

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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*novack, lenin
and revolution*

*open letter to
joseph hansen*

call memorial day labor march on washington

NIXON PREPARES CAMBODIAN INVASION

The past two weeks have confirmed that Nixon's strategy is to spread the war throughout Southeast Asia. Nixon plans to turn Cambodia into another Vietnam with all the massacres and terror that have been unleashed against the Vietnamese workers and peasants by U.S. imperialism and its puppets.

Nixon answered the Cambodian regime's cries for arms last week by authorizing an "interim" shipment until he can get approval for full scale military support. Secretary of State Rogers told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 28th that the Administration is prepared to push for this support and warned that it is quite capable of supplying some arms without its support.

The Vietcong movement within fifteen miles of Pnompenh has exposed the weakness of imperialism's hold in Cambodia and has set its rulers screaming to their imperialist masters for help. The New York Times raised the dangers to U.S. imperialism on April 20th when it said: "If North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were to fall largely under Communist control, without American resistance, the rationale for the war in South Vietnam as well as the conduct of that war would be seriously undermined." What the Times really means is that a victory for the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia calls into question not only U.S. imperialism's military position in Vietnam but its very existence.

So while Nixon talks about troop withdrawals, he and his strategists are quite aware of the dangers and are discussing a full scale intervention into Cambodia. Nixon's only other hope is to achieve the U.S. aim to crush the Vietnamese revolution by getting the NLF to a Geneva conference through the auspices of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

However, at the same time the Vietcong are stepping up their offensive, hundreds of thousands of workers and youth showed

(continued on page 2)



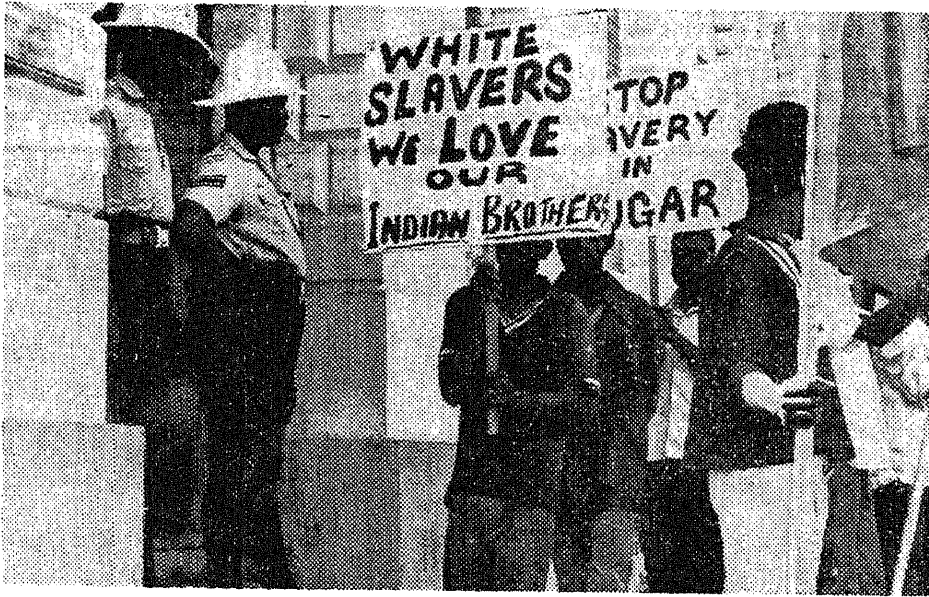
Gas-masked police at Black Power rally in Trinidad.

PANTHER TRIAL IS ATTACK ON ALL WORKERS

Demonstration at
New Haven Courthouse
in support of Bobby Seale.



REVOLUTIONARY WAVE SWEEPS THE CARRIBBEAN



Workers picket British company in Port of Spain, Trinidad.

Mass Working Class Struggles Threaten Caribbean Governments

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Mass struggles of the working class this past week almost toppled the government of Trinidad and Tobago in a so-called "Black Power" movement which is sweeping through the Caribbean.

During the same week a section of the Haitian navy mutinied against dictator Duvalier and pumped shells in the direction of the presidential palace.

The struggle in Trinidad expresses the situation throughout the Caribbean quite clearly. For several weeks there have been mass demonstrations of black workers and students which in many instances have been joined by Indian workers against a black government and black police force. The demonstrations, which are held in the name of black power, and dominated by black power demagoguery, have actually been brought about by the failure of black power.

Trinidad, like Jamaica and other Caribbean islands formerly part of the British Empire, have been granted independence and are presently ruled by black administrations. These governments have sought to solve the economic problems of the islands within a capitalist framework. This means encouraging tourism and foreign investment. The result of these

policies has actually been a worsening of the economic plight of the masses, where unemployment is between 20 and 30 percent and sugar workers earn \$1.50 a day.

STOOGES

Thus the heart of the problems of the islands lies in the capitalist system itself and the refusal of the local nationalist governments to take the socialist road. These governments are the stooges of foreign capital, now increasingly American as well as British.

When the opposition takes up the "Black Power" battle cry against the "white capitalist" it is an attempt to maintain the struggle under the domination of petty bourgeois nationalist leaders who pull back from a workers' revolution to overthrow capitalism of all colors and take up the struggle for international socialism in alliance with workers throughout the world.

The turning point in the whole struggle in Trinidad occurred at the point where the working class threatened to enter what was until then a largely student protest movement. The proposed demonstration on Tuesday April 21st would have brought together the students, striking sugar workers largely of Indian origins, and other trade unionists. At this point the government declared a state of emergency. In seeking to enforce this state of emergency, a section of the army mutinied and supported the demonstrators.

ARMS

The United States then flew in arms for the government and sent six warships with 2,000 battle-equipped marines to the area. Britain made similar military preparations.

As we go to press, the leaders of the demonstration movement have been arrested while a settlement with the dissidents in the army seems to have been reached, bringing a certain temporary stability for the imperialists and their puppet governments in the area. But nothing has been resolved.

The struggle will now go forward throughout the whole Caribbean. As the strike battles last year in Curacao also make clear, behind all the talk of "Black Power" is the emergence of the working class into the leadership of the struggle.

The Caribbean expresses the deepening of the capitalist crisis and the emergence of the working class not only in this region but throughout the colonial world as a whole. Never has the task of the construction of the Fourth International been more urgent. Now the total bankruptcy has been so completely revealed of those who, in the name of the Fourth International, denied the role of the working class in these countries and demanded the liquidation of the party into petty bourgeois guerillaist adventures.

The construction of the Fourth International in the colonial world will go forward under the banner of those who stood by Trotsky's program of the permanent revolution under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard party—it will go forward under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

EDITORIAL

NIXON PLANS FULL SCALE INVASION OF CAMBODIA

(continued from cover)

by their participation in the actions on April 15th that they have seen through Nixon's fraud of withdrawal and Vietnamization. The endorsement of hundreds of union locals to the April actions is an indication that many American workers are beginning to connect their struggles for wages and jobs with the struggle against the war. It is in the struggle of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia together with the working class in the U.S. and internationally that the potential for defeating U.S. imperialism is raised.

It is precisely these developments which are at the roots of the liberals' retreat and the dissolution of the Moratorium Committee. Its dissolution has obviously shaken its most loyal supporters in the Socialist Workers Party. Writing in the May 1st issue of the Militant, Gus Horowitz comments on the dissolution:

"These basic facts about the war in Vietnam delineate the tasks of the American antiwar movement: to continue on the course of organizing and mobilizing independent mass actions to bring all the troops home now.

"In the light of this responsibility, how pitiful the leaders of the now disbanded Vietnam Moratorium Committee sound when they declare in a letter to their supporters that there is 'little prospect of immediate change in the administration's policy in Vietnam.' Did they really believe that after years of war the task was going to be so easy?"

Here the SWP exposes its real ties with the liberals and its common agreement with the Moratorium on the perspective of the struggle against the war. The Committee now is merely carrying out the logic of the whole basis of the antiwar movement.

The SWP with the liberals has seen the "task" not as defeating imperialism but as changing the "administration's policy." The only interest or perspective the liberals ever had was to influence and pressure the Administration to extricate U.S. imperialism from a costly and difficult situation and to preserve its power in Southeast Asia. The SWP with the Stalinists have sought to aid them in this task.

The whole basis of the antiwar protest movement and the SWP's position has been to put pressure on the government, essentially to beg the impossible—that imperialism stop being imperialist. This is the essence of pacifism and protest politics. Its perspective is to maintain capitalism. It acts as a safety valve for the ruling class to divert sections of the youth and the working class from moving towards a revolutionary solution to the war. It rejects the only struggle which can end this war and all wars—the class struggle, the struggle of the working class for power and for the complete defeat of imperialism.

This is why the SWP can raise no alternative in the struggle against the war except more protests. This poses the greatest difficulties to the SWP because the dissolution statement of the Moratorium Committee is really the epitaph for the protest movement. Horowitz can only propose the rebuilding of a "serious national antiwar leadership" to be constructed from the remnants of the Moratorium Committee and the New Mobe together with the SMC. This is a clear admission by the SWP-YSA that it is incapable of putting forward a perspective independent of the liberals and that the essence of its protest movement is liberalism. The SWP is just waiting for the day the liberals will return to the fold. To this end the SMC is raising the call for a national conference some time in the future. Meanwhile the slaughter in Southeast Asia is to go on.

The developments in Cambodia only pose more sharply what has been true in the past—that the struggle against the war must be a struggle of class against class, to mobilize the working class in the U.S. and internationally for power. No amount of pressure or protest can convince imperialism to give up its strategic class interests. As Lenin put it, this perspective is equivalent to telling the owner of a brothel to be moral. This is why Lenin said that the "only slogan" which expressed the Marxist task in the struggle against imperialist war was the slogan for revolutionary mass action, to "convert the imperialist war into a civil war."

It is this struggle that must be taken into the unions connecting the struggles of the American workers against inflation, unemployment and attacks on the unions to the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against imperialism.

This is why we say the labor movement must take the lead in calling for class action against this imperialist war. The next step must be the fight for the labor movement to call a demonstration in Washington on Memorial Day in solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants and for the complete defeat of U.S. imperialism.

CHINESE LAUNCH SPACE SATELLITE!

BY THE EDITORS

The launching of a space satellite by the Chinese workers' state is an event of great importance to the whole world working class.

It is, together with the development of nuclear weaponry, a major blow against the imperialists and their efforts to isolate, and if possible, destroy the Chinese workers' state.

We greet the launching of the satellite as another important step in the defense of the Chinese workers' state from imperialist aggression. At the same time the defense of China requires more than its military development. It requires above all the independent class struggle of the working class throughout the world.

This struggle will now be encouraged by another example of the superiority of the planned economy over capitalism. In 1949 China was one of the most backward capitalist nations of the world, with an immense population but with an economic development on a par with India. Today China has entered the space age.

The United States has gone out of its way to minimize the significance of this act. It has been played down on television and in the press. Statements from Washington emphasize that it has long been expected. But no matter what they say, 380 pounds of technology produced by a workers' state hurtles over American territory every 114 minutes broadcasting "The East is Red."

In this, the 100th year since the birth of Lenin, every socialist in the United States must take inspiration from this feat and redouble his determination to aid the Chinese workers' state as well as the struggling workers and peasants of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia by taking up the class fight for socialism. In this year of Lenin and Trotsky the way forward is class against class!

labor must defend panthers

BY BOB LEVELLER

NEW HAVEN--The frameup trial of the Black Panther Leaders here must be seen as a blow against the entire working class and must be answered by the trade unions. In the light of the openly racist policies of the Nixon Administration and the "justice" handed out in Chicago, it is clear these militants will receive the most vicious sentences. Nixon's brutal attacks on the Panthers are only preparation for attacks on the entire working class.

For the past week, Yale University has been hit with a student-faculty strike called to support the Panthers on trial in New Haven and to defend "the New Haven Community" from Yale's expansion plans.

At the head of this strike is the "United Front"—a coalition including the Black Panther Party, the Black Students' Union at Yale and a number of black community groups in New Haven—which made up a list of five demands aimed at "exposing" Yale. These demands range from an insistence that Yale see the trial as being political rather than criminal and therefore call for a dismissal of charges (there have since been demands raised that Yale also provide funds for the defense of the Panthers), to the demands for an end to Yale expansion in New Haven, to a demand on Yale for day care centers for "her employees and the rest of the Yale community."

BETRAYAL

The program put forward by the so-called "United Front" is an outright betrayal of the fight to free the Panthers in New Haven and of the whole struggle against the political repression that is sweeping the nation. This program has only served to raise the most reactionary issues and to keep the students and workers in the area under a middle class reformist leadership.

All these demands put forward by the "United Front," which is only the most open expression of consciously classless popular frontism, and being taken up by the Yale students, can only diffuse and divert the defense of the Panthers and other political prisoners.

Meanwhile, PL-SDS is completely incapable of posing an alternative to this tremendous buildup of student-powerism since it is itself in total agreement with it and only wishes to turn this mess into a so-called "anti-imperialist struggle." PL-SDS's only role in this strike is to give it a left cover to this student power action. What is needed instead is to break completely from the whole concept that permeates the actions of the "United Front", SDS, and this new stu-

dent strike. Nixon's growing offensive against the working class both at home and abroad, politically as well as economically, is the driving force behind this exploding political repression.

This repression must be seen for what it is—a direct attack on the working class, aimed at keeping the workers by any means necessary from acquiring

political leadership apart from the capitalist parties.

LABOR

Defense of the Panthers and all political prisoners is a class demand and must be fought for by the mobilization of the labor movement independent from the blatantly hostile Republicans and

Democrats.

With this understanding, the Workers League calls on the workers and students throughout New Haven and the nation to fight for the labor movement around the defense of the New Haven Panthers and all political prisoners as the only way to free them and to end all political repression.

UE Local 107 Leaders Attack Militants

BY A UE MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The leadership of UE Local 107 at Westinghouse here is running scared in spite of their bravado in proclaiming the rotten contract they settled for as "one of the best" and part of the "long road back." Their fright is clearly evidenced in a leaflet handed to the membership and signed by the Local 107 Executive Committee.

"This is the first leaflet issued by Local 107 UE since March 10, 1970. That one dealt with the ratification of the new national contract. Since that time our membership has been deluged with leaflets from students groups telling us we should have gone on strike, other

students telling us to get out of Laos and Cambodia, welders' committees telling welders to stop working overtime and crane operators committees saying no overtime plantwide and several other things."

They go on to say that none of these leaflets were authorized by the union offices and ask who the people are who are making recommendations to the membership, and how much negotiating experience do they have and why wasn't their position raised by a single shop steward at the recent shop stewards meeting.

Perhaps the leadership of 107 should take note. Some of these "unknown leaf-

lets" are among their very own membership, crane men and welders of Local 107 organized in committees to start a fight over a contract that they don't like. Add to that the electricians who walked out Friday in protest over the company's hiring outside contractors to do work that is rightfully theirs, and there might soon be still another group handing out leaflets.

The key here is that those who call for a fight, those who have begun to organize rank and file shop committees and put a ban on overtime, the welders and crane operators, are showing the way. They are beginning to provide the leadership that the 107 Executive Committee seems to claim as its special domain and right but has done nothing to exercise. In the continued absence of such leadership from the Executive Committee, it clearly falls upon the organizers of these rank and file committees to take the struggle forward for the benefit of all in the plant.

EXPANSION

This means they must look toward the expansion of the shop committees to include members of all labor classifications and grades in order to develop a program to fight against management and for increased benefits and conditions for all. After all, this is what the "official" leadership promised to do in contract negotiations, spread the money available equally across the board. This is what the official leadership failed to fight for, coming back to the membership at the ratification meeting with the pathetic plea that they "did everything possible." The one thing they never did was propose a fight to the membership and instead worked toward dampening the willingness of the ranks to fight at the time the contract first expired and at every opportunity thereafter.

This of course is why the last union meeting saw a turnout of less than a hundred members and why the youngest workers in the plant seem to have no desire to have anything to do with the union. The way to turn all this around is posed by the plant committees being organized by the welders and the crane men.

Settlement Forced at Thermo-King

BY A 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS, April 25--The leadership of Steelworkers Local 2175 acted swiftly this weekend to nip in the bud rank and file opposition to its sell-out and defeatist policies in the Thermo-King strike in South Minneapolis.

On a one day notice they called a special contract meeting and pushed through a con-

tract essentially the same as that overwhelmingly rejected April 1st. The vote was 336 to 140 to accept. Only about half the union membership was present at the meeting.

The next issue of the Bulletin will contain a full analysis of the lessons of the whole contract fight and the perspective for building a new leadership in the union.



Thermo-King workers in Minneapolis man picket lines outside plant.

Minneapolis Teachers To Vote on Offer

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS, April 27—The solid struggle of the Minneapolis teachers entered its crucial stage this week.

The School Board broke off negotiations one week ago and has announced its intention to reopen the schools this Wednesday. The Board has appealed to the teachers to return as individuals, offering all sorts of phony deals and guarantees of tenure to get them back.

But the strikers remain firm behind their union, and, in the words of President Mullen, "the strikers have every intention of going back to school the same way they went out—with integrity, honesty and dignity. The picket signs and strikers were not a mirage."

Spearheading the struggle are the teachers who learned the lesson of last year's rotten contract settlement and who wear the 1025 button indicating that they were among the 1025 NO votes last year. Last year neither the City of Minneapolis Education Association (CMEA) nor the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (MFT) offered a program or a leadership to unite the workers in struggle. This year the CMEA has acted as the strikebreaking company union it is, though some 400 of its members have joined their fellow workers on the picket lines.

The MFT leadership, on the other hand, began by offering a real program of demands and mobilizing the teachers for a fight. As long as the teachers were given daily reports and a fighting program at their daily strike rally, the School Board was forced to negotiate and the schools remained closed. But

President Mullen and the others lack any understanding of the real situation the union faces.

POLITICAL

Not seeing the political nature of their fight, Mullen virtually collapsed last week, first agreeing to secret negotiations and

then issuing appeals first for state and later for federal mediators. This was the sign of weakness the School Board needed. Negotiations were broken off. The sacred nature of the vicious state no-strike law was raised. Teachers were appealed to individually by the School Board to return to work Wednesday.

Today it was announced that a teachers' rally that a new offer had been received from the School Board. Teachers will vote on this at a special meeting this week.



Workers League contingent marching in April 18th antiwar demonstration in Minneapolis, carrying banners with working class political demands.

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WORKERS LEAGUE

Anatomy of an Auto Convention

pecially since the G.E. strike, has its roots in the relative and absolute decline of real income of the American working class which began in 1965. Parallel with this development was a constant increase in the rate of contract rejection by rank and file unionists which rose to 8.4% in 1964 and then up to 14.2% in 1967. The figure for 1969 and 1970 promises to be far higher.

RESTRAIN

This is the context of this fall's auto negotiations in which Walter Reuther is preparing both to "sell" his contract agreements to the ranks and restrain the "extremes" of rank and file militancy. This is the meaning of Reuther's keynote address. What Reuther is afraid of is that the militant ranks might begin to seek a leadership based on class struggle rather than his own brand of class collaboration. That is why he raises the bogeyman of violence and launches a thinly veiled redbaiting campaign in the guise of an attack on the New Left, Black Nationalism, and anti-Americanism.

When Nixon sent his troops in to break the postal strike in an historic attack on the trade union movement, Walter Reuther was quiet. He took not one single solitary step to organize any mass protest in the labor movement or even the hint of a general strike of labor. Two months later, at the convention, he still has nothing to say about the "violence" of this government strikebreaking and instead launches into an attack on "extremism" and "violence" of black and white militants.

The action of the government in sending in troops to break the postal strike, Congressional imposition of a binding settlement on the railroad shop-craft workers, plans to strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act—these are only the most overt indications that the government is going to come down hard on the auto workers next fall. The struggle will be political as well as economic.

POLITICAL

In the contract discussion, none of the delegates, including the various dissidents and oppositionists of the United National Caucus, raised the question of a political struggle next fall or of the necessity for pointing out how the G.E. union leaders yielded to the pressure of the White House via federal mediator George Counts. None of the opposition pointed out that the biggest obstacle to the auto workers next fall was not so much the limitations of the collective bargaining resolution but Mr. Reuther himself and his policy of compromise with the employers and unwillingness to fight government intervention. This of course flows from his attachment to Democratic Party politics—yet no one took the floor to champion the fight for an American labor party.

Not only did the dissident delegates at the convention steer clear of the political questions, but by and large their opposition reflected more the skilled and older workers rather than the younger, unemployed and production workers. Despite the mass unemployment now hitting auto workers—a weapon in the arsenal of the auto barons—only one delegate, from Canada, made a strong point on the demand for the four day week. Art Fox spent just about all of his floor time arguing for the 50% across the board wage increase and the payment of cost of living bonus on a weekly basis. Basically, Fox was simply putting forward a more militant Reutherism, saying that Reuther wasn't like the old militant Reuther of 1946. But the fundamental question facing the UAW is not to say "five" when Reuther says "four" or to say 25 and out when Reuther says 30 and out. The weakness of the United National Caucus is this "one-upmanship" on the bread and butter questions which basically accepts the ground rules of Reuther's ball game.

PRAGMATISM

Fox did not rise above the pragmatism of all those delegates who began and ended with their own immediate situation, who pleaded for the special interests of the "small parts worker," the "skilled worker," the "production worker," the "older worker," and so forth. Fox had followed this same prag-

matic method in the 1967 convention when, despite the raising of 30 for 40 by a number of delegates, he limited his struggle to the demand for \$1 an hour for the skilled tradesmen when what was required then, as now, was a program to unite all sections of the union in a fight against Reuther.

The "economism" of Fox and these other dissidents leads them to accept the same premises as the Reuther bureaucracy: that each of the sections of the UAW can find a solution on the basis of the capitalist system and the present private ownership of the auto industry. They do not fight for the understanding that it is the capitalist private ownership of industry that lies behind the present crisis in auto.

The auto bosses are faced with a real profit squeeze now revealed more sharply in the recent announcement that Ford and General Motors have joined Chrysler in reporting very sharp falls in net income, profits and car sales in the first quarter of 1970. Employment at GM fell by 9% over the past year. Those who are still working are earning a full 8% less than a year ago. With ever increasing international competition over a shrinking car market, shown now in the new mini-car programs, the U.S. auto industry will try to counteract the fall in profits with attempts at more speed up, more automation and more unemployment. It is under these conditions that the struggle to take the industry out of the hands of the private profiteers, the program of nationalization under workers control must be posed sharply. But Fox does not begin from this crisis of the system which raises the struggle for the workers to run their industries and all of society, but rather from his own narrow "operation" in the UAW.

NATIONALIZATION

If we understand this crisis that inevitably propels the capitalists and their governments to attack the conditions and the organizations of the workers, then we can see that the program of the labor party and for nationalization are not just some nice ideas but are the only alternative for the workers, an alternative which must now be fought for in the UAW as the auto workers prepare to enter the crucible of the class struggle this fall.

As the contract negotiations approach we urge the members and supporters of the United National Caucus as well as all rank and filers who want to fight Reutherism to begin a discussion of the political as well as economic struggle facing the UAW this fall. The Workers League, for its part stands ready to collaborate with all forces in the UAW who are willing to fight against another Reuther sellout contract, for the raising in the UAW of the need for a labor party, and for a campaign against any form of government intervention in the auto strike next fall.

Bulletin

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At convention Philadelphia delegate (above) asks Reuther (at left) for special consideration for parts manufacturing workers.

ted at the convention. The only area where Reuther continued his insistence on "flexibility"—his refusal to be nailed down on wages, where he agreed only to demand a "substantial" wage increase without naming a specific figure. This of course is Reuther's method of preparing a sellout at the bargaining table.

MILITANT

But behind the apparent control by the Reuther machine is an increasingly militant, restive and demanding rank and file which has been smarting for the last three years under a contract in which more than 25¢ an hour in cost of living bonuses had been held back under the 8¢ per year ceiling provision. Add to that the increasing pressure of speed up, the elimination of much of the overtime of previous years which was a cushion against inflation, and the mass layoffs which have hit the young workers the hardest, particularly the black workers with no SUB protection, and you have a picture of why the rank and file auto worker is going to demand that Reuther put up a real fight this fall.

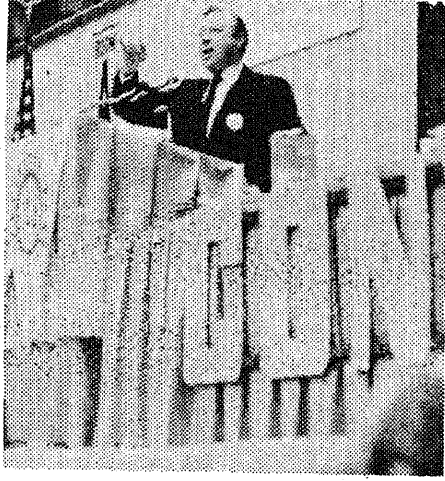
While Reuther may have bought peace with the delegates at the convention, this has put him even more under the gun to produce from the militants back in the shops. As one UAW official put it, "The problem now is getting enough from the companies and then being able to sell it to the members." Now with General Motors as the most likely selection as the strike "target" company, only the most unyielding struggle both against the "target" and the entire capitalist class, especially against the U.S. government which stands behind them, can win any gains for the auto workers next fall.

SHARPENED

The reason for the retreat of the semi-oppositionists like DeCicco and others, who not only raised the question of 30 and out regardless of age, but also of 30 for 40 in 1967, is that the struggle back in the shops has sharpened. The auto industry faces a crisis much sharper than in 1967. The danger to these secondary leaders as well as to Reuther is that the workers who want to fight the unemployment, the speed up and the scourge of inflation will take militant opposition to Reuther seriously as an opening for a real struggle. This has scared all of them. Even a mild opposition from a section of his own bureaucracy was a threat to Reuther which had to be neutralized. Behind the fissures in the bureaucracy stand the ranks. Behind Jock Yablonski, the bureaucrat, was the threat to Tony Boyle of thousands of miners who were looking for an opportunity to fight the employers and Boyle who stood in the way of this fight.

What bothers Reuther, GM, Congress and the White House is the fear that the rank and file militancy will outstrip Mr. Reuther's powers of persuasion next fall, possibly leading to a rejection of the contract proposals. This of course is what happened when the Teamster's leadership was unable to obtain acceptance of a supposedly fat offer which was dumped back in Fitzsimmon's lap by militant wildcat actions in cities across the country.

This tendency which has taken on the character of a real wage offensive es-



BY DAN FRIED

On the surface, the recent UAW convention in Atlantic City gave the impression that United Auto Worker's President Walter Reuther was entirely in the driver's seat. Certainly the well oiled Reuther machine was able not only to restrict discussion time on the fall contract to a few hours and to cut the "no" votes on the contract proposals to little more than a handful.

Certainly many delegates who were raising hell about Reuther's contract proposals in the 1967 Detroit Special Convention, were today simply asking "Brother Reuther" to "remember next fall." While it is true that Reuther faced his first opposition for the office of UAW President in the last 21 years, his opponent, Art Fox, United National Caucus leader, was swamped by Reuther.

Symbolic of the shift of a large section of semi-dissident local leaders was the contribution of Louis DeCicco from Long Beach, California who in 1967 had vigorously berated Reuther for refusing to accept 30 and out (regardless of age) and 30 for 40 as bargaining goals. Last week at Atlantic City, De Cicco was far more of a lamb than the lion he had been three years ago, limiting himself to remarks about how much the old timers really needed 30 and out.

It was clear that by accepting the demand of retirement after thirty years regardless of age at a minimum of \$500 per month, Reuther had co-opted a whole section of the union and leadership representing especially the older workers.

Reuther further took the wind out of the sails of Fox's United National Caucus and other dissidents by openly going on record for the recapture of the "mistakenly" dropped cost of living escalator with no ceiling, and agreeing to give "special attention" to the demands of almost every special interest represen-

Hugo Blanco, imprisoned leader of the Peruvian Front for the Revolutionary Left, expressed serious doubts in a recent interview about the Cuban Castro regime's political support for Peru's military dictatorship.

weekly edited by Joseph Hansen of the US Socialist Workers Party—which has for the past seven years boosted Castro as an 'unconscious Marxist'.

Our open letter to Hansen, below, exposes this revisionist myth.

The interview appeared in 'Intercontinental Press', the



An open letter to Joseph Hansen

THE WEEKLY journal that you edit, 'Intercontinental Press' published on February 23 an interview with three Peruvian political prisoners: Hector Bejar, Ricardo Gadea and Hugo Blanco.

Of Blanco, who has been jailed by the Peruvian government since 1962, you say the following:

'Hugo Blanco, who gained world fame in the first great peasant upsurge in the early 1960s, is the leader of the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International.'

★

Blanco's statement raises serious doubts existing in the Peruvian section of the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat' (of which you are a supporter) as to the course now being followed by the Castro leadership.

What Blanco has to say on the political situation in Peru, and especially on the support given to the Peruvian military dictatorship by Fidel Castro and his regime, is therefore of great importance. Your journal makes the following comment on Castro's turn towards the regime which holds Blanco and his comrades captive:

'The reference to Fidel Castro in one of the questions concerns a speech made by the Cuban leader at the Antonio Guiteras Sugar Mill in Oriente Province, July 14, 1969, in which he said that "If a genuine revolution develops in Peru, regardless of the fact that its leaders are military

men", Cuba would defend that revolution. As to the possibility of such a thing happening in Peru, Fidel Castro stated:

"What could develop out of this process is that it could continue advancing and could triumph completely."

So your journal acknowledges the fact that Castro is sympathetic to the military rulers of Peru. But then you comment:

'While such a stand is not without precedent for the Cubans, corresponding as it does to their diplomatic posture in many areas, it became involved in the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard.' (Emphasis added.)

★

Support for a regime denounced by Blanco as a 'bourgeois, pro-imperialist government' which has 'massacred peasants' cannot be explained away by glib references to Castro's 'diplomatic posture'.

But let Blanco speak for himself:

'... in our country the Fidelistas have the problem that they must fight a government that Fidel is supporting. Under such conditions, how can the Fidelistas lead our revolution? ... It is very sad that Fidel supports the bourgeois, pro-imperialist government because of its policies for developing the country and its anti-imperialist demagoguery.

'This is the government that has massacred peasants; that stands with the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists in conflicts against the Peruvian workers; that is repressing the students for their resistance against the government's project of forcing the university into the role of service centres for the development of the interests of the imperialists. In Peru all the revolutionists are against the government, in-

cluding the Fidelistas, of course.' (Emphasis added.)

But the political leader of the 'Fidelistas' is not. Blanco explains the impact of Castro's betrayal in this way:

'I was once awakened by a peasant woman who was coming from her home quite a distance away, shouting at the top of her voice ... I asked her if there had been an accident. She answered, "No! I heard over the radio that our beloved Fidel has been murdered!"

'Later when our guerrillas were in the jungle, it thrilled us to hear the fervent support of "Radio Habana". I'm sure that the peasant companera was likewise touched in her hut by "Radio Habana".

'Although we must be truthful to the people, it is very painful to think that that companera is hearing what Radio Habana and our Fidel is saying about the Peruvian government. That companera today is in control of the land that she won in the peasant struggle. The bourgeois governments have not dared to retake the peasants' land. This present government is trying to get her to pay for it.

'The peasants are resisting, they defend the land reform they made, they are defending it against the "land reform" of the government.

'Why does Fidel place confidence in a government that is fighting that peasant woman? Why doesn't he trust in the companera who fought for her land and who fed, clothed, and protected her guerrillas who fought in the mountains?

'Does Fidel believe that only guerrillas or bourgeois armies are capable of making a revolution? It will be the masses of Peru that make the revolution, Comrade Fidel; they will use guerrillas as one of their weapons.'

As you are well aware, Blanco is not alone in bitterly condemning the Castro leadership for its counter-revolutionary support of the pro-imperialist Peruvian regime.

Blanco voices the thoughts and doubts of thousands of Latin American militants on the class nature and role of Cuban government.

Blanco's denunciation of Castro has a special significance for the Socialist Workers' Party.

It was largely on the basis of agreement with the European revisionists around the question of Cuba and Castro that the 1963 unification took place. To quote from the resolution adopted at the 'unification congress':

'The victory in Cuba marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the world revolution; for, aside from the Soviet Union, this is the first workers' state established outside the bounds of the Stalinist apparatus....

'In fact an international Castroist current has appeared inside the world Communist [note, not Stalinist] and revolutionary movement, which, as was to be expected, is strongest in the colonial areas....

'Except in Spain and Portugal, Castroism has not had great impact in Europe. Its influence in other metropolitan centres such as the United States and Japan is likewise limited. One of the reasons for this is that the Cuban leadership has not yet reached an understanding of how it can best facilitate revolutionary rebirth in these areas.' (Emphasis added.)

The implications of this statement are obvious. The Castro leadership seek to spread the world revolution, not only to the whole of Latin America, where their influence is strong, but even to the most advanced imperialist centres.

The main obstacle to this is their 'lack of understanding' of how it can be done.

Leaving aside for one moment the support of Castro for the Peruvian junta, and Castro's silence on the massacre of Mexican students in 1968 (both of which prove that the Castro leadership has no intention of spreading the revolution even to Latin America) you must answer this question: Was it a 'lack of understanding' that prevented Castro from siding with the French workers and students during their epic struggles of May-June 1968?

And did Castro's support for the Kremlin-led invasion of Czechoslovakia later the same year prove his independence from 'the Stalinist apparatus'?

The resolution adopted on your re-unification with the Pabloites is shot through with such opportunist adaptations to Castro's brand of left petty-bourgeois nationalism.

For in this same section, the resolution openly calls for unification with (and therefore in reality liquidation into) these so-called 'Castroist currents':

'The appearance of more workers' states through further development of the colonial revolution, particularly in countries like Algeria [a point to which we must return later], would help strengthen and enrich the international current of Castroism, give it longer range perspectives and help bring it closer to understanding the necessity for a new revolutionary Marxist international of mass parties.' (Emphasis added.)

These are craven, shameful lies. The creation, or rather 'appearance' of 'more workers' states' is no longer the task of the Fourth International. 'Castroist currents' are going to do the job. Where indeed is the place of Trotskyists in all this? :

'Fulfilment of this historic possibility depends in part on the role which the Fourth International plays in the colonial revolution and the capacity of sections of the Fourth International to help win fresh victories.' (Emphasis added.)

★

Here we have the total abandonment of the central proposition of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International, which states:

'The world political situation as a whole is characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat.'

The Pabloite re-unification resolution of 1963 took as its starting point the overcoming of this crisis of leadership through the mobilization of forces outside of the Fourth International:

'The infusion of Trotskyist concepts in this new Castroist current will also influence the development of a conscious revolutionary leadership. . . . The development of the Portuguese and Spanish revolutions . . . can also give rise to new tendencies of the Castroist type which would help the Cubans and related currents to achieve a fuller understanding of the process of the world revolution in its entirety.'

★

Clearly, in adhering to this perspective you disagree with the Transitional Programme where it states unequivocally:

'Yes, its [the Fourth International's] ranks are not numerous because it is still young. They are as yet chiefly cadres. But these cadres are pledges for the future. Outside these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name.' (Emphasis added.)

You, Joseph Hansen, clearly disagree.

According to the leaders of the 'Unified Secretariat', there are other such currents on this planet. Their headquarters are said to be in Havana:

'The most probable variant in the next few years is, therefore, the following: the colonial revolution will continue, involving new countries and deepening its social character as more workers' states appear. It will not lead directly to the overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist centres, but it will play a powerful role in building a new world revolutionary leadership as is already made clear from the emergence of Castroist currents.' (Emphasis added.)

★

And having elevated the Castro leadership in this way to the status of genuine proletarian revolutionaries, the next logical step was to link Castro's name with those of Lenin and Trotsky:

'The attack Fidel Castro launched against the Anibal Escalantes of Cuba sounded like a repetition of Leninist and Trotskyist speeches heard in the Soviet Union almost 40 years ago!'

Even this was not considered sufficiently complimentary to Castro. He had to be given the status of a Marxist theoretician, albeit of a special and previously unknown variety:

'As I. F. Stone, the acute radical journalist observed after a trip to Cuba, the revolutionists there are "uncon-

scious" Trotskyists.' (Emphasis added.)

All that was required to make them into fully-blown Trotskyists was:

'With the coming of full consciousness among these and related currents, Trotskyism will become a powerful current.'

So the building of Trotskyism as a 'powerful current' waits on the coming to 'full consciousness' of the Castro leadership!

But, as your resolution assured its readers, even in the meantime, new workers' states would 'appear'.

And for those that doubted the wisdom of such a course, you had this to say:

'Fidel Castro, as a result of his own experience in a living revolution, today stresses the decisive importance of building Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries.'

Did not Stalin also 'stress the decisive importance of building Marxist-Leninist parties' even as he was betraying and destroying them? Since when has a verbal adherence to 'building parties' been the hallmark of a revolutionary?

★

As a hardened empiricist, you no doubt thought this statement of Castro's was sufficient. Blanco tells us a different story.

In the same issue of 'International Socialist Review' (Fall 1963) there is an article on the re-unification congress written by yourself and Farrell Dobbs.

Significantly you make Cuba a central theme in your analysis of why the unification between the SWP and the Pabloites was justified. Firstly you claimed:

'For some years the majority of both sides had felt that the political and organizational differences which appeared in 1953 and which precipitated a split the following year had been largely superseded by events.' (Emphasis added.)

You then admitted that at the 1963 congress:

'Both sides stated that they had not changed their views about the past dispute, but all of them agreed on the advisability of deferring attempts at historic assessments and of putting the unsettled differences aside for consideration at a later date. . . .' (Emphasis added.)

★

Agreement on 'concrete questions', as the pragmatist Shachtman used to say in his fight against Trotsky, was to become the basis for this new unity: The 'concrete question in this case was Cuba:

'The three main areas of agreement are outlined as follows. . . . Secondly, the analogous analyses made by the Fourth International of the new workers' states which have appeared since Trotsky's death are included. Prominent in this section is the characterization of Cuba as a workers' state.' (Emphasis added.)

Then you underlined this with the statement:

'To the majority of Trotskyists throughout the world it became increasingly self-evident that the continued division of the Fourth International was anachronistic [in other words, it was not a principled split in 1953, but something that the passage of time could heal] and that

vigorous efforts must be made to heal the split so that united forces could be brought to bear in the promising situations developing in all directions.

'The victory of the Cuban Revolution and the fact that both sides, through parallel analyses, reached virtually identical conclusions concerning its meaning powerfully reinforced the trend towards re-unification.' (Emphasis added.)

★

You then launched into a long and bitter attack in this article on the Socialist Labour League and in particular its National Secretary Gerry Healy, for refusing to rush into this 'reunification' without a carefully prepared and if necessary, drawn-out discussion:

'Healy is of the opinion that the reunification is itself a "betrayal". The reasons he advances for this view are that reunification must be preceded by a full accounting of the differences of 1953-1954, an as-



Hugo Blanco voices the thoughts and doubts of thousands of Latin American militants on the class nature and role of the Cuban

assessment or responsibility, and corresponding acknowledgements of guilt.

'Any reunification without these prerequisites, Healy contends, can only prove ephemeral.'

Your reference to 'acknowledgements of guilt' is, of course, a complete distortion of our position. We insisted then—as we do now—that the issues dividing the movement were so profound that any regroupment of forces undertaken without the most exhaustive clarification possible, could only lead to new crises and setbacks. The events in Ceylon (in 1964) and Algeria (in 1965) proved our stand to be the correct one.

You thought otherwise. Just like the pragmatists who headed the petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers' Party in 1939-1940, you stated:

'In the Socialist Workers' Party, for instance, even a state capitalist grouping has lived for years without undue friction. Why should not common political positions on the key issues of the day prove to be powerful enough to cement the two sides of the Fourth International despite differences over the past?' (Emphasis added.)

★

Here you revealed yourself as the most crude of pragmatists. Theory, method, history, principles—an examination of

these questions is postponed to some vague date in the future. What counted for you was agreement on the 'key issues of the day'.

Here you take your stand against everything that Trotsky fought for in the last political battle of his life.

This is what he wrote then against the petty-bourgeois opposition and its disdain for Marxist theory and method:

'Burnham began some time ago by constructing purely empirically, on the basis of his immediate impressions, a non-proletarian and non-bourgeois state, liquidating in passing the Marxist theory of the state as the organ of class rule. Shachtman unexpectedly took an evasive position: "The question, you see, is subject of further consideration"; moreover, the sociological definition of the USSR does not possess any direct and immediate significance for our "political tasks" in which Shachtman agrees completely with Burnham . . .

'Burnham rejects the dialectic.

all! The Fourth International is not to be the party of world socialist revolution, but a 'catalyst', 'helping' in the construction of Castroite leaderships and their 'allied currents'.

Your agreement with the European Pabloites was an agreement to liquidate Trotskyism!

Cuba, despite your claims to its being the 'acid test' of revolutionaries, was, in fact, only the vehicle, or, if you like, the 'catalyst', for this unprincipled merger.

Read again what you wrote then on the prospects for your 'catalytic' international:

. . . the greatest hopes and expectations attach to Algeria [where Pablo had a post in Ben Bella's government] . . . Already agriculture, Algeria's main industry, has been nationalized in effect [how effectively we shall see when we return later to your tendency's estimation of the present situation in that country] and its operation placed under Workers' Council and Workers' Management Committees . . . Algiers is coming to be regarded as the Havana of the African continent and the Arab world.

. . . The struggle against neo-colonialism and against imperialism is far from won in Algeria. A polarization of forces has occurred, with the left wing rallying around Ben Bella against the neo-colonialists. The Trotskyists are very active in this struggle. Trotskyism, in general, has great prestige among broad circles of the Algerian vanguard . . . (Emphasis added.)

And with even less foresight, you added:

'In Asia, at the moment, the Trotskyists are strongest in Ceylon, where they head the labour movement and hold seats in parliament.'

★

These so-called 'Trotskyists', as you know, were within a matter of months to go over, almost to a man, to coalition politics with the capitalist government of Mrs Bandaranaike.

The 'seats in parliament' may have impressed you. For the opportunists in Ceylon, they became a stepping stone to portfolios in an anti-working-class, pro-imperialist government.

You also took up the theme of the congress resolution that Castro was an 'unconscious Trotskyist':

'The Cuban Revolution was marked by the predominance of action over conscious revolutionary theory. . . .'

This 'unconscious' leadership began however to correct itself—unconsciously!:

. . . but in its course, as was inevitable, consciousness began asserting its rights and the Cubans themselves turned increasingly to the revolutionary classics in search of the meaning of what they had accomplished. This road leads in the final analysis to Trotskyism.' (Emphasis added.)

So the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are no longer guides to action. They help to explain the meaning of the action after it has been successfully accomplished.

This is, of course, the complete liquidation of theory, which in your hands is perverted into an abstract commentary on what has already happened. It helps you to explain 'the facts'.

The evolution of the Castro leadership served as a convenient peg on which to hang this pragmatic distortion of Marxism.

It was founded not on principles, but tied to 'common political positions on the key issues of the day'.

You said so in your 1963 article. What have you to say now, in the light of Blanco's attack on the leadership which you claimed then to be 'unconsciously Trotskyist'?

Taking your cue from the liquidationist line of the Congress reunification resolution, you wrote the following on the role of Trotskyists in Latin America:

'It is obvious that the unification of the major forces of world Trotskyism can help play a catalytic role in the formation of new leaderships in Latin America capable of following judiciously the example which Cuba set in opening the socialist revolution in the western hemisphere.' (Emphasis added.)

So Trotsky was wrong after

revolutionary Cuba . . .

The struggle of Cuba's leaders against bureaucracy, from the attack on Anibal Escalante to the present, demonstrates the contemporary importance of Trotsky's theory of the petty-bourgeois degeneration of the Stalinist parties.

In fact, there is no better memorial to the twenty-fifth anniversary of Trotsky's death than the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy undertaken jointly with Lenin over 40 years ago is today being waged in earnest in revolutionary Cuba.' (Emphasis added.)

This is how your journal honoured the memory of the murdered Trotsky, by equating his struggle with Castro's bureaucratic manoeuvrings against rival factions in his own party.

And in the winter, 1966, number of the same journal (an issue which carried an article by Guevara on 'Socialism and Man') you wrote:

'Revolutionary Marxists everywhere in the world can feel very proud of the way the Cuban revolutionists spoke up despite the dangers in their exposed position in the front-line trenches facing American imperialism.

'And once again we were offered fresh evidence of the importance of Castroism as one of the manifestations of the rise of a new revolutionary generation, a new revolutionary leadership on a worldwide scale that points in the most unmistakable way to the resurgence of revolutionary socialism as embodied in the program of Lenin and Trotsky.' (Emphasis added.)

Castro's reply to this unsolicited eulogy was not long in coming.

★

You are no doubt familiar with his speech to the closing session of the Tricontinental Conference, held in Havana the following year.

Let us refresh your memory by quoting from some of the more choice sections of this diatribe by your 'unconscious Trotskyist', fighting in the anti-bureaucratic traditions of Lenin and Trotsky:

'What the Fourth International thus committed [by pursuing policies of the Transitional Programme] was a true crime against the revolutionary movement to isolate it from the masses by corrupting it with the stupidities, the dishonour and the repugnant and nauseating thing that is Trotskyism today within the field of politics . . .

'If Trotskyism, at a certain stage represented an erroneous position, but a position within the field of ideas, in later years it became a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction.' (Emphasis added.)

Castro's speech can hardly be said to follow in the anti-bureaucratic tradition of Lenin and Trotsky!

Its political—and even textual—inspiration can be traced to an entirely different source. Stalin used identical formulations to brand as 'imperialist agents' those being butchered in the purges of the 1930s.

The series by Fred Mueller, "Stalinism and Trotskyism in the United States" will be resumed in the next issue of the Bulletin.

This you know.

Yet Castro's truly vicious attack on Trotskyism was soon brushed aside.

If not exactly a lapse back into his early 'unconscious Trotskyism', it was considered, you suggested, 'at best a mistaken identification of Trotskyism with the bizarre sect of J. Posadas, and at worst nothing but a belated echo of old Stalinist slanders . . . ('ISR', November-December 1967).

You argued it was 'necessary to wait and see what the



Castro, in spite of his vicious attack on Trotskyism at the Tricontinental Conference, is still excused by Hansen for his hostility to revolutionary theory.

true outcome of the Tricontinental Conference might be. The course followed by the Cubans quickly disclosed that the revolutionary side of that conference was the most important . . .

In other words, Castro's anti-Trotskyism was only skin-deep, at worst a 'belated echo' of Stalinist slanders.

Castro's use of them did not deter you from claiming in the same article that 'they [the Castro leadership] will give a hearing to and collaborate with any revolutionary current.' (Emphasis added.)

Even while it calls you 'a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction', Comrade Hansen?

And how did you repay Castro for his attacks on Trotskyism?

Why, you published his 'Speech to OLAS Conference' [1967] in full in the same issue of your journal! Surely theoretical and principled capitulation can go no further.

★

You even excused Castro for his 'seeming bias against revolutionary theory' with the lame argument that it derived 'in reality from a specific rejection of Stalinism, social-democratic and all other varieties of reformist ideology'. (Emphasis added.)

And you not only excused, but justified this by adding:

'This attitude, a necessary stage in preparing the way for the organization of genuinely revolutionary mass parties in Latin America and for a rebirth of revolutionary theory, is now coming to a close. The decisive break with the right-wing CP leaderships [by the Castroites] is a certain sign of this.' (Emphasis added.)

So Castro broke from Stalinism and social-democracy—only to land in the camp of the Peruvian military dictators! This was his 'neces-

sary' evolution—as a petty-bourgeois nationalist.

The next issue of 'ISR' (January-February, 1968) carried the report made by yourself to the October 1967 SWP National Convention.

In this you not only presented Castroism as a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism, but you extended this now to the parties of North Vietnam and North Korea! :

'One of the most encouraging developments in the recent period . . . has been the growing realization among sectors of the vanguard that have

consciousness of its leadership . . .' (Emphasis added.)

And how did this 'high level' of anti-Stalinist consciousness express itself at the 1966 Tricontinental? By Stalinist-style attacks on Trotskyism!

Yet you went on to state: 'We very early came to the conclusion, it will be recalled that the Cuban leadership represented something [!] new.

'It was not shaped in the school of Stalinism. Its political consciousness had deepened in the very process of revolution and it had independently developed revolutionary Marxist conclusions out of the practical experience gained in making a revolution.' (Emphasis added.)

★

In this same speech, you returned to the problem of how Castro's anti-Trotskyism could be reconciled with such a development:

'Even Castro's attack on "Trotskyism" [by putting Trotskyism in quotes you obviously were suggesting that Castro was not attacking the genuine article] at the Tricontinental Conference in January, 1967, [it was in fact 1966] which we of course answered, did not cause us, out of anger or resentment, to lose sight of the reality and turn away.

' . . . we realized that if the resolutions adopted at that conference were actually applied it could not but facilitate the exposure of the pseudo-revolutionaries and help speed up the process of building a revolutionary leadership on a continental scale.' (Emphasis added.)

Castro is now lined up with the butchers of the Peruvian peasantry, the gaolers of Hugo Blanco and his comrades.

What have you to say now on this perspective, Comrade Hansen?

Several important clues as to the state of affairs in the Pabloite camp can be gathered from the resolution printed in your 'Intercontinental Press' for March 16, 'The Algerian Revolution from 1962 to 1969', passed by the Executive Committee of your 'Unified Secretariat'.

Several points that the resolution makes in Algeria can be applied with equal force to Cuba, a fact that has no doubt been noted in some quarters:

' . . . although the International correctly applied the designation of workers' and peasants' government to the Ben Bella regime, it did not

sufficiently stress the imperious necessity of establishing independent organs of political power by the urban and rural proletariat.

'Such bodies, moreover, would have been the best instruments for a general mobilization of the masses and the sole means for making the process of permanent revolution irreversible.' (Emphasis added.)

If in Algeria, why then not in Cuba? After A comes B, Comrade Hansen.

But your resolution leaves you a loophole:

'The Fourth International did not correctly estimate the narrowness of the social base on which the Ben Bella team rested and therefore failed to see the major difference between the situation in Algeria and the situation in Algeria to the establishment of a workers' state in Cuba less than two years after the Castroist team took power.'

So the call for workers' organs of power only applies where the 'team' is 'narrowly based', as in Algeria.

Nevertheless, the admission in the resolution that your tendency substituted a petty-bourgeois nationalist group for the revolutionary party, and a bourgeois army for the organs of workers and poor peasants rule, involves you in all sorts of contradictions.

★

You scoffed at 'The Newsletter' when it warned, six years ago, that

'Castro is proposing first of all to turn his back on the struggling masses of Latin America if the United States will guarantee the security of his regime.'

You replied: 'That's not Castroism in Cuba or anywhere else in Latin America; it's pure Healyism in distant London.' ('ISR', winter 1965.)

Hugo Blanco for one thinks differently, Mr Hansen!

Castro is with the pro-US Peruvian regime just as he stands with the butchers of Mexican students. And, as you also know, Castro has always maintained the best of diplomatic and economic relations with the Fascist Franco regime in Spain.

If this is not 'turning his back on the struggling masses of Latin America' (and, after his support for de Gaulle during May-June 1968, of Europe), what is?

Hugo Blanco has begun to work out his position on these absolutely vital questions.

Will you?

—new york—

lenin commemorative meeting
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY
Speaker--Tim Wohlforth,
Nat'l Secretary, Workers League
Films--'Czar to Lenin',
'Workers Press'

FRI.,
MAY 8th
8 pm

Harkness Theater
W. 114th St. Between
Broadway & Amsterdam

CONTRIBUTION \$ 1.50

District 65 Leaders Prepare Sellout of NYU Strike



District 65 strikers picket NYU. Strike was settled when the union was recognized, but wage demands were sold out.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
On Thursday, April 23, the Main Building of N.Y.U.'s Washington Square complex was the scene of mass picketing by some 2,000 members of District 65 unions in support of striking NYU workers.

Such chants as "On Strike—Shut it Down!" showed the militancy and potential solidarity of the rank and file in this fight.

The leadership of District 65 has made no attempt to solidly organize this strike and make sure that every worker knows what is at stake and why he should support the action. At this late date, militants and organizers are still discussing the best way to get these workers

to support the action and what tactics to employ when they enter an area where scabs are at work and supervisors are on the prowl. The District 65 leadership is solely responsible for this state of confusion and lack of organization.

This reporter talked to maintenance personnel who are members of 32B and found that they had been told nothing of the issues in the strike by their leadership. Therefore porters remained at their

posts and elevators continued to be run by operators who are also members of 32B.

ARBITRATION

The District 65 leadership is looking for a way to end a strike they do not want. They have indicated to NYU that if union elections covering all non-faculty staff are held, and certain other demands are met, they will urge a return to work. They have gone so far as to ask NYU to agree to arbitration on contract questions after a return to work in order to preclude another walkout.

What is important here is that the bureaucracy has no intention of keeping the strike going until NYU agrees to meet all the demands of the ranks, particularly wage demands. They are busy trying to get the ranks to go back to work without a decent wage increase and to keep them there once they are back.

The bureaucracy and NYU are extremely frightened by this strike. This is the reason why the District 65 leadership is dragging its feet and NYU absolutely refuses to conduct any kind of meaningful negotiations. This action is setting a tremendous precedent for organizing on campuses throughout the country. Already workers on campuses all over the East have approached NYU workers and expressed a strong desire to organize on their own campuses.

SDS

All these points were brought up by militants in an official meeting held in District 65 headquarters on Friday, April 24. The role of tendencies such as PL-SDS in this struggle became clear. Spokesmen got up and said that the workers couldn't depend on other unions such as the Teamsters (who support the strike) to help them win their strike. What had to be done was to escalate student tactics such as blocking doors and confronting police and calling them "pigs" and getting arrested.

SDS completely avoids confronting the District 65 leadership. Instead it tries to turn the struggle into a student power adventure. This kind of perspective is extremely dangerous and can only lead to the complete isolation, splintering and defeat of the struggle.

MILITANTS

Most militants vehemently disagreed with these tactics. They demanded that the leadership call on student organizations to support the strike by refusing to attend classes and go to all other unions on campus and enlist their support.

These militants must fight to rally the rank and file around this perspective. They must fight not only for union recognition but for the granting of all demands as the only basis for return to work. The ranks must call on the District 65 leadership to take this fight into the city labor movement to bring NYU to terms.

isolated incident but is increasingly occurring throughout the university. The attack on the cafeteria worker must be seen in the context of the attacks on all the campus workers who in many departments are facing speedup or job losses such as in maintenance. This is part of the whole series of cutbacks in all departments of the universities. The only way forward is through the united struggle of the unions on the campus. Only in this context is student support meaningful.

A petition must be circulated immediately among all Columbia workers in 1199 demanding that the union take action and to pose the necessity of a joint strike of 1199 and 241 if the worker is not reinstated immediately.

Ranks Vote for July Contract Fight in 1199 Election



Fred Mazelis

BY AN 1199 MEMBER
NEW YORK—The retreat of the 1199 leadership at Columbia must be seen as part of the leadership's retreat all over the city, as part of the refusal to mobilize the ranks of hospital workers for a fight this July. These are the issues that the Rank and File Committee brought to workers in the election campaign, to pose the need to go forward in building a new leadership in 1199.

The recent union election shows the tremendous potential for fighting for this alternative

leadership. The Rank and File Committee candidate Fred Mazelis polled 700 votes while the other three candidates received about 2,000 votes each.

The votes for Fred Mazelis were conscious votes by the ranks after the Rank and File Committee waged a campaign in many hospitals throughout the city to expose the betrayals of the leadership and to pose a real fight in the July contract against inflation and job cuts.

The Rank and File Committee called for an end to the no-strike agreement which is now a direct threat to every worker. The union elections showed that the ranks are prepared to fight back and the Rank and File Committee intends to intensify the fight to prepare the ranks for a fight for the new contract.

Columbia Workers Back Steward's Return

BY LOCAL 241 AND 1199 MEMBERS
NEW YORK—Rank and file members of 1199 at Columbia University with the support of Local 241 members (TWU) and students have been picketing the Johnson Hall cafeteria since Monday April 20th. The boycott was called in support of James Colbert, shop steward in 1199, who was harrassed into quitting two weeks ago.

The pickets are demanding that Mr. Colbert be reinstated to his job. The rest of the workers in the cafeteria support Mr. Colbert and have said that if the union does not take any action they may call a work slowdown or a "sick out."

The 1199 leadership is openly opposing the boycott and has proposed nothing to defend Mr. Colbert. Lorenzo Santiago, the union organizer, circulated a statement diavowing any support to the boycott. This same statement was later placed as an ad in the Columbia Spectator by James MacDonald, who happens to be General Manager of Residence Halls Food Services! Santiago claims to speak for the workers but the ad clearly shows that he only speaks for the bosses.

agreement between the union bureaucracy and the bosses to hold down any struggle by the rank and file when they are under attack. The union justifies this policy by the no-strike clause in the contract. This clause, which was strengthened to the benefit of the bosses when the contract was signed in 1968, was never presented to the workers at Columbia when their contract was ratified. In the past the union leadership has claimed that this clause was meaningless but now it is clear how they are using this as a weapon against the workers.

The refusal of the union to defend the Columbia worker follows on the heels of their refusal to support a mass work stoppage at Brooklyn Jewish Hospital where a union statement was also distributed to defend the five Gouverneur workers who were fired. At Gouverneur the union used the isolation of the fired workers from the ranks to justify their action.

PL

The ability of the 1199 leadership to avoid a struggle at Columbia has been furthered by the character of the action itself and the role of the Progressive Labor supported SDS. The boycott itself was pushed by SDS in order to bypass the union and use the attack on the Columbia workers to launch a student power action. There was no attempt made originally to call on the union to take action to defend the worker. The union leadership as well as the employers have used the boycott to isolate the struggle and to defeat it.

PL begins from the perspective of building their "campus worker-student alliance" and not from a fight within the union. Their strategy for winning the struggle is merely to win student support while evading the confrontation with the union leadership. At chapter meetings at Columbia, the PL supporters in the union have never said a word or fought for an alternative program in the union. What PL is saying is that the workers do not need the unions to defend their jobs and conditions, that it is the support of the students that can win.

PETITION

The situation at Columbia is not an

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NOVACK EMBRACES SCEPTICISM, PRAGMATISM

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Lenin's 100th birthday has come and gone, receiving only the most minimal notice from the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. No commemorative meetings were held and literary comment in both the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* was restricted almost exclusively to reprints from Lenin and Trotsky.

The task posed by Lenin's birthday is not, as the Kremlin would have it, a pompous ceremonial occasion but rather a time for an evaluation of Lenin's theoretical contributions and their relevance to the struggle of the working class today. In lieu of anything specifically written on the relation of Lenin to the struggle today we must take George Novack's article "The Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them" in the May ISR as a representative expression of the SWP's evaluation of Lenin. It is after all billed as "an assessment of the role of empiricism and of conscious planning in revolutions by a leading Marxist philosopher." And Lenin, as Novack notes in his own way, had quite a bit to say about "conscious planning in revolutions" as well as on philosophy (which Novack does

not note).

PRAGMATISM

"Revolutionary policy" Novack tells us, "has to do with the practical aspects of carrying forward the class struggle. It seeks the most effective ways and means of speeding up the processes of revolutionary change and conducting them to a victorious conclusion on a national - and world-historical scale." Thus Novack answers "empiricism" with—pragmatism, with the conception that Marxism is a matter of good old American know how, practical experience and discovering the most effective "ways and means" of getting the job done.

This may seem too harsh a judgment to make of a man listed as "a leading Marxist philosopher" and who Trotsky personally instructed in 1937 to: "take up the struggle against Eastman's distortion and repudiation of dialectical materialism. There is nothing more important than this. Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought." Let us proceed a little further into the article to see.

"Few on either side of the contending class camps," our philosopher continues, "would dispute the judgment that Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, Castro and Guevara—to name only three of the top teams—exercised considerable influence upon the thought and action of their time and have all shaped the destiny of modern society. These men were preeminent practitioners of the science of revolution, proletarian-style." We are afraid we will have to risk placing ourselves among the few who dispute this judgment of the three top teams.

By placing Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky together with Castro and Guevara as practitioners of the "science of revolution, proletarian-style," Novack reveals his completely bankrupt pragmatic method. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky stood on the common class grounds of Marxist theory and organization. They began with the contradictions of capitalism and the role of the working class led by its own independent class party in overthrowing

capitalism and establishing its own class rule. Castro and Guevara began with the movement of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, denied that they were in any way guided by Marxist theory or program in the course of the struggle which led them to power and never at any time established the rule of the working class.

It was Castro who stated that he was a natural Marxist who came to "Marxism-Leninism" only after he came to power. And it is clear that the "Marxism-Leninism" he came to was Stalinist ideology which he utilized only insofar as it is helpful against any independent struggle of the working class in Cuba or anywhere else.

As far as Guevara is concerned, this "preeminent practitioner" went to Bolivia where he sought to carry forward a guerrilla struggle of peasants separated from and opposed to the struggle of the working class of Bolivia for socialism under a Marxist party. Guevara's demise was a reflection of the bankruptcy of his policy and this, our pragmatic philosopher is able to note. What he attempts to do is attribute it to the intelligence of Washington and its determination not to allow another Cuba. This fact must now be taken into account by the revolutionary vanguard "in working out its strategy and tactics."

What Novack cannot explain with his pragmatism is why Guevara was unable ahead of time to "take this into account" and more important to explain the link between the "success" of Castro and the failure of Guevara. The truth is that the Cuban revolution was qualitatively as much of a failure as Guevara's Bolivian adventure in that it did not and could not succeed in bringing the working class to power and thus in advancing the international struggle of the working class to destroy capitalism everywhere. To see in the superficial workability of Cuba the underlying class failure requires going beyond a conception of Marxism as a practical search for the ways and means of doing a job.

MENSHEVISM

"Before the October 1917 revolution the Mensheviks used to deride the Bolsheviks as mere 'technicians of revolution' because their leadership insisted that the cadres persistently prepare for a decisive confrontation with the regime," Novack notes. We would now expect from a leading Marxist philosopher a sharp attack on this slander of the Mensheviks that all Bolshevism is, is some "techniques". But instead Novack states: "However, when that showdown came, Lenin's school of Bolshevism demonstrated that constant study, acquisition of skills and organizational preadaptation to the demands of revolutionary struggle pay off." The Mensheviks claim that the Leninists were mere technicians and Novack answers "maybe, but it pays off!"

It was Lenin's pamphlet "What Is To Be Done?" which has come under the harshest criticisms over the years from Mensheviks and others for its supposed preoccupation with organizational questions. But it is precisely in this book that Lenin states: "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity." This appears in a section where he quotes Engels to the effect that there "are not two forms of the great struggle of Social-Democracy (political and economic), as is the fashion among us, but three, placing the theoretical struggle on a par with the first two."

For Novack Marxism is a matter of study, the learning of skills and "organizational preadaptation" (a concept which he dares not elaborate but which has the formaldehyde odor of Lamarckian biology). And as the "top team" of Castro and Guevara illustrate, one can dispense with the study and pick up the skills as one goes along. For Lenin it was a matter not of simple study but of theoretical struggle which is placed on the same level of importance as the political and economic struggle. It was this struggle which produced the practical results which have so impressed Novack.

Working his way back through history



George Novack

from the 1917 "pay off" he concludes that prior to 1917: "The Communist Manifesto and further writings of the Marxists were still only working hypotheses which served to guide the most advanced elements of the proletarian cause but had yet to be realized." However the October revolution converted these "well-founded speculations" into "verified laws". Since then no "rival theories" have been able to "match Marxism in performance" having passed through the "decisive tests of experience and practice." Marxism seems to come out even ahead of Super Shell and Esso Extra!

LENIN

But this is nothing more than the pragmatic and positivist garbage which Lenin fought against so strongly not only in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* but throughout his entire life. For Novack Marxism prior to 1917 was only a "working hypotheses" and "speculation" but Lenin wrote in 1913: "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reactions, or defense of bourgeois oppression."

It was precisely because Lenin understood that Marxism was true, that it was a correct expression of the actual laws of development of society, that he was able to develop through Marxist theory a consciousness within the Bolshevik party and the Russian working class which found its highest expression in the October Revolution. Those who held Marxism to be a speculation to be verified one way or another in a later period abandoned the struggle and sat on the sidelines to judge which way it would work out.

Novack embraces the method of the ruling class which is also willing to say that Bolshevism "pays off" in the sense that it was able to create a different kind of state in October 1917. But, the bourgeois apologists continue, Stalinism emerged. Therefore, they are "forced" to conclude, Leninism pays off in the creation of Stalinism. Trotskyism's claim that the degeneration was not at all the necessary outgrowth of Leninism, but quite the opposite, then becomes "speculative". An interesting hypothesis, perhaps, but not proven yet.

Novack is of course quite aware of the limitations of his pragmatic method but he seeks to ascribe these limitations to Marxism. Speaking of May-June 1968 in France he writes:

"The masses act and react in response to weighty objective conditions produced by the development and crises of the capitalist-colonialist system which are beyond the control of any party or leadership. A sensitive and alert vanguard can sometimes perceive premonitory signs of changes in the moods and movements of the masses and adjust to them in time. But the reflexes of the masses are in most cases ungovernable and unpredictable because they are not planned or anticipated by those who initiate or participate in them. The general strike of the French workers, which took everyone by surprise in May-June 1968, is a fresh case in point." Of course if we understand "the convulsive nature of our epoch" we can perhaps "anticipate" or even "prepare for" these events.

This is simply an admission that for all Novack's talk of science when confronted with the "facts" of the class struggle in reality all he can see is "ungovernable" and "unpredictable" movement. This is but another reflection of the pragmatic



Thousands of workers march during October Revolution. Novack denies the central role of Marxist theory in the 1917 Revolution.

Racists Provoke Violence on Cornell Campus

BY ED SMITH

ITHACA, N.Y.—On the night of April 1st, the Africana Center, home of the Cornell University black studies department, was destroyed by suspected arson.

The fire climaxed a long history of intimidation and violence directed against Cornell black students.

The arsonists remain unknown. But whoever they may be, the destruction of the Africana center is clearly one of the first fruits of the policy of the Nixon Administration, of dividing and smashing the working class by racism in order to pay for the crisis now ripping their capitalist system apart.

But just as important was the response to this outrage shown by the radical student leadership. None of these radicals could really combat this attack on the black students—not one!

The first to answer the attack were the black students themselves. On Monday April 6, following the return from spring recess, about a hundred black students marched to the university-owned Campus Store and removed several thousand dollars' worth of goods, to protest

the University's lack of response to the destruction of the Center. A list of five demands was presented to the university administration demanding reconstruction of the Center, adequate protection and transportation on campus for black students, and university funding for the rebuilding of a community center in downtown Ithaca that had been destroyed by fire.

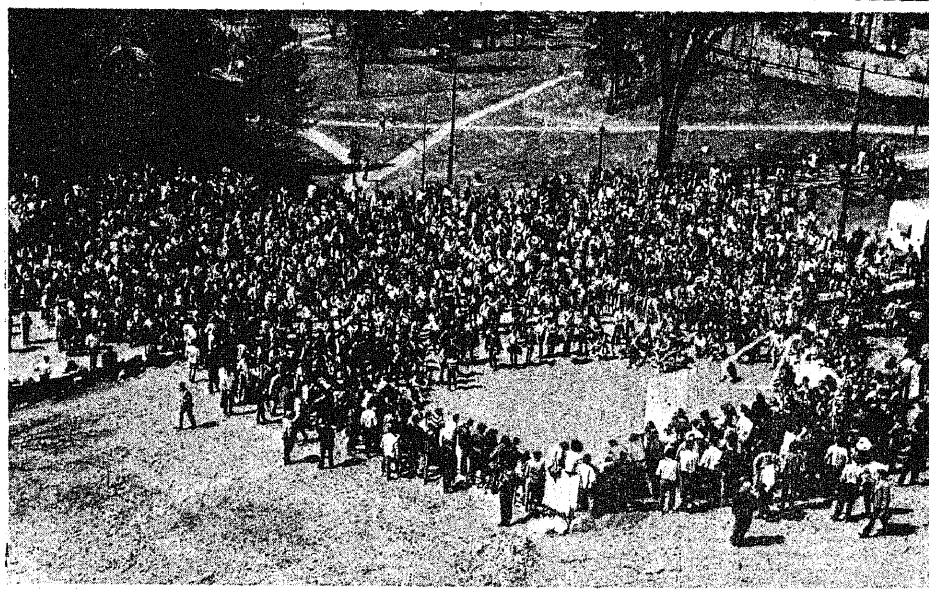
University President Dale Corson and the administration delayed answering the demands. By Wednesday night the black students reacted to Corson's equivocation. Many participated in a mass burning of the goods taken from the Campus Store. Window smashing of dorms and class buildings throughout the campus followed.

INJUNCTION

The University finally decided to act. Hours after the black students' protest it obtained a temporary injunction against "disruption," "violence," and "incitement" to do these things—all the preceding to be defined by the Administration! The injunction, served on several individuals, eight black and radical organizations, and a hundred "John Does" whom the University can designate as and when it pleases, may well be made permanent after its expiration on May 5th. This could very well be used by the Cornell Administration as a legal weapon to smash all opposition to ruling class policies on the campus.

The leadership of the Black Liberation Front was prevented by its middle class nationalist ideology from uniting with white students and the working class and attacking the real force behind the destruction of the Africana center—the university administration and its capitalist backers.

The lesson we must draw from the Cornell experience is that the traditional student leadership is dead, finished, bankrupt. It is absolutely incapable of taking



Cornell President Corson speaks at a rally on demands of black students.

the struggle forward. The black nationalists and the yippie "action freaks" proved impotent because they viewed the struggles as completely divorced from the class battles taking place in America and the world today.

It is extremely significant that as the capitalist crisis deepens, the capacity of

all the middle class groups to fight back ebbs away. In the whole Cornell crisis only the Workers League fought to bring out the political source and nature of the attacks on the black students, of the fact that the only university response to this vicious right wing attack was a crack-down on the student left.

WORKERS LEAGUE FORMS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE IN SAN DIEGO

BY JAMES JUNN

SAN DIEGO—April 15th signalled the opening of a new front of struggle for the Workers League.

The successful participation of the recently formed Organizing Committee of the Workers League here in the April 15th antiwar march under the banner "American Labor Party NOW" is an intervention of great significance.

The Workers League in San Diego is the only group capable of tearing from around the throat of the working class the stranglehold grip of the union bureaucrats and their millionaire benefactors, and offering a serious challenge to petty-bourgeois domination of radical activity in Southern California.

Underneath the surface of conservatism lurks the reality of the class forces at work here. The large Black ghetto, the current strike of bus drivers, the organization of a teachers' union, and the antiwar march itself must be understood in terms of the deepening capitalist crisis that has its effect everywhere, "even" in San Diego.

The intervention in the April 15th march and the continuing work is decisive in several ways. The agitation for the labor party poses to the working class, not only the meaning of the Vietnam war for the class, but further the question of power. These questions are being addressed to the working class in San Diego for the first time.

Our participation threw the YSA into a crisis. Their only response to our agitation was to ask if we didn't feel ridiculous calling for a labor party in an antiwar march!

We are preparing to penetrate one of the most solid fortresses of capital. But cracks in the structure are appearing, and only the Workers League can widen them. We represent the only real alternative for the working class and youth of San Diego and a continuing challenge to the entire range of reformist, sellout politics.

Penn State Students Plan Rally

BY FRANK CASDEN

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—In the last two weeks hundreds of troopers have been brought to the Penn State campus, 39 students have been arrested and will probably be expelled from school. A permanent injunction has been imposed to sharply curtail any future political activities and the president of the school, Dr. Walker, has been given dictatorial powers by the Board of Trustees.

This situation has been precipitated by an SDS-led occupation of the Administration building following the April 15 Moratorium day march.

It is important to understand that this occupation itself was the result of a political retreat from the struggle against the Vietnam war. The Administration utilized the adventure to call in the cops and make preparation for stopping all

political activity on the campus in the future.

This is critical for the University as the state officials are now calling for curtailment of education funds.

The attacks on students, the slashing of funds for the university and the crack down on political freedom, are part of the whole offensive being launched by the capitalist class against the working class. From the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, to the use of troops against the postal workers, to the frame-up of the Black Panthers. It must be answered with a political fight against the government on a class program.

The Workers League is calling for a march on Harrisburg next Saturday to counterattack the attempt by Dr. Walker to isolate the students, suppress political activity and pave the way for cuts in the education budget.

Madison YSA Answers Terrorism with Pacifism

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS.—The April 18th peace march here was the occasion for a prolonged student confrontation with the police. The confrontation was staged by a group calling itself the Revolutionary Contingent.

Breaking away from the main body of the demonstration at a rally at the Capitol building, the Revolutionary Contingent, numbering 200 to 500, inflicted a total of \$100,000 of damage on IBM, Army Math Research Center, University police, a public school administration building, and area merchants. After being scattered by the police, the contingent retreated to the main student residential area where they erected barricades. The police advanced over the barricades, through a shower of rocks and bottles, to clean up the area with tear gas and clubs. Nineteen were arrested.

The Revolutionary Contingent had been organized by the Mother Jones Revolutionary League, a recent local outgrowth of SDS. Its politics embody a curious combination of Stalinism and middle class radicalism, complete with "youth culture." The MJRL's program starts ex-

PLICITLY from the premise that the principal contradiction in the world today is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations. Since they consider the national rather than the class struggle primary, the MJRL cannot hope to transcend the reformism against which its adventurist tactics are a reaction.

JUSTIFIED

The Revolutionary Contingent's principal demand, the demand with which they justified their escapade, was "Free Bobby Seale." The political program of the Revolutionary Contingent was thus to tail after the Panthers' popular front against repression, never raising a working class program which alone can serve as a basis for a fight against repression.

The YSA reacted to the adventure with a flurry of public statements against terrorism. The revolutionary opposition of the Workers League to middle class adventurism is the complete opposite of the pacifist whining of the YSA. The YSA's perspective, counterposed to that of the MJRL, is summarized in an article in the Daily Cardinal, student newspaper: "The best way to end the war and weaken the ruling class is to create a

mass consciousness against the war. Not necessarily a revolutionary consciousness, but an atmosphere which will dispel the notion that only a few are opposed."

PACIFISM

While the YSA protests over and over that it is not pacifist, here we have the essence of pacifism. As Trotsky states in Permanent Revolution, the boundary separating Marxism from pacifism is "a question of nothing less than the struggle against war, that is, of how and with what methods war can be averted or stopped; by the pressure of the proletariat upon the bourgeoisie or by civil war to overthrow the bourgeoisie."

The YSA gives the pacifist answer to this question. In fact the YSA is considerably to the right of this crucial boundary as it speaks not of proletarian pressure but pressure of "the people." All the YSA's propaganda on the justification of revolutionary violence cannot hide the pacifist position which the YSA has taken on the struggle against war. The YSA's outrage at terrorism flows from this pacifism and not from Marxism.

novack...

scepticism about Marxism being speculation until "proved" in the October Revolution. Underlying pragmatism is mysticism and idealism, a denial of materialism.

It seems that the reflexes of the masses are unpredictable because the masses themselves did not think out their reflexes ahead of time. But the whole importance of Marxism is to understand how the consciousness and action of the masses is effected by underlying developments in the economy. To state that since "our epoch is convulsive" we should stand at all times in general preparation is to say absolutely nothing. The scientific study of Marxist economy isn't needed. All one needs is a single sentence from Lenin's Imperialism.

The truth of the matter is that the French events did not take "everyone" by surprise but it certainly took Novack and his

political collaborators in France by surprise. The International Committee not only took note of the convulsive nature of our epoch but seriously analyzed it with the Marxist method and Marx's understanding in Capital and came to a realization that the boom period of the 1950s was at an end and that the general convulsive nature of the epoch would be finding specific expression in tremendous class battles now and in the advanced capitalist nations. Thus we turned our energies towards the penetration of the working class and prepared ourselves for the explosion in France. We could not predict the moment of explosion but we could and did prepare concretely for such an event and in that period.

Novack's supporters denied any role for the working class in the advanced countries within months of the May-June events. They claimed that the "convulsive nature of the epoch" would find expression only in the colonial countries

and devoted their attention exclusively to the colonial countries. Thus they were in no sense prepared for the general strike when it did break out and during the strike could play only a tailing role drifting along with the student movement.

Novack concludes his essay on the "Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them" with a concrete example of "how the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxist strategy have been combined and applied to the anti-war movement of the United States since 1965." Here, as we all know, the practitioners of the SWP have insisted on a single issue peace movement which unites into a common movement the working class and the bourgeois liberals. It will not come as a surprise that Novack concludes that this approach of the SWP works. After all it is "acceptable to most antiwar activists." So far it hasn't worked to the point of ending the war but of course in real life,

as Novack has noted, there is much that is "ungovernable and unpredictable".

Since the October Revolution has convinced even sceptic Novack that Lenin's Marxism is correct and lawful it is interesting that here he refrains from bringing in Lenin's views on the question of imperialist war. Lenin wrote in 1915:

"For our part, we hold that today it is the main task of the Social-Democratic opposition to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism, to tell the workers firmly and definitely how we regard imperialist wars, and to advance a call for mass revolutionary action, i.e. convert the period of imperialist wars into the beginning of a period of civil wars." Perhaps this, too, is a period, as Lenin would put it, "when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity."

WATKINS AND CANADIAN LABOR

BY CHARLES HENRY

TORONTO--Nothing could expose more the reactionary role played by Canadian nationalism and in particular the Watkins variety within the New Democratic Party than the present struggle for the jobs of 600 Dunlop rubber workers.

With the announcement of the plant's closures the workers turned for help to the political arm of the trade union movement, the NDP, and more importantly, to its supposedly left wing, the Watkins group. The program this group presented to the Dunlop workers lays the basis for defeat, the loss of the 600 jobs, and

completely exonerates from blame the real culprits of the plant's closing—the Trudeau government.

The reason for the closure of the Dunlop plant can be traced directly to Trudeau's recessionary measures designed to protect Canadian capitalism at the expense of the Canadian working class. Dunlop's closing is every bit a part of the policies of this government which includes the present 6.7% rate of unemployment (7.6% in Quebec), the 5% wage freeze under the Prices and Incomes Act. It is part of Trudeau's 10% cut across the board.

is only the first of many plants to close as the government plans to clean house

In the light of Trudeau's measures what can be the only meaning of the program Watkins presented to the Dunlop workers? On a leaflet entitled, "The Dunlop Story," Watkins calls for a demonstration of "Businessmen, Professional, Storekeepers, Progressive Conservatives, New Democrats, Liberals, Housewives, Workers, Students, Pensioners, Clergy, Labor leaders." This is to be called for what purpose? To save Dunlop—"If you are concerned about foreign ownership and absentee management." This tells the worker to form a broad alliance with the capitalists to save this little part of Canadian capitalism and to beg for their jobs from the very people who by their policies took them away in the first place.

schemes of the employers. The LSA remained silent and some of its sympathizers actually voted for the main resolution. In an article in Labor Challenge, their paper, they state very clearly that they fully support the policy of Tim Renwick of calling for a grant of \$8.2 million to save the plant. This completely misleads the workers that capitalism can afford to give this amount of money in a period of crisis.

In praising the Renwick demand for a Co-operative they say: "This demand raises the whole question of workers control." Only by calling for nationalization and in this context posing the question of workers control can the whole attacks on the workers through unemployment be confronted and the workers mobilized against the state and the employers. This is what the LSA refuses to do. The truth of the matter can only be that by their opportunist support of Canadian nationalism they have formed an alliance with Watkins in misleading the Dunlop workers on the real political meaning of the Dunlop closures. In calling for reforms now they go hand in hand with Watkins in leading the workers to defeat.

The fight to raise the demand of nationalization against the closures must now be taken into the trade union movement and into the NDP.

LSA

If the role played by Watkins in selling out the fight for the jobs of the 600 workers can be surpassed then surely the LSA plays that role. At the Waffle meeting where the Dunlop resolution was passed, a Workers League supporter demanded that the caucus call for nationalization under workers control of Dunlop as the only way to fight the job cutting

AUSTERITY

Because of these austerity measures, the provincial government can no longer subsidize Canadian industry but is forced to accept the lowest tender. When Dunlop lost its huge order for belting with Ontario Hydro to a Japanese company, the government was telling them that they are on their own and would have to become competitive or close. Dunlop

SDS AND YSA PUSH REFORMIST FIASCO AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE

BY STEVE ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—With the dissipation and sabotage of the struggle against the war by the CP-New Mobilization Committee and the SWP-SMC, the SDS-PL at San Francisco State has taken up the lead in the retreat by making the main focus of the antiwar movement the student demand of an end to ROTC. Unwilling to take up a fight for a class program the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party instead can only fight to build impotent student riots against the military on campus.

They in fact pose the student riots against ROTC at Berkeley as a most significant blow against American imperialism.

Therefore students throwing rocks at the ROTC building become a substitute for mass political strikes by the working class against the war and the attack on their working conditions here in the United States. As a result of these reformist campaigns on the campus, SDS-PL and the SWP-SMC are being thrown into extreme crisis.

An example of this is their recent "struggle" to force Hayakawa and the school administration to grant day care centers for the use of college employees and students. SDS-PL and the YSA have been fighting for months on campus for this particular demand and finally were able to send a delegation to Hayakawa to demand the day care centers.

Hayakawa however, was quite prepared for the contingent with a statement that pledged "both public and private and personal effort on his part to establish day care centers with little or no cost to students and employees."

What had looked to SDS-PL and the YSA as a tremendous struggle against the administration with "high class consciousness" instead threw their forces into disarray and forced them to explain to the women they had organized that Hayakawa was really against day care centers and really only served the interests of the capitalists.

This fiasco though will not be the last one for these revisionists for they refuse to break from reformism.



Watkins' supporters picket Trudeau in Toronto but refuse to defend the workers against his attacks on jobs.

Unemployment Crisis Hits West Coast Docks

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—A very serious crisis is building up in the ILWU. The rapidly increasing effects of automation coupled with the slowdown in the economy has led to a situation in which thousands of dockers are either unemployed or working part time.

Here even the "A" men are being hit by the slump and hundreds of new "B" men have not worked in months. This development is so ominous and potentially explosive that the bureaucracy has been forced to issue a call for a preliminary longshore conference for September, a full 10 months before the expiration of the contract.

Longshoremen must be absolutely clear. The present situation is no temporary development. The employers are preparing all out war and fully intend to go into negotiations in 1971 with a dockforce demoralized and weakened by months of unemployment. They hope to have the "A" men and "B" men at each others throats so they can challenge every historic gain made by the union.

The Bridges leadership is totally unprepared to lead a real struggle. It hopes to camouflage its bankruptcy with a lot of militant phrases at this proposed conference. The fact is that Bridges has led the way to the present crisis by accepting all the employers' schemes for automation and cramming them down dockers' throats.

AGREEMENT

This is a leadership that fought for the agreement that now threatens thousands of jobs. This is a leadership that gave up a wage guarantee and a no-layoff clause while permitting the employers to prepare

with a five year contract. This is a leadership that just carried off the greatest betrayal in ILWU history by conducting a war with the teamsters in order to sign a wage cutting agreement for the container terminals that threaten the very existence of the dispatch hall. This is a leadership that brought over 400 new "B" men into the union to take over lower paying jobs under conditions the "A" men would not tolerate and at the same time has refused to lift a finger for these new men while they have not worked for months.

It is no accident that San Francisco longshoremen have been given no warning by this leadership of the plans underway to further erode their jobs. The schemes being hatched by the port commission for the "development" of the port drive home the fact that the policy of accepting the right of the employer to reorganize and automate is a policy of mass defeat.

Discussions are now under way for plans that will destroy completely the present Northern waterfront. Some of the plans include clearing piers 1 through 7 for a "Ferry Port Plaza," a luxury hotel for pier 37, restaurants and entertainment facilities for pier 45 and proposals for office buildings, hotels, convention halls, apartment buildings, and parking lots to replace piers 14 through 24, 38 and 41. The idea is to destroy bulk cargo in time and move shipping to the southern waterfront with the latest containerized equipment introduced. This means mass unemployment for San Francisco dockers.

PURPOSE

All of Bridges' propaganda about the container terminals guaranteeing jobs to dockers is a lot of rubbish. The employers have held off opening their new container stations although they originally promised operations to begin last February. One reason may very well be to make the few new jobs opened up

look like a great victory. It is significant that no figures have been provided dockers on how many jobs to be expected. It is also very clear that these container terminals are not being opened because the employers wish to hire more men. Their sole purpose is to eliminate jobs on the docks by eliminating bulk cargo.

No schemes for reforms that seeks to co-exist with the right of the employers to containerize and automate as they please can defend dockers. All of the proposals from the leadership accept the inevitability of the destruction of jobs and seek to bargain for a few pennies compensation.

The shippers want and need a fully automated docks system with a very small highly skilled work force. Acceptance by dockers of containers and new methods opens the way to buy off older workers into retirement, gradually erode the strength and combativity of the union through attrition and eventually prepare the way for mass layoffs. This is the logic of the strategy of the Bridges leadership.

ALTERNATIVE

The time to start fighting is now. There must be an alternative to Bridges at the coming longshore conference. A rank and file movement must be built determined to see to it that not a single job is eliminated on the docks. This means the fight for the shorter work week, for guarantees against layoffs and attrition, for equal pay for all dock work, and for tying pensions and benefits to tonnage moved rather than to hours worked.

It means an all out fight for a transport workers federation that can unite all transport workers in the fight against the threatened anti-strike legislation and for the above demands. It means a fight to prepare coastwide action to completely boycott containerized cargo until these demands are met.

JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

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