

# Bulletin

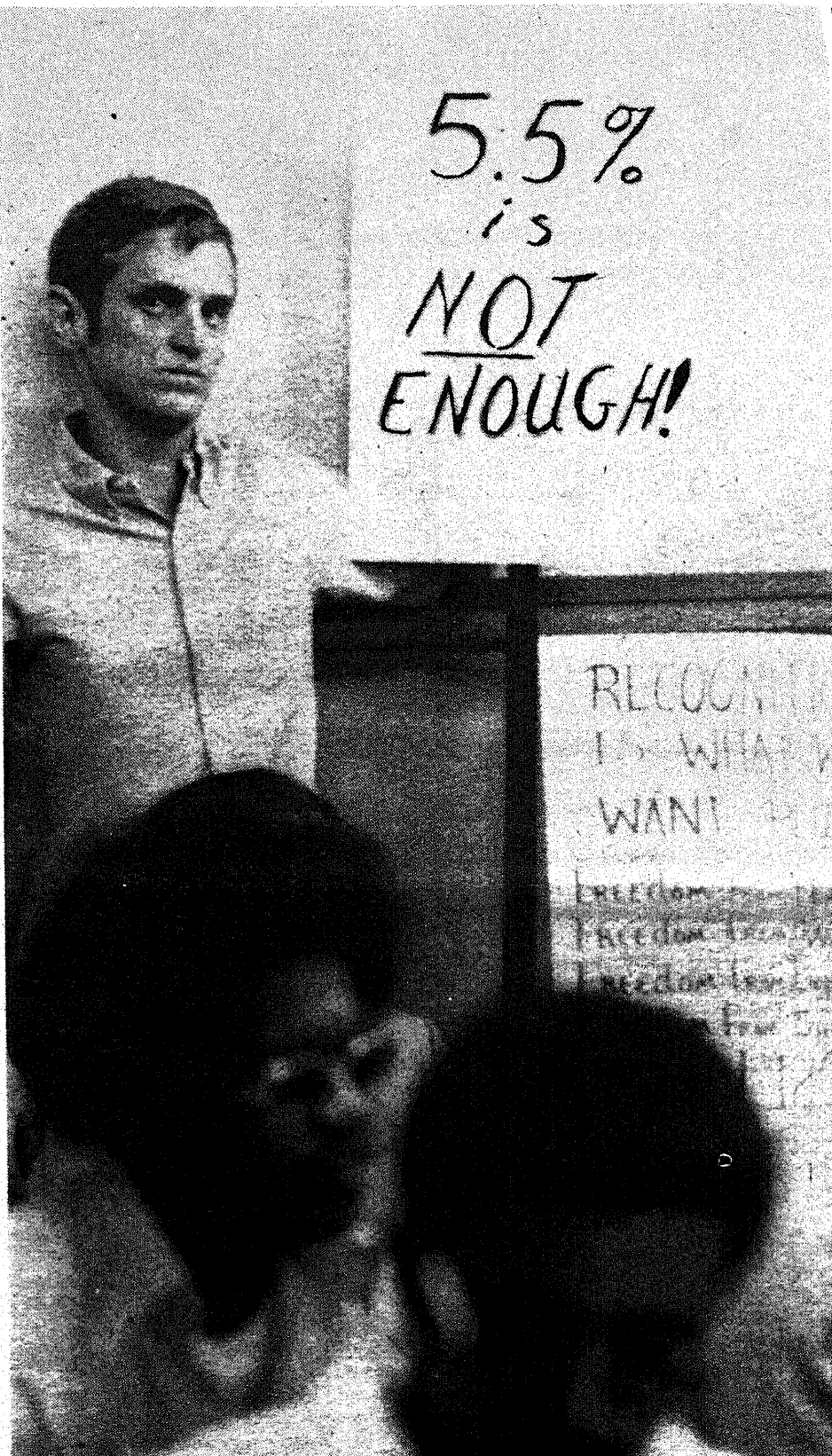
weekly organ of the workers league

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103

N CENTS



City workers in Fort Pierce, Florida packed courtroom to demand pay increases and an end to the anti-union maneuvers by city administration. See other picture on page 18.

## World Bankers Lay Plans for Unemployment & Speed-Up

Last week's meeting of world bankers in Washington, D.C. will affect the lives of millions of workers. The American declaration of trade war against Europe and Asia has set the stage for world depression and bankruptcy.

In spite of all the disagreements that have set the bankers of every country at each other's throats, they are all agreed on one thing. That is, the workers of every country must pay for the crisis through the destruction of their present living conditions.

Even while the bankers of the International Monetary Fund met in Washington their political puppets were carrying out the policies required by the crisis. In the Philippines, President Ferdinand Marcos established martial law and arrested workers. The leaders of the advanced industrial countries are preparing similar measures.

Confident of re-election, Nixon is barely taking the trouble to deny that the November elections will be followed by a ruthless assault upon all the rights workers have won through past struggles.

(Continued On Page 8)

**Bulletin  
Expansion  
Drive**

**Increase  
Shown  
This Week**

This week we received a slight increase on the Bulletin Fall Fund Drive, bringing in \$2064.85. This gives us a total of \$6546.47 towards our goal of \$50,000 by December 15.

Some of the branches have begun to send in significant amounts with \$400 from Brownsville, \$300 from Minneapolis, \$227.85 from the Bay Area and \$250 from Hartford. At the same time we are still way below the \$4000 a week level to meet our goal on time.

This drive is one of two drives aimed at raising \$100,000 so that our printers can install a web offset press. This will permit us to publish the Bulletin as a 24 page paper, to launch the Young Socialist as an independent paper, and to lay the basis for a daily paper.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW! CHICAGO-OCT. 21-22

The purpose of this conference will be to establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to call a congress of labor to establish a labor party. The conference will also consider the program around which such a labor party is to be constructed as well as the situation facing specific sections of the labor movement.

CONTACT: New York: 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., NYC 10011 924-0652; Chicago: P.O. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago 60607 327-2620; West Coast: Rm. 313, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 415-621-1310. Inexpensive accommodations available.

# Trade Union Officials Announce Support For Tory Wage Freeze Program

BY MELODY FARROW

British Prime Minister Edward Heath has announced a voluntary wage restraint policy that will freeze wages while prices are expected to soar in the coming year.

The proposals, which follow extensive talks between the government and the trade union leaders allow for only a flat six dollars over the next year with price increases supposedly held to five percent. Heath has declared that this will apply immediately to the government industrial workers.

The voluntary nature of these controls is a complete fraud. Heath has threatened that if the trade union leaders refuse to cooperate or cannot force the rank and file to toe the line, he will institute wage controls backed up by the courts.

## Norway's 'No' Jolts Common Market

BY A FOREIGN  
CORRESPONDENT

The Norwegian working class has scored a victory for the entire European working class by voting 54 percent to 46 percent to reject entry into the Common Market. The vote was all the more important because it was in defiance of the Labor Party which holds power and the trade union leaders who campaigned for a "yes" vote.

The "no" vote came from the trade unionists and from the farmers and fishermen who fear their livelihoods will be destroyed by the competition from the European countries.

In fact, the newspapers were so arrogantly confident that entry would be approved that the 1:30 a.m. editions announced the results as "yes." At 2:30 a.m., when the final vote was complete, 300 students demonstrated at the university singing "Victory is Ours" a 1944 song of anti-fascist resistance.

The Labor Party Premier, Trygve Bratteli, has declared that he will resign but parliamentary elections will not be held until next September.

### BLOW

The Norwegian vote is a decisive blow to the plans of the capitalist class to subordinate the working class to the drive for profits of the European monopolies. It will give a lead to the Danish workers who have yet to vote.

The Common Market is falling apart before it has even begun. The Norwegian vote demonstrates that workers are breaking with their reformist leaders and are moving towards tremendous class battles with the capitalists.

In the week before the announcement he told leaders of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) that 1.4 million workers would be thrown out of work if the wage controls are not adhered to.

### ENFORCEABLE

At the International Monetary Fund meeting in Washington there was talk among officials of the need for a legally enforceable wage freeze policy. The big bankers of Europe and America have made it clear to Britain that further support for the weakening pound and the deteriorating balance of payments situation will come only if the Tory government gets tough with the British workers.

The Heath measures are direct preparation for Britain's entry into the Common Market on January 1, 1973. Far from restraining prices, entry into the Market will result in a brutal rise in all aspects of the cost of living. The wage freeze is aimed at making British workers pay for the ruthless competition raging between the Common Market countries.

Entry will bring a sharp rise in food prices to bring British prices in line with the Common Market. In addition, a new value added tax will add another 10 percent to retail prices.

Victor Feather, head of the TUC said the wages policy "contains the possibility of a strong counter against inflation and the government proposals will be given very careful and responsible consideration by the TUC." The next day, the TUC General Council called the six dollar limit "totally unacceptable" and plans to announce a "compromise" voluntary plan with a higher wage ceiling.

The trade union leaders, the Labour Party and the Stalinists have paved the way for these attacks by their continuous colla-

poration with the Tories over the Industrial Relations Act and their refusal to break off talks with the Tories and mobilize the labor movement to bring down the government.

Heath will not accept any compromise. His proposals are a call for a showdown with the working class. The British workers are now faced with a wage freeze, massive unemployment and the destruction of their unions by the state.

The wave of strikes which will greet Heath's proposals must now be directed politically to fight to throw out the Tories and return the Labour Party to power in order to implement socialist policies.

To prepare for this, the Socialist Labour League of Britain is calling for Councils of Action to be built in every area to organize this struggle and is holding a Conference of the All Trades Union Alliance October 22 to build a revolutionary leadership within the labor movement.

## Marcos Orders Arrests Of Thousands

BY FRED MUELLER

With the imposition of martial law by President Ferdinand Marcos, the workers and peasants of the Philippines now face an open and brutal dictatorship. Following the declaration of martial law, the list of those arrested has grown to over 100, and a new list is being prepared.

Those under arrest include several well known opposition deputies in the House of Representatives, including Benigno Aquino, leader of the opposition Liberal Party, and Representatives Diokno and Mitra.

Also under arrest are Joaquin Roces, publisher of the Manila Times, the largest daily newspaper in the Philippines, and many journalists.

The airlines and utilities have been seized in order to prevent their "disruption." A curfew and strict censorship have been imposed, and 40 radio stations, 7



Mrs. Cecilia Cheng (above) was interviewed by Workers Press British Trotskyist newspaper. She is trying to free her husband, Cheng Tzu-tsai, who is now jailed in Britain. Cheng is being extradited from Sweden by U.S. for alleged assassination attempt on Nationalist Chinese diplomat. He belongs to a group which wants to overthrow "Chiang Kai-shek's fascist regime". He said that if extradited back to U.S., "I would be forced back to Taiwan to face the death penalty." Mrs. Cheng told Workers Press she believes U.S. is using extradition to appease Chiang Kai-shek: "Although the Nixon Administration wants to improve its relations with Peking, on the other hand they don't want to lose Taiwan, where there are a lot of American businessmen and investments."

allow the firing of up to 150,000 workers at a stroke, without a hearing or review.

Opposition to the Marcos regime, long centered in the rural areas and under the leadership of the Communist Party, is now spreading to the cities. In his crackdown Marcos pointed to the role of the Maoist-led New Peoples' Army. But he fears the workers in the cities more than anything.

Thus he explained: "We are falling back and have fallen back to our last line of defense. The limit has been reached because we have been placed against the wall." Marcos tried to make it appear that his measures were a last resort.

Newsweek magazine reports the "curiously inefficient" but highly publicized terrorist attacks in the last days before the announcement of martial law. A police car was blown up while the police were conveniently off having lunch. Bombs were set off in public places when they were all unoccupied.

In the sensational attack on the two car convoy of Defense Secretary Enrile, the alleged terrorists attacked only the first car, leaving the Defense Secretary and his entire party to emerge without a scratch.

The hand of provocateurs is obvious in at least some of these incidents. But this is the excuse for the most brutal measures that are required to keep the masses in their place.

It is no accident that the deputy head of the Philippines delegation to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) meeting in Washington should be the one to publicly predict that the martial law could last two years and to admit that these measures were carefully planned in order to deal with the rapidly deteriorating political and economic situation facing the government.

## Maoists Hail Tanaka As Peoples' Hero

BY  
A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Maoist bureaucracy has taken another step toward cementing its relations with world imperialism against the working class.

Last February the Chinese leaders in Peking wined and dined Nixon, helping him to prepare for the fall elections and competing with Moscow to see who could render the greatest help to the imperialists in attempting to impose a deal in Vietnam.

Now it is Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka who has received a cordial reception from Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. Between Nixon and Tanaka there have been other visitors to Peking, including the Empress of Iran and the representatives of other notorious dictatorships.

Tanaka's entourage even boasted that it had received a

bigger and better reception than Nixon. The Japanese leader spent 90 minutes with Mao discussing such subjects as food, Buddhism and literature.

In exchange for a mild apology "regretting" 50 years of Japanese imperialist aggression against China, Premier Chou offered the following statement: "The Chinese people make a strict distinction between the very few militarists and the broad masses of the Japanese people."

Tanaka and the capitalists he represents are thus now a part of "the broad masses." And Chou is advising the Japanese workers and their leaders in the Socialist and Communist parties to collaborate with and support this man.

For its part, Tokyo's aim in establishing diplomatic relations with China after nearly 40 years and breaking with the Taiwan regime of Chiang Kai-

television channels and 16 newspapers shut down in the city of Manila. In the last week, two or three of these outlets have been allowed to reopen in order to present the official line.

### BANNED

Union leaders have also been jailed and strikes banned. Marcos showed his hand when he announced that 400,000 government workers were required to hand in their resignations, with over one third expected not to be rehired, on account of "corruption and inefficiency."

A new set of civil service laws has been enacted in order to

shek, is closely related to the tremendous economic conflict which has broken out and continues to deepen within the capitalist powers.

Japanese capitalism is on the move in Asia, moving in rapidly on what were previously U.S. spheres of economic influence. Japan's exports have doubled in the last 10 years, with huge increases to Europe and the U.S.

The Chinese bureaucracy reacts to the growth of Japanese capital and the growing economic crisis in the same way as their cousins in Moscow. They base themselves on Stalin's theories of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence with imperialism.

Behind the sweet talk in Peking is the rapacious and expansionist Japanese imperialism and the tremendous fear of the bureaucracy for the working class internationally.



Demonstration in Hartford demanded jobs and equal opportunity.

## Ranks Denounce Woodcock As Norwood Strike Ends

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio, Sept. 27—The angry response of workers to the so-called settlement between General Motors and the Norwood United Auto Workers plant was reflected in the 26 percent vote among the unskilled workers against the agreement.

In addition to those who voted "no," a large number of workers walked out of the meeting in disgust without voting. And a large number who voted "yes" did so with strong reservations.

As one worker leaving the ratification meeting said: "We've been out here for nothing. I voted to go back, but I'm going back for nothing."

Some workers felt the settlement was a victory because GM agreed to restoration of the local contract. GM had wanted to scrap the local agreement entirely, but some of the main issues in the strike, such as the Paragraph 78 speed-up grievances, were thrown on the scrap heap and the whole question of manpower and line speed was left unresolved.

As the president of the local said: "We won't be able to determine the line speed until production resumes."

### TERRIBLE

A young worker leaving the meeting told the Bulletin that it was a terrible agreement. "We don't know anything about SUB pay or manpower. But it doesn't matter because the plant's going to close down." Another worker said:

"It is unfortunate that the International forced the local to present small issues to the membership. They offered the same thing to begin with. There is nothing guaranteed about jobs or line speed. Nothing is being said about the 800 who were laid off.

GM figures they're starving people out."

The Chevrolet workers in the body shop suffer the most by the agreement. They are the ones who have the most grievances

### Southgate GM Ranks Demand National Shutdown:

See article page 20.

and have received the most Disciplinary Layoffs (DLOs).

There should be one contract since it is now one plant and the workers in the Chevrolet plant should have the advantage of the better grievance procedures that exist on the Fisher Body side. As one worker complained to local president Richard Minton: "The Chevrolet workers got the shaft and what happened here today divides the workers."

### TERMS

The terms of the settlement were not revealed before the meeting. Members in the back section of the hall could not hear what the terms of the agreement were. Most of the bargaining committee recommended a "yes" vote, some did not.

Chairman of the Shop Committee, Jim Young, told the workers it was the best he could get.

The president of the local recommended a "no" vote because the Paragraph 78 grievances were withdrawn from the negotiations. However, he did nothing actively to oppose the settlement and said the local

agreements they got back were good ones.

When asked by the Bulletin the day before about the two day general strike promised the St. Louis local by the International, Minton stated that this was only one proposal thrown out at the meeting in Detroit for strategy to deal with GMAD "in the future."

### SHAME

In the meantime, a radio newscast quoted International President Woodcock as saying: "It's a shame that the Norwood workers had to accept such a poor settlement."

The "shame" is that Woodcock (Continued On Page 18)

# Trade War Plans Stun Bankers At IMF Meeting

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The U.S. Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz has dropped an economic bombshell into the annual Washington meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, signalling the beginning of a whole new stage in the economic crisis which opened up last August 15.

Speaking one day after the belligerent speech delivered to the IMF by Nixon himself, Shultz has outlined the most far reaching plan for international trade war ever devised in the post World War Two era.

Shultz's speech is nothing less than a blueprint for a massive drive by the United States to drive millions of workers in Europe, Japan, the colonial countries and the United States into mass unemployment, starvation, and repression far beyond anything capitalism has yet devised.

### PROPOSALS

The sweeping proposals outlined by Shultz, as the basis for a new economic order to replace the collapse of Bretton Woods, included:

1. The complete repudiation by the U.S. of any return to convertibility of the dollar into gold, and a plan for a huge expansion of the use of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) instead;
2. A scheme under which countries with balance of payments surpluses (notably Europe and Japan) would automatically be compelled to revalue their currencies under the direction of the IMF when reserves accumulate above a certain point;
3. A plan for the introduction of international trade sanctions against countries that refuse to revalue or otherwise divest themselves of surplus reserves.

### BURDEN

From beginning to end, these proposals are solely designed to push the full burden of the international monetary crisis onto the backs of Europe, Japan and the colonial countries.

According to Shultz, the chief danger threatening to break the world up into "antagonistic

blocks" shielded by "walls of protectionism" is the "ancient and recurring fallacy" that debtor nations (i.e. the United States) are responsible for their balance of payments deficits.

"Amid the debate about the contributing causes of past imbalances and the responsibility for initiatives toward correction, sight has too often been lost of the fact that adjustment is inherently a two sided process—that for the world as a whole every surplus is matched by a deficit.

"Resistance of surplus countries to loss of their surpluses defeats the objective of monetary order as surely as failure of deficit countries to attack the source of their deficits."

### DEMANDING

In other words, what Shultz is demanding is that the United States be allowed the right to continue to flood Europe and the rest of the world with billions of inconvertible dollars. When reserves of these dollars reach a certain point, these countries would be called upon to revalue their currencies by the IMF. This will fuel an already huge inflationary spiral raging throughout Europe and further pricing European exports out of the world market.

Should any country balk at orders from the IMF, Shultz said, "more forceful adjustment measures would be indicated. In the absence of a truly effective combination of corrective measures, other countries should be free to protect their interests by a surcharge on imports from the chronic surplus country. For countries moving toward monetary union the guidelines might be made applicable on a collective basis."

In short, what is proposed is a U.S. led and internationally (Continued On Page 18)

## Mitchell Paid Watergate Spies

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The stench from the Watergate affair is becoming overwhelming. The latest development is the report in the Washington Post which confirms what was long surmised: the fund used to pay for the spying operation on the Democrats was personally controlled by former Attorney General John Mitchell when he was head of the Justice Department.

The newspaper quoted "reliable sources involved in the Watergate investigation." Mitchell's reaction to this story, when it was read to him on the telephone before publication, was: "All that crap, you're putting it in the paper? It's all been

denied."

At the same time, the Committee to Re-elect the President has challenged the constitutionality of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. The act is being used to require the disclosure of the names of contributors to Republican campaign funds before the Federal Election Campaign Act went into effect on April 7, 1972.

### LOOPHOLES

First, Nixon called for closing the loopholes in the 1925 Act. Then, he sent his fundraisers scurrying around the country to raise more than \$10 million before the date that the new Act would go into effect so that their names need not be disclosed.

Now he is challenging even the old law under which it appears at least some of these mysterious contributors to his re-election campaign will have to be identified.

After making a few noises, the Democrats have fallen silent on the Watergate affair. Both Democrats and Republicans are devoted to the defense of capitalism and they will break even their own laws when it is required.

### DESPERATION

Nixon and Mitchell's behavior represents the desperation of a ruling class which is consumed by fear and determined to preserve itself by any means necessary.

# Jobless Crisis Dominated NMU NYC Convention

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Oct. 2—The Sixteenth Convention of the National Maritime Union opened here with President Joe Curran admitting the total defeat of all his schemes to save NMU jobs, wages and working conditions.

"The American manufacturer is interested only in profits," stated President Curran, "so it's our job to convince him to ship his cargo under the American flag. If we keep on it, we have a feeling we may succeed. As for the passenger ships we feel we've done everything we can do and we may get a few out."

Curran also admitted that the loss of 7000 to 10,000 seamen's jobs in the past three years now requires that the companies cut their contributions to the pension funds by \$10 million yearly. He went on to state in the President's Report that each new automated ship with crews of 26 men or less is replacing 10 older ships with 45 men each aboard.

## HOPES

Curran's only proposal for the future was to utter pious hopes that some millionaires would reactivate the SS United States with reduced manning. He also stated that: "We hope to work together maybe not to unity but to working together on these questions of wages, hours, and jobs" with other maritime unions such as the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

The guest speaker, ILA President Gleason described the recent picketing by the NMU, SIU, and other unions against grain cargoes being carried by scab foreign flag vessels. He stated: "On this last shipment of grains we've taken a position that if it's to be any different

than 50-50 percent carried in American and Russian ships, that any percentage the Russians carry, we carry equally. I think we're well on the road for the first time to become unified."

Gleason added: "In the past week we've taken a stand for the mates. They have these new containerships 950 feet long, 33 knots. The mates were in there for an additional man and the longshoremen stopped them in every single port. This company (Sea-Land) battled for seven days. This company threatened to tie up their entire fleet."

"We told them they would have to tie up their entire fleet because we were going to stand by the maritime unions. You can take it from me we're going to go on to one maritime union."

The standing ovation which the delegates gave this speech gives the lie to Curran's policy of conciliating the owners, a policy Gleason himself is following behind his demagoguery. The men behind the delegates want a fight to the finish with the shipowners over manning scales and unemployment. This is what caused the delegates to respond to even a hint of a fight for increased manning.

## CENTRAL

This fight for jobs is central to the NMU. This fight can go forward only through the fight for two full crews on every ship, each to be paid in full for time on and off ship.

The NMU contract must be reopened for this demand.  
(Continued On Page 18)

# ILA Ranks Resist Forced Overtime

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—Since the implementation of the new work rules in the port of New York in August, the shipping bosses have been stepping up the harassment and attacks on the dockworkers. This is aimed at destroying all the conditions and protection under the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI).

This is the meaning of the last contract which was accepted by the entire International leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), which Gleason and Scotto bear the main responsibility for.

Gleason's endorsement of Nixon for president is the last in a series of episodes in which Gleason allowed Nixon and the government to stomp all over the longshoremen.

The latest blow by the shippers and Gleason against the men is the issuance of a "Notice to All Employees" by the New York Shippers Association Contract Board and Trustees of the GAI Trust Fund (NYSA-ILA).

This notice arrogantly informs all dock employees that "if a

man voluntarily leaves work before he is released by his employer, whether at 12 noon, 5 p.m. or at any other time, or overtime period," he will not be paid at all for that day and in fact will be debited for 8 hours the first time and 16 hours the second time. He will then be warned that after the next such offense he will be removed entirely from the GAI.

Finally the notice says that these penalties are made necessary because the shipping bosses, already raking in billions of dollars, are threatening to leave the port unless men stop refusing to work overtime.

The employers were given this power by the last contract which set up the "NYSA-ILA Contract Board." The Board was set up to make rules as the employers please, in order to knock men off the GAI if they refuse to accept the new slave conditions.

Through the acceptance of this blackmail, Gleason shows that he is the employers' man. He worries about the profits of the shippers, not the interests of the men.

But thousands of men in the port cannot afford to sit back and file grievance appeals, which are



Demonstration was held outside of Dominican consulate in New York last week in defense of political prisoners held in that country.

# U.S. Court Forces Washington D.C. Teachers Back

BY P. MARTIN

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 3—After two weeks of strike action and a threat of jail sentences and additional fines by the District Superior Court against the union and the striking teachers, the strike of Washington teachers reluctantly came to an end.

At all points, the rank and file pushed the union leadership not only into strike ac-

tion, but extended the strike an additional two days.

None of the major demands were met and teachers are finding themselves returning to a work situation virtually unchanged. The court has imposed a \$90,000 fine on the union.

The demand for a 17 percent pay raise has been reduced to 12 percent over a two year period—seven percent this year and five percent next year. The demand for the restoration of 300 teaching positions was reduced to 182.

## REJECTION

William Simon, the president of the union, spoke before a meeting of striking teachers who met at McKinley High School yesterday. When the call for a stand up vote for the settlement was raised, 7 out of the 15 executive board members on the stage refused to stand, indicating their rejection of the settlement.

A fight must be taken up by the rank and file against this sellout. As the government moves to beat back all wages of the working class, and to destroy the unions nationally, the policy of trade union militancy is no longer sufficient to improve conditions in the schools and in the plants. Teachers must join with the entire labor movement in building a labor party.

# ILA Mates Shut Down Sealand

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Masters, Mates and Pilots Union, a section of the International Longshoremen's Association, has been on strike against Sea-Land Service since September 22.

The union, which has been working without a contract since June 15, finally struck over the proposed manning scales on the giant SL-7 containerships now under construction.

The MM&P has set up picket lines at Sea-Land terminals in New York, Baltimore, San Juan, and on the West Coast. The ILA is honoring its pickets on the East Coast. The strike has tied up 30 of Sea-Land's 65 ships and has crippled its operations completely.

Sea-Land has demanded that the manning issue be sent to arbitration and that arbitration be written into the new contract. This could only result in rulings against the right of the men to their jobs. The company has also sought injunctions against the MM&P picket lines.

The deepening crisis in world trade, along with the construction of new ships such as the SL-7's run solely for profit, is at the heart of the rising unemployment in the maritime unions. The moves being prepared by the Nixon Administration, with full support from the Democrats, for a deepening trade war with Europe and Japan, can only lead to a drying up of world trade and sharper attacks against seamen through cuts in manning scales.

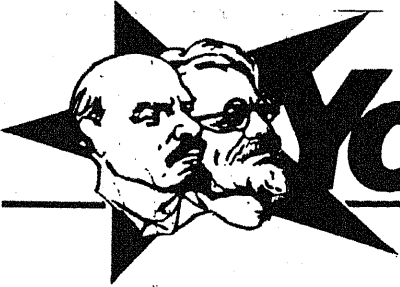
Each SL-7 is 900 feet long, and can carry 3000 20-foot containers at 33 knots. Each one requires only 25-30 men, while older breakbulk freighters of half the size require 45 men. Thus each SL-7, with its higher speed and quicker turnaround, will throw hundreds of seamen onto the beach.

## FORWARD

The strike by the Masters, Mates and Pilots shows the way forward for every maritime union in the struggle against manning scale cuts and the use of automation to destroy jobs. This fight must be taken forward through united strike action by all the maritime unions for reopening the 1972 contracts to provide two full crews on every ship, each to be paid in full for time on and off ship.

The maritime unions must take the lead in the struggle to nationalize shipping under workers control and to build a labor to accomplish this task.

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# Young Socialist

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## The Young Socialist -- Stolen Banner

Statement from the Steering Committee of the Young Socialists.

The publication of the Young Socialist Alliance's newspaper with our name is clearly a desperate attempt by these revisionists to cash in on the success which the Young Socialists, as well as our newspaper the Young Socialist which appears as a section of the Bulletin, has achieved among the youth.

It is a last ditch effort by the Young Socialist Alliance to strike back at our movement, which is the only movement that deserves the name Young Socialists because of our entire fight for Trotskyism—a fight which the YSA abandoned long ago.

In order to cover up this abandonment, the YSA must resort to falsifications of the history of the Young Socialist, as they attempt to rationalize why they are resuming publication of the paper.

The YSA itself was built around the Young Socialist newspaper. The paper was first put out in 1957 when there was a socialist regroupment of youth. On the heels of the world-shaking events of the Hungarian Revolution and the Khrushchev revelations, youth split from the centrist groups such as the Young Socialists League and joined with the youth of the Socialist Workers Party to form the YSA.

The fight that was waged was of the most fundamental character. At the head of the struggle was the question of revolution or reform.

Thus the Young Socialist was born out of a struggle for Trotskyism against centrism at a point in history when the International Committee deepened its fight against Pabloite revisionism in preparation for the breakup of the post-war boom. Those who led the YSA and edited the Young Socialist in that period were later to emerge as the minority opposition within the SWP and YSA in 1961-64. This opposition fought against the move toward centrism by the leadership of those organizations.

Tim Wohlforth, present National Secretary of the Workers League, was the first National Secretary of the YSA and the first editor of the Young Socialist. The YSA leadership today seeks to distort this history and to hide its real meaning from the present YSA membership.

The Young Socialist newspaper became the weapon that led the struggles of the youth, not a side-line commentator.

No other paper carried the fight against racism deeper than the Young Socialist in 1959 when it battled against the racist practice of Woolworth's southern stores which did not serve Blacks. This was the paper that gave the fighting lead to those struggles, organizing mass, nationwide picketing and calling on the unions to intervene.

Every step of the way was a fight for that paper. Throughout there was the struggle to preserve the consistent Trotskyist line against those elements who wanted to adapt to the Stalinists.

At other times, the conservative leaders of the SWP themselves sought to destroy the publication of the Young Socialist by proposing an end to the publication because of financial difficulties. Joseph Hansen himself was ordered to halt the publication of the Young Socialist or to remove the single full-time functionary the youth movement had.

All of this reflected the deepening liquidationist tendency within the SWP which threatened to destroy the Trotskyist movement itself.

No sooner had the majority of the leadership of the YSA, which made up the main opposition to the growing revisionism within the SWP, been expelled when the first attempt to liquidate the paper was made.

The proposal made at the Labor Day Plenum of 1964 was to change the format of the Young Socialist from a newspaper to a magazine. Instead of being in the heat of the

(Continued on Page 6)

## YS Demands Fight For Labor Party At NPAC



Young Socialists contingent fought for labor party at NPAC meeting in New York last weekend.

BY A YS REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—"There is no solution to the Vietnam War and the attacks facing the American working class outside the fight for a labor party devoted to socialist policies," declared Gil Gonzalez, National Secretary of the Young Socialists.

Speaking at the regional meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition on Oct. 1, he stated that any other stand on the war would result in bolstering the McGovern campaign.

Fifty Young Socialists attended the meeting. The small turnout of 87 NPAC people, from Connecticut, New Jersey, Long Island, and New York, reflects the decay of the antiwar protest movement.

The new attacks by the government on the American workers and youth have left these elements completely paralyzed. The pessimism exuded by them flows from their lack of confidence in the fighting power of the working class.

The role played by pacifist types in agreement with the line of the CP was an attempt to revive the old radical movement. At the meeting, they made it clear that keeping the American working class tied to the Democratic Party is their main objective.

The revisionists voiced the greatest hostility to the fight to break the workers and youth from the Democratic Party through the formation of a labor party.

A long-time sympathizer of the SWP screamed: "We want the McGovernites in to build this movement!"

### HIT

The Young Socialists' speakers continuously hit at the questions facing workers and youth. By pointing out the growing movement of workers and youth entering into struggle to defend their

rights, they vividly posed a sharp contrast to the pessimism of the middle class and treachery of the Stalinists which had flooded the room.

Nancy Vasquez, Brooklyn College YS member said: "There is hostility here to the working class. The GMAD workers calling for a national GMAD strike show the strength of the American working class. We take sides and defend the struggle of the Vietnamese by fighting for a labor party here in the U.S. so youth and workers can go forward."

The meeting was marked by the extreme rightward turn of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Their refusal to fight for the labor party has thrown them straight into the hands of the Stalinists.

The YSA lined up all the way with the Stalinists, who not only are supporting McGovern here but also support the Moscow bureaucracy which has done everything to sabotage the Vietnamese revolution.

### DESERTED

Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism has been deserted by the YSA who cannot see the working class taking power. Rather, their policies are limited to pressuring the government.

In the first issue of their Young Socialist newspaper, Andrew Pulley, their vice presidential candidate, writes an open letter to the YWLL begging these Stalinists to help them build the antiwar movement. Not once is the question of Stalinism mentioned.



Nancy Vasquez of Brooklyn College YS speaks at NPAC meeting.

Dragging Trotsky's struggle through the mud, Pulley called for unity. He addressed the Stalinists as "international socialists."

Trotsky was murdered by Stalin precisely because of his fight for internationalism and the world socialist revolution.

It was this break by the YSA from Trotskyism which came out at the NPAC meeting. As the Young Socialists quoted Trotsky on the labor party, the YSA sneered and booed.

The question of the labor party dominated the meeting. It is exposing all those enemies who masquerade as friends of the working class. The Young Socialists is the only revolutionary movement fighting for this perspective and is exposing the Stalinists whom the YSA is embracing.

The Young Socialists will take this further by building the National Conference For A Labor Party Now and the National Preliminary Conference for the Construction of a Revolutionary Youth Movement on October 21-22 in Chicago.

## National Pre-conference for the Construction of a Revolutionary Youth Movement Chicago October 22

The purpose of this conference will be to elect a provisional national steering committee of the Young Socialists and to consider a programmatic statement around which a national conference will be organized to found the Young Socialists. Plans for the launching of the Young Socialist as an independent paper will also be considered.

The conference will be held in conjunction with the Workers League Conference For a Labor Party Now!

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop).

For more information, see full ad on Page 1.



New York University is slashing faculty and courses in cutbacks. Students and teachers lose in NYU's attempt to remain solvent.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST. . .

(Continued From Page 5)

battle, the Young Socialist was turned into a sheet which simply commented on and gave support to various movements.

This step was taken because the YSA was now a movement which adapted to whatever was the current trend. It was no longer a revolutionary movement seeking to mobilize the youth and the working class around a Trotskyist perspective.

In 1970, the YSA celebrated their 10th anniversary by completely dropping the Young Socialist for the YSA Organizer. This signified the whole inward turn of the YSA which only needed to comment on certain organizational questions for their members while the fight to reach the masses of youth became insignificant.

This is why the statements made in their paper about the new publication being in continuity with the past Young Socialist is really a mythical line sewn together by lies and distortions.

We, the Young Socialists, are the rightful heirs to that name. We are the continuators of that fight for Trotskyism which the founders of the YS newspaper took up. We are part of the product of the struggle against the revisionism within the SWP and the Pabloite liquidation of the Trotskyist movement.

Now the YSA seeks to steal what rightfully belongs to our movement. They do not deserve the name Young Socialist. They have abandoned Trotskyism.

Our success in building this movement is actually a blow to the YSA who said it could not be done. The youth coming towards us come because of our fight for Trotskyism, because we are bringing Marxism into the working class.

When we stated that the only way to build a revolutionary movement was through the struggle for Marxism, the YSA laughed at us. They see it as a matter of supporting every middle class movement that comes up, from nationalism, to homosexuality, to women's liberation.

The fact that the YSA is now trying to jump into our successes shows that we are correct, that youth will come around the Trotskyist banner and that a principled fight for Marxism will result in triumph for the working class.

We named our movement the Young Socialists not to confuse but to distinguish ourselves from the YSA and in solidarity with our sister movements in Britain and Australia. The Australian YS will publish their paper under the same name. On the other hand, the YSA seeks to create confusion by calling their paper the Young Socialist.

The Steering Committee of the Young Socialists states that we are not going to drop the name Young Socialist for our paper. The paper will be published as planned. It will be a battling paper, deeply rooted in the struggles of the youth and leading the fight for the labor party.

It will be a popular paper, hitting at all aspects of life for the youth. It is the youth who need this kind of paper and the Young Socialists will provide it.

The confusion will be minimum. Our paper will be distinguished both politically and technically. The youth will know which is the Young Socialist.

# Young Socialist Students Challenge Jane Fonda's Pitch For McGovern Campaign

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

EAST ORANGE, N.J.—More than 800 students from the university and neighboring schools applauded Jane Fonda last Tuesday at Seton Hall where she appeared to discuss her experiences during her recent trip to Vietnam.

Within an hour, more than two thirds of the audience were driven away by Miss Fonda's liberal politics of reviving the bankrupt antiwar protest movement and calling for support to George McGovern.

It was not political apathy that led most students to leave the meeting long before it ended—for at the start of the lecture, the students vigorously defended Miss Fonda against ultraright and fascist hooligans supporting John Schmitz who attempted to break up the meeting.

Every time a Schmitz backer tried to interrupt Fonda with shouts of "traitor," the students drowned out the right-wingers with applause, urging her to continue.

But Fonda tried to keep the meeting on a level that would not relate the war in Vietnam to the fundamental political and class issues. Her discussion of Vietnam consisted entirely of a slide show in which she described the "beautiful" Vietnamese person seen in any one of the pictures.

Following the slide show, the meeting was opened up for a discussion chaired by Tom Hayden, a founding member of Students for a Democratic Society and now a supporter of McGovern.

The first question, raised by an elderly trade unionist, posed the central issue: "If you're serious about Vietnam, why won't you mention capitalism?" asked the worker.

"We're not discussing capitalism here," answered Fonda, adding: "If enough people get out in the streets and protest against the brutal killings, the war will come to an end."

Repeatedly, students challenged Miss Fonda's support for McGovern, and one student asked her why she thought "McGovern isn't like all the other politicians."

The Young Socialists present at the meeting intervened to pose the only alternative which can end the war and the attacks on workers and youth in this country.

### BREAK

"It is only through a break with the capitalist parties and the independent mobilization of the working class against the government for a socialist society that the war against the Vietnamese people and workers all over the world can be ended," declared a YS member.

There was an enthusiastic response to YS speakers who

challenged Miss Fonda's assertion that McGovern's policies would be different than Nixon's.

Miss Fonda refused to answer the questions put forward by the YS; instead, she attacked the speakers as "sectarians"—a slander she has obviously learned from the Stalinist Communist Party that stands behind her current tours across the nation's campuses.

In spite of her personal courage, Miss Fonda is a vehicle used by the Stalinists to prevent students and youth from turning toward socialism and taking up a fight against capitalism. The CP is using her to win votes for McGovern.

## San Jose City College Eliminates Courses

BY A YS REPORTER

SAN JOSE, Calif.—A 10 percent decline in enrollment at the City College here, caused by the inability of youth to find jobs in order to support their education, is being used by the Board of Trustees as an excuse to justify cutbacks in courses and teachers' salaries.

Many classes that were scheduled to begin during the past week have been dropped from the curriculum and other classes, particularly in the history department, are absurdly overcrowded.

"Reagan is cutting back on the scholarships for minorities and making education cuts everywhere," a student told the Young Socialist. "That's because he knows where he's getting his money from—the wealthy."

Non-tenured teachers have been especially victimized by the cutbacks because they are paid either on an hourly or class-by-class basis. The elimination of courses means a decline in their salaries.

The College has made a practice of offering teachers a choice between heavy workloads to trim the staff or the cutting of their

courses.

"I really worked hard to get a degree so I could teach," said one teacher. "Then I find out when I got my degree that there are no jobs. Now that I finally have a job after one year of unemployment, they're telling me that I don't have the right to teach my students properly."

The Trustees are planning to make teaching conditions even worse than they are now. At the first board meeting this fall, a trustee suggested that courses be enlarged to hold 200 students.

Political tendencies on the campus like the nationalist Samos Raza have no program to meet this crisis. Only the Young Socialists understand that the fight for decent education and jobs is a political fight that requires the unity of students, teachers and the trade unions in a struggle for a labor party.

## ACLU Defends Racist Professor

BY ANN LORE

STANFORD, Cal.—The American Civil Liberties Union has come to the defense of Professor William Shockley at Stanford University, declaring that it would be a "potential threat of major proportions to civil liberties" if he is denied his proposed course on racist theory.

Shockley, who in the 1950s gained prominence as a physicist and won the Nobel Prize in 1956, today is gaining more attention for his ultra-right wing views on intelligence and heredity.

Shockley invented the theory that the reason for poverty, unemployment and the ghettos was not to be found in the social system which forces these conditions on the working class, but in the inherent ability or inability of certain people to rise above such conditions.

Having decided that minority

people were genetically inferior, his conclusion is that the continued existence of minorities in our society is "exerting a negative influence...and actually promoting dysgenics—a retrogressive evolution."

### GENOCIDE

Therefore, all welfare and reform programs should be eliminated and rather than better education for minority youth, he suggests, as one possible solution, Federal payments for those who agree to sterilization. Actually, Shockley's final solution is genocide.

In order to teach these theories at Stanford, Shockley applied to the Stanford Workshop on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI) to be given a class this fall.

It is not surprising that now the ruling class turns to these theorists for their justifications to carry out the most vicious assaults on the rights and living conditions of the working class and youth.

During the summer, SWOPSI denied his course proposal and President Lyman has requested an inquiry into the matter, saying that none of the reasons for the refusal were valid.

The Young Socialists at Stanford say that Shockley has no right to be heard at Stanford's campus or anywhere else. The YS will fight to make sure that Shockley's theories are not used.

# THE POLITICAL DEGENERATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

# Young Socialist

## 4 Huey Newton Endorses Capitalism

BY JOHN HILLS

We have discussed how the Black Panther Party theory of intercommunalism was really a cover for the rejection of internationalism and the struggle of the world proletariat to establish socialism. Behind Newton's intercommunalism was the narrow nationalism peddled by the middle class. Expressed in his theories of intercommunalism was the desire to return to community control and Black capitalism, which today can only mean support to the American ruling class. Now we will probe to the roots of the methodological approach of the Panthers' acceptance of capitalism.

Earlier we said that the heart of the split within the Black Panther Party involved two conflicting positions. The Newton faction represented a section turning to Marxist theory. However, Newton's refusal to root his turn to dialectical materialism in the history of the Marxist movement, particularly the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism, has led him into the camp of idealism.

Today, while Cleaver remains a liberal who picked up a gun, Newton on the other hand evolves into a liberal without a gun. Thus the political degeneration of the Black Panther Party is complete.

First it is important to understand how Newton attempts to justify the Panthers' support to Black capitalism. To set the stage for this task, Newton begins with a method with which to define phenomena. He says:

"The Black Panther Party has always merged theory and practice (note the use of the word "merged"—J.H.) in such a way as to serve the true interests of the community. In merging theory with practice we recognized that it was necessary to develop a theory which was valid for more than one time and place. We wanted to develop a system of thinking which was good anywhere, thus it had to be rather abstract.

"Yet our theory would relate to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions so that our actions would always be relevant and profitable to the people. Yet at the same time it had to advance their thinking so that they would move toward a transformation of their situation of exploitation and oppression. We have always insisted on good theory and good practice, but we have not always been successful in carrying this through."

### MERGING

Newton's talk about "merging" theory and practice is not accidental but is specifically designed to justify the BPP merger with the Democratic Party. Newton states later of the ability of the masses to create revolution:

"We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectical ideology and our analysis of concrete conditions indicate that declaring a spontaneous revolution is a fantasy. The people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is part of the dialectical process.

"The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect analyses and emphases. We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival programs, we can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests, we can truly become a political

revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom."

What Newton is really saying here is that since the consciousness of the working class is bourgeois, the masses are incapable of making a revolution. Therefore, the task of the BPP is to adapt and understand the thinking of the masses. In order to revolutionize the thinking of workers, they must fight for reforms (sur-



Huey Newton (right) uses same philosophic method as 19th Century French philosopher Proudhon (left) which Marx exposed (vital programs) in a merger with the Democratic Party lefts like Ron Dellums. In this way, the thinking of the masses will gradually turn revolutionary.

Merging theory and practice for Newton means precisely a merger with capitalism. Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?*, stresses that Marxist consciousness is brought into the working class from outside by the revolutionary party in conflict with the bourgeois thinking of the masses. It is this struggle, deepened by the crisis of capitalism itself, that creates revolutionary (not evolutionary) changes in the thinking of the masses.

The lifeless method of Huey Newton is expressed more concretely in his assessment of Black capitalism. He says:

"The idea of Black capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the institutions of the community. We see within this characteristic the seeds of the negation of Black capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative and therefore transform the situation."

### IDEALISM

In the *Poverty of Philosophy* Marx, over 100 years ago, exposed, in his polemic with Proudhon, the idealism of Newton. Marx

says:

"For him, M. Proudhon, every economic category has two sides—one good, the other bad. He looks upon these categories as the petty bourgeois looks upon the great men of history: Napoleon was a great man; he did a lot of good; he also did a lot of harm. The good side and the bad side, the advantages and the drawbacks, taken together form for M. Proudhon the contradiction in every economic category.

"The problem to be solved: to keep the good side, while eliminating the bad. Slavery is an economic category like any other. Thus it also has its two sides. Let us leave alone the bad side and talk about the good side of slavery. Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry.

"It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created world trade, and it is world trade that is the precondition of large scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance."

What Marx is saying here is that economic categories exist as a unity of opposites in conflict not as Proudhon sees it as simply a combination of "good" and "bad" sides. Marx points out that the commodity exists as a unity in conflict of exchange-value and use-value. It is this unity in conflict that makes the commodity a commodity. In capitalist society it is precisely because of the exploitation of the working class that capitalism exists.

In Newton's analysis of Black capitalism, he attempts to prove correct his petty bourgeois theory of the good and bad sides to Black capitalism. In his futile attempts to increase the good sides and eliminate the bad sides of Black capitalism, he goes over into becoming a staunch defender of Black capitalism. He



method as 19th Century French philosopher Proudhon (left) which Marx exposed (vital programs) in a merger with the Democratic Party lefts like Ron Dellums. In this way, the thinking of the masses will gradually turn revolutionary.

even goes to the point of giving the capitalists a hand in making their profits. He says:

"So far as capitalism in general is concerned, the Black capitalist has the status of a victim because the big white capitalist has the skills, make the loans and in fact control the Black capitalist. If he wants to succeed in his enterprise the Black capitalist must turn to the community because he depends on them to make his profits. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies."

Here, Newton quite openly reveals his real motives in the movement. Not only is he not trying "to negate all capitalism in general," but actually he is attempting to give Black capitalism a new lease on life. Newton does not mention the fact that it is the capitalists, both Black and white, who own the Black community. These are the culprits who are responsible for the deteriorating housing, inferior education, drugs, etc. and they are supported by the monopolies and the government.

The point that Marx insisted upon was that capitalism is precisely a unity of opposites and you cannot separate out its "good" or "bad" side. Those who proceed that way can only end up defending the whole system. This is exactly where New-

ton now stands.

In justifying the BPP's support to capitalism, Newton attempts to make a comparison between the local Black capitalists and the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. He says:

"We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national (native) bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggle of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group even though they are exploiters."

In footnote form Newton adds:

"Presently the bourgeoisie is in a weaker position now than it was when it was freed from colonialism. Under reactionary intercommunalism (such as in Europe) the bourgeoisie is in control of a smaller unit (community) than it was before. Not only does this make it weaker, it also makes a non-antagonistic transformation of their contradiction more likely since the objective interests of the bourgeoisie are in many ways similar to the interests of poor people."

### ABSURD

This formulation of Newton's is completely absurd. Since Nixon's August decisions not only has there been cut-throat competition between capitalist nations, in the form of the developing trade war, but America seeks to throw its crisis on the backs of Europe, thus forcing the European bourgeoisie into civil war conditions. How does Newton explain Ulster?

Today in Italy and France as well as other major countries in Europe, fascist forces roam the streets terrorizing workers and communists. Far from being a non-antagonistic relationship between the ruling class and the working class, these struggles take on the most violent character.

Newton here digs up all the age-old theories of Stalinism and revisionism. This particular theory goes as follows: Revolution proceeds in two stages: 1) The material conditions for socialism are not ripe. The masses are backward and the productive forces are not developed to the point of stagnation. Therefore, we must wait until capitalism reaches its crisis point. In the meantime we must seek to raise the consciousness of workers through various reformist schemes to achieve its independence. 2) Once independence is achieved, we then proceed to socialism.

In the case of Newton and the Black Panther Party, this formula appears to be very practical in relation to the Black working class in America. Since Newton assumes that Blacks constitute a nation, the first task is to wrest control of the institutions in the Black community (schools, welfare centers, etc.) in alliance with Black capitalists.

This sterile strategy of Newton's will deliver Black workers right into the concentration camps. Newton does not see the urgency of the fight for power, through a labor party, under the deadly attacks of a rotten capitalism. The Black Panther Party is completely oblivious to the crisis posed by Nixon's August 15 measures. It was precisely this "two stage revolution," invented by Stalin, that cost the lives of thousands of workers and communists in the Chinese Revolution of 1927. The Bolshevik Party succeeded in carrying through the October Revolution through a decisive break with the Menshevik theory of "two stage revolution."

It is this whole methodological approach, this refusal to develop Marxism and build a movement based on the working class instead of community or race, which has led Newton into open support of the Democratic Party. By supporting the Shirley Chisholms and the Ron Dellums, Huey Newton supports the same party of big business which once was led by slave owners and which today includes George Wallace and other big business racist demagogues.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## World Bankers

(Continued From Page 1)

These plans call for plant speed-ups, wage cuts, massive unemployment, anti-strike laws, and union busting. The government considers the current guidelines of the Pay Board inadequate. High officials in the Nixon Administration are working hand-in-glove with the most powerful bankers and industrialists to set up a "Commission of Industrial Peace" that will be used to make trade unionism and strike action illegal in this country.

The greatest class battles in history will now erupt. At the very heart of the capitalist crisis is the strength of the international working class. This strength is being exhibited in every part of the world.

The offensive of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the rejection of the Common Market by Norwegian workers, and the struggle of British trade unionists against the Tory government prove that the working class will not hesitate to fight back in defense of its living standards and rights.

This same determination is being shown by workers in this country. In every section of industry—auto, steel, longshore, aerospace—American workers have made it clear that they are ready for a fight.

But this tremendous militancy is being betrayed by a bureaucratic leadership in the trade unions who refuse to face up to their responsibilities.

The national elections are less than a month away. Now is the time for labor to mobilize itself politically, call a national congress for a labor party, expose the maneuvers of the corrupt and money-grubbing politicians of big business, and put the American working class on war-footing to meet the emergency.

But this is not what the Meanys, Woodcocks, and Fitzsimmons are doing. The first group is sitting on its hands and telling American workers to ignore the elections, the second group is all-out for McGovern, even though it knows that most workers could not give one damn about him, and the third group is licking the boots of the very man who has kicked labor in the teeth for the last four years.

All this adds up to a policy of treachery, and it is supported by the American Communist Party, which uses its influence to prevent the mobilization of the ranks in a political fight against the government. It carries out this criminal policy by fighting against the construction of a labor party and defending those bureaucrats who are in the forefront of the McGovern campaign.

The paralysis of the labor bureaucracy is in direct opposition to the movement within the rank and file. The tradition of the American working class is one of great and sudden explosions. The crisis will bring millions of workers into struggle during the coming months.

But the spontaneous militancy of the working class will not be enough. What is now required is the development of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions that understands that the crisis can be resolved only through the struggle for socialism and power.

The building of the labor party will mark the decisive step forward in that struggle. The great and immediate task is the breaking of the trade unions from the two parties of big business.

The National Conference For A Labor Party Now!, to be held in Chicago on October 21-22, will prepare the leadership for the struggle. We call on all trade unionists to participate in this Conference.



"No, No! Don't smash it! I just want to change a few features!"

## What we think

### Behind The Terrorist Witchhunt

Two years ago Edward Heath, the head of the Tory government in Britain, stated in the United Nations that the dominant feature of this period was not going to be war between nations but civil war within the nations. Since Heath's speech, the world crisis of capitalism has been unleashed on an entirely new stage with Nixon's measures of August 15, 1971.

Now in line with preparations for civil war, the world capitalist countries and their Stalinist allies are whipping up a campaign against "terrorism" to strengthen police and military forces and to devise entirely new, legalized systems of terror against the working class internationally.

Using the pretext of the actions of the Palestinian liberation fighters at the Olympics, the UN has opened its debate on how to deal with terrorists internationally. U.S. Secretary of State Rogers in his speech last week made absolutely clear who this campaign is aimed against. Rogers' speech called for the setting up of legal machinery for "forceful action to end terrorism." "Vigorous steps," said Rogers, must be taken to stop "the growing assault on international order with which we are faced."

The "growing assault on international order" which faces the capitalist class internationally is the tremendous movement of the working class against "order" which today means massive unemployment, poverty, destruction of workers' organizations and imperialist war.

The agreement among the im-

perialist powers on the issue of "terrorism" is a clear sign of the breakup of capitalist stability and the stepping up of gun rule over oppressed peoples and revolutionary organizations. Under the slogan of maintaining international "law and order" the capitalists seek to raise the methods used by the CIA to an international system.

But the most dangerous role in these preparations is being played by the Soviet bureaucracy. Rogers' speech was followed the next day by a statement from Andrei Gromyko, spokesman of the Soviet bureaucracy. Denouncing the Palestinian guerillas for "criminal actions," he said: "It is certainly impossible to condone the acts of terrorism committed by certain elements from among the participants in the Palestinian movement which have led, notably to the recent tragic events in Munich." Continuing, Gromyko went on to join the chorus of cries against the disruption of "international order."

"The Soviet Union, from position of principle, opposes acts of terrorism that disrupt the diplomatic activity of states and their representatives, transport ties between them and the normal course of international contacts and meetings."

Gromyko's statements are printed uncritically in the pages of the American Communist Party's Daily World and bolstered with editorials condemning the "criminals' act" at the Olympics. There is not the slightest shred of principle in their denunciation of terrorism.

Marxists have always fought

against the methods of individual terror, carried out in isolation from the masses and substituting individual heroism for the action of the working class and oppressed peoples. The Arab guerillas of Black September were heroic fighters who sacrificed their lives needlessly. Such sacrifices cannot overthrow world imperialism. It can only be ended by the revolutionary action of the masses of the oppressed.

It is precisely this perspective that the Stalinists fear and this is why they lash out at the Arab guerillas and line up with the imperialists in defending "international order" or the rule of capital.

For the Stalinists, the Palestinians are an obstacle to a deal between Israel and the Arab states. The struggle of the Palestinians has constantly been betrayed not only by the bourgeois nationalist governments of the Arab states, but by the Stalinist bureaucracy. It originally supported the formation of Israel and has at each point subordinated the Palestinian struggle to its opportunist relations with the Arab capitalists. It is the fear of a deal that is behind the desperation of the Palestinians and drives them to acts of terrorism.

This is what exposes the real position of world Stalinism. The movement of the working class internationally now becomes the greatest obstacle to the Soviet bureaucracy in preserving its privileges through compromise with imperialism. This is really what is at the heart of its denunciations of terrorism which can only fuel the witchhunt against working class militants.

### Three Years Of The Workers Press

The Editorial Board of the Bulletin sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the Workers Press on its third anniversary. The first issue of Workers Press, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, was published on September 26, 1969 and is the first Trotskyist daily paper in the world. The decision to launch the daily paper in Britain flowed from a Marxist understanding of the depth of the economic crisis and the most essential task in this period of building a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Nixon's announcement at the recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund of all out trade war against Europe will mean mass unemployment, inflation and slump for the European

working class. In order to meet Nixon's offensive, the Tory government is increasing its attacks on the British working class. Unemployment is now over one million in Britain. The Tories are seeking to destroy the independence of the unions through the Industrial Relations Court and have now announced their intention to attack the living standards of British workers with a wage freeze. Conditions of civil war are now being prepared in Europe and revolutionary tasks are posed to the working class.

It is for this struggle for power that the Workers Press is training a leadership. The growth of the Workers Press is testimony to the strength of the British working class. The Workers Press has grown be-

cause of the tremendous support it has received in the working class. Above all the Workers Press has developed in the most bitter battle against the Stalinists and the revisionists who seek to prevent the political mobilization of the working class for power.

On its third anniversary the Workers Press has announced plans in mid-1973 to install a new press to publish the daily more quickly and efficiently and free the present press for book production. The Workers Press will also be expanding its editorial staff with journalists from the national dailies that have decided to give their talents to the revolutionary movement. The other major development will be in film making.





# THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

## PART 2

### The Communist Internationalist Organization (OCI)

The International Committee of the Fourth International is the target of the attacks of all opportunists because of its principled position on the struggle in Bangla Desh. The political line up of the OCI with the Pabloites on Bangla Desh is not just an accidental or circumstantial fact. On the contrary, it is a manifestation of its move away from Trotskyism on breaking with the IC of the FI.

In the youth rally celebrated in Essen in July 1971, the OCI broke with the IC of the FI when it opposed an amendment supported by the majority of the IC (English, Irish, Ceylonese, Canadian and Greek sections) which stated that the FI is the only revolutionary international and that its parties are the only revolutionary parties.

Obviously, in their opposition to the amendment of the majority of the IC, they got the support of different centrist and opportunist groups like the Spanish POUM<sup>2</sup> or the right wing NSA (National Students' Association) in the

USA, which took the opportunity to campaign for the slogan — supported by the Stalinists — of a 'Popular Treaty for peace in Vietnam'. This action constituted the real break with the IC and the attempt to transform the International into a centrist amalgam. The regroupment of the OCI with the centrists against the FI constitutes the basic question and not the Bolivian revolution or the Bolivian POR.

The amendment presented by the SLL and supported by the majority of the IC is clear enough: 'Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary party . . .'

When the OCI rejected the amendment, it opposed the FI being built on the basis of dialectical materialism, thus completing its opposition to the defence and the development of Marxist theory which it had already revealed some time before. The OCI, by refusing to understand and develop dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism, denies the essence of the struggle for the building of revolutionary parties and prevents sections of the FI from transforming the spontaneous consciousness of



Bolivian miners had to struggle against Banzer's right-wing coup with only sticks of dynamite and few rifles (top) because Torres did not arm them. Lora adapted to left nationalists in Popular Assembly (above) and refused to fight for revolutionary policies against the Torres government.

the working class into class-consciousness.

By adopting the position that only the programme constitutes the basis for the building of parties, it prepares the way for the liquidation of the party into centrism. As the IC of the FI declares: 'Only a fundamental struggle against all the enemies of Marxism, a struggle waged against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class can prepare the youth for the building of the FI.'

The OCI had denied the theoretical gains of the IC and the whole experience of the struggle in the SWP to such an extent that it has had to break with the FI in order to carry forward its opportunist conceptions.

The OCI tells us that we are in a period of 'imminent revolution' which 'proceeds

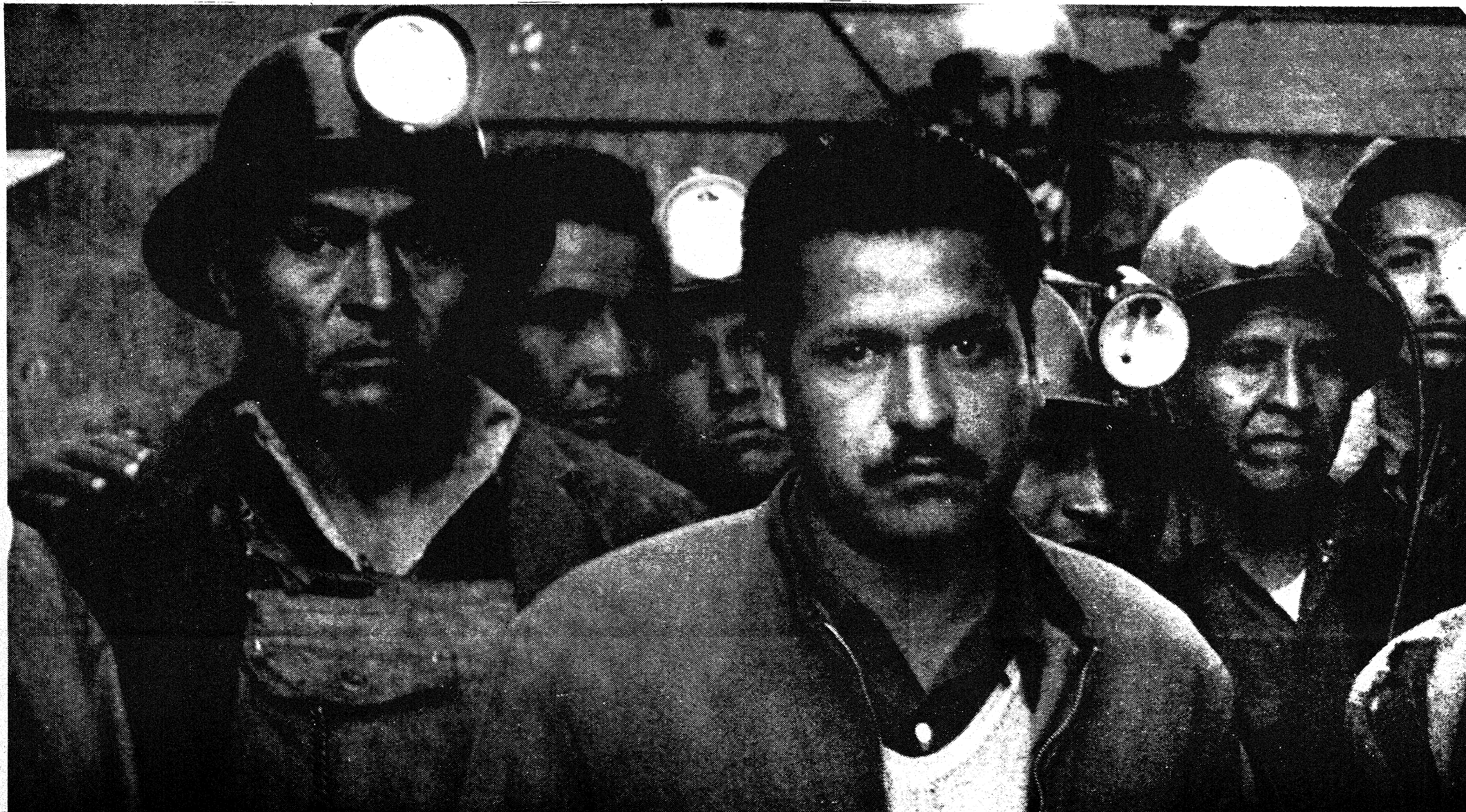
through different stages and in different forms towards the International Republic of Soviets'. It is from this totally spontaneist conception of the struggle for socialism that the OCI works out its position to liquidate the FI. If there exists an 'objective process' towards the 'International Republic of Soviets' why do we need parties? Why do we need the International? Such is the logic which lies behind every spontaneist revision of Marxism.

Thus Pablo stated that the new relation of forces on a world scale after the war and the 'revolutionary processes' which would be generated would force the Stalinist parties and the reformist parties to carry through the revolution in a general way.

According to the OCI itself, parties and leaderships

'correspond' to this 'process'. This is a conscious refusal to fight against Stalinism and the other treacherous leaderships. It is by following these conceptions that the OCI has maintained that the FI and its sections must be 'flexible' organizations and has refused to accept that the FI is the only revolutionary International. All backed up by the argument that we must not be 'sectarian', 'ultimatist' or that we must remain 'linked to the masses'; in other words, the purest opportunism.

During the Algerian revolution, the OCI raised the bourgeois-nationalist movement to the level of the revolutionary party. Its support for the MNA<sup>3</sup> was in the following terms: 'The programme of the MNA is undeniably a revolutionary programme with a socialist content... Effect-



Tin miners (above) led the struggle against Banzer's coup. Picture on right shows armed miners marching in 1961 to celebrate 9 years of rule by MNR since that party led nationalist revolution in 1952. Since 1952, Lora has refused to fight against MNR and now is allied with the left-wing MNRs and the Stalinists against Banzer in the "Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front."

tively, when we analyse the MNA we must consider that we have before us a revolutionary movement which is almost unique in its form, that we cannot define as a Marxist party, but which, because of its policy and character carries within it all the revolutionary hopes of the Algerian people. Such an analysis of the MNA, which is considered as 'revolutionary' and 'socialist' without being Marxist and as a movement which is 'almost unique in its form', only leads to the rejection of the struggle to construct revolutionary parties which are independent, and to placing 'hopes of the people' in movements which in their 'natural or objective evolution' lead to socialism. Logically, like Torres in Bolivia or the government of Allende or Velasco (which were to protect the workers' government in Bolivia) the MNA had nothing in common with socialism and rather rushed to the UN when the situation sharpened in Algeria. Since they consider that there exists a 'natural process' towards socialism, the struggle

for the independent leadership of the FI can be relegated to the background; in its place can be placed hollow phrases or empty formulas without any revolutionary content, but **Revolutionary Workers Party—POR (Bolivia)** From 1952 Lora's POR became the main support of Pabloism in Latin America. Accepting Trotskyism verbally, but denying it in practice, Lora has led the workers' movement in Bolivia to defeat since the revolution of 1952. In fact, Lora supported the MNR in 1952 and was incapable of struggling for the alternative leadership of the POR around a Marxist programme. Later on, when the MNR began its offensive against the masses, Lora changed his position and centred his hopes on the left wing of the MNR. In the 'Union Theses of the POR', Lora built his strategy on support for the left wing of the MNR against the right wing. That is a grotesque remnant of the policy of Stalin towards the Chinese

Kuomintang and the negation, consequently, of the construction of independent revolutionary parties. The Pabloite crisis meant for Lora a conscious move from any international perspective. Lora fought from 1953 to 1969 against the IC of the FI, when he made a new opportunist turn and decided to 'support it'. During the whole period from 1953 to 1969 Lora carried out a policy of capitulation to petty-bourgeois tendencies; unconditional support for the petty-bourgeois government of Castro and support for guerrilla movements are the most striking proof of this. **Guerrillas** In the pamphlet 'Revaluation of the method of the guerrillas' Lora declares: 'The POR, from its clandestine position, stated that it was putting to one side the discussion on the place occupied by the guerrillas in the revolutionary struggle in order to give them its determined support.' In the POR manifesto on Che Guevara's guerrilla campaign, there is the statement:

'The guerrilla is no more than the method of struggle of the people against anti-popular capitulationist gorilismo . . . And later: 'At this time of definitions, the POR says publicly that it solidarizes with and supports the guerrilla movement which has just broken out, according to official news bulletins in the south-east of the country. It assumes this position without previously considering its weakness or strength, its virtues or defects. The guerrillas, despite all the limitations which they might have, are part of the advanced army of the people. Their objectives are national and social liberation and they are acting on behalf of progress and the advance of history.' For Lora the construction of the independent revolutionary party, section of the FI, is left entirely on one side and guerrilla warfare is put in its place. In that period Lora capitulated completely to guerrilla warfare and made the whole strategy of the POR depend on 'support' and 'entrism' in the guerrillas.

Lora argues in this way in the same pamphlet: 'When we talk of popular support we are not at all subscribing to the silent sympathy which the masses may feel towards the guerrillas, but concretely to militant support, to the economic and political support which must be given to them, to the co-ordination of guerrilla warfare and agitation in the cities and centres of work. The very existence of the guerrilla centres and the appearance of new ones will become the result of the support of the masses.' At the extreme limit of his opportunism, Lora even goes so far as to say that 'the guerrilla movement seems to mean a return to Bolshevism of the first period' and calls for entry into the guerrillas, arguing that 'the Bolivian situation requires another kind of guerrilla, that which results from the united front of working-class tendencies'. Only when the guerrilleros themselves reject the entry of the POR does Lora criticize them saying: 'Sick and absurd anti-Trotskyism characterized the

education of the guerrillas and the attempts which were made to justify them technically. The consequence of this was to keep the POR at a distance, obeying orders from afar and the doors were closed against any future participation by the POR.' **Party** The permanent policy of Lora implies a rejection of the struggle for the building of a revolutionary party. His theses of support for the MNR for the guerrillas or at the moment the constitution of the RAF are but manifestations of an anti-Marxist conception which believes that the revolutionary party is the result of the spontaneous development of the mass movement. In his book 'Perspectives of the Bolivian Revolution' Lora declares: 'The exploited, on reaching a certain degree of maturity expressed clearly their central objective: the constitution of their own government and their wish to cease to be fodder for political movements which are alien to it. The existence of the POR is,

justified' because it expresses this basic tendency . . . The party is reduced, according to Lora to the 'expression' of the spontaneous development of the workers' movement, and at a given moment the 'expression' of the 'maturity' of the proletariat, in opposition to the Marxist theses that class-consciousness is introduced into the proletariat from outside and that the party is in no way the 'expression' of spontaneous consciousness but quite the opposite that to introduce this class-consciousness, it is necessary to combat at all times this spontaneous consciousness. When Lora decided 'to support' the IC after 16 years of struggling against it, was it not correct to draw up a balance-sheet of the POR as the English section maintained in the IC? What guarantee existed that the POR had broken with centrism? However, the French section decided on its own account and without it having been approved on the IC to consider the POR as a member of the IC. Such a decision

on the part of the French section was but a manifestation of its capitulation to centrism and a step forward in the attempt to dissolve the International into centrist organizations with the justification of not appearing 'sectarian'. **Thesis of the COB** The events in Bolivia have shown that the POR never broke with centrism and that its adherence to the IC was only an opportunist manoeuvre by Lora. The responsibility of the POR in the defeat of the Bolivian proletariat obliges Trotskyist militants to draw up a balance-sheet of the events which carried the military group of Banzer to power. This was a defeat for the Bolivian working class because of the incapacity of its leadership. Because of his total break with Marxism, Lora and his group always developed an opportunist policy of capitulation to Stalinism and petty-bourgeois tendencies, 'a conscious negation of all international perspective and the rejection, consequently, of the

building of independent parties of a Bolshevik type. From the congress of the COB in 1970 the POR capitulated to Stalinism and to political theses based on the impossibility of struggling consistently against petty-bourgeois nationalism to the extent that an anti-Marxist conception of the negation of the theory of the permanent revolution and the acceptance of the 'theory' of the revolution in stages; the acceptance of the 'theory' of the 'building of socialism in one country' and also the acceptance of the international policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It was the French section itself which produced the first criticism of the theses of the COB. This criticism concluded: 'Comrades, we tell you, quite plainly, motivated by deep and anguished conviction, that if this declaration becomes the policy of the Bolivian workers' movement and represents its orientation, and if the POR should adopt it (or even if it maintained a long silence on the fact that it con-

stitutes the result of a compromise which only has circumstantial value), then the thesis of the COB can constitute a 'noose around the neck of the Bolivian proletariat since it limits it to Bolivia.' When it justifies and backs up completely everything the POR has done, the French section opportunistically avoids this criticism and in particular its final conclusion: 'This party prepared this struggle, was prepared for it, was able to take advantage of the opportunities and at each stage of the revolutionary process developed the conditions for the working class to take the power.' **Revolutionary Leadership** The defeat of the Bolivian proletariat was the result of the prostration of its leadership. The POR was incapable of posing correctly (or, rather, it never even posed it) the struggle for independent leadership. Its basic break with Marxism led it to capitulate to the traditional leaderships and



The logic of petty bourgeois nationalism was proved when MNR leader Paz Estensoro (below left) joined Banzer after coup, and the Peru nationalist militarist Velasco (left) and Chilean President Allende refused to defend Torres against right wing coup.

the union bureaucracies. It is no coincidence that after the defeat, Lora, in his balance-sheet, leaves out all question of working-class leadership. As he expressed it himself, the 'leadership of the workers' movement was correct' and the political policies of the working class were overtaken by the events.

But the main leaders of the working class were the Lechinists<sup>10</sup> and the Stalinists.

In an interview which appeared in 'Informations Ouvrières', the OCI's newspaper, he goes so far as to say that Stalinism, pushed by events, was forced to take up 'revolutionary positions'—the same position of Pablo towards the Soviet bureaucracy, except that 'it has become real' for Lora. What is certain is that Lora always accepted the Pabloite theses on Stalinism, theses which led him to affirm that the Sino-Soviet conflict opened up the possibility that a fraction of the bureaucracy would 'debureaucratize' and 'return to Marxism'; a possibility which was reduced to nought by Lora since 'the theoretical discussion did not penetrate to the very root of the problem'.

This metaphysical conception of the bureaucracy is what makes him declare that Stalinism is the same as Menshevism, denying the international nature of Stalinism and the fact that the bureaucracy obtains its power from its control of the means of production and its compromise internationally with imperialism.

The formulation of Lora that Stalinism is only a bridge between petty-bourgeois nationalism and Trotskyism or the position he describes in the article 'Bolivia between

nationalism and socialism'—where he states that the independence of the proletariat is measured by its movement to the left in relation to petty-bourgeois nationalism—can only lead to one conclusion. That is the handing over of the workers' movement to Stalinism and the rejection of the struggle for alternative leadership. It is in line with this policy that the POR supported the CP candidate in the Popular Assembly, thus refusing to stand an independent candidate.

### Petty-bourgeois nationalism

In Latin America the process of the national bourgeoisies has been of such a size that it is relatively easy for 'left' groups to appear which declare their 'faithfulness' to the theory of the permanent revolution, and



Banzer

reject the theory of two stages.

However, this phenomenon is not backed by an understanding of Marxism, but is the result of spontaneous evolution. The majority of these groups—outside of the Marxist movement and consequently outside an international perspective—have re-

furnished the petty-bourgeois criticism of imperialism. This criticism is in essence reactionary and in no way touches the actual basis of imperialism. Such groups have invariably refurbished the Kautskyan conception of imperialism, considering it as super-imperialism and as exclusively a national question.

In this way, they have been unable to break politically with petty-bourgeois nationalism, and have become its critics and its 'left' cover.

The POR, and Lora in particular, outside the Marxist movement, have refurbished this left criticism of petty-bourgeois nationalism—this is the basic content of the statement 'they are limited or inconsistent anti-imperialists'.

Consequently, a complete break with nationalism is never posed; in fact its 'anti-imperialism' is given support. It is no coincidence that Lora should conclude in this article that the governments of Velasco and Allende will defend the workers' state in Bolivia. Logically, Velasco and Allende did not even protect the petty-bourgeois government of J. J. Torres.

<sup>7</sup> MNR. National Revolutionary Movement in Bolivia. A petty-bourgeois party led by Paz Estensoro which took power in 1952. The MNR and Estensoro now work in full co-operation with Colonel Banzer.

<sup>8</sup> RAF. Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front. Formed after the Banzer coup in Bolivia by the Stalinists, Pabloites, Lora's POR, the Torres wing of the military and other petty-bourgeois tendencies.

<sup>9</sup> COB. Bolivian Workers' Trade Union Confederation

<sup>10</sup> Lechinists. Followers of Juan Lechin, a longstanding opportunist in the Bolivian trade unions.



**THE JOB REVOLUTION.** By Judson Gooding. Walker and Company, New York, 1972. 213 pages. \$7.95

Since Nixon's August 15, 1971 speech setting up the Pay Board, devaluing the dollar and removing the gold cover, the United States has been engaged in a relentless drive towards trade war with European and Japanese capitalism.

U.S. capitalism is determined to solve its crisis by forcing revaluations on its foreign competitors, opening the way to U.S. exports on a massive scale.

In this battle, devaluation and wage controls represent only the beginning of a policy designed to reverse the balance of payments deficit and export the crisis to Europe and Japan.

Today the U.S. stands as the most efficient capitalist producer. An American worker can produce one-third more goods than a German worker and almost double the number of goods of a Japanese worker in the same time.

#### PRODUCTIVITY

Even this is not enough because of the high wages and benefits built up by the American labor movement and the key word on the lips of every employer is productivity.

After August 15, huge tax and depreciation concessions were passed to spur capital investment to increase productivity,

and Nixon's Pay Board and National Commission on Productivity are now engaged in a campaign to prepare the way for enormous changes on this question.

What all of this means is that the American worker is to assume the cost of the trade war through speed-up, rationalization, unemployment and the destruction of conditions and rights built up by the unions. He is literally to work himself out of a job.

As *Business Week* puts it: "Unless the unions give up restrictive work practices and accept strict discipline for loafers and incompetents, the push for greater productivity will be a foredoomed failure."

For *Business Week*, the hero of American labor is John L. Lewis whose "tight control of a disciplined union" enabled 350,000 jobs to be cut in the mines, and Harry Bridges who allowed huge savings in man hours on the docks.

#### PROPAGANDA

The *Job Revolution* written by Judson Gooding, an editor of *Fortune Magazine*, is significant as a contribution to what will soon become a massive propaganda campaign to set national productivity goals and line up the labor bureaucracy in policing these goals among the ranks.

An introduction by Senator Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), a productivity champion, makes clear the purpose of the book. Percy calls for local and regional productivity councils to inform business and labor of new techniques for enhancing efficiency. He is out to "create a new spirit of cooperation between labor and management which is an essential prerequisite of increased output." These councils can also

## Jeff Sebastian The Job Revolution Books

promote "productivity bargaining" and "job enrichment."

Much of Gooding's book is filled with sociological rubbish about "alienation," "revolutions in attitudes," and "maintaining motivation." Often he verges on the ridiculous as when he suggests that since NYC garbage men are called "sanitation workers," have a uniform and get public assurance that their jobs are important, their jobs have been "improved."

Gooding's real task however, is to suggest to management methods for breaking down work rules and bringing the labor force into a drive for enhanced production.

One company which meets his standards is Donnelly Mirror, Inc. which succeeded in keeping out a union by calling its workers "operators," conducting frequent surveys, putting out a glossy paper, and setting up work teams to advise on lowering production costs.

#### REWARDS

Bonuses and rewards are provided workers who help lower costs and indeed the methods are so successful that Donnelly has been able to reduce its quality control department from fifteen to four.

At the Corning Glass Works in Medfield, Mass., teams of women now construct an entire hot plate individually, initial each plate (to provide personal identification) and do their own quality control work. It is reported that produc-

tivity has increased enormously. Team meetings are held to set group goals.

According to Gooding, Corning was saying, "We want you to do it right—no one is looking over your shoulder." Of course with an initial on each plate there is no need to look.

#### COOPERATION

He actually suggests that GM's Vega plant in Lordstown where production has been pushed up to 100 cars an hour is a "forward looking approach" designed to make "workers' jobs easier." Men don't work harder, the jobs are just broken up differently with different time spans allocated for each.

The *Job Revolution* is a contribution to the developing national campaign by the business in which every discredited method of speed-up and automation will be repackaged and sold as patriotism, cooperation, and workers' participation.

As Senator Percy states: "Special attention must be given to assuring labor that when we speak of increasing productivity we are not talking about speed-up, old fashioned time and motion and work measurement approaches, or a further dehumanization of jobs and workplaces. We mean more productive and more meaningful jobs."

As *Business Week* puts it: "The problem for management and for government is to make the rank and file of labor believe that."

## Fred Mueller Books

## The Struggle For Trotskyism In Ceylon



LSSP betrayed Ceylonese workers (above, Mercantile Union workers) when it joined coalition government in 1964 and 1970.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR TROTSKYISM IN CEYLON**, by Michael Ross, February, 1972, Bulletin Pamphlet Series No. 9. \$50.

The articles in this pamphlet were printed in the *Bulletin* in 1971, following the unsuccessful rebellion of rural youth in Ceylon under the leadership of the Janatha Vikmuthi Peramuna (JVP).

#### REPRESSION

The rebellion, in April 1971, was put down in bloody fashion by the capitalist government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, which in the course of a 10 day civil war killed 10,000 and imprisoned and tortured another 20,000, closing down two leading universities and setting up concentration camps in their place.

The government which carried out this brutal repression was a coalition government, consisting of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP). The LSSP was for many years a member of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

This pamphlet is the beginning of a history of the LSSP, tracing its development and degeneration. It shows that revisionism is not simply a mistake, but a life and death question for millions of workers. The entire working class and rural population of Ceylon has felt the direct results of revisionism. The revisionists of yesterday have become the bloody butchers and betrayers of the working class and youth today. The April 1971 massacre is a gruesome example of the penalty for incorrect theory, for the failure and refusal to struggle for Marxism within the workers' movement.

The LSSP was founded in 1935. Contrary to some claims, it was never a Trotskyist party, although for years it showed great promise of developing as a revolutionary party with deep roots in the working class.

The LSSP was founded by a group of young, British educated intellectuals. By the late 1930s it had already made a big development, building a base of support among the plantation and motor transport workers.

There were many many opportunities for the LSSP to develop Marxist theory as part of the working class movement. After the war, the Ceylonese working class engaged in tremendous struggles, reaching a peak in the Great Hartal of August 1953, led by the LSSP. This was a one day strike against the hated United National Party (UNP) government.

#### THEORY

But the LSSP leadership never fought to develop Marxist theory. They began as left nationalists and intellectuals, using bits and pieces of Marxism and of Trotsky's critique of Stalinism, but remaining eclectics and empiricists.

Their complete contempt for theory was expressed in the attitude of the party toward religion. Many of the party leaders were practicing Buddhists. During World War II one of them wrote a book at-

tempting to demonstrate the fundamental agreement between Buddhism and dialectical materialism.

None of the LSSP theoretical journals were ever translated from English or written directly in the languages of the Ceylonese workers and peasants, Sinhalese and Tamil. Whatever theoretical material was produced remained for a select group of party leaders, at a time when for many years the LSSP controlled the major trade unions.

As the pamphlet explains, the pragmatism and contempt for principles of the LSSP leadership was also shown by their attitude toward racialism. There was a long history of conflict between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil-speaking minority on the island, encouraged by imperialism and the native capitalist class. The LSSP leaders completely capitulated to racialism against the Tamil minority. For years they supported attempts to eradicate the Tamil language, created job preferences for Sinhalese, and encouraged the repatriation of Tamil plantation workers to India.

The pamphlet also traces the long history of class collaboration policies of the LSSP leadership, flowing from its pragmatism and empiricism. In 1956 it followed a policy of "responsive cooperation" with the capitalist SLFP government. By 1963 intense maneuvers in preparation for actually joining the capitalist government were underway and the LSSP joined the coalition in June of 1964. This was the culmination of nearly 15 years of opportunism which became more and more crass as the crisis deepened and the need for revolutionary leadership became more and more urgent.

The international economic crisis is pushing the Ceylonese working class toward a confrontation with the government. This creates new and greater opportunities for the Trotskyist movement, organized in the Revolutionary Communist League. The press of the RCL has been banned since the April 1971 revolt, as the government has seized the opportunity to stifle the fight for a revolutionary leadership. But the working class has not been decisively defeated.

New revolutionary battles of a much more fundamental character than anything in the past are on the way. The Ceylonese Trotskyists, by basing themselves on the lessons outlined in this pamphlet, will vindicate Marxism in practice, not through new defeats but through the victory of the working class and the defeat of the capitalists and their agents in the CP and the LSSP.

# Scandals Expose French Ruler's Party

BY MELODY FARROW

A new wave of scandals involving large sections of the ruling Gaullist party has rocked the Pompidou government in France just five months before the national elections. With every revelation, the rotting corruption of the Gaullists and their intimate connections with the giant monopolies has been laid bare.

The latest scandals have been exposed by a well-placed source, Gabriel Aranda, who was technical advisor from March 1971 to July 1972 to the Minister of Public Works, Albin Chalandon. On September 13, Aranda wrote a letter to the Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, detailing how high-placed government officials used their power to win fat building contracts for their favorite contractors.

Aranda stated that he had over 100 photocopied documents which he would release to the press. One of the documents published in *Le Monde* about the official inquiry into the 1970 avalanche disasters which killed 39 youth is the most chilling example of the nature of Pompidou's party.

Aranda's letter states: "This report reveals that the buildings carried away by the avalanche had voluntarily been authorized where it was formally forbidden—in violation of the regulations and of basic common sense—right in the path of the avalanche! Just for the money. To allow certain people to make extra profits. Following the intervention at the level of the Ministers Cabinet, a permit to build was even granted in 1961 on ground devastated just two months earlier by an avalanche."

Aranda also gave *Le Monde* another document, a letter written by M. Tomasini, then General Secretary of the Gaullist party, to Chalandon demanding that the contract for the construction of the Narbonne-Bordeaux highway be given to a private society, Industrial Enterprise.

## SCANDAL

Aranda made an allusion to another scandal involving the "500 million" of the Chanteloup-Les Vignes project in which huge profits were made off a 5000 unit housing development that was adamantly opposed by the workers of the area because of lack of facilities and jobs.

These stories, following on the heels of a scandal about a Lyons prostitution ring which operated with the collaboration of the Gaullists and the police, have ripped off the De Gaulle image of a government for all "Frenchmen." They expose the naked scramble for profits and the sordid connections of the ruling party.

Pompidou is now entering the March 1973 elections with his authority growing shakier every month.

What is even more revealing than Aranda's documents is Pompidou's reaction. He has announced that Aranda will be prosecuted for theft and held a press conference in a desperate bid to defend his regime.

## ATTACK

Instead of even making a pretense to explain the scandals, Pompidou hinted that such revelations would only harm "representative" government. He then launched into an attack on the state controlled TV networks declaring that tighter control was necessary because, while France had been relatively calm last year, "T.V. might have led people to believe there were constant strikes."

He also used the occasion to denounce the demand of the unions for a \$200 monthly minimum wage.

Pompidou is openly conducting his re-election campaign on the basis of no reforms or concessions to the working class and is attempting to whip up an anti-communist hysteria against the coalition of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The thinking of the Gaullists was expressed by Christian Fouchet, a former

Minister who issued a call for early elections by saying:

"If the present climate is not purified by rigorous action, it will be necessary as soon as possible to call a General Election and give the choice to the people. If not, there is a risk that we shall reach a point when the usual political procedures will not be sufficient."

These statements amount to a threat of dictatorship. The scandals of Aranda are being used by the right-wing forces both in and out of the Gaullist party to justify the need for strong-arm government.

Pompidou's desperation is increased because he cannot put off his attacks until after the election. Pompidou is determined that France will "hold its own" in the fierce trade war with the United States and the other European countries.

This means he will be forced to drive down wages, and create tremendous unemployment. Last December's announcement by the Wendel-Sidelor steel giant to get rid of 10,500 jobs in the next three years is just the beginning. The Renault plant in Boulogne-Billancourt recently laid off 19,000 workers for one day on September 15 while another 2000 are to be laid off alternately on three separate days.

At the same time, the powerful unions of the miners and railway men are submitting wage demands to the employers in preparation for a fight to regain what they have lost through inflation.

## AIM

The Communist Party is entering these struggles with the conscious aim of holding back the workers from an all-out battle against the government. Its plans for the wage offensive this fall only allow for partial stoppages to prevent the kind of general strike that nearly toppled De Gaulle in 1968. Its response to the Renault layoffs was to demand more compensation for those laid off.

The Popular Front between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party for the elections is a re-creation of the Popular Front of 1936 which, rather than organizing workers for the seizure of power, preserved the capitalist system.

The Communist Party is spreading the illusion that the coalition could continue to function within the capitalist framework of the Gaullist Constitution if it wins the election.

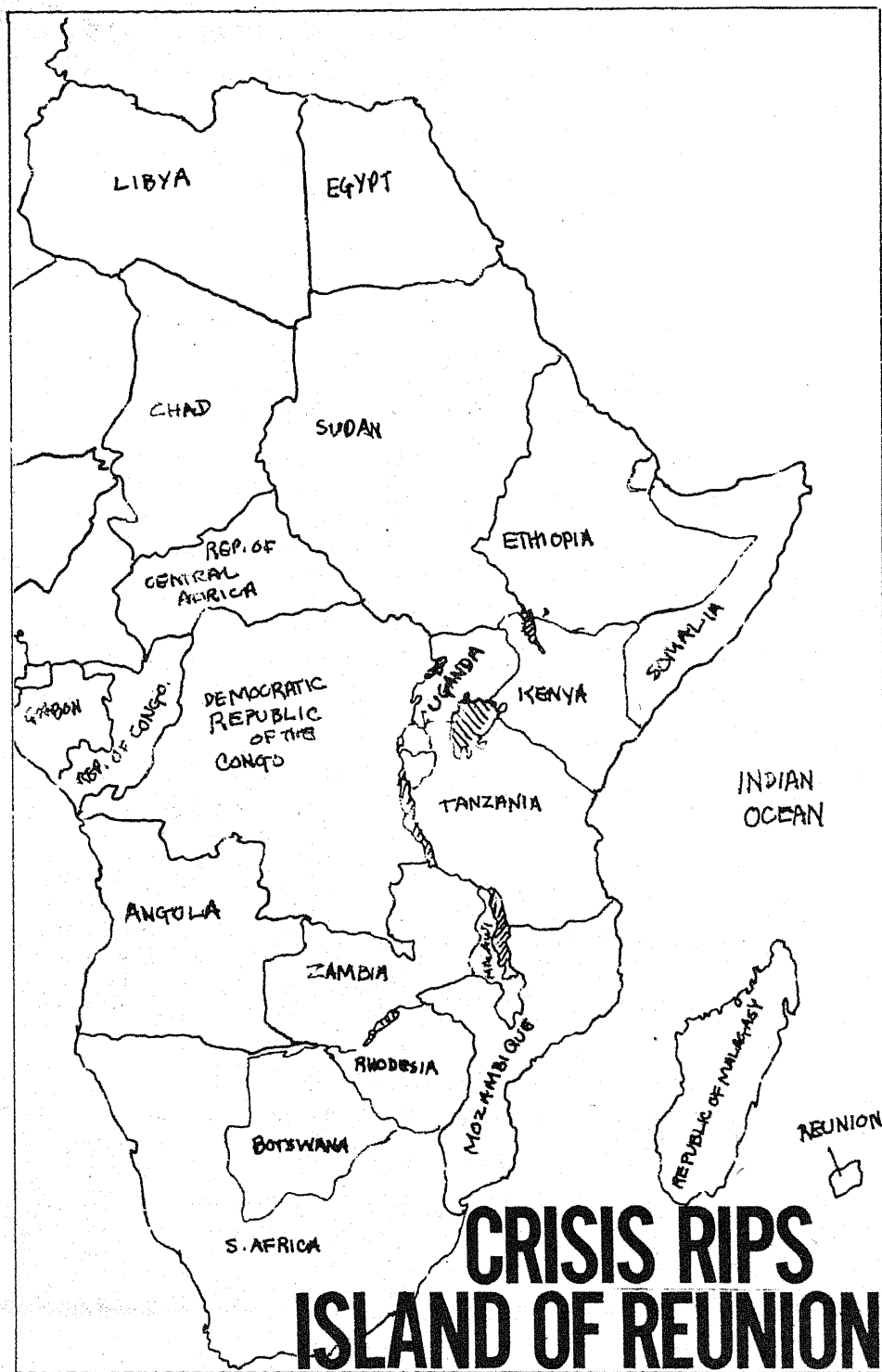
## CENTRISTS

In this situation, a dangerous role is being played by the centrists like the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) which broke with the International Committee of the Fourth International last year.

The OCI has made an electoral agreement with the revisionists of the Ligue Communiste and the Lutte Ouvriere group to avoid running candidates in the same areas. Lutte Ouvriere, which spearheaded these negotiations, states that the OCI has not rejected the possibility of joint candidates and a joint program.

The OCI, which opposed the independent candidates in the last elections, is now joining the camp of all those forces who have broken with Trotskyism. To run an independent campaign when the CP still commands the majority of the French workers is a deliberate evasion of the task of breaking workers from the influence of Stalinism by demanding that it conduct a fight on the basis of a socialist program and the expropriation of private profit.

Only by taking workers through this struggle can an alternative revolutionary leadership be built. The OCI campaign is nothing but a left cover for its uncritical defense of the policies of the Popular Front.



BY A CORRESPONDENT  
Reunion, a French island situated in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Malagasy, is an impoverished colony whose workers and peasants are being pushed into destitution by the world economic crisis of capitalism.

The Bolshevik Communist Organization of Reunion (OCBR), a Trotskyist organization, is battling to build a section of the Fourth International there.

The Reunion economy is based completely on the sugar crop. The French government is carrying out a ruthless policy of eliminating the small planters and farmers and of consolidating the sugar factories.

Out of an original 12 plants, only 5 remain open and the number of small planters has been reduced since 1969 from 24,000 to 9,000. Out of a population of 450,000, there are 60,000 unemployed.

At the same time, inflation is soaring. Faced with no future, masses of youth and older workers are emigrating to France and New Caledonia.

## UPSURGE

All political power is controlled by the Gaullists with the close support of the most reactionary feudal and colonial landowners. Within Reunion and the surrounding colonial countries, who bear the brunt of imperialism's crisis, a revolutionary upsurge of strikes and demonstrations is rapidly gaining in momentum.

Reunion workers and peasants are following the lead given by the uprising that recently shook Malagasy. Strikes are spreading in the sugar refining plants, among construction and public service workers and the Renault auto workers.

The government is building new army barracks and prisons and the U.S., Britain and France are establishing military bases throughout the island to spearhead an attack on the working class of the entire Indian continent.

## SINGLED OUT

The leader of the OCBR was recently singled out for attack because of his determined struggle to build a Trotskyist movement. On March 23, he was stoned by thugs who had been commandeered by one of the most powerful landlords in Reunion. His home, where the OCBR's newspaper *Opposition Marxiste* is published, was later attacked. The government is now attempting to frame him on trumped up charges.

The Communist Party of Reunion, led by Paul Verges, is the dominant working class party in Reunion. It has done nothing about the factory closures and calls for "autonomy" from France without mentioning the fight for a workers government.

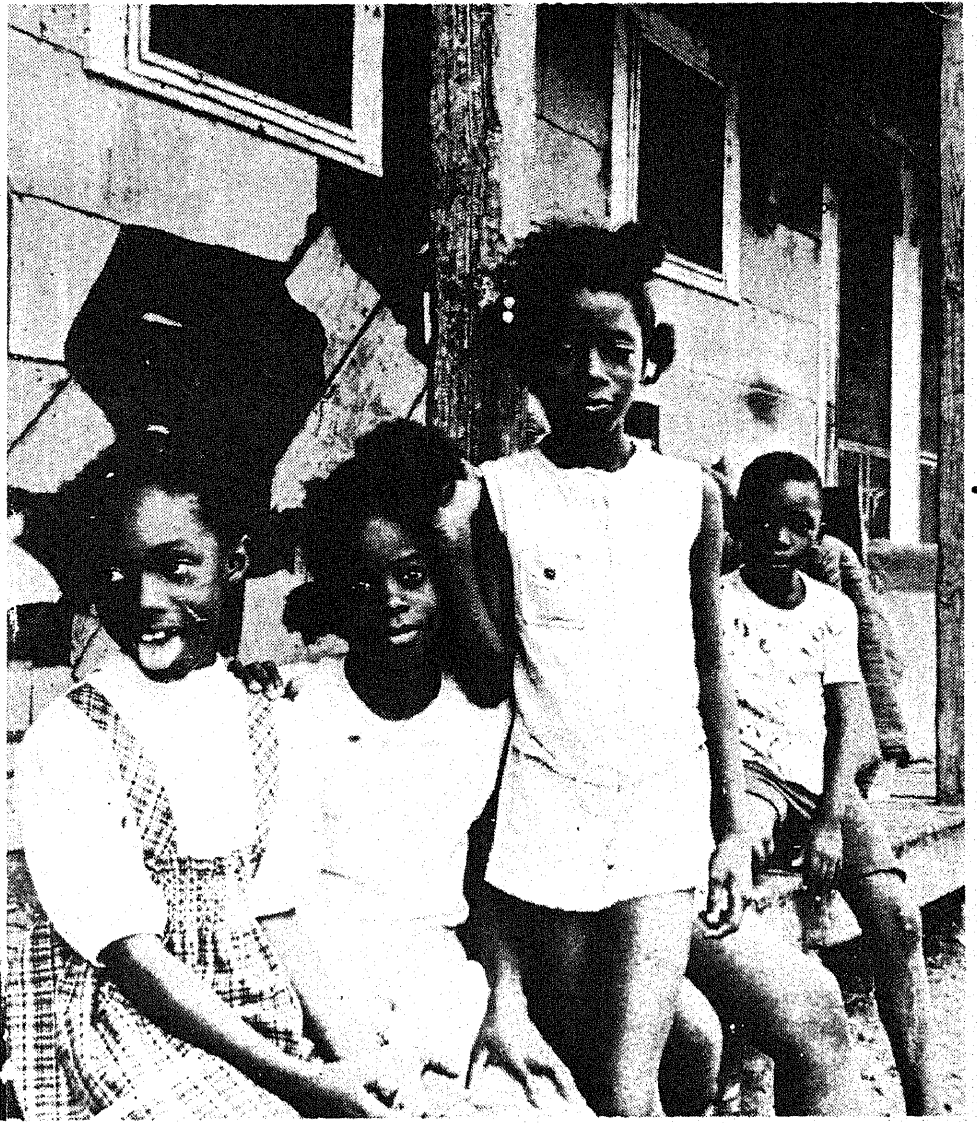
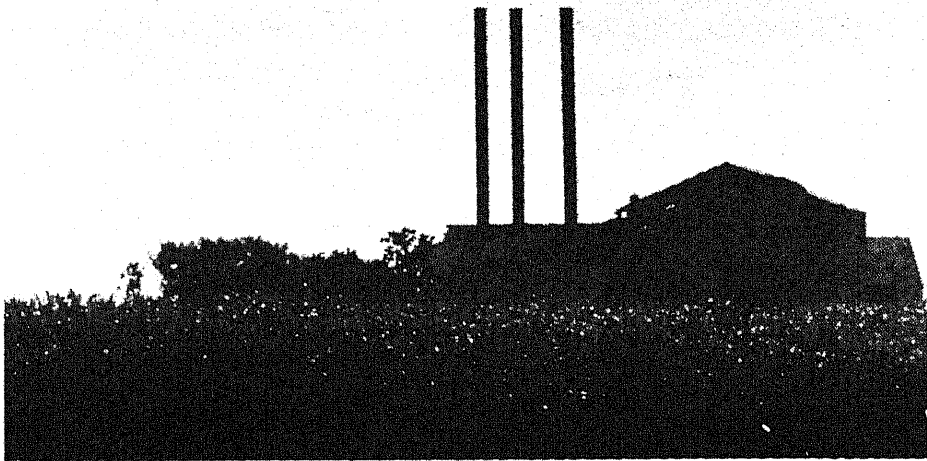
The OCBR is taking up a fight within the trade unions against the Stalinist and reformist leaders. In one of the sugar factories, they successfully fought the attempt of the leadership to betray the strike and have led a campaign for committees to halt the factory closures. The OCBR has clearly emerged as the only principled opposition to the Communist Party.

In August, the OCBR militants took up a fight at the annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers against the policies of the government and fought against a diversionary split engineered by the opposition.

It is precisely because of their fight and the response they have received from the working class that the government seeks to witch-hunt the OCBR.

The formation of the OCBR and its newspaper *Opposition Marxiste* is of the greatest importance for the formation of sections of the Fourth International throughout the colonial countries in the Indian subcontinent.

# Farmworkers Take On Florida Sugar Empire



BY BRUCE McKAY

**CLEWISTON, Fla.—**Battle lines have been tautly drawn here in what promises to be a decisive struggle between the United Farm Workers and the Florida sugar industry backed by the American ruling class as a whole.

It has already been demonstrated that simple militancy or trade unionism is insufficient to win this struggle or to defend the union against the vicious attacks being openly prepared by the sugar companies and the government.

Nor can farmworkers depend on the strategies of middle class protest or on the good will of politicians and political parties which are financed by their enemies. The only road forward is the fight for a labor party.

## FACED

Union leaders are now faced—in Florida, in Arizona, in California—with the united front of the employers and their government determined to break once and for all the movement of farmworkers.

United States Sugar Corporation, the largest of the Florida companies, coupled its arrogant rejection of the UFW's recognition demand with a thinly veiled threat which clearly exposed the political nature of the offensive being readied against the union.

"There may be some legal questions concerning the UFW's right to represent our employees because officials from the Secretary of State's office have informed us the UFW is not a registered labor organization in the state of Florida," U.S. Sugar President John B. Boy told reporters here.

This is an outright lie used by Boy solely to intimidate farmworkers with the power of the

employers' state. Not only is the UFW registered, but its organizers have been forced to submit to the photographing and fingerprinting required by the state, which only serves to make them readily identifiable to growers.

As the UFW prepares to battle the Florida sugar industry, Cesar Chavez and the rest of the union leadership fail to draw the necessary conclusions from the struggles in Arizona and California. Instead, the union leadership continues to foster illusions about George McGovern and the Democratic Party.

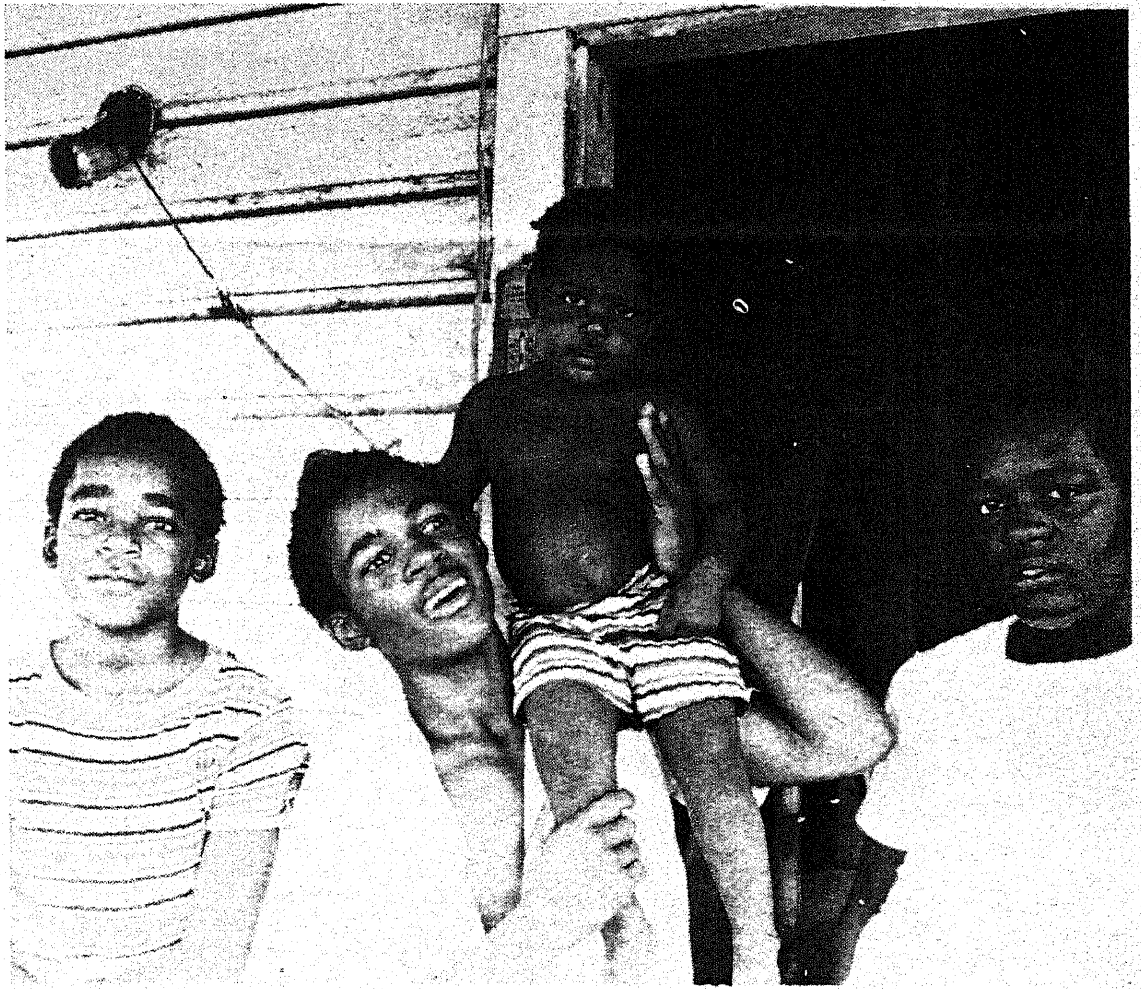
## DIVERTED

The struggle to organize the sugar industry, meanwhile, has been diverted into a campaign to pressure the Nixon Administration through demonstrations and through the use of the court system to keep out the Jamaicans imported by the companies at low wages to cut cane.

This is a dangerous course. As the capitalist crisis deepens, Republicans and Democrats are quickly joining hands to smash the movement of farmworkers throughout the country.

Men like Ed Ball, the union-busting billionaire owner of Talisman Sugar Corporation stand behind the most reactionary elements who make their home in the Democratic Party—men like George Wallace.

Dr. John Grady, mayor of Belle Glade and candidate for the State Senate from the sugar growing area, is a former vice president of Atlantic Sugar Association and a member of the John Birch Society. Until deciding to run for the Senate as a Republican, Grady was a Democrat.



Top left: A sugar mill in Clewiston, Florida. Top right: children pose in front of typical housing of Florida farm workers. Above: sugar worker with his children.

U.S. Sugar stands behind the Democratic Party as well as behind George McGovern's campaign. Chairman of the Board of U.S. Sugar is Charles Stewart Mott, at 97 one of the largest shareholders in General Motors Corporation and a Bendix Corporation director.

Mott's grandson Stuart R., heir to the family's immense fortune, is a U.S. Sugar director. He is also McGovern's biggest campaign backer, with a tidy contribution of about \$350,000—some of it perhaps from U.S. Sugar's whopping seven million dollar profit last year.

Finally, Florida is a right-to-work state, and "liberal" Demo-

cratic Gov. Reubin Askew fully supports the open shop provision of the state constitution, paralleling McGovern's votes in favor of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows states to enact open shop laws.

## LABOR PARTY

Most of the farmworkers interviewed by the Bulletin want no part of the so-called liberal "friends of labor." "None of the politicians we have right now are any good," said a woman field worker. "I don't even know who this McGovern is. All I know is that none of them have ever done anything for the working people of this country."

A former mill worker at U.S.

Sugar said: "The President gets up there and says what's what for everybody—for all the working people. If we get a labor party things will be different. We'll start telling these big corporations how to run things."

Another woman said: "All I know is that I work out in the fields all day long picking tomatoes for \$12 a day. Now, that isn't even enough to live on anymore. We need something. I think a labor party is a good idea."

The UFW must carry forward the struggle begun here and in California and Arizona off the path of reformism into a relentless fight within the labor movement for a labor party committed to socialist policies.

**CHARLES HOLTER** is a member of Local 1140, International Union of Electrical Workers in Minneapolis. He is employed by a road construction equipment manufacturing company.

I certainly support your campaign for a labor party. Actually, I think it should have been here long before now. The older generation of workers who built the CIO in the '30s and '40s should have formed such a party. But they let us down and didn't. So I guess the younger workers are going to have to do it.

But it will probably be easier to form in auto centers like Detroit or in the big steel areas. Around here in Minnesota, it will be harder. For one thing bad economic conditions hit the upper Midwest later than in other places. In my own plant, I only know a couple of other guys who you could depend on fully to support a labor party.

Of course, there isn't much choice for labor today. No worker in his right mind would ever support the Republicans. And I got to admit that big money controls the Democratic Party too—like the millionaires like John Connally or the oil men who finance the Democratic Party and support labor-haters like George Wallace.

As I said, I support your program for a labor party as it's written. But next to nationalization, I think one of your best planks is the one against racism. Racism has been a peeve of mine for a long time.

Now I'm a white worker, but up North (and I've also been down South) I've seen what it's done to both the white and Black working class to keep them divided, hating each other; and who profits by it? Why, the rich.

The rich use racism to keep all the workers down. It's their way of keeping their system. So they profit from war, they profit from racism, and they even

profit from pollution.

I think that your program does not agitate enough against the evils of pollution. My father was a poor farmer in Wisconsin. But do you know what he died of? Of cancer. It was caused by the chemical spray that for years was used all around his farm by the public utilities to keep their weeds under control. It was cheaper for them to spray the weeds than to keep them cut. The doctor himself told that to my father while he was dying of leukemia.

You know, I read the Socialist Workers Party paper and they're really sick. Imagine supporting parties like the Brown Berets and La Raza Unida just on the question of race alone. Let me tell you how deadend such a policy is. When I was in California, I asked some Chicanos how they felt about Puerto Ricans getting into La Raza Unida, and I was told, nothing doing. Only Mexicans could join. How can people who say they are socialists support such a thing?

But I really go for your plank on nationalization. We're much too indus-

trialized for individuals to control and own such huge wealth. I had kind of a personal experience with nationalization, you might say, on a small scale.

A few years ago, when our company was out on strike, they tried to smuggle some stuff out of the plant. Well, that did it. The entire picket line to a man said: "Oh, no, just for that, none of you are going in, not even office help." So when the owner of the company showed up and tried to enter, and we wouldn't let him, he called Mayor Stenvig, who sent his cops. Well, we didn't care. We just called out to him right in front of the cops, "You don't own this plant anymore."

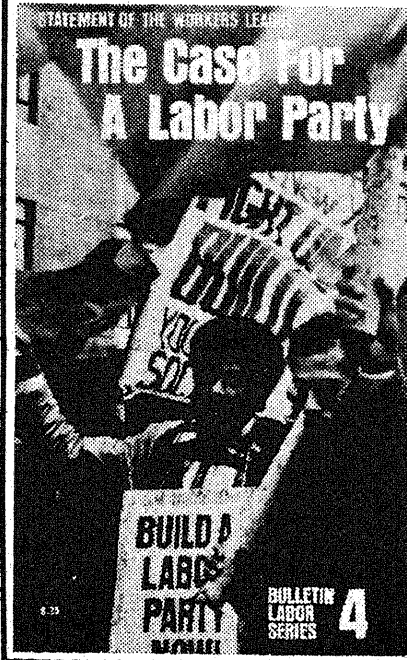
Lucky for us in those early days of Stenvig, the cops were not like the goon squads he has around now. I've seen movies on TV of Germany in the early thirties just when Hitler's SS were coming to power. Let me tell you, that's just how Stenvig's cops are today, they're not one bit better.

Your fight for a labor party certainly represents a lot more for the bosses to be afraid of than the Stalinists!



Charles Holter

## TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party



The following articles are part of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.

**WALTER GRADY** is the editor of Metal Scraps, the official organ of United Electrical Workers Local 190 in Chicago.

In my opinion, the United States is in desperate need of a labor party. Nixon is steadily putting more and more restrictions on the working class of the country. First the wage freeze, and now in his Labor Day message, he spoke of an Arbitration Commission to settle contracts and to outlaw strikes.

In my opinion, before labor can even consider the innovation of a labor party, we have to rid ourselves of old-timers like George Meany and I.W. Abel. These guys are the biggest stumbling block to progress as far as I'm concerned.

I wonder if Mr. Meany thinks of the thousands of workers that are laid off—the ones who are out of work because of shutdowns, closings, and other reasons—while he's out playing golf with Mr. Nixon. I can't go along with Meany's way of thinking. He refuses to take a stand on the election. He walked off the Pay Board but he never did much about the 5.5 percent in increase that they limited working people to, and it didn't stop

his \$12,000 a year increase on his own salary—which is a hell of a lot more than 5.5 percent.

Now they're talking about lowering the 5.5 percent down further to 2.5 percent and that is with your fringe benefits and everything included in it. Meany and the others like him are going to have to be dealt with in some form or fashion.

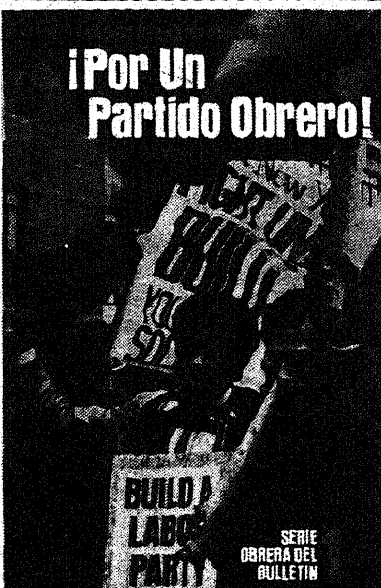
The labor party is just about the best thing I've heard so far. If Meany and the others give us some ultimatum that they're going to run it, we'll just have to do whatever we have to do. Whatever is necessary, because I think anything's fair when it comes to the welfare of all the people. There's no way I can see somebody like Meany representing me. So far as I'm concerned he might represent somebody else, but he does not represent me—not by his actions or by the things he stands for.

We should not even begin to think about a labor party until we find a way to rid ourselves of people like Meany. It would be like having a labor party in office and a person like Nixon as president.

Sooner or later something has got to give, or Nixon is going to beat us back to the 1920s or the teens of this century. He's doing it. A labor party is absolutely necessary. It is the only thing that's going to save the working man completely.

And once we get people in labor headed in that direction, there is no way we can miss out on it. There is a hell of a lot more working people than there are business people.

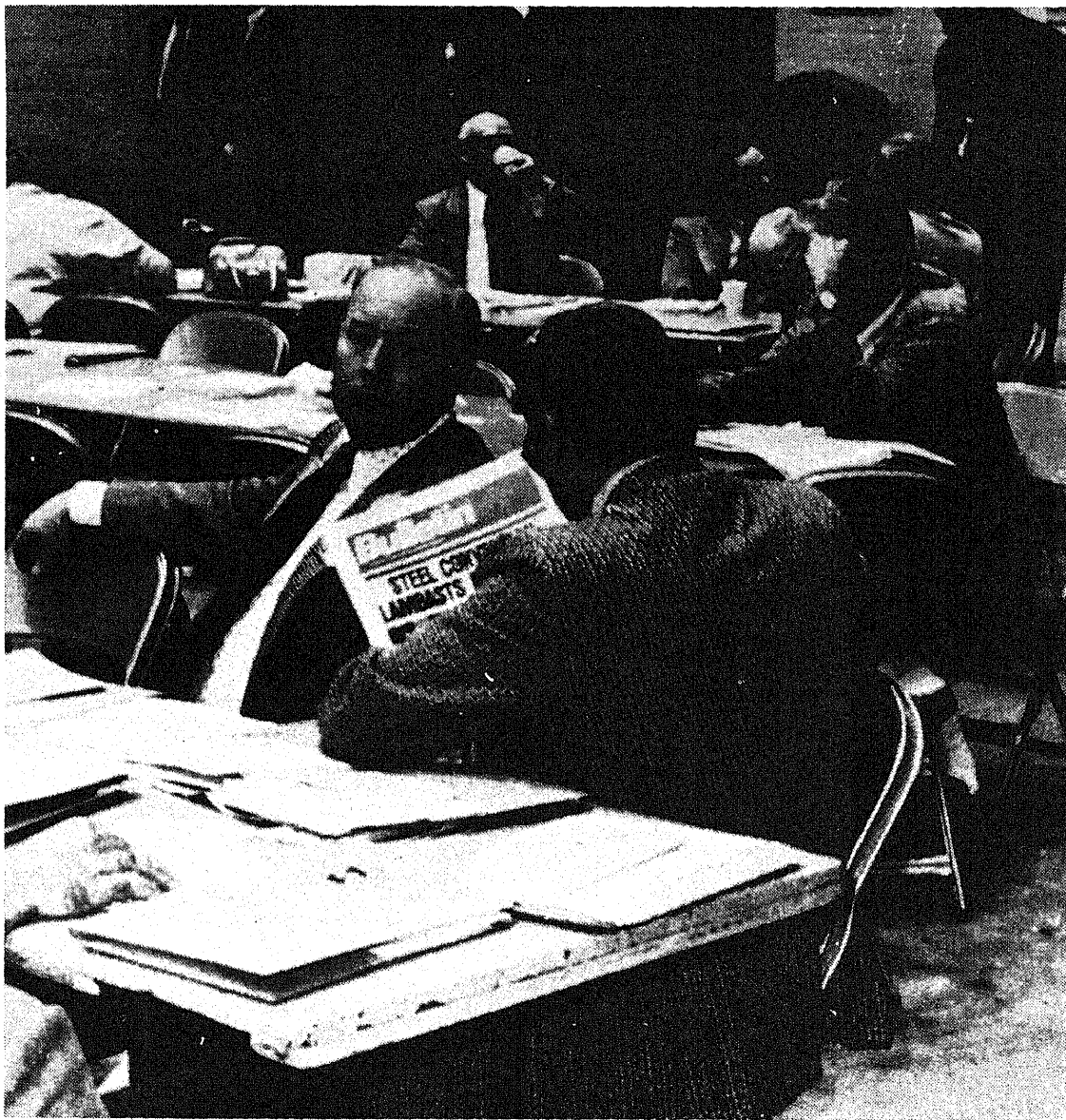
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## Midwest News



Minnesota AFL-CIO state convention (above) heard a delegate's resolution calling for a labor party.

## Minnesota Labor Leaders Stifle Motion On Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

ROCHESTER, Minn., Sept. 27—The desperate attempt of the trade union bureaucracy to sell Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern as a meaningful alternative to Nixon dominated the just concluded convention of the Minnesota State AFL-CIO here.

But the fear that masses of workers will see through this and vote with their feet prompted state federation president David Roe to complain in his opening remarks that: "I've been hearing a lot of talk that people are dissatisfied with both candidates and they are not going to vote."

In spite of all the efforts of the bureaucracy, there was little genuine applause for McGovern. Only criticism of Nixon brought forth enthusiasm.

The entire program of the convention was a parade of one Democratic Party politician after another. But the basic questions facing workers, both here and nationally, of unemployment, plant closings, the wage

freeze and lockouts in the building trades, were not even touched upon until midway through the convention.

### HANDWRITING

But even these politicians saw the handwriting on the wall as far as the future of the Democratic Party was concerned. Senator Walter Mondale pleaded that: "Everyone knows this is going to be a tough election. We have to get back together working harder than ever before. A recent poll worries me—120,000 Minnesota unionists are staying home and not voting."

Mondale expressed surprise that the wage freeze and the Pay Board, which he and his fellow Democratic politicians such as Senator Hubert Humphrey had helped to engineer, was not working out "fairly."

To get around the national AFL-CIO stance of no position on the elections, the state leadership pushed through a back-handed endorsement of McGovern by calling it an "anti-Nixon resolution." When a roll call vote on this was demanded, Roe replied: "There will be no roll call vote. This is going to be unanimous!"

### DEMOCRATS

However, his actions—such as the 10 percent cut in wages ordered last winter—have had the full support of the Democrats in the city council.

Cleveland AFSCME President Hubert Bryant, a McGovern supporter, admitted to the *Bulletin* that the Democrats have refused to speak up for the unions during the past week. "While we're in negotiations," he said, "the Democrats don't want to involve this strike in political issues."

As for former Mayor Carl Stokes, now a news broadcaster for the National Broadcasting Company, he told the *Bulletin* in a telephone interview that: "I don't want to second-guess Mayor Perk's administration."

### LABOR PARTY

An alternate resolution to this was then moved by Perry Tilleraas, alternate delegate from State Employees Local 1164 (AFSCME). This resolution then demanded that the State Federation take up the lead given earlier by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council to consider building a labor party on a state and national level. Tilleraas added:

"We can no longer afford to support the politicians and the party that gave Nixon the power to impose the Pay Board. That Board now rips up our contracts and steals the wages we struggle for each day. It is time labor moved on the offensive and built a political party to fight the Pay Board and to fight unemployment through nationalization and a shorter work week."

Roe showed his feelings immediately by refusing to even call for a second to this resolution and then went on to ram through his "dump Nixon" resolution.

A labor party can and must be built. Only the labor bureaucrats such as Roe, who value their sweetheart deals with the Democratic politicians far more than the interests of their members prevent its construction. The next step in the fight for a labor party will be the building of a big delegation from Minnesota to the National Conference for a Labor Party Now called by the Workers League on October 21-22 in Chicago.

## General Strike Movement Sweeps Cleveland

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

CLEVELAND, Oct. 2—A general strike situation is developing here as 3500 city workers continue their week long strike, provoked by Cleveland's refusal to pay wage and benefit increases won in the 1970 contract.

Workers throughout the city have demonstrated their solidarity with the strikers, members of Local 100 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal

Employees, by refusing to cross picket lines and staging sporadic strikes.

Mayor Richard J. Perk, who claims that Cleveland is bankrupt, ordered the strikers to return to work, threatening "to

use the full powers of my office."

Under the anti-strike Ferguson Act, city employees could face jail terms for walking off the job in spite of the fact that the city has violated the contract.

The AFSCME ranks have been joined by members of Local 1099 of the Municipal Foremen and Laborers Union. However, the Local 1099 president is urging the ratification of an agreement he reached with the city earlier today that allows Cleveland to delay payment of the benefits until 1974.

### GENERAL STRIKE

This is a deliberate sellout arranged because the union leadership realizes that the working class is on the verge of shutting Cleveland down. A leading 1099 official told the *Bulletin* that if the strike would continue, "there could be a general strike."

Not only does the agreement reached between the leadership of 1099 and the city throw away benefits that have been due since 1971 but it opens up the way for a

## St. Louis Jobless Up 20,000 In One Year

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Unemployment continued to rise in St. Louis in August according to the figures just released by the Missouri Division of Employment Security.

There were 10,600 or 1.2 percent fewer jobs than in July. This means a loss of over 20,000 jobs in this area from August 1971.

In the auto industry, even though these figures include the return of workers after the model changeover, 1100 jobs were lost over the 12 month period. Other areas which showed sharp decreases were the building industry and jobs funded by federal grants.

Unemployment in the building industry increased by 16.3 percent since August 1971. Cutbacks in federal funds caused a decline of 8.7 percent of jobs covered by these grants.

A welder at the St. Louis Car Foundry, which manufactures railroad rolling stock, described

how in the past workers had been laid off for a time in August, but this year they were laid off in February.

"They just want you when they can make profits. When that is over, they get rid of you at once. They don't care what happens to the worker or his family," he said.

## UAW Strikes Wisconsin Plant

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

LaCROSSE, Wisc., Sept. 31—With only seven of their local's 288 members absent, United Auto Workers Local 1263 voted unanimously today to shut down the Norplex division of Universal Oil Products, manufacturer of laminated plastics.

Universal Oil, a massive conglomerate, last year successfully closed down its copper mine in Calumet, Michigan, leaving

2000 members of the United Steelworkers without jobs after a two and one half year strike.

### GAINS

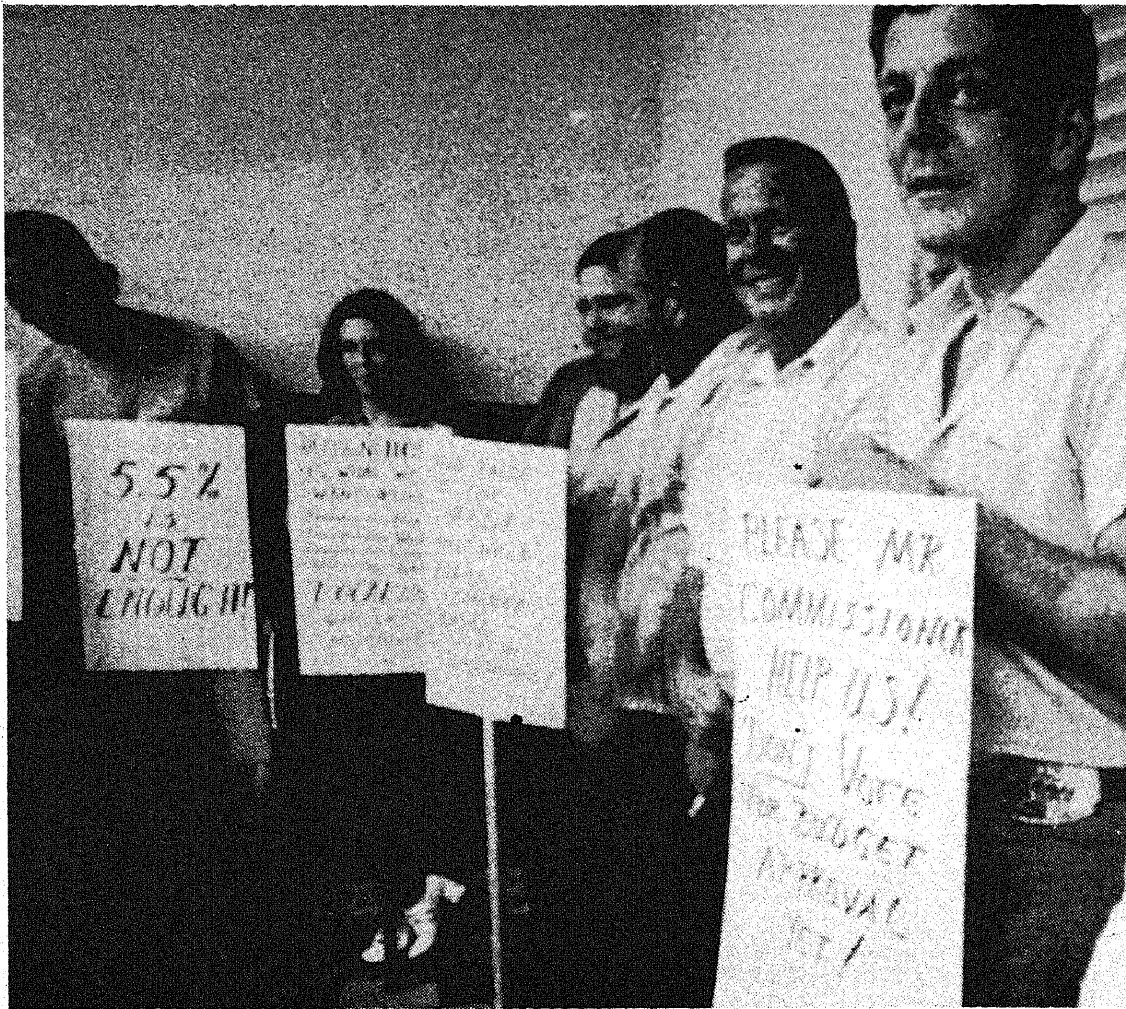
John Holt, Local 1263 president, told the *Bulletin* that the union is fighting primarily to defend the gains it has made. He described the wage offer of 45 cents an hour as "inept" and indicated that it could have been somewhat higher. He said that management wants to take back all the conditions they lived with and made profit under for the last 22 years.

The main issues are the company's demand for mandatory overtime (now voluntary), for the loser in arbitration cases to pay the arbitrator (now free), a free hand for the company in setting work rules, and more limits on job bidding and job training procedures.

### REPEAT

Defeating Universal Oil's plans in LaCrosse will require that the labor movement does not allow these workers to become isolated in order to prevent a repeat of the Calumet situation.





150 members of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers from Fort Pierce, Fla. Public Works Department went to city commissioners meeting to support union's demands. They want 5.5 percent wage increase and retroactive pay. City is trying to bust union to keep from paying workers decent wages.

**NMU...**

(Continued From Page 4)

backed up with the threat of strike action. At the same time, the NMU ranks must take up the fight for a labor party to nationalize shipping and take it out of the hands of the owners and put it under workers control. This can be the only program for unity among maritime unions. Curran, with his political stand of neutrality in the elections, and Gleason with his support to Nixon, are both hostile to this perspective which is the only way to save maritime jobs and wages.

The only delegate to oppose Curran's bankrupt strategy was James Morrissey. In discussing the President's Report, Morrissey proposed an amendment to the report which would mandate the 1975 Contract Negotiating Committee to seek wage parity with West Coast seamen.

Morrissey did not fight Curran on the central issue, which is unemployment, but instead recited statistics to show how bad off East Coast seamen are.

This approach of the opposition in the NMU is now the greatest obstacle to fighting the Curran bureaucracy. Only through a fight for full manning of all ships, for organizing the foreign flag ships up to American union standards, and for a labor party, can the jobs and conditions of the NMU be preserved and improved.

**NORWOOD...**

(Continued From Page 3)

cock and the International never made good their promise to pull out other GMAD plants at the same time that Norwood went out.

At the point when General Motors could no longer hold out on a settlement if it was going to produce 1973 cars at the Norwood plant, and at the point when the International was being pressed to make good its promises of a GMAD strike, the capitulation took place. Workers are bitter towards Woodcock and the International.

It is clear that the need for a strike of all GMAD is still on the

agenda because of the intolerable conditions that will continue to exist in Norwood once production resumes just as they continue to exist in Lordstown after their settlement and at other GMAD plants such as St. Louis that has been held back from striking since last Spring.

It is clear that in this period of crisis it is the government which is pushing speed-up and layoffs for the corporations. The fight against GMAD as well as the Pay Board requires a political struggle. The fight for a nationwide GMAD strike must be combined with the building of a labor party now.

**IMF MEETING...**

(Continued From Page 3)

organized blockade not only of whole nations but of whole economic regions such as the Common Market.

Already the Japanese, who are now under direct pressure for an immediate new upward revaluation of the yen, have denounced the Shultz plan as an attack on "national sovereignty."

These proposals stand entirely in line with the even more explicit remarks made a week before by Pierre Rinfret, Nixon's economic advisor for his election campaign.

In what he said was no "election gambit" but a "funda-

mental" policy, Rinfret openly stated that the United States was studying the impact on its economy of a "far reaching and brutal trade war." He further complained that the Kennedy Round tariff reductions of the 1960s were a "fundamental mistake—a disaster for American trade."

Rinfret then went on to admit that measures including a 15 percent import surcharge on cars, textile, and steel were now under discussion in Washington, as well as plans for freezing foreign assets in the United States should U.S. competitors retaliate.

**DETERMINATION**

The ruthless determination of the United States to now launch the international trade war it has been preparing for the last 13 months represents the working out a year later of the fundamental collapse of world capitalism contained in the break between the dollar and gold last August 15.

At the same time, the break between the dollar and gold now in itself becomes the greatest source of the disorganization and break-up of the world capitalist system.

Nixon and Shultz talk about the demonetization of gold and its phasing out of the system in favor of SDRs. But as Marx pointed out, paper money can only stand as a representative of real value in so far as it is

**Editor's Notebook**

**How To Steal A Million**

When former Newark Mayor Hugh Addonizio was asked why he had resigned from the Congress to take on the "responsibility" of governing a city, he replied: "Simple. There's no money in Washington, but you can make a million bucks as mayor of Newark."

It is still not known exactly how many millions Addonizio stole from the working people of Newark during his term in office, but his off-the-cuff remark revealed what politics is really all about in New Jersey.

While hundreds of thousands of workers in the state face the threats of layoffs and poverty, the politicians—the Democrats and Republicans alike—obey the commands of the businessmen who stuff their pockets with bribes.

Virtually all the leading political figures of Newark and Jersey City for the past decade are in jail (for short sentences) or awaiting trial on charges of tax evasion, bribery, extortion and conspiracy.

**CRIMES**

At the top of the list are the former mayors of both cities, Addonizio and Thomas Whelan, who are keeping each other company in Lewisburg Penitentiary—both of them up for parole in the near future. Once out of jail, they will be able to enjoy the fruits of the crimes.

The position of Secretary of State is the second most powerful office in New Jersey. The two men who held that position under Democratic Governor Hughes and the Republican Governor Cahill have been indicted for various offenses related to

bribery. Robert Burkhardt, the Democrat, was let off with a suspended sentence. Paul Sherwin, the Republican, is still awaiting trial.

Recent federal investigations of the Newark government led to the indictment of nearly everyone in the Addonizio administration. The former director of Public Works, two Corporation Councils, and four councilmen were charged with conspiracy and extortion.

**TREATMENT**

Their treatment was rather mild. With the exception of Anthony La Morte, who was given a 10 year sentence, the rest got off with one to three year terms or were excused on grounds of being "too sick to stand trial."

While Newark has only one former mayor in jail, Jersey City has two—Whelan and John V. Kenny. In addition, the former president of the City Council, Thomas Flaherty, is in Lewisburg.

The latest scandal has led to the indictment of seven top officials of Atlantic City on the usual charges: conspiracy, indictment and extortion. All of them will receive the same "punishment"—token sentences and speedy paroles. They are always guaranteed a sympathetic judge and a lenient prosecutor, because a sizeable number of judges and prosecutors are under indictment themselves.

But these criminals who run the major cities of New Jersey do not hesitate to beat up, arrest, and shoot youth and striking workers (like those in Fedders) to defend private property.

directly backed by gold.

Gold, unlike paper currency, contains real value, the substance and measure of which is the socially necessary labor time required for its production. A small quantity of gold is valuable because of the labor involved in its mining, refining and transportation.

**UNDERMINED**

Under conditions where paper money, no longer backed by gold, becomes an unreliable depository of value, the very productive and circulation process of capitalism is directly undermined. The process of capitalist production, which requires that commodities be translated into money before the surplus value, or profit, contained in them can be realized by the capitalist and turned back into new capital, grinds to a halt.

This tendency is already reflected in the World Bank report which showed a marked decrease in world production in 1971 and the growth of unemployment and sharp recessionary tendencies in every country.

It is this threat to the very basis of the capitalist system, that is, the production of profit, that now determines above all the vehemence with which capitalism conducts its struggle against the working class. This struggle represents a desperate effort by the capitalists to

restore value to paper money while, at the same time, seeking to thrust this burden onto the rest of the world.

While the IMF meeting now signals the opening up of this struggle by the U.S. in the most earnest and brutal manner, it must now meet with the most powerful resistance of the working class in both Europe and America.

The impossible position of the European capitalist class in this situation was sharply expressed last week when the Norwegian working class rejected, in a nationwide referendum, that country's planned entry into the Common Market. This rejection, which now threatens to reopen the fight on the issue in Britain, reflects the huge revolutionary struggles against the strategy of European capitalism.

The resistance of thousands of auto workers against the GMAD speed-up drive makes clear that layoffs and speed-up in the United States, which Shultz calls "domestic restraint" will produce the sharpest offensive on the part of the U.S. working class and a leap in its political development.

What the IMF meeting last week therefore poses sharply to the working class in every country is the necessity for the construction of a revolutionary leadership to prepare for the big explosions this crisis must now produce.

**Bulletin**

weekly organ of the workers league

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# West Coast News



United Farmworkers Union leader Cesar Chavez speaks at rally held to protest "Proposition 22".

# SSEU Local Backs Meeting On Labor Party

BY A LOCAL 535 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The newly formed San Francisco Chapter of Social Services Union Local 535 voted at their first general membership meeting to endorse the Bay Area Conference for a Labor Party and to send two delegates.

The local has begun its organizing around such issues as the introduction of the WR-2 form. This 19 page form replaces a 5 page application form and is designed to throw thousands off welfare and will mean speed-up for workers.

Also under union attack are the various federal and local versions of the so-called Welfare Reform programs, which are in effect forced work programs.

The member speaking for the motion to support the conference pointed out that what is behind these issues is the government's plan to slash the staff in social services and to force welfare clients to scab on the labor

movement. By forcing the unemployed into jobs paying the minimum wage or less, the welfare system will be used in an attempt to break the unions by pushing wages down.

None of these anti-labor measures can be fought by supporting those politicians who initiate such policies, the McGoverns and Aliotos, with their welfare reform and anti-strike legislation.

The only way that labor and the unemployed can be united around a program for full employment at the union wage scale, meaningful job training programs, adequate social services, and an end to anti-union legislation is through the struggle to construct a labor party.

Despite the fact that the California State Executive Board of Local 535 had endorsed McGovern, no one spoke up to defend him.

## FARMWORKERS

(Continued From Page 20)

under which the farm workers were arrested to release the strikers. He said: "We've a strong case."

### SUPPORT

Later at a march and rally held in San Francisco against Proposition 22, an initiative that would outlaw the right to strike and so weaken the UFW that it would be powerless to stop further attacks on farmworkers, Chavez called on workers to give their support to McGovern as the way to solve labor's problems.

Chavez told the 1000 who attended the rally that "Proposition 22 has as its only purpose the taking away from the farm workers the right to strike and the secondary boycott. Proposition 22 would take away all the weapons of the union."

### FRAUD

It has now been established that many of the necessary signatures were obtained only through the use of fraud and trickery. Tables used to gather signatures were covered with UFW flags and voters were told that the Proposition was going to help the union. Names of people who had moved, died or had never seen a petition were added to the petition to obtain the required number.

The rally, called to defend the farmworkers, was controlled throughout by the "Grassroots for McGovern" people, who tried to use the trade union movement's opposition to 22 to build support for the Democratic presidential candidate.

Speaker after speaker called on the farm workers and trade unionists to vote for McGovern in November. Even though two speakers were from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU), nobody recalled McGovern's vote against the longshoremen last summer or his vote for the Pay Board.

Chavez, although himself refusing to take the fight against Proposition 22 any further than voter registration and support for McGovern, posed the strength of the labor movement when he stated that the drive that

the union launched in Arizona to recall the Governor has been successful, with the UFW getting 106,000 signatures, 3000 over the requirement.

The farm workers union is virtually throwing out the state government, but the alternative that Chavez wants to replace it with is the Democratic Party, not a party of labor.

Throughout the march and rally, the Workers League and Young Socialists campaigned for the defense of the trade union movement through the construction of a labor party. The YS marched under banners calling for a labor party, to smash all anti-strike legislation that is being prepared by both the Democrats and Republicans.



San Francisco building workers protest threat to jobs posed by cuts in city construction.

# Oakland Health Center Scrapped

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—The West Oakland Health Center, once hailed by liberals and radicals throughout the country as "a unique experiment in community control" has fallen on hard times.

Racked with scandals and accusations of corruption, the center has been unable to provide adequate health care for West Oakland residents.

The health center came into being in the late 1960s when the federal government, frightened by the ghetto rebellions, set up dozens of agencies with funds in order to pacify the tense situation.

By the beginning of 1971, the center had entered a financial crisis with a deficit of \$500,000. The Public Health Service demanded that the center cut back its service by 20 percent and that it collect its outstanding bills within five months. The service was cut, but by the time the five months was up the center was even more in debt.

Accusations of corruption and mismanagement dominated the center. From the beginning the center had been the scene of struggle between different cliques of community control politicians over who would control the funds.

Now the financial crisis is being used by Luther Smith and

his Group to Industrialize the Ghetto (GIG) to take over. Smith, a board member, attacked the leaders of the board for corruption, mismanagement and nepotism.

### REFUSED

Today, the Health Care Center has cut back its services even more drastically than the original 20 percent slash, according to Luther Smith, because they were "overstaffed." Yet at a public meeting held in the community, patients complained of being refused service and of having to wait hours to be seen by a doctor.

At the same time, Luther Smith and Elvis Hodges are under indictment for 23 counts of criminal misuse of funds in relation to their organization G.I.G.

### SCANDAL

The history of the West Oakland Health Center has been one of mudslinging and scandal. From the start the federal funds were inadequate to provide health care, but rather provided a breeding ground for corruption.

# GM Starts Automating Milpitas Production

BY BARRY GREY

MILPITAS—The massive productivity drive that has produced strike votes throughout the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) and the call from St. Louis Local 25 for a national shutdown is being taken into the Ford Pinto and truck plant in Milpitas.

A month ago the plant manager sent out a letter to all the men informing them that the company was about to install millions of

and asking for the union's cooperation.

Since then maintenance workers in the truck division have been working up to 70 hours a week installing labor-saving equipment. A maintenance worker in the truck division told the Bulletin about some of the automated equipment he is installing.

The press weld automatically welds the side panel onto the body of the truck. It eliminates the jobs of four welders. Automatic robot welders are being installed as well.

### BREAKDOWNS

The company is currently hiring because the new machinery is resulting in a loss of production due to breakdowns and technical problems. As many as 20 trucks an hour are being lost on the line and sent out to repair.

Engineers from Detroit are all over the plant on 24 hours call, supervising the new processes and ironing out the problems.

As soon as the new equipment is in full working order, the process of layoffs and speed-up, which is hitting auto plants nationally, will begin at Milpitas. This is the lesson of Lordstown, Norwood, and every GM plant where such machinery has been installed. Workers at Milpitas have been told by contractors that massive automation will be introduced into the passenger division as well in December.

The local leadership is going along with the company's "efficiency" drive. The ranks at Ford must understand that their jobs, working conditions, and wage levels are under the gun. They must demand that no provision of the contract be broken by Ford and that no layoffs take place due to the new machinery.

The only policy that can beat back the auto companies is a national shutdown and the construction of a labor party pledged to nationalize auto under workers' control.

All the groups that have been involved in the struggle to control this health care center support the Democratic Party, from G.I.G. to the Blacks United to Motivate Progress (BUMP), to the first board chairman Reverend Robinson. Luther Smith has a Dellums campaign poster prominently displayed in his front window.

### CONCESSIONS

Next year marks the end of the center's five year grant and the government will now try to take back the concessions like the health care center in West Oakland.

Now more than ever the community control policies of the revisionist SWP are shown to be bankrupt. The government now is preparing to scrap the concessions which were the material basis for community control politics.

Outside of the building of a party of the working class, a labor party with socialist policies, there is no solution to the deteriorating living conditions of the working class.

# West Coast News

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Workers League and Young Socialists contingent at UFW rally in San Francisco called for labor party.

## Southgate GM Ranks Demand National Shutdown

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The desperation of the UAW leadership to hold back strike action in General Motors Assembly Division plants, against the determination of the ranks to fight, is very sharply exposed in California GM plants.

One indication of the tremendous support that could have been rallied to the striking Norwood workers was the development at the Southgate GM plant.

Although the leadership has done everything possible to isolate Southgate from any news of the Norwood struggle, a plant gate collection held a few days before the vote to return to work raised approximately \$1500 to assist the Norwood strikers.

### ASSISTANCE

A Southgate meeting voted overwhelmingly to come to the assistance of Norwood by demanding that the UAW call a national strike against GMAD. Meanwhile, the Van Nuys workers, who have already taken

a strike vote and were ready to go out, remain at the brink of strike action.

### FREMONT

In Northern California, at the Fremont GMAD plant, GM is attempting to get the line speed up by seven cars over last year's quota. So far it has been unable to do this and repairmen are working seven days a week at 11 to 12 hour shifts to keep up with the poor quality cars coming off the line.

GM has been treading carefully in this situation, but there is no doubt that with Norwood back the pressure will be on to take disciplinary action and move to achieve the increased production quotas.

### STRIKE

Unresolved 78's are piling up and there are indications that the Fremont local will be moving towards a strike vote as well. The UAW bureaucracy hopes to confine action at these plants to isolated strikes held one at a time.

The lessons of Norwood must be learned. Any strike action taken now must from the beginning, take up the fight to force the UAW leadership to bring out all GMAD plants in nationwide strike action. It is only in this way that the speed-up drive of Joseph Godfrey, GM and the government can be stopped.

## Scab Truck Runs Over Striking Farmworkers

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—One hundred and forty United Farm Workers Union members were arrested at the White River Farms vineyards in Tulare County, after trucks carrying scabs rammed through a group of pickets, hitting two of them.

The farm workers were arrested when the local leadership called a prayer meeting to calm the strikers down after 14 year old Maria Arevello and another woman were sent to the hospital. They had been struck by a truck driven by the brother-in-law of the farm contractor.

The strike has been going on since August 28, when negotiations between the union and White River Farms over union recognition broke down. The union had been covered by a contract with Schenley Industries for six years but, when the land was sold, the new owners refused to accept the union.

### BREAK

Since then the growers have tried to break the strike with the use of illegal Mexican workers smuggled into the U.S. Illegal immigrants are used on many vineyards to provide cheap labor, since they are threatened with deportation if they refuse to work at the wages offered. In this case they were forced to work at White River to break the strike.

When striking workers found out that these illegal workers were being used to break their strike, they demanded mass picketing. When union protests to the Border Patrol were ignored, strikers said that the trucks would be stopped and not allowed to pass the pickets. It was during this that the two strikers were hit.

When the anger of the farm workers exploded and could not be dissipated by the union leadership, a prayer meeting was

called as the only thing that could calm the strikers.

When the workers gathered and things began to calm down, sheriff's deputies stormed in and arrested all union members and supporters in the area and charged them with disobeying a court injunction that prohibits "mass demonstrations." One hundred and forty were arrested

in two separate vineyards and were held in jail in lieu of \$650 bail.

According to Chavez in a radio interview, the United Farm Workers Union cannot bail out its members because they lack the necessary funds. Chavez is relying on the same courts that gave the growers the injunction

(Continued On Page 19)

## Democrats Push Oil Tycoon Loophole

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The giant Union Oil Company had a hand in writing both the pro and con ballot arguments for Proposition 8, a California state referendum for the coming election which, if passed, would pump millions into the coffers of the big industrial corporations.

Proposition 8 would offer tax incentives to corporations to spend money to "clean up" the environment. This would create a giant loophole in the tax laws for writing off the cost of air conditioning, plush carpeting, and other luxuries for corporate executives.

### LEGISLATORS

Such a law, when it goes to the polls as a referendum, is printed on the ballot in abbreviated form, accompanied by short statements of the case for passage and

the case for opposition. These statements are prepared by state legislators, who even in normal circumstances seek out so-called responsible, that is, ruling class opinions, on what should appear in the arguments for and against.

Now it appears the legislature has gone one step further. The two Democratic State Senators who submitted the ballot arguments for and against Proposition 8 had them written up by the same man, Donald Collin, consultant to the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee.

### DISCLOSED

Investigation by the Secretary of State and the Attorney General has disclosed that Union Oil officials were present in Collin's office while he was writing the arguments. Their suggestions were incorporated into the argument against the giveaway measure.

However, Attorney General Evelle Younger said no law had been broken. "I wouldn't know to what extent they (Union Oil) influences him or to what extent that influence was improper. We're satisfied that no money or other reward changed hands.

"Our investigation is finished and we expect to take no further

## Workers League & Young Socialists WEEKEND OF EDUCATION & RECREATION

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