

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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INSTITUTION

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DECEMBER 20, 1971

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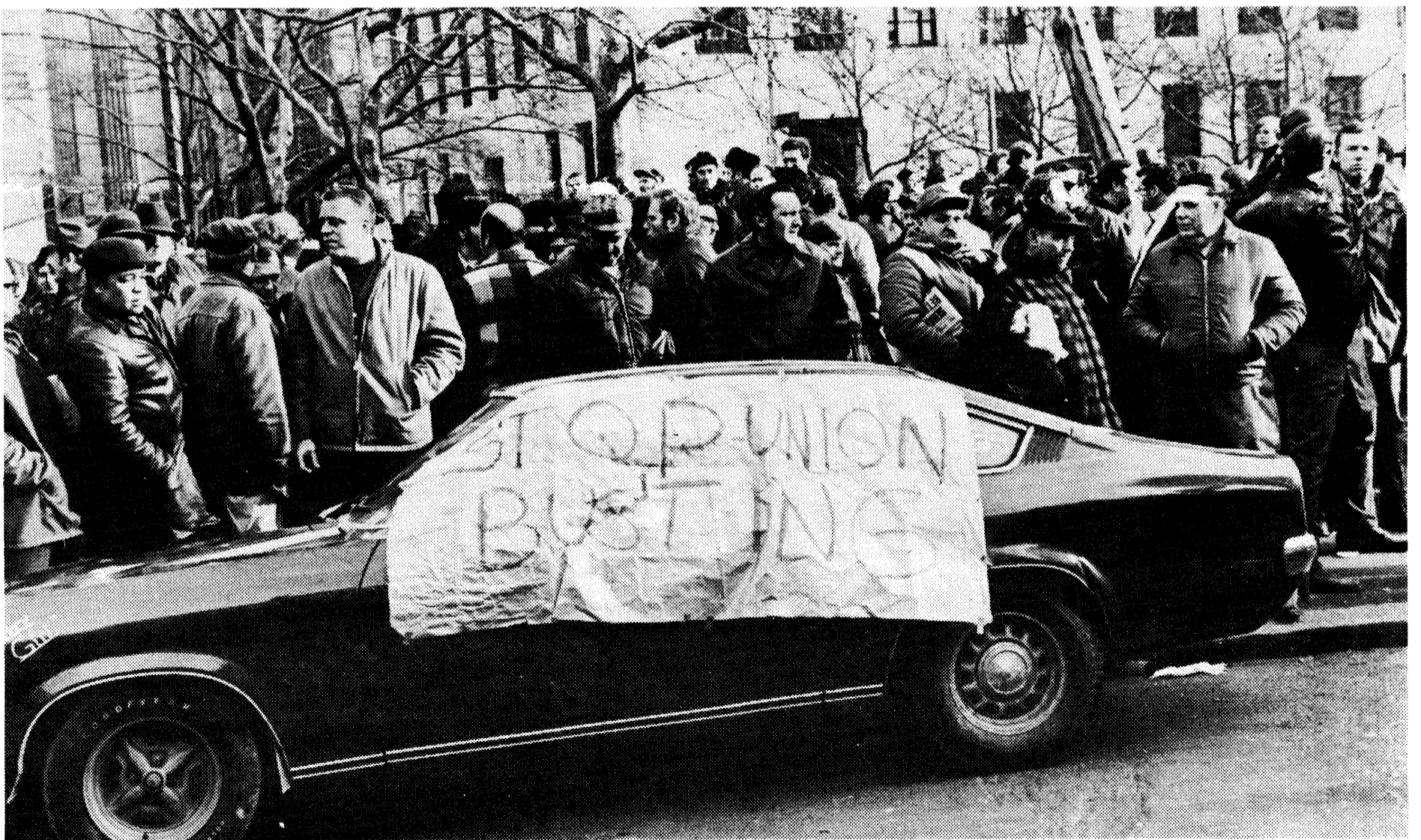
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Statement By The International Committee Of The Fourth International Defeat Imperialist Conspiracy Against Bangla Desh

Indian troops have conquered the key cities of Jessore and Chandpur and are now poised for a three-prong attack on the capital of East Bengal, Dacca. This will be the decisive battle.

Indira Ghandi refused to honor the United Nations ceasefire resolution and has been forced to give diplomatic recognition to Bangla Desh.

Now that victory is within the grasp of the Bengali workers and peasants, the Stalinists and the United States are feverishly stepping up their pressure on India to make a deal that would prevent the creation of an independent Bangla Desh.

These threats to betray the aspirations of the Bengali people for an independent nation underscore the warnings in the statement of the International Committee for the Fourth International.

Bengali resistance to the barbaric Yahya Khan regime and the heritage of imperialist partition in India

has entered a decisive stage with the intervention of Indian armed forces.

It is now only a matter of time before the combined forces of the Mukti Bahini and the Indian army crush the Pakistan troops in Bangla Desh and occupy Dacca.

The International Committee of the Fourth International was the only organization to support in a principled manner the right of Bangla Desh to secede from Pakistan.

It now stands unreservedly for the defeat of the hated Pakistan army and the liberation of Bangla Desh as a prelude to the voluntary and revolutionary unification of India on socialist foundations.

The ICFI supports completely the right of the E. Bengali people to solicit the support of capitalist and workers' states in their struggle to eliminate Pakistani oppression.

We critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh. We condemn the attempt of US imperialism to stop the conflict through UN intervention and the threatened cessation of economic aid to India.

US imperialism is determined to utilize the Indo-Pakistan conflict to weaken the Indian economy, as its

decision to cut off arms supplies shows.

It wants to facilitate the unlimited penetration of US finance capital into India and the installation of a more docile regime in New Delhi.

This is part of US imperialism's global strategy to contain and push back the developing anti-imperialist struggles of the SE Asian workers and peasants.

At the same time the ICFI urge Indian and Bengali socialists to place no confidence whatever in the capacity of the Bengali and Hindu bourgeoisie to carry through any of the tasks of the Indian democratic revolution.

Behind Mrs. Gandhi stand the Hindu fanatics of Jan Sangh and big-business interests who wish to annex E. Bengal, and take back the profitable jute and tea industries which they lost after partition.

Having co-opted a large proportion of the right-wing Awami League leadership in Calcutta, the Indian bourgeoisie and landlords will after victory over Pakistan seek to impose their rule through Awami League collaborators.

At the same time they will try to ruthlessly repress any revolutionary tendencies around the Mukti Bahini as well as preventing any movement towards the revolutionary

unification of E and W Bengal.

That is why up to now the Congress movement has refused to recognize the Republic of Bangla Desh.

It also explains its maneuvers with the National Awami Party of Maulana Bashani, in order to isolate and destroy those groups who are not prepared to subordinate themselves to the economic and strategic aims of the Hindu ruling class.

The ferocious repression of the Naxalites in W Bengal with the intervention of the Indian government on the side of Mrs. Bandaranaike against the Ceylonese rural uprising in April is convincing proof of the reactionary nature of the Indian bourgeoisie.

Another and even more fundamental reason for Indian intervention is the deadly fear of the mass uprising which the Pakistani occupation has provoked, and the threat that this uprising will spill over into W Bengal.

The ICFI warn the Bengali workers' and peasants' revolutionaries.

They must organize themselves separately and maintain their political independence from the Awami League bourgeoisie and the Stalinists.

These tendencies seek to

undermine their struggle and place them at the mercy of Delhi in the same way as they previously accepted Rawalpindi rule.

Revolutionaries must combine the national struggle with the fight for an uncompromising redistribution of the land in the interests of the poor peasants, the nationalization of industry and the setting-up of a workers' and peasants' government.

The workers and peasants will be compelled to struggle against the plans of the Indian bourgeoisie and will need the support of the working class of India and the rest of the world.

Determined mobilization and action of the masses themselves in Bangla Desh, the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership of the working class; these are the immediate needs of the workers of Bangla Desh.

The ICFI condemns unequivocally the role of Peking and Moscow Stalinism, which have refused to recognize the Bangla Desh Republic and have betrayed the national aspirations of the Bengali people.

● Long live the Bangla Desh Revolution!
● No compromise with the Hindu capitalists!
● Forward to the revolutionary and socialist unification of India!



Tim Wohlforth speaks at Educational Conference of Workers League of Canada

Workers League Holds Canadian Conference

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
MONTREAL Theoretical preparations for the new period of struggle in Canada were laid at the Workers League of Canada's Socialist Educational Conference here on December 11th.

The conference was held in both French and English and was attended by French and English speaking workers and students from Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston and Toronto.

The morning lecture was given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League, U.S.A., on "Theoretical Problems in the Construction of the Fourth International." Wohlforth covered three aspects. He started with the changes in consciousness taking place because of Nixon's decisions of August 15th. He stressed that the heart of these changes were in basic industry as the working class confronts the attempts of the capitalists to deprive it of work and drive its living standards back.

Wohlforth's second point was on the question of principle. He briefly sketched the history of the communist movement since 1919 noting that it advanced only through beginning with international

perspectives and principle. It was this and this alone which made possible the beginnings of a penetration of the American working class in the 1930s. When James P. Cannon of the Socialist Workers Party deserted international principle, then on the basis of pragmatism his movement succumbed to the middle classes.

Wohlforth concluded by answering a recent article in the paper of the League for Socialist Action, the Canadian Paboites associated with the SWP. The article stated:

"The Workers League, confined to a world of dogma, accuses all those who base their strategy and analysis on reality as empiricists and pragmatists." They deny that one must begin with facts. Rather, they pontificate, one must begin with a pre-conceived theory, and hang on to it regardless of what experience shows."

Wohlforth stated:
"Yes, it is true we begin with a preconceived theory and we will let you know who preconceived it—Karl Marx. Marxism is based on all of man's knowledge gathered in his conscious struggle against nature. It represents scientific truth as it has so far developed.

"The pragmatists of the LSA and SWP begin with their impressions of surface movement among the middle classes, like abortion reform, abandoning the theoretical strength accumulated by the working class through its party. They end up, as Trotsky described the Stalinists, as 'worshippers of the accomplished fact.' It is these empiricists who are the real dogmatists as they cling to these superficial impressions at a time when the fundamental class struggle is dominating political life in Canada as elsewhere.

"This is the real meaning of the LA Presse strike and demonstrations. Today every class action is political. This is what makes Trotskyism of such central importance." In the course of the discussion several participants objected to the position that dialectical materialism should be taken into the working class. They held it was sufficient to develop a program around which to fight and bring that program into the trade unions and elsewhere. Wohlforth stated that you cannot develop a program with one method and drop that method at the point where the program is taken into the class. That is precisely the

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Metal Workers Wrest Wage Increase From German Industrialists

BY DAVID GREEN

In a last ditch effort to avert a general strike, German auto industrialists and union representatives of IG Metall have worked out a compromise settlement to end the strike of 120 thousand metal workers in the state of Baden-Wurttemberg.

The agreement, which came on the 19th day of the strike, will give the metal workers average annual pay increases of 7.5 per cent plus an annual bonus of 40 per cent of a month's pay. Although this increase is substantially below the 11 per cent sought by the metal workers, the settlement is a bitter pill for the employers. The owners of the largest auto firms in West Germany had for over two weeks refused to budge from their "final" offer of 4 per cent, and had locked out almost half a million workers in order to impose their will.

The unprecedented militancy of the striking workers forced the employers to make important concessions and a retreat. The bourgeoisie cannot afford this settlement, and will not abandon the battle against the unions.

The metal workers' strike has exposed the cowardice and treachery of the union bureaucrats and social democrats. The leaders of IG Metall complained about the "unfairness" of the lock-out but refused to mobilize the 2.2 million members of the union against the national solidarity of the employers.

Although the employer closed down factories in every part of West Germany, the bureaucrats only called out the workers in Baden-Wurttemberg. They also attempted to restrain the militancy of the workers through open redbaiting.

The role of the ruling Social Democratic Party was even more pernicious. Beneath the official guise of neutrality, the Brandt Government entered into the negotiations in order to preach compromise to the unions. The Social Democratic Finance Minister Karl Schiller openly supported the Federal Association of German Employers in its struggle to end the strike.

It must be understood that it was the leadership of the German

workers, not the workers themselves, who were unwilling to fight for victory in this strike. As late as the day before the settlement was announced, over 35,000 workers marched through the streets of Stuttgart protesting the employers' lock-out. In Hamburg, workers demanded an immediate strike vote. The leadership of IG Metall ended the strike just at the moment when the movement toward a general strike was becoming irresistible.

The Social Democrats and union leaders may be patting themselves on the back for having extracted certain concessions from the bourgeoisie without having to call a general strike. But they are soon going to learn that the settlement has only raised the level of political tension.

The current rate of inflation in West Germany, 7.5 per cent, equals the annual increase the workers have won. And the deepening crisis of German capitalism makes it impossible for the bourgeoisie to live with the consequences of this settlement.

Ever since the workers have made it clear that they will defend their standard of living, that is since the militant strikes at Lufthansa and the chemical industry the capitalists have been talking about the need to "revise" industrial relations. Now, the strike of the metal workers has made the shackling of the working class the number one priority of the employers.

The strategy of the bourgeoisie calls for the extensive use of the social democrats in preparing the defeat of the working class. Every effort will be made to strengthen the right wing in the Social Democratic Party in order to demoralize the workers. (The CDU, party of the capitalists, plans to come to power in order to enact the anti-working class laws that the Social Democrats will soon propose.



NY Steamfitters Protest Government Union-Busting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Most of the construction workers working on the site of the 110 story twin towered World Trade Center walked off the job last week in support of a "wildcat" strike by members of Steamfitters Local 638.

The walkout which was joined in sympathy by Steamfitters and some other construction workers throughout the City was in protest against the layoff of 49 out of 51 workers from group "A" of the local, while a number of group "B" men, mainly Black and Puerto Rican workers, were kept on the job.

The "A" men, both apprentices and journeymen have union books, while the "B" men do not hold books, but work on the basis of "permit cards." Most of the minority workers in the union are "B" men, and most of the "B" men at the World Trade Center were minority workers. This is a conscious policy by the Construction Contractors Association to give the Trade Center the appearance of "fair employment," since most of the Local 638 "B" men are actually white. Out of 2,800 "B" men, 500 are minority workers.

The workers claimed that it was an issue of unionbusting pure and simple. The strike was immediately hit by a temporary restraining order pending a permanent injunction by the federal government on the grounds that the strikers were "attempting to coerce" the employers "to discharge the minority workmen who are presently employed as construction steamfitters." A "Civil Rights" suit has been filed by the government against Local 638 and other building trades unions, alleging discrimination against Black and Puerto Rican workers.

A number of workers we spoke to were not so happy with Nixon as they had been in 1968 when many supported him. At the time of the anti-war demonstrations construction workers praised the flag, the war in Vietnam, Nixon and Agnew and beat up on peace demonstrators.

Undoubtedly the sentiment of most of the workers at a mass rally in front of the U.S. Court House was summed up by a young worker who said when asked what he thought about Nixon now, answered, "He ought to be thrown out." Another young worker said that this was a union busting attack coming straight from the White House, just as the wage-price freeze was intended to benefit only the bosses. "They want to bust the unions so we have to work for peanuts. Without a union, what do we have!"

The thinking of most of the strikers and their sympathizers was probably expressed in the makeshift picket sign hung up on the fence by

the World Trade Center, which read: "Big Money says discrimination, we say, 'union busting.'"

RACISM

But despite the insistence of the strikers that the question of racism was not involved, it was apparent at the next day's rally, that there were only a handful of Black workers involved in the demonstration. One of the Black workers involved who was an "A" man felt very strongly that even though he was a union man, the union had prevented minority workers from getting their book.

Another young Black worker who was a "B" man said he was a certified welder and that is why the contractors had kept him on the job at

the World Trade Center. He said he thought he should have a union book but that he didn't know when the union was going to give him one.

Indicative of how the government uses this racial discrimination to turn Black workers against the union was his opinion that the strike was anti-Black and that the government was on his side.

The only defense of the unions must be to unite all the workers on the basis of a complete end to racial discrimination jobs for all based on the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay; apprenticeship training under union auspices and with union wages for youth; nationalization of the major construction companies under control of the workers; formation of a labor party against Nixon and the Democrats in '72.

New York Dockers Fight PDO

BY DAN FRIED

The shipping bosses and stevedoring firms have stepped up their vicious war against the nation's dockworkers, under cover of Nixon's strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunction which has sent the East Coast ILA back to work.

With an apparent "hot-line" between the offices of the New York Shipping Association and the White House, and with the full complicity of Gleason, Scotto and Co., the employers are trying to take away every single right that the longshoremen and checkers have won through bitter struggle in the last thirty years.

While the West Coast men are still out under the Taft-Hartley, the NYSA is trying to hamstring the guaranteed wage supposedly provided by the last contract, isolate and confuse the men and trample on the 1968 contract in every way possible.

This is in preparation for the attempt to eliminate the guaranteed wage in the next contract. They hope that if they have to keep the guarantee at all in New York, it will have a ceiling on it and so many "strings" attached that rather than benefit the men, it will tear the union apart in a fight for jobs.

The Gleason leadership is a partner in this crime. This is seen most clearly in the agreement they reached with the shippers, allegedly in accordance with some very "fine print" in the last contract, to institute the "previous day order" (PDO) hiring plan. Under this scheme, all dockworkers have to telephone the hiring hall each day for their assignment which can be in any type job in any part of the port of New York.

Not only is this an attempt to break down the regular gangs, but also to pit lower seniority men

against higher seniority men and vice versa, and to set men against each other in different parts of the port. If an assignment is refused or not called for, the man is "debited" two days pay on his guarantee. If he misses two days in a week, he is "double debited" for the second day in addition to the first, triple for the third, and so on.

REVOLT

To add insult to injury, those men who are not assigned on the phone must report the next day. For the checkers, this means they must come in from all five boros to the Manhattan hall on Greenwich St., only to be sent out again to all parts of the port to Bayonne, to Elizabeth, to Staten Island and Brooklyn. And the bosses say that the refusal of the union to do this in the past, was "abusing" the contract.

But a revolt has been brewing against the strikebreaking tactics of the shippers and government, coming closer to an explosion over the institution of the PDO. At a New York Portwide Checkers meeting chaired by Gleason on Monday, Dec. 6, a large number of rank and filers who got the floor denounced the PDO and demanded that the leadership reject it. Some of the men demanded that the whole port go out again, Taft-Hartley or not.

Gleason was only able to railroad through an acceptance of PDO on the basis of his motion to accept it for a 30 day trial period. But there is more and more sentiment among the

Dollar Crisis Threatens U.S. Labor

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The Nixon administration has just announced its intention to formally devalue the U.S. dollar as part of an international monetary alignment.

The announcement made immediately following Nixon's crisis meeting in the Azores with French president Pompidou is expected to be presented as the basis for some form of monetary accord to the Washington meeting of the Group of 10 scheduled to take place in Washington this weekend.

This action on the one hand completely breaking the 35 dollar an ounce relationship between the dollar and gold in effect since 1934 underlines the irrevocable character of the crisis opened up by August 15.

At the same time the stage is set by Nixon's action for a whole new wave of attack by U.S. capitalism on the American working class.

Nixon openly stated as part of his announcement of devaluation that the stability of the devalued dollar would be based on his stepped up efforts "to restore domestic wage-price stability and productivity."

PAID

In other words devaluation is to be paid for by the growth of speedup, unemployment and continued wage freezing against U.S. labor.

This is in fact the whole meaning of the compromise on devaluation worked out in the Azores between Nixon and Pompidou. Nixon has simply agreed that in addition to continuing his attacks on Europe that he will for the time being seek to push a heavier burden for the present world economic crisis onto the backs of the American working class.

The Nixon Administration has been forced to move in this direction out of the huge danger posed to U.S. capitalism by the growth of world slump, and trade war which has gathered rapid momentum under conditions of complete impasse and prostration of the capitalist governments before a crisis they cannot control.

The impasse in international monetary talks has led in past weeks to a situation of a rapid development of world slump which threatens at every moment to go over into an out and out depression and crash. Already it is projected that industrial production will fall five percent in Germany this year and all of Europe is following suit. All attempts by the capitalists to reach any agreement on the resolution of this crisis have proved completely abortive.

Preparatory talks between leading European and Japanese financial ministers and the United States carried out in the two weeks since the abortive Rome conference of the Group of 10 in preparation for this weekend Washington conference have been just as disastrous. In the last week Nixon's trade envoy William Eberle had been completely repulsed by EEC ministers in his efforts to force an agreement on trade concessions in the agricultural field while a deep split continued to prevail at the Honolulu talks with the Japanese.

The European bourgeoisie for its part has been in no position to concede to the hard line being taken by

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ranks for walking-off long before then, as each day the attacks become sharper and new means are devised by the NYSA to divide the ranks. The demand now being raised by the Workers League to join the West Coast men when they go out again after Christmas, is beginning to take hold.

At Greenwich St., in Manhattan, the feeling of the checkers was that if they keep working with guarantee under the present PDO setup that it's worse than useless. Of course, the shippers are attempting to turn the hiring practices under the guarantee into such a nightmare, that the men turn against it, clearing the way for the employers to introduce containerization on a far greater scale and wipe out 80 percent of the jobs.

One of the checkers at Greenwich, when asked if he didn't think the men need the 2080 hours GAI, replied: "Well, if it's worked right, yes, but not the way it is now. You got to come to one center. I come from Jersey, North Bergen. You've got to take a bus all the way down to Hoboken, to the tubes. Then you take the tubes at Hoboken to here. Then they say to you, go to Port Newark, so I've got to take the tubes again to Jersey City, change to another train for Newark, then take the bus to the Port. And then, I might have to walk two miles. I'm talking about guys without a car. And I'm talking about guys that have been in the industry 25 years, or say 18 years and don't have the age for retirement or say they have the age, a guy who's 62 but doesn't have the 25 years."

Another man told us: "I think this is the worst thing to hit the waterfront. They are going back thirty years. It's unconstitutional. It's like Hitler."

These men, like longshoremen in Brooklyn and New Jersey are beginning to take up the question of a fight for new leadership in the ILA. As one of them put it, "We need a new leadership, to throw these guys out."

This is the fight that is being taken

forward by the Workers League in the building of the Committee for a Decent Contract. The events on the docks are forcing the men to confront political questions. The attacks of Nixon and the shipowners on every right and condition of the longshoremen lays the basis for a Marxist political understanding that it is the capitalist system of private ownership which places profits above all else and destroys the workers jobs and conditions.

It is on this basis that we say that a fight for the dockworkers' rights must be a fight all the way against Nixon and the bosses he acts for. This means that we operate the ports and all of basic industry in the interests of all the people by the workers taking them over, by nationalization.

A fight that goes all the way means that if Nixon follows up Taft-Hartley with any kind of "emergency legislation," new injunctions or the use of troops, then the dockworkers on all coasts have to fight for a general strike of all workers.

The fight for the dockers' rights means, above all, the fight for the construction of a labor party representing all workers, youth and unemployed, against Nixon in '72. It is with this understanding that a new leadership in the ILA can fight for a decent contract.

Teachers Fight Mayor Daley's Union Busting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

Chicago—The Board of Education had managed to avoid closing the public schools here for 12 extra days in December, their proposed solution to the severe financial crisis.

rehnquist

only that funds would be transferred from the 1972 budget, and schools would close earlier in June. But new budget proposals since have made it clear that the Board plans to solve its crisis by tearing up the contracts of Chicago teachers. The proposed budget cuts for 1972 affects more than city teachers—they are, in fact, aimed at a large portion of the working class in this city. The angry response of rank and file teachers, students, parents and other workers employed by the school board postponed the closing.

First to respond to the announcement was the PTA, which organized the first demonstration in the history of the organization, drawing about 1500 mothers. A later march and rally called by the Chicago Teachers Union attracted over 6000 teachers, school nurses, parents and students. This rally led directly to an emergency meeting of the leadership of all unions affected by the crisis.

This leadership conference served only to divert the militancy of the workers into pressure campaigns and a series of meetings with Governor Ogilvie and Mayor Daley to pressure them into finding new sources of revenue. Their answer was to postpone the closings...and present a revised 1972 budget that finds extra revenue in vicious budget cuts.

CUTBACKS

Changes in the budget include almost \$100 million in cutbacks, completely voiding the current contract with teachers and in fact all gains won by the union since collective bargaining began in 1966. The measures include elimination of teacher-nurses and eye and hearing tests, the only such medical aid available to many city children.

Increased class size due to teaching staff cutbacks, and the reduction of special programs such as athletics, music and art promise to make the Chicago schools even less tolerable. The complete elimination of night schools, adult

English classes condemn thousands of Chicagoans to a jobless future, at the same time that welfare cuts are in the offing. And thousands of skilled and unskilled workers face job and pay cuts and increased workloads; teachers and aides, nurses, janitors, engineers, window washers, cafeteria help and more. School building programs and badly needed repairs have been abandoned.

It is precisely the scope of the attacks planned that make the impotence of the union leadership all the more serious. By refusing to see this crisis in the context of the nationwide drive to break the union movement and drive down the living standards of all workers, the leadership can offer nothing in the way of a program for fighting back.

The first test of the contract is already underway, with the announcement that teachers will not receive pay for Christmas Eve, a contracted holiday, and that substitute teachers will receive no holiday pay. CTU president John Desmond's only response was to set up meetings with the Board to discuss these grievances.

ATTACK

He correctly states that many teachers see the attack as a deliberate move by people "who are trying to break up this union." But the most militant threat he is able to muster was that "every student and teacher in this city will look at the Board as losing its credibility" if the contracts are broken.

Meanwhile Black Nationalist Jesse Jackson has demanded that teachers work through the 12 days without pay. His policies are completely reactionary and anti-working class as he seeks to aid Daley and the bosses he represents in making the workers pay for the crisis.

The fight of the Chicago teachers must be carried through. The strike vote authorized by a unanimous vote of the union house of representatives must be held. Not one clause of the contract can be given up, not one penny of the pay raise given back. This means a fight against not just the Chicago Board of Education but Nixon's Pay Board, and the labor misleaders who sit on it. This can only be accomplished through a mobilization of Chicago's labor movement to concretize the call by the conference of the Illinois AFL-CIO for a general strike and the fight for a labor party.

New York Strikers Shut Jersey Bell

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—In an attempt to step up the pressure on the Bell Telephone System, Local 1101 of the striking New York telephone workers has begun setting up picket lines at New Jersey telephone offices.

Supervisory personnel have been sent to New York continually from Jersey, Michigan, California and nearly every other state to scab on the New York strikers who have been out for six months in defiance of a rotten national agreement signed by CWA President Joseph Beirne.

The aim of the picket lines has been to try to discourage New Jersey Bell from continuing this practice. Although the CWA International leadership denies it, spokesmen for Local 1101 have asserted that CWA workers as well as management people have also been sent in to cross picket lines. At a Local 1101 meeting two weeks ago, Beirne was denounced and called every name in

the book by the rank and file for going back on his pledge that if any one bargaining unit rejected the contract, the entire CWA would stay out until all locals had settled.

The New Jersey demonstrations have been organized by the Strike Committee of 1101. According to a spokesman for the Committee, the demonstrations on Monday at two offices in Jersey City and last Friday's demonstrations in Newark were far more successful than anticipated. In Jersey City, both the Madison St. and the Summit Ave. offices were shut down.

At Summit Ave. ninety percent of the operators who are themselves in the CWA and one hundred percent of the plant workers who are in the IBEW, respected the picket lines. Unfortunately, the 1101 leadership has not seen these actions as a real campaign, but more as a sort of "guerrilla war." Accordingly, the next demonstrations are scheduled for later in the week, allowing the momentum built up in Newark and Jersey City to be dissipated.

The Strike Committee spokesman said that even with scabs continuing to come into New York from other



Chicago parents and teachers rally against budget cuts in schools

Liberals Offer Bloc With A. Imperiale

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK -- Racist demagogue Anthony Imperiale, who was recently elected to the New Jersey State Assembly as an independent, is once again maneuvering for positions by which he could deepen his attacks on the working class.

On Thursday, December 9th, Imperiale spoke at a meeting of the Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce along with Essex County Assemblyman George Richardson, a Black Democrat known for his many promises of reform.

Richardson made an open plea to Imperiale as well as Black nationalist LeRoi Jones to join both Black and white moderate politicians in rejuvenating the "Committee of Concern," an organization which was founded after the 1967 rebellion of Black workers in Newark in order to cover over the class nature of their struggle.

But Imperiale made it clear that he was not interested in revitalizing an obviously dead organization. What he wants is "a new group that starts fresh with no enemies and has the backing of the business community." He is not interested in groups of bleeding-heart liberals crying over the poor, but he wants an organization which can hit out decisively at the working class.

In his truest demagogic fashion, Imperiale accused the bureaucracy of the City Administration and the State of being the source of Newark's enormous economic ills.

DIVERSION

It is becoming very clear that Black liberals such as Richardson and Mayor Gibson of Newark can put forward no alternative to Imperiale. Their Committee of Concern is only

a diversion from that struggle and Imperiale is the only one reaping any benefits from this, since it allows him to use it as a base for his attacks on Black workers.

These developments come at a time when Newark's financial crisis is coming down very hard on the working class. Last week, Gibson held a "briefing" for two days with members of the City government for the sole purpose of explaining to them how to cut their budgets. He is trying to obliterate the projected 1972-73 municipal budget deficit of \$22 million.

Imperiale's recent machinations represent an attempt on the part of the capitalists to maneuver into better combat positions to oppose the working class, while at the same time trying to soften the blows of their recent attacks with sweet voices of class reconciliation. Richardson in appealing to Imperiale is setting the stage for a deal between Imperiale and the Democratic Party.

George J. Haney, president of the Ironbound Manufacturers Association earlier this week called for a "moratorium on hate in the City of Newark." He particularly aimed at the denunciations of Prudential and Mutual Benefit, two of the most prosperous and powerful capitalist concerns in the city, and praises these profit-hungry firms for the reason that "they actively support countless social projects in the city."

But Haney, Richardson and Imperiale call for this "moratorium on hate" and "Black-white" unity just at the time when 200 Newark teachers are being thrown into jail for their recent strikes and the longshoremen on the docks are pressing their leadership for action against the shipowners contract violations. The hate they are so afraid of is the class hatred of workers and youth who are beginning to see the need to struggle politically against the ruling class.

The Black-white unity these politicians are talking about is the unity of the capitalist class against the workers and youth.

Workers and youth must demand that the trade union movement organize a labor party now to prepare for the 1972 elections. This is the only way to defeat the Imperiales and Joneses.

Rehnquist Court Seat Encourages Rightists

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Senate confirmation of William Rehnquist, Assistant Attorney General to John Mitchell, to the Supreme Court opens up the greatest dangers for the working class and youth.

The vote to place this rabid racist and labor hater on the Court was an overwhelming 68 to 26 with the Democrats providing the essential votes.

Rehnquist is the man who opposed every piece of civil rights and integration legislation, who opposes the right to free speech and a free trial and who was instrumental in the mass jailings during the May Day demonstrations in Washington. He is the man who gave full support to the no-knock law in Washington, D.C. which allows police to enter and search any home they want.

His confirmation, following the confirmation two weeks ago of Lewis Powell, Jr., another right wing racist from the South, will open the way to turn all the courts in the country into direct and open weapons of Nixon and the capitalist class. "Justice" will now be dealt out with a greater vengeance than ever in the interests of the bosses and in defense of their profits. The courts will now legalize massive repression against militants and the trade unions who fight back against Nixon's attacks and will play a critical role in Nixon's attempt to impose a dictatorship over the working class.

To stop and destroy the struggles of workers and youth against wage attacks, poverty and unemployment Nixon must take away all democratic rights and carry out the program of the rightists.

This is the meaning of the statement by Nixon's press secretary Ronald Zeigler that Nixon is "actively reviewing" the construction of the low-income project in Forest Hills, Queens.

It was Senator James Buckley, the right wing leader of the Conservative Party, who went to Nixon and urged him to intervene in the Forest Hills dispute in favor of the middle class residents who oppose the project.

The government now openly encourages the rightists who seek to whip up the middle class against the workers and minorities. Nixon has given the racist campaign in Forest Hills his blessings.

The greatest danger for the working class is the role of the Democratic Party which aids Nixon in these attacks. This party, which poses as the "friend of labor" made it possible for Rehnquist to win the nomination.

The working class must demand and fight in the trade unions for a political break of the labor movement with this party and for the construction of their own party, a laborparty.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Unionists Demand Fight On Phase 2

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS Unions here are called a public meeting on December 7th to discuss the policing of the price freeze under Phase II.

The meeting was called by the St. Louis Labor Council AFL-CIO, Teamsters Local 688 and the District Committee of the United Auto Workers union. The union bureaucrats sought to divert the working class outrage with Nixon's economic policies from the question of the wage freeze, but as the meeting clearly showed, they were sitting on top of a powder keg, which is about to explode at any moment.

Large numbers of trade unionists and youth were in attendance. The meeting was addressed by the President of the St. Louis Labor Council, the Director of the UAW Community Action Council and Mike Ryan, the Director of Community and Political Action from the Teamsters union.

All these labor leaders stressed the one-sidedness of both Phase I and II of the wage-price freeze and pointed out how it was used to maintain profits at the expense of the working class. Nixon's deliberate attempt to create massive unemployment, while driving down the wages of U.S. workers was also attacked.

The nature and bias of the Pay Board was brought out as well as the fact that prices continue to rise, despite the freeze and current controls. Mike Ryan described Nixon's economic policies as "socialism for the rich."

But the events following showed that these attacks on Nixon were made rhetoric on the part of the bureaucrats. In order to channel the dissatisfaction of the workers into cooperation with the government, they proposed to take up the fight against Phase II by reporting suspected illegal price hikes to the Internal Revenue Service.

Numerous examples of goods from St. Louis stores were displayed with the intention of canvassing the support of trade unionists in this campaign for "consumer power." The bureaucrats even went so far as to invite officials from the IRS to

"explain" the current guidelines. This, in spite of the fact that each union leader had admitted that the IRS would be unable to police the freeze due to Nixon's conscious policies.

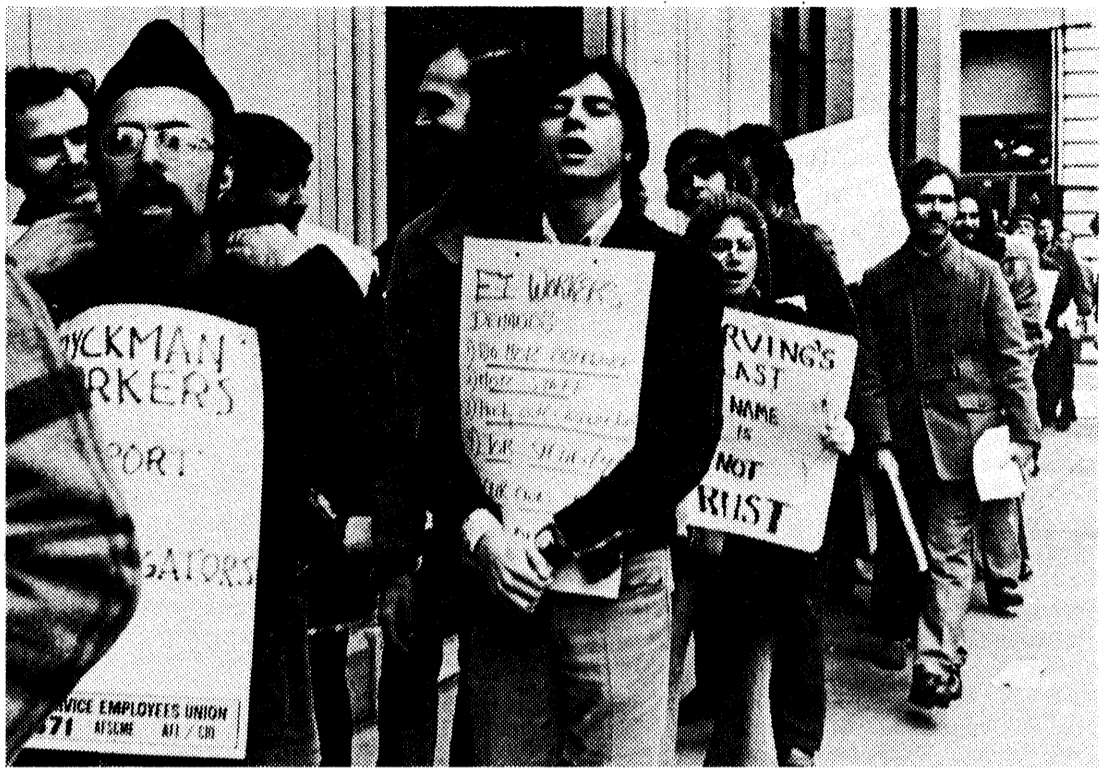
After the meeting had been turned over to the spokesmen for the IRS, the crowd became very restless and angry. Repeated heckling and interruptions came from all sections of the audience, young and old. At question time a number of trade unionists and youth jumped to their feet to denounce the wage freeze and express their willingness to fight against Nixon politically, not to cooperate with the IRS.

A speaker from the Workers League received a loud applause when he pointed out that the central fight for working people was not the policing of the price freeze, but was the wage question. In view of the Meatcutters' call for a one-day general strike against the wage freeze, he called for unions to force their leaders off the Pay Board and take forward the fight for a general strike against the wage freeze.

In answer to this call, the AFL-CIO leaders stated that the unions could not just walk away from a fight (meaning the price freeze) and that strike action could only be discussed by the various unions. The representative from the UAW came under attack from Nat Mosley, President of the UAW Black Caucus and fellow workers who have been fired from the GM plant in the city for leading a wildcat strike here last March. Mosley demanded that the UAW take up the fight for the reinstatement of these workers with full back pay.

It became obvious to the union leaders during the second half of the meeting that they were on the verge of losing control, sentiment against the wage freeze and their proposed "fight" was so strong. They closed the meeting as abruptly as possible, although numerous people still wished to speak.

It is crucial at this time to take forward the fight for a labor party that can answer these attacks on the working class and youth.



Eligibility Investigators of SSEU-371 demonstrating recently for their contract

SSEU-371 Right Wing Exploits Anger Against Hill Leadership

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK The right wing of the SOCIAL Service Employees Union bureaucracy made its first public debut at the last SSEU-371 membership meeting.

Demagogically attempting to use the dissatisfaction of the membership with the Hill leadership and the degeneration of working conditions, the right wing, led by Bart Cohen, a vice president of the union, put forward various constitutional amendments supposedly aimed at improving the lot of the workers in the centers.

Ever since the first plans for reorganization were laid down under the former Morgenstern bureaucracy, Cohen, Sirlin and Phefferman were major spokesmen for the plan. Now, when the membership is feeling the brunt of reorganization and the breakdown of

all the major gains they had made since the 1965 contract, these same supporters of the reorganization scheme come forward demagogically riding on the dissatisfaction of the membership and create a completely phoney, opportunistic campaign against Hill.

Since they are politically as bankrupt as Hill, however, they have absolutely no perspective for a fight to maintain the jobs and working conditions of the membership. The constitutional issue was a complete smokescreen for the major issues facing staff. They claimed that the problems facing staff and the impotence of the union leadership against these attacks resulted solely from a

lack of democracy in the union because of faults in the constitution.

They cannot explain, however, why, under the same constitution, staff was able to win a good contract in 1965, and a rotten one in 1971. Obviously, the structure of the constitution has absolutely nothing to do with it. The problem lay in the total acquiescence of the union leadership to reorganization and productivity deals with the City.

It was only the Committee for a New Leadership which consistently fought reorganization, and was able to warn of what would result from it, because it had that political understanding. The CNL saw reorganization not just within the narrow framework of the SSEU, but with an understanding of what the ruling class now had to do in the labor movement as a whole in order to preserve its decaying system.

It is precisely these questions which are now coming home in the SSEU in the form of overwork, attempts to get flexibility of staff, and job insecurity, which are at the root of the problem. The constitution has nothing to do with this. The only purpose in raising it now was to lay the basis for a completely unprincipled bloc of forces behind people equally as responsible as Hill for the attacks on the membership under reorganization.

The one thing that both the right wing and Hill were agreed on in the meeting was that the question of reorganization and conditions in the centers had to be stifled since neither of them have any perspective for a fight on this.

When the CNL put a motion on the floor to have reorganization and the Pay Board put on the agenda as the first and second points, they could not outrightly oppose them, but saw to it that they were placed last on the agenda. This reporter then saw Phefferman go around to all his forces at the meeting telling them to call for adjournment immediately after discussion on the constitutional questions.

The Committee for a New Leadership is preparing a campaign now to expose both the Hill leadership and the phoney opposition in preparation for the elections next April. The right wing, pro-Gotbaum opposition to Hill can play a very dangerous role by utilizing the legitimate anger of the membership with Hill, to get those who would be even worse than Hill into office.

That is why a serious campaign must be begun now to bring the real issues to the fore and prepare the membership for an all out fight in April under a new leadership, the CNL, which is committed to beating back the attempts of the City to destroy the union.

EXCLUSIVE TALK WITH ATTICA LEADER

The following is an exclusive interview with John Andrini who was recently released on parole from Attica State Penitentiary. He spent 21 months in the maximum security prison for attempted homicide. While in Attica, John joined the Young Lords Party, becoming the Minister of Education in Attica.

John was involved directly in the events at the Attica prison during Sept. 9th-13th. He was elected by the prisoners to the Prisoners Negotiating Committee as the Spanish-speaking representative...

Bulletin: What do you think were the immediate causes of the Attica rebellion?

John: I would say that the cause was one thing among many things, that the men were fed up with the everyday beatings and the petty harassments. It just came to a point where the men just couldn't take it any more. They just rebelled.

Bulletin: Many of the demands of the Attica prisoners were of a very political nature. Had there been much discussion among the men at the prison? Have there been any newspapers or books circulated among them?

John: Well, there are a lot of inmates who are active politically in Attica. I conducted a survey at Attica by myself to find out why people wind up in a place like Attica. I wrote out what they said, and I would say that 10 percent of the inmate population are diehards and incorrigibles, people doing life. They don't care one way or the other. They have no expectation of seeing the street again. These are the people that started the riot. I would say that the politically active inmates had a little foresight, took this riot over and took the hostages away from this

10 percent of the people and formed it into an organized rebellion.

They decided since the damage was done, that we were going to suffer the consequences anyway, let's put it to some good use, let's right some of the wrong things that are being perpetrated on us at Attica.

Bulletin: You became political after you got into prison, is that it?

John: Yes.
Bulletin: What was the reaction of yourself and some of the other inmates to the murder of George Jackson? John: In prison you have a way of finding out things through what they call sort of a grapevine. You can find out things that go on in other prisons, and the things that do go on outside that they try to hold back from us.

Naturally we follow everything that goes on as far as political movements and we follow the Angela Davis case and naturally we followed George Jackson, and we were convinced that George Jackson was set up and murdered. There was no such thing as an escape.

At San Quentin there is no such thing as being able to bring a weapon in because of the security measures that they have there.

We are convinced that he was murdered, anything they say like he tried to escape is an outright lie. The day they buried him the whole prison population fasted, and I mean all the prisoners. Blacks, whites, Indians, Puerto Ricans. They were fasting and the administration was very worried about this.

In fact we were wearing black armbands that morning when we got up and they made us take the armbands off. They actually didn't know we were fasting on account of George Jackson, but they were frightened to see how well we could get together, unite together. They were worried and they tightened the security that day. They thought we were just trying to see how well we could unite.

Bulletin: One of the things that the capitalist press said and the politicians have been trying to use and distort was this unity of the prisoners' rebellion at Attica. They are horrified by the prospect of there being class unity in Attica that was recognized. Can you describe how this came about?

John: In the past, one of the tactics the administration used to keep us in order was to keep us at each other's throats. They used to play favoritism with certain groups and oppress other groups. They used to create an atmosphere of competition between nationalities.

They create an atmosphere so the prisoners will be against each other. And we the people who were politically active, people like the Young Lords, the Black Panthers, Weathermen, Muslims, People's Party, and so forth, we got together a coalition and we decided that there

was too much fighting amongst ourselves, and too many killings going on up there.

Bulletin: How long before the rebellion was this coalition formed?

John: This was about three months prior to the rebellion. It was the first meeting of this type. It shook the administration in Attica when they saw Blacks and Puerto Ricans and whites at a table together. They didn't know what to do. Right away they sent a security guard down to break it up. I guess this is why they say that the rebellions were planned. We were able to accomplish what we wanted to stop all the killing, and fighting amongst ourselves. We were all in the same boat. We set down some rules with the agreement of all parties and we set down some penalties for people who break them, and three months prior to that rebellion we were living in harmony.

Bulletin: Can you describe briefly what happened during the rebellion?

John: The rebellion started Thursday the 11th. The thing happened in a different block from mine. The night before in A yard there was a fight or something. This is an everyday occurrence. That night 15 to 20 guards went to a cell and pulled a man out, stripped him. The other inmates in the gallery told the officers they were going to beat that man up and that the prison would be theirs the following day. This is what I heard. The following day I was sitting in D yard. Inmates started running from all other yards, they grabbed two officers in D yard. I think they broke one of his arms, and they were running around setting fires. Most of the guys were

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Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Workers Unity Can Stop Union Busting!

The walkout last week of thousands of New York Steamfitters who shut down construction on the World Trade Center, and who were supported by many other construction workers, was immediately attacked by a Nixon court injunction.

There is no doubt that both the earlier "civil rights suit" and this anti-strike injunction issued by the very same judge that issued the recent Taft-Hartley injunction against the I.L.A. are part and parcel of Nixon's union busting attack. This attack reached a new stage with the August 15 wage freeze and the threatened devaluation of the dollar.

There is absolutely no doubt that the contractors, the courts and the Nixon Administration behind their shedding of crocodile tears over the rights of minority workers, are digging the knife into the union movement.

There can be absolutely no doubt about where Nixon stands on the rights of Black workers. He condones the racist attacks on the low income housing project in Queens while he openly encourages Wallace's defiance of integration in the South.

A precedent is being set in this situation to allow the employers to dismantle the whole seniority system, to hire whoever they please, regardless of union status. The employers and government are concerned with one thing and one thing only -- profits.

Contrary to their claims, they have a vested interest in and are responsible for racism and institutionalized discrimination. They are using the racism and discrimination which the leadership of the construction unions have allowed, as an excuse for union busting just as in the Newark teachers strike, the Gibson Administration and School Board were able to use Black nationalism and Imperiale's racism to divide Newark's working class and break the strike.

It is ironic that the very union busters that were so popular among New York construction workers until recently, people like Senator James Buckley and George Wallace are among the leading advocates of the "national right to work" law pending in Congress.

The government attorney behind the injunction, Joel B. Harris, also speaks the language of the anti-union "right to work" laws when he says that strikers were trying to "prevent said minority workmen from exercising their right to continue to work."

The overriding character of the strike was in defense of unions, in opposition to the government. But it would be a disastrous mistake to think, as many of these workers still do that they can defend their unions against union busting, maintain their jobs and conditions, while racism and discrimination hits at the jobs and daily conditions of the Black and Spanish speaking workers.

There cannot be a single solitary concession made to racism. It must be fought head on. Any worker that bows to racism is opening the door to Nixon, the employers and the destruction of the unions. Racism is a vicious tool of the bosses and the government to divide the working class, bust the unions and drive back the living standards of all workers.

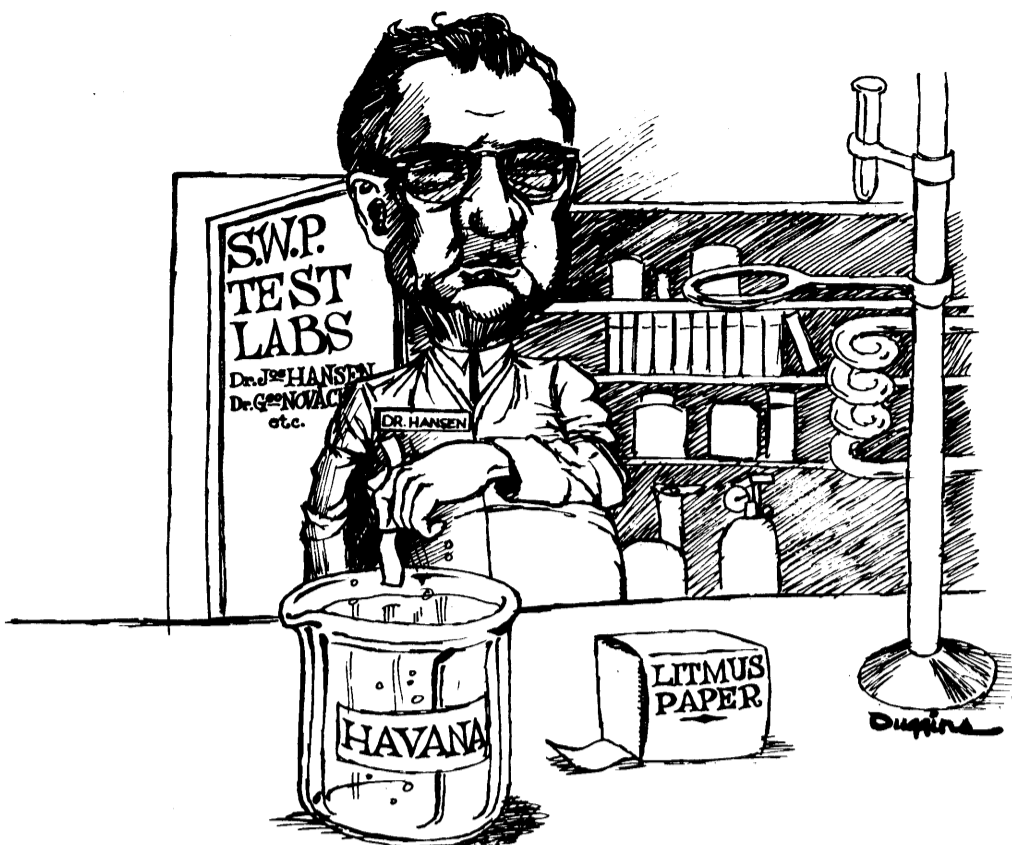
The role of the right wing construction leaders in keeping Black workers out of the industry and erecting barriers to Black workers getting union books encourages the government's attacks, allows the Black nationalists to get support for "preferential hiring" while the white racists step up the formation of a movement whose goal is the complete destruction of all unions.

This is why we say that the real battle against union busting, against the fascists, and the Wallcrite racists as well as against the anti-union Black nationalists must have a program to unite the workers. This program must begin with a fight for jobs for ALL, based on the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and the nationalization of the big construction firms who say they cannot maintain full employment.

The program must pit ALL the workers and the youth who face a future of unemployment against Nixon and the Democrats, beginning with a fight for a labor party in '72. THIS IS THE REAL fight, not the fight encouraged by the employers among the Black and white workers for a limited and shrinking number of jobs.

Only a new leadership which begins from the perspective of a fight for the interests of all working people against the bosses, class against class, can end racial discrimination in the building trades.

The young workers Black and white have a critical role to play in this struggle. The conference of revolutionary youth called by the Workers League this weekend will be a big step forward towards the construction of a movement to unite the working class and youth in a struggle against the government.



What we think

SWP And Popular Front Politics

The reaction of the Socialist Workers Party to the entry of the Uruguayan PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores) into the "Broad Front" popular-front formation in the recent elections in that country are a decisive indication of the utter abandonment by the leaders of the SWP and the United Secretariat of the principles, program, and history of the Fourth International.

Writing in the December 17 issue of the Militant, Joseph Hansen notes that "In its political purpose and main structure (its subordination to a bourgeois leadership), the Broad Front constituted a Latin American variant of the popular-front long utilized by the Stalinists and Social Democrats in wheeling and dealing with bourgeois parties in the electoral arena... Like the popular fronts seen elsewhere in the world, it was designed to divert the masses from the road of revolutionary struggle."

Hansen writes these words in trying to explain how the PRT, "a Trotskyist grouping that has proclaimed its adherence to the Fourth International but that has not yet been accepted as a section," came not only to base its entire strategy on an attempt to transform this popular front from within, but actually ran its slate of candidates in the elections headed by the avowed bourgeois representatives Seregni, Crotogini, and Villar.

"In my opinion," states Hansen, "this was an error." "It would have been better to try to make a scandal over the undemocratic ruling and to avoid issuing a ballot that included the name of a figure whose program was in complete opposition to that of the PRT."

No, the action of the Uruguayan Pabloites was more than an "error." Their participation in the Broad Front cannot be approached on the basis that another course might have been "better" or "worse," as Hansen would have it. No, there is a question of principle involved here.

"The Fourth International, already today, is deservedly hated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists. There is not and cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie..."

So wrote Trotsky in the conclusion to the political program of the Trotskyist movement, the Transitional Program. It is clear that Trotsky here regards the question of the Popular Front, all Popular Fronts, as a question of principle. The

participation of "revolutionaries" in these formations means that they have tied themselves to the Stalinists and reformists, who in turn have tied themselves to the bourgeoisie. For revolutionaries, as Trotsky said, participation in the popular front takes on the aspect, not of an error, but of a crime.

Hansen's position represents an even further negation of Trotskyism than the 1964 betrayal by the Ceylonese section of the United Secretariat, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, which entered into the United Left Front government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. At that time the United Secretariat, which had covered for the LSSP leadership right up to the time of the betrayal, drew back from outright complicity in its betrayal and expelled the LSSP leaders from the United Secretariat.

In the seven years since then, however the SWP leaders have continued to follow out the logic of the Pabloism they went over to at the time of the break with the International Committee in 1961-63. Now the Militant can print an entire article on Castro's visit to Allende without making any criticism of Castro's role in propping up Allende's Popular Unity government, without even taking a position on the nature and role of Allende and his popular front.

This is why Hansen and the SWP can print not even a single word in criticism of the action of Moscoso, a member of the United Secretariat, in joining a popular front that includes every Stalinist, revisionist, Castroite and nationalist betrayer of the working class, even to General Torres himself. This is why the SWP leadership must hide the fact that the leader of the United

Secretariat, Ernest Mandel, himself called for a popular front of social democratic and Christian Democratic deputies as the main demand for the General Strike of the Belgian workers in 1960-61.

What Hansen has in mind, however, is not merely the preservation of peaceful coexistence on the basis of the complete abandonment of Marxism with the other members of the United Secretariat. No, he is preparing for other eventualities he has in mind for the SWP in the United States itself.

The real reason for Hansen's torturous argumentation, his cowardly evasions on these questions of revolutionary principle is that he is in fact preparing the way for participation in a popular front by the SWP itself. All Hansen's maneuvers are in fact directed toward this end, towards the consummation of the Pabloite method in the United States itself.

There are two methods, two schools, two class lines. There is the United Secretariat of the heirs and continuators of the Pablo clique, of popular frontism and the abandonment and liquidation of the revolutionary movement. And there is the International Committee of the Fourth International, the heirs and continuators of Trotskyism, of the whole struggle of the Marxist movement since 1848. In it, in opposition to the whole method of Pabloism, "there is not and there cannot be any place for it in any of the People's Fronts."

The question of the Popular Front is a question of principle and it is this test that Hansen like the PRT has failed. It is this test that the whole course of the International Committee has shown it is prepared to meet.



Bala Tampoe, leader of Ceylon LSSP



Salvador Allende, president of Chile

THE 1953 SPLIT represents the fundamental turning point in the history of Trotskyism. It was the most important development since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. It was only because of the 1953 split that Trotskyism is carried forward today into a new period of class struggle when Trotsky's dream of the construction of mass revolutionary movements can be realized.

Every effort is being made, particularly by the modern day Pabloites who lead the Socialist Workers Party, to minimize the importance of this break, to throw mud on the very principled break with revisionism they themselves led almost two decades ago. In this effort, they are joined by all the rat groups like Spartacist, Fender, Marcus, Turner, Treiger, IS, VO, etc. However, the 1953 split was a principled one and therefore its meaning cannot be hidden from the new generation of revolutionaries.

In this respect it is important to remember what the Fourth International declared in relation to the British movement at the 1938 Founding Congress:

"It is possible to maintain and develop a revolutionary political grouping of serious importance only on the basis of great principles. The Fourth International alone embodies and represents these principles. It is possible for a national group to maintain a constant

Pablo went directly over into the liquidation of the movement. This was a direct consequence of Pablo's efforts to force the French party to liquidate itself within the French Stalinist movement. The French majority, headed by Lambert and Bleibtreau, resisted this, and some of the more extreme aspects of Pablo's theories. But they were unable to break politically with Pabloism. For instance, they stood on the basis of Germain's (Mandel) "Theses," a compromise document which supported the position that Stalinist parties can, under pressure of the masses, become non-Stalinist and carry out revolutionary tasks.

At the time of the expulsion of the French majority, the British and American leaderships supported Pablo and refused to come to the aid of the French. But soon they faced Pablo's efforts to disrupt and destroy their own parties. Cannon later describes the effect of Pablo's efforts in that period:

"The cadres of the 'old Trotskyists' represent the accumulated capital of the long struggle. They are the carriers of the doctrine; the sole human instruments now available to bring our doctrine—the element of socialist consciousness—into the mass movement. The Pablo camarilla set out deliberately to disrupt these cadres, one by one in one country after another. And we set out, no less deliberately—after too long a delay—to defend the cadres against this perfidious attack....

"The French Majority have stood up for two years against unimaginable bureaucratic injustices, manipulations and intrigues, and have shown their revolutionary calibre in the test of the French General Strike. But if they had been allowed to remain in isolation

favoured getting into the "mass movement"—but should not be applied in the United States.

It was only when it became clear that Pablo would not back down from his support of the SWP minority, that the SWP moved towards a break with Pablo. Forced into a break the SWP reached back into its past and brought forward against Pablo what it had learned from its common struggle with Leon Trotsky against Stalinism. It mustered all its history, all its understanding, all its strength and issued an "Open Letter" calling upon the forces of world Trotskyism to break with Pablo.

This break was fundamental even though its completion would require going beyond a mere return to "Old Trotskyism." It was based on a principled programmatic stand. It opened up a new possibility for the development of world Trotskyism and therefore of the SWP itself. The letter began with the following statement of principles:

"To show precisely what is involved, let us restate the fundamental principles on which the world Trotskyist movement is built:

"(1) The death agony of the capitalist system threatens the destruction of civilization through worsening depressions, world wars and barbaric manifestations like fascism. The development of atomic weapons today underlines the danger in the gravest possible way.

"(2) The descent into the abyss can be avoided only by replacing capitalist with the planned economy of socialism on a world scale and thus resuming the spiral of progress opened up by capitalism in its early days.



3 The International Committee of the Fourth International

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



by
Lucy St. John
& Tim Wohlforth

revolutionary course only if it is firmly connected in one organization with co-thinkers throughout the world and maintains a constant political and theoretical collaboration with them. The Fourth International alone is such an organization. All purely national groupings, all those who reject international organization, control, and discipline, are in their essence reactionary." (1)

The liquidationist theoretical position of Pablo combined with his liquidationist entry policy, implemented by super-centralist and undemocratic methods, led to the destruction of whole sections of the Trotskyist movement in the period from 1951-54. It can be said that Pabloism did more to disperse and destroy the Trotskyist movement than the combined suppression of Stalin-Hitler-Churchill-Roosevelt during World War II. The Trotskyist movement survived the war and entered a healthy period of struggle and growth. The Trotskyist movement almost didn't survive the 1951-54 period.

Of course, the objective situation of boom in the advanced countries bore down heavily on the movement creating difficult objective conditions which exaggerated every weakness. But we cannot attribute the havoc wrought within world Trotskyism to these difficulties alone. Above all the heart of the matter was the theoretical disorientation which Pablo led. On this basis Pablo then proceeded to organize factions in all the parties to carry out this liquidation.

This course led to a collision with all the strength of Trotskyism, developed through Trotsky's early struggles against Stalinism and revisionism. But this collision could not be a totally conscious one. It was fundamental nonetheless.

The collision did not begin in a clear political way and the original lineup of forces was soon to shift. It was only when Pablo began enforcing the conclusions of his liquidationist theories upon all sections of the movement that the rebellion really took place. When it did the rebelling forces stood on the old grounds of what they had learned from Trotsky. As long as the struggle remained on the level of the reassertion of orthodoxy it could not go forward to a fundamental theoretical break with Pabloism. But without this reassertion Trotskyism would have come to an end. It was, in fact, the only way the struggle could take place considering the refusal of the SWP up to that point to take up theoretical leadership of the Fourth International.

It was the expulsion of the French majority which marked the turning point where the revisionism of

much longer, to fight alone without international connections or support, they could hardly have failed to suffer discouragement and demoralization....

"The cadres of British Trotskyism, so painfully assembled in long years of experience, under the terrible handicap of inadequate and unworthy leadership for so long a time, were marked for attack in the summer of 1953. We saw this incredible operation develop step by step, like a series of irrational actions in a nightmare world. But it was all too real. The British section of the Fourth International would be a shambles today if the leading cadres had been abandoned, and left without international support against the treacherous deliberate campaign to disrupt them." (2)

There were of course many other examples. For instance Pablo encouraged a split of one-third of the Ceylonese party in a Stalinist direction. This group then broke up with some entering the Stalinist party and others becoming leading figures in Bandaranaike's bourgeois SLFP. In Latin America Pablo intervened seeking to liquidate the Trotskyist cadres into the bourgeois nationalist MNR in Bolivia, APRA in Peru, and Peronista movement in Argentina. It was under these conditions that Lora split from Pablo, finding himself in the process reduced to a very small force. Similar developments occurred in Canada and many other parts of the world.

THE ROLE OF THE SWP

Critical in this process was the role of the SWP. We have noted that the SWP shares a major share of responsibility for the crisis of world Trotskyism because it refused to assume world leadership in 1946 and backed Pablo right up to 1953 when Pablo supported an opposition faction inside the SWP. It was only because of this backing that Pablo was able to gain the authority he had so that he could carry out the liquidationist theories and wrecking policies he did carry out.

In 1952 an oppositional tendency led by George Clarke and Bert Cochran, was formed. Clarke was a supporter of Pablo's pro-Stalinist liquidationist schemes while Cochran simply wanted out of the party with a group of trade unionists who had made their peace with the labor bureaucracy and capitalism in general. The party leadership around Dobbs only reluctantly entered into the fight against these liquidators. Even then they fought on the grounds of "American exceptionalism." They maintained that Pablo's schemes were correct for Europe—after all the SWP had always

"(3) This can be accomplished only under the leadership of the working class in society. But the working class itself faces a crisis in leadership although the world relationship of social forces was never so favorable as today for the workers to take the road to power.

"(4) To organize itself for carrying out this world-historic aim, the working class in each country must construct a revolutionary socialist party in the pattern developed by Lenin; that is, a combat party capable of dialectically combining democracy and centralism—democracy in arriving at decisions, centralism in carrying them out; a leadership controlled by the ranks, ranks able to carry forward under fire in disciplined fashion.

"(5) The main obstacle to this is Stalinism, which attracts workers through exploiting the prestige of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, only later, as it betrays their confidence, to hurl them either into the arms of the Social Democracy, into apathy, or back into illusions in capitalism. The penalty for these



Ernest Mandel who supported Pablo in his unprincipled split from the Fourth International.

betrayals is paid by the working people in the form of consolidation of fascist or monarchist forces, and new outbreaks of war fostered and prepared by capitalism. From its inception, the Fourth International set as one of its major tasks the revolutionary overthrow of Stalinism inside and outside the USSR.

"(6) The need for flexible tactics facing many sections of the Fourth International, and parties or groups sympathetic to its programme, makes it all the more imperative that they know how to fight imperialism and all its petty-bourgeois agencies (such as nationalist formations or trade union bureaucracies) without capitulation to Stalinism; and, conversely, know how to fight Stalinism (which in the final analysis is a petty-bourgeois agency of imperialism) without capitulating to imperialism." (3)

It then proceeded to show how Pabloism represented a break with all these principles. It concluded:

"To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally." (4)

Since this time every scoundrel that calls himself a Trotskyist but runs away from the responsibilities of constructing the Fourth International has tried to minimize the importance of this split. For example, David Fender writes:

"The 'Open Letter' was, in effect, an open declaration of split by the SWP, inviting all sections to do likewise. The issuance of an open document attacking, calling for a break with, the International leadership during the internal discussion period of the forthcoming 4th World Congress, could only be interpreted as a declaration of a split. Such organizational methods only served to confirm (along with the earlier expulsion of the SWP minority) that the SWP leadership was indeed incapable of leading a political struggle against the petty-bourgeois centrist leadership of the Fourth International." (5)

Fender refuses to take a clear stand on anything! When a fundamental break takes place in the International movement against revisionism, he turns his attack against those who make the break. The difficulty with the SWP break was that it was so long in coming, not that it was definitive and final. This is what made it so abrupt.

The "confirmation" of the inability of the SWP to struggle politically did not come from its breaking with Pabloism but from its refusal to carry forward the logic of that break. In breaking with Pabloism in 1953 the SWP took a long step in the direction of fulfilling its international leadership responsibilities, in beginning to take up a theoretical struggle. This is important and cannot be denied. An international break without the SWP at that time would have been infinitely more difficult. The Open Letter of 1953 was the SWP's greatest service to the Fourth International since the death of Trotsky. Only if this is understood can one appreciate the immensity of the crimes it would later perpetrate on the Fourth International.

Now let us look at how the SWP today and its fellow revisionists seek to cover up the meaning of the 1953 events. Joseph Hansen utilizes Tony Whelan, a supporter of the British Pabloite IMG group, to do his dirty work on this question. In the course of a review of this book, appearing in the September 20, 1971 *Intercontinental Press*, he quotes Whelan approvingly:

"One of the issues used by the leadership of the SLL to convince its rank and file of the hideous nature of the 'so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"' and of the American SWP is the treatment of the majority of the French section by M. Pablo and the SWP during the 1953 split.

"Thus Tim Wohlforth, an American sympathizer of the SLL, gives in the *Newsletter* of 22nd July 1969 a long account of the split, accusing the SWP of supporting Pablo's allegedly bureaucratic measures against the French majority, etc. Now in due course the sections and sympathizers of the Fourth International will have to go over again the experience of that split, and see what can be learned from it. What we want to do now is not to comment on it, but to indicate the perfidy by which the SLL leadership keeps its members, most of whom joined during the 1960s and have no independent knowledge of the split, in a political ghetto.

"For Wohlforth's account of the split is, shall we say, incomplete. While the SWP is denounced at great length, the actions of the European Trotskyists, who were on the scene and could be expected to know much better than the SWP what was going on in the French section, are unmentioned. With good reason! For the facts of the matter are that many European Trotskyist leaders, including the damnable Ernest Mandel, opposed Pablo's suspension of the leadership of the PCI, but the SLL supported, voted for it, and a prominent leader of the SLL even spoke at the PCI's congress against the majority."

Here we have the cynical method of Pabloism in its most perverse form. Hansen does not speak for himself but uses Whelan. Whelan refuses to say where he stands on the 1953 split stating six years after the reunification with the Pabloites and 17 years after the split itself that "in due course" the question will have to be gone over again. Refusing to take a principled stand on the split itself Whelan then proceeds to comment on our "perfidy."

The facts of the matter are considerably different from Whelan's distorted account. First, it is true that

the British as well as the SWP supported Pablo against the French majority in 1952. Clearly, the central responsibility for this situation lies with the SWP because it above all as the leading section of the Fourth International was the force to which the French majority itself appealed.

The central question is that in time the SWP and the British were to take up the fight against Pablo in a principled manner. At that point Ernest Mandel, known then as Germain, was to play a critical role in bolstering Pablo against the principled attack of the International Committee forces. His role was "damnable" in that without it it is doubtful if Pablo could have survived the split. His role is doubly damnable in that having started on this course of backing Pablo he was to continue with it until he emerged as the major spokesman for Pabloite revisionism.

But let us look at the way James P. Cannon and his supporter Comrade Peng assessed Germain-Mandel's role in that period. Peng writes in 1954 to Cannon:

"I can say that ever since my first contact with Germain after coming here, I have always had the warmest sympathy toward him....Although I had also noticed his lack of penetrating analysis in observing various problems, his impressionistic temperament, wavering and conciliatory spirit manifested very often on important problems, and his facility in modifying his own positions, I still trusted that he would be able to overcome these weaknesses through the experiences in the movement as it develops....Precisely because he had this support (of the German and Italian sections—TW & L. St.J.), Pablo made special compromises toward him and promoted him as the representative of the IS to participate in the 'coalition leadership' of the French majority and minority, and made him 'arbitrator.' Henceforth, Germain was placed in the forefront of direct conflict with the French majority, and executed for Pablo the preconceived design which he had once been violently against. Around the same time, Pablo assigned him the task of drafting the resolution on the Chinese question, to put him in opposition to me. Ever since then, under Pablo's 'compromises' and 'promotions' (almost raised to the height only next to Pablo himself), Germain gradually abandoned his conciliatory position, and more and more involved himself in the trap of Pablo's bureaucratism.

"Today his taking a position completely on the side of Pabloism in opposition to the struggle led by the SWP against revisionism and bureaucratism indicates how unconsciously he has fallen into Pablo's trap. I am still very sorrowful over his degeneration. If Pablo did not have Germain's support this time, that is, the support through him of the German and Italian leaderships, he would not be able to continue along his path all by himself, and a split might be avoided. From this point of view, the criminal role Germain played in this struggle is of decisive nature." (6)

Cannon, in a letter to Leslie Goonewardene of the LSSP, in the same year made the same assessment of the vicious role of Germain:

"The real Pabloites—that is, the conscious revisionists and liquidators—after all, don't represent very numerous forces. They are ready for any adventure, as we have already seen in France, England and the United States; but there is not much that they can do by themselves. Least of all could they take the road of a definitive split at the present time. For that, they need the cover and support of orthodox elements and organizations whose support can be attracted on formal organization grounds and other considerations of a secondary order.

"Germain, the only one of the Paris group who retains any standing among orthodox Trotskyists, renders that service to them in Europe; and unfortunately, his maneuvering is not entirely innocent." (7)

As the last sentence indicates Cannon had a somewhat harsher judgement of Germain's "unconsciousness" than Peng!

THE ROLE OF THE LSSP AND POR

Germain-Mandel was not the only one to come to Pablo's rescue in 1953. The two major Trotskyist parties in colonial areas, both parties with considerable mass influence, the LSSP and POR, were also to play pernicious roles. The role of the LSSP of Ceylon was particularly critical as, outside the SWP, this party carried the greatest weight in the international movement. In fact, in the above quoted letter of Cannon's referring to Germain-Mandel, Cannon compares the role of the LSSP to that of Germain-Mandel.

The LSSP was never a Trotskyist party as it contained within it a wing around M.N. Perera which never went beyond militant nationalism. But it had within it important Trotskyist elements, particularly from out of the former Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon. It had led a highly important struggle during the Great Hartal mass movement which had almost toppled capitalism on the island. A section of the party was definitely moving forward in this period towards the construction of a Trotskyist movement.

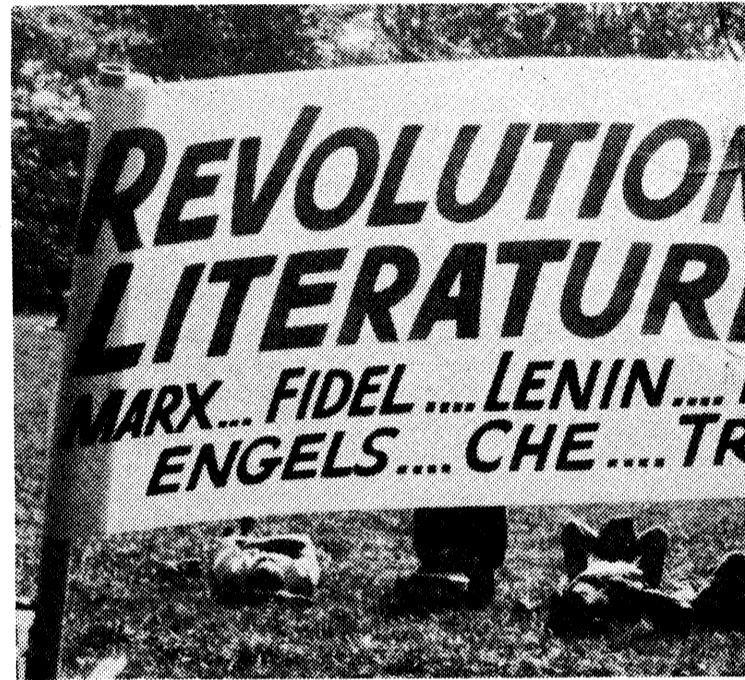
It was in this period that Pablo encouraged a pro-Stalinist faction which split from the LSSP with one third of the membership. After the split the LSSP leadership took a very ambiguous stand. First it criticized Pablo's pro-Stalinist positions and actually prepared some amendments along this line for the upcoming Fourth Congress of the Pabloites. It made it clear to the

SWP that it was at least informally in agreement with the Pabloite international.

So in the end, it was to throw its considerable weight behind Pablo refusing to support those who it knew took a principled stand on the basic issues of Trotskyism. Clearly, it was influenced by the fact that after the split of the minority tendency and its dissolution Pablo was willing to work with the leadership of the LSSP again. The LSSP leadership was willing to overlook Pablo's factional games in the interests of being left at peace to do what it wished in Ceylon. What it wished would soon become crystal clear as it moved toward entry into bourgeois coalition governments.

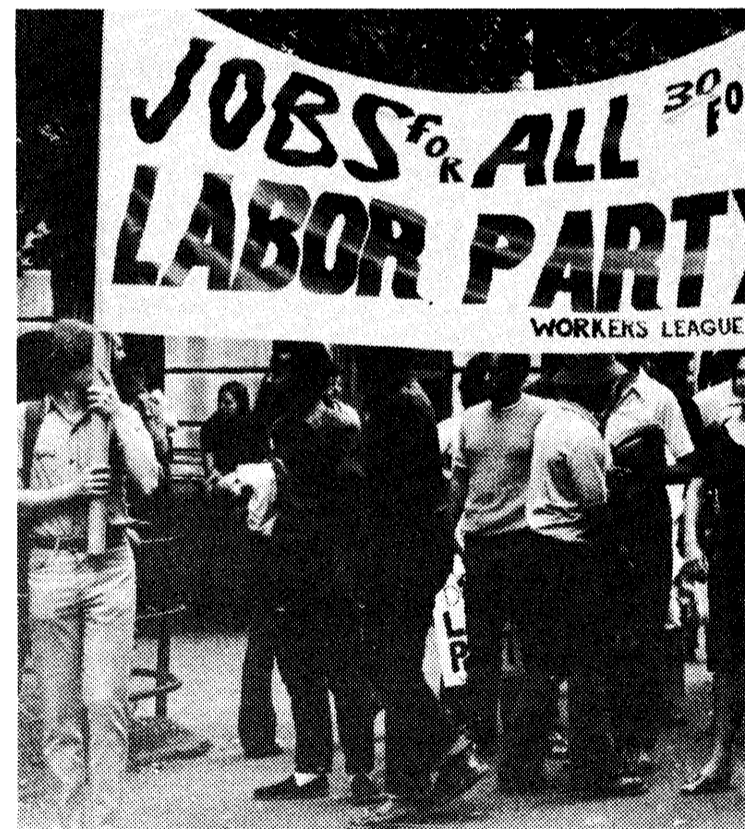
Cannon in that period correctly pointed to the LSSP's refusal to confront international issues and responsibilities:

"We take particular note of the statement in your letter that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party 'is in no mood to tolerate anything pro-Stalinist within its ranks, either open or covert.' This attitude coincides entirely with that of the leadership of the SWP in its own internal policy. But we cannot stop there. As internationalists, it is obligatory that we take the



SWP banner shows liquidation of principled party

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same attitude toward open or covert manifestations of Stalinist conciliationism in other parties, and in the international movement generally.

"This is, in fact, the touchstone of internationalism in the present crisis." (8)

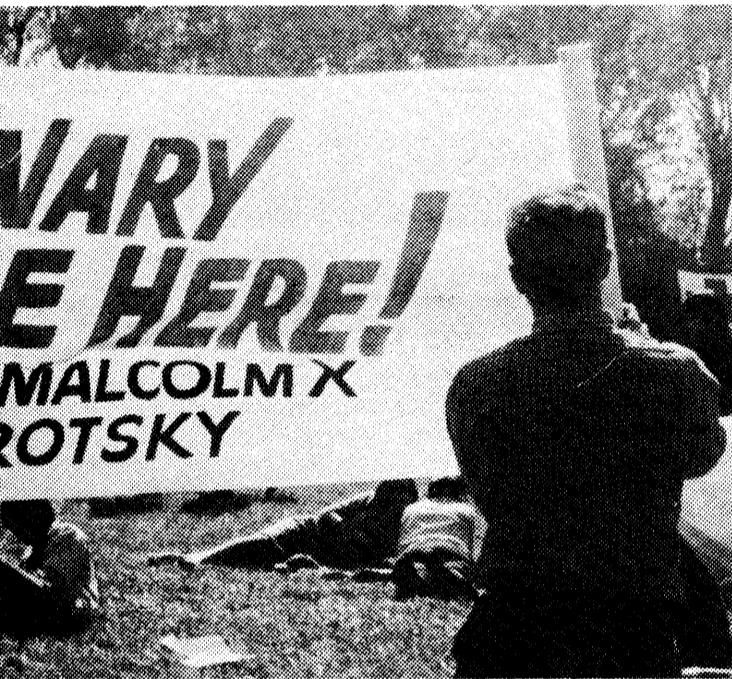
Because the LSSP refused to begin with the construction of the international movement it could no longer play a revolutionary role. It was its refusal to take up the issue of Pabloism in 1953 which cast the die for its entry into a bourgeois government one decade later. At the same time Pablo was able to utilize the considerable prestige of the LSSP to bolster up his forces internationally and to perpetuate a major revisionist body into the current period. This, in turn, has taken an extremely heavy toll in the Trotskyist movement.

The role of the POR of Bolivia, led by Guillermo Lora, was essentially similar. In the 1952 period, Lora had taken a very compromising line of critical support to the bourgeois nationalist MNR government headed by Paz. In this he was supported wholeheartedly by Pablo and the Bolivian events were given international pub-

licity and support. Lora in this period had serious influence among the tin miners and his party was the leading Trotskyist party in Latin America. The future of a strong Trotskyist movement in Latin America was at stake in these developments.

However, Pablo was not content with just a position of critical support. He moved quickly to the proposal that the POR enter the MNR, or at least have its major orientation the splitting of a left wing from it. Thus his liquidationism spread from the Stalinist parties to openly bourgeois nationalist parties. Lora opposed this course insisting on the independence of the POR. This brought him into conflict with Pablo and a split occurred leaving Lora with a much reduced party but with the backing of the sections of the party rooted in the working class. Lora found himself outside of the Pabloite International Secretariat.

At this point, one would think that Lora would lend his considerable weight to the fledgling International Committee and in this way assist it in breaking the major body of Latin American Trotskyists from Pablo. The SWP hoped this would take place. It did not. Lora simply abstained from any international affiliation, a



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It is true that the SWP made the decision to issue its Open Letter only when prodded into it by a factional situation within its own party. It is true that the SWP leadership had stubbornly resisted theoretical development since Trotsky's death and even before. But it did issue the Open Letter. The LSSP despite a factional situation similar to the SWP did not. This step was to its credit and opened up a new possibility for the theoretical development of the SWP as well as the Fourth International as a whole. It was really the SWP's last chance.

In late 1953 and early 1954 a beginning was made. The strengths as well as limitations of this new beginning is most clearly expressed in James P. Cannon's correspondence with Leslie Goonewardene called "First Principles in the Fight Against Pabloism."

"A realistic approach to the present crisis must take as its point of departure the recognition that the Fourth

International is no longer a politically homogeneous organization. The issues of the factional struggle are matters of principle which put the Trotskyist movement squarely before the question: To be or not to be. The attempt to revise the accepted Trotskyist analysis of the nature of Stalinism and the Lenin-Trotsky theory of the party, and thereby in effect, to deprive the Trotskyist parties and the Fourth International as a whole of any historical justification for independent existence, is at the bottom of the present crisis in our international movement. In connection with this as a highly important, although subordinate issue, matters of organizational principle—not merely procedure, but principle—are also involved.

"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 else but the destruction of our movement; and because we believe that silence on our part would be betrayal of our highest duty; that is, our duty to the international movement.

"The fight on national grounds in the SWP is already finished, and the victory of orthodox Trotskyism definitive..."

"Our attention in the ideological struggle has shifted almost entirely to the international field. We are fighting now in fulfillment of the highest duty and obligation which we undertook when we came to Trotsky and the Russian Opposition 25 years ago. That is the obligation to put international considerations first of all and above all; to concern ourselves with the affairs of the international movement and its affiliated parties; help them in every way we can; to give them the benefit of our considered opinions, and to seek in return their advice and counsel in the solution of our own problems. International collaboration is the first principle of internationalism. We learned that from Trotsky. We believe it, and we are acting according to our belief.

"Our international struggle against the new revisionism is not simply a literary affair of the leadership, or a section of the leadership. The party is constantly informed and consulted about every step we take; and the entire membership, in all branches and locals, are completely involved in the discussion. Our membership is experiencing in this international struggle, a new rich period of ideological life, in preparation for future tests of our doctrine in action in the class struggle. Just as our party was created, in the first place, in the fires of a great ideological battle over international questions of major importance, so it is today being re-shaped and re-educated in another battle of the same order." (9)

If Cannon had continued on this course it would have opened up a whole new stage in the development of Trotskyism. The deep theoretical weaknesses of Cannon and his party, the tremendous weight of American pragmatism and nationalism, could have been fought out through a struggle to take the whole international movement to the roots of Pabloite revisionism and on this basis prepare it for the new period of class struggle.

Cannon, however, would not go beyond the level of "old Trotskyism."

"But precisely because they are 'old Trotskyists,' precisely because they learned in Trotsky's school how to stand up for their 'old program' under any and all circumstances and to grant no one the right to proscribe it, they have decided to fight..." (10)

"The cadres of the 'old Trotskyists' represent the accumulated capital of the long struggle. They are the carriers of the doctrine; the sole human instruments now available to bring our doctrine—the element of socialist consciousness—into the mass movement." (11)

Cannon used the term "old Trotskyist" and "old Trotskyism" as an answer to the Pabloites whose rallying cry had been "junk the old Trotskyism." In his insistence on the continuity of theory and of the cadres of the movement itself, Cannon was correct. Any new theoretical development had to begin with the defense of the former revolutionary conquests.

But the difficulty was that the crisis of Pabloite revisionism was not a simple matter of young upstarts against old Trotskyists. The old Trotskyists were in a crisis as well. That is why old Trotskyist Goonewardene went with Pablo. After all, was it not that a whole section of old Trotskyists, trade unionists to boot, deserted the SWP under the leadership of Bert Cochran?

Lenin had had his difficulties with the old Bolsheviks. The old Bolsheviks played a very conservative role—acting as compromisers with Menshevism in early 1917—because to them Bolshevism was a tradition and a doctrine rather than a scientific method which required development at each new stage in the evolution of the working class.

The continuity of Trotskyism had to be maintained but this was not a peaceful matter of old cadres preserving a doctrine and then handing it over to a younger generation. The history of the communist move-

ment has been a bit more violent than that. As in everything, development takes place through a conflict of opposites. Continuity proceeds through the old Trotskyists by means of a struggle against old Trotskyism. In the course of such a struggle most of the old generation breaks with Marxism but a new generation is developed, the party carried forward, and a theoretical development takes place. In this process the old Trotskyists are indispensable and at the same time an insufferable impediment on the development of the movement.

Cannon chose to preserve the old cadre at the expense of the very principles he outlined so correctly in his letter to Goonewardene. Shortly after writing this letter Cannon and the leadership of the SWP made a decision to pack in the struggle against Pabloism and to put the International Committee into mothballs. The discussions of international questions were quietly dropped from internal branch life never to return.

The decision was conscious, it was calculated and it was disastrous for the SWP. Gerry Healy describes how this decision became revealed in 1954:

"In the spring of 1954 we proposed a renewal of the discussion with Pablo and a committee was set up with an equal number from both sides to organize it.

"The purpose of this discussion was not to heal the split but to bring out more clearly the fundamental reasons for it.

"It was conceived by us as another stage of the struggle against Pablo. The unavoidably abrupt nature of the international split in November 1953 had left a number of comrades in different sections still confused—we wanted to expose Pablo and clarify them.

"At first Cannon gave half-hearted support to these proposals, then in the late autumn of 1954 we suddenly received a letter calling upon us to abandon the discussion. From that moment it was clear that an even more serious conflict was brewing between the International Committee and the SWP." (12)

So for a whole critical period the International Committee was unable to have any real life and the struggle against Pabloism was allowed to be put in cold storage—at least as far as the SWP was concerned. The British section was to continue to build its movement, educating it through the struggle against Pabloism. Then, in April 1957, Cannon was to write another letter to Leslie Goonewardene, this time proposing reunification on the basis of an organizational parity arrangement and without any preliminary discussion.

He thus had jumped over the heads of the SLL proposing their original proposal but this time for the opposite political purpose. In 1954 Cannon opposed discussions with the Pabloites which would clarify the differences and in 1957 Cannon proposed reunification with the Pabloites in order to eradicate the question of Pabloism altogether. His proposal was rejected by the British and the French and Cannon would have to wait until a riper moment to carry out this scheme without and against the British and the French.

It was Cannon who said to Goonewardene in 1954: "A crisis involving questions of program and policy has never yet been solved by putting organizational considerations first." (13)

It was Cannon who proposed to Goonewardene in 1957 that reunification take place through a parity organizational formula designed to squeeze out Pablo.

THE SWP'S BREAK WITH THE IC

From this point on the question of the SWP's break with the International Committee and its reunification with the Pabloites was only a matter of timing. It was the Cuban revolution which became the cover for this reunification. Seeing Castro's victory in Cuba and his adaptation to Stalinism as a new road to socialism in much the same way as Pablo saw the Yugoslav and Chinese events, the SWP leadership no longer even had orthodox disagreements with the Pabloites.

Noting this movement towards Pabloism, the Socialist Labour League wrote to the SWP in January, 1961 requesting a discussion on this question within the International Committee. Instead of a discussion the SWP moved independently to bring about a reunification on the basis of no discussion of Pabloism or any of the past issues in dispute. It fought from January 1961 until the summer of 1963 to prevent any serious discussion of theory and of the history of revisionism in the movement.

The Pabloites made their own private assessment of the movement of the SWP back towards them politically:

"...The IVth International considered the split of 1953, and especially the Open Letter calling for disregard towards normally elected leadership of the International, as a big mistake, which has done great harm to the world movement..."

"But starting from the XXth Congress of the CPSU, some organizations affiliated with the International Committee or in sympathy with its political views as in the case of the SWP, corrected their evaluation of the world situation and of the evolution within the Soviet Union, and arrived at an estimation of events very close to that of the IVth International. From that time on, reunification became not only desirable but also possible..."

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It is true that the SWP made the decision to issue its Open Letter only when prodded into it by a factional situation within its own party. It is true that the SWP leadership had stubbornly resisted theoretical development since Trotsky's death and even before. But it did issue the Open Letter. The LSSP despite a factional situation similar to the SWP did not. This step was to its credit and opened up a new possibility for the theoretical development of the SWP as well as the Fourth International as a whole. It was really the SWP's last chance.

In late 1953 and early 1954 a beginning was made. The strengths as well as limitations of this new beginning is most clearly expressed in James P. Cannon's correspondence with Leslie Goonewardene called "First Principles in the Fight Against Pabloism."

"A realistic approach to the present crisis must take as its point of departure the recognition that the Fourth

bert group in France, have not come closer towards a common Trotskyist position." (14)

So the Pabloites recognized that it was the evolution of the SWP towards the political positions and method of Pabloism which was the political basis of the reunification. The SWP ended up back with Pabloism because it turned away from the struggle to construct the Fourth International through the struggle against revisionism. Instead they proceeded in an attempt to construct a party pragmatically and on a national basis. Hansen would virtually parrot Pablo on the question of the supremacy of "fact" and the identity of empiricism and Marxism.

The liquidationist consequences of Pabloism would find its effect even in the course of the reunification itself. Before the reunification was consummated the entire Latin American sections of the Pabloites, led by Juan Posadas, split away. This group persisted with Pablo's "war-revolution" theory carrying it to the logical conclusion of advocating preventive nuclear war against the capitalist nations.

Around the same time Michel Pablo himself organized a faction against Mandel. Pablo supported the Kremlin bureaucracy against the Chinese on the grounds that the former was fighting for "destalinization."

In June, 1963 the SWP Convention voted for reunification. The SWP then organized a rump group of its supporters within the International Committee—the Canadian group around Dowson, Peng who represented himself, Moreno in Argentina, Vitale in Chile—held an unauthorized IC meeting during the actual congress of the Pabloite International Secretariat and completed the reunification. The International Committee—composed at this point of the British Socialist Labour League and the French OCI—refused to recognize these proceedings and held its Second Conference in September, 1963.

The entry of the LSSP into the bourgeois Bandaranaike Government in 1964 was an event of world historic importance. It showed that the revisionism of Pabloism within the Trotskyist movement inevitably leads to going over to the class collaborationist policies of Stalinism and bourgeois nationalism. Such policies in this period require direct participation in the suppression of the working class in the interests of capital.

The Third Conference of the International Committee was without a doubt the most important international meeting of the Trotskyist movement since the founding congress in 1938. The Second Congress was held in 1948 under the leadership of Michel Pablo. While that Congress took a number of important decisions, and reflected the growth of Trotskyism in the immediate post-war period, it was not able to bring about a theoretical development from 1938.

Its strength lay in the degree to which it stood on the common Marxist ground of the 1938 Transitional Program. Its weaknesses stemmed from Pablo's efforts to move off this ground through impressions and pragmatism. The situation in 1948 was actually an unreal and therefore idealist one. Cannon describes it in

retrospect in 1953:

"Our relations with the leadership in Europe at that time were relations of closest collaboration and support. There was general agreement between us. These were unknown men in our party. Nobody ever heard of them. We helped to publicize the individual leaders, we commended them to our party members, and helped to build up their prestige." (15)

The 1948 Congress was the product of this arrangement—it was in fact its highest achievement. The problem with this Congress was not a matter of mistakes in documents—they existed—but that those who should be leading the international would not, and those second rate people who did lead it, led it through manifestos, commissions, and instructions, rather than a theoretical development rooted in the actual building of the movement within the working class.

The Third Congress of 1951 was the turning point in the Fourth International. Its documents embraced every one of Pablo's theories. It was the Congress of the "new reality." It laid the political basis for the liquidation of Trotskyism to begin in earnest with the expulsion of the French majority for resisting the decisions of this congress.

The Third Congress was thus the political expression of the arrangement between the SWP and Pablo which lay under the surface of the Second Congress. The two congresses in this sense cannot be separated as the one was the result of the other. The forms of Trotskyism dominated the Second Congress while Trotskyism existed at the Third Congress only in the struggle which would emerge in its aftermath against its decisions.

From 1953 on Trotskyism passed only through the International Committee. But the International Committee was paralyzed almost from its moment of formation by the refusal of the SWP to take up a struggle against Pabloism. It only came to life in the bitter internal struggle against the SWP's return to Pabloism in 1961-63. The First Conference of the IC reflected the paralysis of the SWP while the Second Conference was able only to reaffirm its existence after the split of the pro-SWP forces.

The Third Conference represented a development from the 1938 Founding Congress because it was based on that Congress and the experience of the struggle against revisionism in the interim. This struggle made it clear that it was not possible to separate the 1938 Transitional Program from the 1940 fight against the pragmatic Shachtman tendency. Only by a sharp turn on the part of the world movement to questions of Marxist philosophy would it be possible to take the Transitional Program beyond idealism—beyond the level of a good "idea"—so that actual forces in the working class were mobilized around it and a Marxist cadre of workers developed to lead these forces.

The Third Conference was preoccupied with a struggle against two tendencies which attended the conference, as it turned out, on a dishonest basis. The first was the Voix Ouvriere (VO, now Lutte Ouvriere) group from France. This group had been formed in a split from the

Fourth International in 1940 holding that only by separating itself out from the "petty bourgeois" International could it preserve its revolutionary program.

The second group was Spartacist led by James Robertson. This group originated inside the SWP in a split from the International Committee tendency led by Tim Wohlforth. Robertson had refused to subordinate himself to International discipline on matters of tactics taking a nationalist line which represented no fundamental break with the SWP.

These groups challenged the continuity of Marxism in the form of the International Committee. By denying this they turned their backs on the whole theoretical capital accumulated by the movement in the struggle against revisionism. They were thus anti-internationalist and anti-theory tendencies.

In the course of the conference the International Committee was able to reassert three fundamental principles upon which our movement today is based and without which the Transitional Program will remain a dead letter. The first is the continuity of Marxism from the 1848 Communist Manifesto up to the Third Conference of the International Committee:

"The Conference affirms that the Fourth International has not degenerated. The historical continuity of the Fourth International founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, re-formed in the years 1943-46, which Pabloism attempted to destroy in 1950-53, has been maintained since 1953 by the struggle waged by the Trotskyists organizations grouped within the International Committee." (16)

Next the Conference insisted on the centrality of the struggle against revisionism but saw this as a struggle which must proceed while the Trotskyist parties participate daily in the struggles of the working class.

"The Fourth International cannot be rebuilt without a struggle against these 'Trotskyist' revisionists... Pabloite revisionism and liquidationism is the expression of this revisionism of our epoch within the revolutionary movement itself... Thus Pabloite revisionism and liquidationism has not been a purely 'internal' or 'subjective' experience of the Fourth International." (17)

Finally it asserted that it was the abandonment of the Marxist method, first by Pablo, and then by the SWP, which led to the growth of revisionism within the Fourth International. The rebuilding of the Fourth International and its development into mass parties in all countries can only take place if there is a turn towards Marxist philosophy in order to make possible a real penetration of the class.

"This leadership collapsed because of its distortion and abandonment of Marxism, i.e., of the method of dialectical materialism. This is why this leadership was unable to root the movement in the struggle of the working class, and particularly the youth." (18)

We are now entering a period when the Fourth International will be able to grow into a mass movement and actually take the power in country after country. This must happen if fascism is to be prevented from triumphing for the old compromise ways of the boom are gone for good.

Such a movement can and will be built only on the basis of the lessons expressed in the documents and decisions of the Third Conference of the International Committee. These lessons in turn can only be fully appreciated in the light of a study of the whole history of the Fourth International. Our task is to make this study while we actually construct the party deeply rooted among working class youth and the working class in general.

FOOTNOTES

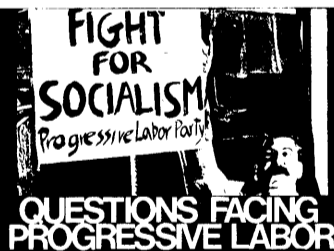
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FILMS

ED SMITH

EL TOPO. Directed by Alexandro Jodorowsky. An ABKCO Film.

"A film that transcends criticism" proclaims one of the blurbs pasted up in front of the New York theater where this "metaphysical spaghetti-Western" by the Chilean born filmmaker Alexandro Jodorowsky is playing.

"A film that transcends reality" is what the ecstatic critic meant to say, and this is exactly the appeal to the middle class that comes in large numbers to fill the theater where this epic is playing.

But our critic is incorrect. Beyond the surface vagaries of "plot"—a Christ figure kills a despotic Franco image "god" and at the behest of the "god's" ex-mistress embarks on a series of senseless duels with four mystic masters in the desert—which we admit are incomprehensible enough, the underlying theme and message of the work stand in vivid relief.

What the film represents is the desperation of the middle class and the bourgeois intelligentsia as their world is ripped apart by

a social system in its death agony, their retreat into fantasy and myth to avoid confronting their own untenable social position.

Without this basic social understanding a film like *El Topo* can evade "criticism" just as the contents of an LSD trip "transcend criticism." This is why Jodorowsky's work takes on the aspect of a piece of psychopathology on celluloid.

The final episode of the film places all that precedes it and Jodorowsky's own utterly reactionary message in the sharpest focus. It concerns *El Topo's* & the hero-Christ? reincarnation as the god figure of a subterranean race of deformed unfortunates living in oil drums. Our hero climbs to the surface and discovers a nearby frontier town preoccupied with the most disgusting iniquity, and hits upon the idea of performing pantomimes for the vile inhabitants in order to raise the cash for digging a tunnel so that the inhabitants of the underworld may reach the surface.

This he does, but his beneficiaries are gunned down by the corrupt townspeople. Infuriated, *El Topo* wreaks vengeance upon the whole town, then sits down to douse himself

with kerosene and burn himself to death.

If we consider the god-figure *El Topo* (significantly played by the filmmaker, Jodorowsky himself) as representing the "artist" and the bourgeois intelligentsia in general, the deformed subhuman populace of the "underworld," to represent the working masses, and Jodorowsky's pantomimes and tunnel building efforts as attempts on the part of this middle class to "serve" and liberate these masses, then the film's intent quickly returns to the area subjectable to "criticism."

What this episode represents is the reactionary turn taken by sections of the middle class as the working class starts to move independently of its middle class tutors of the period of the boom. Hence the film reaches the conclusion that the "liberation" of mankind is worse than its enslavement and the only way out for the intelligentsia in this period is suicide.

So reactionary, obscurantist a message has not received so prominent a play for a long time. The various sections of the film, by the way, receive various Biblical titles ("Psalms," "Genesis," etc.), and this one, of course, is designated "Apocalypse."

It is no accident that a film such as this is produced at this point in history or that at this time it receives so enthusiastic a response. But the desperation, the middle class frenzy it reflects represents only one side of the effects of the capitalist crisis on the intelligentsia. Even as one section succumbs to the poisons secreted by capitalism in its death throes, other elements now begin to step forward who are turning precisely to that force in society which is forced by its position in society to resolve the death agony of this system progressively the working class.

Meanwhile the crisis that produces such reactionary excrescences as *El Topo* continues to affect the destinies of the film itself. It seems that Jodorowsky's American distributor was forced for lack of resources to sell rights to the film to millionaire businessman and Beatles entrepreneur Allen Klein for \$50,000. Klein now proceeds to make back this sum every week in showings in one theater in New York. Here in a nutshell is the destiny of the middle class as a class under capitalism. Jodorowsky is unable to see beyond his class and its destiny. Therein lies the reason for his confusion, his frenzy, his despair.

TV

AL BERENSON

APPOINTMENT WITH DESTINY, THE PLOT TO KILL HITLER. CBS, Dec. 9, 8 p.m.

THE ENTIRE EDIFICE of Nazi-dominated Europe was crumbling by July 20, 1944. The allied invasion of June 6, 1944 had by July successfully penetrated northern France and beyond.

In the east, troops of the Soviet Red Army were effectively destroying the Nazi defense line which was hopelessly trying to restrain the inevitable invasion of Germany itself.

It was on this July 20, 1944 that certain military officers of the Nazi Wehrmacht, faced with the impending collapse, made an attempt on the life of Adolf Hitler, whom they all deemed responsible for the developing catastrophe which was the eventual result of the Third Reich.

The plot to kill Hitler was dominated by two men especially: General Ludwig Beck, chief of the General Staff of the Army prior to the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia after which he resigned; and Klaus Phillip Schenk, Count von Stauffenberg, a young military aristocrat.

The preparations and actual execution of the plan to assassinate Adolf Hitler while he was at his East Prussian retreat in Rastenburg, appropriately named Wolf's Lair, were the

subject of the latest segment of CBS's series *Appointment with Destiny*.

The stated aim of the producers of *Appointment with Destiny* was to present "fact" without actually employing documentation of it.

This segment, "The Plot to Kill Hitler," though purposely presented in seamy black and white film to give the illusion of a true documentary, was actually a complete dramatization. Except for certain shots of Hitler addressing rallies, all scenes including "interviews" with conspirators were filmed using actors.

FICTIONAL

The idea is novel yet actually "The Plot to Kill Hitler" was a basically fictional account of the actual events.

The circumstances preceding the assassination attempt and the officers involved were all coated with a thick layer of liberalism which made the program a total misrepresentation of fact.

The elegant voice and figure of James Mason was cleverly used to complete the picture which the producers were so concerned with projecting that he plotters against Hitler were great Germans, great democrats, or in Mason's words himself—idealists.

A study of the lives and careers of General Beck and Count von Stauffenberg will immediately prove what reactionary nonsense the CBS program really was.

General Beck is presented in especially romantic and nostalgic terms as a fine old man fighting for democracy. Outside of the imaginary world of CBS, General Beck was a faithful follower of Nazism and its chief exponent, Adolf Hitler. Beck has been a particularly loyal supporter of Hitler during the early days of the National Socialist Party and did all he could to spread its influence in the German army.

Beck was not forgotten and became a leading Nazi general. However Beck split with Hitler in 1938 after the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia. The reason for this disagreement was not, as CBS would have it, a conflict over "ideals" but practical military considerations. Beck feared a war with all of Europe and felt that Germany would be wise to remain friendly with the west in order to take care of the real enemy—the Soviet Union.

LOYAL

Beck was a loyal fascist who realized that a war with the capitalist nations would make the fulfilling of the all important task almost impossible. And the one thing that Beck was surely concerned with was the crushing of

Bolshevism. Beck's hatred of the working class was as unswerving as Hitler's.

Klaus Phillip Schenk, Count von Stauffenberg, younger than Beck was the actual leader of the July 20 plot. A member of a high ranking German noble family, it took Stauffenberg eleven years of Nazism to become disillusioned. A strident anti-communist, Stauffenberg embarked on the plan to kill Hitler for certain important military reasons.

Hitler had to be killed in order to negotiate a separate peace with the West. After a conclusion of the war with the capitalist powers, all German troops were to be transported to the east. The war with the Soviet Union was to continue at all costs. In Stauffenberg's eyes, Bolshevism had to be overthrown.

These class questions are of course not mentioned by the producers of "The Plot to Kill Hitler." Instead they presented a sixty minute concoction which portrayed benevolent fascists.

The truth is that General Beck and Count von Stauffenberg wanted to fulfill the tasks of fascism without the disruption of Adolf Hitler. The war on the western front threatened the success of the one on the east and that is why the generals tried to kill Hitler.



Hitler youth salute to the Fuehrer in the heyday of German fascism in 1938



Hitler and Eva Braun



The 14th St. Salvation Army Temple is picketed by employees demanding that Family Service jobs not be cut.

N.Y. TEL. . .

Continued From Page 4
national importance, a strike with immediate political implications. The spokesman for the Strike Committee said that the local leadership's moves to take the Telephone Company to court in order to get the Bell System to stop scabbing is probably doomed to failure.

"This is a fight against AT&T which is completely intertwined with the government, and just about owns the courts anyway," he said. He agreed that the entire Bell system should be taken out of the hands of private owners, taken over by the workers and nationalized. He said that the company was not holding out simply because they were trying to save money, but also because a victory for the New York state CWA on its demands for pay, vacations, and union rights would be a dangerous precedent for AT&T, Nixon, the entire government and ruling class.

He said that just as with the coal miners, the newspapers completely distort what was given in the national contract, because the average man who has about three

years seniority now gets a wage of from \$130 to \$150 per week in New York. This is the basis for the demand by the New York State locals for a bigger pay increase.

The government is attempting to encourage "productivity" deals in exchange for limited wage concessions. Even during the strike, operators are being trained to do five or six different jobs. Operators have been fired if their productivity is not up to par. The result is a drastically increased speed-up.

ECONOMY. . .

Continued From Page 3
the United States in trade talks. Eberle has demanded that the Common Market virtually dismantle its pricing system and open its borders to a flood of American agricultural imports on a scale that must devastate European agriculture.

If there are not to face another devaluation in two months the American employers must now be forced to hit the American working class hard.

This is the meaning of Nixon's statement in his devaluation announcement that the stability of the devalued dollar is to be based on stepped up efforts "to restore domestic wage price stability and productivity." In other words, devaluation is to be made to work by pulverizing the American labor movement under the gun of more wage freezing, more speed-up and productivity deals throwing millions of US workers onto the unemployment lines.

The other thing that must be understood is, like all attempts at compromise in this period, all efforts by Nixon to come to agreement with the European bourgeoisie on the monetary crisis must almost immediately break down.

The fact of the matter is that a devaluation of the dollar by five or ten percent as is anticipated in no way even begins to scratch the surface of the economic crisis the capitalists face. The dollar, after thirty years of inflationary boom is not overvalued billions in circulating paper currency. This means money cannot be brought into line with value and the monetary crisis liquidated short of wiping out billions of paper

The victory for the CWA strikers is now a critical question for the entire labor movement.

Not only is the CWA International leadership sanctioning scabbing. The strike Committee spokesman claimed that Harry Van Arsdale and the New York Central Labor Council was "giving lip service to the support of the strike," while in practice allowing electricians from Van Arsdale's IBEW and other workers to cross the picket lines to do work for the telephone company.

POWER

This cannot be worked out around a conference table whether in Rome or in Washington. This was the method of Bretton Woods, the method of the period that is now irrevocably past. It is now all out war, trade war, war amongst capitalist states, and above all war on the working class in which the immediate question posed to the working class is the fight for power.

While Nixon may have struck a momentary bargain with Pompidou, the real willingness of the American capitalist class to take the Europeans head on and push them to the wall was expressed by Secretary of the Treasury Connally just the day before. When confronted with the impossibility of achieving any agreement, he said:

"In my judgment, we can't keep on month after month holding these Group of Ten meetings without some specific results. Now we are going to go through a series of bilateral meetings between the President and the heads of governments and heads of state and after that if we can't resolve it, in a reasonable time thereafter, then I think that we ought to agree that we can't agree."

The alternative of course to the Group of Ten meeting is an all out perspective of trade war. This is what Nixon and Connally are like their European counterparts, really getting ready to unleash.

CANADA. . .

Continued From Page 2

point dialectics that is where idea in the form of program connects with the objective material world of class in struggle through the actual conscious action of men organized in a party.

In the afternoon David Albert of the Workers League of Canada spoke on the "Building the Revolutionary Party in Canada." He noted that central to the construction of the revolutionary party in Canada was the question of the NDP. With federal elections this Spring the fight for an NDP government with socialist policies becomes our central strategy.

He noted that the Trudeau government, rather than resisting Nixon, was now stepping up its attacks on the working class beginning with a vicious campaign against the French-Canadian workers. First the LaPalme workers were locked out and today virtually defeated.

Now the same treatment is being tried on the La Presse workers.

There are anti-union laws in six provinces and efforts being made for one on a federal level too. The War Measures Act shows what the Canadian capitalists will do if not fought.

The position of the Pabloties on the NDP is to attack us for calling for the removal of the present leadership of the NDP. They see no crisis in Canada and thus no urgency for anything. They view a reformist NDP government as a sort of necessary state in the evolution of the Canadian working class. They claim that is where they are presently at. They deny the objective contradiction between the reformist thinking of workers and their struggle to defend their basic rights. Their position in essence is a social democratic one of justifying reformism as a necessary stage.

A certain amount of the discussion was devoted to the issue of French separatism. The difficulty with this aspect of the conference was that the question abstracted from

international perspectives. Only when the position of French Canadians is seen within the context of the whole attack of the Canadian and American capitalist class can the French question be understood for what it is—a legitimate struggle for the democratic right to the equality of the French language and above all part of the general class movement of Canadian workers.

Demonstrations around the separatist issues have been dwarfed by the class movement of Quebec workers for class issues. There must be an aggressive fight for the language rights of the French Canadian but this fight must be integrated into a class perspective for all of Canada around the NDP to power on socialist policies.

The Workers Press film on Ulster was also shown and plans laid to deepen all aspects of work in Canada. From now on the Workers League of Canada will be conducting its work in several cities and among the two language groups.

ATTICA. . .

Continued From Page 5

in D yard, in school and working, came up and said what should we do? I said, stay together.

We had an agreement with all other factions, so I knew nothing was planned or I would have heard about it. So we waited to see what was going on.

Bulletin: At that point what were the guards doing?

John: Some were running away. They started a steam whistle going. As a matter of fact, all five blocks were taken before you knew it. Some of the other leaders (Black Panthers, People's Party, Muslims, Weathermen) came and said what do you think. We hashed it out. Then some inmates came in with captive guards.

We expected a raid any minute anyway, so we finally voted to bring all the men into our yard to form a negotiating committee, for each block to elect a man to represent them on the negotiating committee, to write up demands of what was wrong in Attica. Naturally we had some opposition from about 10 percent of the men. They didn't want negotiations at all. We had to wind up locking up some of these guys. They would have killed these guards, some were not political at all. Finally we had an election, five blocks elected five men, two white and three Black men. They got together to formulate the demands. They came to me and said this is an all race, all nationality thing. I think we should have a negotiating committee to round off all races. Tell the Latin population to elect a man to represent them. I addressed the Spanish-speaking population, told

them to elect a man to represent them in the negotiations. They elected me.

The administration tried to lie and make the men go against us, present one settlement to us and the mediator another one. They tried to set up the situation for us to kill the guards so they could have an excuse to come in on us to kill us. We put in 15 original demands and the mediators presented them outside and they didn't know at the time that we could see everything that went on on our radios and TV.

Naturally everyone was scared there would be reprisals, not only physical reprisals but legal. Naturally we wanted amnesty and this is where we put our emphasis. And like I said, the population selected us not as leaders but as spokesmen, and any negotiation that was made was made by the population in general. There was real unity in the vote and among the men. Even outsiders were inspired by our unity. The sick were taken care of, we had our kitchen, people went to sleep systematically. It was uncanny, the men were really together.

One of the reasons we wanted Rockefeller to come take over the supervising of this prison is because the whole inmate population lost confidence in Oswald. They didn't trust him and didn't want any part of him anymore. He lied.

Oswald showed that he was lying so naturally the next one in line would have been the governor and we had no other choice but to ask him to come and personally handle the situation. That's when he refused to come. We were still willing to negotiate and even went back and

decided that we would still be willing to negotiate with Oswald. But that fateful morning of the 13th he sent us a note stating that we were to release the hostages within the hour and then choose one man so that he could negotiate with him and on their grounds and that's when we informed the rest of the population. They were very negative about this. They said, "No. No." We'd rather die.

Brother Richard Clark told them that we were willing to negotiate. We understood that certain issues couldn't be decided upon on the spur of the moment, but we had to negotiate in front of the population, that the population was going to make the decisions.

We couldn't release the hostages because they were the only guarantee of our safety and when Brother Richard Clark delivered this message to them personally through the bars Oswald simply looked at Brother Richard and told him "We're coming in then." Brother Richard Clark came back and he told us. We informed the population and all wedid stand up and all of a sudden this helicopter started circling.

Two very heavy Army helicopters were coming over the roof. Next thing we knew the whole roof is lined with state police and they had rifles with telescopic sights in them. Even before the two Army helicopters started belching gas they started shooting. We threw ourselves on the ground and they kept on shooting. I saw them reload three or four times and rake the yard and that thing that Rockefeller says about our crossfire is impossible because they were shooting down on us from the roof

and they were shooting at everybody indiscriminantly.

They didn't give a damn. It seemed to me like they wanted to exterminate us all. The only thing I can figure out is that somebody of a higher rank came in there and stopped them from shooting. They kept shooting and emptying their rifles and shooting. The prisoners only had clubs and homemade arms of that sort.

Then they finally came in the yard and a lot of guys stood up and put their hands in the air and they shot them down, and a lot of guys who were laying in the trenches and laying on the ground and shot them and finished them off. There was one guy lying in the ditch, he was hollering "Help me. Help me." He was hit about three or four times. A trooper looked down at him, cocked his rifle and shot him, killed him.

I was standing by the negotiations table when the shooting started with six or seven other guys. I don't know why, but I threw myself on the ground and I heard the first shot. The six or seven guys who were standing around me all got hit. They tried to hit me. I got under a table. The whole top of the table looked like a sieve. They had a lot of guys singled out like L.D. Barkley. They were going around the yard looking for him. I guess they didn't recognize me.

Bulletin: they listed Clark as dead the next day, too, but he was not killed was he?

John: Richard Clark. I still don't know to this day. But once they stripped us, they ran us into the cells. They separated a lot of guys that they singled out. Most of these people were politically active.

One officer spotted me, came back with about five other guards, put me in maximum security. Every night they used to come out and pull some guy out. I believe there's a lot of dead men in Attica that nobody knows about.

I was in isolation to the very minute I was paroled. I thought they were going to set me up for a killing. I saw guys being taken away, and heard them screaming, they used to harass you, bang on your cell bars at night, keep you awake trying to provoke you. If you said the wrong thing, they'd come back later that night with about 15 to 20 guards and beat you up. It was sheer terror. Everytime I heard a cell door open I figured they were coming after me. They were feeding me just one meal a day.

The guards would come around and tell me that they were building special electric chairs up here for us. We were being held incommunicado. We couldn't get any news. Every day we saw guys pulled out of their cells and disappear.

I saw three guys that I know for sure that I saw alive afterwards and later on when I was able to get a paper I saw them listed as dead or killed in the assault, which is an outright lie.

Bulletin: So you mean they were killed afterwards.

John: Yes. Murdered in cold blood.

Bulletin: What's happened to the charges that were launched against you and others for conspiracy and arson?

John: I still don't know. I don't know when they'll set me up to send me back or what. I believe if I get sent back to Attica I will be killed.

Puerto Rico

MPI Transformation Leads To Popular Front

BY LUCIA RIVERA AND MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ
IN ITS EIGHTH National Convention the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence transformed itself into the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The convention was held over the weekend of November 20-21st. The new party presented its draft program, called the General Declaration of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party at a public rally held the following weekend.

Notwithstanding its many allusions to the working class, "socialism," and "Marxism-Leninism," it is clear from the resolution that the transformation of the MPI into a socialist party has been more a matter of words and demagogy than a real change in the perspectives of the organization.

This does not mean that within the MPI there are not forces which are seeking a real alternative and a way out of the nationalist perspective and policies that characterize the MPI. In fact, the existence of such forces, particularly among the youth, is precisely one of the reasons why the MPI's leadership has been forced to make its demagogic turn.

Today the deepening crisis of capitalism and its extreme expression in the colonial and underdeveloped countries coupled with the traditional weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie these countries forces their exponents to seek a "socialist" coloration. Thus we see the spectacle of openly bourgeois forces such as the Puerto Rican Independentist Party talking of "socialism."

INTERNATIONALISM

But for all their demagogy all of these formations stop short of one thing, namely, to confront the theoretical and practical problems raised historically by the development of the international socialist movement and to proceed on the basis of principle and international perspectives.

All of these formations, particularly the MPI, proceed on the basis of nationalism or at most of a "third world" outlook which they try to camouflage behind formal calls for "proletarian internationalism" and "solidarity" with struggles all over the world.

This is made clear in the eleventh and last point of their program:

"We affirm the principle of proletarian internationalism and the need for mutual solidarity between the revolutionary and anti-imperialist governments, peoples, parties and organizations of the world... We will not take sides in the power struggles within the socialist camp and of the so-called third world. Neither will we accept tutelage or recognize centers of hegemony that will dictate paths to our party. We are open to enrich our doctrine taking advantage of all the currents of revolutionary thought and practice from the whole world but these will be filtered by us in the light of the specific realities of Puerto Rico as we ourselves understand them."

This constitutes nothing less than an open rejection of internationalism. In a previous article we pointed out that there can be no talk of "internationalism" without the fight to build an international revolutionary leadership of the working class and that this fight can only proceed from an international strategy based on the continuity of the revolutionary socialist movement since Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. But to the MPI leadership the idea of an international leadership is completely foreign. They want to be left on "their own" to understand "their own" Puerto Rican reality.

But the truth is that nothing can be understood outside of an assessment of the international crisis of capitalism. This is nothing new to the Marxist movement. On the contrary, it constitutes one of its basic foundations. Almost 50 years ago Trotsky in his struggle against the reactionary and nationalist policies of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy, explained that in the present epoch of imperialism "not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country" and that the program of the revolutionary party "must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions..."

So distant is the leadership of the MPI from

this outlook that in the whole 32 pages that make up the draft program there is not one mention of the August 15th decisions taken by Nixon and their significance for the international working class. So hostile is the leadership of the MPI to the internationalism of the Marxist movement that in the draft program of a self-proclaimed "revolutionary party of the working class" of a colonial country enslaved by US imperialism there is no mention whatsoever of the American working class and its relationship to the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico.

This is no mere oversight on the part of the leadership of the MPI but a reflection of its deep nationalist outlook. Starting from "Puerto Rico reality," or at most from a Latin American perspective, the MPI sees no role for the American working class, without which there can be no successful revolution anywhere in Latin America. And this is in a period when the objective crisis of capitalism, particularly after August 15th brings the American working class and the working class from the advanced capitalist countries into movement against their own capitalist class. MPI's outlook is expressed clearly in an interview with Juan Mari Bras, its head, published by the *Guardian*, after the convention, in which he states that the task of revolutionaries is essentially to run a big propaganda campaign in the US about the colonial situation in Puerto Rico.

REFORMISM

This outlook leads the MPI straight into the camp of reformism and Stalinism. In fact the "socialist" transformation of the MPI, in so far as it refuses to confront the historical questions of Trotskyism and Stalinism can only mean its increasing reliance on Stalinist conceptions. That's the only way it could maintain its nationalist outlook and pretend to be "Marxist-Leninist."

This is exactly what comes through in the draft program. After the proper proclamations on the need to build a socialist society and to have the working class take power the real perspective of how this is to take place is presented in a chapter unfortunately titled "Strategy and Tactics."

According to the MPI the working class in Puerto Rico can't "seriously address itself to the seizure of power and the construction of socialism... without first achieving the independence of Puerto Rico, and thus exercising its self-determination..." Later on it states:

"As we state in our present Political Thesis we have to precipitate the latent crisis of the colonial system in order to achieve independence and establish the basis for the seizure of power in the republic, which will take us to the truly revolutionary change of building socialism."

This conception has nothing in common with Marxism. In fact, it is nothing more than the Stalinist "theory" of a two-stage revolution for the colonial countries.

The task is to first achieve independence and then, at some later stage, the revolutionary struggle of the working class for power and socialism can proceed, supposedly under "better conditions." That is exactly the policy that led the Chinese working class and Communist Party to be massacred by Chiang Kai-shek in the 1920s.

POPULAR FRONT

In order to achieve independence first the MPI proposes that there be a "united front" with the other major independentist organization in the island, the Puerto Rican Independentist Party. This is an openly bourgeois and electoralist party even though of late it has also taken to speak of socialism, of a "social-Christian" or "Swedish" variety.

This so-called "united front" the MPI is fighting for, however, is nothing more than a Puerto Rican variety of the Popular Front policy of the Stalinist parties the world over.

The MPI's proposal specifically points out: "The united front should be based in a variety of short range objectives and forms of struggle that converge in the aspiration to achieve national independence and about which there is no contradiction between the parties and groups that make it up. Out of the united front are left out all those goals, either of a long or short range nature, and those forms of struggle on which differences exist between the two parties."

Among these goals are the fight against the draft and the U.S. Army, the fight to rescue the beaches for the people, women's liberation, and, the most reactionary of them all, the coordination between the two parties of MPI's efforts to bring the colonial case of Puerto



Juan Mari Bras.

Rico before the United Nations.

What is left out of all of this is anything that might offend or scare away the PIP's bourgeois leadership and policies. As a matter of fact, so central is the policy of seeking unity with the PIP, that the new PSP has abandoned the MPI's traditional position of boycotting, as a matter of principle, the electoral process. This was done with the sole purpose of making it easier for the PIP to accept the MPI's proposals and not from any consideration of Marxist principle, which sees participation in the elections as a tactical question to be used in order to win the working class to the party. That's why, upon the PIP's rejection of the "electoral front," the MPI has issued the slogan of "United Front or No Vote," meaning that if the united front with the PIP doesn't crystallize they will continue boycotting the elections. In other words, they are quite willing to hand over the whole political situation to the PIP.

These policies are particularly treacherous today when the economic crisis of capitalism requires above all else a struggle for power on the part of the working class. The kind of policy pushed by the MPI, its seeking a Popular Front with the PIP, serves only to derail the movement of the working class, which in Puerto Rico, in particular, has reached unprecedented proportions. One of the most massive demonstrations by the labor movement against Nixon's recent wage freeze took place in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

All over Latin America there is a tremendous upsurge of the working class movement and it has been precisely the nationalist and Stalinist policies of Popular Frontism and seeing things from a narrow, Latin American perspective, that has kept these struggles from going over to socialist revolution. That is the role that the MPI's heroes, Allende, Castro, and the Tupamaros in Uruguay have played in the recent period.

REVISIONISTS

Perhaps the most despicable role, notwithstanding its seemingly minor importance, has been played by the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party. At the conference Linda Jenness, who is the SWP's presidential candidate for 1972 and therefore its major public spokesman in all this period, read a message of greetings that expressed the real bankruptcy and logic of the SWP's Pabloite revisionism. The message said in part:

"The founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party means that when the people of Puerto Rico, when its working masses and all its allies, prepare to take power, they will have the indispensable tool for transforming society and for founding the socialist republic of a free and sovereign Puerto Rico."

In other words, for the SWP the PSP is the revolutionary party in Puerto Rico and there is

no need to build an independent Trotskyist party of the Fourth International. For the SWP the MPI, proclaiming itself to be the "revolutionary party," will carry forward the revolutionary struggle of the Puerto Rican people, despite its open support for Stalinism, for Popular Frontism and its slander campaigns and physical attacks on Trotskyist militants.

This is the logic of the SWP's abandonment of Marxism, Trotskyism and its complete embracing of Pabloism. For the SWP and the Pabloites the task today is not the construction of an independent revolutionary leadership in the working class based on the principled fight waged by the Trotskyist movement. That will somehow or other be done by others and the task of the Trotskyist movement is to "greet" them and cheer them on. That's why the SWP capitulates completely to the MPI.

For years the SWP has hailed the Castro leadership as the revolutionary leadership to follow in Latin America. They have supported guerrilla warfare, OLAS, and all other kinds of formations that would take them away from the necessary and central task of building independent Trotskyist parties in the working class in Latin America. That's why today they capitulate completely to the MPI, with its Popular Frontism and all, even at the same time that they try to somehow disassociate themselves from the results of the same policies, as is the case with the so-called "Broad Front" in Uruguay.

Having abandoned the perspective of constructing independent revolutionary leaderships the SWP has also abandoned the working class as the only revolutionary agent in capitalist society and expresses the same middle-class hostility towards the working class as the MPI. Of all the allies the Puerto Rican people have in the United States which, according to the Jenness, include the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and anti-war movements, the working class is not even mentioned. We suppose it will eventually find its way in to what Jenness calls "other sectors" awakening and beginning to challenge the power of the bourgeoisie in the United States."

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

For us in the Workers League the struggle for independence and socialism is another matter altogether. We say that there can be no talk of socialism, of building "revolutionary parties" without a fight for the solid principles of Marxism which today means one thing and one thing only - Trotskyism. We say the only way the struggles of the Puerto Rican working masses can be taken forward is by constructing an independent Trotskyist party in Puerto Rico based on the Transitional Program that will unite the struggles of the Puerto Rican and American working classes against their common enemy. And that is precisely what we intend to do.

Lessons Of The 1930s

Behind The Resurgence Of Fascism

BY MELODY FARROW

AS CAPITALISM ENTERS its most fundamental crisis since the 1930s, as the working class surges forward to defend its living standards and is forced onto the road to power, the capitalist class is encouraging, arming and strengthening its most faithful ally, the fascists.

Today, fascist movements, basing themselves on all the old religious and racial prejudices of capitalism, are coming out in the open, to divert and defeat the powerful movement of the working class against capitalism.

In Ireland, where Catholic workers refuse to accept the brutal conditions of poverty and misery imposed upon them by the British ruling class, Ian Paisley, a Protestant minister is given the green light to build up his right wing movement that aims to split Catholic and Protestant workers in the interests of British-imperialism.

Only two weeks ago, 100,000 Italian workers marched through the streets of Rome in a massive demonstration against the attacks of fascist organizations on the trade unions and left wing parties.

working class and it can disarm the workers just when the capitalist class is beginning its real offensive.

The capitalists call upon the fascists when they face a situation of civil war, when all the old peaceful democratic means of maintaining class rule are no longer sufficient to hold back the working class, when the bourgeoisie resorts to open warfare to completely destroy all working class organizations and preserve its profits.

Today the capitalist system is at a complete impasse. It can no longer develop its productive forces through expansion. They must now viciously turn against the working class and destroy all its historic gains. This is the meaning of Nixon's wage freeze and his declaration of war on the European working class announced on August 15th.

Faced with a powerful and determined working class and a growing strike movement the capitalist class is preparing for a final con-

frontation, for civil war. Nixon is molding the state apparatus to meet this task by systematically taking away even the facade of democracy by bypassing Congress and stacking the courts. He seeks through the wage freeze to destroy the independence of the trade unions, the rights the working class has won and the ability of workers to defend themselves.

At the same time he consciously utilizes the cowardice and capitulation of the trade union bureaucracy to gain time, to inflict defeats on the rank and file which will demoralize and weaken them.

"The middle class is to be ignored."

Thus the middle class was expressing its feeling of being squeezed between the two major classes, the ruling class and the working class. The middle class feels left out and pushed against the wall by the crisis. It desperately seeks to preserve its own existence, to assert itself and play an independent role.

But the middle class cannot play an independent role because economically it has no power. It is dependent on the ruling class. This is where the fascists step in. The fascists make the middle class feel important, they rail against the politicians who have forgotten them, they whip them into a hysteria and pit them against the working class. The fascists say that all the crisis and instability is being caused by the workers and the unions.

The weapons of the fascists are racism,

war against socialism.

The middle class can be won over to the socialist revolution and away from the fascists only if the working class and especially its leadership shows that it is prepared to take bold and decisive action against the capitalist class. The construction of a leadership in the working class that is not afraid to fight for power, which fights for a program to expropriate the capitalists and run society for the interests of the masses is the only way to win over the support of the middle class.

Large sections of the middle classes and the working class are breaking with the Democratic Party as the liberals demonstrate their complete bankruptcy and subservience to capitalism. The working class seeks a new solution. It can provide the alternative by constructing a labor party and fighting for a program that goes beyond capitalism, that aims at destroying the profit system.

All those who seek to rely on the traditional parties of the ruling class, on reformism at a time when the working class is breaking from it can only add fuel to the fascists' propaganda.

Why did fascism conquer in Germany. Above all, Trotsky said that the defeat of fascism was only possible through the construction of a bold revolutionary leadership. Up until the victory of Hitler in 1933 he never accepted fascism as inevitable and sought day in and day out for a policy that would unite the German working class against the fascists.

The Social Democrats which had a large working class following and controlled the trade unions continued to support the parties of the ruling class as a "lesser" evil against Hitler and refused to mobilize the workers independently for power. They lulled the workers to sleep with illusions that the "democratic" bourgeois politicians would make a fight against the fascists.

The most criminal role of all was played by the Communist Party. Despite the constant warnings and struggle of Trotsky, the Communist Party refused to propose a united front with the Social Democrats which could have prevented the victory of the fascists and exposed the impotence of the Social Democrats to their members.

From the ultra-left line in Germany in which they refused any contact with the Social Democracy, the Stalinists did an about face and in Spain and France they not only entered into an alliance with the reformists around immediate demands but they joined with the bourgeoisie in a "People's Front."

But the policy was the same. In each situation the Stalinists accepted the inevitability of capitalism and cowardly retreated before any revolutionary struggle against it.

When George Meany said that the wage freeze was a "step towards fascism" he was drawing on the whole experience of the working class in World War II. Meany saw fascism come to power in Germany. He saw the working class driven into slavery, all its rights and organizations smashed up. Despite his warning, despite the experience of the past, Meany cannot break with the old class collaboration that he has rested on and grown fat on for so many years.

If the role of Stalinism in Hitler's victory was especially criminal because of the whole struggle against reformism since World War I and the lessons of the Russian Revolution, the Socialist Workers Party shares important responsibility for the continued strength of Stalinism today.

This party, founded in struggle against Stalinism and its betrayals is now preaching the same reformism that the Social Democrats spewed out in Germany.

When their headquarters in Houston, Texas was attacked by the Ku Klux Klan the SWP created a broad defense committee, to preserve democratic rights. This committee was so broad that it included members of the Democratic Party and even the Mayor of Houston.

The SWP appealed to the moral conscience of the Mayor of Houston to defend them against attack and even demanded that the cops conduct a full investigation. So when it came to defense against fascism the SWP turns not to the working class but to the middle class and the liberals and seeks to "pressure" the bourgeoisie to take action against fascism. The SWP has completely turned its back on everything Trotsky said concerning the struggle against fascism.

The question of socialism or fascism can only be resolved in the struggle to construct a revolutionary party that is based on all the historical lessons.

The working class in the United States must now be united with demands for jobs, wages, for a break with the Democratic and Republican Parties, for the independence of the working class, for a labor party.



Fascists of the American Nazi Party hold counterdemonstration against NPAC on Nov. 6th

In the United States, the Jewish Defense League, a neo-fascist organization is dropping its alleged goal of fighting anti-semitism and is stepping up its physical assaults on Black and socialist organizations.

In the middle class neighborhood of Forest Hills in New York City recently, hundreds of white residents were whipped into a racist lynch mob against a low income housing project for minorities. In a similar demonstration the residents of Pontiac, Michigan tried to prevent by force the busing of their children to integrated schools. The Ku Klux Klan played an important role in this.

George Wallace, consciously encourages this middle class frenzy and draws confidence from it and openly defies Court-ordered busing with Nixon's silent consent.

Fascism, feeding on all the decay and rot in the capitalist system is once again rearing its ugly head. Unlike the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who flippantly write off these developments, we understand that the fascists can rapidly grow in a period when the capitalist class is desperately seeking to preserve its system.

The victory of fascism is not inevitable. The foundations of the Fourth International were laid in a bitter day to day struggle by Trotsky against fascism in the 1930s and in particular against the disastrous policies of the Communist Party which enabled the fascists to come to power in Germany and in Spain.

Today we can learn from the bitter defeats of the working class in the 1930s and from the lessons of Trotsky's struggle to prepare the new generation of workers to come to power.

To defeat fascism, it is necessary to understand how it develops. It is not merely political repression and ruling class violence alone as organizations like the Panthers depict it. To say this means that fascism has already conquered without any real struggle by the

frontation, for civil war.

Nixon is molding the state apparatus to meet this task by systematically taking away even the facade of democracy by bypassing Congress and stacking the courts. He seeks through the wage freeze to destroy the independence of the trade unions, the rights the working class has won and the ability of workers to defend themselves.

At the same time he consciously utilizes the cowardice and capitulation of the trade union bureaucracy to gain time, to inflict defeats on the rank and file which will demoralize and weaken them.

Nixon is establishing a Bonapartist regime of personal dictatorship in which he attempts to whip up patriotism and nationalism to cover up his real class aims.

While Nixon uses the trade union bureaucrats he does not depend on them to hold back the working class. His other foot is always kept in the camp of the rightists. He encourages and nurtures these movements, biding his time until he is fully prepared to call them into action.

The danger is that the fascists can grow and take root because they base themselves on the real social discontent of the middle classes. Without this support fascism would be reduced to nothing.

The capitalist class cannot fight the working class solely with military power. The working class is tremendously more powerful in numbers than the bourgeoisie. This is why Nixon must now exploit all the frustrations and fears of the middle class and whip it up against the working class.

This is what happened in Forest Hills. The middle class is affected by the crisis and feels threatened and uneasy about the rise in unemployment and inflation. It sees the strike movements as upsetting and aggravating an already unstable economic situation. It

nationalism and religious prejudice which are consciously deepened in order to cover up the reality of the class struggle.

Issues such as overcrowded schools, slums and crime are utilized by the right wing in Forest Hills to shift the blame to the Blacks and turn the discontent of the middle class into a completely reactionary direction.

The Jewish Defense League finds its base among Jewish youth who come from sections of the middle class which face economic destruction because of the crisis.

The JDL using all the centuries of persecution and anti-semitism against the Jews tells the youth that the solution to the crisis lies in preserving Jewish tradition and culture. Kahane demagogically exploits the plight of the poor Jews and blames the Blacks for getting all the attention.

Kahane preaches the reactionary utopian dream that the Jewish middle class can preserve its existence within capitalism. This sets the stage for pitting the Jews against other minority groups in a bitter struggle for crumbs that capitalism dishes out.

Behind Kahane's talk about preserving Jewish heritage is his real program: complete support to capitalism.

Many of the parents whose children have joined the JDL were victims of the Nazis' persecution of the Jews in Europe in the 1930s. Now in the name of preventing a return of fascism the Jewish Defense League is building up the very same type of movement that sent millions to the gas chambers.

The fascists use the petty bourgeoisie and sections of workers as a battering ram against the working class but once in power it crushes them.

Once in power fascism reveals its real program: the maintenance of class divisions, the preservation of private property and profit and the destruction of the trade unions and a

West Coast News

Fascists Threaten ILWU

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND, OREGON As West Coast longshoremen head toward the end of the 80-day back-to-work period and another walkout, the government and capitalist press have been intensifying a vicious campaign in the Northwest to smash the ILWU.

Playing on the frustration of grain farmers caught between the collision of the dockers and the PMA, these servants of the capitalist class are blaming the longshoremen for the plight of the wheat farmers rather than the employers who refuse to meet the needs of the workers.

The wheat growers contend that they were hurt by the loss of grain dumped on the ground and for the loss of Asian markets to Canada and Australia during the strike.

Although less than one per cent of wheat was lost and there were no bad effects on Northwest grain sales, which was admitted by even the capitalist press, Eastern Washington wheat ranchers have been contacting congressmen advocating federal legislation designed to prevent long strikes by requiring binding arbitration. The Oregon Farm Bureau Federation has called for state governments to open and run docks closed by strikes.

Speaking in Portland, chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, Helen Bentley, has referred to West Coast longshore leaders as "young rebels." She said that a 25 percent per year pay boost for dockers would be a set back for Nixon's program.

A wage and hour victory for the longshoremen would truly be a setback for the program of Nixon and the class that he represents. That program is to defend the profits of the PMA with automation-caused unemployment and wage rollbacks which can only be accomplished with the destruction of the ILWU's right to strike. That is why sentiment is being built up to give Nixon the basis for bringing forth his transportation bill to outlaw strikes.

The role of the union leadership has been absolutely criminal on the question of moving the grain. Northwest leaders like Ed Anderson, Dick Wise and Johnny Parks, went on a tour of the Orient with state government officials and grain growers to see the impact of the strike on Eastern markets.

These bureaucrats in going have accepted the fact that the dockers

A Call To Arms
A Showdown - Rule Of Law - or Blackjack

THE FARMER'S POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE charges that Gov. McCall and the legislature of Oregon have breached their governmental responsibility in surrendering the port facilities of this state to labor bosses and their private enforcement brigades.

And we further declare that the farmers of Oregon, in party to any port labor disputes, by means of such closures, obstructions and threat of future work stoppages, are being subjected to crushing financial losses and irreparable damage to their crops - and we further charge that these losses suffered by innocent parties reflect the abandonment of responsibility by both Gov. McCall and the Oregon Legislature.

For this showdown fight the FARMER'S POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE plans to place before the incoming legislature the bill which demands that they recognize the matter of work stoppages on the docks as an issue of public concern.

This committee will also demand of the incoming legislature, and of Gov. McCall, that he build government be reoriented to the port cities of the state with imposition of martial law, to guarantee that for now, and for all time in the future, the ports of this state will be free for the service, maintenance and necessary business traffic of all our citizens, reserved as an area of special privilege for any special group.

You, this will take on all our effort by all the farmers of the state in battle of this nature can be won from a corner chair. What will it require from you? ... Ten dollars each from 10,000 farmers will do for a start and also positive response when the petition hit the field. A great deal of money, certainly, but full page state wide newspaper ads cost that kind of money and you can't win this one without a total effort. PUT THAT TOTAL EFFORT BEHIND THE COMMITTEE NOW AND WE WILL DELIVER YOU THAT VICTORY! ... You, too, but that is the fact. Never before has there been such an opportunity, such a line up of forces - this situation will hold for but a few days and then it will be gone for good. ACTION, that's what we need from every Oregon farmer now!

Our program is simple: a series of state wide full page ads, widely circulated, to educate the people of Oregon with the true state of affairs - we cannot depend upon the news media for any of this. Every legislator will have ample opportunity and time without any personal desire to supply us with an answer to the simple question: do you favor recognizing the ports of Oregon by the imposition of martial law and the resumption of normal harbor traffic - YES or NO?

For those legislators who believe either by word or by lack of response that they oppose such imposition of port city martial law, we will continue for those individual small drives - the single issue rule of law or blackjack.

Those individuals starting to stand against our program will find themselves isolated if they do not stand with us. And we will continue this drive until we obtain our objective, and if it takes every member of the Oregon Legislature in the process, then, so be it. And if the success of this operation also takes Gov. McCall, we will urge these abolition right down the line by force and then to win. The great majority of American people will believe in the principle of fair play, and the rule of law.

As this campaign progresses you will find the responsible people of Oregon siding with us in this struggle for we have to our greatest asset the most formidable weapon ever devised by the mind of man - not the atom bomb, no - THE TRUTH. And with this awesome weapon we will strike down our enemies one by one as we take them on and yet we can also depend upon it to bring us the support of Oregon's solid citizenry, and they will make us to bring to the politicians, the labor bosses and the newspaper editors.



DON'T STAND IN OUR WAY-WE INTEND TO LOAD THE SHIPS!

JOIN US NOW!

And with these elections fought out strictly upon the issue we will dispel the illusion of labor boss power. Power to hamstring individual politicians, yes, or muzzle a newspaper... power to split a skull from behind, or murder a Yablonski in his bed - but against this test of public opinion

without confusion of other candidates or measures, that misnomer of labor boss strength will prove to be nothing more than mass intimidation; and these formidable fortresses from which are issued the imperious decrees will prove to be no fortresses at all, own fortresses of paper mache.

And what will prevent this plan from working? Only one thing - the failure of you, the Oregon farmer, to make this infinitesimal effort in your own behalf... Can we pry, prod, poke, lift, push, shove - in desperation we cry out: what can we do to get you off your hands? Don't take

offense, this is our common fight, and action is upon us. Those of us on the parapet have tears of frustration streaming down our cheeks; we have the enemy in an impossible position, our siege guns are in place and it is almost time for the first assault waves to go over - AND WE HAVE NO AMMUNITION - get it to us - NOW!

JOIN US NOW!

LET EVERY FARMER KNOW THIS IS OUR MOMENT OF TRUTH

Plunge Into The Battle

Kenneth Alexander Brown, Executive Director, Unconquered - Resolute - Determined

Form for 'YES - I am Pushing Ammunition for the Battle' with fields for name, address, and contribution.

Leaflet circulated by RIGHT WING FARMERS ATTACKING ILWU.

Jerry Rubin Discovers The Democrats

SAN DIEGO Only a few months ago Abbie Hoffman announced that he had acquired a suit and a haricot and was on his way out of protest politics. Hoffman could see very clearly that a real fight was coming and that he wanted to be as far away as possible.

Now Jerry Rubin the other Yippie clown who delighted in running pigs for president and leading youth into bloodbaths in Chicago has discovered Stalinism.

Rubin thinks "we're all in a heap of trouble." Apparently he has discovered that fascism is right around the corner and "everyone's gotta work and unite, from Yuppies and liberals to farther south liberals to defeat Nixon."

Rubin is trying to bring a million people to San Diego during the Republican convention to "show up screaming No. No. No."

This time it will be different from Chicago. The goal in Chicago was to spread chaos. This time it is to defeat Nixon.

"Everyone should come sort of reviving the innocence, the beauty, the morality, the spirit, the naivete of the early Civil Rights Movement... a million people singing We Shall Overcome at a Republican Convention."

And how is Nixon to be defeated? It's very simple. Even Gus Hall might have thought of it. Vote for the Democratic Party and turn Nixon out.

Rubin longs for that old spirit of middle class protest, but alas, it's gone. His constituency has deserted him. He calls on the hippies who fled to the country to come back to the cities. He begs the people on dope to take a little less dope. He's even ready to start a voter registration campaign for youth.

Jerry Rubin is a dinosaur at 30. He really can't comprehend what happened to the old days when you could dress up as George Washington

at HUAC hearings or run about with a toy tommy gun and get front page headlines. The breakup of the protest movement means the breakup of

Jerry Rubin always the bellweather for petty bourgeois hysteria. Abbie Hoffman just ran. Jerry Rubin is running into the arms of the Stalinists and the popular front.



Bobby Seale signs autograph outside Angela Davis trial

EDITORIAL . . .

Continued From Page 16

"crazies" while remaining confident that "their" legislators will protect them.

They go so far as to end their article by noting that the ad appeals for funds for the campaign and to joke about it by saying "lots of luck."

These labor "leaders" are absolutely determined to follow step by step the path taken by their ancestors in Germany who ended up in Hitler's concentration camps.

Every middle class radical and reformist from Jerry Rubin to Doctor Spock and the Socialist Workers Party seeks to ignore the seriousness of these warnings and put together still another protest coalition.

Behind it all the Stalinists seek to build a reformist political movement to tie the working class to the Democratic Party or a coalition with the "liberal" bourgeoisie.

Nixon's drive to destroy the independence of the unions and the fascist danger expressed in the Capital Press ad can only be answered in the fight to unite labor in an independent political movement.

The building of a labor party for the 1972 elections is a life and death question for the working class.



STEEL LESSONS OF THE PAST PROGRAM FOR TODAY BY DAN FRIED & STEVE CHERNOSS

25c

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weekly organ of the workers league

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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

Editorial

Big Business Backs Fascist Call For Martial Law On Docks

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This ad is the crudest sort of fascist propaganda demanding a showdown of "law and order" with the labor movement.

Let there be no mistake. This appeal is intended as a trial balloon for precisely the sort of movement the NAM has in mind to break the back of the labor movement.

It is consciously designed to appeal to the small farmer, the middle class and the "little man" with the idea that the cause of the crisis now tearing apart capitalism is the strength and power of the organized labor movement.

It is a preparation for the construction of hysterical anti-union vigilante squads to assist the capitalists in establishing the "rule of law."

Developments such as this must be taken with the greatest seriousness by the working class. They go hand in hand with the frenzied outbursts of a racist mob in Forest Hills in New York and the recent jailing of the entire leadership of the Newark Teachers Union.

It is this preparation to take on the labor movement that exposes the real meaning of the Gestapo terror in the Soledad trial and the police frame-up of Angela Davis.

Even more ominous than the ad itself is the absolutely criminal complacency of the labor bureaucracy. While Meany and Co. take the first gingerly step towards fascism by remaining on the Pay Board every labor paper in the Bay Area is feverishly trying to explain that Meany really did not insult Nixon at the AFL-CIO Convention. They seek to blunt the clash with appeals to middle class respectability.

The ILWU leadership facing a renewed strike situation which may very well bring on the sort of repression advocated in the ad dismisses the whole business as the work of

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100,000 Teamsters Locked Out

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES A teamster strike covering 11 counties of Southern California has continued into its second week closing eighty percent of the area's construction projects.

The issues of wages and back pay have surfaced as central to the strike as a contract calling for a forty percent wage hike, negotiated last spring, was cut to thirty percent by the Wage Board, and then was still

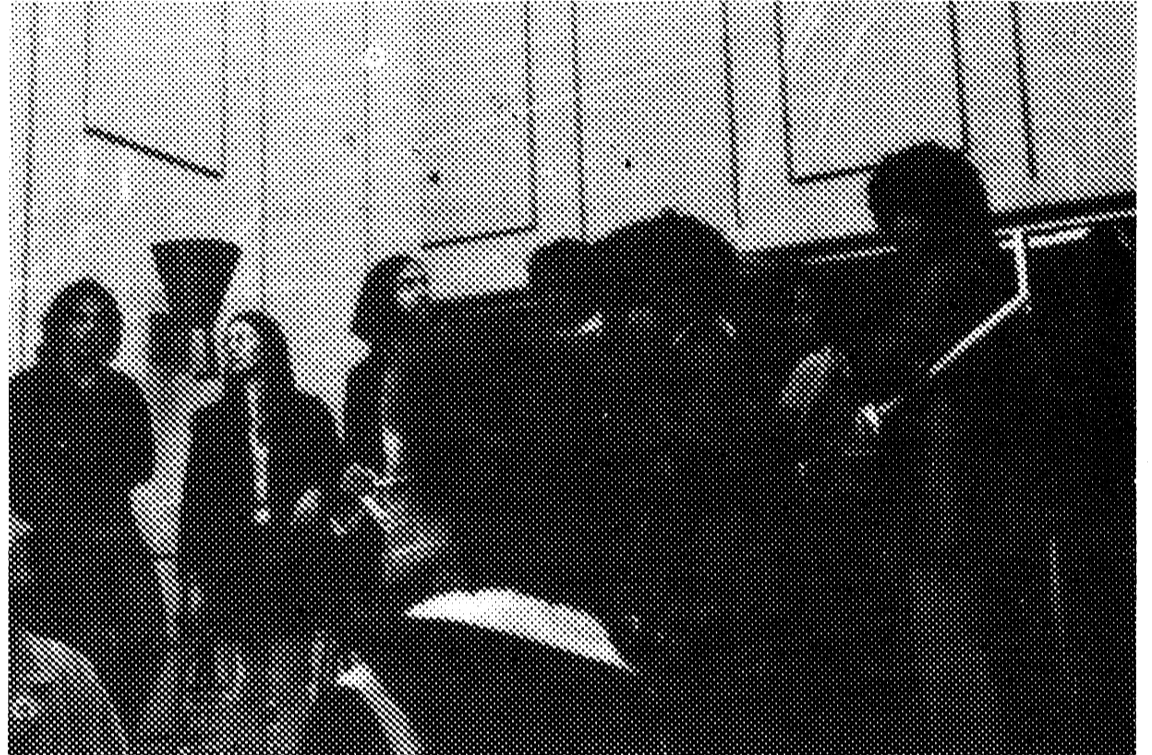
unacceptable to one of the three major contractors' associations.

In addition, all of these associations have refused to pay retroactive wages due the workers from the contract date, last May. They have also refused to cover "owner-operator" truckers under the contract, attempting to break the Teamster Union.

After feeling the effect of a work stoppage for almost two weeks, the

contractors have banded together and called a lockout, hoping that this move will force a division in the unions supporting the strike. The lockout will affect about 20,000 workers, but those already out number 100,000, ninety-five percent of which are members of supporting unions.

Only the united fight of all construction unions will beat back this attack.



Rally outside courtroom in defense of Angela Davis on first day of her trial.

Panthers, Stalinists Isolate Angela Davis

BY BARRY ZVERTOV

PALO ALTO The trial of Angela Davis has been set to begin January 31 in San Jose. The Stalinists in control of her defense have stepped up their campaign to divert the youth who wish to fight into liberal and reformist channels.

Over the past week the Stalinists have emphasized again and again that the basic issues are a change of venue to San Francisco and "reasonable bail." They consciously seek to separate out the case of Angela Davis from the struggle of labor and youth to beat back the vicious attacks of the government. They attempt to mask the class nature of the case in order to build a civil liberties campaign based on class collaboration and popular frontism.

The Stalinists have found ready allies in the Black Panthers. At a rally of about 150 people held at the Palo Alto courthouse where Davis is currently confined, Bobby Seale acted as the spokesman for the whole rotten line of the Communist Party.

The Panthers built the rally with a leaflet distributed in East Palo Alto calling upon members of the "Black community" to defend a Black sister and hear Black speakers from the Panthers. Under the slogan of "Black leadership" the Stalinists and their Panther allies seek to turn minority youth away from the labor movement and a class perspective.

All they can put forward are impotent protests, such as a demonstration at the Rose Bowl game announced by the Stanford Angela Davis Committee at a press conference held last week. The purpose of the demonstration, according to a spokesman from the Committee, is to work on the guilty consciences of the spectators. While insisting that it had "no

political ideology," the Committee put forward the entire reformist line of the Communist Party covered over with nationalist garbage about "the difference in consciousness between Blacks and whites."

PLEAD

The political essence of the Stalinists' "defense" of Angela Davis is to beg and plead for the capitalists and their courts, responsible for imprisoning Davis in the first place, to halt their wholesale assault on the working class. This is precisely what representatives of the San Jose Angela Davis Defense Committee did when they came before the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors last week to ask that the \$200,000 appropriated to secure the courthouse be rescinded.

One spokesman actually suggested to the Board an alternative plan to place Davis under the constant surveillance of F.B.I. agents which, he claimed, would save the county \$75,000.

The only alternative to the Stalinists' betrayal of Angela Davis and the entire working class is the Workers League's fight to root the defense of political prisoners in the struggle of labor and youth, united as a class, against Nixon's Phase II and the preparations for fascism which are behind it.

The Workers League is mobilizing youth to intervene at a rally called by the Stalinists for December 18 in front of the Palo Alto Courthouse. In opposition to the Stalinists we will fight for the construction of a revolutionary youth movement rooted in the working class and Marxism and for the defense of political prisoners as part of the fight for a general strike against Phase II and the construction of a labor party.

AFT Tells Teachers To Return To Work

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO Lay teachers of AFT Local 2240 have gone back to work without a signed contract. The teachers accepted a "proposal" from the Archdiocese that teachers return to work and hold a union representation election.

The AFT leadership has not raised one peep of opposition against this, and in fact recommended that the teachers vote yes on this promise of a contract. The Archdiocese said that only after the AFT wins an election will it sign a contract with the teachers.

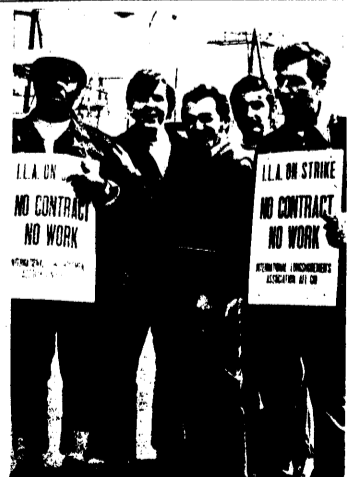
As it now stands, the contract would include 10 percent in wage increases over 3 years and no reprisals against militant teachers. The teachers demanded a six percent yearly wage increase and stated classroom limit, with union recognition.

Behind all of this is the statement from the superintendent of the Archdiocese that says if the AFT doesn't win the election, the Archdiocese will begin negotiations with the teachers again from scratch. At all costs the Archdiocese is now going to try and prevent a vote of confidence in the AFT.

Throughout the strike the AFT leadership remained true to its policy of pressuring the employers while leaving the schools open and running. The tremendous support of the students was left alone by the AFT leadership.

In the light of this settlement, the teachers must vote overwhelmingly for the AFT to represent them and prepare strike action for a contract guaranteeing their demands.

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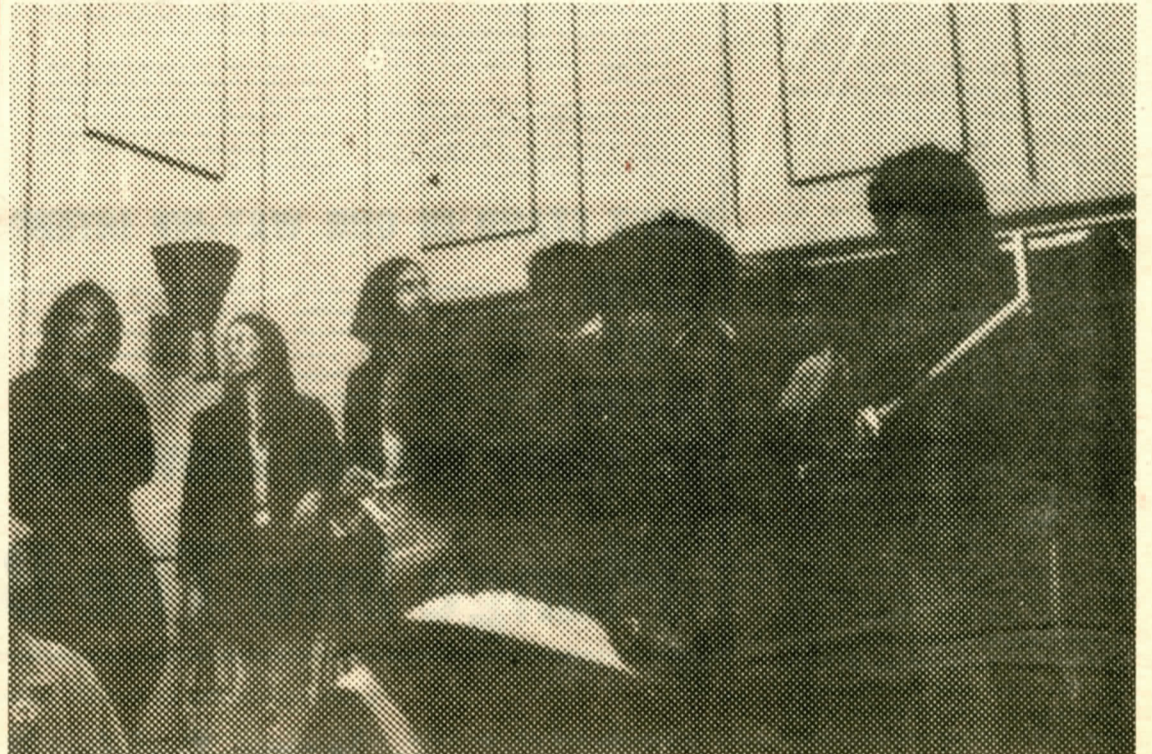
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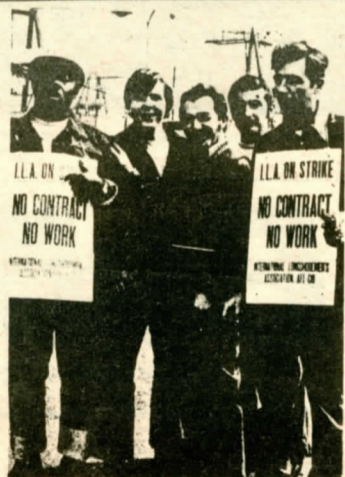
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