

Bulletin

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The IC And Joseph Hansen

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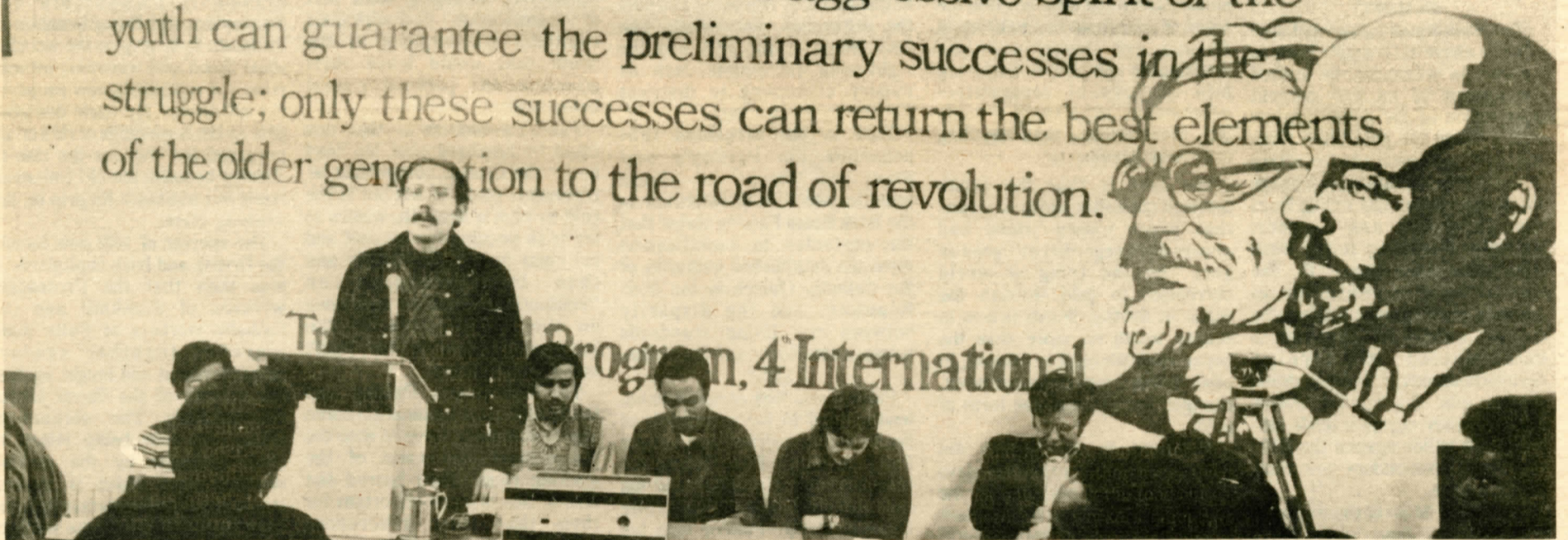
FIFTEEN CENTS

As Pay Board Slams Aerospace Workers

NIXON RENEWS VIETNAM OFFENSIVE

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The conference hall was packed with 300 unemployed youth, young workers and students from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Jersey, Baltimore and Connecticut.

A provisional steering committee, unanimously elected by the Conference participants to lead the youth movement voted to name the youth organization the Young Socialists, the name of its sister youth movement in

England.

The success of this conference is a victory for the whole International Committee of the Fourth International which has fought in bitter struggle against Stalinism and revisionism to build the Trotskyist movement as a mass force among workers and youth.

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to coincide with the meeting of the capitalist powers in Washington. As you all know this meeting was called to discuss the greatest economic crisis in the history of world capitalism and contrary to the superficial liberal observer no tangible solution can be reached.

"Capitalism in its death agony is economically beyond repair. No power on earth can save it. All that it has to offer to mankind is trade war, slumps and a world nuclear war. We must not treat this situation as if it was something that exists outside of us. This is the most timely period in

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"For what is happening poses a question to which we revolutionary socialist Trotskyists have the only answer. This answer cannot be given in an abstract way. Each one of us has to examine the

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Devaluation- Prelude To World Crash

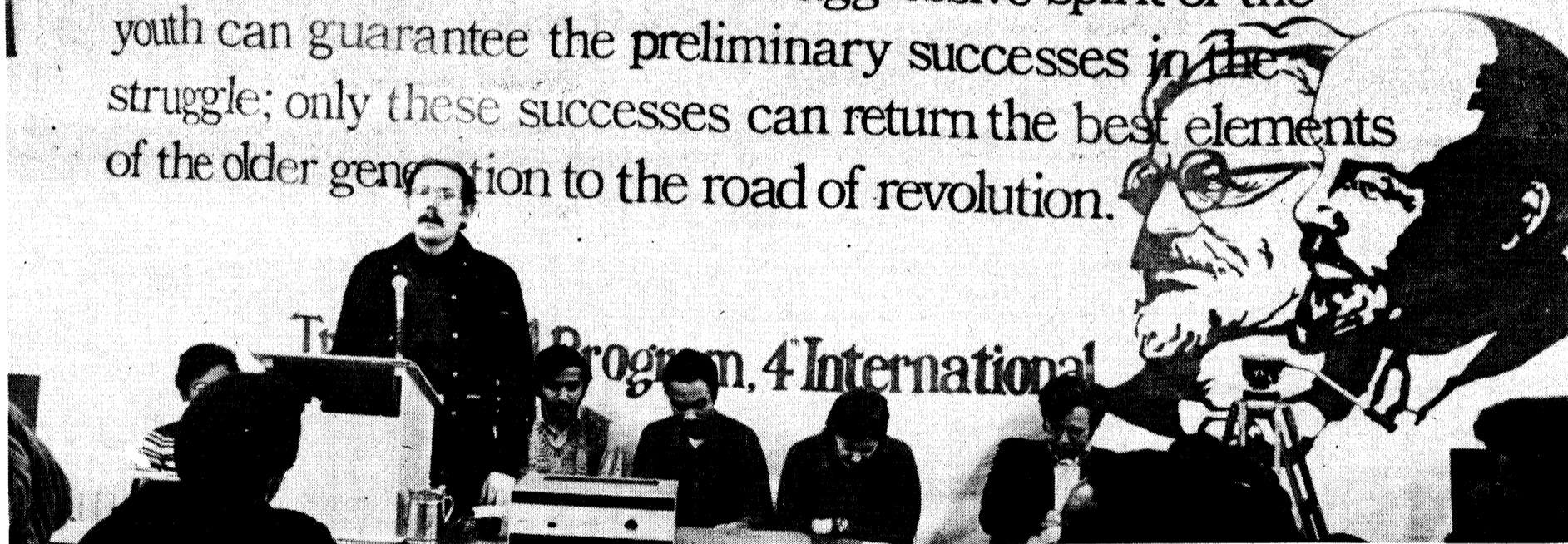
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\$ Devaluation Is Prelude To World Crash

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The monetary accord reached at the Washington Group of Ten meeting held over the weekend of December 17 and 18 amounts to a major victory for the United States in its strategy of trade war against Europe and Japan. At the same time in spite of the official euphoria of the American capitalist class over this agreement, termed by Nixon as "the most significant in the history of the world" the capitalist class is no nearer agreement on a fundamental solution to the present world monetary crisis than before.

In fact the Washington agreement is doomed to rapid breakdown and to become the prelude to a catastrophe for world capitalism that will go way beyond anything known in the 1920s or 1930s. In fact the only thing upon which the international capitalist class is able to agree upon is the necessity to attack its respective working class. Thus while no solutions to the crisis were forthcoming from this conference, simultaneously with the conference Nixon has moved through his Pay Board to tighten the screws against aerospace workers and thousands of others due increases in excess of 7 percent in preparation for the even more fundamental attacks aimed at stabilizing the dollar at its present level.

EUROPE

The Washington agreement constitutes above all a major blow to Europe. In return for the limited concessions of an 8.57 percent devaluation of the dollar against gold, raising the gold price from \$35 to \$38 per ounce and the lifting of the 10 percent import surcharge the United States has wrung from the Europeans and Japanese virtually everything it has been demanding since August 15. The rise in world currencies by an average of 12 percent against the dollar achieved through a combination of foreign revaluations and U.S. devaluation means that the United States which already enjoys a trade surplus of \$2 billion against the EEC now has a tremendous new competitive edge.

Taking the brunt of the currency realignment is Japan whose yen is now revalued 16.8 percent against the dollar, the German mark which has risen 12.6 percent and the pound and franc which have gone up 8.57 percent respectively. In all these countries the recessionary trend opened up by Nixon's August 15 measures must be intensified, forcing the European and Japanese bourgeoisie into revolutionary confrontations with their respective working classes.

Treasury secretary Connally said after the Washington talks: "Trade is, was, and shall be a part of the package" making it clear that if no agreement was reached on trade concessions by the time Congress reconvened on January 18th that Nixon might refuse to submit the gold price increase for Congressional approval and furthermore that he might reinstitute the 10 percent import surcharge.

POMPIDOU

The likelihood of the quick collapse of the Washington agreement has now been heightened by the statement made Wednesday by French President George Pompidou. Making it clear that there would be no major

concessions on EEC agriculture Pompidou said:

"If the common agricultural market were to be shaken, then I tell you there would be no hope for monetary and economic union, no prospect for political union."

Accordingly, U.S. trade envoy William Eberle stated in Brussels that there was no likelihood of an agreement before Congress reconvened on the 18th.

The Washington agreement cannot in any case endure for long. American competitors simply cannot indefinitely bear the burden of supporting stepped up U.S. export and capital inflows. The devaluation of the South African rand by 12½ percent to undercut the dollar devaluation a policy which is to be followed by virtually all Latin American nations and must soon become the trend of American competitors in Europe and Japan with the Washington agreement dissolving into an orgy of competitive devaluations and a round of trade war more intense than anything ever seen previously.

The fact is that the break between the dollar and gold means that paper money which had always been regarded as "good as gold" by the tying of world currencies to gold through the dollar at Bretton Woods is now in reality worth no more than the paper upon which it is printed. In other words it can no longer be exchanged for value in the form of gold.

Not even in the thirties did Roosevelt and the capitalist class remove the gold backing for the dollar. This is why the present crisis is far more fundamental

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Peru Dictators Jail Revolutionary Leader

BY MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

Last November 20th, Ricardo Napuri, head of the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party of Peru, was arrested by the Peruvian police on trumped up charges stemming from alleged revolutionary activities in 1965.

Napuri faces a sentence of one year in jail or deportation. He is presently being held as a common prisoner in the central jail of Lurizancho.

This is a complete sham since well know guerrilla leaders, particularly Hector Bejar, who were active in that period are today actively supporting the military nationalist regime of General Velasco Alvarado.

The nationalist regime, which tries to give a left cover to its reactionary rule, has recently



One of the thousands of British soldiers in Ulster who are being used to crush the workers and establish the direct rule of British imperialism.

IRA Backs Fascist Paisley

BY ED SMITH

It is now clear that the brutal offensive by British imperialism of internment, repression and murder has failed to beat down the working class of North Ireland. The crisis of imperialism in the area remains unresolved.

The establishment of unity and political independence by the working class in Ulster with the workers of the Irish Republic and Britain would spell the doom not only of the reactionary division of Ireland but the beginning of the end for crisis-racked British capitalism as well.

To prevent this unity and independence is the first priority of the British and Irish rulers, and in this aim they are being aided by the reformists, nationalists like both wings of the IRA and the right-wing extremists such as Paisley attempting to disorient the Protestant workers.

This is the situation that underlies Ian Paisley's new placatory "turn" to "Irish reunification." In an interview in the Irish Press Paisley stated that the obstacles to reunification were the established authority of the Catholic Church in the Irish Republic, and the disparity between the living standards between the North and the South.

SDLP

Paisley also took occasion to extend a hand to the reformists of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Gerry Fitt. Calling for talks between the SDLP and his own extreme right Democratic Unionist Party, Paisley said his party "had much in common" with the SDLP.

What is clear is that Paisley, always in the past identified with the most vociferous opposition to reunification, now smells a deal in the making between the Heath government of British Tories and the Lynch government of Irish Tories. Combined with military repression on a much vaster scale than ever before introduced under the cover of direct British rule, the British imperialists are now considering arranging some sort of "reunification" deal with their capitalist counterparts in the South that would leave their economic and political control untouched.

Paisley's concern is that this could be arranged over his head and the Orange bourgeoisie he represents could be left out in the cold in such a deal. He wishes to leave an opening for himself and his class in this eventuality and thus his turnabout on "unification"—with an insistence on the preservation of the Stormont regime in the North under such a setup.

The imperialists, Paisley, and the middle class nationalists come together in their drive to stop the independent movement of the working class. Their hatred and fear of this is more important for them than their differences among themselves. This is why leaders of the IRA welcomed Paisley's reactionary moves. David O'Connell, Provisional IRA leader, called on Paisley to establish branches of his extreme-right party among the Catholic working class and to play his part as an "Irishman" in solving the Ulster crisis.

Another Provisional leader Joe Cahill, has stated, "We would welcome talks with Paisley" and added, "Paisley has a key role to play in the solution to the present crisis and it is not impossible he will play it." This is the same position espoused by the "Official" wing which has claimed responsibility for the murder of Unionist Senator Barnhill in a turn to the terror tactics of the Provisionals it in the past denounced. In his recent tour of the United States, Tomas MacGiolla, President of the "official" Sinn Fein, stated it was necessary to reach the Protestant workers "under their present leadership, which includes Paisley."

What both these elements ignore or fear is precisely the possibility that the working class will take things into its own hands

for its own interests, that it will embark on the road of socialist revolution. Whatever "left" talk they may spout, they have made it clear that like all who remain on the basis of nationalism, they fear this independent movement of the working class more than their imperialist "archenemies" like Paisley.

BANKRUPTCY

These new maneuverings take place now because Paisleyism is beginning to lose its grip on the Protestant workers in the North just as Republicanism has proved its bankruptcy in the South. This bankruptcy of capitalism that makes it impossible for Paisleyism and Republicanism to maintain their grip on the working class faced with mounting attacks from the capitalists now prepares the conditions for their downfall, just as the beginnings of this crisis prepared the way for the rise of Paisley because the old Unionism could not maintain its grip on the working class.

The specter of 1922 now haunts the British and Irish capitalists. It was then that the Protestant workers of Shankhill and the Catholic workers of Falls Road marched together against unemployment and fought against the attacks of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The workers of Ulster are now being joined in their struggle by the British working class which is moving into a basic confrontation with the Tory imperialists and the workers in the Irish Republic who are taking up the fight against the Lynch government.

UNITY

The achievement of unity among these sections of the working class in struggle against the common enemy on the basis of an uncompromising fight against British imperialism and all its agents will mean the finish of the whole system of capitalist exploitation that is responsible for the "Irish problem" in the first place.

This is the fight being taken forward by the revolutionary party in Britain, the Socialist Labour League, and its Irish comrades in the League for a Workers Vanguard in Ireland. This is the significance behind the endorsement by the shop stewards committee of Harland's and Wolff's, the largest shipyard in Ireland, of the "Right to Work" campaign of the Young Socialists, against the Tory government. It is this fight, not the adventures on behalf of Republican capitalism by the IRA nationalists, that can make a progressive end to the Ulster crisis through the overthrowing of British imperialism.



Relative of Newark teacher who was jailed last week for 1970 strike.

Newark Teachers Hit With Jail And Fines

BY DAVE NORTH

NEWARK—The State of New Jersey continued to wreak its calculated political vengeance upon the Newark Teachers Union by jailing another 130 members of the union Thursday. Last week's jailings, along with those of December 15th and November 29th, brought to nearly 200 the number of Newark teachers thrown behind bars for their role in the 1970 NTU strike.

The sentences of the teachers who entered jail in December range from 10 to 20 days. The leadership of the NTU, which began its sentences on November 29th, face ferocious three month terms. Upon completing their current sentences, many of the teachers face additional terms of up to six months for violating a court injunction against the 1971 strike of the NTU.

The prison terms are only part of the assault upon the NTU. The union is paying off a fine of \$270,000 and has assumed responsibility for fines totalling \$100,000 against individual teachers. The punishment being meted out to Newark teachers for having exercised their legitimate rights must be a warning to trade unionists throughout the United States. The ruling class intends to make use of the full arsenal of state power in order to smash the political strength of the working class.

SETBACK

As the teachers surrendered themselves at the Essex County Court House, many gave the "V" for victory sign in a display of union solidarity. But the spirits of

the teachers cannot hide the fact that the NTU has suffered a serious setback. Responsibility for the defeats suffered by the Newark teachers must be placed squarely upon the shoulders of Charles Marciante and other leaders of the New Jersey AFL-CIO. It was their refusal to carry out their pledge to call a general strike of Newark labor in defense of the NTU that made it possible for Mayor Gibson to break the teachers' strike. Although the class nature of Newark Board of Education's attack upon the NTU required the mobilization of the city's working class for a political fight against the government, Marciante consciously diffused the movement for such a fight and left the NTU isolated.

The isolation of the NTU has persisted right through the jailings. As teachers surrendered themselves at the court house, there were no organized demonstrations by sections of New Jersey labor in their support. The leadership of the AFL-CIO is doing all it can to convince the teachers that rank-and-file New Jersey workers have no interest in

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TWU Set For Transit Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—6,000 cheering subway and bus workers at Manhattan Center last Sunday unanimously approved a resolution from the Transport Workers Union leadership to authorize a strike January 1st if no contract settlement was reached.

The workers constantly interrupted the speakers with applause and roars of approval holding up hundreds of signs that said "No Contract, No Work."

The union is asking for a 30 percent wage increase over two years, a four day, 32 hour week, a 10 percent differential for evening and weekend work and a cost of living escalator clause to keep up with inflation.

CHALLENGE

These are all critically important demands which must be won if transit workers are to move ahead. They are a direct challenge to the city and Nixon that transit workers will not pay for the bosses' crisis. None of these

demands can be won without a strike.

The TWU leadership has deliberately played these demands down and only talks of getting a "decent contract." TWU International President Matthew Guinan told the Manhattan Center meeting that "nobody wants a strike, least of all the workers...but we must make preparations hoping to God we will never have to put them into effect."

The TWU leadership is preparing to negotiate and reduce all the demands just as they did in the last contract when the wage demand was whittled down to 18 percent. Most of this has been

ILA Ranks Shut NY Hiring Hall

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, Dec. 27—The anger of the ILA rank and file reached the boiling point here this morning when a wildcat walkout cleared the Waterfront Commission hiring hall at Greenwich St. in downtown Manhattan.

Prior to the walkout, small groups of men stood outside the hall, discussing the situation facing them—a situation in which the shipping bosses have systematically attempted to undermine all conditions, especially regarding the guaranteed wage, ever since the men were sent back to work in accordance with Nixon's Taft-Hartley injunction.

A number of men asked us whether or not the West Coast longshoremen from the ILWU would go out, now that their Taft-Hartley had expired. They were hoping that the West Coast would go out again and the New York dockworkers would join them regardless of the ILA leadership.

All of a sudden, the men inside the hall who had been waiting for job assignments marched out, down the steps, chanting, "No shape. No shape." Soon the street was filled with dockers chanting,

"No shape," "Close it down," and "The union sold us out."

When the checkers at the hall had found out that many less men were being hired than originally announced and that even the lowest seniority '70 men were being validated for jobs ahead of many others, they hit the roof.

A number of men were still inside, evidently hoping to still get hired. The men outside complained, "Look what they're doing for a lousy day's pay," and one man loudly told everyone that this was the way they had built the union. After a couple of forays by a "flying squadron" (roving picket line) into the hall, the remaining men marched out amidst cheers. One of the men yelled out, "That's it, we got the whole place shut down."

BROOKLYN

About 200 men then headed for Brooklyn, marched across the

bridge and down to the piers where they attempted to get Brooklyn checkers to walk off their jobs. After being threatened by goons under the direction of Brooklyn ILA leader Robert Anastasia, they held a conference with the Local 1814 bureaucrats, who passed the buck to the International leadership in Manhattan. Later, back in Manhattan, a smaller delegation of the checkers met with union delegates who said there was nothing they could do about the PDO (Prior Day Ordering) but they "try and make it better," and that PDO would have to continue.

The 30 day "trial period" that the checkers agreed they would allow Gleason to "test out" the PDO is now over. The patience of the ILA ranks is worn thin. PDO, to which the leadership agreed is nothing but a device by which the shipowners aim to smash the union and the guarantee entirely.

The Shipping Association and Waterfront Commission are out to weaken the union and prepare the ground for the elimination of the

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Gary Works Face Closure

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

In a local interview with the press David Carr, General Superintendent of the Gary Works, denied rumors that the plant was going into closure, and declared that conditions would be back to "normal" by next April. A few minutes later in the same interview Carr intimated that U.S. Steel would shut down completely and leave Gary altogether if Mayor Hatcher didn't stop trying to make the company pay its full local taxes.

The dispute over the assessment of the value of the steel industries has been going on for years. Gary Works assesses itself at the ridiculously low figure of \$100 million. When the crisis set in in 1968 local city administrations sought to raise assessments on the

steel industries closer to their real value. Gary Works stopped paying taxes altogether two years ago and won a recent court case reducing its assessment. The difference is between \$100 million and \$133 million assessment, and \$7 million in taxes over a three year period. What stands out on this issue is not that such disputes should occur in the capitalist establishment, or that the court should take the employers' side, but that there should be open talk of closure over the difference. The difference, about \$2 million per year, would be peanuts to Gary Works in the boom period.

As Carr puts it: "You may hear a lot of people saying that Gary Works won't ever shut down—that U.S. Steel has too big an investment here. But I think you may be kidding yourselves if you believe that."

"Gary Works is sort of like a person with an illness; if that isn't

taken care of a person can literally waste away and finally pass away."

Only about 12,000 of the 26,000 workers at the Gary Works are on the job at present, and most of them are working a four day, or even three day week.

Hatcher originally demanded that Gary Works pay its full taxes in order to alleviate the impossible financial crisis of the municipal government. With unemployment among steel workers running about 50 per cent it is impossible for the city to meet welfare costs or even keep the working class properly fed. Teachers are now receiving half pay as the school board is bankrupt, and public health services and sanitation have practically disappeared.

After the Carr interview Hatcher completely changed his tone and declared: "The city needs U.S. Steel, and U.S. Steel needs Gary, and we can solve these problems only by working together." Hatcher, however, can "solve" nothing; he is a complete supporter of the logic of closure as the capitalist system goes into crisis, throwing millions out of work.

STALINISTS

The most dangerous political force in Gary is the Stalinists who fight to keep the labor movement tied to Hatcher, who they portray as a working class leader, as an opponent of the steel barons. This is the most dangerous illusion of all.

Hatcher is a complete supporter of the capitalist class as it proceeds to impose a depression on the working class, and transform his own city into a wasteland.

Whether Gary Works goes into closure in three months or three years every worker in the area must take up the fight now for the nationalization of steel under the control of the workers, and for a labor party to realize this demand.

the press, to whip up a hysterical slander campaign against the workers. They will use the strike to raise subway and bus fares even more than the proposed 35 cents and will blame this on the workers.

Plans are already being made to soften the impact of a strike. Big businesses, banks and other companies are setting up car pools, renting buses and hundreds of hotel rooms to keep things going. The labor unions must fight any attempts to scab on transit workers and instruct their members not to cooperate with these schemes.

The transit strike will be a political strike because it will mean a rejection of Nixon's Pay Board and the 5.5 percent wage freeze. Workers must fight to win the support of the whole city labor movement to win this battle.

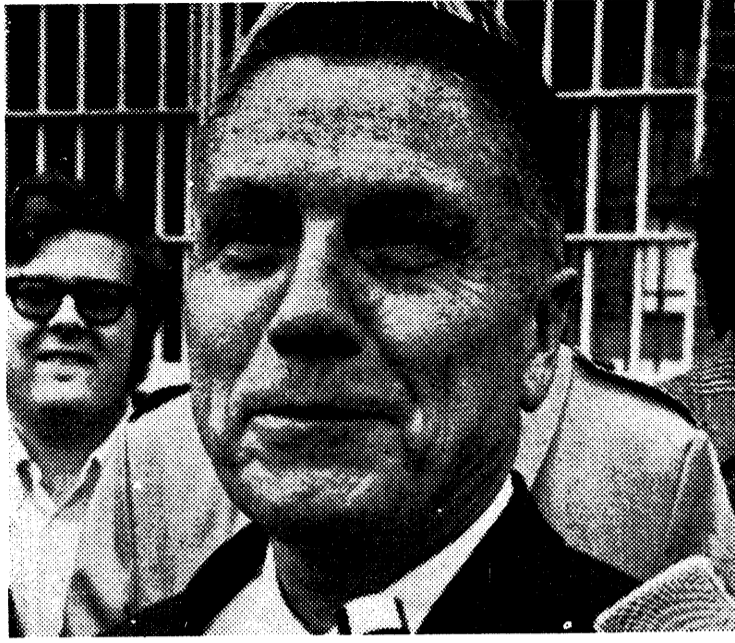
wiped out by inflation.

Guinan is hoping to avert a strike and reach a compromise with the Transit Authority. He is afraid of a strike which would mean a direct confrontation with Nixon and Phase II.

The employers are openly seeking a deal in which the union would agree to speedup and more productivity. The Transit Authority wants to do away with sick time, the morning shape up hour and other long established practices.

The contract struggle takes place in a very different situation than the last one. Behind the Authority's refusal to negotiate is the determination of the bosses and the government to take on the unions and defeat them.

The City is fully prepared for a strike if necessary to beat back the union. They will use all the power at their disposal, especially



Former Teamsters head James R. Hoffa being released from prison.

Hoffa's Release Tied To Ban On Union Role

BY ED SMITH

Last week, James R. Hoffa, former head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was released from prison by order of President Nixon. He had served about a third of a 13 year frameup charge of pension fraud and jury tampering. One of the conditions of his release was that he have nothing to do "directly or indirectly" with leadership of any union until March, 1980. If he is found to have done so, he will be returned to jail to fill out the remainder of his term.

Hoffa was sent to jail in the first place by an unholy alliance of the capitalist politicians of both parties, the big employers and the press. Under the leadership of liberal hero, multimillionaire Bobby Kennedy, an open campaign to "get" Hoffa "legally" was begun under the Republican administration of Eisenhower-Nixon and finally succeeded under the Democrats Kennedy and Johnson. The bosses knew they could not break the Teamsters directly head on so instead they tried to decapitate its leadership using the machinery of the capitalist state.

The employers and the government were particularly anxious to deal with the Teamsters because this union had come to symbolize the powerful organization, the aggressive fight for better living standards of the American working class. By the late 50s and early 60s the more

astute sections of the ruling class were beginning to realize that the American workers would have to be stopped or the capitalist system, which was moving rapidly into economic crisis, would see its profits, and thus its viability, threatened. The jailing of Hoffa was actually the first shot in this attack by the bosses on the American workers, which takes the form today of the wage freeze, the Pay Board, and the devaluation.

RELEASE

Nixon was forced to release Hoffa in the midst of these capitalist attacks precisely in a desperate attempt to placate the mounting anger inside the working class, and particularly within the Teamsters, to his vicious attacks. Nixon knows that in the upcoming year the Teamster ranks are supposed to get a big part of the boosts they won in the wildcats of 1970. These

raises were won not only against the bosses but also against the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy on top of the IBT and the same capitalist state that jailed Hoffa. In fact in 1970 Teamsters in some states had to fight Nixon's National Guard which had been called out at the behest of the employers.

More than anything Nixon feared Hoffa becoming a symbol the working class would begin to rally around in the fight back against the vicious attacks like the wage freeze. He feared the growing realization among workers that Hoffa was a political prisoner, imprisoned as part of a capitalist attack that the workers had to fight back against politically.

The other side of Hoffa's release was that Nixon hoped in this way to reward the IBT bureaucrats who have tried to snuggle up to him. The capitalist press has often noted that the IBT leaders on the Pay Board are "far and away" the leading collaborators on this tool of Nixon's, and there has even been talk of the IBT endorsing Nixon in the November elections.

The very fact that Hoffa himself accepted Nixon's condition never again to engage in union activity show the

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Cops Turn Newark School Into Jail

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Events erupted here at Central High School recently which exposed the true nature of "education" under capitalism.

Fighting flared up among students for no immediately apparent reason and the school administration cracked down. On Wednesday, December 15, students came to school only to discover that they would not be allowed to enter unless they had their identification cards.

These ID cards were made up earlier but, for various reasons many students did not have them with them that morning. All of these students were barred from entering the school.

About 200 students had gathered outside the school, most without ID cards. Within minutes, police cars were on the scene and cops began intimidating students. Plainclothes detectives were also sent into the school to help guards harass any students who seemed suspicious to them.

During the school hours, students "caught" in the hallways during class time were suspended until after the Christmas vacation, even if they had passes from their teachers. One student was suspended when he tried to remove from his shoulder the hand of an unknown and unidentified man who later turned out to be a detective.

The school administration soon stated that students without ID cards would be allowed into the school, but would be under the threat of expulsion for the slightest reason. Most students decided not to go into school.

Students at Central High face an actual police-state atmosphere in the school. The real meaning of the capitalist educational system is becoming clear to many of them. One student said that "Central is like a prison, only there aren't any bars yet."

The idea that "community control" of the schools under Newark's Black Democratic Party Mayor, Kenneth Gibson, has supposedly been achieved, is phoney from beginning to end. In fact, as conditions for youth steadily deteriorate in the schools, in housing and employment, Gibson's administration and police come down all the harder against the youth in Newark, the majority of whom are Black and Puerto Rican. Above all, they fear the movement of youth toward a

revolutionary leadership against capitalism.

The conditions now facing the students at Central are really the future—the only future—which faces all working class youth under capitalism. Students at the other schools in Newark as well as the rest of the country must take this as a warning. We must prepare now for the future by defeating these attacks now. ID cards and police-state tactics to discipline youth under the heel of the ruling class can only be fought by developing a new leadership among the youth. This can only be done by a movement which struggles against the root causes of these conditions—the capitalist system. This is what the Workers League and the Young Socialists intend to do.

- Hands off the rights of youth.
- End the use of ID cards.
- Cops and guards out of the schools.
- Turn the control of schools over to students and teachers.

Druggists Plan Strike To Defend 15% Increase

BY A LOCAL 1199 MEMBER

Pharmacists and drug store workers, members of Local 1199's Drug Division, are determined to strike January 1st in defense of their contract.

The big drug store chains and pharmaceutical companies have declared their intention to apply to Nixon's Pay Board to have the workers' 15 percent wage increase due January 1st reduced.

Local 1199 President Leon Davis stated that a union meeting scheduled for December 23 would determine if the workers "wanted the pay increase or not and whether or not there would be a strike."

The drug store workers are not about to let the government rip up their contract and take away their wage increases. After this meeting an announcement was made that a strike would be called unless the money was paid.

The Local 1199 leadership has gone on record for defiance of the Pay Board decisions and for resignation of all its labor representatives. The pharmacists and counterworkers must now put these words to the test.

A drug store strike will be the

Layoffs, Speed-up Hit Teamsters

BY A LOCAL 443 MEMBER

NEW HAVEN—Members of Teamsters Local 443, New Haven, are directly facing the increased attacks of the bosses and the Nixon government since the August 15th announcements and the devaluation of the dollar.

Union leaders openly admit that the situation is very bad throughout the local. There are layoffs at almost every trucking firm and warehouse, mounting

speed-up, attempts to do away with the classification of platform workers in order to set the stage for hundreds of further layoffs. This adds to the growing unemployment every day in Connecticut with more firms announcing layoffs and plant closures. These attacks are sharply expressed at the Stop and Shop Warehouse, always a trouble spot for Local 443 Secretary-Treasurer Pisano and the rest of the union leadership because of its primarily young militant crew.

The bosses are spreading word of plans to lay off a full shift and implement the ten hour day for the remaining workers, attempting to take away even the most basic rights won by workers through bitter past struggles.

The Pisano-Amendola leadership of Local 443 refuses to put up any fight against the layoffs throughout the local and at Stop & Shop they refuse to make any plans to defeat the scheme of the bosses. Their appointed stewards even refuse to fight on any grievances resulting from the speed-up.

Any layoffs at Stop & Shop or elsewhere must be met by local-wide strike action to defend jobs with a shorter work week. We will answer the pleading of the employers about their profit with the fight for the nationalization of transportation and all industries under the control and in the interests of the workers.

This fight against the plans of the capitalists must be met with a fight for power against the government of the bosses, their unemployment and their wage freeze. Driscoll, head of the state AFL-CIO Central Labor Council called in September for :

"working class coalition" as an alternative to the reactionary Democrats and Republicans. The fight must be taken into the Teamsters for the building of that alternative, a labor party for the 1972 elections.

A rank and file committee is forming in Local 443 around this perspective and with the understanding that if the fight is to be successful it must be brought into the IBT nationwide, especially into the broad based Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) movement.

TURF grew out of the 1970 wildcat movement in which the ranks showed their tremendous strength by overturning the contract negotiated by the national leadership.

Sections of TURF call for a nationwide work stoppage against Phase II and raise the question of a shorter work week as a solution to unemployment. Yet none of the leaders of TURF call for the building of a labor party. This is the fight that TURF must take up to win its demands.

The Workers League and the Local 443 caucus will take the fight into the IBT inside and outside of TURF on the program of: Fitzsimmons and all labor leaders off the Pay Board!

No Cooperation! Fight for a general strike against Phase II!
No Layoffs! A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

A labor party for the '72 elections to defend the unions and carry forward nationalization of transport and all industry under workers control!

No cut in living standards—Escalator clauses in all contracts!
A national contract for all Teamsters—Parity with the best contract!

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

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"YOUNG SOCIALISTS"

Young Socialists end Dec. 18th Conference by singing Internationale (top). Dany Sylveire (l.) gives greetings to Conference from English comrades. Millie Mendez (below) putting forward action proposals.



(Continued From Page 1)

United States and we will be judged by the responsible way we carry out our work."

Comrade Sylveire pointed out the critical importance of theory in constructing the youth movement:

"In 1939 Trotsky emphasized the all importance of the youth in the United States to seriously study Marxism as a theory of knowledge. He had unbounded confidence in the youth of the United States. But he tempered this with an extremely deep understanding of the difficulties of young people born in a country where pragmatism as a method of thought has such deep roots. He called for a turn to the working class because for Trotsky like Marx, Engels and Lenin before him, it was only through the most intimate understanding of the workers movement by active participation that revolutionary theory could become a material factor in the revolution itself."

Concluding her speech Comrade Sylveire said:

"This is a period of the sharpest class conflict the world has ever seen. It contains the greatest dangers for the future of all mankind, but dialectically it also contains the greatest of opportunities for the learning of Marxism and development of our perspectives.

"We have fought to develop this political spirit in all aspects of our work in England. On February 5th we start the first of our series of three nationwide marches on the right to work. This will begin in Scotland and already hundreds of pounds have been subscribed by trade unions to keep the march going (in food and clothing) until it reaches London. Other marches will start from Liverpool and Swansea on February 19th.

"A special feature of the march will be a special contingent from Ulster of Catholic and Protestant workers which will have the support of the most powerful shop stewards committee in the shipyards in Northern Ireland in

Harland and Woolls. The marches will converge on London on the weekend of March 11th and 12th with the biggest rally we have ever held— of 10,000—in the largest meeting place in London. We are also proud to announce with the start of the march in Scotland the production of the Keep Left Young Socialist paper as a weekly paper will commence. The response to all our political and financial campaigns has been overwhelming.

"The youth in England are beginning to learn and test out the power of the English working class. We are confident that our sister youth movement which is now being launched in the U.S. will find the same road. I bring you the warmest greetings from the National Committee of the Young Socialists."

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League told the Conference that Nixon's August 15th decisions to freeze wages and declare war on the European working class and the devaluation of the dollar now opens up a new period of sharp class struggle.

Capitalism, he said, can no longer offer anything but misery and unemployment. Those unemployed now will never find jobs and those who do work will be faced with an attack on everything they have won.

He emphasized that these attacks are changing the thinking of workers. They can no longer fight in the old trade union way with strikes because these attacks are political.

But the youth, he said respond in a different way to the crisis. "Youth seek a revolutionary solution. They have been through the experience of the poverty programs, the student protests, the demonstrations which produce nothing. Youth seek more power to fight with. George Jackson before he was murdered took up a study of Marxism and said that Engels' Anti-Duhring was the most important book he had ever read.

"The different levels of consciousness poses the problem of building a movement. While the attacks of Nixon provide the basis for a change, workers do not automatically become socialists."

PARTY

"At this point, a revolutionary party based on Marxism, on all the lessons of the October Revolution, of Trotsky's struggle against its degeneration, all this understanding must be brought forward in a revolutionary party so that youth can go forward."

Wohlforth emphasized the decisive role of the youth in building not just a youth movement but in bringing the workers into the revolutionary movement. This is expressed, he said, in the quote from the Transitional Program written on the banner at the front of the room:

"Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution."

Wohlforth explained that it is not enough just to bring the program to the working class but to understand how Marxism and dialectics is related to the program.

"Marxist theory must also be brought into the working class. You must go into a struggle of opposites against the workers capitalist thinking and bourgeois ideology.

"We are not just proposing this program as an idea but we must make it live in the life of the party. We must bring Marxist theory into the life of the party. We must be able to mobilize and move masses in struggle.

"The missing ingredient is not the desire of workers and youth to fight. The problem is to construct the revolutionary party. Youth have the major responsibility for the development of theory."

PROGRAM

In the afternoon Gil Gonzales

and Abby Rodriguez presented reports on perspectives and program for building the youth movement.

Gil Gonzalez spoke on the need to build a movement based on the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky against all those who have betrayed and revised these principles. The Stalinists tie the working class to the ruling class and were directly responsible for the defeats of the working class in Germany and Spain in the 1930s. Today, Mao following in Stalin's footsteps lines up with U.S. imperialism in attacking the people of Bangla Desh. Only a movement rooted in the working class that fights to unite the class in a struggle for power can bring victory.

The youth program—the fight for jobs for all, for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay, for free higher education and job training, the fight against the war, the fight to force the trade unions to take up the defense of the unemployed and the fight to build a labor party—were discussed.

Throughout the Conference the youth played an active and lively role in the discussion. Many questions were brought up on the nature of socialism, how to end unemployment, how to win power. Several youth posed the problem of the need for unity and the nature of the revisionist organizations.

When a member of an opponent organization tried to speak she

was denied the floor. These organizations were not invited to attend the conference because they stand in complete opposition to the Workers League and Trotskyism. Their only purpose is to destroy our movement. The purpose of the Conference was not to have a debate with these groups but to bring out the widest possible discussion from youth interested in the program of the Workers League.

Some of the youth at the Conference felt that opponent organizations should speak since this would be the way to bring about unity. This conception was also raised by some who said that a youth movement should be constructed by uniting the organizations that exist now.

This reflected the conception that a revolutionary youth movement can be built on the basis of centrism. But as was pointed out at the conference, there are only two ideologies. One is the ideology of the capitalist class and the other is Marxism which represents the interests of the working class. A youth movement can only be built on the basis of Marxist principles fought out historically by the revolutionary party against all those who sought to revise it. Marxist theory must be brought into the youth and the working class. Only in this way can a movement be built which can destroy capitalism.

(Continued On Page 12)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon Moves To Crush Vietnam Revolution

The United States has overturned the tables on all the secret deals made with the Hanoi Stalinists at the Paris peace talks over the last three years. Last weekend, President Nixon sent 350 war planes on around-the-clock runs over North Vietnam. His spokesmen are not even pretending that the raids are of an exceptional character. The attacks have been described officially as only a "prelude" to even more terrible assaults.

It is clear that American imperialism has decided to accomplish what it has planned to do since it first intervened in Indochina: destroy the Vietnamese Revolution and restore capitalism in the North. That is the real ambition of imperialism which Nixon seeks to camouflage beneath the withdrawal of rebellious American soldiers from Vietnam. Through the use of the most massive bombing in the history of warfare, Nixon is attempting to reverse all the defeats imperialism has been dealt in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

In October of 1968, shaken by humiliating defeats at the hands of the workers and peasants of Vietnam and besieged at home by angry public protests, American imperialism was compelled to suspend the bombing of North Vietnam. The retreat ordered by Lyndon Johnson did not mean the United States had abandoned its determination to smash the Vietnamese Revolution. Rather, it was in keeping with the strategy of American imperialism during the epoch of the Bretton Woods agreements: to back down in a class battle to avoid total defeat and rely upon Stalinism to buy time for the interests of capitalism.

The collapse of the Bretton Woods system which tied the dollar to gold means the end of the period of calculated compromise. The weight of the international economic crisis is forcing the imperialists to wage all-out war against the working class in every part of the world. This new era of total class war is finding its deadly expression in the resumption of saturation bombing against North Vietnam.

It is not only the rights of the masses of Indochina that are threatened by the hammerblows of imperialism. The offensive of the ruling class flows from a capitalist crisis that is international in scope. The devaluation of the U.S. dollar, while dividing the capitalists of different nations in bitter economic competition, has united the capitalists in their attack upon the working class. Before ordering the resumption of the bombing, Nixon met with Heath and Pompidou in order to draw from them the rich experience of English and French imperialism in the art of class war.

As bombs rain down upon North Vietnam, Nixon's Pay Board boasts of a new "Get Tough" policy, and prepares to drive down the living standards of all American workers. This week it is the aerospace workers who are told they have to accept the guidelines imposed by a crisis-ridden capitalism; next week it will be the transit workers in New York. And the ruling class backs up its threats with the jailings of 200 Newark teachers who dared to strike for decent wages.

The resumption of large-scale bombings exposes the pernicious role of Stalinism. The bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China do all they can to develop within the working class the illusion of peaceful coexistence even as the logic of the capitalist crisis is forcing the breakup of all the old relations between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The Stalinists answer this crisis not with the mobilization of the working class but by inviting Nixon to Moscow and Peking.

The defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam is a task that confronts the international working class. The protest movement of the middle class, upon which the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party have staked all their hopes and for which they have abandoned every Marxist principle, cannot meet this responsibility. It has been destroyed by the very crisis which its existence reflected.

Only the working class can defeat imperialism; and the workers of this country will play a major role in that fight. In the struggle to build a labor party in order to defend itself against the attacks of the capitalists, American workers are undertaking the independent class mobilization that can destroy the very foundations of imperialism.

It is for this independent class mobilization that the Trotskyist movement—and the Trotskyist movement alone—is fighting:

- STOP THE BOMBING—VICTORY TO THE NLF!
- END STALINIST SECRET DIPLOMACY WITH NIXON!
- BUILD A LABOR PARTY FOR '72 AGAINST NIXON!



"I'll have to let this water out!"

What we think

Spartacist Rages Against Marxism

The development of the Workers League and its struggle to construct a revolutionary youth movement has produced a completely frenzied and vicious reaction from the Spartacist League and similar groups like the Communist Tendency of Boston. Without the slightest regard for principle or even rationality Spartacist has sought to disrupt a number of Workers League meetings and in other ways divert the development of the revolutionary party in the United States. In the course of doing this it has been more than willing to unite with any other tendency so long as it hates the Workers League. It acts to bolster the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party at a most critical juncture in the development of the working class movement.

At a meeting at Stony Brook Spartacist united with the remnants of the May Day tribe in its attack on the Workers League. In Boston Spartacist joined with the Communist Tendency (formerly supporters of Fender in the SWP) in a disruptive session which ended in attempts to shout down the Workers League speaker, to try to stage a walk out from the meeting, and accusations from an individual Spartacist member that the Workers League was like the Czar. In Canada a similar group around Bob Sherwood joined with a representative of the French OCI and the Canadian Pabloites in attacks on the Workers League. Neither Sherwood nor the OCI found time to take up Pabloism. Needless to say they were all assembled outside of the recent Conference of Revolutionary Youth with their leaflets and papers denouncing the Workers League.

Behind this furor stands the sharp turn in the objective situation brought about by the intensification of the capitalist crisis. These developments took Spartacist, as well as the Pabloites, by surprise as they, like Pabloites, base their perspectives on the stability of capitalism. With no perspective of their own, being tossed about by this class movement, and faced with the International Committee which alone prepared consciously for these developments, Spartacist is driven into a rage bordering on madness. It seeks to do everything it can to obstruct our development. It proceeds without principle or restraint.

Its method is to proceed with a series of bits and pieces, with points and positions, seeking to make a case against the Workers League. It is not concerned with what case it makes as long as it is derisive—it happily accuses us of both opportunism and ultra-leftism. It is very much like a

drowning man at sea in an immense storm, being incapable of making a boat, clinging to this or that piece of driftwood. It can define only the bit or the piece. It neither recognizes the storm as a whole nor can it fashion a vessel to go forward under these new conditions.

In meeting after meeting Spartacist was challenged to present its perspectives, its strategy. It remained silent on this point. It has no strategy, no perspective, only an assemblage of criticisms and a blinding class hatred for the Workers League. Over a year ago we wrote an extensive series in the Bulletin and reprinted it in the pamphlet *What Is Spartacist?* posing the same question. To date there has been no answer. These people have no position on the great questions facing the movement. They can only deal in small change.

Spartacist has assembled a number of criticisms of the Workers League and these in one or another sequence make up the heart of their articles, leaflets and speeches on the Workers League. Even these are of significance in what they revealed about the method of Spartacist. These criticisms fall into two categories. First are questions of inconsistency, the discovery that from time to time the Workers League changes its position. The second is criticisms of the Workers League for taking a stand on and seeking to intervene in the developments of the class struggle—particularly of the colonial peoples.

The first is no great discovery for we have written publicly on many occasions assessing our own development and correcting past errors. A living movement can only develop through confronting its own mistakes and educating its movement in this way. Those who claim to make no error and thus refuse to confront these problems of development are doomed to sterility. For instance we took a completely hostile position on SDS in its earlier period. This was one-sided for while recognizing the reactionary student powerist orientation of SDS, it meant an abstention from a necessary experience of thousands of students who despite everything were part of the preparation of the working class movement for this new period. We were right to be hostile to its politics but wrong to abstain from struggle with its development.

The Black Panthers expressed this question in another way. It is true that we originally took a very hostile position on the Panthers. But the Panthers themselves went through a development and particularly within the last year began to grapple with questions of Marxism and Marxist

philosophy. This reflected an objective need of the working class and coincided with a development taking place among broad sections of Black youth. It was necessary at that point to greet this development positively and seek to participate in a discussion with the Panthers and those influenced by the Panthers if for only the very brief period that such questions were treated with seriousness. To miss such moments can mean the death of a revolutionary movement. So our position on the Panthers was not static and required at a certain point a very positive turn. It is significant that not only is Spartacist critical of us in this regard but so has been the SWP. They have been able to swallow everything the nationalists have done but choke on Newton's consideration of dialectics.

On the question of the colonial revolution Spartacist has been completely hostile and abstentionist. The International Committee has given its support to every struggle of colonial peoples even when led by bourgeois forces fighting all the time for leadership of these struggles against the bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists. This is the stand we took in defense of the Arab revolution against Israel and it is the stand we take today in relation to Bengal.

Above all Spartacist is hostile to the working class and working class youth. This is of course behind the back of the hand they give George Jackson's struggle to develop dialectical materialism as an alternative to nationalism. This is why they refer to the Conference of Revolutionary Youth, called by the Workers League, as "ill-fated", as a "watered-down street demonstration approach" based on a program they characterize as "economist."

In this way they reject actually fighting to mobilize working class youth—yes, into street demonstrations among other activities—against the capitalist class around a socialist program of constructing a labor party dedicated to nationalization of basic industries and providing full employment. In this way they reject the battle to bring Marxist theory to these youth and turn these youth towards the trade union movement in order to give a lead to the growing movement of rank and file workers against Nixon and against the trade union bureaucracy.

Our difference with Spartacist is a class difference and Spartacist's hatred of us is of a class character. This is why Spartacist is more than willing to join with anyone including Pabloites against our movement at any time. This is why Spartacist reacts with such frenzy to our own development.



An Open Letter to the 1971 Y.S.A. Convention

This convention is being held under conditions of a sharp turn in the whole international situation. The recent devaluation of the dollar for the first time since the 1930s illustrates that Nixon's August 15th decisions have accomplished nothing for capitalism. The devaluation itself will likewise solve nothing fundamental. The capitalist crisis now dominates everything preparing the ground for tremendous class actions and struggles.

Nixon's decision to refuse to honor dollars with gold which stands despite devaluation is an admission of the complete bankruptcy of American capitalism—the central capitalist power in the world. It means that much of the capital in the world is completely fictitious, having no value whatsoever. This situation threatens at any moment to stop the productive, distributive and trading process itself. Not even in the depression of the 1930s did America abandon the gold basis for the dollar. The crisis capitalism faces today is far, far deeper than the one it faced in the 1930s.

There is only one way out for the capitalists and that is to push back the working class to the conditions of the 1930s and worse. Without this, value cannot be restored and the system saved. This is why Nixon has instituted the Pay Board and why he is intensifying his pressure on the European bourgeoisies forcing them to attack their working classes. But the capitalists face a powerful working class strengthened by years of prosperity and determined to hold on to what they have. This is why we say major class confrontations no longer can be avoided. They must be prepared for and now.

It is these developments which require a confrontation with all the issues raised in the history of the Trotskyist movement. First and foremost is the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism. As we now exist under conditions where the question of power itself will be raised, Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism becomes a question of burning concern to all the new forces now entering into the struggle because of the crisis. If the lessons of Stalinism are not absorbed in time the working class will face new defeats in a period when the stakes are a more brutal fascism than even under Hitler or the socialist revolution.

At the same time all the questions related to the development of revisionism from out of the Trotskyist movement must also be discussed. The new developments require this and the new forces coming into the movement will demand it. Such a discussion cannot be suppressed. It is, in fact, going on today.

THE 1953 SPLIT

First and foremost is the question of the 1953 split in the Fourth International which led to the formation of the International Committee. Precisely at this point when the task of constructing mass Trotskyist parties is at hand it becomes necessary to confront the 1953 split which centered around just this issue.

It is significant that Joseph Hansen and Pierre Frank take opposed positions on this

question. While Hansen seeks to soften the full meaning of the 1953 split he is forced to say:

"While proclaiming adherence to Trotskyism, Pablo today stands on such concepts as 'centuries of degenerated workers states' and the possibility of Communist parties 'reforming' themselves, which he advanced some two decades ago which helped precipitate the factional struggle and split of that time."

Pierre Frank on the other hand states: "In fact 'Pabloism' is an invention dating from 1952-53, when it was used in an attempt to explain the split. This concept represented an incorrect extrapolation of the policy advocated by the Fourth International at the time."

In 1963 the SWP supported a reunification with the remnants of the Pabloite formation. The reunification took place through an agreement not to discuss the 1953 split and its causes. Now after some eight years of common existence in the same international movement Frank and Hansen still cannot agree on 1953. That this disagreement persists and that both Hansen and Frank are compelled now to discuss it publicly for the first time testifies to the importance of the split and pertinence of the issues involved for today's struggles.

What Pablo held in 1953 was that under conditions of a "new reality" and imminent war-revolution the **Transitional Program** and struggle for Trotskyism no longer had any significance. The Stalinist parties would be transformed under these new conditions into revolutionary instruments through the pressure of the masses. The construction of Trotskyist parties was abandoned in favor of liquidating the Trotskyist cadres into the Stalinist and other mass parties in the hopes of encouraging centrist formations which in turn would be pressurized to carry through the revolution.

In later years the same method was applied to mass social democratic parties and to petty bourgeois nationalist formations in the colonial countries.

There are several features here which must be understood. First Pabloism breaks with the Marxist assessment of capitalism. It turns away from the scientific analysis of the contradictory development of the capitalist crisis using instead abstract schema of imminent revolution or conversely "neo-capitalism." Having thus "recognized" objective conditions different from those assessed by Lenin in **Imperialism and Trotsky** in the **Transitional Program** the stage is set for the abandonment of Lenin's and Trotsky's whole strategy. Next comes this abandonment which takes the form primarily of turning away from Trotsky's whole struggle against Stalinism. Finally comes the concrete proposals for actually

liquidating the Trotskyist cadres.

No wonder the SWP's "Open Letter" of the time was to state:

"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."

Cannon himself remarked:

"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 importance of these questions today is clear. Today we are in a period when we not only can but must build Trotskyist parties which become mass parties. Today we are in a period when Stalinism's counterrevolutionary role means defeat and death to whole sections of the working class as in Indonesia, Ceylon, Sudan, Bolivia, and Bangla Desh. But today the SWP and YSA assert, through the theory of neo-capitalism, that we are not in such a period and persist on the basis of the theory of the "new radicalization" to liquidate themselves in the middle class protest movements.

THE MARXIST METHOD

On one question both Hansen and Frank agree—the question of the Marxist method. On this they are also joined by the French OCI, Spartacist, and most everybody else. The French explained this most clearly when they rejected a motion the International Committee Majority placed before the Essen Conference calling for a struggle to develop Marxist theory. This they characterized as "expressing the idealist position, the abandonment of Marxism, in the name of an ideology which it baptizes as 'Marxist philosophy.'"

Hansen supports the French in this rejection characterizing our position as "typical of the abstract generalizations the leaders of the SLL are fond of." Elsewhere Hansen refers derisively to us for talking "so incessantly about dialectical materialism" and to appealing "to dialectical materialism as a dogma for the precise purpose of stifling critical thinking..." Spartacist adds its sneer about our "much-vaunted method." Frank for his part, after attacking those who cling "To every letter, every word, every comma of the **Transitional Program**" goes on to state: "...The Fourth International has not indulged in a mere repetition of formulas but has striven to carry the Trotskyist movement forward by offering appropriate answers to the new problems."

Trotsky, however, took a different position. Rather than jeering at dialectical materialism he based everything he did on it. In 1940 he led a struggle against the Shachtmanites over precisely this question. Shachtman sought to offer "appropriate answers" to the "new problem" of the USSR's invasion of Finland and Poland. Trotsky saw in this a pragmatic method which simply tossed out all the historically developed theoretical capital of Marxism—all the letters, words and commas—in favor of immediate impressions. These impressions in turn

reflected the class pressure of the bourgeoisie through the middle classes.

It is this break with the Marxist method which lies behind the development of Pabloite revisionism. It is only through taking up a struggle for dialectics as part of constructing the revolutionary party that we can prepare for this new period of gigantic class struggles.

There is another aspect of this question of Marxist philosophy. Marx insisted on distinguishing dialectical materialism from the old mechanical materialism precisely over the question of the active role of consciousness. Marxism sees thought developing out of a struggle against nature in which man seeks to change nature guided by conscious thought. It is not a matter of a passive reflection of nature.

The importance of this aspect of Marxism as a theory of knowledge is pointed out by Lenin when in **What Is To Be Done?** he insisted that socialist consciousness must be brought into the working class from the outside.

Only trade union consciousness, which is a bourgeois form of consciousness because it accepts the bourgeois order, develops spontaneously.

This means that the critical question is the role of the revolutionary party bringing socialist consciousness into the actual struggles of the working class that are now developing under these new conditions after August 15th. It is not enough to "reflect" the present stage of consciousness of workers or middle class. No force other than our conscious party will be "forced" by circumstances to play this conscious revolutionary role. This is why all Pabloist theories, including the current theories of the YSA and SWP leadership, mean an abdication of leadership and the theoretical liquidation of the party.

"REALISM"

These are some of the questions which must now be discussed within the YSA and internationally. This is the understanding which has guided the International Committee from its inception and this is why the International Committee and only the International Committee has been prepared for this new stage in the capitalist crisis while those like the Pabloites who prided themselves in their "realism" have come unstuck by these new events.

The Workers League will do everything it can to assist such a discussion.

What we intend to do at this juncture, based on this understanding, is to take up a sharp fight for the creation of a labor party based on the trade unions, dedicated to socialist policies, within the trade union movement, fighting at the same time to bring this movement out in general strike against the attacks being made upon it by the capitalist class through Nixon. At the same time the mass of working class youth, who receive the most severe attacks in the form of school cuts and unemployment, must be organized into a mass socialist youth movement which will be instrumental in developing this fight in the unions as well.

Political Committee, Workers League.

IN THIS three-part article, Cliff Slaughter of the Socialist Labour League Central Committee deals with a recent attempt by Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party (USA) to make political capital out of the differences within the International Committee of the Fourth International between the SLL and the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste, which came into the open at the rally of socialist youth in Essen, Germany, in July this year. What emerges is that the fight to clarify theoretical questions is fatal to Hansen himself and to the revisionists he represents.

A Consistent Enemy of Marxism

WHEN THE Socialist Labour League and the majority sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International issued their October 24 statement, outlining differences within the IC, this was certain to give rise to speculation and hostility from the enemies of Trotskyism. (The IC statement appeared in Workers Press on November 5.)

And so, on November 22, Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party (USA) republished the IC statement in 'Intercontinental Press', together with his own comments in footnote form. 'Intercontinental Press' carries the political line of the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat' based in Paris.

Hansen's concern, as always, is to attack the SLL and everything it stands for. He attacks all those who, together with the SLL, insist on Marxist theory and its development as the only basis for the revolutionary party. So far as the opportunist Hansen is concerned, the content of the IC statement is highly dangerous, because the clarification of theoretical issues always threatens the 'common sense' of the opportunist and his unclarified political relations.

This comes out clearly from Hansen's comments, despite his injunction to readers to 'suspend judgement on the merits of the arguments until both sides have had full opportunity to explain their points of view'.

This is just Hansen's typical mixture of liberal blandishments and crude manoeuvring for position.

The split in the IC came into the open at the Essen youth rally in July 1971, as the majority IC statement makes clear. There the OCI (Organization Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the IC), together with the Hungarian and Mexican sections, voted together with non-Trotskyist groups to defeat an amendment moved by the Young Socialists (youth organization of the SLL) and supported by the majority of IC sections. The amendment read:

'There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially of Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory. The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this rally and for the struggle to build the international revolutionary youth movement.'

'Revolutionary youth everywhere must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combating the dangers of adventurism, activism and "pure" militancy with which revisionists and Maoists mislead the youth, and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class.'

Even though Hansen spreads himself to 32 footnotes, all he says about this amendment—the essence of the matter—is the following:

'This is typical of the abstract

generalizations the leaders of the SLL are fond of. Why they insisted on it being put to a vote at the Essen conference—they in fact made it a splitting issue—and why, in face of the ultimatum, the Lambertists [OCI] decided to vote it down, still remains to be explained concretely.'

Thus, having advised his readers to suspend judgement, Hansen proceeds to declare against the IC majority, dismissing our insistence on the primacy of revolutionary theory as an 'abstract generalization'!

The first sentence of our amendment is virtually word-for-word a quotation from Lenin, the essential idea of his 'What is to be Done?'

For Joseph Hansen, reputedly at this moment in time fighting within the Unified Secretariat for 'orthodox' Leninist conceptions, Lenin's dictum is an 'abstract generalization' and an 'ultimatum'.

It is as well to remember that in Lenin's lifetime, his Menshevik and opportunist enemies never ceased to denounce him as a man who posed them with 'ultimatums'. Like Hansen, they screamed for 'concrete questions' whenever Lenin raised political and philosophical matters.

We have criticized the OCI for abandoning this fight for theory. Instead, they have taken a



Castro: Hansen's 'natural Marxist'

course of adapting to what they suppose is the spontaneous emergence of political consciousness in the working class.

Our conception is that programme and policy are derived from the fight to develop theory. The political initiatives flowing from this struggle provide leadership for the revolutionary workers and youth in struggle.

From this struggle, a conflict with the class as it is, results a deepened conception of the contradictions in the objective reality and the further advance of theory. Once again practice can be enriched.

It was this conception that the OCI voted down.

Our statement of October 24 warned them that to side with centrists on such a fundamental issue was already a split. It would have been utterly irresponsible and dangerous to go further in political collaboration without the settlement of these questions.

The International Committee and Joseph Hansen



The path taken by the SWP through its abandonment of the fight for Marxist theory is well known to the OCI leaders.

Do they want to tread this same path? The non-class line in the anti-war movement, the capitulation to black nationalism, the condolences to Kennedy's widow . . . ?

Not wanting at any cost to discuss theory, Hansen prefers tricks, like referring to the present divisions in the IC as being between 'Healyites' and 'Lambertists', pandering to the middle-class prejudices of an audience which prefer to see everything in terms of cults and leaders.

This, then, is the first conclusion from Hansen's comments: his basic anti-theoretical position brings him down firmly on the side of the OCI and against the IC majority on the 'fundamental question.'

2. Hansen defends centrism

HANSEN refers to the 1953 split with Pablo, which led to the formation of the International Committee (supported then by the SWP) as 'a sharp factional struggle'.

A pragmatist like Hansen has no responsibility to anyone for his past statements or for their subsequent verification. The fact is that Hansen, together with the SWP leadership, declared in 1953 that Michel Pablo, Ernest Germain and Pierre Frank had completely abandoned Trotskyism and there could never be compromise!

Now history must be rewritten according to what is 'useful' today, and a fundamental split is reduced to the proportions of 'a sharp factional struggle'.

The same Hansen objects to our calling his 'United Secretariat' Pabloite, on the grounds that Pablo himself is now outside its ranks and holds different political positions. Yet Hansen also tells us that:

'By 1957 [NB] the main political differences separating the International Committee and the International Secretariat (of Pablo) had been overcome; but a reunification was deliberately blocked by both Healy and Pablo.'

Once again Hansen tries to reduce basic theoretical questions to issues of 'unity' and personalities.

He tries many other tricks of the same sort, but as soon as he touches on a big question he cannot fail to give himself away. Implicitly he defends the position of the OCI in lining up with centrists and right-wingers at Essen.

The IC statement stressed the significance of the Spanish POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) voting with the OCI, because the politics of the POUM represent a decisive moment

in the history of the struggle Fourth International.

The POUM's centrism on the international question was matched by its utter failure to provide alternative leadership in the 1936-1939 Spanish revolution.

At no time has the POUM leadership ever corrected these positions, holding fast to the centrist opinion that the formation of the Fourth International was 'premature'.

The POUM was described by Trotsky in the Transitional Programme — the founding programme of the Fourth International—as the 'highest point' of 'intermediate centrist organizations', and 'under revolutionary conditions proved completely incapable of following a revolutionary line'.

'Forgetting' all this, Hansen excuses the OCI's agreement with the POUM on sheer pragmatic grounds:

'In the third of a century that has passed since then, both the leadership and the membership of the POUM have changed [the same might be said, no doubt, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or the Falange]. The Trotskyists of today, while bearing in mind the record of the previous generation [?], must be guided by an analysis of the current composition, programme, and direction of movement of the POUM in determining their attitude towards it.' (Footnote 10.)

This one footnote would form an excellent exercise-example for an elementary textbook of the difference between Marxism and pragmatism.

Whereas Marxists fight the theoretical struggle through to the end as the only way of assuring continuity and as the only sound basis for organizational unity, the pragmatist 'bears the record in mind' (it might come in handy) and looks at the concrete 'present', the 'current composition, programme and direction', no doubt to see if it measures up to some ready-made 'Trotskyist' criterion.

In this way, for example, Hansen discovered Castro to be a 'natural Marxist'.

As for another Essen participant voting with the OCI, the United States 'National Students Association' (NSA) Hansen condemns the IC majority for referring to its receipt of CIA funds, pointing out that many organizations were CIA-infiltrated and 'supported'.

But in the whole of his lengthy footnote, Hansen at no point denies the CIA support, and he never discusses the political questions raised, both in our document and at Essen, to the effect that NSA supports the Stalinist 'People's Peace Treaty in Vietnam' campaign, and is a right-wing organization.

Hansen, in fact, is lending his

weight, such as it is, to heighten all the liquidationist dangers to which the OCI leadership has exposed the movement.

To put it plainly, Hansen is saying to the French, Hungarian and Mexican sections: 'You are discovering what we, the SWP discovered ten years ago; that it is no longer possible or even necessary to concentrate on building independent revolutionary parties of the Fourth International. You must learn to make friends and find a bit of good in all sorts of people.'

Cuba & Ceylon

JOSEPH HANSEN throws out well-worn slanders against the Socialist Labour League which he hopes will appeal to weaknesses in the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste. He says:

'The sharpest point of divergence with Healy and his followers in the SWP came over his view that no revolution had occurred in Cuba and that Fidel Castro was another "Batista". Such a view would have made it impossible to defend the Cuban revolution had it been adopted.'

The SLL and the International Committee have at all times defended the Cuban revolution. We have said, however, that unless the bourgeois (national liberation) beginnings of this revolution, represented by Castro and his supporters, is transcended by the proletarian revolution, then its gains are endangered, and many of the aims even of the bourgeois revolution, such as democratic rights, will never be won.

Hansen, on the other hand, insisted that a workers' state has been set up in Cuba, and that middle-class radicalism had by a process of inner transformation become Trotskyism.

Hansen's conclusions on Castro were a full flowering of the conclusions he had already begun to draw, like Pablo and Germain, from the crisis of Stalinism after 1956 and from

the nationalist uprising in Algeria.

This indeed was the essence of the SLL's case against the SWP: that because they never penetrated to the philosophical roots of the 1953 split with Pablo, they would themselves degenerate politically in face of the same social forces.

Still today it is Hansen's opposition to Marxist theory which determines his stance on every development, including his support for the basic OCI position.

He sneers at the SLL's concern with dialectical materialism:

'For an organization that talks so incessantly about dialectical materialism, the SLL has produced singularly little in the way of contributions to Marxism. This is because the leaders of the SLL are not really interested in the subject.'

Hansen is just trying to take advantage of the ignorance of some of his readers. He knows that, precisely on the subject of dialectical materialism against pragmatism, many thousands of lines were written from the SLL in the discussion over revisionism in the SWP in the 1962-1963 period before the American 're-united with Pabloite organization.

Suffice it to say for the time being that in the course of that discussion Hansen defined dialectical materialism as 'consistent empiricism', thus managing to wipe out the whole century and a half of Marxism, as well as the previous 250 years of the history of philosophy!

For the rest, Hansen resorts to straightforward lying.

This is the result of his dilemma, when confronted with a discussion on principles. He himself, since the fake reunification in 1963, has found himself without support in Europe in the

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

The proof in action was soon provided, and the time granted put to good use. In six months the LSSP majority leaders were bourgeois ministers!

This document proves that, when Hansen denies the Ceylon sell-out resulted from the phoney reunification of 1963, his own brain-child, he lies.

The same document makes crystal clear that the 1963 reunification was used to cover this betrayal.

According to the Unified Secretariat, if they proceeded against the LSSP leaders:

'... It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism; secondly, to exacerbate matters still further by transferring the debate to the public arena. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the Unified Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP. The end-result would be highly injurious to the Fourth International and to the LSSP.'

Hansen & History of F.I.

HANSEN is no less dishonest in dealing with the history of his own relations with the International Committee. According to him:

meant including the Pabloites and discussing all the disputed questions since 1953.

That is why, as early as 1954, after the split with Pablo, the Trotskyists who later formed the SLL in Britain proposed to engage the Pabloites in discussion, in order to take the disputed issues to their depths, but it was the SWP leadership which blocked such a step.

This discussion was also the best way to bring out the crisis inside the Pabloite ranks. Only out of such a discussion could the basis be laid for a genuine unification of the revolutionary forces.

Hansen chose to abuse the 1962 Parity Commission, regarding it not as the basis for a principled discussion, but as an arena for manoeuvring closer to

But Hansen reveals himself, as always, entirely in line with Pablo's revisions of Marxism.

He refers to the 'very real problem that faced the world Trotskyist movement in accounting theoretically for the emergence of a series of workers' states following World War II without the direct leadership of revolutionary socialist parties.' (Footnote 25.)

The differences with Pablo arose, as Hansen is well aware, not over the definition of these states as deformed workers' states—on that there was agreement—but over Pablo's conclusion that revolutionary parties were no longer necessary; mass pressure on the bureaucracies would force them to take power, giving rise to the voluntary liquidation of the Fourth International.



For Hansen, Lenin's dictum is an 'abstract generalization'

Bella's government.

'As a result, we must accept as much of the responsibility as anybody for the serious setback. For this reason it is mandatory that we examine this setback and our own responsibility for it, in order to draw certain conclusions from the Algerian events. It was for the above reason that I asked the Second Congress after reunification (December 1965) to discuss formally the Algerian events. But no formal discussion took place.

'Again at a meeting of the IEC in February 1968, I proposed the Algerian events be officially placed on the agenda of the coming World Congress and a formal position be taken.

'At this meeting both comrades Livio Maitan and Sirio Di Giulio, maria objected to the proposal, although the majority at the meeting accepted it.'

After Ceylon, Algeria in both cases, revisionist forces at the centre of defeats and betrayals. In both cases, discussion is excluded, before, during and after.

So Hansen's problem, as he begins to attack the International Committee today, is that the discussion he managed to avoid in 1963 is now having to be conducted after eight bitter years in which he and Peng have reaped the fruits. Peng concludes:

'The most important lessons should be drawn from the International's mistakes in relation to the Algerian events. One of the most important mistakes was the failure of the International to seriously criticize Ben Bella's government as well as the failure to propose any revolutionary programme for the Algerian masses in order to advance their struggle.

'On the contrary, the International and the International leadership in their many articles gave much praise to the FLN leadership, especially to Ben Bella and even Boumedienne.'

And finally:

'The mistakes committed by the International, as mentioned above, represent an adaptation to a petty-bourgeois leadership. Such an adaptation is not accidental or without precedent.'

So how can Hansen get away with his: '... where Pablo failed was in building a cadre organization, and for this he was severely criticized by the Fourth International?'



Ben Bella

Building the F.I.

IF AT the end we return to one of Hansen's characteristically petty and vicious verbal twists, it is only because it enables us to contrast his method with the great principled issues at stake.

The IC statement of October 24 draws attention to and con-

VIVE LES ETATS UNIS SOCIALISTES D'EUROPE
 S LEBEN DIE SOZIALISTISCHEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN EUROPAS
 LONG LIVE THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE
 VIVA LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS SOCIALISTAS DE EUROPA
 ПРАВСТВУЕТ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИЕ СОЕДИНЕННЫЕ ШТАТЫ ЕВРОПЫ



'unified' Pabloite organization. There is no way for him to 'take advantage' of the division in the IC. Unable to discuss principles, he resorts to lies.

On the question of Ceylon, Hansen replies to the IC:

'The entry of the LSSP [the "Trotskyist" party of Ceylon] into the bourgeois coalition [1964] did not come as a "direct consequence" of the 1963 reunification... but in spite of it.' (Footnote 15.)

The facts are that instead of expelling or disciplining the LSSP leadership before they entered the bourgeois government, the Pabloite Paris secretariat defended them from criticism and covered up for them. For example, in reply to critics in December 1963 they said:

'... the Unified Secretariat

'The process of unifying with the "Pabloites" was actually initiated by Healy with his proposal for a Parity Commission in which both sides participated for more than a year before the Reunification Congress of 1963.' (Footnote 24.)

As for who 'initiated the process of reunification', Hansen has already told us that so far as the SWP was concerned, the 1953 differences had disappeared by 1957!

So let Hansen not try to appear as the innocent maiden seduced as late as 1962.

The SLL certainly did propose such a commission, equally represented on both sides, to organize an international discussion. We were convinced that the revisionism of the SWP leaders must be placed in its full international and historical context, and this

the Pabloites. At a crucial moment, Hansen led his supporters into the 'reunification', despite a previous decision that only after an international conference of IC sections and supporters would any such step even be discussed. He ran away from the discussion.

And when the SLL and the IC made approaches for discussion with the Unified Secretariat and its sections in June/July 1970, it was once again the SWP who blocked the road. At all stages, Hansen has been opposed to the theoretical discussion.

Hansen now protests that the term 'Pabloite' should not be used for the Unified Secretariat, because Pablo himself was expelled from that body in 1965.

THE CRUDEST example of Pabloite liquidationism was to appear in Algeria. Michel Pablo took to its logical conclusion the idea of the Unified Secretariat that Ben Bella and the FLN (Algerian nationalist movement) could bring about the establishment of an Algerian workers' state.

He joined Ben Bella's administration and, of course, he had to leave Algeria when Ben Bella was overthrown by the right-wing militarist Boumedienne.

For Joseph Hansen, the most important thing in Algeria was to 'become involved in the mass movement...'

He says that 'Pablo understood this and won considerable recognition among the Algerian vanguard. Where he failed was in building a cadre organization, and for this he was severely criticized by the Fourth International.' (Footnote 26.)

The real history is very different indeed, and Hansen would once again have been wiser to keep his nose out of it.

This is best proved out of the mouth of Hansen's closest associate within the Unified Secretariat, S. T. Peng, who was recently and belatedly forced to reconsider the whole Algerian experience.

Writing in the Pabloite internal bulletin, he concluded:

'This coup [by Boumedienne] also represented a heavy blow for the Fourth International and its political position [two years after reunification!] not only because of the direct involvement and participation in the Algerian events on the part of several sections... but also because one of the International's leaders, Michel Pablo, participated in Ben

demns the persistent assertion of the OCI that the Fourth International no longer exists because of the blows struck against Trotskyism by Pabloism. Hansen comments:

'The Healyite meaning is that the OCI does not recognize that the Fourth International really exists in the form of the SLL and the thoughts of its secretary, Gerry Healy.' (Footnote 27.)

This is all that can be expected from Hansen, who long ago joined those, like Pablo, who set out to destroy the Fourth International. But the question has the greatest importance for Marxists.

There is an essential continuity in the struggle of Trotsky against Stalin and in the fight since Trotsky's death against revisionism, just as Trotsky's own struggle began from the work of Lenin and the early Communist International, and before that from Marx and Engels.

The Second and Third Internationals were thoroughly internally corroded and went over lock, stock and barrel to the imperialists.

But Pabloism was certainly unable to disrupt and destroy the Trotskyist forces in the Fourth International.

By combating revisionism, building independent revolutionary parties, and intervening in every struggle of the working class, the International Committee has built the Fourth International on the foundations laid by Trotsky.

Once again, let the OCI and their supporters be warned: on basic questions like this, Hansen, whose record they know, falls naturally into defending them against the Socialist Labour League and the IC majority.

The more the present divisions in the International Committee provoke comment from the side of the revisionists, the more we shall undoubtedly see that for them the results will be deadly dangerous, forcing out the contradictions which they have for so long concealed behind their unprincipled 'unity'.

Pierre Frank and the International Committee

By CLIFF SLAUGHTER

PRINCIPLES are very awkward things to those who proceed in politics with the method of opportunism and manoeuvres.

Pierre Frank, veteran leader of the Pabloite revisionists (the Ligue Communiste) in France, is discovering this, not for the first time in his life.

Like Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party (USA), he has been unable to resist the temptation to comment on the divisions within the International Committee of the Fourth International (IC).

And he burns his fingers very badly, just as Hansen does. (See the previous three-part article on Joseph Hansen and the International Committee.)

Having avoided for so many years the principled theoretical questions in the world Trotskyist movement, Frank cannot approach the present differences in the IC except from a 'tactical' point of view.

He would like to use the SLL's criticism of the OCI (Organization Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the IC) for his own ends in France.

But, unfortunately for him, the principled nature of the IC majority's criticisms calls in question all his own political past and future!

Frank's difficulty is to make use of the SLL's criticisms while still covering up the differences he has, within the Pabloite move-

ment, with Hansen and his followers.

He also does not want to reveal the political differences even within the Ligue Communiste itself.

On top of all this, he still is obliged to slander the SLL, because he senses quite correctly that it is around the politics of the SLL that the decisive issues in the movement will be settled.

To do all these things at the same time has produced a predictably confused article by Frank ('Intercontinental Press', November 29.)

Hitting out at the SLL, Frank says:

'Healy [SLL national secretary] leans towards ultra-leftism (not the Maoist or spontaneist but the "Third Period" Stalinist type) . . .

This hash has been served up by Ernest Mandel and his friends for years, but it is in remarkable contrast to the main body of Frank's own article.

For example, he quotes the October 24 IC document at length on the OCI's mistaken electoral policies and its abstentionism on a whole number of issues, and says:

' . . . it is on Lambert's [OCI secretary] policies in France that Healy's attack is especially severe. It warrants being quoted at length because the whole story, or almost the whole story, is there.'

He proceeds to quote at great length, and concludes that the IC's criticisms 'are very similar, if not identical, to those long expressed by the Ligue Communiste.'

This is not true, but it indicates that Frank agrees with the criticisms.

The IC majority in fact criticized the OCI for failing to fight for a massive vote for the Com-

munist Party Presidential candidate in 1969.

This should have been done, at the same time insisting on the CP pledging socialist policies. Similarly we criticized the OCI for never raising the question of the Stalinists forming a government during the 1968 crisis.

It is sheer nonsense for Frank to quote these passages and still accuse us of 'Third Period' sectarianism!

The Stalinists of the 'Third Period' (1929-1933) refused any support to social-democrats against the Nazis on the grounds that reformists were 'social-fascists'. Rejecting the united front, they said:

'After Hitler, our turn.'

Now, if it comes to 'Third Period' policies, what price Frank's opposite numbers in Britain, the International Marxist Group and its 'Red Mole'?

In the General Election, of 1970 in Britain they advocated abstention between Tory and Labour, and recommended breaking up Labour meetings, just as the Stalinists had done in the 1930s!

The same Robin Blackburn who advocated this line most vociferously had an article printed in Frank's own 'Rogue' as recently as November 6.

It is only for the sake of peace and quiet in his own organization that Frank takes us to task for ignoring the candidacy of the Ligue Communiste's own Alain Krivine.

Frank knows that this was adventuristic nonsense, and his problem is that our criticism of the OCI carries even greater weight against his own organization.

This adventurism is not difficult to reconcile with sheer reformist opportunism.

For example, the same Krivine, together with other Pabloite leaders, meets regularly and officialy Rocard and the leading committee of the PSU, a party of 'new left' reformists.

This difficulty, of reconciling his comments on the IC divisions with the position in his own organization, is matched only by the international dilemma for Frank.

Whereas he concentrates on finding sticks to beat the OCI, Hansen puts all his weight in against the SLL.

All these elements have been forced into a theoretical and political impasse by the crisis of capitalism. They would like a way out of this impasse, but they want to do it without getting involved in the questions of principle.

Above all, they must not allow anyone to raise the historical questions of their own theoretical origins. We saw in earlier articles how Hansen distorted the history of the splits and unifications in his own history, and how he twisted the question at issue between the SLL and the OCI on the latter's claim that the Fourth International had been destroyed.

Frank is no better. Like Hansen, he rushed through the fake 'reunification' of the 1963 on the basis of refusing to discuss the issues of the 1953 split and their theoretical implications.

Later, in the course of the inevitable internal disputes among those who 'reunified', Frank admitted that to support Pablo in expelling the majority of the French section in 1952 had been a great mistake.

It is an accounting on these questions that Frank fears.

Because of this, he resorts to the same falsifications as Hansen, referring to the 'International Committee', whose declared aim was to "reconstruct" the Fourth International, allegedly "destroyed" by the "Pabloites".

So afraid is he of the past, of a real discussion, that he ignores the fact that one of the outstanding differences between the SLL and the OCI is that we reject this idea that the Pabloites were able to destroy the Fourth International!

A real discussion of just what Pabloism was, what its effects were, and what the lessons of the fight against it were—these are essential questions for the revolutionary movement.

Neither Frank, Hansen nor anyone else can prevent their being answered.

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MUSIC

LOU BELKIN

Mstislav Rostropovich

MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH, CELLIST. Newark Symphony Hall. Program:

- J.S. Bach - Adagio
- Beethoven - Twelve Variations on a Theme from Mozart's "Magic Flute" Opus 66
- R. Strauss - Sonata in F Major, Opus 6
- Prokofiev - Sonata in C Major, Opus 119

Mstislav Rostropovich the great Soviet cellist performed at Newark Symphony Hall in a concert of rather varied approaches to cello music. The presence of Mr. Rostropovich attracted great interest not only because of his musical prowess, but because of recent events involving him and other artists within the Soviet Union.

About seven months ago Solzhenitsyn, the novelist whose books were banned by the Soviet bureaucracy and who was denied permission to leave the Soviet Union in order to receive the Nobel Prize, had been living at the home of Rostropovich. At the time Rostropovich was reported as saying that he felt the persecution of Solzhenitsyn

was unjust and wrote a caustic letter to the Central Committee defending the writer.

He was immediately removed from his position as Professor of Music at the Moscow Conservatory and the Soviet bureaucracy announced that his concert schedule would be "temporarily revised." In fact neither he nor his wife, the celebrated Russian soprano, Galina Vishnevskaya, were permitted to perform within and without the Soviet Union.

Additionally it has come to light that Rostropovich is now defending Zhores Medvedev, the noted biologist, whose book "A Question of Madness" has been recently published. Medvedev has been incarcerated in a mental institution because of his opposition to Stalinism and the policies of the Kosygin-Brezhnev leadership. Rostropovich is supporting Medvedev's wife and children.

Clearly Rostropovich, a stellar attraction in the eyes of the west, was forced to appear in this country against his will. There were agents all over the concert hall and photographs were not permitted. The presence of the fascistic Jewish Defense League outside the hall added to the tension.

The cellist appeared on the stage with

his instrument, and immediately proceeded to the business at hand. The Bach Adagio, which is part of the composer's Second Suite for Unaccompanied Cello, was, alas, too brief. We had hoped to hear the whole suite. One is immediately hypnotized by the enormous and resonating sound which comes from Rostropovich's cello. Added to this is the great technical facility, the ability to effect tempo and tonal transitions with ineffable smoothness and ease, the exploitation of all dynamic possibilities.

The Adagio was performed at an almost funereal pace, but with great shading and introspection. The unaccompanied violin and cello pieces Bach composed are amongst the richest in all of music.

Rostropovich then performed the well known Beethoven variations on thematic material in Mozart's "Magic Flute." The pieces are not amongst Beethoven's best work, but the cellist tackled the music with gusto and musicianship.

The Strauss Sonata in F Major is not a well-known piece. The arpeggios which introduce the first movement were handled with such facility that the audience, as is almost perfunctory at Rostropovich concerts, gasped aloud.

We awaited the Prokofiev with great expectation, not only because the Sonata in C Major was written expressly for Rostropovich, but because we are of the opinion that Prokofiev's cello and violin music are equal to anything written in this century. Despite the enormous personal misfortunes experienced by Prokofiev as a result of Stalin's cultural conceptions, Prokofiev was able, on occasion, to transcend the censorship.

SONATA

The Sonata in C Major is a virtuoso piece that unifies the Russian folk motifs so prevalent in Prokofiev's work (the music for "Alexander Nevsky" inspired by the sonata) with more dissonant tonalities and a diapason of tempi. Rostropovich seems to play this piece differently each time we hear it.

The two encores were pieces by Schumann and Debussy. Rostropovich dazzled the audience with his fingering and plucking techniques. At the end, he accepted the tumultuous applause with a seeming embarrassment. All in all, this was a superb concert by a truly great artist.

TV

AL BERENSON

All In The Family

ALL IN THE FAMILY. Directed By Norman Lear. Starring Carroll O'Connor and Jean Stapleton, CBS, Saturdays at 8 P.M.

In the December 4th edition of the Daily World, newspaper of the Communist Party, there appeared a review by Harry True of television's newest smash hit, All In The Family.

In the same period in which the Communist Party is doing all in its power to bind the hands of American workers into the stranglehold of the capitalists, it also carries its equally disastrous theories and policies into the arts.

All In The Family is certainly the most viciously anti-working class piece of propaganda ever seen in a serial on nationwide television. It is no coincidence or happy theatrical inspiration which resulted in the presentation of this program. All In The Family is presented in the period in which American workers are undergoing the most severe attacks in history. All In The Family is presented as the employers initiate their program for all out war against the working class. Every segment, every scene of this reactionary trash underscores this all important point.

This is what Mr. True completely ignores. For him All In The Family is an amusing enjoyable program. Mr. True explicitly states that compared to the usual television fare All In The Family is delightful—or in his own words, "sparkling."

The banality of commercial television is not to be disputed; however, this is not the central question. The political character of All In The Family emphatically is.

All In The Family revolves around the center character of Archie Bunker who combines his position as a construction worker with his own personal characteristics of racism, anti-semitism, and national chauvinism. Archie flings off the epithets in describing his pet hates—the "niggers, spics, kikes, and polacks." He ardently supports the wage freeze and President Nixon and is completely opposed to all "pinkos and commies." Archie is thus painted as the complete and total reactionary.

LIE

In creating this despicable character the writers of All In The Family have taken all the miserable attributes and attitudes

which have arisen from capitalism and the capitalist class and made them the sole property of the working class. This is a complete slander and lie.

Racism, nationalism and antisemitism are used by the capitalist class to keep the working class divided. They are stirred up in the working class by the capitalists and have emanated from capitalism.

RACISM

What the producers and writers of All In The Family present is that the working class is responsible for racism. They present the working class as the reactionary class. It is not just Archie Bunker they are portraying; it is the entire working class. Archie continually speaks of his fellow workers who he states are even "less open-minded" than he is.

In one scene a shop steward is shown

rhapsodizing over William F. Buckley—one of the most vicious spokesmen of American capitalism.

The writers of All In The Family (and also certainly its financial backers) are quite conscious of their political role and quite clever in carrying it out. They attack the working class and accuse it of possessing all their own noxious brainchildren while also indulging in some wishful thinking.

FREEZE

In All In The Family the wage freeze is solidly supported. It is surely to the great dismay of the writers of All In The Family that thousands of workers all over the nation are reacting to it in quite another way.

Working women do not escape the barrage exploded in All In The Family

either. Mrs. Bunker is presented as a sympathetic moron, who, however at certain moments will rise up for an occasion—such as when called to serve in a court.

Since it premiered, the newspapers of the country have given much space to the program. Its pros and cons have all been aired in the form of whether or not it was good to bring racism out in the open.

This however was not at all the intention of the writers and producers of the show. All In The Family is a clear and slanderous attack on the working class. Under the heading of "theater" it accompanies the wage freeze and other measures of the employers as part of the arsenal which that class is now using against the labor movement.



Director (left) and cast of reactionary TV series All In The Family.

NEWARK TEACHERS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

the fate of the NTU.

The leadership of the NTU itself is paying a heavy price for the mistakes it made during the strikes of 1970 and 1971. NTU President Carol Graves, who is currently serving a three month sentence, allowed Marciante to get away with his betrayal instead of taking up a fight to expose him. Graves and the rest of the NTU leadership thought they could fight the Newark administration without the direct political intervention of the AFL-CIO.

An understanding that the fight of the NTU must now take on a political character is now beginning to penetrate into the ranks of the NTU. One teacher, who asked not to be identified because of possible reprisals, called the jail terms a "general attack on public employees not only in this state but in every part of the nation." He also asserted that the workers of New Jersey would have come to the defense of the NTU had their leadership permitted them. "The current

HOFFA . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

weaknesses of Hoffa's "pure-and-simple unionism" approach in this new period of crisis. It is not generally known that Hoffa received his real training in unionism from the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Teamsters union, particularly Farrell Dobbs, who first made the Teamsters a real national force as a union. But Hoffa always saw the work of the Minneapolis Trotskyists in non-political terms, as "organizational methods" and "techniques."

Thus he had no compunction in 1943-44 in doing the dirty work of then Teamsters President Daniel Tobin in removing the Trotskyists.

Because Hoffa never understood the necessity to fight the capitalists not only industrially but politically, theoretically, he could not defeat the government when they really set out to get him. Because the IBT leaders—and all labor bureaucrats, from Meany and Woodcock on down—were trained in this same basic method, they leave the way wide open for the bosses' attacks and even collaborate with Nixon as he conspires to take away every gain made by the American workers.

It is these methods of non-political, anti-theoretical, capitalist thinking that the new generation of union militants must break with if the unions are to be defended against these attacks. Militants must fight to equip themselves with Marxism in order to guide these struggles successfully. This is the lesson that must be drawn from the career of Jimmy Hoffa.

labor leadership doesn't realize the power it actually has, and what people like us are willing to give them," he said.

Another teacher declared that "the working class people are tired of being placed against the wall," and added that they "need a labor party to fight back."

Orrie Chambers, organizer of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, stated that he agreed with the call of the Workers League for a general strike. He also attacked the role of the Stalinist American Communist Party in the NTU strike as "counter-revolutionary." The CP had denounced the strike as racist because it is a Black mayor who presides over capitalist interests in Newark. Chambers told the Bulletin that the "CP should stop trying to patronize Black people but address themselves to the real questions."

There is talk within the union of appealing to Governor Cahill in order to cancel the threatened jail terms. While the NTU is fully justified in exercising all of its constitutional rights in order to defend itself, the NTU cannot make dependence on the tender

ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

GAI (Guaranteed Annual Income) with these maneuvers. Firstly, they are trying to get the men fighting amongst themselves for whatever jobs there are, pitting those who are "on" the GAI against those who are not, etc. Secondly, they are deliberately provoking the men into refusing jobs in order to get them to forfeit guarantee money for that day. What they are aiming for is both to save as much guarantee money as possible during the Taft-Hartley cooling off period, and to create entirely different rules for the Guarantee as the basis for the new contract, rules which will eliminate the Guarantee in all but name.

This is their plan, under which they hope to bring in con-

YOUTH CONFERENCE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Tim Wohlforth pointed out that we must fight to unite the working class but this will be done by battling it out against the revisionists who base themselves on acceptance of capitalism, on the reformist illusions of workers, and on the method of thinking of the capitalist class. Unprincipled unity with those who have abandoned Trotskyism would lead to defeat for the working class.

In the afternoon, one youth rose to attack the statement that the "Workers League is the only solution." He said "You can't bring Marxist theory to a worker. You have to talk about immediate problems."

mercies of Cahill its central political perspective for fighting the jail terms. It must depend upon the strength of the working class and fight for a general strike.

Today, despite the efforts of Marciante and the other bureaucrats more and more workers and trade unionists in the Newark area are realizing that the attack on the teachers, like the other attacks by Nixon, is aimed at the entire working class, Black and white.

Despite the efforts of Black nationalist leader LeRoi Jones (Imamu Baraka) to turn the students against the teachers during the strike, more and more students who now face worsening conditions and increasing repression from the Gibson administration, are coming to the support of the NTU.

The recently launched revolutionary youth organization, the Young Socialists, stands for unity of students and teachers against Jones, Imperiale and Gibson, for the immediate release of the Newark teachers and all other political prisoners.

tainerization throughout the port on an even greater scale, with the goal of wiping out 80 percent of the jobs on the New York docks entirely.

Both the ILA and the ILWU bureaucrats under Bridges, fear the power of a national strike which unites both coasts. They are both playing a game of waiting for the other guy. They know that a national tieup which brings things to a head must confront Nixon and the government. But Gleason, Scotto and Bridges would rather crawl before Nixon and the Shipping Association rather than lead a fight of the entire labor movement against Nixon and against the Pay Board. But it is only that kind of fight that can preserve the GAI in New York, and bring the same conditions to

He said that it was possible to end the Vietnam War without overthrowing capitalism and by supporting capitalist politicians like Vance Hartke.

This statement expresses precisely the position of the revisionists who reject the struggle for theory in the working class and adapt to the workers' level of consciousness. They base their movement on the pragmatic method, a method which cannot prepare for the future, which is always taken by surprise by events because it only seeks the most immediate, most "practical" results. Their perspective is based on the belief that capitalism can still provide reforms.

This is the method which has led the Socialist Workers Party to join liberal Democrats on a common platform in anti-war demonstrations and will lead them in the near future into a Popular Front with the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie.

Our movement will survive only if it is built in a struggle for dialectical materialism, on all the lessons of the Marxist movement which enable us to state that the Workers League, the Trotskyist movement, has no history of betrayal, is the only answer.

Following the discussion, three action proposals were voted unanimously to continue the construction of the youth movement:

DEVALUATION . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

and far deeper than that of the '30s.

The complete inability of Nixon's August 15 measures to resolve anything is expressed in the fact that Nixon has not only devalued the dollar but that he is unable to reinstate convertibility of the dollar into gold. When asked by reporters on this issue, Under Secretary of the Treasury Paul Volker expressed the whole attitude of the Nixon Administration when he answered: "Convertibility? What Convertibility?"

The elimination of value from paper money however is now precipitating a new stage of the present crisis in which as a result of the breakdown of paper money capitalist production is being forced to a halt. Capitalist production which is geared solely to the extraction of surplus value and the production of profit must inevitably grind to a halt under conditions where as a result of the collapse of paper money the capitalist can no longer be sure of getting value in return for his product once it is put on the market.

While this process does not

the rest of the East Coast and the West Coast.

Regardless of the stalling by Bridges on the West Coast, the men in New York should take the initiative and spread the strike throughout the port and from there to the rest of the East Coast.

The formation of a national rank and file caucus is necessary, to unite the struggle on both coasts for a revolutionary leadership to win the following demands for all dockworkers.

Full 40 hour guarantee, all men, all ports.

- 7.50 per hour wage—6 hour day.

- 20 and out at any age at 500 per month.

- No cooperation of labor with Nixon's Pay Board—Build a labor party for '72.

1) to accept the youth program as the basic program for the Young Socialists 2) to prepare a massive demonstration in March against unemployment and the attacks on youth and 3) the election of the Steering Committee.

Juan Farinas addressed the Conference on his appeal to the Supreme Court to reverse the conviction of a two-year jail sentence for passing out anti-war leaflets two years ago. He reported that the widest possible campaign among youth and workers would be organized to fight the conviction.

The last speaker was a supporter of the International Committee in Peru. He told the Conference of the bitter defeats and repression suffered by the Latin American youth and workers in the recent period and stressed the importance of the fight against the Bolivian POR which had major responsibility for the victory of the fascist coup d'etat.

FILM

The Conference concluded with two films, the British YS film "The Year of Lenin and Trotsky" and the preliminary showing of a film being made in New York for the Workers League on the new youth movement.

A collection to raise funds to continue the development of the Bulletin and in preparation for a daily paper raised the magnificent sum of \$525.50.

immediately assert itself in those sections of industry more removed from basic industry, in steel and other basic industries in which long range investment planning decisions must be made this process is well under way. Steel production is rapidly falling off on a world scale together with shipbuilding, aircraft production, etc. with huge unemployment growing up in these sectors.

POWERLESS

The capitalist class is now completely powerless to halt this process and restore value to paper money through peaceful agreement at the Group of Ten round table or through any other international monetary institution.

The magnitude of the crisis the capitalists face is measured in the 40 billions in paper dollars now in circulation against the 10 billion in gold backing now in Fort Knox. The inflationary policies pursued by the capitalists after Bretton Woods, essential as a retreat in face of the strength of the working class have now gone beyond their limits. To restore value to this mass of paper money would require a devaluation involving the raising of the gold price not to \$38 an ounce but to something on the order of \$140.

This would mean the wiping out of three quarters of the value represented by this paper currency bankrupting whole nations huge banks, corporations, investment houses and private individuals. Above all it would require the driving of the working class in the advanced and colonial countries into conditions of virtual slavery. It is their efforts to do just this that leads the capitalists in every country to prepare the extension of civil war into every advanced country, to prepare new imperialist wars and the return to fascist dictatorship of a more virulent character than Hitler's.

This is what poses sharply now the absolute necessity of the struggle of the international working class for state power, and socialism which alone can prevent the descent into fascist barbarism.

The Conference reflects the turn of many youth today to Marxism and shows the tremendous potential for building a mass youth movement.

It will be the first youth movement of its kind in the United States. The Workers League is carrying forward the task that the Socialist Workers Party never took up, the building of a Trotskyist youth organization with deep roots among working class youth. It is a powerful confirmation that unity of workers and youth of all races can and will be built.

This was only possible because of the whole fight of the International Committee of the Fourth International to build an alternative to Stalinism and Pabloism in the days when Trotskyism was relatively isolated.

To those youth who want to fight back, who have been led into a blind alley by the SWP-YSA, the Communist Party and the nationalists, the Young Socialists provides the only alternative.

These forces and all their middle class rat group hangers on will now unite to launch a vicious attack on everything we stand for.

The Young Socialists will conduct a ruthless struggle to expose these tendencies and will build clubs all over the country to carry forward the work of the December 18th Conference.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Stalinism And The Unions

CP 'Self Criticism' Reveals Internal Crisis

BY DAN FRIED

The report by Communist Party Labor Secretary, George Meyers before a recent meeting of the CP's Labor Commission, reflects the deepening crisis within the Stalinist movement brought about by the offensive of the international working class.

The story by Don McMillan in the December 17 *Daily World* indicates that in his report, Meyers went into a bit of "self criticism," hitting out at critics of the CP's line on the unions. Evidently, criticism is now being brought up within the CP itself.

Meyers begins his "self-criticism" by stating that "TUAD (the Communist Party dominated trade union coordinating committee) cannot be 'purists' but must work with any and all rank and file groups to transform the labor leadership from a policy of class collaboration to class struggle."

Meyers gave an example of TUAD conduct that "has sometimes 'turned off' potential friends by such heavy-handed acts as the 'rassling over the mike' at a recent conference in New York."

Meyers continues, "We can work with them (the 'potential friends'—D.F.) but they must decide if they want to identify with us."

Meyers continues his polemic against the "purists" by saying that although the leaders of the labor movement and of the Democratic Party proposed the wage controls "in the first place, this does not mean we don't build united front coalitions in the labor movement. We are willing to join with those leaders who will lead in class struggle leadership."

Having taken up the "purists," those whom the Stalinists often refer to as "sectarians," Meyers then attempts to "balance" this off with a mild criticism of the opportunist tailing after "left leaders." This, however is no more than a sop to those militants in the Party who are unhappy at the continual crawling before the "left leaders" (such as ILWU head Harry Bridges) in a period when the rank and file in these "left led" or "progressive led" unions (such as the UAW) are coming up sharply against the bureaucracy. Meyers and the rest of the CP leaders have not the slightest intention or ability to change the fundamentals of their opportunist alliance with the labor bureaucrats. This flows out of their nature and history as a Stalinist party, subservient to the counter-revolutionary needs of the Soviet bureaucracy for over 40 years.

The whole basis of the Stalinist line of "coalitions" flows out of this relationship to Stalinism. Meyers simply reiterates the justification for this policy with his statement "We are willing to join those leaders who will lead in class struggle leadership."

TAILISM

But this policy has, in this case, "turned off" some rank and filers and militants, prompting Meyers to answer his question "Why has it (TUAD) not realized its potential," with the answer:

"Because it was envisioned as a base for left trade union leaders, TUAD was put in the tailist position of waiting for Left leaders to speak out."

This is truly an incredible admission for a leader of a party which in its organ, the *Daily World*, has continuously denounced Trotskyism and the Workers League over the last year for our refusal to "tail" these leaders, for our organization of a principled struggle against "left" and "progressive" labor bureaucrats.

The CP's very own *Daily World* Labor Editor, George Morris, has on a number of occasions denounced the Workers League on these grounds. He spelled this out in his book, "Rebellions in the Unions" (see *Bulletin* review, October 18, 1971) when he said that the Trotskyists were guilty of organizing an opposition to the leadership of unions such as Local 1199, (hospital workers) where we allegedly "disrupt its meetings and leaflet the members with slanders of those leaders who are dis-

tinguished in a progressive way...of inciting antagonism toward that union's officers."

And, crime of all crimes, according to Morris, the Workers League was guilty of leading an opposition to the betrayals of "progressive" Stanley Hill, President of SSEU-371, of "showering slanders like 'traitor' against the young Black President, who had been in office for only a week."

We have some questions now for Mr. Meyers. If TUAD has been guilty of tailing after Left leaders as you say, then hasn't Morris and the CP leadership been equally guilty in covering up and defending this betrayal through their attacks on the principled Marxist position of the Workers League? You cannot have it both ways, Mr. Meyers.

AERO-SPACE

The Communist Party's "self-criticism" like their "criticism" of UAW President Leonard Woodcock, is composed of empty words and hollow phrases. It isn't meant to be taken seriously at all. The latest example of the Stalinist policy of tailing the leadership (following Meyers' report) is the handling of the Pay Board attack on the aero-space contract. In an article in the Dec. 17 *Daily World*, Sam Kushner gives credence to Woodcock's statement that "the industry members of the Pay Board would go along" with the 12 per cent first year increase contained in the aerospace contracts.

According to Kushner, Woodcock "quoted Virgil Day, General Electric executive who is chairman of the industry panel on the Pay Board as saying that when aerospace contracts are negotiated 'we've



SSEU-371 leader Stan Hill (l.) and Harry Bridges of ILWU.

got the last of the cows into the barn.'" Now, however, it seems that the aerospace cow is to be kept out of the barn and slaughtered.

Woodcock's touching faith in Mr. Day is now exploded as the only question about the action of the Pay Board is not WHETHER the axe is going to fall on aerospace, but only HOW MUCH is going to be chopped off the 12 per cent contract. Rather than fight this, Woodcock and Floyd Smith of the IAM requested and were granted an extension on the final decision until Jan. 4, in order to give them time to work out a way of selling this rotten deal to the aerospace ranks in the UAW and IAM.

The *Daily World* and TUAD assisted Woodcock and UAW west coast director Paul Schrade in spreading the illusion that the Pay Board would approve the contract. And now, three days after the announcement of the Pay Board's intention to trim the contract, the *Daily World* is still silent. They have not breathed a word

about the Pay Board ruling. Perhaps they are "waiting." Perhaps they are "waiting for Left leaders to speak out," in this case the "Left" leaders being Leonard Woodcock and Paul Schrade. These gentlemen now are desperately trying to come up with some formula to avoid a strike in aerospace, a strike which must immediately raise the question of a general strike by the entire labor movement.

FRIGIDAIRE

Perhaps the *Daily World* is also still waiting for the labor bureaucrats to speak out against the vicious Frigidaire settlement. (see *Bulletin*, Dec. 13). While the *World* has adequately described the vicious terms of this agreement and the role of GM and the top spokesmen for big business, they don't have a word to say about the reactionary role of the IUE international leadership and the local leaders who railroaded through this pact over the opposition of the ranks. All the *World* can say in its Dec. 16 article is an apology for the complicity of the IUE leadership: "IUE President Paul Jennings urged the local not to buy the rollback, but this was not learned publicly until after workers voted."

While the Stalinists covered up the betrayal of the IUE leaders, without which this wage-cutting contract could never have been put across, the *Bulletin* reported on the phoney vote for "ratification," and reported in our December 13 issue that the Frigidaire workers in IUE Local 801 tried to force a reconsideration of the contract: "In a voice vote this last Sunday the workers voted 575 to 25 to reject the minutes of the sellout meeting a week ago." But, as our article continued, this effort by the rank and file was thwarted by the treachery of the leadership: "Despite the open repudiation by their members Sunday, the executives of Local 801 I.U.E. announced the sellout agreement had been signed Monday and that it has the signature of the international representative."

The Stalinists are still carrying out their line of "waiting," of tailing the "Left" and "Progressive" bureaucrats, as seen in these and innumerable other situations every week. Their defense of the IUE leadership is simply a continuation of the complete whitewashing of the General Electric contract of two years ago which was signed over widespread rank and file opposition by Mr. Jennings of the IUE and the "Left" leaders of the U.E., Fitzgerald and Matles. This is the Stalinist "Center-Left coalition" in practice—a complete betrayal of the struggle against the Frigidaire deal which opens the door for vicious wage slashing by the ruling class in accordance with the coordinated attack on the unions by Nixon under "Phase II."

Rank and file workers and militants in the Communist Party who sincerely want to fight for a change must begin a study of all the questions raised and fought for by the Trotskyist movement against Stalinist betrayal since the beginning of the struggle in the 1920s. These questions are more than ever a life and death matter for the survival of the working class and the future of mankind.

Spain

Stalinists Scab On Miners

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The bitter and difficult strike of 20,000 coal miners in the Asturias region of Spain has come to an end although stoppages are still breaking out throughout the coal fields.

The miners who held out for two weeks were forced to return to work with nothing gained because the Stalinists and in particular the Polish government isolated and betrayed them by continuing shipments of Polish coal to Spain's fascist leader Franco.

These shipments continued despite the protest of *Mundo Obrero*, the newspaper of the Spanish Communist Party and its General Secretary Santiago Carrillo.

This is not the first time the Polish Stalinists have directly helped to break the coal miners strike. In January 1971 when the Asturian miners were out Poland again shipped coal to Spain.

REVOLT

The heroic Asturian miners have been in the forefront of a powerful workers offensive in Spain which has hit many main industrial centers. The miners have spearheaded a growing revolt against the years of slavery under Franco since the Spanish Civil War of 1934.

The miners are demanding that wage negotiations be conducted by true trade unionists elected by the outlawed Workers Commissions and not by the puppet fascist controlled labor organization set up by Franco.

At the end of November the state owned Hunosa Mining Company dismissed fourteen men and suspended 4,500 workers for a week. Despite the threats to fire all strikers more than half of the coal pits

remained shut. Franco's armed police were sent in and stationed along all the access roads to the pits.

The miners held out despite this vicious campaign of repression and intimidation. Mobilization of the whole Spanish working class behind the miners and a permanent boycott of all shipments from Poland could have dealt a powerful blow to Franco.

STALINISTS

The Polish Stalinists and their mentors in the Kremlin have violated every principle of proletarian internationalism and have revealed their completely counter-revolutionary role in propping up capitalism and its most reactionary agents. They are preparing an even more open and treacherous stab in the back of all workers than in 1934.

The Stalinists continue full trade relations with fascist Spain even though three leading members of the Spanish Communist Party have just been sentenced to jail terms of 14, 12, and 17 years each.

Now British miners will face the same threat if they carry out their strike vote against the Tory government. Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers has said he will contact the Polish unions to prevent coal shipments to Britain.

The Stalinists must be exposed and destroyed as the direct agents of imperialism that they are if workers are to go forward to defeat capitalism in the coming period.

Bangla Desh

Revisionists Denounce India-Pakistan War

BY MELODY FARROW

The latest developments in the struggle of the Bengalis for independence sharply bears out the correctness of the recent statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Only days after the surrender of Khan's troops, the guerilla fighters in the Mukti Bahini Liberation Army are struggling to establish their own control against Ghandi's attempts to disarm them and replace them with a group of Bengali bourgeois politicians.

These politicians who seek to restore bourgeois order after riding out the war from the safe distance of New Delhi have been prevented from returning to Dacca by the tremendous hostility of the Bengali masses who correctly view them with contempt and scorn.

The struggle for Bangla Desh is rapidly developing from a national struggle for independence into a revolutionary struggle against the Indian bourgeoisie. Ghandi seeks to take away their arms precisely because she fears that these arms may be turned against her own regime. The question of destruction of the bourgeoisie and of a unified socialist Bengal state is on the agenda.

The statement of the International Committee said:

"We critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh.

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

"At the same time the ICFI urges 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. Ghandi stand the Hindu fanatics of Jan Sangh and big business interests who wish to annex East Bengal and take back the profitable jute and tea industries which they lost after partition.

"Revolutionaries must combine the national struggle with the fight for an uncompromising redivision 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 International Committee has been the only organization to take a principled position on the legitimate national aspirations of the Bengali people, fighting for their right to be independent and raising at the same time the necessity to link this fight to the establishment of a socialist Bengali nation.

PARTICIPANT

Above all, the International Committee begins as a participant in this struggle, with the fight to build a revolutionary party that poses a concrete program to lead the Bengali masses to victory. In every struggle of the working class, the International Committee takes political responsibility for its outcome.

This is why we refuse to be neutral in the war between India and Pakistan and this is why we are attacked for our position by every traitor to the Trotskyist movement. All those who have deserted the Fourth International have lined up together to condemn the intervention of the Indian Army.

The Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) which recently split with the International Committee, Spartacist and the Socialist Workers Party preach to the Bengalis not to take sides, propose no policy to take their struggle forward and in the case of Spartacist openly declare that no national question exists.

Before the outbreak of the war the OCI stated:

"The facts pose the central and essential question: unity of the Bengali workers and peasants and throughout the whole Indian subcontinent, against their respective bourgeoisies for the revolutionary unification of India and its proletariat with

respect for full and complete autonomy for each nationality."

After war broke out creating an entirely new situation in which the Bengalis could actually be in a position to fight for this, the same hollow formulas are dished up again.

OCI

In a two page article in the OCI newspaper *Informations Ouvrieres*, Dec. 6th, the OCI gives a completely mechanical and false description of the events:

"But since March, the leading sectors of world imperialism understood that it was no longer possible to maintain their



domination without redefining the 1947 partition, taking into account the fact that Pakistan could no longer subsist under the old form. For imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy concerned with the 'status quo' the wisest solution was to create, after crushing the Bengali masses, a bourgeois state of Bangla Desh based only on the Pakistani Bengalis—thus not disturbing the frontiers set up in 1947—the backbone of which would be the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman."

To justify their contention that the Indian intervention should not be given any support, they make the absurd claim that the imperialists wanted to separate East Bengal from West Pakistan all along. Why then did the United States cut off all aid from India and line up 100 per cent with Yayha Khan?

The article continues:

"The war aims of the Indian bourgeoisie are clear: preserve the order on the subcontinent that it depends on for survival and secure a privileged position. These aims define the reactionary nature of the war which is in no way identifiable with the struggle of the pauperized masses of Bengal.

"The Bengali masses on the Pakistani side, can use the situation created by the war but it is completely false to begin with the idea that their movement is linked to the initiatives of Indira Ghandi's government and to write as the SLL does that 'The Bengali resistance has entered a decisive phase with the intervention of the Indian Armed Forces.'

"The SLL calls for support to Indira Ghandi's government that is for a 'defensive' position: the workers must line up behind the butchers of militant workers to first win the war, since the defeat of the hated Pakistani Army is the 'prelude' to the revolutionary unification of India.

"This is a rejection of the theory of the permanent revolution, a going over to the position of a 'revolution in stages' and in this precise case it is a stage of counter-revolution."

MASSES

Far from planning the intervention Ghandi did everything she could to prevent

it. She was forced into it by the explosive movement of the Bengali masses in East and West Bengal which threatened capitalism on the whole continent. It is precisely the movement of the Bengali masses that the OCI completely leaves out.

Once this intervention took place and Khan's troops were defeated a revolutionary situation began to emerge in which the Bengali guns can be turned against the Indian regime itself. We ask the OCI, how could this situation have been created, how could Khan's troops have been driven out except through the armed intervention of India? This they cannot explain.

Only our movement was in a position to prepare the Bengalis for this stage because we fought in the struggle for national liberation for a principled line of

domination of the bourgeoisie.

Trotsky proceeded in every situation from the contradictory development of the class forces involved and based his analysis at every point on a concrete historical assessment. As Lenin stated "the truth is always concrete."

Proceeding from an idealist method, with formal propaganda statements the OCI and Spartacist are completely prostrate and paralyzed when faced with the real class struggle as it is developing today.

They see the class struggle in fixed abstract categories and seek to impose these conceptions on a situation that is in the process of developing. They begin with how they would like things to develop but not with a study from the standpoint of dialectical materialism of the actual forces in motion and above all with the aim of intervening and changing the situation.

They are totally mesmerized by the present bourgeois leadership of the working class and reject the role of Marxist theory and consciousness which, through the revolutionary party, can bring the working class to power. Only this conscious leadership and not the middle class commentators of the OCI and Spartacist can bring this about.

Their method would mean concretely in Bangla Desh that the Bengalis should have remained passive while Indian troops drove out Khan's troops and then somehow have taken up a fight. At this point they would have been in no position to challenge Ghandi's drive to restore bourgeois rule in Bangla Desh.

The abstentionist position of the OCI leaves the Bengali people tied to their nationalist leaders because it refuses to fight for an alternative policy to break them from these leaders.

As Trotsky said those who scream "ultraleft" are merely "frightened opportunists."

It is no accident that the Socialist Workers Party which has uncritically supported every nationalist petty bourgeois movement cannot take a position on Bangla Desh.

While the *Militant* states that the Bengalis "correctly utilized this objective situation to help get the Pakistani tyrants off their backs" they publish an article by Tariq Ali in *Intercontinental Press* which says:

"They must declare that this war is opposed to the interests of the toiling masses throughout the subcontinent."

Furthermore the *Militant* timidly ventures to suggest that the war "could lead to the national liberation struggle growing over into a struggle to end capitalism" and simply calls for self-determination for Bangla Desh.

The national struggle "could" develop into a revolutionary struggle but the leaders of the SWP certainly will not fight for this!

The OCI, Spartacist and the SWP find themselves in the same camp on the big class battles of the day just as they are on the same ground in their capitulation to the trade union and Stalinist bureaucracies within their own countries. They refuse to fight for the development of a revolutionary leadership based on the principles of Trotskyism.

Their abandonment of leadership and of the fight for Marxist theory within the working class forces them to liquidate the revolutionary party. This is the logic of their opportunism, their unprincipled blocs with the reformists and Stalinists on the one hand, and on the other hand their abstention in Bangla Desh.

Today all these tendencies line up together against the movement of the working class. They are thrown into crisis by this movement because they have abandoned the only method, dialectical materialism, that enables us to understand the class struggle and how it develops in order to change it.

All those who reject this method and the International Committee of the Fourth International will be forced into head on collision with the working class, and to betray it.

West Coast News

Alioto Attacks Building Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A vicious anti-union drive led by George Romney of the Department of Housing and Urban Development has exposed the real class position of all labor's "friends" in the Democratic Party.

As part of its campaign to break up the construction unions with "right to work" laws designed to destroy the hiring hall and its wage freezing program the government is also determined to destroy all control by the unions over automation and new materials.

For years the plumbing and electrical unions have opposed the introduction of plastic sheathed wiring and pipes as unsafe practices designed to eliminate jobs. They have depended on political contributions to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors to maintain metal sheathing and copper pipes in the City's building code.

Only last week the Board of Supervisors voted to retain this code after considerable arm twisting by their union supporters.

After a visit back East to campaign for federal funds Mayor Alioto was handed an ultimatum by Romney to change the building code or risk the loss of all federal construction funds.

Virtually overnight Alioto reversed himself and cabled S.F. demanding that the changes be incorporated in the code. With equal rapidity each member of the Board reversed his vote and an 11-0 vote is now assured.

No sooner did the fight break out that Senator Tunney another labor supported politician flew in to Hunters Point to do what he could to whip up anti-union sentiment in the ghetto.

Hunters Point with a huge

housing project maintained by the City is the worst housing area in S.F. Suddenly it becomes the concern of all the politicians.

At last we discover that the reason for all these run down houses has nothing to do with the government but is due entirely to the greedy unions standing in the way of progress.

This is not simply an issue of plastic pipe. This is part of a drive designed to destroy every gain and right of the trade union movement. Nixon's blackmail is being used to whip up racism and bring forth hysterical outbursts from the middle class against the unions.

The leadership of the construction unions which has condoned racist hiring practices and relied on its influence in City Hall finds itself taken completely by surprise as those it financed and assisted into office only a few months ago now turn and spit in its face.

For years the illusion has been fostered that S.F. is a town run completely by the unions. No politician dared run without their total support.

The plastic pipe battle is an indication of how rapidly all these old relationships built on compromise are breaking up.

Jury Deadlock Frees Newton

BY THE EDITORS

After four years of trial, three of them spent in jail, Black Panther leader Huey Newton was freed when a third jury declared itself hopelessly deadlocked and the prosecutor dismissed the case.

This trial was from the very beginning an integral part of the government's strategy of preparing to take on the working class by wiping out the Panthers.

While Newton may not be aware of it and his defense would certainly indicate that he isn't, this victory is entirely due to the enormous strength of the working class and its determination not to be pushed back.

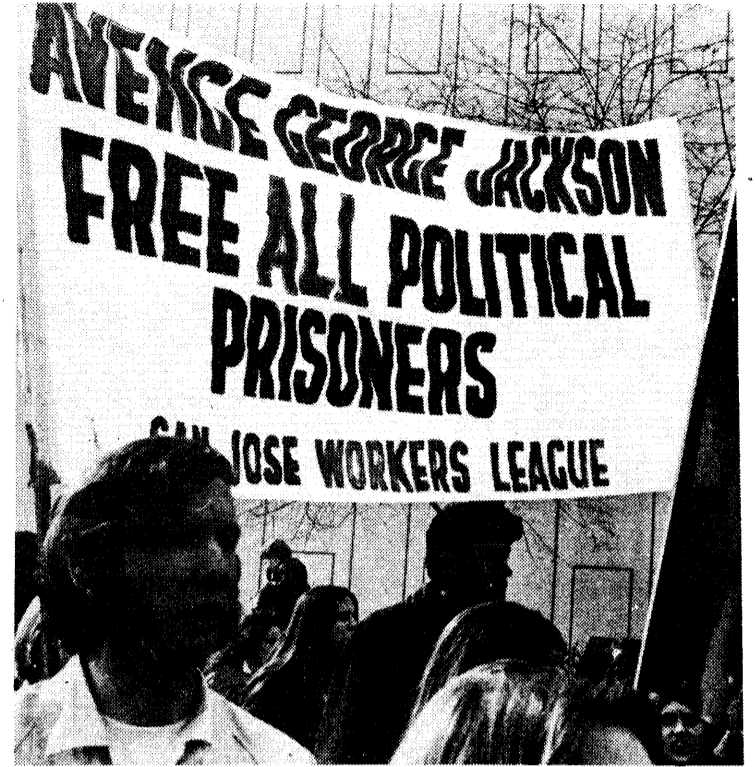
As the prosecution eventually discovered it is extremely difficult in this period to rely on a jury that even remotely reflects the working class for a judicial frame-up and murder.

The District Attorney referred to the dismissal as a "frustration of justice" and bourgeois justice has no intentions of remaining frustrated.

The courts are now being stacked with racists and labor haters and experiments are underway to eliminate the traditional 12 man jury. The Gestapo tactics introduced in the Soledad trial indicate the terror methods of the future.

In addition the campaign to whip up middle class hysteria, racial hatred and fear of violence is designed to create a more suitable atmosphere for carrying off legal lynching parties.

The freeing of Huey Newton will only increase the



300 people rallied in defense of Angela Davis Dec. 18th at Palo Alto. Communist Party begged liberals to aid Davis. SWP endorsed their approach while Spartacist abstained and attacked Workers League.

determination of the state to obtain convictions of militants such as Angela Davis, Ruchell MaGee and the Soledad Brothers.

It is for this reason that the defense of political prisoners can only be conducted in the fight to mobilize the working class in its own class defense against the attacks of the state.

The Communist Party reaches precisely the opposite conclusions. This is what makes the Stalinist campaign for Angela Davis so criminal. Their entire perspective is based on the strategy of winning a "fair" trial through bail and a change of venue. This was the basic perspective put forward at a rally of about 300 at the Palo Alto courthouse.

Just as the Stalinists seek to tell longshoremen that a strategy that bases itself on the mobilization of labor is utopian they educate the youth with ideas that the labor movement is racist and that it is hopeless to rely on its strength for a political defense.

This is the justification for the turn to the churches, the Democratic Party and the popular front.

It is extremely significant that throughout this entire defense campaign the SWP has not had a word of criticism for the policy of the Stalinists. Indeed from the reporting in the Militant it is safe to assume that they agree with it in its entirety.

Thus at this same Palo Alto demonstration the Workers League intervened with banners and chants calling for a labor party and strike action against the Pay Board as the way forward in the fight to defend Angela Davis while the SWP did not even dare to carry a banner for its own presidential campaign.

Rohr IAM Member Says:

"We Should All Strike"

The following is an interview with a striking member of the IAM at ROHR in San Diego, an aerospace contractor.

Bulletin: The Pay Board has just said it will reject the 12 percent aerospace contract negotiated by the UAW and IAM. That is to say that collective bargaining, a basic right won by workers, is being taken away by the government. Why do you think that this was done?

Worker: Well, aerospace is having some hard times making money. So I guess they can't afford that 12 percent.

Bulletin: If the government has to step in to prop up this industry at workers' expense then it should be operated on a different basis. That is, nationalization under workers control, shouldn't it?

Worker: Yes. Then we wouldn't all get laid off when these guys go broke.

Bulletin: What should be done to insure that rights like collective bargaining aren't taken away?

Worker: Well—no contract, no work. I think we all should strike. Not just aerospace, but everybody, because if they do it to us they can do the same thing to the rest. Nixon already did this to teachers in August.

Bulletin: Woodcock says he thinks aerospace workers have been betrayed and doesn't yet know if he will get off the Pay Board. Isn't it more the case that all workers have been betrayed by the union leaders like Woodcock sitting on that Board?

Worker: They've all got to get off. My father was telling me what Hitler did to the unions. How he wiped them out. And this smells like the same thing. Meany and Woodcock sit there and let it happen.

AEROSPACE . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

Steelworkers and Teamsters, which the Pay Board hopes to hold down to 5 percent.

But the decision of the ruling class to take on the aerospace workers, in the hopes that the massive unemployment that has hit these workers has weakened their will to fight, can easily backfire.

Even the 12 percent increase does not begin to catch up with the inflation and increases in

productivity over the last three years.

The role of the Communist Party, in covering up for Woodcock, and accepting his "assurances" that the contract would get through the Pay Board untouched, is most criminal. To this date the Stalinist Daily World has not even reported on the refusal of the Pay Board to allow the 12 percent!

A fight must be taken up now which begins with the needs and interests of the aerospace workers

and the entire working class.

- Full 12 percent—Strike the aerospace industry if necessary—wage re-opener in second year—

- General strike action of all labor if this contract is in any way abrogated—

- Labor off the Pay Board—end all "Phase 2" wage controls—
- Nationalization of aerospace under workers control—

- Build a labor party to stop Nixon in '72!

STALINISTS AND BRIDGES . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

the government politically. Such a direction means demoralization and defeat and it is precisely such a fight that the Stalinists intend to lead. It is for this reason that Stalinism today represents the most dangerous and counter-revolutionary force on the waterfront.

Longshoremen must be told the absolute truth about what they are up against. It is a lie to maintain that any significant gains on job security, conditions and the maintenance of the union itself

can be obtained without the most bitter political struggle to smash the anti-labor offensive of this government.

There can be no compromises. An ILWU strike at the beginning of the new year must be seen as only the first step in a campaign to bring out the ILA in a strike that shuts every port in the country until a forty hour guarantee is won for every category of docker in every port.

Already Nixon is preparing to deal with a longshore strike with new legislation to force a return to

work and compulsory arbitration. There can be no acceptance of this. Any attempt to force dockers back with legislation, injunctions or troops must be answered with a massive campaign to bring labor out in a general strike.

POWER

The fight of the ILWU must be directed at political power. This means that the fight against Nixon must be conducted in a struggle to unite the entire working class in the construction of a labor party that can bring down Nixon in 1972.

West Coast News

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Editorial

Bridges Sabotages Nationwide Strike As Taft-Hartley Injunction Ends

The Bridges leadership of the ILWU is preparing the greatest betrayal of its history.

With the end of the Taft-Hartley 80 day injunction the negotiating committee has announced the extension of bargaining to January 10. With almost 150 ships now in West Coast ports, a strike would place the employers in virtually the same crisis situation they faced when the injunction was first applied. Bridges has obtained absolutely nothing in return for this retreat. It is crystal clear that the ILWU leadership is preparing to capitulate on the major issues. Bridges has no intention of fighting for a real guarantee and is more than eager to climb down on the question of "steady men."

All of this is in return for a few more pennies in the wage package. The contract Bridges has in mind will hand the employers everything they could possibly want. The guarantee is virtually meaningless as it would not cover any serious unemployment for more than a few days. This is to be combined with the maintenance of "steady men" which in effect gives a green light to the breakdown of the hiring hall and allows the employment of a regular work force under speeded up conditions, essentially scabbing on the rest of the dockers.

The only thing such a contract will guarantee is that containerization will proceed with the utmost rapidity, longshoremen will be virtually defenseless against the development of mass unemployment on the waterfront.

With the government twisting his arm, there can be no doubt that Bridges will go all out to attempt to ram this sellout down dockers' throats. What makes the situation even more criminal is that these developments take place precisely at the point where the East Coast dockers who are determined to fight for the 40 hour guarantee are looking to the West Coast for a lead. Bridges is acting to sabotage this historic opportunity for a national dock strike with the power to paralyze all ports.

The negotiating committee must be instructed to stand absolutely firm for a real guarantee and the elimination of steady men. The dockers must fight for a breakoff of all negotiations not directed at these chief questions and the preparation for immediate strike action.

A West Coast strike must be seen as the beginning of a fight to shut down all ports in the country, must be the first step toward a joint ILWU-ILA strike to secure the 40 hour guarantee for every category of docker and every port.

Above all this struggle is political. The government is preparing to take on the dockers with legislation to impose compulsory arbitration and defeat. Any attempt at new injunctions, strikebreaking legislation or troops must be answered with an all out campaign to rally the entire labor movement in general strike action to smash Nixon's anti-labor offensive.



Striking aerospace workers at San Diego ROHR plant.

Pay Board To Cut Aero Wage Gain

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Up until last week the big business dominated Pay Board has retreated from the kind of head on confrontation with labor that would have been involved in the trimming of contracts such as the coal miners settlement and the railroad signalmen's settlement.

The idea was, as General Electric's Virgil Day, a key business member of the Pay Board put it, to first "get all of the cows into the barn," and then to "slam the door shut."

It was the old story of the carrot and the stick, even though the carrot given to the miners and the signalmen was really much skimpier than the capitalist press would have us believe.

Now, it is clear that the Pay Board, under prodding from the White House and corporation spokesmen such as U.S. Steel's Roger Blough, has decided to get out its big stick—to slam the door on the aerospace workers. The UAW and the IAM have just

settled with the aerospace companies, including McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, and North American Rockwell on terms similar to last year's auto settlement.

The first year wage increase calls for 12 percent. The "guidelines" that the Pay Board has set were for 5.5 percent increases with an outer limit of 7 percent to allow for "justifiable" exceptions. While allowing the railroad signalmen's increase as an "exception," the Board has decided not to allow the "exceptions to become the rule." They have decided to crack down. The first victim, they hope, will be the aerospace workers.

The "Business" members of the

Board reportedly want to trim the contracts to 8 percent, the "Public" members are willing to allow 9 or 10 percent while the labor members are still holding out for the full 12 percent. Out of this impasse, an agreement was reached to postpone the final decision on how much to cut out until January 4.

The postponement gives the majority on the Board time to work out a reduction that they think they can get away with and, most important for Nixon and the ruling class, it gives Woodcock and Smith time to put across this sellout by coming up with a "solution." The "solution" they have in mind is either to hold over some of the increase to the second and third years or, to agree to a one year contract at the reduced rate, and hope to "do better" in 1972 or 1973. In either case, they are not only taking the food out of the aerospace workers' mouths, but opening the door for vicious attacks on all new contracts as well as second year contracts of millions of workers such as

(Continued On Page 15)

Stalinists Cover Up Bridges Retreat

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

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No sooner was the vote announced than all the bourgeois papers began screaming for federal legislation to bar a strike and Federal Mediator J. Curtis Counts prepared to fly out to begin applying pressure from the government for a settlement.

A settlement is now absolutely impossible. The PMA has offered nothing new. Apart from a big wage increase the PMA "offer" demands acceptance of "steady men," an inadequate pension plan and a wage guarantee that will amount to little more than nine days a year average for each man. It is all too clear that the

Bridges leadership has no stomach for a real fight. Bridges' latest column in the Dec. 7th issue of the *Dispatcher* is virtually an admission that he has no strategy except to beg a few unimportant concessions from the PMA and try to sell it to the ranks.

Bridges is determined to accept the "steady men," try to win a little more money on wages and guarantee and then maintain that it is the best that can be obtained.

Under these conditions he plans a campaign to beg the Pay Board for an exemption for the union on the pay question. There can be little doubt that if a settlement

that will mean mass unemployment on the waterfront in exchange for a big wage increase is presented to this Board there will be little difficulty in obtaining an exemption.

Well aware that he is heading for a big clash with the ranks Bridges has begun attacking militants and even launched an attack on the Stalinists who have been forced to make a few noises about the need for militancy.

"...beware of local union politicians seeking to get elected at your expense by trying to make bums and sell-out artists of some international officers...All those witnesses on the witness stand during the many years of courtroom trials testifying against the union's program and me, and working like everything

to help me get a few years in the jailhouse, plus deportation, all swore under oath that they were still better Communists than those still running around on the docks, but also that they were on the witness stand only to help the rank and file and to save them from being sold out by the likes of me."

DANGEROUS

West Coast dockers now face an extremely dangerous situation. The leadership has openly declared its intention of selling out and smashing the militants. At the same time the opposition has no political program with which to confront Bridges.

Under these conditions the Stalinists are stepping forward to do the dirty work. Unable to openly support Bridges they are forced to one up him on militancy

while fighting tooth and nail to keep politics out of the dockers' struggle.

While talking tough on the "steady man" question and the guarantee Stalinists like Archie Brown are maintaining that it is simply a matter of hanging tough on the demands and doing a certain amount of propaganda work in the labor movement.

They are consciously spreading the illusion that rank and file militancy can take on and defeat the employers and the government.

The danger is that thousands of dockers determined to fight and ready to break with Bridges will be diverted by the Stalinists into militant action and adventures not consciously directed at taking on

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