-inspired efforts to isolate Cuba from the rest of Latin America." He added discreetly that "Chile's President

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Taft-Hartley Hits ILA Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

Nixon has moved to break the longshoremen's strike by invoking the Taft-Hartley injunction against the ILA in the major east coast ports.

Since the strike began on October 1, the leadership of the ILA under Gleason and Scotto have been pleading with the government to invoke the Taft-Hartley in order to "freeze" the guarantee provisions under the old contract.

The rank and file are sick and tired of this baloney! There is a strong feeling that the shippers are conniving to get around the guarantee in one way or another during the 90 days in order to prepare for their attempt to smash the union and guarantee entirely.

Most important, the men realize that this Taft-Hartley was brought in just at the time when the strike was the strongest following the unsuccessful attempts to demoralize and isolate the New York men through local injunctions in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans and preparations for such action in Boston.

But at the time of the injunction, all ports on the east and gulf coasts were down on the basis of no contract, no work. Nixon's Taft-Hartley is open

strikebreaking to once again divide the east coast from the west coast where the men are ready to strike again following expiration of the Taft-Hartley there on January 6. Above all, Nixon fears a nationwide dock strike especially as he is trying to bring all strikes and contracts under the jurisdiction and control of the government through Phase II.

At the same time the longshoremen in Brooklyn, Manhattan and Staten Island were just now due for unemployment benefits and were prepared to stay out indefinitely to win a decent contract with the 40 hour weekly guarantee for all men.

The government's excuse of "national emergency" is a fraud. It is an "emergency" only for the shippers and the rest of the capitalists worried about maintaining their huge profits. The Shipping Associations and Nixon only differ on what they think is the best way for them to try to smash the ILA.

RESISTANCE

There has been tremendous re-

sistance to going back to work under Taft-Hartley. This has been expressed in the response to a leaflet issued by the ILA Committee For A Decent Contract calling for the men to "Stay Out." The New York Times reporter who said that most of the men "seemed glad to be back" simply doesn't know what he's talking about. Almost all the men Bulletin reporters spoke to at the Greenwich Street hiring hall in lower Manhattan said that the leaflet calling on the men to "Stay Out" was right.

As one of the men said, "The Taft-Hartley is for their benefit. It only gives them more time to break up the union. The only ones getting the short end of the stick are the workers."

Another man when asked what he thought about Nixon bringing

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N.Y. longshoremen discuss situation facing ILA at hiring hall.

Teachers Union Leaders Sent To Jail In Newark

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, November 30—Carole Graves, President of the Newark Teachers Union, Frank Fiorito, President of the New Jersey Federation of Teachers and six other NTU members were sent to jail today on contempt charges stemming from their 1970 strike.

There are a total of nearly 200 teachers who are in line to go to jail based on these contempt charges. Two more groups are scheduled to be sent to jail over the Christmas vacation, most of them for a ten-day stay. The New Jersey State Superior Court has ordered 50 teachers to be jailed on December 15th, and another 130 on December 23rd.

In an interview with the Bulletin, Victor Cascella, a vice president and acting president of the NTU while the leadership is in jail, stated that the union had even taken the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. Nixon's reactionary servants on the Court decided not to even review the case.

Cascella said that the union based its appeal on the belief that teachers and other public employees "have as much right to strike as other workers. It's a basic right which the trade unions need in order to defend their members."

Cascella also denounced the U.S. Supreme Court for not reviewing the case, stating that by this action it showed where it stood on these basic rights of workers.

But when we asked Cascella what the NTU intended to do about the jailings, he said that "There's not much we can do about it. We're trying to stand by the people." When asked what he meant, Cascella said that the NTU was organizing a fund raising drive to replace the lost salaries of the teachers who are in jail. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is also going to pay the fines of the individual teachers, which amounts to about \$45,000.

The NTU is also organizing a petition campaign for the purpose of asking Governor Cahill for amnesty for the teachers.

1971

There are still the charges from the 1971 teachers strike which the prosecutors are trying to force onto the teachers. This will mean further fines and additional jailings, this time to the tune of over \$200,000.

It is no accident that these jailings come in the midst of Nixon's Pay Board maneuvers. Teachers across the country have fought against the wage freeze which affected them directly.



NTU President Carol Graves.

Teachers in Illinois even struck against the freeze back in August.

Now the jailings of these teachers have the most important meaning not only for teachers, but for trade unionists across the country. Petition campaigns and fund drives for jailed workers will not free them nor will they keep the government from deepening its attacks.

If the NTU is to survive as an organization able to defend its members, it must see the jailings as political acts against the working class. Now the activity of the Communist Party and Labor Committee comes sharply into focus.

These groups during the NTU strike last year refused to fight for a political understanding of the strike. The Labor Committee simply acted as errand boy for the bureaucracy and refused to support the struggle for a general strike of the AFL-CIO to defend the NTU. They simply laughed at the thought of it.

The Communist Party, however, did not laugh. It fought consciously against the movement. It told its supporters to denounce the general strike as racist and to insist that the NTU and Newark trade unionists simply support Mayor Gibson and his anti-union policies during the strike.

This is a life and death question for the trade union movement. The NTU and its leadership must be defended to the hilt against the government's union-busting attacks. Rank and file teachers must demand that the AFL-CIO call a general strike demanding the immediate release of all teachers and the end of all fines and jail sentences levied upon them.

Cambria County Miners Continue Contract Fight

BY J. SZANDOR

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—While many of western Pennsylvania's 20,000 coal miners have reported to work, some 2500 miners in Cambria County have rejected the new contract.

Instead they met on Monday, Nov. 22, and outlined a 13 point alternative contract to be presented to officials of United Mine Workers District 2, Ebensburg, Pa. The proposed contract calls for improved sick pay benefits, better pensions for miners now on retirement, \$250 pensions for widows of miners killed while working, and autonomy for all UMW locals from the union international in Washington, D.C.

A section of the miners tried to win support for Yablonski's Miners for Democracy faction in the UMW but the majority voted it down. The call for autonomy for all locals and the rejection of the UMW faction represents the rejection of Tony Boyles' bureaucracy and of Yablonski's liberal alliances.

This action on the part of Cambria County miners mirrors the Morgantown, West Virginia local's demands for autonomy and their complete dissatisfaction with Yablonski. But autonomy is not the solution and essentially avoids the struggle which is required against the rotten and corrupt Boyle leadership. The need for a national caucus in the UMW becomes clear. An alternative leadership must be formed in the UMW to fight for the miners' real needs.

The continued strike affects the five mines of Bethlehem Mine Corporation, the Cambrian County operations of Barnes & Tucker Co., and the Greenwich Collieries owned by Pennsylvania Power and Light Co. of Allentown. Also affected by walkouts in Southwestern Pennsylvania over the contract are Vesta No. 4 of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. and U.S. Steel Corp. operations at Maple Creek and Robena.

The Cambria County miners intend to meet this week to discuss the effect of their strike, making certain that no mining in Cambria County will occur.

Price Board Chief Appeals To 'Patriotism'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

C. Jackson Grayson, the chairman of Nixon's Price Commission, has sent out a letter to 1,500 private firms to give him some sort of information that will enable him to tell the nation of their "extraordinary and patriotic efforts" to keep down prices.

"In the newspapers these days we read only of the companies that are requesting price increases. Many of these increases are justified by increased costs. We don't read of many companies that have decided to hold prices down or of those that are actually reducing prices."

Grayson hastened to assure his friends that he was not asking them to make a "commitment" to hold prices just "your current intentions or decisions."

So workers can expect soon to see a barrage of reports in the capitalist press of the "extraordinary and patriotic efforts" of one or two companies (out of 1,500) who have the "intention" of holding down prices.

The "patriotism" being trotted out to glorify Nixon's businessmen friends will be used by him to try to run down the labor movement on behalf of the "national interest."

We say that the American working people certainly did not cause the capitalist crisis and all

those who propose that they should be made to pay for it must be fought down the line. This letter of Grayson's is obviously just a preparation for further attacks on the working class on behalf of Nixon and the bosses. It is an attempt to gather "ammunition" to this end.

All of Grayson's praise for the corporations goes right along with the action of the Price Commission which is approving price increases right and left that are way above the so-called 2.5% guideline. The government has exempted large sections of the economy from the controls. Last week it exempted housing under state or local control from regulation. Con Ed in New York

has won a 12% increase in rates while Chrysler and General Motors are given the go ahead to raise their prices.

This is not to mention the price increases particularly in the supermarkets and other stores on goods that are under the "frozen" category.

What is clearly "patriotic" for Grayson and Nixon and the bosses they rule for is making profit—at the expense of the working class.

This can be stopped only by the independent mobilization of the labor movement in general strike action against Phase II and through the building of a labor party.

Rahway Rebellion Ends Under Massacre Threat

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Hundreds of prisoners at the Rahway State Prison in New Jersey revolted last Wednesday, taking over the auditorium and two cellblocks and holding the warden and five others as hostages.

The rebellion ended twenty four hours later on the basis of Governor Cahill's verbal promise of no physical reprisals and negotiations on the prisoners' demands and as police and state troopers armed with rifles and tear gas stood ready for an attack.

Two days later at the Essex County jail in Newark prisoners ripped off the door of a solitary confinement cell to free another inmate and smashed windows.

The uprising that swept Attica in which 33 inmates were killed by Rockefeller's troops is spreading to every prison in the coun-

try. The Rahway prisoners spelled out their feelings on a bedsheet which read "Remember Attica."

The Rahway prisoners wrote out their 14 demands on a petition including total amnesty, better food and medical care, the right to parole, an end to brutality, racism and the use of illegal kangaroo courts to punish prisoners.

The prisoners won absolutely nothing. The three conditions offered by Cahill in exchange for an end to the rebellion were 1) no physical reprisals, 2) escorts by "community" representatives to assure this was carried out and 3) negotiations on the prisoners' grievances.

Cahill is strutting around as a hero boasting of his wisdom in settling the rebellion without a massacre. Yet had the prisoners rejected his deal this is precisely what he was prepared to do.

A Black assemblyman, George Richardson, reported that at the beginning of the revolt Cahill refused to have any discussions with the inmates and made immediate preparations to crush the rebellion by force.

All that Richardson did was to plead with Cahill to allow a citizens group into the prison to "observe" the assault if it took

place.

It was only when Cahill realized that the prisoners were divided and had no strong leadership that he made his offer. A full force of state troopers and police were prepared to move in if this didn't work.

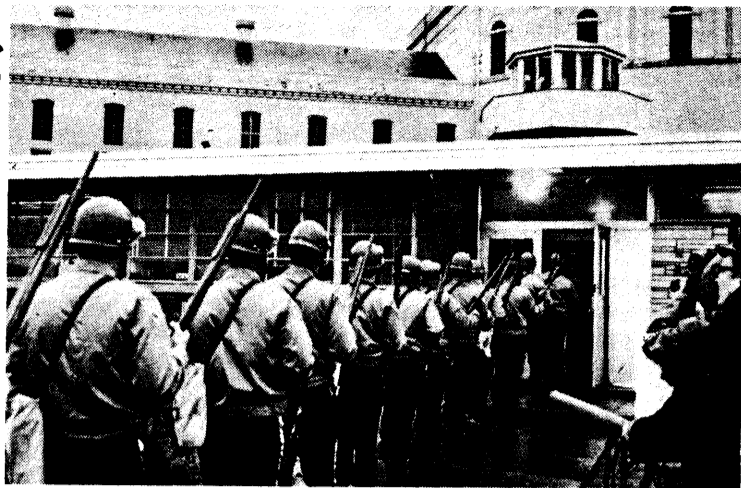
Cahill's three point conditions were nothing but a cynical ploy to get the prisoners back to their cells to enable the state to tighten the noose around the inmates' necks. Militants are already being shipped out of the prison to mental institutions.

Another rebellion had taken place in 1952. The same promises were made and nothing was changed.

Rahway shows that Attica was not an isolated incident of brutality. Rockefeller and Cahill and the entire capitalist class are ruthlessly prepared to drown every rebellion by the working class in blood.

The struggle against the conditions of the prisons is not a struggle for reforms as the Attica inmates understood but a struggle against the oppression and exploitation of the working class which the prisoners are part of.

The Rahway prisoners were beaten back and betrayed because they had no leadership. Their struggle, together with the working class can only go forward with the building of revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and among the youth for the taking of power.



State troopers enter Rahway State Prison to squelch rebellion.

Cops Tear Gas Students

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—On Friday, November 19, students at Lake Clifton Senior High School came into bloody collision with the Baltimore police force.

Following several weeks of unrest and incidents in the city's overcrowded school system, a rebellion was touched off on Thursday and continued on Friday at this new school.

After police had "quieted" the "disturbance" 20 people had been arrested, and many students injured in the scuffle between the police on one side and students joined by community residents on the other.

The incidents at Lake Clifton were touched off by several occurrences: students were denied the right to dance in the cafeteria; another student dropped a plate, people started throwing food, overturning tables, chairs.

At this point, on Friday, students refused to return to classes, and the principal, Mrs. Johnson, called the cops.

The school had been under surveillance due to the similar events of Thursday, and the police arrived en masse, in riot gear. Students began leaving the school, and the police were instructed to disperse them from the area. According to one eyewitness, the students were dispersing (about 2 p.m.) when the police came up and started to harass a group of students. When the students tried to fight back, the police accused them of not dispersing and started macing, clubbing and tear gassing the crowd.

HYSTERICAL

The events at Lake Clifton were not isolated from other similar disturbances across the city. After several shootings, there has been hysterical reaction from right-wing centers of the city to arm the security guards.

Lake Clifton is situated in an area hard-hit by unemployment, affecting primarily young minority workers where youth face a future of the draft and no jobs.

The question facing the working class youth today at Lake Clifton is: "Where do we go from here?" Many students agreed that what was needed was building a leadership among the youth that would fight to change the society which is responsible for unemployment, the war in Vietnam. This means building a revolutionary youth movement. It is for this purpose that the Workers League is sponsoring a youth conference in New York City on December 18.

the case. It is only the struggle of the masses of working people independently mobilized to demand this hearing that will force it.

As the first step in this final stage of the campaign, the Juan Farinas Defense Committee will be holding a press conference at the National Peace Action Coalition conference in Cleveland, Ohio over the weekend of December 3.

Please send all inquiries and funds to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th Street, 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Gary - 'No Pay, No Work'

BY JONAH GALLATIN
GARY, IND.—Th Gary school system, unable to meet its payroll for the first time since 1933 when it paid teachers with script, has asked teachers to work without pay until January 1972.

The response of teachers and custodians to this attack has been—"No pay, no work."

Late last school year, the Gary school board sought drastic cuts in teachers' wages and working conditions.

The attack on the teachers was beaten back by a solid strike which forced the board to rescind the cuts.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas
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Court Rejects Epton Appeal

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

NEW YORK—Attorney Eleanor Piel, representing William Epton has filed an appeal before the Appellate Court here for reduction and or vacation of the sentence given to Epton. This comes after a refusal by the Supreme Court to hear Epton's appeal that his conviction be overturned.

The conviction of Epton was the result of a frame-up and witch-hunt during and after the rebellion that shook New York's Harlem in the summer of 1964. The rebellion was sparked by the unprovoked and wanton murder of a 15-year old Black youth by a New York cop. Epton, then a leader of Progressive Labor, attempted to give leadership to the mass movement of protest against the murder and was framed up under an archaic law for "sedition and criminal anarchy."

Epton was tried, convicted and sentenced to one year in jail, of which he has served five and a half months. He has been out on bail during the last five years. If the present appeal is denied, Epton will have to go back to jail for another four months.

In this period the government must try to smash any opposition to its policies of attack after attack on working people and youth. The labor movement and the youth must take up the defense of Epton and all political prisoners as part of its defense.

Farinas Petitions Supreme Court

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

NEW YORK, Nov. 27—Today, Sanford Katz, on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, submitted to the Supreme Court the petition for review of the decision taken against Juan Farinas.

Juan Farinas was tried and convicted on December 11, 1970, for violating the Selective Service Act and sentenced to serve two years in jail. Farinas' only crime was to distribute a leaflet condemning the Vietnam War at the induction center at Whitehall Street in the summer of 1968.

On September 28, 1971, the Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, in a 3-0 decision, upheld the decision of the lower court.

Thousands have already rallied to his defense and we are now launching the final stage of the campaign.

The prosecuting attorney for the federal government has one month in which to reply to the

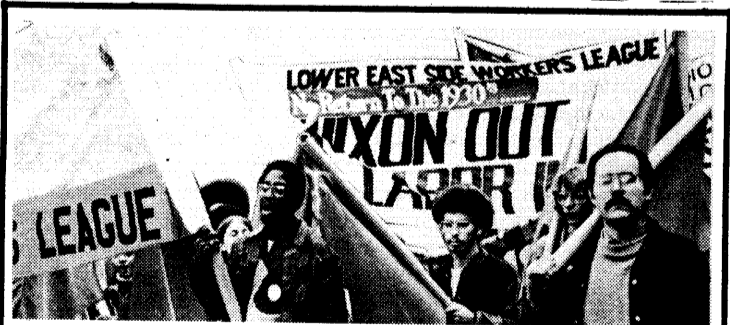
defense's petition to the Supreme Court. Then, within one to two months the Supreme Court will act on whether to hear the case or not.

In the petition the defense has based its argument on the basic constitutional questions involved: whether the Selective Service Regulations—the basis of a criminal prosecution for the first time—deny the guarantees of free expression in the First Amendment. Because the regulations are "broad and vague" they arbitrarily allow the low-ranking officers on duty in the induction center to make a judgment on what is permissible or not (in this case the peaceful passing out of leaflets). Because of the officers' decision the defendant can go to jail for two years.

To quote from the petition for review which cited a court decision in another case: "A law submitting the exercise of First Amendment freedom...without narrow, objective or definite standards...is unconstitutional."

What is clear is that the courts, thus far, have ignored the First Amendment in order to charge and sentence Farinas because of his opposition to the war, his socialist views. The persecution of Farinas is part of the employers' and government's attack on the whole working class.

In this period, when Nixon is preparing to stack the Supreme Court with racists and reactionaries, to intensify the capitalist class' war against the working class, it is going to be very difficult to get the Court to hear



Workers League

Dec. 18, 1971

CONFERENCE OF
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DISCUSSION FILMS DANCE

NY Tel Ranks Determined To Win Strike

BY DAN FRIED

Several thousand members of CWA (Communication Workers of America) Local 1101, which has been on strike against the New York Telephone Company for more than 20 weeks, turned out for a mass meeting here. Local 1101 represents 22,000 out of the 40,000 installers, linemen and other workers represented by the CWA in New York State who are employed by "Ma Bell."

All these CWA locals of the Bell System in New York State are still on strike despite the ratification of the national contract by the rest of the CWA and the open scabbing on the strike by the International leadership under CWA President Joseph Beirne.

If the Local 1101 leadership under President Ricki Carnivale was "testing out" the sentiment of the workers on the question of going back to work at this time, it got its answer in no uncertain terms. The men voted by more than a 4-1 margin to stay out until they win their demands.

WAGES

After the meeting several of the strikers, who told us that they would never go back until

these demands were met, explained why the men had rejected the national agreement. They felt that wages was the key question. Wages was key, one of them explained, because the cost of living is considerably higher in New York than in many parts of the country. This problem was apparent during the so-called Phase I period of the wage freeze when prices in New York rose twice as much as the national average. New Yorkers still face another subway fare hike and an increase of 7 1/2% in rents on "rent controlled" apartments after January 1.

The question of vacations was also brought up. The national agreement, the men said, provided for a 3 week vacation only

after 10 years and 4 weeks after 17 years of employment. The New York locals were demanding 3 weeks after 5 years and 4 weeks after 10 years.

Another issue raised was the question of transfers, affecting over 1,000 workers who have unsuccessfully applied for transfers and have been kept waiting for years. Typical of the situation these men, mostly older workers, face was that of one man who said that he had put in a transfer to Newburgh from New York City some 10 years ago and had still not gotten it. So he is still forced to commute daily to his job in the city at an exorbitant cost.

In addressing the meeting, Carnivale stated that the Telephone Company had been hiding behind the wage freeze and Phase II, but it could no longer do that. He cited as precedents in the union's favor, recent rulings of the Pay Board on the coal miners' contract and the contract with Rochester Bell. "So it can be done," Carnivale concluded.

When Carnivale says "it can be done," he means that the telephone workers can expect good treatment from the Pay Board. This is a complete retreat from a struggle against Phase II, a struggle for labor to quit the Board and to prepare a general strike. His remarks completely ignored the wildcat strike movement by thousands of dissident coal miners against this so-

(Continued On Page 12)

300 Workers Dumped By Coty Company

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Upwards of 300 workers at the Coty plant on Manhattan's West Side have been thrown out of work in the past two weeks, following the world-famous perfume company's decision to move its entire operation to North Carolina.

Forty more workers, who are winding down the plant's operations, will lose their jobs sometime in December when the 55th Street building closes down for good.

The workers knew nothing about the company's move until paychecks were handed out last week.

Demand General Strike!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—At the last meeting of the Tool and Die Makers Lodge here a resolution calling upon the national AFL-CIO leadership to "immediately begin preparations for a general strike in defense of the historic rights of American workers" won over 40% of the vote.

The resolution had been gathering dust for weeks in the Committee on Resolutions, in accordance with the reactionary by-law procedures of the union.

Militants consider the vote a victory, and expressed confidence that the campaign for the general strike will go over the top in the next period.

"There's no more work here," was the only statement made to one worker as she was handed her final check.

Some twenty workers have maintained a continuous vigil outside the entrances to the company, demanding at least the vacation pay that is forthcoming to most employees.

The leadership of Teamsters Local 815 which represents the Coty workers has not called a meeting about the firings nor prepared a strategy for fighting the closure. In fact, they have only launched a belated fight for vacation pay when the fired workers took up the spontaneous sit-in.

When asked what she thought about a general strike to end all controls in Phase II and to win all retroactive pay in every industry, one Coty worker answered, "Yes, that's the only thing that's going to help us. We'll be lucky if we get that vacation pay!"

All the workers this reporter talked to thought that while their firings seemed isolated, they were really part of Nixon's and the employers' attack on all workers, and that what was necessary was for all workers to unite in a general strike action.

What is clear in the Coty closure is that the ruling class has no qualms about tearing up union contracts (Coty's runs well into 1972). Because of their crisis the owners now act in the most vicious fashion, throwing 300 workers out on the street.

The workers are determined to fight back. They must demand that the union leadership take up the fight against the closure with the backing of the entire union.

U.S. Statistics Lie On Unemployment

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

All recent polls tend to grossly slant the statistics in order to show an improved economic situation so as to reinforce Nixon's "attack on inflation" (wages).

All kinds of statistics are being presented in order to show that unemployment is improving as well as boldface lies that the majority of trade union members support and approve his policies.

The statisticians of the United Auto Workers have come up with their own statistics on unemployment that are guaranteed not to be used by Nixon's pollsters or their bourgeois press.

For some time, the UAW has tracked actual rates of unemployment versus those figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. The union's figures showed the true rate of unemployment somewhere near double the figures released by the government.

Here's what happened to unemployment as of October 31, 1971 according to the UAW:

1. Government Unemployment Figures: 4,938,000
2. Part time workers who are seeking full time employment: 2,507,000
3. Unemployed workers who are



N.Y. telephone strikers demonstrate against 'Ma Bell' after meeting.

Gary Steelworkers Face 2 Week Plant Shutdown

BY MARK ALEXIS

GARY, IND.—A complete shutdown of U.S. Steel Corporation's huge Gary works appears likely in late December and will last for at least two weeks, according to the management.

Since August the plant has been operating at about 55% capacity with 12,000 workers laid off. The layoffs began after the union bureaucracy settled for a three-year contract which offered no job security. Union head, I.W. Abel's promise to "make an honest effort to boost productivity" is now bearing fruit.

The leadership of USWA is doing nothing to prevent the two-week closing. They are going along with the steel bosses in their attempt to demoralize and scatter the steelworkers. This is in preparation for the complete crushing of the union, and the

final closing of Gary works.

The full impact of the union bureaucracy's August sellout is revealed more sharply every day. Gary works is not isolated, even though it has been hit especially hard due to its relatively high cost of operation and old machinery.

CRISIS

The decline in steel production is part of the worldwide crisis of capitalism. The layoffs and closing are part of the attack on the international working class as the bosses attempt to decrease the workers' standard of living to get more work out of fewer workers for the sake of profits.

LAYOFFS

The nearby Inland Steel plant is operating at about 90% employment, Bethlehem at 83% and Youngstown at about 80%.

Layoffs of British steelworkers accompany a decline in production of British steel. British steel production has slumped to the lowest level since 1967. The expected 10% drop in steel production in the six Common Market countries in the last quarter of this year has signaled layoffs and unemployment for 12,000 French workers.

The employers internationally try to solve their problem through productivity deals and massive layoffs. Workers must answer these attacks with demands for nationalization of all plants under workers control. Full employment must be provided through a fight for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay.

BUILD

The ranks must now build for a strike of all steel plants in the Gary-East Chicago area against layoffs and the plant closing.

This fight must be seen as part and parcel of the struggle against Phase II and the Pay Board and for a general strike against the government's attacks.

Steelworkers must demand that I.W. Abel get off the Pay Board. Abel sacrificed the jobs, wages, and working conditions of steelworkers in the last contract and now sits on Nixon's Pay Board.

A new leadership must be built in the union that bases itself on a program to mobilize the ranks politically against the steel bosses and the government.

no longer counted as unemployed (an estimate):	500,000
4. Discouraged unemployed workers who no longer look for jobs:	860,000
TOTAL	8,805,000

BALLYHOOD

Based on these figures, the unemployment rate, widely ballyhooed by government propaganda as 5.8% is closer to 10.2%. Add to that those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits, plus those who are living in ghettos, and barrios who are chronically unemployed and remain uncoun- ted, plus "illegal aliens" without work, plus workers who are forced out of the labor market because of age.

At the same time thousands of workers in basic industry now face layoffs. In Framingham, Mass. 500 auto workers and members of the UAW are being laid off. Last week 250 men were laid off at the Sparrows Point plant of Bethlehem Steel.

ATTACKS

The struggle facing the UAW and the unions as a whole is to take up the fight against unemployment and for the 30 hour week at forty hours pay as part of a political offensive against the government's attacks on the unions under Phase II.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Longshoremen's Rights Versus Bosses Profits

President Nixon, acting in the interests of the shipping bosses and all the capitalists, has invoked the Taft-Hartley against striking East Coast dockers. The dockers, at this point, lacking a leadership capable of defying Nixon and the union bureaucrats, are bitterly returning to the docks. They will now move as little cargo as possible awaiting the next stage of their struggle against the shippers.

At stake in this battle are issues of principle which are central to all workers. The all out effort of the stevedoring firms to break the guarantee and hold down wages with the aid of Nixon amounts to an attempt to destroy trade unionism on the docks and eventually reduce the work force to 10% of what it is today. They carry out this attempt while at the same time Nixon is seeking to break the labor movement as a whole. If the bosses succeed we will have an America of mass unemployment, of fascism. We will not allow them to succeed.

The history of longshore is a capsule history of American labor—its great power, its intolerable weaknesses. For a long period longshoremen were dominated by a union bureaucracy corrupted by capitalism, infiltrated by gangsters, intimately tied to the Tammany Hall machine of the Democratic Party. Faced with this, rank and file longshoremen developed their own leadership independent of the bureaucracy and year after year conducted wildcat actions.

Finding the old techniques of corruption and gangsterism ineffective the capitalists then launched a new tactic. Claiming to be fighting corruption they brought in government regulation in the form of the Waterfront Commission. The gangsters remained but now rank and file workers faced closer government control and harassment.

All this was but a preparation for the critical stage of containerization. The aim now was to wipe out most dock jobs destroying the power of the union in order to do this, and reaping in huge profits for the owners in the process. But they could not do this all at once. First the principle of containerization had to be established. To achieve this the bosses were forced to grant a guarantee in hours worked at least to a section of dockers.

But the purpose of containerization is to wipe out the mass of workers on the docks. The guarantee prevents this. Thus the fight over the guarantee becomes now the life and death issue for labor and capital on the docks. Only if it is kept can dockers survive. Only if it is destroyed can the capitalists survive.

This is why when Scotto of Brooklyn Local 1814 says: "We don't want to kill the companies that employ us—we're hoping to keep them in business and still get our fair share," he is proposing a policy of acceptance of mass unemployment on the docks, of the end of shipping in Manhattan, its drastic reduction in Brooklyn, and large scale layoffs in New Jersey, not to mention the sacrifices of the outports.

Dockers sought to fight the corrupt bureaucrats by acting independently of them through wildcat action alone. Now the bureaucrats are reinforced by the Waterfront Commission and by Nixon and Congress. Only a political leadership can fight such forces.

This is why a new leadership must be built on the docks which will fight all the way in the interests of the dockers. It must be able to say that if preserving dockers' jobs means driving the owners out of business then we propose that the stevedoring firms be nationalized in the interests of all the people including the dockers. If Nixon and Company follow up the T-H with new attacks and even troops, dockers must answer by fighting to mobilize all labor into a common fight for a general strike against Nixon and to construct a political alternative to Nixon in the form of a labor party.

What is at stake is a question of principle. Do we start with the interests of capitalism and therefore the profitability of the bosses or do we start with the interests of the working people and therefore the fight for working people to own all industry and operate it in the interests of all the people?

The first course is the course of Scotto, of liberals and reformists and the American Communist Party. The second course is our course.



To the rescue.

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

clearly revealed is the unprincipled and factional approach of both Hansen and Frank.

What is most important is what Frank states on the history of the Fourth International. He writes: "In fact 'Pabloism' is an invention dating from 1952-53, when it was used in an attempt to explain the split. This concept represented an incorrect extrapolation of the policy advocated by the Fourth International at the time. Lambert and Healy preserved this invention and tried to use it as a master key instead of striving to understand events as they are, to understand the analyses of these events made by the Fourth International, and to grasp the political line it deduced from them."

This interpretation of history is significantly different from Hansen's for Hansen must try somehow to relate his present opportunist course to the past history of the SWP. If Pabloism is "an invention dating from 1952-53" among the inventors must be James P. Cannon and the present leadership of the SWP! This is why Hansen seeks to see Pabloism as a series of positions held by Pablo in the 1952 period, kept as a private matter from 1955-1965 to suddenly burst forth after 1965 when Pablo left the United Secretariat. Frank, who ought to know as he was a key leader in the International Secretariat throughout this whole period, disagrees. Pabloism was for him all along and at every point an "incorrect extrapolation" of the positions of the International Secretariat.

Here is how Cannon assessed the matter in 1954: "There is no way to get around the fact that we are up against a revisionist tendency which extends from basic theory to political action and organizational practice. We have not imagined this tendency or invented it: we simply recognize the reality. We have become convinced of this reality only after the most thorough deliberation and consideration of the trend of the Pablo faction, as we have seen it manifested in its concrete actions as well as in its crafty theoretical formulations and omissions. We have declared open war on this tendency

because we know that it can lead to nothing but the destruction of our movement..."

The rest of Frank's remarks are actually a defense of the empirical anti-Marxist method of Pabloism. He counterposes to concern with Pabloism a "striving to understand events as they are." By this he means reacting with one's impressions of surface events independent of the principles which have been historically developed through a long struggle by the Marxist movement. It is this method which led Pablo to adapt to Stalinism in 1953, to petty bourgeois nationalism in the late 50s and early 60s, and which today leads the SWP to adapt to middle class radicalism in the form of "new radicalization."

The real revisionist meaning of Frank's method is then illustrated when he says of the International Committee leaders: "They clung to every letter, every word, every comma of the Transitional Program." Which letter, which word, which comma, do you wish to abandon, Mr. Frank? We hold that the Transitional Program was written not just for the 1930s but for the epoch of revolution we are presently entering. It is not just an historical document but our central guide to action now. Yes, we cling with all our might to it and to Marxism, seeking to bring the great theoretical capital developed in the Marxist movement, defended against revisionism, into the new struggles of the working class today. This we see, far from being a "mere repetition of formulas," the real theoretical fight today to build mass Trotskyist parties.

In the course of telling us how much he agrees with us on Lambert, Frank insists that it is not true that Moscoco agrees with Lora on fundamentals: "...Healy chose to lie outright when he said that the 'International Pabloites'—meaning by that what is called the POR-Gonzalez in Bolivia—had the same policy towards the Torres government that Lora had." Frank is sparse on evidence on this point because it has just been announced that both Lora's POR and Moscoco's (Gonzalez) POR have joined in a common formation with Torres!

The truth is that all these various factions and splinters stand together on fundamentals because they do not proceed from the principled struggle against revisionism to the struggle today to construct Trotskyist parties under conditions of deepening international crisis of capitalism. Their disagreements with each other are superficial, tactical, and themselves a result of the disintegrative character of the petty bourgeoisie upon which they all rest. Their disagreements with us are fundamental because they involve the rejection of the Marxist method and the fight for the Transitional Program.

Moscoco supported guerilla warfare and petty bourgeois adventures while Lora conducted opportunist activity in the trade unions. Neither took up an independent fight for the Transitional Program against Stalinism on the basis of international perspectives. Now with Castro's trip to Chile all the scoundrels come together. In Uruguay the urban guerillas—the Tupamaros—openly support the Broad Front, a popular front operation modelled after Allende's government in Chile. In Bolivia and Mexico Moscoco and Lora unite with Torres. The SWP maintains silence on where it stands on Lora and even on Castro's attempt to come to terms with American imperialism through Chile.

We, however, will cling to the letters, the words and even the commas of Marxism against those who seek to junk Trotskyism just at the moment when developments internationally now make it possible to build mass parties on the basis of the Transitional Program. We will be taking an important step toward building such a mass party this December 18th when we hold our first revolutionary youth conference. This conference will be built with the understanding that the "appropriate answers" to the "new problems" posed by Nixon's August 15th declaration of war on the working class are to be found only in the Transitional Program and that the fight for this program has been prepared for through the International Committee's preoccupation with Pabloism.

INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD CONFERENCE of the International Committee of the Fourth International passed a special resolution entitled "Tasks of the International Committee." Its sixteenth and concluding paragraph stated:

"The International Committee will appoint a Commission to begin work immediately on a history of the Fourth International."

In the Fall of 1971 the Workers League organized a series of weekend schools throughout the country devoted to a history of the Fourth International. These articles are based on the lectures given at these schools though additional material has been added. The first one is written by Lucy St. John and the other two by Tim Wohlforth.

While in no sense being a definitive history of the Fourth International, the purpose of these articles is to turn the attention of young revolutionaries in the direction of such a history. At the same time the articles are the product of an intense struggle from 1961 until today to construct the revolutionary party in the United States in a bitter battle against revisionism. At each step in this struggle the Workers League learned that only through the international struggle for the Fourth International could a break be made with American pragmatism and a theoretical basis laid for the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States.

On August 15th, 1971 President Nixon announced his new economic policies. These policies mean that the struggle between the major classes in every country of the world can no longer be postponed. Nixon has declared his intention of driving down European capital forcing it in turn to carry out a civil war against their own working classes. At the same time Nixon is forced into a fundamental struggle with the American working class.

The deepest impact of the August 15th decisions upon the consciousness of the American working class has been among the youth. Working class youth, particularly minority youth, have been born under conditions of ghetto rebellions, have grown up knowing only the Vietnam War and the shoot-outs with the Panthers, and today come to the revolutionary movement at a time when the bankruptcy of nationalism and reformism can no longer be hidden and Nixon's August 15th decisions shape the thinking of all classes. This is not a conservative generation. It has been nurtured by crisis and impending crisis, by the breakup of the boom, not by its suffocating development.

The Workers League sees the very heart of the task posed after August 15th the taking into the new generation of revolutionaries the theoretical understanding developed through the historic struggle to construct the Fourth International under conditions of great adversity. Theory, developed in this way, taken up by youth, will make it possible for the revolutionary party to develop cadres now at the very heart of the crisis which is in basic industry like steel and auto.

Trotsky states that a revolutionary movement can only be built upon the basis of great principles. As these lectures make clear this is the basis of our movement.

August 15th has already had a profound effect on the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party and on the numerous groups which maneuver between the SWP and ourselves. The SWP has turned against the principles around which it was founded and today is forced into crisis by the crisis of the radical middle classes it rests upon. Its opportunism will now be its undoing. It thrashes around attacking us on Bolivia without having any position of its own, denouncing Mandel for the adventurist line in Latin America that the SWP originated, seeking desperately to "fit in" the August 15th developments with its theory of new radicalization and gay contingents.

Groups like Spartacist, Treiger, Turner, Fender, and others split over nothing and regroup over even less with such facility that no one any longer is sure who belongs to what. They reflect the intensity of the crisis in their venom, their political blindness and madness. The new opportunities following August 15th are lost to such groups because before August 15th they refused to take seriously questions of principle and to see any real importance in understanding the development of the Fourth International.

A tree without roots cannot withstand the storm not to mention grow and develop. These articles deal with the roots.



1 The Fourth International in the Days of Leon Trotsky

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



by **Lucy St. John & Tim Wohlforth**

The Fourth International was founded in a different period than we face today. It was a time in which the working class had suffered a series of terrible defeats and was being drawn into a new war. This situation was brought about by the betrayals of Social Democracy and Stalinism.

This is what made it necessary for Trotskyism to come forward with the call for a new International. The formation of the Fourth International became a historic necessity if the continuity of the Marxist movement was to be preserved and a leadership and program built for the next revolutionary revival.

The Founding Conference of the Fourth International was held on September 3, 1938 "somewhere in Switzerland." The conference was attended by thirty delegates representing organizations from eleven countries including the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Greece and Latin America.

The conference met under the shadow of Munich and on the eve of the Second World War in the dark days of the witchhunt by the imperialists and their Stalinist agents against those who continued the fight for Bolshevism.

FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The delegates actually met in a small village outside of Paris. But this could not be announced publicly as Stalin's secret police waited to destroy it and its participants. The conference was held in one plenary session which lasted a day without a break. Leon Trotsky himself was unable to attend, forced into exile in Mexico.

In January of the same year Trotsky's son and one of his closest collaborators, Leon Sedov, was murdered by Stalin's police in a French hospital. In July the organizing secretary of the first conference of the Fourth International, Rudolph Klement, was kidnapped and murdered by Stalin's agents. With him were lost the reports of the work of the Trotskyist movements in the various countries, the draft statutes of the Fourth International and other documents.

The founding conference paid tribute to the heroes and martyrs who had died at the hands of the imperialists and the Stalinists. In the Soviet Union, Indochina, Brazil, Greece, Germany, Austria, Poland, Spain, and

China, Trotskyists had been hounded, thrown into prison, tortured, and murdered.

"The Fourth International dips its stainless flag in salute over the still fresh graves of our heroic comrades who during the last two years have fallen under the bullets of Franco in Spain; under the axe or in the concentration camps of Hitler, in Germany and in Austria; in the prison and prison-islands of Metaxas and Vargas, in Greece and Brazil; under the blows of the Bonapartist dictatorships in Poland, in China, etc.; under the Stalinist bullets and tortures in the U.S.S.R., in Spain, in China, Switzerland and in France..."

"None of these repressions, these tortures, these assassinations, shall stop us, for our task is laid out for us by history, and not by the activities of police or of state terror-machines, no matter how powerful and totalitarian..."

"Today's sacrifice is tomorrow's guarantee of triumph. The proletarian revolution, victorious under the banner of the Fourth International, will avenge the comrades who have fallen, and snatch from their prisons those who languish there." (1)

The conference adopted the Transitional Program written by Trotsky. The program represents the most powerful guide to the building of a revolutionary leadership since the Communist Manifesto.

The First International was only able to formulate the basic principles of revolutionary strategy and could only test them partially in the experience of the working class. In the period of the Second International mass parties were built but the strategic task disappeared. The development of theory was subordinated to the day-to-day struggles with its partial tactics.

It was the Third International in its first four congresses which devoted itself to developing revolutionary strategy. The basic principles of this strategy were elaborated in the manifestos and documents of the first four congresses. But before Lenin's death a basic programmatic document had not been drawn up by the International. Under the leadership of Stalin, the program and principles of the Communist International were liquidated.

The Transitional Program brought forward all of the understanding developed in the October Revolution and the first five years of the Communist International, defended in a bitter struggle against Stalinism and the Social Democracy. The Transitional Program was a summation of the whole history of the Marxist movement and its theoretical capital, of the experiences

of the working class, its defeats as well as its victories.

The cadre were few and isolated by the defeats of the working class. This was expressed in the very conditions under which the conference met. But the founding of the Fourth International and the adoption of the Transitional Program were necessitated by the crisis of leadership in the working class. This could only now be resolved for the next revolutionary wave by the construction of a new International.

In his message to the conference Trotsky wrote of this:

"The acceptance of this program, prepared for and assured by a lengthy previous discussion, or rather, whole series of discussions, represents our most capital conquest. The Fourth International is now the only international organization which not only takes clearly into account the driving forces of the imperialist epoch but is armed with a system of transitional demands which are capable of uniting the masses for a revolutionary struggle for power. We do not need any self-deception. The discrepancy between our forces today and the tasks on the morrow is much more clearly perceived by us than by our critics. But the harsh and tragic dialectic of our epoch is working in our favor. Brought to the extreme pitch of exasperation and indignation the masses will find no other leadership than that offered them by the Fourth International." (2)

An international is not founded like a cooperative but is created through struggle. This is what characterized the whole fight for the Fourth International and expressed the struggle of hostile class forces in a period of great adversity. The struggle to build a new leadership for the working class was concerned at each point with the relationship between the critical situation of world capitalism and the theoretical and practical crisis of the Marxist movement.

LEFT OPPOSITION

The pre-history of the Fourth International can be divided into three periods. In the first period Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought inside the Bolshevik Party and the Third International basing their fight on the possibility of regenerating the Third International. The Left Opposition viewed itself as a Marxist faction and fought in this way to the very last possibility. They began with the critical importance of the issues at stake in the struggle, the central role of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and the fate of the first

workers state.

The process of degeneration was complex and drawn out. Lenin before his death saw the signs and warned against the dangers of the growing bureaucracy. Trotsky took up the struggle from 1923 and began to analyze and explain the social roots of the degeneration.

After the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky had fully anticipated that the revolution would spread to the advanced countries and thus enable the backward Soviet Union to break out of its isolation. The Third International took up the task of developing a strategy for this struggle. In no country in the early 1920s was the task of the Communist International successfully completed. The parties were hindered by leaders who had not broken with the methods and political perspective of the Social Democracy.

In this international situation and within the isolated and backward Russia a social stratum grew up which Trotsky later defined as the Soviet bureaucracy. The bureaucracy was not a new ruling class arising out of a new mode of production but a parasitic outgrowth on the workers state established by the October Revolution. This bureaucracy sought to extend and defend its position and the privileges that went with it in a situation of scarcity.

Stalin became the spokesman for this bureaucracy. This was not accidental for Stalin represented that section of the party which Lenin had called the "old Bolsheviks." This section of the party vehemently opposed Lenin in April of 1917 when he fought to turn the party to the struggle for the proletarian revolution. The "old Bolsheviks" resisted this turn. They rested on the formulas of the past when the new situation of the world had changed. Revolution required a development of theory and perspective.

After Lenin's death Stalin and his theoretician Bukharin gave ideological expression to this bureaucracy in the theory of "socialism in one country." This complete revision of Marxism rejected the struggle for the international revolution and subordinated the struggle of the parties of the Third International to the diplomatic maneuvering and interests of the bureaucracy.

This "theory" was based on a complete rejection of dialectical materialism. It was a nationalistic and conservative adaptation to the hostile class pressures, the pressures of imperialism and internal reaction, on the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party after the victory of the revolution in Russia and its defeat in Europe.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought to defend Marxism against this major revision which threatened the first workers state and would lead to the defeat of the working class in other countries. They conducted a principled struggle within the Bolshevik Party under tremendous restrictions as Stalin sought to eliminate democracy within the party and the Soviet Union.

Trotsky criticized the perspective imposed upon the other parties of the Communist International and fought for alternative policies. Stalin subordinated the British Communist Party to an alliance with the trade union bureaucracy. This alliance was responsible for the defeat of the British General Strike in 1926. In China Stalin's wholehearted support to Chiang Kai-Shek led the Chinese Communist Party and the working class into bloody defeat in Shanghai in 1927.

Although hounded and isolated by the Stalin clique the Left Opposition awaited developments within the working class which would strengthen the hand of Bolshevism against Stalinsim.

In 1927 Trotsky was exiled to Alma Alta. From there he wrote his Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International and submitted it to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. The Draft Program written by Bukharin elaborated the "theory of socialism in one country," rejecting the whole strategy that had been developed in the early period of the Communist International.

Intended to be kept from the delegates to the Sixth Congress Trotsky's critique was inadvertently translated. A copy fell into the hands of members of the American delegation and in particular James P. Cannon. Together with the platform of the Left Opposition, it became the basis for rallying support for Trotsky's fight in other countries among members of the Communist Parties and other militants.

The efforts of Trotsky after being deported from the Soviet Union made it possible for a small cadre to be brought together into the International Left Opposition in 1930.

This was the effective beginning of the Trotskyist movement as an international tendency, an opposition inside the Communist movement made possible by the struggle of the Russian Opposition and linked directly to Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

The fate of the Left Opposition was linked to the development of the working class itself. The defeats in Germany in 1923, in Britain and China strengthened the hand of Stalinism, and created difficult conditions under which the Opposition fought. Trotsky drew the lessons of these defeats and fought at each point for an alternative policy based on the strategy that had been outlined in the first five years of the CI.

In describing the role of the Opposition in this period and in answering sceptics Trotsky said:

"The lessons of events are stronger than the Stalinist bureaucracy. We want to be the interpreters of these lessons to the Communist masses. Therein lies

our historic role as a faction. We do not demand... that the revolutionary proletariat should believe us on trust. We allot ourselves a more modest role: we propose our assistance to the Communist vanguard in the elaboration of the correct line. For this work we are gathering and training our own cadres. This stage of preparation cannot be jumped over. Every new stage of struggle will push to our side those in the proletariat who think the most and are the most critical...

"The successes of the Opposition in every country, Germany included are indisputable and manifest. But they are developing slower than many of us expected. We may regret this, but we need not be surprised at it. Every Communist who begins to listen to the Left Opposition is cynically given the choice by the bureaucracy: either go along with the baiting of 'Trotskyism' or else be kicked out of the ranks of the Comintern. For the party official, it is a question of position and wages: the Stalinist apparatus plays the key to perfection. But immeasurably more important are the thousands of rank and file Communists who are torn between their devotion to the ideas of Communism and the threatened expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. That is why there are in the ranks of the official Communist party a great number of partial, intimidated or concealed Oppositionists." (3)

GERMANY: THE TURNING POINT

Trotsky wrote these words as he fought to turn the Communist International from the disastrous policies of the Third Period that the Kremlin forced onto the German Communist Party. By attacking the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and by failing to implement the tactic of the united front, the German Communist Party allowed the Social Democrats to

Trotsky Reiterates Mission of the Fourth International

Following is the text of the electronically transmitted speech delivered by Leon Trotsky in the main meeting held in New York on Oct. 28 to celebrate the founding of the Fourth International and the tenth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

Dear Comrades and Friends:

I hope that this time my voice will reach you and that I will be permitted in this way to participate in your double celebration. Both events, the tenth anniversary of our American organization as well as the foundation congress of the Fourth International deserve the attention of the workers incomparably more than the vacillating features of the totalitarian chiefs, the diplomatic intrigues, or the parliamt congresses. Bolsheviks will enter history as important milestones. No one has now the right to doubt that.

It is necessary to remark that the birth of the American group of Bolshevik-Leninists, thanks to the courageous initiative of Comrades Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern, didn't stand alone. It approximately coincided with the beginning of the systematic international work of the Left Opposition. It is true that the Left Opposition arose in Russia in 1925, but regular work on an international scale began with the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

WORK BEGAN IN 1928

Without a personal meeting we reached an agreement with the American plotters of the Fourth International, before all, on the criticism of the program of the Communist International. Then, in 1928, began that collective work which after ten years led to the elaboration of our own program recently adopted by our International Conference. We have the right to say that the work of this decade was not only persistent and patient, but also honest. The Bolshevik-Leninists, the international pioneers, our comrades across the world, searched the way of the revolution as genuine Marxists, not to their feelings and wishes, but in the analysis of the objective march of events. Above all were we guided by the conviction not to deceive others nor ourselves. We searched seriously and honestly. And some important things were found by us. The events confirmed our analysis as well as our progress. Nobody can deny it. Now it is necessary that we remain true to ourselves and to our program. It is not easy to do so. The tasks are tremendous, the enemies—intolerable. We have the right to spend our time and our attention on the job, to operate only insofar as from the lessons of the past we can prepare ourselves for the future.

OUR HISTORIC TASK

Dear friends, we are not a party as other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old International—the Second, the Third, that of Amsterdam, we will add to them also the London Bureau—are rotten through and through.

The great events which rush upon mankind will not leave of these outdated organizations one

stone upon another. Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future. It is the world party of Socialist Revolution! There never was a greater task on the earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility.

THE DEMANDS UPON US

Our party demands each of us, totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty spaces. For a revolutionist to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself.

Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain.

The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from us the highest devotion to our international party. The party, of course, can also be mistaken. By common effort we will correct the mistakes. In its ranks can penetrate unworthy elements. By common effort we will eliminate them. Now thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level. But we will never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, everyone of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all.

WE KNOW NO FEAR

We aren't a party as other parties. It is not in vain that the imperialist reaction persecutes us madly, following farthest at our heels. The assassins at its service are the agents of the Moscow Bonapartists' clique. Our young International already knows many victims. In the Soviet Union they number by thousands, in Spain by dozens, in other countries by units. With gratitude and love we remember them all in these moments. Their spirits continue to fight in our ranks.

The hangmen think in their obtuseness and cynicism that it is possible to frighten us. They are! Under blows we become stronger. The hostile politics of Stalin are only politics of despair. It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army, but not to frighten them. Friends, we will repeat this day of solemnity: IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US.

Ten years were necessary for the Kremlin clique in order to strangle the Bolshevik party and to transform the First Workers' State into a sinister caricature. Ten years were necessary for the Third International in order to stomp into the mire their own program and to transform themselves into a stinking cadaver. Ten years! Only ten years! Permit me to finish with a prediction: During the next ten years the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heavens.

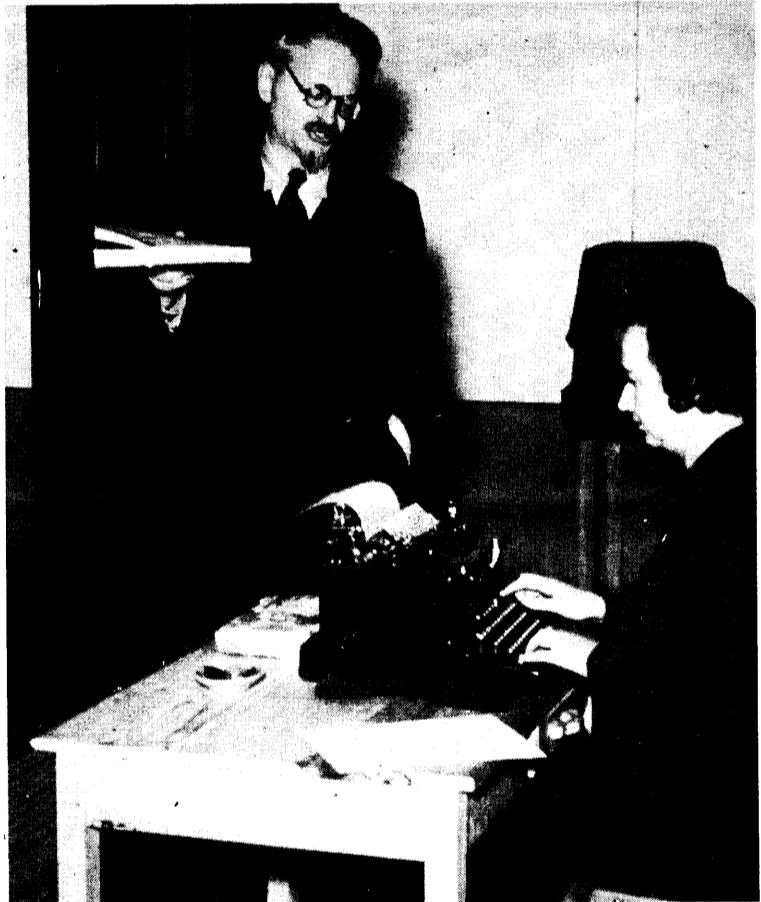
LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

COYOACAN, D. F. October 18, 1936.

(left) Text of Trotsky's speech transmitted electronically to founding conference of the F.I.

(right) Trotsky dictates material in his biography of Stalin in Coyoacan, Mexico in 1936.



Third International for "Trotskyism" and raised the slogan: For the organization of a new, a Fourth International! For the organization of new communist parties in all countries!

In August of 1933 four organizations which included the International Communist League, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Independent Socialist Party—both of Holland, and the Socialist Workers Party of Germany formulated for the first time in a programmatic document the new historic task: the creation of the Fourth International.

The first period ended with 1933. From then on Stalinism and Trotskyism confronted each other as totally hostile international movements.

Trotsky and the members of the International Communist League were confronted in 1933 with a situation similar to that facing Lenin in 1914 when the leaders of the Second International went over to support their own bourgeoisies as World War I approached.

At the same time the problems facing the International Communist League were more difficult than of any other organization at any time. There was the terrible betrayal of the Communist International which arose from the betrayals of the Second International. The degeneration of the Third International developed so quickly and so unexpectedly that the same generation of workers that had heard of its formation now heard of its fall.

At the same time, as Trotsky pointed out, the working class was not educated simply through the correct theoretical conceptions of the Opposition but by the general experience of their lives which in this period was one of defeat. The cadre which now came forward to fight for the Fourth International was thus very much isolated from the working class and forced into a

avoid any united struggle against fascism and thus paralyzed the working class.

Trotsky warned at each point of the dangers of the Hitler movement, analyzing the social roots of fascism. At the same time he sought with his small group of supporters to turn the direction of the German Communist Party.

Germany was now the key to the international situation. It was the crushing defeat of the German working class and the victory of fascism that was for Trotsky of decisive international and historical significance. The fact that the Kremlin, whose line the German CP faithfully implemented during these critical years, had been completely powerless in the face of fascism proved beyond any doubt that the Communist International, as founded by Lenin in 1919, was now dead as an instrument of proletarian revolution. In Germany it had become the main agency of world counterrevolution.

A year earlier Trotsky had warned: "Yes, should the fascists really conquer power, that would mean not only the physical destruction of the Communist Party, but veritable political bankruptcy for it. An ignominious defeat in a struggle against the bands of human rubbish—would never be forgiven the Communist International and its German section by the many millions German proletariat. The seizure of power by fascists would therefore most probably signify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party, and all likelihood also a new International." (4)

Up to 1933 Trotsky and the Opposition had followed the policy of working to reform the Communist International. In 1933 after the seizure of power in Germany by the fascists, the Opposition joined in the International Communist League composed primarily of those revolutionists that were expelled from the

propaganda circle existence.

The cadre and small organizations which had rallied to the Left Opposition and the International Communist League grew through individual selection in the process of theoretical criticism and were practically outside of the labor movement itself. As early as 1933 they were unprepared for independent activity. The second period before the founding of the Fourth International was characterized by efforts to find a real political milieu for those isolated propagandist groups, even at the price of a temporary loss of formal independence.

Above all Trotsky found it necessary to explain the degeneration of the Soviet Union. This required not only a defense of the principles of Marxism but a development of Marxist theory in order to explain the new phenomena. In the Revolution Betrayed, Trotsky analyzed the origins and development of the Soviet Union. He began with the need to defend the first workers state and the gains of October.

Trotsky designated the new ruling stratum in the Soviet Union, a bureaucracy which included officials in the state, economy and party who enjoyed a privileged position. The economic base of the bureaucracy remained the nationalized property which had been established by the victory of the working class in the October Revolution. The bureaucracy had arisen from the working class and had usurped its political power and ruled in its name. Trotsky regarded the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, and called for the overthrow of the bureaucracy through political revolution. This was the only sure defense of the Soviet Union and the gains of October.

Trotsky wrote in the introduction to the Revolution Betrayed:

"The purpose of the present investigation is to estimate correctly what is, in order to better under-

stand what is coming to be. We shall dwell upon the past only so far as that helps us to see the future. Our book will be critical. Whoever worships the accomplished fact is incapable of preparing the future." (5)

Without this analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Third International, there could be no revolutionary future for the working class. It was essential to prepare for the next upsurge and destroy Stalinism.

The period from 1933 to 1938 was a very difficult one in which Trotsky sought to prepare for the founding of the Fourth International systematically, theoretically and practically. At every possible point the small cadres were turned to the mass movement, seeking to root the cadre as much as possible in the class and develop it theoretically through the struggle and the fight against Stalinism. Only through a constant struggle for an understanding of the experiences of the working class by an active participation in the class and the building of the revolutionary party could there be development.

The struggle to build the Fourth International now occurred in a period of Stalinist repression, under the conditions of the Moscow Trials in which Stalin liquidated almost the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party and sent his secret police out to hunt down all those who fought to continue Lenin's struggle. The Stalinist controlled Third International turned from the "ultra-left" policies of the Third Period to the opportunist Popular Front under which the Communist Parties tied the working class to the bourgeoisie and delivered it up to the fascists in Spain and in France and which spurred counterrevolution throughout Europe. At each point Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists fought for an alternative perspective



(left) Pickets march in demonstration organized by Socialist Workers Party protesting Moscow Trials at Soviet Consulate, 1938. (right) Trotsky studies copy of pamphlet by Max Shachtman.

for the working class against Stalinism and the Social Democracy.

Trotsky in this period sought out a struggle with the centrist forces which grouped themselves around the London Bureau in 1932. The Bureau was made up of various groups which had split from the Socialist or Communist Parties. Some of them signed the initial call for the Fourth International. These organizations sought to find a middle of the road between revolution and reform, between Trotskyism and Stalinism. Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists proposed that they review with them the basic strategic problems of the epoch and determine their attitude to the programmatic documents of the Fourth International.

In a conference in 1935 these groups refused to take a stand for the Fourth International. The Independent Labor Party in England revealed the position of these centrists. While ILP admitted that there was no longer a proletarian international, they hesitated at building a new one. According to the leadership of the ILP the International would develop after the development of national parties. The ILP claimed that the "historical process" would "produce something some day."

As Trotsky pointed out it was the task of Marxists to be ahead of the "historical process." The construction of the revolutionary party would not flow automatically out of the class struggle but only through a conscious struggle in the working class against Stalinism and bourgeois ideology. The ILP's contention that the immediate task was to construct "national parties" was a caricature of the whole history of the Second International.

"Without a Marxist International," said Trotsky, "national organizations even the most advanced, are doomed to narrowness, vacillation and helplessness; the advanced workers are forced to feed upon surrogates

for Internationalism." (6)

The ILP's call for "revolutionary socialist unity" served as a cover for its opposition to the Fourth International and as a road to the Communist Party in England and the Comintern. Its middle of the road position was really a capitulation to Stalinism and its policy of the Popular Front. The centrists counterposed the "revolutionary socialist unity" and a "United Front" as a substitute for the construction of the revolutionary party and a new International.

THE "FRENCH TURN"

On the other side of the same coin were the sectarians whose opposition to the founding of the Fourth International found its expression in the resistance to turning the cadres from a propaganda circle existence, under which they had been forced to exist since 1928 to mass work and contact with the living movement of the workers. The sectarians resisted the penetration of the unions and the implementation of what was called the "French Turn."

The "French Turn" or the entry tactic into the social democratic parties was elaborated by Trotsky in 1934 in order to try and win over to the Fourth International the left centrist layers of those parties hovering between Stalinism and Trotskyism. He saw it as a tactic and not a principle, a temporary measure which was necessary in this period in order to fight the right wing and win over members to the Fourth International.

In 1934 the French Bolshevik-Leninists entered the SFIO (Socialist Party). Through the entry the French Trotskyists were able to win over important forces particularly from the youth as well as to establish



the means which he opposed. Let the revolution perish as long as Oehler's prejudices triumph!...we do not yet have revolutionary parties, full formed and strong in the confidence of the masses. It is a question of building such parties and to succeed it is necessary to apply the method which corresponds to the given social and political conditions and not to supra-historical formulas." (7)

"Each sectarian," Trotsky wrote, "wants to have his own labor movement. By the repetition of magic formulas he thinks to force an entire class to group itself around him. But instead of bewitching the proletariat he always ends up demoralizing and dispersing his own little sect." (8)

Behind Oehler's sectarian position was his opportunism. He opposed having the French party sign an open letter which was circulated for the founding of the Fourth International but he wanted to include the centrist parties like the German SAP which was bitterly opposed to the Fourth International.

The most disastrous results of sectarianism were in Spain. The young Socialist movement in Spain, which on its own initiative announced its support to the idea of the Fourth International, was neglected by those who associated themselves with Trotskyism, like Andres Nin. They opposed any kind of maneuvers in the direction of the young Socialists. They were satisfied with reciting the ritual of the split between the Social Democracy and the Comintern in 1914-1919. The result was that the Stalinists cut right ahead of them, took over this youth organization and made it into an appendage of Stalinism. This contributed greatly to the defeat of the Spanish revolution.

After refusing to make this turn, Nin and the others in the Spanish organization joined with a right wing split off from the Spanish CP to form the POUM. The POUM, a centrist party, ended up signing the agreement for the Popular Front and Nin entered into the Popular Front Government in Catalonia.

The sectarians and the centrists ended up together in their hostility to the Fourth International. The sectarians turned to opportunism. Both tendencies reflected the capitulation of middle class forces to Stalinism and imperialism. Sectarianism and centrism seem to be polar opposites. The centrist abhors precise formulations and seeks routes to reality outside of theory. The formulas of the sectarians are detached from life and hollow. Living reality cannot be grasped without theory which develops in the struggle to penetrate the working class and construct the revolutionary party. Both the centrist and the sectarian end up together in their hatred of Marxism.

This period tested the cadre and their ideas for the first time face to face with the realities of the political struggle and its living requirements. The cadres developed out of this experience. Equally critical was the fact, as Trotsky put it, "we parted company with incorrigible sectarians, muddlers and tricksters who are won to join every new movement in the beginning only to do all in their power to compromise and paralyze it." (9)

When the decision was made to call the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, a sharp line was drawn with this period. The lesson from this whole struggle was that, outside the cadres now standing on the firm foundation of the Fourth International, there was not a single revolutionary current.

The creation of the Socialist Workers Party, in particular, was a turning point and actually ended this second period. The Fourth International now stood face to face with the tasks of the mass movement and the construction of a revolutionary International to solve the crisis of leadership in the working class for the next upsurge.

MIDDLE CLASS SCEPTICS

The period from 1933 to 1938 has been used by the enemies of Trotskyism to turn Trotsky into a harmless ikon and above all to attack the construction of the revolutionary party. This is the role played by Isaac Deutscher who has been embraced as a leading theoretician by the revisionists. Although Deutscher has written three volumes on Trotsky's life and has had precious access to the closed Trotsky archives, he has learned nothing from Trotsky. He expresses all the scepticism of the middle class about the working class and the ability of man through the revolutionary party to consciously change society.

Deutscher sees the high point of Trotsky's life to be his leadership of the Red army, rather than the real crowning achievement of his life—the foundation of the Fourth International. Trotsky's fight against Stalinism and to construct the Fourth International is considered by Deutscher to be "irrational" and "irrelevant." This is expressed in the very titles of his trilogy on Trotsky: "The Prophet Armed (Trotsky: 1879-1921); The Prophet Unarmed (Trotsky: 1921-1929) and The Prophet Outcast (Trotsky: 1929-1940). For Deutscher, Trotsky was a tragic hero, a Prophet defeated by objective events which were guided by some historical design. Trotsky is abstracted from the class struggle itself and from the task to which he devoted his entire life, the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

For Deutscher the rise of Stalinism was inevitable. In other words Deutscher informs us after the fact, that what happened, happened. This is objectivism reducing the theory of history to empiricism, and to accepting

contact with the organized workers. This turn was opposed both within the parties fighting to build the Fourth International and its sympathizers. It expressed a hostility to breaking out of the propaganda circle and beginning to build parties rooted in the working class.

Within the American party which had recently fused with the American Workers Party, there grew up a group around a man named Oehler. Oehler began by opposing the entry of the French comrades into the SFIO and later opposed the entry of the American party into the Socialist Party. Oehler refused to draw the lessons from the actual experience of the French movement. Oehler simply contended that to enter any section of the Second International was a "betrayal of principles." "Isn't it one of the principles of Marxism," Oehler said, "that we must stand for the unconditional independence of the revolutionary party at all times and under every circumstance?"

Oehler sought to liquidate the movement into abstract propaganda and refused to intervene in the actual struggle of the working class. Oehler's opposition was in fact based on a rejection of Marxist principles. He substituted formulas for the development of theory and the maintenance of a circle for the construction of a revolutionary party.

Writing to the leadership of the American party, Trotsky said of Oehler:

"Does comrade Oehler not know these facts (the development and growth of the French movement—L.S.J.)? Is he deliberately closing his eyes, so that his formulas may remain intact? What does such an attitude signify? In any case, it has nothing in common with Marxism, which is not a game, but an analysis of realities. It would appear that Oehler does not want revolutionary successes because they have arrived by

the "accomplished fact." What Deutscher leaves out is the dynamic of the international class struggle and the role of conscious struggle.

Deutscher in his book *The Prophet Outcast* attacks Trotsky's decision in 1933 to build a new International. In the chapter entitled "Reason and Unreason," Deutscher says:

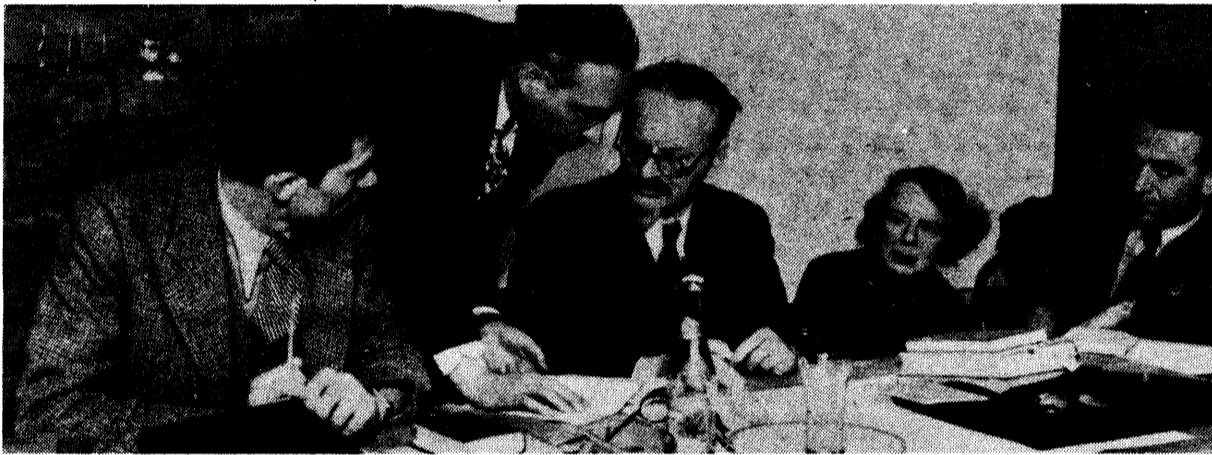
"The idea that new impulses for revolution would come from the West but not from the Soviet Union was the leitmotif of Trotsky's advocacy of the Fourth International. Again and again he asserted that while in the Soviet Union Stalinism continued to play a dual role, at once progressive and retrograde, it exercised internationally only a counterrevolutionary influence. Here his grasp of reality failed him. Stalinism was to go on acting its dual role internationally as well as nationally: it was to stimulate as well as to obstruct the class struggle outside the Soviet Union. In any case, it was not from the West that the revolutionary impulses were to come in the next three or four decades. Thus the major premise on which Trotsky set out to create the Fourth International was unreal." (10)

Trotsky made the decision to found the Fourth International because Germany showed decisively that Stalinism had become the main source of counter-revolution. But Deutscher thinks differently. For Deutscher Stalinism is able "to stimulate" revolutionary struggle. The primary reason why "revolutionary impulses" did not come from "the West" in the next decades was because of the betrayals and counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism.

Deutscher accepts the "reality" of Stalinism. He completely denies the central role of consciousness in changing that reality. For Deutscher, Trotsky's ideas were correct and prophetic but could not change the world. Deutscher's perspective is not a preparation for the future but an apology for the past and a justification for Stalinism.

In an article entitled "Intellectual Ex-Radicals and World Reactions," Trotsky answered sceptics like Deutscher:

"Hegel was fond of saying: all that is rational is



Trotsky with attorney Albert Goldman on his right, his wife Natalia to his left and other collaborators prepare defense to be brought before Dewey Commission on Moscow Trials.

real. This means: every idea that corresponds to objective needs of development attains triumph and victory. No intellectually honest individual can deny that the analysis and prognosis made by the Bolshevik-Leninists (Fourth Internationalists) during the past 15 years have met and still meet with confirmation in the events of our time. It is precisely in this certainty of their correctness that the basic sections of the Fourth International are strong and immutable. The catastrophes of European and world capitalism which are hovering over mankind will clear the path before the steeled cadres of the revolutionary Marxists.

"Let the disillusioned ones bury their own dead. The working class is not a corpse. As hitherto, society rests upon it. It needs a new leadership. It will find this nowhere but in the Fourth International. All that is rational is real. Social democracy and Stalinocracy even today represent stupendous fictions. But the Fourth International is an impregnable reality." (11)

At the heart of Deutscher's work is an attack on the continuity of the Marxist movement. Deutscher was never a member of the Fourth International and was in fact responsible for the opposition put up by the Polish delegates against its foundation at the Founding Congress. His perspective becomes a defense of the position of the middle class radical outside the Fourth International and against the revolutionary party.

In a similar way the opposition tendency around David Fender, which formed in the SWP before the recent convention, based its perspective on an attack on the continuity of the Fourth International.

Fender seeks to trace the degeneration of the SWP back to the Fourth International itself, completely abstracting out the criticisms of the whole history and struggles of the International. Fender in his document "Historical Roots of the Degeneration of the 4th International and Of the Centrism of the SWP" counterposes the "genius" of Trotsky to the Trotskyist movement, which he says today resembles an "American junkyard." Of the period preceding the actual founding of the Fourth International Fender states:

"The International Left Opposition while containing communists with outstanding revolutionary credentials and abilities was, nevertheless, in most countries—

especially in Europe, and in particular in France, the center of the Left Opposition—primarily petty bourgeois in composition. The lack of any working class base combined with the increasing political confusion and isolation from the working class, led to constant infighting with many of the outstanding militants deserting the Opposition for 'greener pastures.' Much of the infighting was over organizational and tactical questions carried on by personal cliques. Trotsky fought hard to straighten out the disputes, especially in France, but without much success." (12)

FIGHTING AGAINST THE STREAM

What Fender completely misses is that it was precisely by confronting all the weaknesses of the movement in this period in a sharp struggle against revisionism within the Fourth International that the cadre was developed. This was fought out despite the unfavorable class composition of the parties in many countries. It is this struggle through which theory develops that Fender cynically calls "in-fighting."

In this period, as Trotsky described, the parties were fighting "against the stream". This situation was created by the defeats of the working class under the leadership of Stalinism.

"We are in a small boat in a tremendous current. There are five or ten boats and one goes down and we say it was due to bad helmsmanship. But that was not the reason—it was because the current was too strong. It is the most general explanation and we should never forget this explanation in order not to become pessimistic—we, the vanguard of the vanguard." (13)

It is precisely by confronting all the difficulties, not running away from them that the movement develops. In this period of adversity the party was consolidated in principle. This is what gave it strength to move forward in the future.

This struggle is really at the heart of the development of the party and this is what Fender is so hostile to.

Trotsky was acutely aware of the problems. The cadres were few, the organization weak and the odds overwhelming. But it was not these subjective defeats that necessitated the adoption of the program and founding

of the Fourth International. Most important of all were the great historical events.

The Transitional Program states:

"The Fourth International has already arisen out of great events: the greatest defeats of the proletariat in history. The cause for these defeats is to be found in the degeneration and perfidy of the old leadership. The class struggle does not tolerate interruption. The Third International, following the Second, is dead for purposes of revolution. Long live the Fourth International!"

"But has the time yet arrived to proclaim its creation?...the sceptics are not quieted down. The Fourth International, we answer, has no need of being 'proclaimed.' It exists and it fights. Is it weak? Yes, its ranks are not numerous because it is still young. They are as yet chiefly cadres. But these cadres are pledges for the future. Outside these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name. If our International be still weak in numbers, it is strong in doctrine, program, tradition, in the incomparable tempering of its cadres. Who does not perceive this today, let him in the meantime stand aside. Tomorrow it will become more evident." (14)

Trotsky saw that if the crisis of leadership could not be solved before or during the coming war, then it would be solved in its revolutionary aftermath. Without a program and an international party the revolutionary struggles in the next upsurge would be defeated.

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The Transitional Program was in fact written for today, in the period of the deepest crisis of capitalism when the task is the construction of MASS revolutionary parties for the struggle for power.

The Transitional Program takes as its basic proposition that the working class is objectively the only revolutionary class under capitalism. It is only the working class that can carry forward mankind to a new and higher stage of development.

The program is based on the understanding that in this epoch capitalism can no longer develop the productive forces but must instead turn them against society. The objective conditions for the socialist revolution have been prepared. The central question

is the crisis of revolutionary leadership. This crisis can only be resolved through the construction of the Fourth International and new revolutionary parties on the basis of the Transitional Program. It is an international strategy.

The Transitional Program is completely opposed to the minimum program of the Social Democracy and the Stalinists. It puts forward transitional demands based on the needs of the working class not on the limitations of capitalism. The transitional demands weld together the working class into a force capable of smashing the state. They bridge the gap between the sharpness of the objective conditions and the present consciousness of the working class. But outside of the perspective of the conquest of power by the working class and the construction of revolutionary parties, the demands of the program have no meaning.

The Program sees that Stalinism is the major obstacle to the successful overthrow of capitalism and sets as one of its major tasks the revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Above all the Transitional Program is an expression of the Marxist method, of dialectical materialism. It is this method which produced it. It developed out of the struggle for principle, out of the lessons and experiences of the Russian Revolution against Stalinism and Social Democracy. Revolutionary strategy as set forth during the first five years of the Communist International was developed in the whole period of the rise of fascism and the defeat of the working class under the leadership of Stalinism. The principles of the past were brought forward into the present through this bitter struggle.

The application of the Program cannot be separated from the struggle to develop dialectics and Marxist philosophy. This is the meaning of the struggle which broke out in 1940, two years after the founding of the Fourth International. In 1940 a crisis erupted in the American section of the Fourth International on the eve of the Second World War. The petty bourgeois opposition which was led by James Burnham and Max Shachtman and Martin Abern challenged the whole understanding which had developed in the Revolution Betrayed. Burnham, Shachtman and Abern reacted to the panic of the petty bourgeoisie as a whole as the war approached.

Cannon mobilized the overwhelming majority of the working class cadres. But they were incapable themselves of waging the struggle and Trotsky had to intervene.

Behind the immediate question of the invasion of Finland by the Soviet Union was the rejection of dialectical materialism by the petty bourgeois opposition. The struggle went beyond the question of the Soviet Union to the question of Marxist method. It was necessary for Trotsky to take the struggle to build the Fourth International to a higher level, to philosophy. In *In Defense of Marxism* Trotsky turned to the ABC's of dialectics.

After the defeat of the petty bourgeois opposition, Trotsky warned the SWP that only by training the cadres in dialectics could the movement go forward. Only in this way could the Transitional Program be applied and developed.

This was not the last struggle within the Fourth International. The lessons of this struggle lay at the heart of the future development of the Fourth International.

A few short months after the split in the SWP, Leon Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's agent. As he lay dying he said: "I am confident that the Fourth International will go forward." Trotsky's confidence was based on his understanding of the bankruptcy and decay of capitalism which would force the working class once again into revolutionary battles. This time when the working class comes forward, the Fourth International founded on the principles and continuity of the Marxist movement will be there to lead it.

FOOTNOTES

1. *The Founding Conference of the Fourth International, Program and Resolutions*, Published by the Socialist Workers Party, 1939, p. 10.
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BOOKS

DAVE GREEN

Voices Of Tomorrow

VOICES OF TOMORROW: The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Edited by Jessica Smith (NWR Publications, Inc.) 1971.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU was held in a period marked by the deepening crisis of international capitalism. Even while the delegates of world Stalinism assembled (March 30-April 9, 1971) and applauded the self-congratulatory speeches, imperialism was in the throes of economic and political convulsions.

The Bretton Woods arrangements staggered beneath a devastating assault upon the U.S. dollar, West Pakistan launched an invasion against Bangla Desh, civil war raged in Ceylon, a strike wave swept France, eighty thousand West-European farmers stormed through Brussels to protest against the Common Market, and Richard Nixon staged a dress rehearsal for his current attacks against American workers by imposing a temporary wage freeze against construction laborers.

Not one of these portentous developments was brought into the sterile discussions of the 24th Congress. Although the crisis banged at the very doors of the assembly hall, the bureaucrats could not allow their bankrupt policies to be measured against the objective tide of the class struggle. Misrepresenting the past and ignoring the present, Brezhnev and his cohorts used the Congress as a propagandist forum for revisionist deceptions.

The principal goal of the 24th Congress was the blindfolding of the international proletariat before the menace of a desperate ruling class. Already the Congress has yielded some practical results for the Kremlin Stalinists; for since last spring two fraternal delegations—those of Bolivia and the Sudan—have met a bloody end.

FRIGHTENED

In its outward appearance, the 24th Congress gave the world the impression of control and efficiency. However, it should be understood that the serene atmosphere of the assembly expressed nothing more than the repressive stage-managing of the meeting by the Stalinist clique. In spite of all the "enthusiastic applause" and "thunderous ovations," the CPSU held the 24th Congress frightened by the possibility that it could be the last before the outbreak of the socialist revolution in the advanced industrial nations.

A summary of the 24th Congress has now been published, and a Marxist can glean more from *Voices of Tomorrow* (an astonishing title!) than editor Jessica Smith intended. The praise showered upon Leonid Brezhnev—which reflects the panicky bureaucracy's move to a revival of Bonapartism—caused Miss Smith to insist somewhat half-heartedly that the "cult of personality" has not been restored. But the introduction to the documents of the Congress includes an essay by the hack writer Maxim Gettuev that informs the American reader that "Throughout Leonid Brezhnev's Report ran the wise thought of Lenin—concern for every, literally every person in our country." How reminiscent this obsequious statement is of that notorious phrase of the 1930s: "Stalin is the Lenin of today."

The self-consciousness that editor Smith reveals in her explanatory notes is more sharply expressed in her inclusion of an analysis of the 24th Congress by Soviet academician Pyotr Fedoseyev. His article is a defense of the bureaucracy against those who assert it is an elitist formation. But he also gives the game away by referring to those who rise to preeminence in the government as "captains of industry."

COLLABORATION

But the most important sections of *Voices of Tomorrow* are those which deal with the major addresses of the 24th Congress. The central theme of these speeches is international collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In his report to the

CPSU (which ran five hours) Brezhnev outlined a foreign policy that upholds the United Nations as the peace-keeping agency of the world. Noting the "anti-capitalist" character of the regimes of Bolivia and Sudan—remember, this was written last spring—Brezhnev declared (in the Smith transcription) that "The CPSU is increasingly finding allies in the struggle against imperialism in the revolutionary democratic parties, many of which have proclaimed socialism as their goal." Brezhnev then deepened his program for betrayal by asserting (and this is a direct quote):

"The CPSU is prepared to develop cooperation with the Social Democrats both in the struggle for peace and democracy and in the struggle for socialism, without, of course, making any concessions in ideology and revolutionary principles. However, this line of the Communists has been meeting with stubborn resistance from the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democrats."

The "resistance" of the Right Social Democrats, according to Brezhnev, is all the more reason for the working class to tie itself to the elusive Left Social Democrats. Brezhnev is preparing to repeat the disastrous policies of the 1930s more consciously than those who first conceived them. With his deliberate plan to mislead the working class, Brezhnev merely piles more of the dirt of falsification upon the mass graves of the workers who perished during the 1930s and 1940s.

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko echoed Brezhnev's collaborationist designs. Like his superior, Gromyko often expresses his disappointment over the unwillingness of capitalism to accept as

permanent the division of influence negotiated at Potsdam. But how should the Soviet Union respond to the imperialist threat?

"Our Party draws a distinct line of demarcation between the ideological struggle, in which there can be neither peace nor truce, and our international relations with the capitalist states, relations that are built on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence."

The idealist bourgeois conception of the division between theory and practice is employed by Gromyko in order to attribute to Lenin a philosophical method that he constantly fought and political conclusions that he never held.

It should be noted that the collaborationist line was not carried by the Soviet bureaucrats alone. *Voices of Tomorrow* records the enthusiastic approval of the foreign delegations; among those whose contributions are quoted are Gus Hall, General Secretary of the American Communist Party, and Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA.

From *Voices of Tomorrow* it is clear to see that not all the fraternal delegates found the two weeks in the Soviet Union entirely enjoyable. Gustav Husak, Secretary of the Czechoslovak CP, was forced to munch mud before the 24th Congress; and Edward Gierek, the Polish Party Secretary, was not quite certain how he would explain the rebellion of the Polish working class.

SPEED-UP

Next to the determination to lead the international proletariat to ruin, nothing emerges more sharply from *Voices of Tomorrow* than the vicious speed-up of the Russian working class by the bureaucratic

clique. The chronic economic difficulties that beset the Soviet Union because of the rule of capital in the advanced industrial nations is answered by the bureaucracy with brutal speedups and modern Stakhanovism. In their discussions of the problems of the Soviet economy, both Brezhnev and Kosygin made the question of labor productivity their main concern. The worker A.V. Smirnova was thrust upon the Congress platform by the bureaucracy to inspire all Russian workers with the example of her unstinting devotion to productivity quotas. She told the delegations:

"The eighth five-year plan is vividly marked in my life by a number of milestones. Our weavers have now begun operating three times as many looms. Back in 1966 I was one of the first to go over from six to eight looms, and two years later I was operating a dozen. All 510 weavers in our mill are operating more looms now than ever before. This alone has raised labor productivity by 21.3 per cent...To fulfill the target set for this whole year by the Great October Revolution holiday—this is my resolve. That means I must produce 22,500 meters of cloth beyond the plan. I am determined to fulfill the five-year plan in four years!"

International collaboration and domestic speed-up: those were the twin pillars upon which the 24th Congress was built. Every malignant characteristic that has ruled unchallenged within the CPSU since the 10th Congress of 1927—which saw the expulsion of Trotsky and the Left Opposition—was paraded upon the platform last spring. Every principle of Marxism was trampled upon by the Stalinist henchmen of the bourgeoisie.

MUSIC

MARK ROSENSWEIG

New Music From Poland

One of the outstanding figures in contemporary Polish music is the young composer Krzysztof Penderecki who at thirty-eight already has an international reputation as the artistic spokesman of his generation. He is much better known in the West than the great Polish composer Witold Lutoslawski, twenty years Penderecki's elder, who had the courage to resist both Fascism's and later Stalinism's attempts to stifle the development of Polish music.

The new generation can advance today because of the artistic integrity of men like Lutoslawski. Today Lutoslawski's spiritual leadership of the younger post-war composers is made more important by his shouldering the responsibility of exploring himself the new musical realms opened by these younger men. He brings to this task his richer experience, his technical finesse and his continuity with the prior period in which Polish composers had come to grips with the problems of transcending the dominant and increasingly barren neo-classical style of Polish music in order to create a new musical language.

Penderecki's major contribution lies in the systematic exploration of the limits of the expressive possibilities of sound, especially the sonorities of stringed instruments and of the human voice. This emphasis on timbre, characteristic of many of the new Polish composers, is a result of the profound influence of the Hungarian genius Bela Bartok as filtered through the impressionist sensibilities of Lutoslawski who in his piece *Funeral Music* (dedicated, in fact, to Bartok) showed he grasped the radical timbral aspect of the Hungarian's music. Penderecki has taken this further in his exploitation of the continuum between tone and noise as a compositional element. In the best of his music the novelty of musical technique is completely in the service of expression.

However, the evolution of Penderecki since his emergence in 1959 has not been a progressive development. His preoccupation with religious themes, his ritual use

of the chorus, his employing of emotional and formal elements of old church music has come to give much of his recent work a stuffy, suffocated quality. Techniques which are distinctly modern are used to intimidate, to awe, rather than to elevate and engage and the result is more in the spirit of the Dark Ages than our age of revolutionary change.

His music has a quality of despair which is eased by echoes of the past rather than hopes for the future. His piece *Polymorphia* (1961) is an extremely tortured, turbulent, dissonant work which builds up to a final consonance on a C major chord. In much the same way most of the explicitly religious pieces develop whole sections of complex bands and blocks of sound from which emerge traditional tonal church forms of psalmody, plainsong and Gregorian chant. Penderecki sees salvation in the past, in a return to the medieval function of music as an expression of religious subjugation to the greater power of God.

UTRENJA

His latest work released in this country, *Utrenja, the Entombment of Christ* (RCA LSC3180) positively reeks of incense and the only light in the dense atmosphere he creates is the yellow light of prayer candles. He has in effect cut himself off from the source of vitality of much of contemporary Polish music, the sonorities and rhythms of folk music. Instead he has turned to the form and content of sacred music putting expressionism in the employ of clericalism.

Utrenja is particularly concerned with the feeling of Eastern Church music. In its last section, a setting from the Slavonic Irmologion, the chorus asks, "How shall I bury thee, my God? And with what hymns shall I sing thy passing away? I will praise thy passion, sing praises to thy burial and resurrection."

Penderecki fears the secularization of the Soviet East with the problems and tasks it poses, even preferring the darkness and ignorance which existed under the yoke of Church and Emperor the cold embers

of which his music frantically fans. Man has begun to rid himself of the necessity of God and Penderecki apparently mourns his departure, leaving us to despair until His resurrection! He writes music lamenting the slaughter at Auschwitz (*Dies Irae*, 1967) and the destruction of Hiroshima (*Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima*, 1960) not out of commitment to change but really to justify the status quo, depending on God's mercy for "salvation."

On the other hand, Lutoslawski, who has tempered his neo-Bartokian language with the grammar of atonal and aleatoric music, has created intensely human and passionate works in the modern idiom. His music is completely engaging. A record released in this country on the Mace discount label (MXX9104) shows Lutoslawski well in control of advanced musical technique which he utilizes not as an end in itself but as a means for the "enlargement of the resources of composition." The freeing of the rhythmic value of notes is done with a strong sense of form and color and while his palette is more limited than Penderecki's his sense of movement and the logic of his development is much clearer and more organic.

The short *Postludium for Orchestra* for instance creates with more economy and taste the same emotional impact as Penderecki's somewhat bombastic and highly overrated *Threnody*. Also on the Mace disc are the *String Quartet* and *Trois Poemes d'Henri Michaux* both of which are extremely sensitive excursions into rhythmic freedom.

Both Penderecki and Lutoslawski are popular composers in Poland and their works are performed there often, but Penderecki's exaggerated international reputation is by no means an indication of his artistic superiority. The sensationalism and pious moralizing of his music finds an eager audience in the West which makes the most of the strange preoccupation with religion on the part of an artist from the Soviet world. In the end this relationship will smother the creativity of Penderecki the musical experimentalist and that will be a pity.

CWA . . .

(Continued From Page 5)
called good contract.

Carnivale stated that the 23 locals in New York State were sticking together and would win in opposition to the company's determination to "divide and conquer" to break the union. "That's NOT going to happen," he claimed, as wild cheers from the crowd filled the hall and the men took up a rhythmic chant, "Ma Bell, Go To Hell." Carnivale said that as for the scabs, "We'll get 'em, and when we do they'll be made to pay back every penny."

Underneath his militancy, Carnivale was obviously afraid of the rank and file and attempted to adjourn the meeting without discussion immediately following his talk, and again later on. Both motions for adjournment were turned down by a large majority. Carnivale was only able to end the meeting on the basis that the time allotted for the rental of the hall (the Felt Forum at Madison Square Garden) was about to expire. Even then, many members were still trying to get the floor.

One of the first men to get the floor was a chief steward from southern Manhattan who said: "I only have two words I want to say. F--- you, Joe Beirne." Beirne, the CWA President, was repeatedly denounced throughout the meeting for his sellout of the New York locals.

The hatred for the treachery of the International leadership dominated the discussion. In response to the question from the floor, "Why can't the International ask \$2.00 a week from all the locals not on strike," the International Representative Rolf Buckner attempted to explain, amidst a thunderous chorus of boos: "We made a request for \$5.00 per member. The money has not come in. The money

GANDHI . . .

(Continued From Page 2)
in their efforts to assist the Indian and Pakistani capitalists in their task of defusing the liberation movement. They understand all too well that if this movement is not derailed in time it could lead to a general movement of the workers and peasants of the whole subcontinent.

To defeat the plans of such "friends" as Mrs. Gandhi who proclaim "support" for the liberation struggle only to stab it in the back at the crucial moment, as well as such open enemies as Khan, the workers and peasants of Bangla Desh must develop a Marxist leadership. This is the only way to take forward the struggle despite the snares and the bloody attacks of the imperialists, the national bourgeoisie and the Stalinists.

didn't come in for the simple reason that when you, Local 1101 were asked to contribute to COPE, you didn't."

The members at that point had heard enough, and some effort was made to discourage Buckner from continuing. He complained that he had a "right to answer" and that "the issue will not be resolved by throwing something at me."

It was made clear in the discussion that the only way that New York Tel was able to still hold out was through scabbing, through the bringing of workers across the picket lines. And the sad fact is that many of these strikebreakers are union men. One speaker complained that the electricians are "doing OUR work. AFL-CIO men are pulling our cables."

This is especially true of the CWA itself where technical workers are being imported to New York for installation and repairs.

Another speaker said that he had listened to Mr. Beirne after the national agreement was reached and presented to the

membership and that "I distinctly heard him say that if ONE local stays out, then ALL stay out...I don't think it's right for a man to go on TV and lie, not only to telephone workers but to the whole stinking country."

Another member tried to make a motion demanding that the International union remove from membership those workers from other states who are now being sent into New York, and that locals should strike if any of their members are transferred into New York.

This was "answered" by the International Rep. who said this could not be done because of the CWA constitution and because it was against the law. "We cannot ask any local to violate federal law," he piously claimed.

This talk of law is the standard cover of the labor bureaucracy for sellout. It is becoming clearer to the working class each and every day that "law" in the U.S. serves the capitalist class, that the courts and the Taft-Hartley law, for example, have been used in an attempt to break the dock strike

on both coasts, and that the Pay Board, sanctioned by capitalist law, is being used to put a noose around the neck of the entire working class.

The telephone workers have had a lesson in capitalist justice, as the New York City Administration under Lindsay simply ignores its own law prohibiting the importation of scabs into New York. When Local 1101 recently conducted a protest against this at City Hall, several demonstrators were roughed up and arrested by the police.

To refuse to see that the strike must inevitably confront the Nixon Administration Pay Board and to refuse to prepare a struggle against this board is suicide. The NY telephone strikers realize that the unity of the class can provide the power needed to stop the company. That is why there was such a great interest in the Bulletin sold at the meeting, which headlined the Meatcutters strike against the Pay Board. The fight for labor off the Board and for a general strike to stop Phase II is part and parcel of the fight for a decent contract with "Ma

Bell."

None of the revisionist tendencies including the International Socialists group, which have forces in 1101 even tried to raise a fight against the freeze at the meeting. When questioned about this, one IS supporter said that a motion for a general strike at the meeting would be "laughed at." This is the kind of cynicism that the Stalinists and other revisionists practice to continually help the bureaucracy get off the hook.

A fight must be taken up now to demand the end of the outrageous scabbing allowed by the International or any other union! Not only is Beirne implicated in this perfidy, but Harry Van Arsdale and the leadership of the New York Central Labor Council has a responsibility to bring all the forces and resources of the New York labor movement to bear to call a demonstration of all New York labor to shut down the city if necessary to force the New York Telephone Company to grant all the demands of 1101.

ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

in the injunction said simply, "I don't like it. They should have stayed out, these jerks (meaning the ILA leaders)."

At the Columbia Street hiring hall in Brooklyn, the response to the leaflet on Monday was enthusiastic. Men reacted to the leaflet with remarks like, "This is the best thing I've seen in a long time" and "these guys are saying the right thing." But at the same time they said that they didn't see what they could do without leadership.

The deep resistance to going back to work was expressed by the refusal of 11 gangs assigned to work at Brooklyn Pier 9 to work in a protest over the refusal of the shippers to allow them to park their cars on the dock as they had done in the past.

This action and the practice of "double - debiting" (eliminating two days of guaranteed wage credit for each alleged infraction of the provisions) by the shippers and Waterfront Commission, are attempts by the employers to harass the men and undermine all the provisions of the old contract during the "cooling-off" period.

It is quite clear that they are also planning to try to cut their costs under the guarantee by insisting that men work anywhere they are sent on a job within the entire New York-New Jersey port. This is an attempt to divide the ranks and break up the union.

They are preparing to "en-

force" this during the 80 days in preparation for a renewal of the strike later when they hope to put a \$10 million limit on the Guarantee Fund for the port of New York.

LEADERSHIP

The willingness to fight against these plans of the shippers backed by Nixon was present on all the docks. At the same time the men know they need to build a new leadership in opposition to Gleason and Scotto who welcome the intervention of the government to stall for time with absolutely no perspective for the kind of fight that can defeat the shippers.

This was expressed by the men at the 36th St. hiring hall in Brooklyn. One man said, "This Bulletin—it's the only paper that knows what's going on and how to fight it." Another man told us, "Everything you say is right but we need some kind of leadership."

In Boston, the same disgust with the local leadership was expressed in opposition to the statement of International Vice President Edward Dalton: "We can't move until we get orders from the Boston Shippers Association. I'm the man the Shipper's Association is to give the go-ahead signal to. As soon as we get the word we go back to the docks." But the ranks were not so eager. One of them told a Bulletin reporter, "Now we go back under the old contract. We didn't win a damn thing. We still aren't covered by the GAL."



1101 ranks discuss after militant meeting on November 27.

Some of the workers at Port Newark expressed the hesitancy to move without leadership. They felt that if the ILA leaders defied the Taft-Hartley, they might be thrown into jail, saying, "Then what would three thousand men do without a leadership? We would have to have some kind of leaders and organization."

PROGRAM

It is on the basis of this very need that the Workers League is fighting to build an alternative leadership to Gleason and Scotto among the ranks, a Marxist leadership that knows how to mobilize the power of the unions against all the attempts of the employers and the government to smash the unions and subordinate the workers to the government's wage freeze.

The Workers League has been

fighting for this leadership on the program of the full 40 hour guarantee for all men, all ports, a minimum wage of \$7.50 an hour based on the 6 hour day and retirement after 20 years at \$500 per month with cost of living escalator.

The supporters of the Communist Party on the Brooklyn docks have totally retreated from any fight for this program, saying that it's impossible. This is how the Stalinists hide their capitulation to the labor bureaucrats behind "left" talk!

The brisk sales of the Bulletin pamphlet "Showdown on The Docks" among longshoremen and the great interest in the Workers League meeting on the question scheduled for November 30 reflect the desire to fight for this program and the potential for constructing the alternative leadership.

CASTRO . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Salvador Allende has chosen to interpret the visit as a Cuban stamp of approval on the policies of his ruling Popular Unity coalition."

The rest of Thorstad's article is devoted to Allende's attempts to deal with the financial squeeze facing Chile. There is not a word on Castro's activities and statements while in Chile. Castro's statements and activities have blown the SWP's worship of Castroism and "the Cuban road to revolution" sky high.

The Cuban regime and the Stalinist bureaucracy have made it absolutely clear that they stand foursquare not only on the side of Allende and all his acts but behind the regime of Peruvian generals as well. The petty bourgeois nationalism of Castro now meshes in smoothly with the Stalinist line of peaceful co-existence and structural transformations in search of an accommodation with imperialism at the expense of the Latin American workers and peasants.

This means that they must now line up against the movement of the workers and peasants as that

movement seeks to go beyond the limits of "equilibrium" prescribed by its nationalist and Stalinist leaders. The Allendes and Castros must now play an openly counterrevolutionary role and this is precisely what Castro's visit to Chile was all about.

Castro's tour is a confirmation of the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International against all the revisionists. It is this political capital that we take into the fight to construct Trotskyist parties of the working class as part of the Fourth International.

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Letter From Peru

Lora's Revisionism Led To Bolivian Defeat

THE August coup d'etat of General Hugo Banzer in Bolivia was a crushing blow to the workers and peasants of that country. The success of the CIA-backed coup was a direct result of the betrayals of the workers' leadership in Bolivia. Here a LATIN AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT analyzes the position of the revisionist Revolutionary Workers' Party (POR) in the Bolivian events.

THE LEADERSHIP of the POR is the main cause of the defeat of the Bolivian working class in the last formidable class battle waged in that part of Latin America.

I have summarized here the reasons why I consider the POR's leadership to be chiefly responsible for the defeat.

OBSERVED

The POR leadership behaved more as an observer of the developing revolutionary process than as the leadership of the party and the working class.

Throughout the period from January 1971 to the military coup, with very few exceptions, the POR paper *Masas*, had no slogans, no calls for action, no coherent systematic line. It did not call for the formation of a peasants' and workers' government; it did not call for the seizure of power by the Popular Assembly, it only mentioned the need for such a thing to happen, and limited itself, with few exceptions, to comments about it.

In this way it behaved rather as an observer than as a leadership. This wouldn't matter if it were not for the fact that the POR leadership was in a position of leadership in many working-class organizations.

In a revolutionary situation the crucial role is played not by the objective situation, which is given and ripe, but by the subjective factor of leadership. The POR leadership failed miserably in spite of having all the conditions in its favor.

PEASANTRY

It is the ABC of Leninism that the revolution in a backward country needs the support of the peasantry, which forms the bulk of the population. The POR's leadership have also failed miserably to accomplish this task.

In the last year since January, only once has the peasantry been mentioned in *Masas*, in a very short note. The POR had no programme for the peasantry and made no significant effort to break with the reactionary leadership of the peasantry.

COMPROMISE

This lack of attention to the peasant question was very badly disguised with the slogan of a united Anti-Imperialist Front—a favorite demand of the POR leadership. The Anti-Imperialist Front, justified on the basis of the Thesis for the East of the Fourth Congress of the Third International, was transformed by the POR into a cover for its betrayal of the peasantry and for its capitulation vis-a-vis petty bourgeois nationalism and Stalinism. This capitulation took the following paths:

2. The compromise with the Stalinists in the last congress of the COB (the Bolivian Confederation of Workers) that was criticized by the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste in its theoretical journal, *La Verite*.

2. This compromise was justified with the excuse that the COB was a trade union and not a party. With that excuse the POR fed doses of confusion to the Bolivian working class and hid the Stalinists' dirty work.

3. The careful avoidance of any attacks against the Stalinists in the only field where Stalinism can really be understood: their allegiance to the bureaucracy in Moscow.

4. The novel definition of Stalinism as "simply Menshevism" or "left wing of petty bourgeois nationalism" that provided

the ideological cover for the refusal of the POR's leadership to attack Stalinism in its own ground.

5. Since Stalinism was, according to POR secretary Guillermo Lora, "simply Menshevism," it would be "sectarian" to attack it. It was better, he argued, to join forces and prove through the struggle that "petty bourgeois nationalism" capitulated.

6. This revisionist conception of Stalinism introduced another Pabloite conception: that the Stalinists would be forced to adopt revolutionary positions, to "capitulate to Trotskyism" under the pressures of the struggle and of the POR. The counterrevolutionary character of the left wing opportunist turns and swings of Stalinism cannot be seen from the revisionist viewpoint that Stalinism is "Menshevik."

7. The capitulations of the POR's leadership to petty bourgeois nationalism were more serious, even more criminal. The POR's leadership made the arming of the proletariat exclusively dependent on the petty bourgeois nationalists. It was Castro, Allende or Torres himself who were to provide the Bolivian working class with weapons, not the working class itself and its own organizations. The call for the alliance of workers, peasants and soldiers in the Popular Assembly was not made. The solution of the military question was taken away from the working class, and only when defeat was imminent, and the predictable traitors (Castro, Allende and Torres) betrayed, only then were desperate efforts launched to capture arms.

8. The capitulation of petty bourgeois nationalism also took the form of repeated statements from Lora that "The Velasco government in Peru, and Allende in Chile will be forced to defend the rearguard of the Bolivian workers' state in spite of the differences (sic) that they may have with it."

NO EXCUSE

This capitulation to petty bourgeois nationalism leads now to a frank and open alliance with ex-President Torres, who is

asked to join a "left front" for democratic liberties in Bolivia, a front which is being built on Chilean territory, and in the worst traditions of opportunism.

BETRAYAL

The failures and betrayals of the POR's leadership listed above certainly cannot be justified on the grounds of "mistakes" or "unpreparedness," nor just as "pitfalls of a leadership that wants to become Trotskyist!"

Lora has frequently discussed the issues involved and defended his positions as "revolutionary and correct," and to date he has made no self-criticism worthy of the name.

The source of betrayal must be looked for elsewhere, not in "unpreparedness" or "naivete." No Marxist, no materialist, no Leninist would have ever done such damage to a mighty revolutionary uprising. POR's leadership is totally alien to Marxism, to dialectical materialism, to Leninism and Trotskyism and more at ease

within the world of petty bourgeois nationalism. And it must be treated as such.

At the beginning of this article I mentioned that the POR's refusal to provide and exert leadership would not have been so important were it not for the fact that it held important positions of leadership in the organizations of the class. Equally, we could add that Lora and the POR's leadership, who pose as Trotskyists and behave like sui-generis petty bourgeois nationalists, would not be dangerous were it not for the fact that numerous militant cadres of the Latin American working class look upon the POR's leadership as a healthy revolutionary center, and are unaware of its treacherous policies.

The situation is even worse when one considers that under the protection of this revolutionary reputation, Lora has consistently behaved as a manoeuvrer and an intriguer, lying, insinuating without foundation, with the sole purpose of building an image as a "practical fighting man."



Lora counted on Torres, above, to arm workers against rightist coup.

Germany

Class War Explodes In Auto Strike

BY DAVID GREEN

THE MOST SERIOUS class battle in the history of post-war West Germany erupted last week as half a million workers belonging to the IG Metall union went on strike against the major auto firms.

The management of the Audi and Daimler-Benz plants responded to the strike action by locking out thousands of workers from plants not affected by the job action. The aim of the industrialists is to impose upon IG Metall a heavy burden in strike benefits in order to destroy its capacity to continue the strike.

The West German auto industry has been particularly hard hit by the nationalist economic policies announced by President Nixon last August 15th. With their profits slashed by the upward revaluation of the Deutsche Mark and the increased international competition, the industrialists are determined to beat back the wage demands made by IG Metall.

Faced with a decline in their living standards caused by the steep rate of inflation, the union called for an 11 per cent increase. The employers offered only 4.5 per cent; and refused to budge from this offer even after IG Metall lowered its demand to 7.5 per cent.

POWER

IG Metall has the power to win this strike. Its membership comprises half the

unionized work force in West Germany, and the overwhelming strike vote proves that the rank-and-file is ready for a fight with the auto bosses. However, the leadership of IG Metall is unwilling to wage an all-out fight. Even though the employers are openly acting in nationwide solidarity against the strike, the union leadership poses only a regional perspective for the struggle.

The Federation of German Employers' Association—the club-house of industrialists and bankers—called for unity in the battle against the working class. It declared in a letter that "Member organizations should stand together in their wage policies and in their attitudes toward the further conduct of business." The Federation also advised the ruling class not to hire workers who have been employed in industries involved in strikes or lock-outs.

WARNING

This display of ruling class solidarity should serve as a warning to those who doubt the determination of the capitalists to impose their will upon the working class. In a full page advertisement that appeared in most of the national German papers last week, 62 leading industrialists publically announced that they "can no longer keep silent" about the deep crisis of German capitalism. It is clear that a campaign has begun to impose wage restraints upon workers and to break up the unions.

The militance of the German workers

must throw Willy Brandt's Social-Democratic Party (SPD) into deep crisis. At the recent Party Day Conference, delegates from the Young Socialists, youth movement of the SPD, expressed dissatisfaction with Brandt's slow pace down the road of evolutionary socialism. The Young Socialists' call for major tax reforms to be directed against corporate profits was resisted by Brandt.

The Chancellor also defended the economic policies of his openly pro-business finance minister Karl Schiller, who likes to be known as a liberal as well as a social-democrat. At the same time, the leadership of the SPD warned the Young Socialists that it would expell from the Party anyone who participates in a demonstration sponsored by a communist movement.

The Social-Democrats do not have a majority in the Bundestag. They rule only through a coalition with the liberal bourgeois Free Democratic Party. This strike places great strains on this opportunist alliance; and the strong arm tactics of the auto industrialists are in part designed to smash this coalition and force new elections.

The treacherous policies of Brandt advance the possibility of a return of the Christian Democratic Union to power. Should the principal capitalist party in Germany assume control of the government, the stage would be set for open attacks upon every gain made by the working class since the end of World War II.

Stalinism And Coalition Politics

George Morris Renews Attack On Trotskyism

BY DAN FRIED.

THE NOVEMBER 1971 issue of the Communist Party's magazine, *Political Affairs*, on the general subject "The Class Struggle and the Trade Union Movement In the U.S.," contains an article by George Morris, labor columnist for the *Daily World* entitled "Labor and Politics: The Fight for Independence."

In the article, Morris presents a Stalinist version of the movement for "independence" in politics in the labor movement from the last century until today, but with emphasis on the period from Roosevelt's New Deal, up until today and the Communist Party's 1972 election campaign plans.

Precisely what Morris and the CP mean by "independence" will become clearer as we deal with the attacks on Trotskyism in his pamphlet "Rebellion in the Unions—A Handbook for Rank and File Action" and which he repeats in the *Political Affairs* article. Once again in attacking "old leftists" of the Trotskyite vintage" as well as anarchists and Maoists—all of whom he lumps together—Morris makes it clear that it's the real Trotskyist movement represented by the Workers League that he is after.

This is why he singles out for attack those "calling for a 'labor party now,' rejecting any approach short of such a goal." Morris once again refers to the May 1970 Chicago conference of the CP sponsored Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, which according to Morris, "emphatically rejected the provocative efforts of several delegates from Trotskyite-type groups for a 'labor party now'."

The Workers League alone took up the fight for a labor party now into this conference, and into every union possible and has since then concretized this struggle in the form of the demand for the building of a labor party for the '72 elections.

BUREAUCRACY

As far as Morris is concerned, it is not necessary to fight for this labor party or even what he calls a "mass-based new party." "It is quite evident," he writes, "that the outlook for a mass-based new party that could be in the field in 1972 is not very promising. Nor is it realistic to expect that COPE and those who run it would change appreciably in the months ahead." The difference expressed here is

between the Leninist conception of building a conscious leadership in the working class based on the need to take power which is expressed in the fight for the labor party, and on the other hand, the Stalinist policy of trailing after the labor bureaucracy (COPE) and in this way going along with the "reality" of capitalist politics. This is what Morris means by "realistic." Morris attacks Trotskyism for "rejecting any approach short of that (the labor party now) goal," precisely because he is concerned with what is "short of that goal"—support for capitalist politicians.

The truth is that Morris and the CP are absolutely opposed to formation of the labor party. Morris' talk of "the need of building a substantial base for such a party in the labor unions and in the Black communities," is a fraud. How else can you explain the virulence of their attack on our role at the 1970 Conference and their refusal to see this conference as part of a fight to build this very "substantial base"?

How else can you explain their 10 day silence on UAW West Coast regional director Paul Schrade's suggestion of the need for "a general strike and a new labor party." This silence was finally broken when the *Daily World* simply quoted Schrade's statement without comment.

How else can you explain their report of UAW leaders Woodcock and Mazey's "criticisms" of Democrats made at the UAW special convention but their failure to denounce Woodcock's continuing support to the Democrats against Nixon in '72. Needless to say, no one even remotely connected with the Communist Party so much as breathed a word of the need for a labor party at this convention.

SPELLED OUT

The Communist Party stand on political action, against the labor party was spelled out in the "Declaration of Labor Political Independence" for the Chicago conference in 1970:

"We recognize that there are individual Democrats and Republicans who are pro-labor, pro-peace, anti-racist and anti-repression who merit labor's sup-

port..."

It is a fact that the list of such Democrats and Republicans that the CP has supported over the years includes Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and New York Mayors Robert Wagner and John Lindsay, to name but a few.

In an attempt to give this support to "individual Democrats and Republicans" a more sophisticated defense, Morris refers to Communist Party General Secretary Gus Hall's speech at last summer's CP National Committee meeting:

"The primaries," he (Hall) stated, "should not be underestimated as indicators of the conflicts and trends within the old parties because 'the masses who are going to be the base of a new party are not yet ignoring the present electoral system.'"

"The mass breakaway" out of the two-party system, "can best be facilitated by the organization of independent forms while still working through old party structures," Hall concludes.

All this is Stalinist double-talk for support to "individual Democrats and Republicans." They see a "new party," not at all a class party based essentially on the unions, but as an outgrowth of the "progressive" trends within the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats, and do not rule out that such trends will be able to take over the Democratic Party.

As reported in the *Daily World* of November 16, support for these trends which are neither socialist nor working class, is reflected in CP National Chairman Henry Winston's examples of "Black caucuses in the unions, the Black Caucus in Congress and formations, primarily Black-led such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party in Alabama."

The *Daily World* further makes clear that while it supports all the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, it leans toward the "more progressive" Shirley Chisholm-Ron Dellums wing, which includes of course Manhattan Democratic political boss Percy Sutton. In line with this is the CP's open apology for Newark's Mayor Gibson who has his own machine for running capitalism in Newark by attacking the working class of that city—Black and white alike.

CHISHOLM

Most important is to understand that the CP's support for Shirley Chisholm and Ron Dellums is of the same order as Chisholm's own candidacy for President. This is nothing more than a means of putting pressure on the Democratic Party to nominate an "acceptable" candidate like Edward Kennedy, George McGovern or perhaps John Lindsay.

Is there any doubt that the Stalinists will find a way to justify support for these men or for that matter for Muskie as a "lesser evil" in '72?

The Communist Party's 1972 official election campaign in which they are running Hall for President and Jarvis Tyner for Vice President is a stalking horse campaign to promote the candidacy of a coalition candidate—a liberal or "reform" Democrat. This was the same sort of campaign they ran in the early days of the Popular Front in the 1930s making clear their support for Roosevelt behind the slogan "Defeat Landon (FDR's Republican opponent) at all costs."

In his *Political Affairs* article, Morris states that the movement for "a third or labor party" was drawn into support of FDR because "attraction to the New Deal Program and the pressure for unity in support of the anti-fascist war drew the new movement into the Roosevelt stream." At the same time we can begin to see what Morris means by "third or labor parties" when he says that "in New York the American Labor Party was formed by a coalition of a substantial part of the unions with the active backing of the Communists and other political groups."

The truth is that the ALP was formed

at the initiative and under the leadership of the CP and its supporters in the labor bureaucracy in order to corral the vote of the New York workers into the Roosevelt "stream."

COLLABORATION

During World War II the CP carried out Stalin's policy of class collaboration to even greater extremes indulging in the most rabid, jingoistic flag-waving, patriotic support for the "Commander-in-Chief," Roosevelt. In his pamphlet "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement" written in 1945, this same George Morris viciously denounced the Trotskyists for their principled opposition to Roosevelt and fight for a labor party. Consciously and deliberately spreading the most vile Stalinist slanders, Morris wrote:

"Trotskyites...found themselves allies of, and eventually working companions with, the most reactionary forces—czarist plotters, foreign imperialists and fascists who sought the overthrow of the Soviet government."

DIVERT

Far from simply going along with the "popular sentiment" for Roosevelt, the Stalinists consciously sought to divert the movement

movement of the working class away from independent political action, away from the labor party in subordination to Roosevelt and the Democrats.

The CP transformed almost 100 years of the Marxist struggle for the principle of the absolute political independence of the working class into a complete distortion of Lenin's conception of the United Front. They came up with the political alliance of the working class with the capitalists, the "popular front." They have renamed this counterrevolutionary alliance in more recent years the "peoples' anti-monopoly coalition." This alliance with capitalism was put forward to defend the privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy which had usurped political power from the workers in the Soviet Union.

Thus, today as in the past, the Stalinists do not begin with the principled struggle for Marxist principle, but with a pragmatic accommodation to the "realities" of capitalist politics. With this method they do not see the Democratic Party as a bourgeois party but rather as a party with "progressive" and "conservative" tendencies and take sides with the "progressives."

METHOD

This is why Morris writes, "On the other hand, we also have seen a positive tendency in the various reform movements in the Democratic Party as in New York and California." The same method is applied by Morris to his picture of COPE, the machinery set up by the AFL-CIO to support the Democrats: "It was the only instrument available to workers for massive political action. It did provide some political influence for positive objectives."

POWER

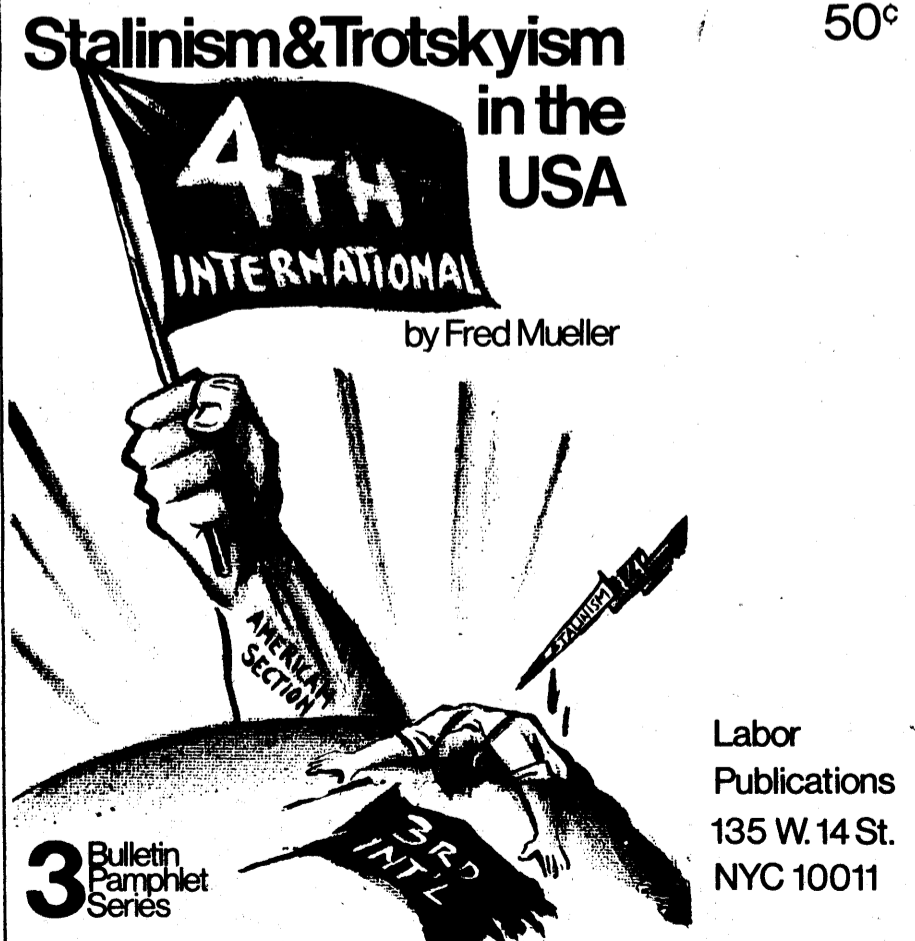
This method is being brought in by the Stalinists again today to head off the fight for the independent mobilization of the working class against the wage freeze and above all to attempt to sabotage the fight for formation of a labor party, the critical demand in the struggle of the working class for power.

Nixon's August 15 speech signalled a new stage in the class struggle internationally in which the working class is forced to confront political questions to defend its very existence. In this situation the struggle for the labor party in '72 taken up by the Workers League against Stalinist "coalition" bourgeois politics becomes a life and death struggle for the working class.

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Stalinism & Trotskyism in the USA

by Fred Mueller



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West Coast News

Local 400 Heads Try To Split Workers

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER
SAN FRANCISCO—At a time when huge sections of labor are rallying to unite the unions in a call for a general strike against the government's anti-labor policies, the leadership of Local 400 is pushing an effort to split off a section of city workers in order to cooperate with Nixon's federalization plans two years before they go into effect!

In a letter sent to some Social Service members the leadership attempted to rationalize their compliance with the decision of the S.E.I.U. (Service Employees International Union) to shift the Service Workers and Eligibility Workers into Local 535, a national Social Services Union, in effect, cutting them off from the clerical staff in their department and from the rest of city employees.

By posing no fundamental fight the leadership shows that it is paralyzed by the government's plans to reorganize many workers into the streets and to break the strength of the unions.

UNITING

The ranks in both clerical and Income Maintenance classes are uniting in an effort to mobilize support for two basic demands dealing with the question of reorganization and Local 535:

1. That Local 400 commit itself to a policy of no cooperation with federalization unless there is job security for every employee.

2. That the entire Social Service Section remain in Local 400 and that Local 535 be instructed to cease recruitment.

This fight of the Social Services Section must be brought to the ranks in other sections in an effort to build a new leadership in Local 400 that will confront all the fundamental problems of city workers around a program demanding that all temporaries become permanent, that no layoffs will be tolerated, for a continued rejection of the Employee Relations Ordinance and all attempts to divide any department into separate bargaining units and a turn toward the rest of the labor movement

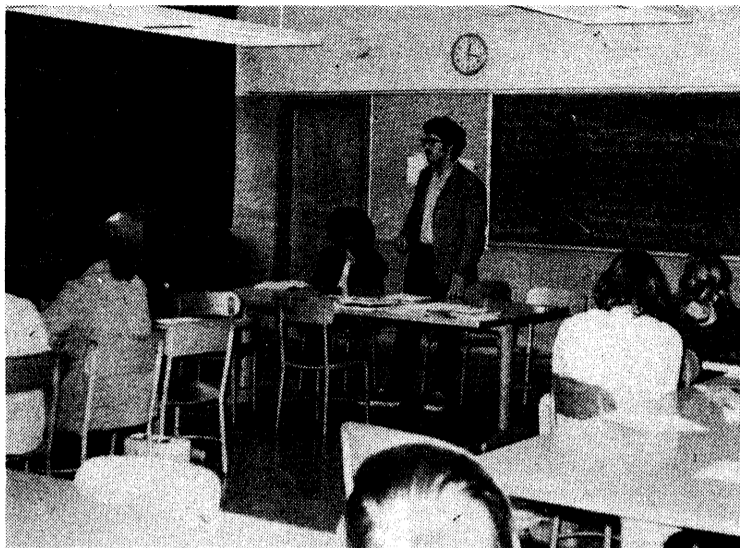
AEROSPACE . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

trayed the decline and cannibalistic behaviour of the aerospace industry, but draws back from the conclusions that he is fully aware must be made; the nationalization of this dying industry under workers control and the building of a labor party.

Schrade is retreating from mounting general strike sentiment within his own ranks, frightened by the prospect of leading such a struggle.

He desperately grasps at the disintegrating middle-class protest movement only to find no substance there in which to divert the class struggle. The Stalinists who adore Schrade have not sufficiently penetrated the working class to play this role effectively enough although the



Workers League spokesman speaks at meeting as part of effort to launch a revolutionary youth movement at Stanford University.

Seale Pushes Survival With The Ministers

BY ANN LORE

PALO ALTO—Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, came to Stanford University last week to gain support for the Panther Party's survival programs. Appropriately enough, he spoke in a church and was introduced by Reverend Bronson, a "revolutionary," and a member of the Black Panther Party. The evening's program which included a Black medical student speaking on sickle cell anemia and a speaker from the Black Students Union, was introduced with the theme, "God is the Spirit."

Addressing a packed audience of 800 youth, every speaker functioned to turn these youth away from the crisis breaking out today, away from the struggles of a working class determined to beat back the attacks of the government.

The idea of survival programs in the context of a crisis threatening massive unemployment and world depression is hopelessly idealist.

The Panthers offer a program for survival rather than posing a fight to destroy the system which created the condition of the ghetto, and which today offers a future of barbarism for the whole working class. The Panthers have turned back into the community, to the Church and

Black capitalism for their support and strength.

Seale says "nationhood does not exist anymore." He sees the growth of U.S. imperialism as having destroyed national boundaries and created a world of communities. In this way he obscures the fight being waged between the capitalist nations, brought on by the deepening crisis, which necessitates a war within each nation by the capitalist class against its working class to produce the profits necessary to compete with the other nations.

Basing themselves on their impressions of the working class during the past period of the boom, they completely ignore the revolutionary developments taking place in the working class today resulting in calls for a national general strike, and a growing opposition to the role being played by the labor leaders.

The Panthers are leading youth into a fight to build shoe factories and breakfast programs in the Black communities which is no more going to insure their survival than praying that capitalism would go away. The working class is determined to fight Nixon's wage freeze and the Pay Board. The only way forward for youth is in the construction of a conscious Marxist leadership among the youth and workers to fight for a general strike and a labor party. The survival of the entire working class depends on this fight.

door is now held wide open for them by bureaucracy.

Schrade's earlier call for a labor party and a general strike remain just that—a threat, a propandistic scare tactic to frighten concessions out of the Democratic Party with the full approval of Woodcock and not meant for wide circulation.

His aerospace reconversion schemes remain fraudulently reformist. His idealistic "Guns to Butter" conference scheduled for early December in an abandoned aerospace plant in Northern California is calculated to cement together the dissolving liberal-Democratic coalition behind "friends of labor" Cranston and Tunney.

Schrade seeks to block any movement towards a labor party

just as he and Woodcock seek to prevent a general strike movement against the Pay Board and the freeze.

These frauds will be unable to conduct business as usual for much longer. August 15 has changed all that.

The aerospace workers must take the strike authorization away from Woodcock and Smith and strike the industry themselves at once.

They must form rank and file committees to build this strike and come to the aid of their beleaguered brothers in Canada.

All hesitation from the union is now interpreted by the government as a sign of weakness.

All local leaders who refuse to lead this fight must be pushed aside by new leaders who will.

Rohr Militants Fight Sellout At Meeting

BY RICHARD RIVERA
SAN DIEGO—An "informational" meeting was held here by IAM Local 755 to attempt to cover the latest betrayals by the bureaucrats in their dealings with ROHR Corporation.

Originally, ROHR had tried to coerce the employees to settle quickly for less than nothing by giving the union 10 days notice of their intent to close the plant, saying that they would no longer honor the contract which expired November 1.

The ranks, already fed up with ROHR's attacks of speedup, production quotas, layoffs, and abuses of their contract, let it be known throughout the plant that they were calling ROHR's bluff. And a bluff it was, the last thing ROHR wants now is to have the gates locked. They are in the midst of shipping truckloads of work to their subcontractors every day in order to avoid being caught with all the work still in the plant in the event of a strike.

In a period of rapidly deepening economic crisis which the aerospace industry is feeling very severely, a work stoppage at ROHR could mean its death. Lockheed had to be bailed out of shock by Congress, Boeing has been teetering on the brink of disaster for some time now, and North American Rockwell has been forced to buy up huge blocks of its own stock to keep prices from plummeting.

Hence, they turn to their buddies in the union leadership to help buy them more time. Threats didn't intimidate the workers, so now they turn to those who have so much experience and ability to call off the dogs.

The informational meeting was a very carefully planned part of the bureaucrats' plan to do ROHR's dirty work. Floor mikes were set up and the ranks were warned from the start that "if things get too rowdy out there,

we've got the switches and we will cut you off."

The bureaucrats then launched into an hour long discussion of what they "didn't know" or "weren't yet sure of" concerning the negotiations of the past two months, designed to bore to tears as many of the rank and file as possible in hopes that they would leave (which some did) and to divert any discussion away from the real question of the necessity to strike.

CHALLENGE

The ranks immediately put the negotiating committee on the defensive with a series of questions and criticisms of the extension, all of which were handled with kid gloves, hiding the lies and betrayals and reassuring the ranks that "we'll do whatever people want."

However, when one speaker began to challenge the authority of the negotiating committee to carry out bold-faced betrayals such as the extension after a 98% strike vote, and even to continue to represent the rank-and-file, the kid gloves came off and his mike was silenced.

That militant speaker had touched on the central question facing the whole working class in this period—leadership. But without the backing of a caucus he was powerless in the face of the well-organized bureaucrats' apparatus.

A caucus must be built in Local 755, based on a fight to replace the sellout leadership with leaders pledged to a fight to smash Phase II of the freeze, to end labor participation in the Pay Board, to fight for full employment through a program of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and nationalization under workers control of bankrupt industries, and to build a labor party, the political expression of the interests of the whole working class. That caucus must then be the impetus for a District-wide caucus in District 50.

EDITORIAL . . .

have acted to give a left face to the Woodcocks and Abels whose participation on the Pay Board has strengthened Nixon's hand in striking blows against the dockers. It is no accident that when GM workers at Fremont vote to demand their delegates to the UAW convention fight to get Woodcock off the Board and to prepare a general strike the Peoples' World does not even consider it worth reporting.

The use of Taft-Hartley against the ILA will now increase the pressure on Bridges who has been forced to issue some platitudes with the ILA on the need for unity. It threatens to completely expose and discredit the Stalinists.

All the objective conditions are now maturing in the ILWU for the emergence of an alternative leadership that can take up the fight to forge a fighting unity with the ILA.

This means the construction of a rank and file movement pledged to a unity pact with the ILA to prepare a nationwide strike that will shut down every port and keep them shut until the 40 hour guarantee is won for every category of docker.

It means forging this pact in the fight to break the wage freeze on the docks and to go deep into the labor movement to prepare for a general strike to break the freeze and all government controls on the unions.

It means taking up the fight for a labor party in 1972 pledged to a shorter work week, an end to inflation and the nationalization of all industries threatening layoffs or closures.

West Coast News

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

Editorial

Fight For ILWU-ILA Unity! Prepare Nationwide Shutdown!

The decision to force striking ILA dockers back to work under the emergency provisions of Taft-Hartley is an act of desperation on the part of the Nixon Administration.

If the East Coast longshoremen return it will be with the 40 hour guarantee in New York still intact and with an absolute determination to fight to defend every gain.

The employers had hoped to defeat the ILA and then turn with a vengeance on the ILWU. It is for this reason that the final offer of the PMA to West Coast dockers was an insulting slap in the face.

Longshoremen on both coasts are now posed with a historic opportunity to heal the split and emerge with a fighting national unity that can bring Nixon and the employers to their knees.

For the first time there is an understanding developing on both coasts that a national docks strike is not only possible but is the only way forward. The rank and file of both unions now confront the freeze and government strike-breaking together. The ranks are determined that jobs and conditions will be eroded no further and that every docker has the right to the guarantee of a full week's pay.

It is in the head on political confrontation with the government now developing that the criminal role of the leaderships of both unions is most clear. Both Bridges and Gleason have accepted Nixon's Pay Board and have refused to lift a finger to mobilize labor in the fight to bring down the freeze.

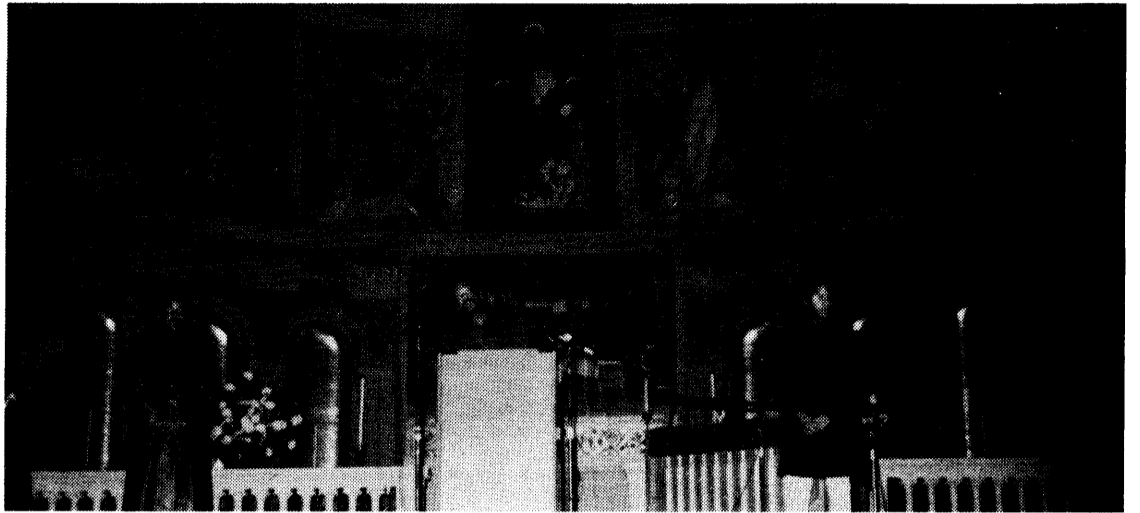
Both have allowed the participation of the labor bureaucracy on the Pay Board without a peep. They act to isolate dockers from the essential political fight and they give Nixon more time to prepare the fight with his new legislation designed to impose compulsory arbitration on the transport unions.

In all of this the Stalinists have continually played a counterrevolutionary role in covering up for Bridges and fighting tooth and nail to maintain the divisions between the coasts.

They have refused from the beginning to warn and prepare dockers for a political fight with the government seeking to keep the strike on a trade union level.

Even as late as November 20th the People's World refused to come out clearly for a united fight with the ILA confining itself to some vague phrases that "the strategy the union will pursue is still unclear." They begin at all times with their support to "progressive" Harry and their narrow local interests in the affairs of the bureaucracy, never with the objective needs of longshoremen across the country.

Above all the People's World and its supporters
(Continued On Page 15)



Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale speaks at church to Stanford University audience.

Mr. Schrade Fiddles While Aerospace Burns

BY A UAW MEMBER

LONG BEACH—4500 striking UAW members of Canadian McDonnell Douglas have just rejected the latest contract offer in Toronto by a vote of 2 to 1. They become the focal point for all aerospace bargaining as the seven week old strike continues.

Local 1967 comprises three Ontario plants that produce wing assemblies for the DC-9 and DC-10. Both planes are assembled at the Long Beach McDonnell Douglas plant employing 1600 members working without a contract since September 15.

They have been complying with a UAW directive to stay on the job because of the "uncertainties" of the wage freeze.

UAW Local President, Clarence Gregory, has estimated that production will halt this week at the Long Beach plant because of the shortage of Canadian wing assemblies.

Long Beach workers are being told that the only smart thing for them to do is to continue working as long as they can while their leaders gain clarity on Nixon's Phase II and wait to be laid off so they can draw unemployment.

The UAW and IAM have an agreement signed last March for mutual cooperation and joint action. On October 2 some 300 local union leaders attended a UAW-IAM Joint Aerospace Leadership Meeting in Los Angeles.

These delegates endorsed a proposal from the UAW's Woodcock and IAM's Smith to establish a common strike date at McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, North American Rockwell and Lockheed to be decided by the leadership after they "explore" Nixon's Phase II.

It is now apparent that this leadership is afraid to call a national strike because of stiffened employer resistance backed by the freeze and the threat of injunctions. These bureaucrats are retreating to their "one-at-a-time" strategy at a time when the life and death of the trade unions is at stake.

The 150,000 aerospace workers are asked to stay on the job while Woodcock and Smith stay on the Pay Board hoping to win concessions for individual unions.

The criminality of their acts is further compounded by their

seeking to impose an inadequate high pressure settlement on the Canadian strike hoping this would break up the impasse in the U.S.

This stepped up pressure in Canada has resulted in the direct intervention of two top UAW vice presidents, Ken Bannon and Dennis McDermott along with representatives of the UAW Aerospace Department. They took over local bargaining sessions only to find that the workers are not buying any of their phony settlement schemes.

Aerospace locals across the country report record strike votes. Both the UAW and the Machinists Union report strike votes averaging over 94% at dozens of plants.

The ranks are demanding a large catch-up raise coupled with unrestricted cost-of-living, 30 years and out and strong support exists for the four day week with no cut in pay and strengthened Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.

According to UAW Western Director Paul Schrade "about 200,000 aerospace jobs have been eliminated since 1967 in California alone." He adds "It is time to stop dismantling the world's highest skilled work force."

This was Schrade's plea to a Nixon appointed Joint Reconversion Board meeting held in Los Angeles and comprising representatives from all levels of government, industry, labor and the academic community.

This group, of course, has nothing to offer for the crisis of plant closures and unemployment.

Schrade begs this group to do something about foreign competition. He claims that "The McDonnell Douglas Corp. has already licensed a Japanese firm to build F-4 Phantom Jets on Japanese soil." Schrade continues, "In addition McDonnell Douglas, Boeing and Lockheed are currently competing for a program to assist Japan in the manufacture of a medium range

airbus and Boeing is working with an Italian corporation to assist in building short take-off and landing aircraft in Italy."

Schrade concludes that "the shipment of aircraft work overseas must stop or an industry that is already seriously crippled could disappear altogether."

Schrade has accurately portrayed
(Continued On Page 15)

Actors Fight Job Loss

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HOLLYWOOD—The class struggle is breaking out in the Screen Actors Guild. SAG has one local based here and a membership of some 20,000.

90% of the membership earn less than \$10,000 a year and at the present time over half are unemployed or working elsewhere.

The SAG was led until recently by Charlton Heston who campaigned for moderation. He maintained that the SAG should be "a responsible moderate force for progress in the industry."

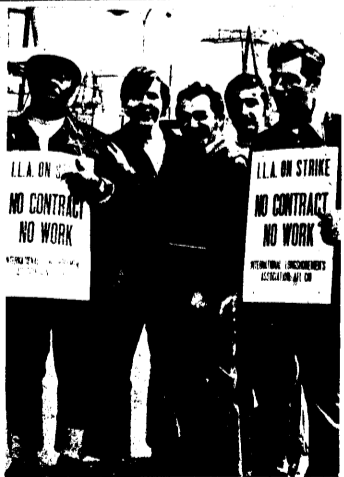
Recently candidates representing the unemployed and underemployed contested the presidential elections demanding that the SAG conduct a trade union policy to fight for "more bread on working actors' tables and more coins in their pockets."

The opposition candidate Bert Freed was defeated 2 to 1 by John Gavin, but things will not be the same. Gavin stands for a continuation of the old policy maintaining that "With only two viable studios left open in Hollywood, you just can't put a gun to the industry's head and bring it to its knees."

Freed claims that he wants "to take the actor down off his pedestal and admit he's an average working guy."

There can be no compromise with the producers as the crisis of capitalism tears the cultural industry apart. Not subsidies from Nixon but the nationalization of the entertainment industry under workers' control is the only way forward.

25c



SHOWDOWN ON THE DOCKS
BY DAN FRIED

From Labor Publications
135 W. 14 St.
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West Coast News

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

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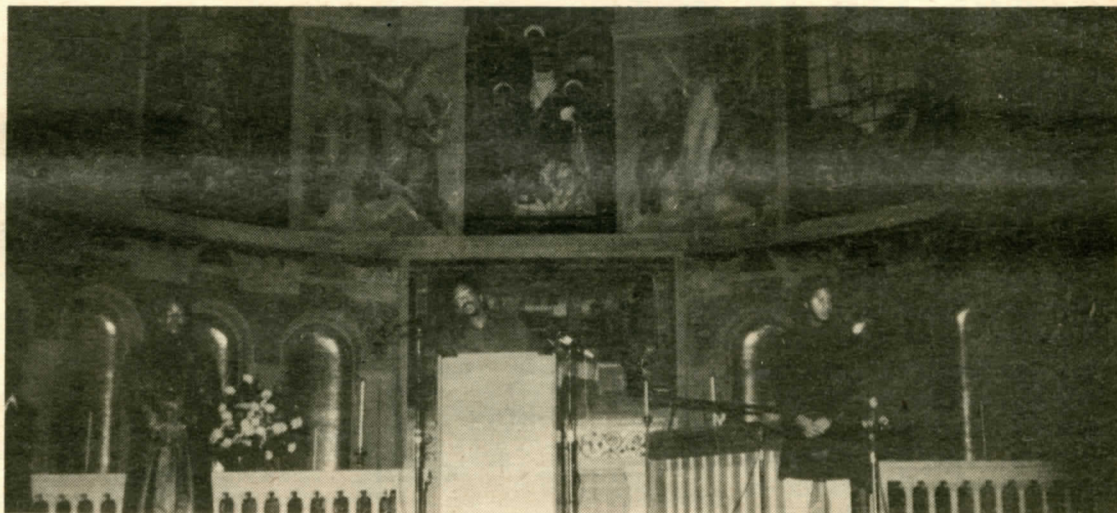
Both have allowed the participation of the labor bureaucracy on the Pay Board without a peep. They act to isolate dockers from the essential political fight and they give Nixon more time to prepare the fight with his new legislation designed to impose compulsory arbitration on the transport unions.

In all of this the Stalinists have continually played a counterrevolutionary role in covering up for Bridges and fighting tooth and nail to maintain the divisions between the coasts.

They have refused from the beginning to warn and prepare dockers for a political fight with the government seeking to keep the strike on a trade union level.

Even as late as November 20th the People's World refused to come out clearly for a united fight with the ILA confining itself to some vague phrases that "the strategy the union will pursue is still unclear." They begin at all times with their support to "progressive" Harry and their narrow local interests in the affairs of the bureaucracy, never with the objective needs of longshoremen across the country.

Above all the People's World and its supporters
(Continued On Page 15)



Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale speaks at church to Stanford University audience.

Mr. Schrade Fiddles While Aerospace Burns

BY A UAW MEMBER

LONG BEACH—4500 striking UAW members of Canadian McDonnell Douglas have just rejected the latest contract offer in Toronto by a vote of 2 to 1. They become the focal point for all aerospace bargaining as the seven week old strike continues.

Local 1967 comprises three Ontario plants that produce wing assemblies for the DC-9 and DC-10. Both planes are assembled at the Long Beach McDonnell Douglas plant employing 1600 members working without a contract since September 15.

They have been complying with a UAW directive to stay on the job because of the "uncertainties" of the wage freeze.

UAW Local President, Clarence Gregory, has estimated that production will halt this week at the Long Beach plant because of the shortage of Canadian wing assemblies.

Long Beach workers are being told that the only smart thing for them to do is to continue working as long as they can while their leaders gain clarity on Nixon's Phase II and wait to be laid off so they can draw unemployment.

The UAW and IAM have an agreement signed last March for mutual cooperation and joint action. On October 2 some 300 local union leaders attended a UAW-IAM Joint Aerospace Leadership Meeting in Los Angeles.

These delegates endorsed a proposal from the UAW's Woodcock and IAM's Smith to establish a common strike date at McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, North American Rockwell and Lockheed to be decided by the leadership after they "explore" Nixon's Phase II.

It is now apparent that this leadership is afraid to call a national strike because of stiffened employer resistance backed by the freeze and the threat of injunctions. These bureaucrats are retreating to their "one-at-a-time" strategy at a time when the life and death of the trade unions is at stake.

The 150,000 aerospace workers are asked to stay on the job while Woodcock and Smith stay on the Pay Board hoping to win concessions for individual unions.

The criminality of their acts is further compounded by their

seeking to impose an inadequate high pressure settlement on the Canadian strike hoping this would break up the impasse in the U.S.

This stepped up pressure in Canada has resulted in the direct intervention of two top UAW vice presidents, Ken Bannon and Dennis McDermott along with representatives of the UAW Aerospace Department. They took over local bargaining sessions only to find that the workers are not buying any of their phony settlement schemes.

Aerospace locals across the country report record strike votes. Both the UAW and the Machinists Union report strike votes averaging over 94% at dozens of plants.

The ranks are demanding a large catch-up raise coupled with unrestricted cost-of-living, 30 years and out and strong support exists for the four day week with no cut in pay and strengthened Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.

According to UAW Western Director Paul Schrade "about 200,000 aerospace jobs have been eliminated since 1967 in California alone." He adds "It is time to stop dismantling the world's highest skilled work force."

This was Schrade's plea to a Nixon appointed Joint Reconversion Board meeting held in Los Angeles and comprising representatives from all levels of government, industry, labor and the academic community.

This group, of course, has nothing to offer for the crisis of plant closures and unemployment.

Schrade begs this group to do something about foreign competition. He claims that "The McDonnell Douglas Corp. has already licensed a Japanese firm to build F-4 Phantom Jets on Japanese soil." Schrade continues, "In addition McDonnell Douglas, Boeing and Lockheed are currently competing for a program to assist Japan in the manufacture of a medium range

airbus and Boeing is working with an Italian corporation to assist in building short take-off and landing aircraft in Italy."

Schrade concludes that "the shipment of aircraft work overseas must stop or an industry that is already seriously crippled could disappear altogether."

Schrade has accurately portrayed
(Continued On Page 15)

Actors Fight Job Loss

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

HOLLYWOOD—The class struggle is breaking out in the Screen Actors Guild. SAG has one local based here and a membership of some 20,000.

90% of the membership earn less than \$10,000 a year and at the present time over half are unemployed or working elsewhere.

The SAG was led until recently by Charlton Heston who campaigned for moderation. He maintained that the SAG should be "a responsible moderate force for progress in the industry."

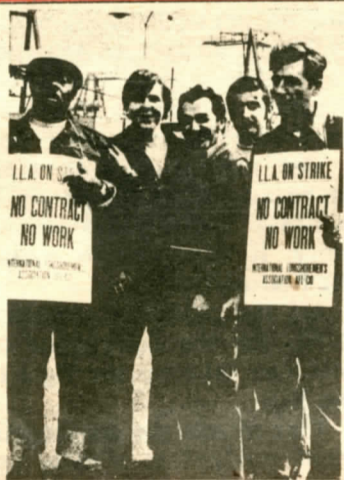
Recently candidates representing the unemployed and underemployed contested the presidential elections demanding that the SAG conduct a trade union policy to fight for "more bread on working actors' tables and more coins in their pockets."

The opposition candidate Bert Freed was defeated 2 to 1 by John Gavin, but things will not be the same. Gavin stands for a continuation of the old policy maintaining that "With only two viable studios left open in Hollywood, you just can't put a gun to the industry's head and bring it to its knees."

Freed claims that he wants "to take the actor down off his pedestal and admit he's an average working guy."

There can be no compromise with the producers as the crisis of capitalism tears the cultural industry apart. Not subsidies from Nixon but the nationalization of the entertainment industry under workers' control is the only way forward.

25c



**SHOWDOWN
ON THE
DOCKS**
BY DAN FRIED

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