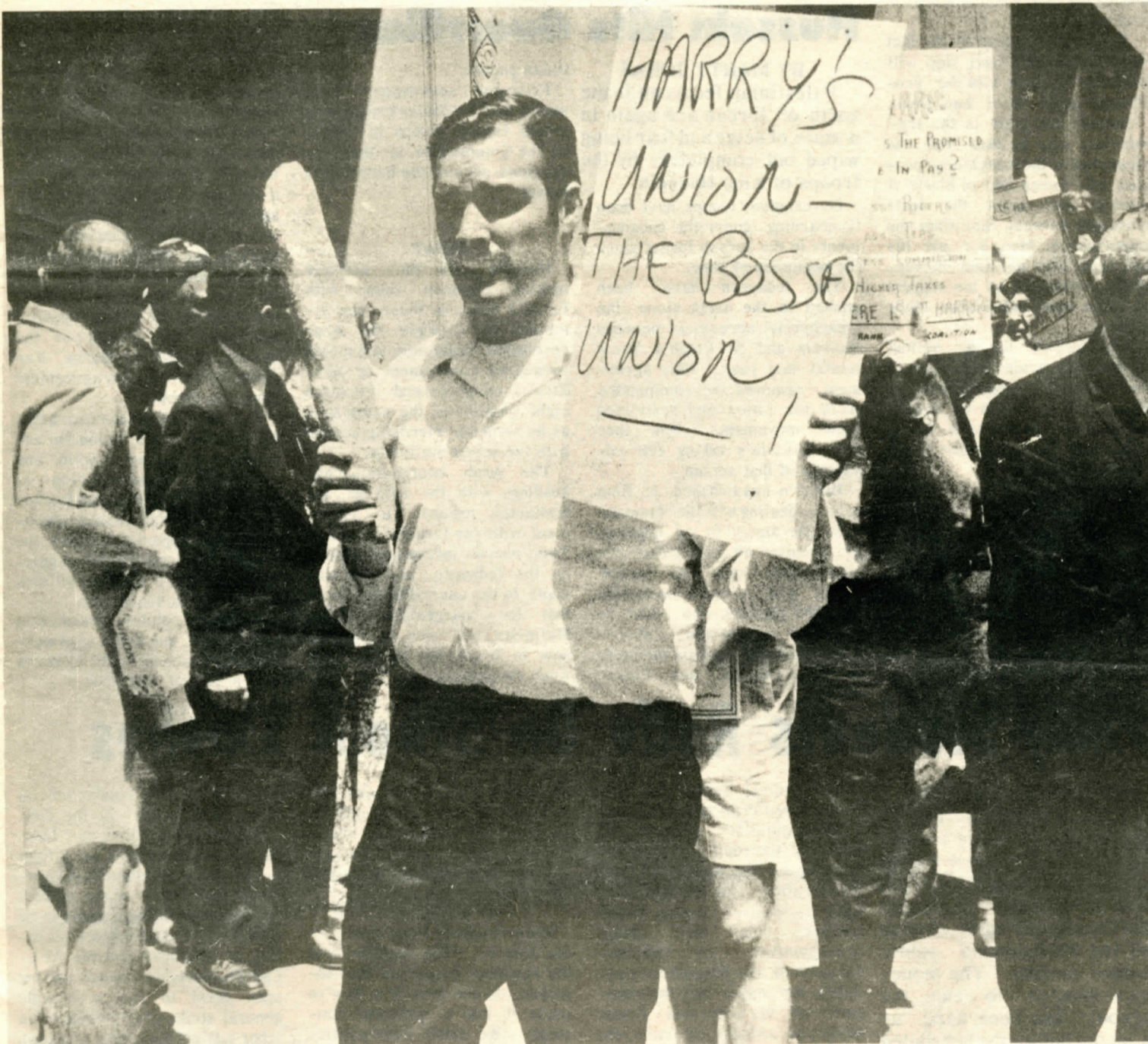


# LABOR-DEMOCRATS AT BREAKING POINT

Page 3 & 6



What  
we  
think

## Huey Newton Backs Capitalism

Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party have now moved into the camp of reaction, into the open defense of the capitalist class and the system responsible for the exploitation and oppression of the masses of the working people, black and white.

Enshrined in a dollar bill on the cover of the June 5 issue of *The Black Panther* Newton in an article entitled "Black Capitalism Re-analyzed" announces the willingness and determination of the Black Panther Party to "serve" capitalism. We say that this is a vicious attack on the working class and we intend to treat it as such.

The Workers League welcomed the turn by Newton and the Black Panther Party away from nationalism and to the question of dialectical materialism. We said then and we say now that this turn was of historic significance as it expressed the deep crisis of capitalism which disrupts the old forms of consciousness and opens the door for the youth and the working class to make an advance theoretically.

It was on this basis that we proposed discussions with the Black Panther Party. At the same time we warned that this turn could not go forward without confronting the history and lessons of the working class movement and the continuity of the struggle for Marxism, for dialectical materialism in the struggle of

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## Taxi Ranks Demand \$

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## Steel Ranks Oppose Aluminum Pact

Page 3



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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On Collision  
Course  
Page 13

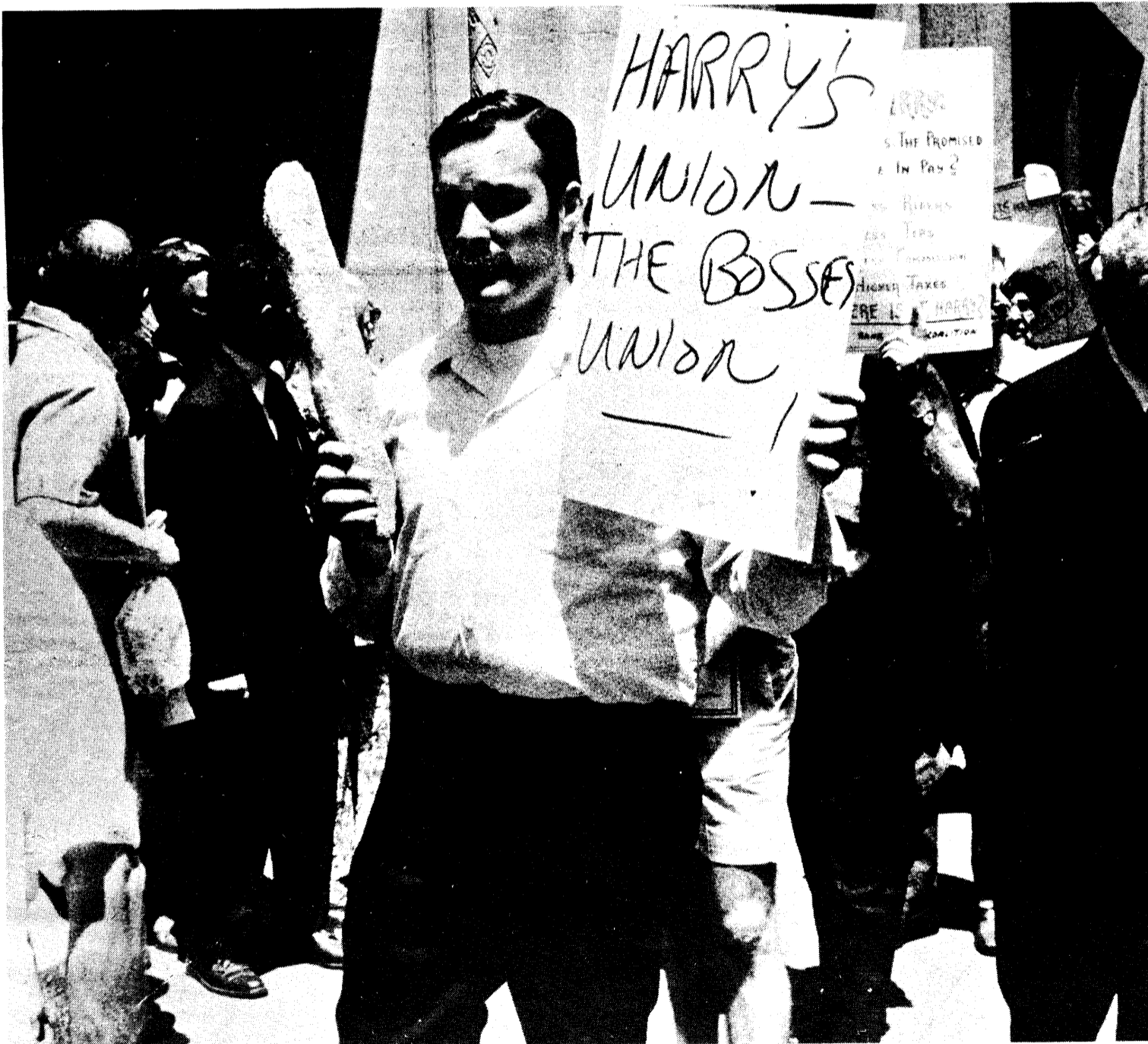
VOLUME SEVEN NUMBER FORTY (200)

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# Mao-Nixon Prepare Viet Deal

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

On the surface, the trip of Rumanian President, Nicolae Ceausescu, to Peking last week seemed to be a meeting of "lefts" uniting against the right wing line of the Soviet Union.

The real purpose of the meeting was just the opposite. All the fanfare and festivities that greeted Ceausescu's arrival was to cover the secret talks going on between the Rumanian President, the leaders of China, and Nixon to bring an end to the struggle of the workers and peasants in Indochina.

Chou En-lai, Premier of China, hailed Rumania's "independence" from the Soviet Union and called on all countries to unite against imperialism and "reaction."

Ceausescu has hardly been a leader of the fight against imperialism. In 1969 he invited Nixon to Bucharest and he has developed very friendly relations with West Germany and France.

Ceausescu opposed the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia and refused to join in the denunciation of China after

## Yugoslav Students Out On Strike

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

500 students have been on strike at Ljubljana University in Yugoslavia since May 26th and have occupied the school. The strike is now threatening to spread throughout the country and spark off widespread opposition to Tito's regime.

Messages of solidarity have been pouring in from student organizations in big town like Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb as well as from other student organizations in the city.

The immediate reason for the strike is the arrest of three left wing students who are being detained by the police for criticizing President Tito. The student protest began when they demonstrated against the visit of the French Premier Chaban-Delmas to Yugoslavia.

The detained students were charged with insulting Tito, putting up posters condemning police terror and inciting students against the police.

The students have issued a bulletin demanding independence of the law courts, autonomy for the university and recognition of the Yugoslav Student Union as an independent political organization.

The crisis that has hit Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Stalinist countries is now exploding in Yugoslavia. Tito has been moving closer to imperialism. He recently made a deal with a big West German steel combine to build mills near Belgrade and a new clause has been added to the Constitution which will allow capitalist investors to get a fixed percentage of the profits.

Attacked from the right wing pro-capitalists in Croatia and now faced with an upsurge from the left Tito is moving to repress any independent organizations or democratic rights.

the 1963 split.

This "independence" from the Soviet Union rather than indicating Ceausescu's left inclinations is actually opportunism and a desire for flexibility in dealing with imperialism.



Rumanian President Ceausescu.

Thus Ceausescu is a prime candidate to act as a go-between between the United States and China in arranging a deal in Vietnam.

This is made clear by the fact that Ceausescu's next stop will be Hanoi to meet with the pro-Peking party chief Lee Duan. Behind the visit is the tremendous fear by Mao that the struggles of the Indochinese peoples will sweep out of Stalinist control and upset the deals arranged between Stalinism and imperialism. Mao, for all his left talk, does not want international revolution as his support to Yahya Khan in Pakistan made clear.

His search for a sellout in Indochina brings him into such company as Ceausescu who is being used by Nixon to deepen the divisions between the Soviet Union and China in order to defeat them both.

Ceausescu is very careful not to denounce the Soviet Union in order to continue in his role as intermediary.

Despite the China-Soviet split both sections of the Stalinist movement strengthen imperialism by collaborating with it and open new threats to the Indochinese revolution.

## Philly Students Rally On School Slashes

BY SANDY MEREDITH

PHILADELPHIA—Thursday afternoon, close to 1,000 youth from Girls High School and Central High School rallied at City Hall to protest the threatened early closing of the Philadelphia public school system. The money appropriated to run the schools has been used up a month before the scheduled closing date, and the banks are refusing to extend the loans made to the Philadelphia city government to run the schools.

The capitalists' answer to their deep financial and political crisis is to hold the spectre of shutting down the schools over the youth and the working class, especially the teachers, in an attempt to force the teachers to work for a month without pay.



Taxi drivers coalition holds noontime rally outside union office to demand rejection of the current contract, and higher pay.

## Taxi Drivers Demand New Contract, Money

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The Taxi Rank & File Coalition mobilized 300 militant drivers in front of Local 3036 headquarters, Monday, June 7, holding a large and noisy noontime demonstration. The purpose of the rally was to demand a ratification meeting to reject the current agreement under which cab-

bies are working, and also to present to the union leadership 6,000 petitions from other fleet drivers calling for a completely renegotiated pact.

The militants, young and old alike, called for a one day July 1st industry-wide shutdown if no meeting is called by June 30. Cries of "close some more bridges" (referring to the

DC37 and Teamster closing of New York drawbridges), "no dime, no 42%," "Harry's gotta go," "we want bread (while 300 drivers each raised a slice of bread in the air) rolled across Park Avenue, as hundreds of other cabbies honked their horns in approval as they passed.

Speaker after speaker spoke of the role of the union leadership in trying to steamroll the contract. The harassment of gun carrying goons in the garages, the lack of grievance protection, and all the other tactics of the Van Arsdale leadership, were stressed constantly.

One driver spoke particularly about the need to link up the struggle with other unions in a call for a general strike. He said that day after day the legislature and City Council cuts away at the wages and security of state and city workers, and this has an immediate effect, not only on the riding public, but upon the ability of the bosses (abetted by Harry Van Arsdale) to ram this agreement down our throats.

Taxi drivers must realize that the militant trade unionism expressed in this very solid and successful demonstration is not enough. It is men like Rockefeller (whom Van Arsdale wholeheartedly supports), Lindsay, the City Council, and the State Legislature who are the real villains in this contractual mess.

The only solution posed is a labor party, one made up of workers, constructed only to serve the needs of workers.

## Hussein Hits Guerrillas

BY MARTY JONAS

Palestinian fedayeen in the north of Jordan are again in a state of seige and fear being wiped out completely by the troops of King Hussein.

Government troops have been bombarding guerrilla encampments in the Jerash forest since the beginning of June.

The fedayeen have been pushed to the north since the treacherous agreement between Hussein and Al Fatah's Yasir Arafat last year. This agreement removed the commandos from the cities and restricted their movements. Now they fear Hussein's taking full advantage of that set-up.

Hussein has ordered a firm hand in dealing with the commandos. He stated in a letter to his premier on June 2 that the authorities "must deal conclusively and without hesitation with the plotters who want to establish a separate Palestinian state and destroy the unity of the Jordanian and Pales-

tinian people."

Fedayeen spokesmen have stated that Jordanian troops have joined Israeli troops in firing on the commandos in their incursions across the border into Israel.

SADAT

Hussein is thus actively making common cause with Egypt's Sadat in these new attempts to strangle the Arab revolution. Sadat only last month purged his government of anti-Zionist elements and installed right wingers at the same time as he signed a friendship accord with the Soviet Stalinists.

The Arab bourgeoisie are heading, with the help of the Stalinists, towards a settlement with the Israeli Zionists. This, plus the increasing attacks on the fedayeen, are warning signs to the guerrilla movement that the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists will stop at nothing now to break the back of the Arab revolution.

the working class that can only be fought by the youth and the teachers union taking the initiative in a fight for the working class to band together in a general strike.

ANGRY

Many students were angry; as one told us, "The students and the teachers organized this together, on our own. Now they've made it into a political campaign. We didn't want politics to get into it."

What must be done now is not to turn away from politics, but to deepen our fight for a class perspective, for the politics of the working class against all those revisionists of Marxism who try to foist the program and pragmatic outlook of the ruling class on the youth and the workers. This means a fight to strengthen the revolutionary leadership of the working class by developing the fight of the

Workers League Youth Clubs in every high school in the city.

There is no time to lose. All students must take up a fight in the SMC, the student governments, and every other student organization for telegrams to be sent to the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and the AFL-CIO Philadelphia Council calling upon them to call a citywide general strike of all Philadelphia labor against the school shutdown around the following demands:

- Immediate payment of teachers' wages
- Restore all budget cuts in all city services
- End the hiring freeze
- Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties responsible for these attacks and prepare immediately for the building of a labor party

# New Panther 'Conspiracy'

**BY PAT CONNOLLY**  
**NEW YORK**—The government has absolutely no intention of allowing the acquittal of the New York Panther 21 to stand in the way of their continued attacks, frameups and witch-hunts.

Last month two policemen were killed, and two others shot in separate incidents in Manhattan. Immediately an hysteria campaign was launched about a "conspiracy" to kill cops. Police were armed with shotguns and announced they would shoot to kill, as they made house to house searches in Harlem.

On June 3rd, Nixon called a White House briefing session for some two dozen police chiefs and sheriffs handpicked by FBI head J. Edgar Hoover. The briefing was to "discuss" the attacks on police, and to really whip up a nationwide frenzy. Nixon proposed at this meeting that the families of all cops killed in the line of duty get \$50,000.

NY Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy was not invited to this briefing by Hoover. Hoover, and Nixon's deep displeasure over the acquittal of the Panthers and the fact that there were as yet no suspects in the Riverside Drive and Harlem shootings was expressed by not inviting Murphy, and thereby putting pressure on him.

Two days later, Murphy "found" his "suspects."

Black Panthers.  
 Richard Moore and Eddie Josephs were part of the Panther 21, charged in the original "conspiracy" case. They jumped bail and fled, and were tried and acquitted in absentia.

# Gotbaum Sells Out City Labor

**STOP PRESS—July 9**—In what may well be the biggest sell out in the history of New York City labor, Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37 and Barry Feinstein of Teamsters Local 237 agreed to call off their strikes over the refusal of the State Legislature to pass enabling legislation for the city pension plan.

In return these labor leaders received absolutely nothing! All that was agreed was that the matter would be resubmitted to the 1972 Legislature, which would have taken place anyway. In addition the matter would be submitted to an "impartial panel" if the Legislature refused to act again—an admission that this is precisely what is expected!

The truth is the matter has already been negotiated and agreed to by the parties concerned in collective bargaining and it is the State Legislature, acting under orders from the capitalist class, which is refusing to implement this agreement.

Collective bargaining in New York City no longer exists! That is the heart of the matter. It can only be reestablished if the trade union movement takes the traitors Gotbaum and Feinstein to task and prepares anew for a new general strike to break the back of the Legislature's resistance. At the same time steps must be taken immediately to construct a labor party by the 1972 elections to replace the anti-labor Democratic-Republican party.

**BY PAT CONNOLLY**  
**NEW YORK, N.Y., June 7**—Calling the strike of 6,000 city workers "immoral, illegal and outrageous," Mayor Lindsay today threatened to call out the National Guard to safeguard the "health and safety" of the city.

At 6 a.m. workers in Laborers Locals 924 and 376, Motor Vehicle Operators Local 983, and Park Dept. Local 1506, all in District Council 37; and Teamsters Local 237, went on strike.

Twenty-eight of 29 drawbridges connecting the island of Manhattan with the Bronx and northern suburban counties, and bridges connecting Brooklyn and Queens, were opened by drawbridge operators of Local 237, who then left their jobs, cutting off the

flow of traffic into Manhattan and creating massive jam-ups in the Bronx.

## NYCLU Attacks Employees' Union

**SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN**  
**NEW YORK**—The New York affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) is currently waging a seven month battle with its unionized secretary force over union recognition, higher wages, a more equitable hospital plan, and possible layoffs which could result in increased work "speedup" on its already taxed secretaries.

### DISTRICT 65

The ten employees joined the National Council of Distributive Workers of America, District 65, in December of last year.



Members of SSEU-371 demonstrate in front of DC37 office demanding that Gotbaum call a general strike against layoffs.

Trucks from the Parks and Highway Departments were abandoned at main traffic intersections, loaded with sand and with flat tires as the drivers went home.

Workers from the Water Resources Department went on

strike, cutting off water to Rockefeller Center for an hour. Lindsay has stationed police guards at all water supply facilities.

The strike was called after the state legislature refused to ratify  
*(Continued On Page 12)*

Although the minimum wage earned by the "executives" of the NYCLU is \$9,000, Ira Glasser, Executive Director, making \$21,000, refuses to negotiate a living wage of at least \$5,700 for members of his staff.

### DEMOCRATIC

The organization well known for defending democratic causes throughout the country, appears to maintain anti-union policies by not recognizing the workers in its own labor force.

"Unfortunately," read a statement from the befuddled employ-

ees, "every day it is becoming more obvious that there are some similarities between the Nixon Administration and the internal workings of the New York Civil Liberties Union."

The employees feel that the NYCLU is transferring the Nixon-Moynihan policy of "benign neglect of the Black community" to "the benign neglect of the staff."

The NYCLU argues that other non-profit organizations do not pay employees their worth, although the NYCLU administration is slicing big chunks of the pie—close to \$160,000 in eleven executive salaries.

# BIG SUPPORT AMONG STEEL RANKS FOR \$2 AN HOUR

**BY DAN FRIED**

A widespread rank and file rebellion against the aluminum industry sellout pact as the "pattern" for basic steel is developing in the United Steelworkers of America.

The employers are counting on USWA President I.W. Abel to avert a strike with the formula of 31% or as little as 75¢ an hour in wages over three years. As pointed out in last week's Workers League Political Committee Statement appearing in the Bulletin, this attempt is based on "an unholy alliance of Abel, Nixon, U.S. Steel and Wall Street" to break the back of the entire U.S. working class' wage offensive.

### OPPOSITION

But rank and file steelworkers aren't buying it. In opposition to the Abel sellout, the 500 members of USWA Local 7263 at North Star Steel in St. Paul, Minnesota, are demanding a \$2.00 an hour first year wage increase, a full cost of living escalator and the four day week with five days pay. The demand for \$2.00 an hour now with additional 50¢ increases the second and third years is at the heart of the Workers League campaign being brought to steelworkers all over the country.

Initial reports are just coming in on this campaign

which demands that the local USWA leaders make a commitment to fight for \$2.00 an hour now and to prepare for wildcat action if necessary on August 1. Response to the \$2.00 an hour

now demand put forward in the Bulletin by workers at the 25,000 man Bethlehem Steel plant at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was "overwhelmingly favorable," with many workers expressing

complete mistrust and suspicion of the Abel leadership. The same kind of reaction was seen at the huge Sparrows Point Bethlehem Steel Corp. installation in Baltimore.

Workers League supporters have begun a campaign among steelworkers in the critical Chicago-Gary area with a sale of over fifty copies of the Bulletin at Inland Steel's Indiana Harbor works.

The campaign is also being taken now to steelworkers in the Los Angeles area, both Eastern and Western Pennsylvania, Duluth, Minnesota, Detroit and Connecticut among others.

### CP

Beginning with the real needs of the working class, the Workers League poses the immediate need for a national rank and file caucus in the USWA to stop the sellout. Meanwhile, the Communist Party, beginning with its relationship with I.W. Abel and local officials who they see as part of their "coalition" with liberal capitalists, continues to cover up for this sellout. For some months, the CP, as expressed in its paper, the Daily World, echoed Abel's praise for the can (aluminum) pattern as a model for basic steel. They even went so far as to hold up the General Electric strike as a great victory for the workers which should serve as an example for steel, rather than the miserable sellout on wages it really was.

Suddenly, with the signing of the aluminum pact and the discovery of the tremendous dissatisfaction with this pattern built

*(Continued On Page 12)*

## Steel Workers Speak Out

**BALTIMORE**—As the expiration date on the steel contract approaches, steel workers here are preparing for a sharp fight to defend their living standards.

The Bulletin interviewed steel workers at Bethlehem Steel in Sparrows Point last week.

The main issue as far as the rank and file are concerned is wages. We asked one worker what he thought of the aluminum settlement. He replied, "Insane! It's insane! If any fool thinks that that is a settlement he's crazy. That's no settlement, that's a funeral! Now, \$2.00 the first year might get you out of the madhouse."

Another worker cut in saying, "I want you to print what I say. I've been working in steel since I was 20 and I'm 50 now. I know what I'm talking about. This aluminum deal, isn't a dollar, it's 75¢, it's a rotten sellout. Now some of your readers might think that a \$2.00 increase is pretty steep for the first year. Well, it isn't. I'm getting old and it's not as important as retirement to me, but you got to understand that these young fellows are starting families. These days that takes a lot of money. \$2.00 in the first year and a real escalator to keep up with this inflation is what they need."

On the cost of living escalator, the first worker said, "I haven't worked here as long as this man, so I don't remember any escalator. But I do remember some fellow saying we got fringe benefits instead. I don't know where he was coming from. If I know what fringe benefits are,

they're like little extras around the edges of something big. Well, fringe benefits are okay, so let's have the boss put them around something big, like a lot more money and this escalator."

Another worker brought up the four day week. "I think you ought to clear up this thing about a four day week. Now somebody, I think in Bethlehem, wants a four day week and a ten hour day. This we don't want. It's hard enough to get through eight hours. But if you want a four day week with an eight hour day, that's another thing. That would give us time to be with our families and do things on days off. It would also make jobs, and believe me, this town needs jobs."

"Another thing is swing shifts. I agree with the benefits you've got listed in your paper, but you don't say anything about swing shift work. It's unfair to jump a guy from one shift to another in the first months he's here. One thing that must be done is to stop swing shift work."

When asked about Nixon's inflation alert against steel, this worker replied, "That's so ridiculous I'd say it was funny except for the fact that Nixon might do almost anything. The Republicans have always been the enemy of the working man. I see here where you want a labor party. Well, it just might come to that. The Democrats control Congress, and I don't see that they've done too much for the working man. We just might run our own men in elections."



# ILA Asks 100% Wage Increase

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, June 4—The International Longshoremen's Association just announced its wage demand of \$7.50 per hour as its basic recommendations for nationwide contract negotiations due to start in late July.

The demands worked out by 500 delegates in Washington, D.C. last week, now being circulated to all ILA locals, also include a one-year contract, a six hour day with two hours of guaranteed overtime, and stripping and stuffing of all containers not loaded originally by ILA labor. Saturday and holiday pay is to be at the double time rate. The pension demand is for \$500 per month after twenty years regardless of age. All this would add up to \$337.50 per man per week base pay alone.

Winning these demands would be the greatest blow against Nixon's plans for no strike laws and wage and price controls, and would tremendously strengthen the ILA for the fight against LASH ships, containers, and the monopolization of shipping at a time when the shipowners are caught in increasingly sharp divisions over paying the present ILA guarantees. The contract demands represent the great pressure from the ranks who want to preserve and extend the gains from the last contract.

## DANGER

Winning these official ILA demands will mean the sharpest fight now against the ILA officials. This requires the construction of rank and file caucuses to carry forward the strike that will be needed to defeat the shippers.

## 1199 Organizes In W. Virginia

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

The national organizing drive of Hospital Workers Local 1199 has now reached into West Virginia. A solid strike of workers at Beckley Hospital in Beckley, West Virginia began on February 12 and is still going on.

This makes the Beckley strike already as long as the Charleston, South Carolina strike of 1969.

The Beckley workers are fighting for union recognition, just as the Charleston workers were. The strike began after the hospital fired twenty workers with the start of the union organizing drive.

## STARVE

And, as in Charleston, the hospital bosses are trying to starve the workers into submission. In taking on the hospital bosses, these workers are also taking on the bosses of the whole town, the surrounding area and the state itself.

The overwhelming majority of the Beckley workers make about \$60-70 a week, before taxes. Many are wives of disabled coal miners.

One family illustrates the fight these workers are up against. James and Mary Polk are the parents of ten children. James Polk, after twenty-four

Gleason made clear again just the day before the announcement of the contract demands that he had no intention of calling a strike. In a speech to the North Atlantic Ports Association annual meeting in Philadelphia, as well as in the contract demands, he also left deliberately vague the crucial questions of the present ILA wage and benefits guarantees, the fight against LASH and other automated ships, and gang size. In other words Gleason hopes to use the completely reasonable wage demand to erode the gang size and wage guarantees in the hopes of balancing off between the shippers and the ranks and avoiding a strike.

Any deal which cuts into the guarantee of 2080 hours pay yearly in New York or refuses to extend it in the proposed national contract to all ports, along with keeping present gang size, would be a real disaster to the ILA. In New York port in April hiring was down 14% from last year while tonnage soared.

Over the past year, containers, LASH, Seabee, and other automated ships have cut the hours worked in the port from 40 million to 32 million. 28 million hours actual work are expected this year. Only the wage guarantee has saved many longshoremen from actual starvation. It must be preserved and extended in full to all ports.

years in the mines, was disabled by an accident in 1966, and has been unable to work since.

## EXPLOITATION

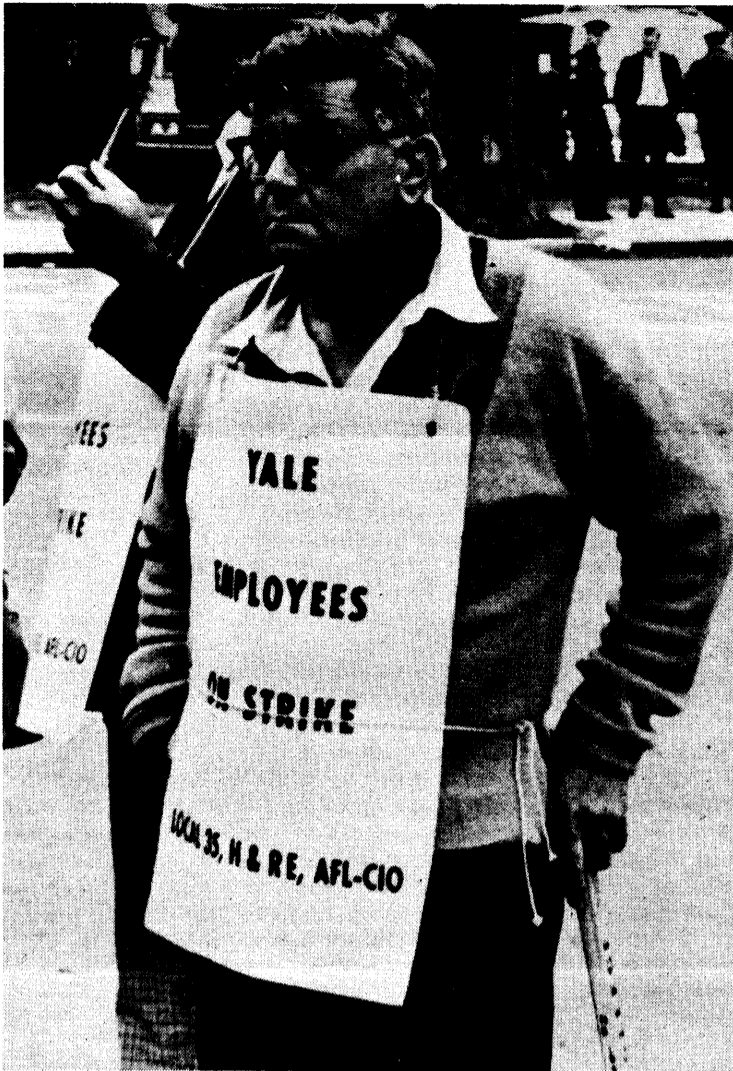
Mrs. Polk's salary of \$1.64 an hour as a nurses aide together with Mr. Polk's disability pay is what the Polks clothe and feed their family on. Mary Polk's father was also a miner. He developed silicosis and shot himself when he could no longer work.

The plight of the Polks shows most clearly what capitalism means for the entire working class: decades of ruthless exploitation and then the scrap heap when profit can no longer be made from their labor power.

## ENEMY

The nature of the enemy is also very clear in West Virginia. The vice president of Beckley Hospital is also the mayor of Beckley, and the treasurer of the hospital is none other than Hulett Smith, former Governor of the state of West Virginia and now the state's Democratic National Committeeman.

The workers are united and their determination has not been broken. About one quarter of the work force is Black, and as one of the strikers said, "We learned long ago in the mines that after a day's work down below you can't tell white from Black anyhow."



Workers picket at Yale, where scab trucks have broken through the picket lines. Union leadership has stopped mass picketing.

# Yale Uses Scabs To Break Strike

BY KLAUS KNIGHT

NEW HAVEN—On May 30 fifteen students and two striking workers of Local 35, the Yale employees' union, were arrested for standing on the picket lines in front of the Yale power plant. They were there to prevent scab oil trucks from entering, but armed policemen were on hand to insure the Yale administration that they would not. Already the police have bloodily beaten one worker in a paddy wagon.

These arrests, instead of being understood by the union's business manager Vincent Sirabella as a clear exposure of Yale's union-busting strategy and posing a strong fight in labor against such measures, have thrown the union into confusion. Mass pickets have ended. Now the workers picket various colleges by twos and threes.

## SCAB

Sirabella himself has stood by and watched while scab oil trucks have broken through picket lines to deliver their fuel to a school that has been without hot water for a week.

## BRANDT

His recent appeal to the "community" is nothing compared to his latest tactic. He has issued a public request to West German chancellor Willy Brandt NOT to cross the picket lines when he comes to Yale June 14 to accept an honorary degree. Sirabella goes on to say to this German bosses' politician who is currently fighting the rising German workers and youth, the following: "In light of this situation at Yale and your personal association with the struggles of working men and women the world over, we

think you would agree that it would be inappropriate to accept an honor from an institution which refuses to treat its workers with dignity and compassion."

The real content of this request reveals itself later in the statement wherein Sirabella informs the chancellor that "We have no desire to embarrass you, but we know you would not want to begin your visit to the United States with an act which can only provide fuel to the fires of your opponents in this country. Such an act would serve to alienate the working people of America from you and your policies." Precisely! Were the workers to become alienated from Brandt and the policies of "liberals" who cloak themselves in promises, the Sirabellas of this world would be doomed!

## STRATEGY

Nevertheless, Yale does have a strategy: to bust Local 35. Its court injunction against picketers who were allegedly impeding the educational process has been just one step in that strategy. Yale, if unopposed, will be giving the green light to the other bosses in New Haven.

As Sirabella makes appeals to capitalism, as the policies of SDS and Progressive Labor remain confined to the picket lines and the paddy wagon and as Yale moves unabated to break the local, the Workers League is moving to build new leadership in the union around the following program:

- \$2.00 an hour minimum increase, full escalator clause.
- 18 month contract.
- End the job freeze with 30 hour week at forty hour pay.
- Build a general membership meeting of Local 35 to discuss a winning strategy.
- For a mass rally of New Haven labor in preparation for a general strike in this city against the bosses' attacks of working people.

# Curran Has Seamen Arrested

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, June 7—Jose Valverde and Clarence Reed, NMU members, are being arraigned in court today by NMU Security Chief Charles Snow. The charges are not available to us at press time.

On Tuesday, May 25, NMU members, cheated out of their monthly port meeting, set up picket lines. Members also circulated a petition, as the union constitution allows, demanding a special port meeting. More than 200 names were gathered, twice the number needed for the meeting.

After finding several "unqualified" signatures, the union's port officials threw out the whole petition on May 28. Members and group IIs continued their picketing and on June 1, Snow came charging out of the hiring hall, ripped up several picket signs and had the two men arrested by the police.

Every NMU member and group II must come to the defense of Jose Valverde and Clarence Reed. The victimization of these unemployed seamen can only set up every NMU man and woman for attacks from Curran, and the police and Coast Guard under his and the shippers' urging, on the order of the 1948 purges.

Accompanying this open police attack, Curran is circulating letters against the opposition among the ships. A letter dated May 20 praises the idea of forcing all members on ship to take their vacations (at reduced pay) and attacks the opposition.

Joe Curran can pose as a defender of the union only because the Committee for NMU Democracy and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus have taken up his program. All three agree that nothing can be done about automation and "progress" except to share out the unemployment it causes. Curran proposes enforced vacations, the Committee for NMU Democracy and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus proposed bumping "homesteaders" off the ships after seven months. All these schemes depend on continued vacation and unemployment pay, as if there were no crisis in the industry, as if Nixon and the states were not cutting benefits to the bone, as if Curran could not have another plan up his sleeve for cutting out more benefits! Every cut in manning scales only gives the shippers more profits to use to build more automated ships to cut more jobs, and strengthens the shippers in their legal battles against the union through no-strike legislation now being proposed.

Jose Valverde, Clarence Reed, and every other unemployed NMU member or group II can be defended only through a struggle to unify the ranks, with a program to boycott the LASH ships, get the passenger ships out of layup, and preserve manning scales, along with the two-crew system (two crews on every ship, each to sail six months with a full year's pay). This requires the nationalizing of the shippers who refuse to pay, and putting them under rank and file control. This means raising the demand inside the NMU now for a labor party to carry it out.





Garment cutters in Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in wild-cat strike demonstration against rotten contract signed by leaders.

# Unemployment At 9 Year High

BY DAN FRIED

The latest government figures revealing that unemployment rose last month to a nine year high of 6.2% gives the lie to the Administration claim that the U.S. economy is "on the road to recovery."

Even this official figure scarcely reveals the depth of the recession. Significantly, the figure of 1.3 million workers who have been out of a job for more than fifteen weeks is more than double the figure of one year ago. The average duration of

unemployment was up from 10.9 in April to 11.5 weeks in May. The official statistics do not include countless thousands of workers who are not even counted because they are considered to be no longer "actively" seeking work.

The figure of 17.3% unemployment for teenagers does not yet reflect the huge increase of young workers and college students thrown onto the summer job market under conditions where there is less chance for them to get a job in more than a decade.

The true nature of the capitalist recession and the impotence of all the so-called "self-help" and reform programs for the youth and ghettos is revealed by the 10.7% unemployment figure for Blacks and by the

estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics that unemployment in "urban poverty neighborhoods" is about 45% as compared with 32% a year ago.

Not so long ago, many working class youth, particularly from minority groups considered they would be "better off" enlisting in the service as soon as they got out of high school rather than face the bleak prospect of teenage unemployment. You might even learn a trade—the story went.

## VETERANS

Today this fond hope is shown to be a cruel hoax for more than 10% of Vietnam veterans—some 375,000 of them, as compared with 200,000 one year ago—who are unemployed. The unemployment figure for Black Vietnam veterans under 24 years of age now stands at 20.9%!

Capitalism has nothing to offer the working class youth but a

(Continued On Page 12)

## Dayton Unemployed Jumps-17,700 Jobs Cut In One Year

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON, OHIO—Working people here continue to be hit by layoffs, lockouts, threatened wage cuts, and union capitulation to job cutting speedup and wage cuts.

The latest Ohio Bureau of Employment figures show Dayton the highest rate of unemployment in Ohio (5.5%) and over 20,000 workers are unemployed in Dayton by their conservative figures! 17,700 factory jobs have been permanently eliminated in one year.

### SELL-OUT

The crisis is being deepened by sell-out agreements by such unions as the Bookbinders' Union Local 199. Their agreement guarantees speedup and job elimination.

The union, after a lockout of 2,000 workers by McCall's Printing Co., during the negotiations sold the workers a bag of worms. McCall's (printer of U.S. News, Newsweek, Readers' Digest, etc.) openly tied their money offer to speedup, job elimination, and permanent layoffs.

### TURNED DOWN

The workers first turned down this brazen package 422 to 337. But the union threw all its weight behind the deal and got a slight increase in the company's money offer and resubmitted it to the workers. McCall's dangled the threat of plant removal through the press at the workers. Part of the plant has been moved to Kansas.

All these factors led to the ratification of the agreement 936 to 247. The money package includes a 42 cents an hour increase the first year, 38 cents the second and 8% the third year. It includes the first cost of living allowance. However, 95 workers are sold down the river into unemployment immediately. And the agreement calls for the time study of all jobs and gives the company the right to layoff additional workers "to an extent justified by industrial engineering studies."

### LAYOFFS

All sections of labor are effected by the layoffs and speedup. Teachers are being given larger workloads while hundreds of their fellow teachers face lay-

offs. Seventy-six teachers are being laid off in suburban Kettering next year and Dayton's face massive cutbacks and increased workloads next year.

### WAGE CUTS

Frigidaire has launched a massive publicity campaign through the daily newspapers for the need for wage cuts in order for it to remain "competitive." This follows voluntary wage cuts taken by electrical workers and plumbers that were well publicized in the press. I.U.E. president of the Frigidaire Local, Joe Shump (also chairman of the Democratic Party) made the feeble comment on the proposed wage cuts: "I would say that it's most unlikely." He then took courage and pointed to the obvious fact that I.U.E. has a contract, until September 1973.

### CRISIS

The sharp economic crisis has

forced six Dayton union presidents to form an "Independent Political Council" to solve "the factory workers' economic woes" and calls for its members to "improve unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation." The Council claims to be non-partisan and excludes Joe Shump, though five of the locals are his fellow I.U.E. locals. Clearly this weak program and the fact that these union bureaucrats formed this council only reflect the deepening crisis in Dayton but poses no solution.

### LABOR PARTY

Only a clearcut trade union break with the Democratic Party and for the formation of a labor party with a program of the sliding scale of hours, no layoffs, and nationalization of all idle or war industry can save labor and the middle classes.

## Hoffa Pushed Out Of IBT Race

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Jimmy Hoffa's decision not to stand for re-election as President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is the outcome of months of behind the scenes maneuvering and government pressure.

In a letter to the union's executive board, Hoffa stated: "I feel because of my present legal problems I should not be a candidate for office at the July, 1971 convention since no one can say how my legal problems will finally be settled."

Hoffa has served four out of thirteen years on convictions for mail fraud and jury tampering. A federal court ruled just weeks ago that these eight and five year jail terms could not be served concurrently.

Now that Hoffa has declined to run for re-election, he is expected to apply for parole once again, with the indication that a new request may be favorably considered.

In an editorial on the day of the announcement of Hoffa's decision, the *New York Times* indicated the great importance it attached to this matter. "It would have been an affront to the nation," wrote the editors



Jimmy Hoffa

of the *Times*, "if its biggest and strongest union had voted back into office a convict with nine years still to serve..."

And further, "...chances for parole or executive clemency would be slim indeed if release from jail meant his automatic return to the driver's seat in a union with strategic control over the country's transportation life-line."

### ARROGANCE

With all the arrogance of which the ruling class is capable, the *Times* boasts of the way in which the long government campaign against Hoffa has finally succeeded in removing him from a position of influence in the labor movement. It is up to "the nation" (in other words, the ruling class) to tell the big, strong unions how to run their

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Firemen and city workers here are threatening strike action if the city does not give into their wage demands.

Last September the firemen forced through an election for wage parity with city policemen. Despite Mayor Cervantes' strong opposition, voters approved this amendment to the city charter.

In jubilation hundreds of firemen danced in the streets

demanding that the president of the Firefighters Union be elected mayor to replace Cervantes.

Now many months later the firefighters' parity victory has been upheld by a local circuit court. However, the City Civil Service Commission, still refusing to grant the firemen's wage increase, has threatened to appeal the decision to the Missouri Supreme Court.

When the ranks of the firemen's union heard about this, there was open talk of wildcats at many firehouses. Joseph MacMahon, President of Firefighters Local 2, warned his members to "cool it." Mayor Cervantes had to have a heavy police guard at the dedication of a new firehouse the next day. A group of firemen have started a petition campaign to kick Cervantes out of office.

### OPPONENT

The strongest opponent of the firemen's wage increase on the Civil Service Commission was Reverend Cummings, a Black minister. Cummings has been joined in his attacks on workers, Black and white, by the first Black mayor of East St. Louis. In office just a few weeks, he has already begun a campaign to cut all overtime pay for city employees as well as to close down firehouse No 2. The head of the firemen's union has threatened strike action.

At the same time Black president of the St. Louis water workers union, Charles Shaw, is threatening a strike if the Civil Service Commission does not grant his union a wage increase.

The ranks of the city labor movement must now demand that a general strike be called unless their demands are met. This must be combined with a fight to concretize the campaign against Cervantes with a call to break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and to build a labor party.

### "DEMOCRACY"

But a top union leader who has become for millions of workers a symbol of militancy and defiance of government interference must be railroaded and removed. That is the true nature of capitalist democracy in the U.S. The legal and civil rights of Hoffa as well as of the Panthers are nothing compared to the requirements of the ruling class.

The capitalists have never been more scared, however. That is the meaning of their crude intervention, their drive to remove Hoffa at all costs. With the memory of last year's wildcat Teamster struggle very fresh in their minds and the steel contract struggle shaping up for this summer the capitalists fear the union rank and file as never before.

The Teamster ranks can still have the last word. The demands of various locals for the freeing of Hoffa should now be followed by action to demand his freedom now!



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Crisis In Labor-Democrat Relations

The current crisis in New York City labor is of the greatest significance to the future of the American working class. The Democrats and Republicans in Albany have conspired together to deny to over 100,000 New York City workers a pension agreed to in collective bargaining by the City.

At the same time these very same two parties are working up a money and tax package for New York City and New York State which will mean layoffs on both the city and state level.

Every major politician of both parties—Rockefeller, Lindsay and leading Democrats—are all involved up to their necks in this direct attack on the American labor movement.

These labor leaders not only seek to do the minimum they can get away with but they seek to cover up the sharp reality of the betrayal, the sabotage, the open anti-labor actions of the Democrats and Republicans. They cannot find a single word to defend these scoundrels with though no doubt they search for such words. But they refuse to draw the only political conclusion which can be drawn by working men. They refuse steadfastly to call for the formation of a LABOR PARTY so that the millions of working men can replace these scoundrels with their own representatives dedicated to their own class interests.

Victor Gotbaum made this very clear in a press conference this last Monday. He was asked by a Bulletin reporter:

"You say that Rockefeller is responsible for the strike, and that you have no illusions about Lindsay, that he's a boss. What is your position on taking this fight to the political level against the Democrats and Republicans with the union fighting for an independent labor party?"

The former Democratic Party Alderman from Evanston, Illinois replied:

"I'm a rotten, reactionary fink and I'll never do it."

You said it, Vic. You said it.

Gotbaum had to answer in this way because he could not find any justification for labor's continued support to the very politicians which have so openly turned upon labor.

Victor Gotbaum, however, is not the determiner of history. If he does not take up the fight for a labor party he will be swept aside by his own ranks and replaced with someone who will. After all it was not so long ago that Gotbaum assured us he would "never" call a general strike and now he is forced closer and closer to such a call.

Now it is absolutely essential that the fight for the labor party be taken forward in such a way that the trade unions actually put forward candidates of their own in the 1972 elections. The time to start this fight is now. The way to carry it forward is as part of the fight for the general strike of the American labor movement.

We do not begin with Gotbaum's whims and desires but with the interests of the working class. These require a complete break with the political arms of the capitalist class.

## Schleicher - Warning

It has come to our attention that one Bill Schleicher, in the past active in the SSEU, is presently devoting himself to pointing out militants in that union for the top bureaucracy of the District Council 37. Schleicher is presently on the paid staff of the District Council.

He played that role at the recent DC 37 wide delegates assembly as well as at demonstrations held by SSEU members at the District Council's offices. At a recent DC 37 press conference he informed Bulletin reporters that they would be barred from future press conferences.

We urge that no militant in the trade union movement give any information of any sort to Schleicher or maintain any sort of relationship with him of any kind.



"Oh, and one more thing, I think I have a strike coming up. What do you have in the way of steel?"

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

Trotskyism against Stalinism.

This warning has now been confirmed in the negative as Newton openly betrays the Black working class. Last month Newton announced the turn of the BPP to the church in its "Revival for Survival Program." Now he has turned to black capitalism.

Just as his refusal to root the dialectic in history and in the material struggle of classes led him to idealism in the form of religion, it now leads him to accept capitalism.

Newton begins not as a working class fighter for whom Marxism is the necessary and scientific understanding necessary to overthrow capitalism but as a Black revolutionary who sees Marxism as useful in the struggle for "survival" within the Black community.

Newton sees the opposites within capitalist society not as the working class against the capitalist class but as the positive and negative sides of capitalism, in which the task is "to increase the positive side and decrease the negative."

Newton sees the struggle for socialism against capitalism as relative. "It is the unity," says Newton, "of opposites and their continual struggle which gives motion to matter and maintains the constant state of transformation which produces change." "Revolution," says Newton, "is a process not a conclusion."

But in this process the unity of opposites as Lenin pointed out, is conditional, temporary and relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites, of the working class and the capitalist class, is absolute.

This struggle proceeds not through decrease and increase as Newton would have it in an evolutionary way without "conclusion," removing the bad side of capitalism and keeping the good. Out of the conflict of the classes comes revolutionary leaps which transform the old relationships and thus create a new quality, the destruction of capitalism and a new society.

Newton's idealist dialectic thus becomes the justification for reformism, for black capitalism. "In the past the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation."

Newton even revives the reactionary theory that Blacks are

a nation within the U.S. by comparing the Black bourgeoisie to the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. According to Newton they are inherently more progressive because they too are "victimized." There should be no doubt after Ceylon where nationalism and coalitions with the bourgeoisie leads—to the murder and destruction of the working class and youth. But this is what Newton proposes for the Blacks in the U.S.

Despite all of Newton's previous condemnations of nationalism, he has today returned to the fold. Because Newton begins not



Huey Newton

from the standpoint of the fundamental class divisions in capitalist society but from the standpoint of race, he sees a progressive role for the Black capitalists and for their exploitation of the Blacks.

The task according to Newton is to help the Black capitalist better direct his exploitation. This is the real logic of Black control of the Black community.

"Since the people see Black capitalism in the community as Black control of local institutions, this is a positive characteristic, because the people can bring more direction and focus to the activities of the capitalist....If he wants to succeed in his enterprise, the Black capitalist must turn to the community because he depends on them to make his profit. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies."

So Newton's solution for Watts, for Brownsville and Chattanooga is to support those Black representatives and spokesmen of the very system which is responsible for the oppression and which shoots down those who oppose it.

We say this outlook represents not the interests of the masses of Blacks who are each day being driven further and further into unemployment, poverty and repression by capitalism, Black and white. It represents the position of the middle class which is

seeking to carve out a slice of the diminishing pie off of the backs of the Black masses, to divide the working class and to divert the struggle against capitalism.

Newton now takes up the banner for all those who are the open agents of the capitalist class, like Gibson, Hatcher, Stokes, who rule in the interests of the bourgeoisie and against the interests of the working class.

"The Black capitalist...will be able to help build the strong political machine which will serve as a revolutionary vanguard and guide the people in their move toward freedom." This is the perspective not only of Gibson but the Cairo United Front.

When Huey Newton made his turn to dialectics, he was denounced by the Socialist Workers Party for abandoning nationalism. Now Newton has come around full circle and has embraced the perspective of the Cairo United Front, which the SWP openly supports. The SWP has in fact provided the theoretical cover and justification for this perspective.

The Cairo United Front is based on the acceptance of racism and racial divisions in the working class and the advancement of Black capitalism. It is a coalition based on the ministers such as Reverend Koen together with Black legislators.

But the real movement of the Black working class and the youth is away from the capitalist politicians and the ministers and with the working class as a whole towards a break from the Democratic and Republican Parties.

But it is at this time that we see the Black spokesmen for capitalism from Jesse Jackson to Dellums to Chisholm to Stokes and Hatcher supported by the CP, SWP, and Newton moving rapidly to head off such a break and to preserve the ties of the Black masses to capitalism through a Black political party.

Above all they hope to prevent the construction of a class party, a labor party which will unite the working class as a whole against capitalism.

Newton's perspective is absolutely reactionary. It shows the logic of Black nationalism. No matter how "revolutionary" its cover.

The Workers League will have no "coalition" or relations with the BPP. We urge all the youth in the BPP to take up the revolutionary struggle against capitalism by joining the Trotskyist movement, by joining the Workers League.



## 2 Lenin & The Peasantry

IN THE INTRODUCTION to *Revolution, USA*, which contains *Road to Revolution I* and *II*, Progressive Labor congratulates itself on having corrected its many errors and developing in the process. But because PL has never corrected its fundamental error, the maintenance of Stalinism against Trotskyism, each attempt to correct itself has led it further and further to the right and away from any connection with the working class.

Today PL is going to war against Lenin. This is the heart of its document *Road to Revolution III*, now under discussion inside this organization.

Marx and Engels first worked out the laws of development of capitalist society. They were the first to prove scientifically that the working class would be the only force capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism.

It was Lenin who developed this understanding and pioneered the kind of party that would carry through the struggle to overthrow capitalism. Lenin was the creator and inspirer of the October Revolution.

PL is neither the first nor will they be the last to attempt to discredit Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution by "proving" that Lenin was not a "true" Marxist.

Revisionism is an attack on the links in the revolutionary chain precisely because the strength of the working class lies in the continuity of revolutionary struggle and theory. The future victories of the working class can only arise out of an understanding of the past and all its lessons.

This is why PL attacks Lenin as central to its fight against the construction of the revolutionary leadership required to lead the working class to power.

Because Marxism is an historical science it requires above all that those who claim to practice it and who sit in judgement on the interpretations of others must first of all be able to square accounts with their political past. But this PL refuses to do and instead seeks to destroy the basic principles developed by the Marxist movement and the working class throughout its history.

While PL has yet to publish externally, *Road to Revolution III*, it is clear that the central leadership of the party is fully behind it. The introduction to the document states:

"The draft reports included in this pamphlet were discussed at a recent NC meeting...."

"The essence of the reports was enthusiastically received and unanimously approved...."

"The NC's confidence in and enthusiasm for these ideas are well founded. Every time we put these ideas into practice, the results are positive...." (21)

Probably not in the whole history of the Stalinist school of falsification has such a document been produced. The distortions and lies in *Road to Revolution III* and the *Background Reports*, "written to buttress and amplify the points in *Road to Revolution III*," are so extensive one hardly knows where to begin.

Early in the document PL announces its purpose—"to seek out the roots of revisionism."

"...Today we speak of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the DDR, etc. as 'former socialist countries' that have long since completed the reversion to capitalism, and we consider the once mighty CPs of France and Italy—parties that led millions in the struggle against fascism—as hopelessly revisionist.

"These developments did not crystallize overnight, nor did they drop like a bolt from the blue. As we attempt to sharpen the ideological struggle, we must seek out the roots of revisionism." (22)

According to PL the roots of revisionism lie in concessions which the revolutionary party made to the bourgeoisie. They state that the revolutionary party divides the bourgeoisie into "left" and "right" and calls for an alliance with the "left." This alliance with the bourgeoisie is continued after the revolution based on economic and political concessions. According to PL the reasons for these concessions is that the party does not understand that the peasants can be won directly to socialism and therefore puts forward the view that the revolution must go through two different stages.

### LENIN AS REVISIONIST

PL clearly lays the blame for these concessions, the failure of the revolution and the degeneration of

# PL'S WAR AGAINST LENIN

BY LUCY ST. JOHN



the Soviet Union at the doorstep of Lenin, and his strategy for October. Under the subhead "Traditional Communist Strategy Must Be Replaced," PL states:

"Lenin was a great revolutionary doing his best to help the masses of working people liberate themselves from oppression. His theory about national liberation was based on his estimate of the response of the peasantry to socialism....Where did this error lead?"

"As we all know, only two parties basing themselves on Lenin's strategy were able to lead their working people to power in the whole history of the communist movement. There were the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Party. This is not a very impressive record....In neither Russia nor China could the working people escape the ultimate consequence of following a wrong course...." (23)

While PL sees Lenin's strategy as the source of revisionism, it sees Stalin as being the real leader of the international communist movement.

"The revolutionary movement leaped forward as a result of the Russian Revolution. For the first time the mass drive to socialism spread beyond Europe to every corner of the world. Stalin was the architect and leader of the world communist movement. He was the leader of the working class' first attempt to build socialism. Because he symbolized the communist revolution no man was ever more loved and respected by the working people in country after country than was he. Nor was any man ever the target of such hatred as was directed against him by the world's bourgeoisie. If today every political faker must parade as a believer in socialist principles or risk isolation from the masses, this is because of Stalin's leadership in building the communist movement." (24)

This sets the stage for *Road to Revolution III*. What guides PL is one thing and one thing only, that Stalin must be maintained against Trotsky, even if this means attacking Lenin. What PL actually does is to turn history inside out, to attribute to Lenin positions which were never held by Lenin but by Stalin. The perspective which PL contends Lenin held, alliances with the bourgeoisie and the two stage theory of revolution, were actually fought not only by Lenin but later by Trotsky. What PL actually does is to join with the bourgeois pundits who seek the roots of the degeneration of the Soviet Union in Bolshevism and in Lenin's strategy, who see Stalinism as the direct continuation of Leninism.

### THE THEORY OF THE NON-PEASANT PEASANT

PL mounts its case against Lenin on the basis that he did not understand the peasant question.

"As we said briefly earlier, Soviet concessions to capitalism were predicated upon the assumption that the peasantry could not be won immediately to socialism. In the past, the international communist movement had sharply differentiated among those who could be won right off to a socialist program, those who could be won only after socialism had been established, and those who were unwinnable. In general, the peasantry was relegated to the second category. Communist theoreticians devoted many treatises to the peasants' 'backward mentality.' Marxist-Leninists claimed that the peasant was petty-bourgeois, either in his orientation or in his relation to the mode of production. Given this estimate, revolutionaries reasoned that the peasantry was unwinnable to socialism without initially passing through a 'stage' of bourgeois democracy...."

"We believe that virtually all the world's peasants and oppressed people are proletarianized. The vast majority own neither land nor the means of production. This is certainly the case today, and we believe that it was also the case during Lenin's lifetime....By drawing the conclusion that the peasants could not be won immediately to socialism, by deciding not to put forth proletarian dictatorship and a socialist program from the very start, communists found themselves making concession after concession to the bourgeoisie and thereby hastening the restoration of capitalism." (my emphasis, L.S.J.) (25)

It might come as a big surprise to those theoreticians who are churning out the attacks on the Marxist movement, that their theory of the peasantry is neither unique nor new. Russian Marxism emerged and came to maturity in its struggle to break free from Narodism. The Narodniks, who advocated a "peasant socialism" based their theories on the mistaken belief that Pussia could by-pass the capitalist phase of development and proceed directly from semi-barbarism to socialism.

Flowing from this theory was the political program of the Narodniks, who rejected the Marxist position that the leadership of the struggle for socialism and against the autocracy lay in the rapidly growing industrial working class of Russia. The Narodniks denied any economic difference between the wage worker and small peasant proprietor.

The Narodniks regarded all workers and peasants

simply as "toilers" and "exploited ones," who were equally interested in socialism, while Lenin in the tradition of Marx and Engels saw the peasant as a petty bourgeois, capable of becoming a socialist only to the extent that he either materially or spiritually ceased being a peasant. With the idealism of the middle class, the Narodniks saw in the sociological characterization a dire insult to the peasantry.

The Social Revolutionaries which were a petty bourgeois party formed in part from a section of the Narodniks eclectically combined the theories of Narodnikism together with revisionism, or "criticism" of Marxism. Instead of organizing the masses for revolutionary struggle the Social Revolutionaries substituted individual terrorism. They failed to perceive the class distinctions between the proletariat and petty proprietors; they glossed over the class differentiation and antagonism within the peasantry, and rejected the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. After October they became part of the forces of counter-revolution.

In a similar way PL blurs over the class differences.

"The unity of the industrial and the agricultural proletariats of the world must be the foundation for the broader alliance that must be forged with middle peasants, revolutionary students and intellectuals, and other petty bourgeois forces who can be won to the banners of socialism. The contradictions between the proletariat and these petty bourgeois forces are not antagonistic..." (my emphasis) (26)

While it is one thing to say that sections of the middle class can be won to the revolution it is quite another to say that there is no "antagonism" between the middle class and the proletariat. What PL is actually building up to is the denial of the revolutionary role of the working class. Here is the beginning of this formulation:

"Lenin argued they (the peasants) were an indispensable reserve for the proletariat....But in fact imperialism is being destroyed piece-by-piece presently by these same peasants....We maintain the facts prove they are a main force of the socialist revolution." (27)

PL of course is not the same as the Narodniks nor the Social Revolutionaries which developed historically in Russia in a country with an enormous peasantry. Lenin in fact saw the revolutionary aspect of the early Narodniks who expressed the coming agrarian revolution.

PL is another matter. PL raises the question of the peasantry in order to justify its middle class movement, its alliances with other forces outside the working class, to justify the position of the American middle class whose position is now threatened by the movement of the working class. This is what makes PL so utterly reactionary.

#### PL DENIES MATERIALISM

PL's position denies dialectical materialism, the whole analysis made by Marx, Engels and Lenin of the development of capitalism and the relationship of classes in capitalist society.

On "Lenin's Approach to the Peasants and Their Emancipation" PL states:

"We believe that history teaches and Marxist-Leninist theory recognizes that the peasantry can be won to fight for socialism. Marx and Engels indicated this in the Manifesto, but did not bank on it. Lenin did not agree." (28)

According to PL Lenin had a "very mechanical" analysis of the role of the peasantry, "a fairly mechanical application of the relation between base and superstructure." (29) According to PL:

"There is never complete correlation between base and superstructure. Nor can every element in the ideological superstructure be traced back totally to economic conditions. The parallel between economic and ideological development emerges only when dealing with longer periods of time." (30)

PL then quotes from Engels' warning about laying more stress than is due on the economic side.

Although PL attempts to qualify its position on materialism by continually asserting that the economic base "ultimately" and in the "long run" determines consciousness it does this in order to deny materialism, to deny that any distinction can be made between the peasantry and the proletariat, in its relations to the means of production and in the development of its consciousness.

While it is true to say that the relationship of base to superstructure is not a mechanical one and must be understood as a process, it still remains that while the ideological factor plays an important part in the development of society, it is itself previously created by that development.

PL attempts to counterpose Marx's and Engels' position on the question of the peasantry to Lenin's.

Marx, Engels, and Lenin began first of all not simply to find a potentially "revolutionary" class but first of all to expose the forms of production which were developing. Once this was done, the historical tasks before the existing classes, their interrelations, the limits of political action and program and the ideologies and theories appropriate to them had to be analyzed.

Marx analyzed in some detail the development of the peasantry in France in the revolutionary period 1848-1850:

"The small peasants form a vast mass, the members of which live in similar conditions, but without entering into manifold relations with one another, instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse." (31)

While the proletariat's economic origin constantly leads it into common struggle, binds it into closer internal relations, forces it to undergo radicalizing ex-

perience, at the other.

Lenin also revealed the dual nature of the peasant as a petty commodity producer—the dual nature of his economic and political interests of the toiler suffering from exploitation by the landowner and the kulak, which makes him look to the proletariat for support, and the interests of the owner, which determine his moves toward the bourgeoisie, his political instability and vacillation between it and the working class.

While Lenin understood the tremendous importance of the peasants' struggle, he understood that it could only go forward under the leadership of the working class.

#### THE LAND QUESTION

The only way that PL can make a case for its position is really to deny reality, history and the class character of the peasantry to the point of saying that



PL claims that peasants, above, meeting with Czarist officials, were not peasants!

periences in industry through the development of the productive forces (science, communications, technique), and thrusts it towards the need for independent political expression of this common experience as a class, the opposite is true of the small peasants.

The "revolutionization of the conditions of production" under the bourgeoisie certainly affects the peasantry, but, in contrast to the proletariat, in such a way as to dissolve or at least to divide it as a class: some become bigger farmers, but others go down into the proletariat. Peasant agriculture declines and stagnates at the side of big industry and large capitalist farming for whole historical periods, and the members of this class eke out their living and protect their "independence" in sharper and sharper opposition to the other members of their own class.

From time to time they organize collective struggles and protests, which even on the largest scale end in defeat and despair as long as they are not combined with the development of the proletarian revolution.

Then Marx says:

"They are consequently incapable of enforcing their own class interest in their own name, whether through parliament or through a convention. They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented." (32)

This was confirmed in the Paris Commune, in which the peasantry supported the forces of order because of their class position and the weakness of the leadership of the working class.

Lenin in his extensive study of the *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which was written as an answer to the Narodniks, pointed out that this description by Marx of the peasantry in France could very well be applied to the Russian peasantry.

The peasantry in Russia was dispersed over the surface of an immense country, with cities as points of contact. By itself the peasantry was incapable even of formulating its own interests for in each region they were differently conceived.

Lenin pointed to the break up of the peasantry in Russia which he saw not as a single class but as one being torn apart and split up. Under capitalism the peasantry breaks up into different class groups, with differing and antithetical interests. The "erosion" of the middle peasantry produces a numerically small but economically powerful rich peasant (kulak) and a mass of poor peasants, rural proletarians and semi-prole-

arians, "virtually all the world's peasantry and oppressed people are proletarianized....We believe that it was also the case during Lenin's lifetime." PL along the same lines contends that the "peasant question" is "not a land question" but "like unemployment which it resembles, a class question."

These contentions are absurd on a number of levels. First if the peasantry is not a different class with different interests then there is absolutely no need to even talk about it or about an "alliance" between it and the working class which PL does.

In asserting this PL makes absolutely no attempt to prove it. A few pages later it analyzes the break-up of the peasantry in India today! Even this analysis does not show that the masses of peasantry in India are "proletarianized," much less deal with the question of the peasantry in Russia.

Lenin's rather extensive work on the question of the peasantry and agriculture show quite to the contrary (see Vol. 3 and Vol. 40 of the *Collected Works*). As Lenin pointed out a class of hired agricultural laborers formed in the course of decades was not created (in 1903 there were only 3 1/2 million and some of these also held small plots of land). Rather the situation that faced Russia consisted of a minority of workers in industry and an enormous majority of petty-landowners.

PL must ignore the whole development of capitalism internationally, its uneven and combined character and above all its expression in Russia. Before the February Revolution the power of the state resided in the hands not of the capitalist class as such but the feudal nobility. The peasant reform of 1861 was carried out in Russia by an aristocratic and bureaucratic monarchy under pressure of the demands of bourgeois society, but with the bourgeoisie completely powerless politically. Thus the peasants were only half liberated and the remnants of serfdom survived.

In England serfdom had disappeared in actual fact by the end of the fourteenth century—that is, two centuries before it arose in Russia and four and a half centuries before it was abolished. The capitalist development, not forced from the outside, thus had sufficient time to liquidate the independent peasant long before the proletariat awoke to political life.

As we have indicated this was not the case of the Russian peasantry and this is what made the "peasant question," yes, a land question and, as Lenin pointed



out, a bourgeois democratic question which because of its crisis could only be resolved under the leadership of the working class and finally through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### THE STRATEGY OF OCTOBER

Understanding this is really key to the understanding of the Russian Revolution itself. As Trotsky pointed out:

"If the agrarian problem, as a heritage from the barbarism of the old Russian history, had been solved by the bourgeoisie, if it could have been solved by them, the Russian proletariat could not possibly have come to power in 1917. In order to realize the Soviet state, there was required a drawing together and mutual penetration of two factors belonging to completely different historic species: a peasant war—that is, a movement characteristic of the dawn of bourgeois development—and a proletarian insurrection, the move-



"Here's the next one, Comrade Joe!"

ment signaling its decline. That is the essence of 1917." (33)

Like the Narodniks, PL is offended by a scientific analysis of the class position of the peasantry which only reveals its idealism, its own middle class prejudices and hostility to the working class. "(Lenin's) analysis implies the peasants are in the main land hungry." Later PL condemns Lenin for fighting for a higher standard of living for the peasantry. But it is precisely the struggle not only of the peasantry but also of the working class for "higher living standards" which, contrary to PL's assumption capitalism cannot provide, forces it on the road to revolution and socialism.

PL also distorts Lenin's position in relation to the peasantry asserting that "the core of Lenin's strategy" is the "middle peasants" for whom he tailored a policy expressing the "bourgeois future of the middle peasant," (34) rather than to the communist future of the rural proletarian and poor peasant.

Even in the *Two Tactics of Social Democracy* on which PL bases most of its critique, Lenin states the following:

"The proletariat must carry through to completion the democratic revolution by uniting to itself the mass of the peasantry, in order to crush by force the opposition of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the peasantry and of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must complete the socialist revolution by uniting to itself the mass of semi-proletarian elements in the population, in order to break by force the opposition of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze the instability of the peasantry and of the petty bourgeoisie." (35)

According to Lenin, the Marxist evaluation of the true position of the peasantry in the capitalist countries "inevitably leads to the recognition of the small peasantry's blind alley and hopeless position (hopeless outside the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat against the entire capitalist system)." (36)

At the same time while Lenin throughout the development of his program for the peasantry emphasized the necessity for large scale farming and collectivization, he also was aware of the dynamic of the peasant revolution and paid close attention to its demands. The peasant revolution actually did not develop until late in 1917. Lenin, like Engels, saw the task in relation to the small peasants consisting in the transformation of their private property and private ownership into collective production and ownership—not how-

ever, by forcible means, but by the method of example and by offering social aid for this purpose.

Thus the Bolsheviks, and PL condemns them for this, did not hesitate to take over the agricultural program of the Social Revolutionary Party and give the "soil hungry" peasants the land. Lenin, unlike PL, had to face reality but in doing so Lenin did not accept it but sought a way to transform it.

The opposite of this policy was carried out by the Hungarian Communists under the leadership of Bela Kun and John Pepper. Pepper incidentally was later to come to the U.S. and play a leading role in the American Communist Party in which he attempted to put forward a position similar to PL's—that is, farmers in the U.S. were the revolutionary force—as a justification for adaptation to and liquidation into the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Hungarian Communists proceeded immediately

upon the establishment of the Soviet republic to socialize all the land, and, without regard to the sentiments and aspirations of the masses of poor and middle class peasants, to inaugurate a large-scale socialist production in agriculture overnight. By thus ignoring the bulk of the peasantry they facilitated the counterrevolution among the rural population and thereby hurried the fall of the Soviet Republic.

It was precisely Lenin's understanding of the development of capitalism in Russia (on which PL can say absolutely nothing) and the relationship of the classes and their demands that he was able to develop a strategy for the dictatorship of the proletariat which, while PL may not think is "very impressive," did establish the first workers state.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

PL then states that Lenin's position on the peasantry led him to the formulation of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." In this way PL attempts to show that Lenin held the position that there had to be a two stage process in the revolutionary struggle. In the course of this PL is forced to deny that a proletarian revolution even occurred in the Soviet Union.

Beginning with the statement "Lenin formulated the following revolutionary strategy," PL quotes at length from *Two Tactics of the Social Democracy*, particularly the section on the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." It then concludes:

"The 'democratic dictatorship' is thus in theory a temporary, defensive, transitional period designed to defeat the 'desperate counter-revolutionary struggle' in a country not yet ready for socialism. When the struggle against the autocracy is finished the need for the 'democratic dictatorship' is over and the time for building socialism is at hand. The country is not ready for socialism because the Marxist-Leninists have little influence over the masses. But despite this a revolution is imminent, and 'since we are out to fight, we must desire victory.' This is the context of Lenin's strategy.

"In no way does this describe the reality of any of today's struggles. If it did, the right thing for us to do would be what the Bolsheviks actually did do—extend our influence by winning working people to socialism. As history actually unfolded it was the fact that communists took and held power on a 'democratic dictatorship' program that made a Paris Commune type of state im-

possible—impossible until the peasants could be won to socialism. But what the peasants were won to (because that is how socialism became defined in life) was higher living standards. In other words, instead of the 'democratic dictatorship' giving way to socialism, the democratic dictatorship gradually overwhelmed and finally replaced socialism—in the name of socialism. We regard this as an inevitable outcome of the democratic dictatorship, for this has happened every time." (37)

How in fact, we must ask these theoreticians, was it possible to establish socialism if what occurred in Russia was not the proletarian dictatorship but the democratic dictatorship?

To such lengths these people must go that they must wipe out completely everything that happened since 1905. When Lenin wrote *Two Tactics* he felt that the revolution in Russia would be a bourgeois democratic one. But he was also expressing the peculiar development of the struggle in Russia. Russia's development was first of all notable for its backwardness. But this does not mean, and Lenin never viewed it as such, that Russia would have to repeat in full the development of capitalism in the West. The rise of capitalism late in Russia created an utterly different and "combined" development in which the most highly developed achievements of capitalist technique and structure are integrated into the social relations of feudal and pre-feudal barbarism, transforming and dominating them, fashioning a unique relationship of classes.

Understanding this Lenin gave expression to the peculiar character of the Russian Revolution in the formula "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." This formula, in itself, as the future development showed, could acquire meaning only as a stage towards the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. Lenin's formulation has absolutely nothing to do with that of the Mensheviks which said that Russia would have to repeat the history of the advanced nations, with the bourgeoisie in power and the social democrats in opposition before it could move toward socialism.

To the Mensheviks' idea of a union between the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie, Lenin counterposed the idea of a union between the proletariat and the peasantry. In this sense Lenin's formulation represented a step forward, understanding that the agrarian revolution rather than constitutional reform would be the central task of the revolution, and indicating the only realistic combination social forces that could fulfill this task.

The weak point of Lenin's concept was its inherently contradictory notion, the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Lenin emphasized the basic limitations of the dictatorship when he called it "bourgeois." Lenin saw the victory of the Russian Revolution as giving a tremendous impetus to the international socialist revolution in the West that would enable the Russian proletariat to come to the conquest of power in a comparatively brief historical period.

Trotsky in this period formulated the theory of the permanent revolution. He held that the victory of the democratic revolution in Russia was conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat leaning on the peasantry. Trotsky thus emphasized the necessity for proletarian leadership in the revolutionary alliance between the working class and the peasantry. According to Trotsky the democratic revolution would grow over into the socialist revolution.

Lenin's perspective of the democratic dictatorship was put to the test in the Russian Revolution and it was at this point that Lenin and Trotsky came together on the theory of permanent revolution. It is this and Lenin's April Theses that are completely left out of PL's analysis.

Was Lenin's position in October, as PL contends, the democratic dictatorship? That was the position of the Bolshevik Party in Russia at the time. But after Lenin arrived following the February Revolution, he fought for a sharp change in the party's perspective. This is embodied in his April Theses:

"The passing of state power from one class to another is the first, the principle, the basic sign of a revolution, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term.

"To this extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois-democratic, revolution in Russia is complete.

"But at this point we hear a clamour of protest from people who readily class themselves 'old Bolsheviks.' Didn't we always maintain, they say, that the bourgeois democratic revolution is completed only by the 'revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry?' Is the agrarian revolution, which is also a bourgeois-democratic

revolution completed? Is it not a fact, on the contrary, that it has not even started.

"My answer is: The Bolshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have worked out differently; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected.

"To ignore or overlook this fact would mean taking after those 'old Bolsheviks' who more than once already have played so regrettable a role in the history of our Party by reiterating formulas senselessly learned by rote instead of studying the specific features of the new and living reality.

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' has already become a reality in the Russian revolution, for this formula envisages only a relation of classes, and not a concrete political institution implementing this relation, this cooperation. 'The Soviet of Workers and Soldiers



Leon Trotsky.

Deputies'—there you have the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' already accomplished in reality.

"This formula is already antiquated. Events have moved it from the realm of reality...

"A new and different task now faces us: to effect a split within this dictatorship between the proletarian elements (the anti-defencist, internationalist 'communist' elements, who stand for a transition to the commune) and the small proprietor or petty bourgeois elements (Chkheidze, Tsereteli, Steklov, the Social Revolutionaries and the other revolutionary defencists, who are opposed to moving towards the commune and are in favor of 'supporting' the bourgeois government).

"The person who now speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship and the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'Old Bolsheviks')." (38)

Lenin was opposed by his own central committee on this question and called a "Trotskyist." It was only through his struggle to get this perspective adopted that the October Revolution was possible.

Lenin fought against all those who wanted to support the Provisional Government and proposed that the party break immediately from all the petty bourgeois forces. The revolutionary struggles were to be led by the proletariat organized separately from the peasantry but leading it in the socialist revolution.

Among those "old Bolsheviks," and this PL dares not mention, was none other than the "world communist leader"—Joseph Stalin. In other words it was not Lenin but Stalin who clung to this formulation. Before Lenin arrived in Russia, Stalin had given full support to the slogan of "support to the Provisional Government."

In other words it was Stalin who put forward the perspective of the two stage theory and advocated support to the bourgeoisie.

Stalin at one point was even forced to admit that his position in the first weeks after the February Revolution was wrong. "... This position was utterly erroneous, for it begot pacifist illusions, poured water on the mill of defencism and hampered the revolutionary education of the masses. In those days I shared this erroneous illusion with other Party comrades, and completely renounced it only in the middle of April, when I endorsed Lenin's Theses." (Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 348). (39)

This admission made by Stalin was later denied in the official Stalinist history of the Bolshevik Party in 1938, the Short Course. In dealing with the April,

1917 period it states:

"Stalin, who had just returned from exile, Molotov and others together with the majority of the Party, upheld a policy of no-confidence in the Provisional Government, opposed the partisans of the war, and called for an active struggle for peace, a struggle against the imperialist war." (40)

The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky organized the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat for the first time.

Soon thereafter Lenin also began the task of constructing a Communist International to carry forward the struggle for socialism internationally.

It was Stalin who later revived "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasant" after he had renounced the struggle for world revolution and was pursuing the utopian and reactionary perspective of "socialism in one country."



Nikolai Bukharin.

First of all Stalin used this theory of the two stages in order to justify his support to Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang in the first Chinese Revolution. It is not on Lenin's perspective but on Stalin's that Mao's New Democracy is based.

#### PL'S ATTACK ON THE NEP

PL completely evades the role of Stalin after October in order again to seek the roots of revisionism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union in Lenin.

"After the revolution, Russia was decimated... the Bolsheviks undertook the task of building the first socialist society. Before long, the leaders of the party decided that the slow pace of socialist construction would lead to ruination. They contended that the revolution would go down to defeat unless they could win the 'more advanced' members of the old ruling class to co-operate in building the workers' states... Therefore, sweeping class concessions were in order. Accordingly in the twenties, the Bolsheviks began implementing a policy known as NEP (National Economic Program). (sic). . . The seeds of capitalist restoration were already inherent in the NEP. They did not bear fruit in the Soviet Union simply because Stalin made certain errors or because Khrushchev was a usurper. Like everyone else, Stalin made certain mistakes, some of them more serious than others; and the title of usurper is almost too generous for Khrushchev. But although these may be facts, they tell only part of the story. The devil theory won't work." (41)

The New Economic Policy was announced by Lenin and was instituted in the Soviet Union in 1921. Prior to 1921, from the period of civil war beginning in 1918, the Soviet economy was under "military communism." All industry was nationalized and the central state controlled the economy. The Bolsheviks had hoped to go from military communism necessitated by the civil war to genuine communism.

However, reality came into increasing conflict with the program of military communism. Production declined. The city demanded grain and raw material from the rural districts, giving nothing in exchange but pieces of paper. The peasant buried his produce underground. When the government sent out armed workers detachments, the peasants destroyed the grain.

All along the Bolsheviks had counted on and hoped for an early victory of the revolution in the West and in particular Germany, which would supply the Soviet Union with machines and manufactured goods and skilled workers. The most urgent task of the NEP was to mend the economic relations with the rural districts, to mend the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The retreat sounded by Lenin with the NEP was to allow a breathing spell during which, while waiting for the

decisive aid of the European revolution, Russia could construct her industries, electrify and modernize them, and establish a more harmonious relationship with the mass of her population, the peasantry. It was not as PL puts it to "win" over the bourgeoisie.

Lenin proposed a policy of substituting a tax in kind for requisitions; of allowing the peasant to dispose of his surplus within the limits of "local trade;" of allowing the development of capitalist concessions to a delimited extent. This was termed state capitalism, on the basis that state capitalism was a higher economic form than that which prevailed in most of agricultural Russia. The workers state retained control of the nationalized key industries, state banking, nationalization of the land, monopoly of foreign trade.

While the NEP contained dangers of capitalist restoration, they were far from inevitable as PL contends. The decisive question was the question of Soviet leadership, of the direction towards industrialization and the struggle for the world revolution.

It is wrong as PL contends that the dictatorship of the proletariat automatically establishes "socialism." This is complete idealism for socialism as defined by Marxists is a level of development of the productive forces higher than capitalism. The Soviet Union was in a period of transition in an isolated workers state whose level of development was not even as high as capitalism. While the NEP was a retreat (and retreats contrary to the dreamers in the middle class are sometimes necessary), as outlined by Lenin it opened the way to the development of the Soviet economy and the transition to socialism.

The dangers inherent in the NEP were increased to the point of threatening the destruction of the workers state not as an inevitable result of the plan but by the bureaucracy, represented by Stalin. After Lenin's death Stalin adapted conservatively and empirically to the situation facing the workers state, enunciating the theory that "socialism could be built in a single country."

Rather than beginning as Lenin had warned with the process of industrialization which would lay the basis for the development of agriculture, its mechanization and collectivization, Stalin's theoretician, Bukharin developed the slogan "face to the country." This was a turning to the kulak with the slogan "get rich." Agricultural taxes fell upon the poor.

In 1925 Stalin, who even in Lenin's day had opposed the monopoly of trade, began to prepare for the denationalization of the land and had a law drawn up to that effect.

Beginning in 1923 Trotsky and what was to become the Left Opposition began a struggle against Stalin outlining a program for the development of the Soviet economy along the lines Lenin had indicated. Trotsky was denounced as a "super-industrializationist" and his recommendation for planning the economy was laughed at.

"As late as April 1927, Stalin asserted at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee that to attempt to build the Dnieperstroy hydroelectric station would be the same thing for us as for a muzhik to buy a gramophone instead of a cow. This winged aphorism summed up the whole program. It is worth noting that during those years the bourgeois press of the whole world, and the social-democratic press after it, repeated with sympathy the official attribution to the 'Left Opposition' of 'industrial romanticism.'" (42)

In early 1928 the Soviet state was threatened with the revolt of the kulak and the starvation of the working class. The Left Opposition was thrown into jail and exiled. Stalin six years later implemented the five year plan of the Left Opposition. After having fed and nurtured the kulak, the bureaucracy went over to complete collectivization. The resistance of the peasantry to these rather sudden and enforced moves was mass plundering. The working class was forced to work under unbelievable conditions and famine swept the country. Stalin came very close to causing the collapse of the Soviet power.

Herein lie the roots of revisionism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union, in the bureaucracy and its expression, Stalinism. Stalin's reactionary perspective of "socialism in one country" endangered the Soviet Union and betrayed the struggle of the working class internationally.

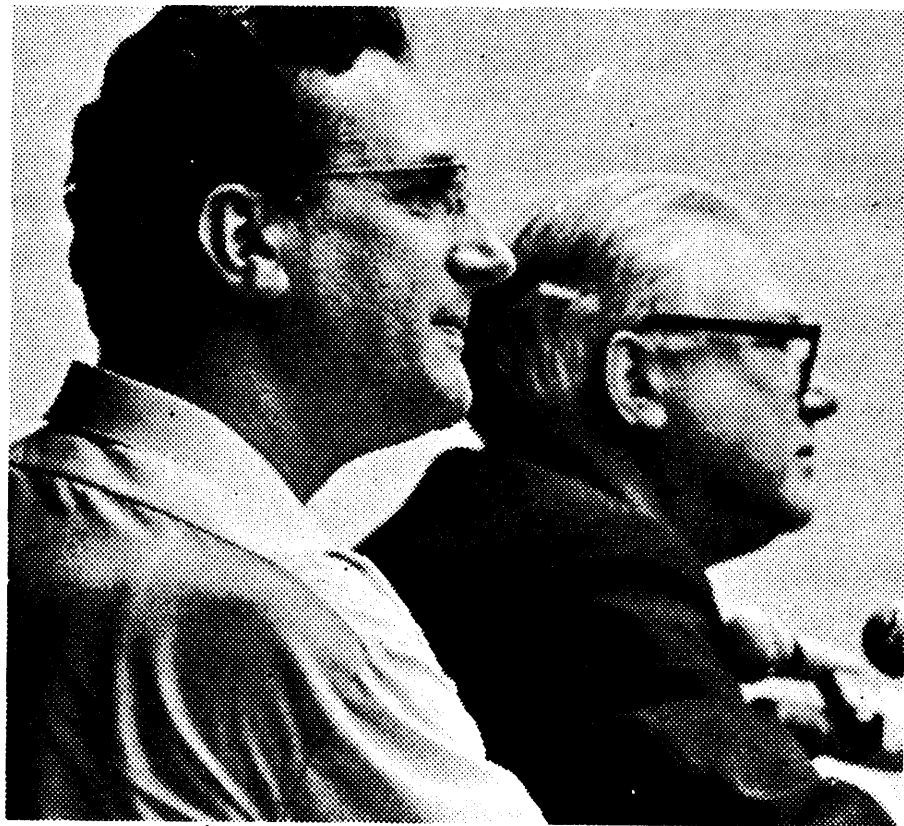
It is not in Leninism but in Stalinism that the basis for capitalist restoration lies.

It was Trotsky and the Left Opposition which took up the struggle against the bureaucracy. But it is precisely this struggle PL cannot face up to. Thus PL must attack Lenin in order to maintain Stalin. But this is more than a question of a single document, it is a complete break with any connection with the history of Marxism and a break from the working class. Before PL is finished it must destroy not only October but the international strategy developed by Lenin for new Octobers.



# BOOKS

ALEX STEINER



**DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION.**  
By George Novack. Pathfinder Press. New York. 1971. 286 pages. \$2.95.

This most recent book of Novack's, who is the leading theoretician of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, must be assessed within the context of the further degeneration of his party. The book is on the surface an historical summary of those regimes that can be called political democracy, especially bourgeois democracy and its manifestation in the United States. The book purports to be a defense of democracy historically and a defense of socialism which is viewed as the highest expression of democracy.

It is not irrelevant to note that the book is written in the form of a continuing discussion between a "Marxist" and a liberal who both agree that democracy is good, but who disagree on the proper way to insure and extend democracy. Novack tries to convince the liberal that bourgeois parliamentary democracy has historically been the product of revolutions, that therefore revolutions and reforms are not diametrically opposed, and that the fight against "tyranny" and the extension of democracy requires a third revolution in America, a socialist revolution that would extend the democratic spirit of 1776 and the Civil War. The struggle for socialism is viewed as a logical extension of the struggle for democracy.

### PRAGMATIC

Since Novack purports to be a Marxist, he tries to "defend" certain orthodox positions. The trouble is that his method has nothing to do with Marxism and everything to do with pragmatism. As a result, his defense of these positions is just a cover for an attack on Marxism.

He feels that one can pick and choose certain "progressive" aspects of bourgeois democracy, such as trial by jury, universal suffrage, etc., and weigh them against the "bad" aspects, primarily the economic exploitation class society engenders beneath the political superstructure, imperialist enslavement of other peoples, wars, etc. Weighing these different features in the balance, he concludes that what is needed is a system that retains the good features and purges the bad features out of society.

Furthermore, the continued existence of capitalism means that even the good features of parliamentary democracy are constantly threatened by military dictatorship and fascism. Using this sort of logic,

the socialist revolution is portrayed as a defensive action in the service of "true democracy."

Novack is incapable of seeing bourgeois democracy in its totality and its historical development. The "progressive" features of bourgeois democracy were "progressive" only as long as capitalism itself was progressive, i.e. up to the First World War. To speak of the progressive features of bourgeois democracy today isolates the very episodic and unstable political forms of rule from the degeneration of capitalist society as a whole. That does not mean that we are indifferent as to whether we live under fascism or bourgeois democracy, but the struggle against fascism is the struggle against capitalism and is not the defense of the bourgeois democracy.

To defend capitalism in any form is the surest way to lead the working class to fascism, as was shown in Spain in the 1930s. That means that the working class must be an independent force led by a revolutionary party in a struggle for power, and only within that context taking up the defense of democratic rights as a class issue. Novack poses the independent mobilization of the working class for power only as the result of a protracted struggle for democratic rights which is finally resolved by the realization of the working class that fighting within the framework of capitalism is no way to achieve their aims, and therefore something else is needed to defend and extend democracy, i.e. socialism.

### MATERIALISM

Novack does not begin with an analysis of developments in the economic foundations of society and its political reflection in the constantly shifting relations between all the classes in society.

Novack tries to make use of the fact that the political forms of a society do not directly correspond to its social foundations to divorce these political forms altogether from their social foundations. Thus, while paying lip service to the connection between the social foundations of society and its political life, he essentially sees the development of democratic regimes in an idealist manner as the result of the desires for more democracy of certain classes and people. Thus, the struggle for socialism in the United States is given the following scenario:

"They (the Marxists) predict that the harder the masses press and the more concessions they exact, the more obdurate and tyrannical the financial oligarchy will become. The sharpening of their differences will ultimately force a showdown on the issue of democracy (our emphasis) in a revolutionary way, as happened in 1776 and 1861." (p. 210)

Behind the movement of the working class (or the "masses" as Novack says) is not seen the struggle by the working class to maintain their standard of living in the face of economic attacks by the employer class which must necessarily go over into political attacks against the independence of the trade unions, but simply a desire for more democracy which feeds upon itself, spreading like some disease, and being resolved only through revolution.

### STATE

Beginning with what is clearly a liberal outlook let us see where Novack ends up on that most critical of questions for Marxists—the state. Novack argues that the state under socialism will be a higher form of democracy than any capitalist regime has yet achieved. In stressing the term "democracy" he deliberately obscures the discontinuity, the leap that takes place from capitalism to socialism.

He quotes the historian Forrest McDonald to buttress his case of the continuity between bourgeois democracy and socialism:

"The American Revolution was only a beginning in teaching men the process, but once it was done—once the vulgar overstepped the bonds of property and got away with it—there was no logical stopping place. Common Sense led unerringly to Valmy, and Valmy to Napoleon, and Napoleon to the revolution of 1830, and that to the Revolutions of 1848, and those to the Paris Commune of 1871, and that to the Bolshevik Revolution, and that to the African and Asian Revolution in expectations, and those to eternity." (pp. 204-5)

On the contrary however, the year 1848 marks a discontinuity between two different kinds of revolutionary upsurge. The period after 1848 is marked by the emergence of the working class as an independent force on the arena of world history, fighting for its own interests against the bourgeoisie and their state. The revolutionary upsurges from 1848 to the present mark the dialectical development of the working class as the only progressive class in society and not, as Novack implies, "the logic of democracy." His conception of the struggle for socialism being an extension of the consistent struggle for democracy is a completely non-dialectical, evolutionist approach that harkens back to Bernstein and Kautsky and has its political manifestation in reformism.

### LENIN

Novack carries this open break with Marxism in his discussion on the nature of the state. He tries to convince the reader that a healthy workers state will be more democratic than any bourgeois parliamentary democracy. He sees the difference therefore, as a quantitative difference. Lenin however, in *State and Revolution* insisted on the qualitative leap distinguishing the dictatorship of the proletariat from all previous political regimes.

"...the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie)" (p. 41 Foreign Language Press)

Furthermore, although Novack may protest to the contrary, it is clear that he conceives that the proletariat can take over the old state apparatus and use it to their own ends, directly attacking Marx and Lenin who insisted that the old state apparatus had to be completely smashed and replaced by a new state of armed workers. Thus, he writes:

"Lenin proposed to curb the repressive and reactionary role of these parasitic organs of the old state by handing over their functions to the people themselves, or at least for the interim period, placing them under the unremitting surveillance of the masses..."

"The police were to be stripped of all political functions and made responsible

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for their conduct to the workers' councils." (p. 228)

In other words, Novack has the conception that the old state apparatus does not have to be completely smashed, but can, given the supervision of the masses, be used by the working class in establishing their power. Lenin never held anything of the kind and it is an outright slander to ascribe such a position to him. What Novack is driving at very concretely can be glimpsed in a small aside early in the book:

"...Revolutionaries must control the army or sooner or later the reactionaries among the officers will suppress the revolution—a lesson which the Algerians led by Ben Bella learned to their sorrow more than a century and a half later." (p. 80)

So the reason for the failure of the Algerian revolution was that Ben Bella, a bourgeois nationalist relying on the petty bourgeoisie for his support, not only did not smash the bourgeois state, but failed to use its apparatus for revolutionary ends. Perhaps Novack feels that the SWP's campaign of community control of police will succeed where Ben Bella failed.

Further he writes, still claiming to develop Lenin's exposition:

"The proletarian power would have to make a conscious break with the evils of parliamentarism, 'the congressional racket,' as it is called in the United States, by narrowing as far as possible the gap between the legislative and executive powers." (p. 229)

But again, Lenin does not speak of narrowing the gap between the legislative and executive, but as Marx wrote of the Commune, the dictatorship of the proletariat needs:

"...A working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time."

Finally, let us see what Novack has to say about the Popular Front, a question that has always divided revolutionaries from counterrevolutionaries.

He writes:

"In case of civil war it is imperative to distinguish between the camp of overt counterrevolution and any section of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which actually take the field to fight the fascists. It is permissible and may be imperative to effect a practical alliance with such elements."

He then lists certain conditions for such a "united front."

"It has to be made without confusing the political programs and aims of the different classes, without entering any political coalitions with the liberals which subordinate the class struggle to their stipulations and restrictions and without teaching the workers to trust in the reliability of their temporary ally." (p. 172)

Novack does not rule out entering a political coalition with the bourgeoisie, but only one "which does not subordinate the class struggle to their stipulations and restrictions." We should like to ask Mr. Novack just when has there ever been a coalition with the bourgeoisie which did not subordinate the class struggle to their stipulations and restrictions, and how could this be possible? What other grounds would any section of the bourgeoisie have for entering into a political alliance with the working class?

We have here, in Novack's own, enigmatic manner, a defense of the policies of the popular front. As the SWP looks to form new coalitions with liberals and capitulates to the Stalinists, Novack's book must be seen as an announcement of their future political intentions. That is, why he is so concerned with making socialism seem palatable to the liberals.

The old orthodox cover is being dropped and the SWP is revealed as the modern-day Kautskys. Let us remember that Kautsky was not just "wrong." He supported imperialist war and he joined the bourgeoisie against the young Russian workers state.



Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL addresses 13th Annual Congress.

## England

# SLL Holds 13th Congress

Now, Heath's intention to bring Britain into the Common Market, which will mean the destruction of the living standards of British workers, has strengthened the determination of the working class to fight the Tories.

The SLL's Congress unanimously passed a manifesto which begins:

**NO to the Industrial Relations Bill.  
NO to unemployment.  
NO to the Common Market.**

"The Tory government can be forced to resign and the working class is ready to force it to resign!"

### HATRED

Noting the rising flood of hatred for the Tories the manifesto continues:

**"These results are absolute proof of the correct and principled line of the Socialist Labour League. We warned then (June 1970) that the all out attack on living standards, the introduction of anti-union legislation, mass unemployment and entry into the Common Market would make it necessary to organize the whole working class to defeat the Tory government. We campaigned since October 1970 to call a General Strike to make the Tories resign.**

**"The Tories are ruling without the consent of the people. The Labour Party and TUC (British equivalent of AFL-CIO) must hold special conferences to lay immediate plans for bringing down the government and forcing a General Election."**

### HEALY

Gerry Healy, SLL national secretary, told those assembled:

**"The Common Market today is the beginning of the organized counter-revolution by the master class of Europe.**

**"We can only fight the Common Market by building up our own revolutionary**

**organizations as part of the Fourth International and by leading the working class in the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe."**

### REVISIONISTS

He stated that the policies of revisionism which led to the betrayals in Ceylon and to adulation of an anti-working class petty bourgeois regime in Cuba as well as Mao's counter-revolutionary actions in Pakistan had been clearly exposed.

Healy concluded:

**"Now we can come out of isolation, now we can build an international center to exchange experiences and to intervene in all the struggles of the working class internationally. Now we can build the Fourth International into the world party of revolution."**

### OCI

Fraternal greetings were brought to the Congress by Francois Demassot, from the Organization Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

In order to bring Britain into the Common Market Heath must destroy the independence and militancy of the working class which threaten his plans to consolidate European capital on the backs of a docile labor force.

This is why the Tories are going full steam ahead with passage of the Industrial Relations Bill which would "register" unions with the state, completely control wages and penalize unions for strikes. If this Bill is passed without a fight from the unions it would mean the end of free unions in Britain and a big step towards dictatorship.

Lord Cooper, head of Britain's third largest union, the General and Municipal

Workers Union, had announced he will register his union under the Bill despite the stand of the TUC that no union is to register.

This action by Cooper which has not even been denounced by the rest of the labor bureaucracy opens the door to other right wing union leaders to hand the ranks over to the Tories and eventually fascist rule.

The SLL has fought day in and day out in its daily paper, the **Workers Press** to expose these leaders who are following in the footsteps of the labor leaders in Germany, who refused to fight the fascists in the only way possible—with a direct struggle for power.

The consistent fight of the SLL is winning wider and wider sections of workers to its banner. In answer to the capitalist crisis and the attacks on the workers the SLL has called for the following actions:

**Emergency Labour Party and TUC Conferences to discuss defeat of the anti-union law, Common Market and unemployment.**

**Make the TUC and union leaders call a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.**

**Re-elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, to restore full employment, cuts in social service and to legislate a Charter of Basic Rights for workers.**

Now the National Union of Vehicle Builders has passed a resolution for a General Election and the Building Trades workers have gone on record against entry into the Common Market.

It is the uncompromising fight of the SLL for these demands and against all the betrayers of the fight against the Tories that has enabled the SLL to make the revolutionary alternative, Trotskyism, a reality in Britain.

## CITY LABOR . . .

(Continued From Page 3)  
the pension plan negotiated between District Council 37, representing 120,000 city workers, and the city, which would allow retirement after 20 years at half pay, and after 40 years work at full pay.

The killing of the pension plan would completely wipe out collective bargaining for all city employees, and thus be a big step in crushing the powerful city labor movement, and pushing through the 90,000 layoffs of city workers planned by Lindsay and Rockefeller.

Lindsay immediately got an injunction from the State Supreme Court against DC 37 and the Teamsters. Governor Rockefeller joined with him in calling the

## STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 3)  
ding up under the feet of the local leaders, the **Daily World** "reports" that many workers in steel and copper are "sceptical" and that steel locals are "cool" toward the aluminum settlement. The CP is very careful to avoid at all costs stating where THEY stand or exposing the sellout role of Abel. The furthest thing from their minds is fighting for a real alternative as represented by the demand for \$2.00 an hour now.

Another group which attempts to cloud the central importance of the wage demand and to divert the rank and file from a fight against the Abel leadership, is the Progressive Labor Party, a "left" Stalinist cousin of the

strike "irresponsible" and agreed to call out the Guard when required.

Striking workers are threatened with fines under the Taylor Law, and bridge workers are being threatened with criminal action for removing gears and fuses from the bridges to prevent their being used.

### ARMY

The Army Corps of Engineers was brought in, but as of evening only seven of the bridges were operating again.

The injunctions, threats of fines and jail, police guards, and the plans being laid to call out the National Guard show the fear and vulnerability of the capitalist class.

Stalinist Communist Party. Last week, steelworker supporters of the Workers League attempted to bring their program for \$2.00 an hour now into the so-called "national rank and file steel workers conference" called by PLP in Chicago. These workers were bureaucratically forced to leave the conference under threat of physical violence.

In the course of the conference attended by about twenty-five people, an estimated one half of them actual steelworkers of any kind, PL's wage demand finally emerged. What this amounts to is exactly one and one half cents more than Abel's demand of \$1.10 for the top grades and ten and one half more for the bottom, over the three year contract!

In a press conference today, Lindsay complained about the fact that the strike was carried out "in the middle of the night." He is terrified that one morning he will wake up and find the whole city under the control of the workers.

This is what is now posed. The question of general strike action is now first on the agenda.

### FEAR

Lindsay, Rockefeller and the Republicans and Democrats in Albany are not the only ones who are afraid.

At every point, the labor bureaucracy has expressed its fear of the groundswell among the ranks for a general strike. They are doing everything in their power to hold back this movement, and to maintain their relations with the capitalist class.

This strike takes place as the city labor movement is threatened with decimation, with 90,000 jobs being slashed and a quarter of city workers facing unemployment.

Under tremendous pressure from his ranks, John Delury, head of the Sanitationmen's union has called for a general strike, if one city worker is laid off.

The third largest local of DC 37, the SSEU, has mandated its leadership to fight for a general strike, and to take this fight into DC 37.

At the DC 37 Delegates meeting tonight, it was voted to "escalate the strike." But at a time when four locals are out on strike over a pension plan which affects all 120,000 workers in DC 37, and more, Gotbaum refuses to call them all out.

## UNEMPLOYMENT . . .

(Continued From Page 5)  
one way ticket to Vietnam or the bread-line for those who are fortunate enough to make it back.

Even an academic economist, Paul Weinstein of the University of Maryland is forced to admit, "Even when men are able to transfer their skills, in only about half the cases does the service training bring more pay or responsibility. The old recruiting poster that says 'Join Up and Learn a Trade' is a farce."

### CRASH

Following the release of the May unemployment figures, Presidential economics adviser Herbert Stein repeated his forecast that unemployment would be "much lower" a year from now. But despite Mr. Stein's pathetic effort to be "optimistic," along with the continued rise in the wholesale price index for May,

the ruling class has now embarked on a course that can only lead to a deepening of the recession with the prospects of a worldwide crash and mass unemployment on a larger scale than even in the 1930s.

### NO WAY OUT

For the capitalists—the bankers and the government representing their interests—there is no way out except a war on the unions, preparation for massive unemployment and fascist dictatorship.

### PROGRAM

The fight against unemployment and in defense of the unions now requires that the fight for an independent party of labor based on the interests of all workers be formed immediately. A real program against unemployment and inflation must be taken into the unions and the fight for a labor party.

- Four day week at 5 days pay for all workers
- No layoffs of government employees—prepare a general strike of all labor to stop threatened layoffs.
- Unemployment compensation for all workers at full trade union wages for the entire period of unemployment
- Escalator clauses in all union contracts to counteract inflation
- Nationalization without compensation of all industries that go bankrupt or say they must lay off workers to stay in business—workers committees to operate these companies.



Victor Gotbaum



## Argentine Kidnapping

# United Secretariat On Collision Course



**BY TIM WOHLFORTH**  
**THE SIMMERING DISPUTE** within the United Secretariat—the international body encompassing Ernest Mandel and the Socialist Workers Party—over guerrilla warfare has now exploded into the open over the Argentine kidnapping and the role of the IMG group in England.

Interncontinental Press, international organ of the SWP, has been forced to confirm that the recent kidnapping in Argentina was, as the Bulletin stated last week, carried out by a section of the United Secretariat. They do this in a backhanded way by printing uncritically various press accounts on the action of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) which kidnapped Stanley Sylvester who manages the Swift meatpacking plant in Rosario, Argentina. They state:

"The leaders of the ERP, in a statement published in the January-February issue of the Buenos Aires magazine *Cristianismo y Revolucion* (Christianity and Revolution), reported that the ERP was set up by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party—the Argentine section of the Fourth International). Their party advanced, they said, 'incorporating the experience of the continental revolution in the decade of the seventies, incorporating and discussing the principles of "Maoism" and the propositions of "Marighelism" and of the "Tupamaros" this indicating its permanent radicalization.'"

### MORENO

If we add a few more background elements to the picture the meaning of this "straightforward" news article will become clear. It is well known in Latin America that the PRT itself is the result of a split with a group led by Moreno, longtime "Trotskyist" in Argentina who has been closely associated with Joseph Hansen of the SWP. Moreno originally led the International Committee section in Argentina prior to the reunification of the SWP supported forces with the Pabloites in 1963.

The PRT is now recognized as the official section in Argentina of the United Secretariat but the Moreno group is also recognized as a "sympathizing section."

### FACTIONS

It is also important to note that at the last International Congress of the United Secretariat a majority faction—led by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Moscoso—came up for a "perspective of a prolonged civil war with rural guerrilla warfare as its principle axis...." This line was opposed by the SWP which was placed in a minority. Moreno blocked with the SWP over this issue while the PRT supported the Mandel-Maitan-Moscoso theses.

Clearly the establishment of this ERP and its going over to the urban guerrilla warfare tactics of the Tupamaros combined with Maoists and all sorts of other riff-raff is the result in practice of the majority line of the United Secretariat. This is why we find it hard to believe that the Sylvester kidnapping article actually reflects the political evaluation of this action by the SWP.

### TERRORISM

But if we turn to page 528 of the same issue of IP we come across an article by Les Evans on "Police Agents, Then and Now." Its purpose, really, is to discuss the question of terrorism about which he quite correctly says:

"The party, unlike ad hoc groups of young radicals, decides its program and policies collectively and consciously, bringing to bear a rich experience and tradition."

And on terrorism he quotes Trotsky to the effect:

"The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength."

Clearly Evans is answering the ERP!

### BLACKBURN

Then between the ERP article and the Evans article appears one by Ross Dowson on the recent British local elections. Dowson takes the opportunity to state that the radicalization around the struggle against Tory policies "has not only been reflected in the Labour Party, but has inevitably siphoned right into it and poses once again the challenge of Labour to power." This is quite the opposite of the line taken in the last election by the United Secretariat's section in England the IMG, and particularly its collaborator in the editing of the Red Mole, Robin Blackburn.

Robin Blackburn, it is significant to note, has taken to the columns of the London Times to write on January 12th on the state of the "New Left" in the United States. Blackburn finds no need to mention the SWP or the YSA in the article though, like the SWP and YSA he is very favorably impressed with the development of the women's liberation and gay liberation movements.

His main theme is an idealization of the Weathermen and their terrorist tactics, and youth culture referring to the working class only once and then as "the wage-frozen white working class."

### BLANCO

If we turn to the current issues of the Village Voice for Maureen Nadle's two part series on Hugo Blanco we get another element of the picture. Blanco is a man with some acquaintance with the question of the South American peasant, not so much as a guerrillaist, but as a peasant strike leader. This has led him to be very critical of Guevarism. He states:

"Che said a political party apart from the fighting men wasn't necessary. I think it is crucial!"

Hugo Blanco is also a member of the United Secretariat.

Since the 1969 Congress of the United Secretariat there has been a deepening of the political divisions within the United Secretariat. This discussion has now broken into the open as the various factions in the Pabloite movement are forced into collision in the course of carrying out their line under the pressure of a deepening capitalist crisis.

There has emerged around the line of the United Secretariat majority a grouping not only of supporters of guerrilla warfare in the countryside but those who have carried it out into practice in the cities like Rosario and those who sympathize with terrorism even within the United States, like Robin Blackburn and no doubt his buddy Tariq Ali.

### MEANING

What is the meaning of this tendency? What does it represent politically? How did it arise? The SWP leadership which has long since given up on the materialist method of Marxism no doubt will be content to dispense with the question by explaining that it opposes this political tendency. So it tries to explain the LSSP. When the LSSP entered the coalition government the SWP expelled the LSSP. Now, we will be told, when the majority of the United Secretariat comes out for liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into guerrillaist and terrorist activities the SWP again opposes this.

This answers nothing. How did it happen that one year after reunification it was necessary to expel the bulk of the major party affiliated to the United Secretariat—the LSSP—for going over openly to the bourgeoisie? How does it happen that as the fruit of an eight

year collaboration in a common international organization the SWP finds itself in a minority with the majority sections having in the words of SWP supporter Peng "discarded the Transitional Program" requiring, again in Peng's words, "a return to the road of Trotskyism." Is it all to be chalked up to bad luck?

### CLASS

The development of the ERP shows what the real class character of this tendency is. Precisely when the mass of the Argentine working class is involved in major general strike action this group separates itself from this working class and carries out isolated "heroic" actions aimed to "serve" the workers and poor. Rather than a struggle to penetrate the Rosario employees of Swift to get strike action against layoffs it kidnaps the director of the firm! Instead of fighting for the labor movement to take the lead in the interests of the poor, unemployed and peasants, it seeks to gain a little money from Swift for these poor.

This is nothing more than a "breakfast program" with the gun! And like the Panthers is no more revolutionary than the Methodist church!

The perspective of groups like the ERP is put forward by Robin Blackburn when he refers to "the wage-frozen white working class." When longshoremen demand a 100% wage increase this hardly goes down for frozen wages!

It is precisely the massive strike movement of American workers together with workers in all other capitalist lands for higher wages which is bringing capitalism to the brink of a civil war in which it will not be the movement of individual terrorists but of millions of workers that will be decisive. It is precisely this movement that the ERP and Blackburn either fail to see or see—oppose.

We are dealing here with the frustration of the petty bourgeois radical caused precisely by the entrance onto the scene of struggle of the working class itself. This new terrorism is not the understandable despair of sections of the working class in a period of reaction and defeat but the reaction and furor of sections of the petty bourgeoisie who fear the independent movement of the working class as much as they do the imperialists and in many cases more so.

### PERSPECTIVE

If understood in this materialist light then we can see the role of the SWP in this situation. The SWP shares a common perspective with the ERP and Blackburn in that it stands also on the basis of a denial of the movement of the working class. Instead of reacting in a frenzied terrorist way it reacts in a liberal opportunist way. It adapts to petty bourgeois movements, seeks to maintain these movements in democratic, legal and liberal channels. But to the extent the working class figures at all into its calculations it is to play the subordinate role of adding its "social weight" to these middle class reform movements. Above all it is not to act on its own, independently and as a class!

This leads us to what is on the surface a curious twist in the evolution of the forces that make up the United Secretariat. Around the time of the reunification, Ernest Mandel was deeply involved in the reformist Social Democratic Party of Belgium. He was far, far removed from guerrillaism and terrorism. In fact it was in this period that he developed his theory of neo-capitalism and structural reforms.

In that same period it was the SWP which pioneered in the uncritical promotion of Castro, Guevara and guerrillaism. Mandel willingly embraced the SWP's Cuban line but it originated with the SWP. Today Mandel, long out of the social democracy and adapting to petty bourgeois radical layers among European university students, picks up and

develops the SWP line while the SWP develops Mandel's theories of permanent capitalism and the reform movements of the middle classes, the new working class, etc.

What united these forces in 1963 was their opposition to dialectical materialism. Dialectics, as we have noted, develops dialectically through the struggle within the Trotskyist movement against the revision of Marxism. That struggle in turn centers around the development of Marxism as an understanding of the fundamental nature of the objective situation and the carrying forward of the strategy embodied in the Transitional Program for the construction of parties in all countries.

### REUNIFICATION

In 1963 all the parties to the reunification refused to discuss the question of revisionism within the Fourth International and the original split in 1953. Consequently they were not capable of understanding the nature of the capitalist crisis developing in that period which has come forward so sharply on the surface today. Without understanding this then the program embodied in the founding document of our movement, the Transitional Program of 1938, could have no relevancy. That program was and is rooted in an understanding of the capitalist crisis and without that understanding it can have no meaning. Without a struggle for the Transitional Program to talk of the strategy of constructing revolutionary parties, as does Evans in his attack on terrorism, is to be completely hollow.

Internationalism is, as Trotsky points out in *Third International After Lenin*, rooted in an understanding of the international character of class relations created by capitalism. If one does not begin from this then one cannot develop an international movement. And so the United Secretariat, a marriage of convenience to begin with, is constantly breaking apart into its constituent parts and these parts breaking asunder themselves.

Terrorism for the ERP is irresistibly attractive and far more important than any "international" or Trotskyism itself. After all, the ERP contains Maoist and even Christian elements. Terrorism for the SWP means a break with the liberal forces it is presently allied with in the peace movement, women's liberation and elsewhere. The advocates of "peaceful and legal" demonstrations supported by Democratic Party senators and governors find terrorism most embarrassing to say the least. Of course to the terrorist the SWP's liberalism is most embarrassing as well.

And so these tendencies, in reality but different sides of the same coin, are under present conditions quite hostile, quite irreconcilable without in any sense one tendency being fundamentally different from the other.

After all the Black Panthers in a very short period of time have gone from "picking up the gun" to embracing the church and Black capitalism and Bernadine Dohrn is even reconsidering the SWP's peace marches!

The only road forward is the road of Lenin and Trotsky. It is because the International Committee insisted upon this road that it was forced to split with Pablo in 1953 and that it refused to rejoin the Pabloites in 1963.

The events since have proven us to be completely correct. This can no longer be denied by the SWP.

## Ceylon

## The Real Story Of The LSSP Betrayal

BY MICHAEL ROSS

THE VERY SHARP developments in Ceylon have finally forced the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party to break their silence on the origins of Mrs. Bandaranaike's United Left Front government.

The June 4 issue of The Militant publishes a major article by Caroline Lund: "Special Feature—Behind the Rebellion in Ceylon."

For the SWP to try and discuss the Ceylonese events is indeed a "special feature." They have been trying to brush this issue under the carpet since the formation of the first Bandaranaike-led coalition with their erstwhile cothinkers, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in June, 1964. In fact, the founding members of the Workers League were expelled from the SWP for demanding just such a discussion in 1964.

Now the whole world capitalist crisis is forcing the SWP to take up this discussion. And what they say in Lund's article is very revealing. In fact it is their most revealing article to date on the whole question of Ceylon.

## MAGNITUDE

Lund starts out by obscuring the magnitude of Mrs. Bandaranaike's bloodbath in Ceylon. Although the bulk of the repression is indeed directed at the Peoples Liberation Front (the JVP), Lund does not mention once the detention of leaders of the pro-Chinese Communist Party, the leaders of the Revolutionary Communist League (Ceylonese Section of the Fourth International) and the banning of their press, the detention of LSSP MP V. Nanayakkara, the arrests of and raids on the homes of many LSSP and pro-Moscow Communist Party members.

With all this going on, Lund cannot, and has no intention of explaining why the leaders of the present section in Ceylon of the United Secretariat, the LSSP (Revolutionary) led by Mr. Bala Tampoe, are walking the streets of Colombo without any problem.

To this is added a complete cover up for the class nature and the politics of the JVP.

The first thing the SWP has to show is that the LSSP is no longer a Trotskyist party. And so Lund attempts to probe the origins and development of this party.

## TAMIL

Lund makes some very interesting discoveries about the LSSP:

"One of the reasons for the popularity of the LSSP was its position concerning the rights of the Tamil people of Ceylon. Some 22 percent of Ceylon's 12,600,000 people speak the Tamil language, having originated in Southern India. About half this number migrated to Ceylon many generations ago; most of the rest were brought from India in the nineteenth century to work on British tea plantations. Most of the Tamil-speaking people are of the Hindu religion. They form the bulk of the plantation workers, which is the main sector of the Ceylonese working class.

"Under British rule, the Tamil and Sinhalese people were artificially brought together under one government, and divisions between them have been used by the ruling class in Ceylon to enforce its rule. An anti-Indian movement started in the early 1930s. In the 1950s, there were language riots and open violence and pogroms against the Tamils.

"From its founding, the LSSP staunchly defended the rights of the oppressed Tamil minority against the chauvinism of the Buddhist majority which speaks Sinhalese."

If this were only true! How is it then possible that the greatest supporters of the Tamil-speaking people turned into

one of the greatest promoters of "Sinhala Only"?

But what is Lund saying when she says that Tamils and Sinhalese were "artificially brought together"? Lund is justifying, as does every Pabloite revisionist, the imperialist partition of India. This is expressed in British Pabloite leader Tariq Ali's call for a "Socialist Pakistan."

But on this tiny island of Ceylon, the creation of one government over Sin-

the collapse of the 80,000 strong Lanka Estate Workers Union, which had been gaining ground steadily from the reformist plantation workers unions led by Aziz and Thondaman.

This effectively barred the growth of the LSSP in the countryside, something essential for the taking of power.

It was shortly after this, in 1963, that the SWP reunified with the Pabloites and the LSSP.

The reunification with the SWP in 1963



Colvin DeSilva, top left; Bala Tampoe, right; Ernest Mandel, bottom left; N.M. Perera, right.

halese and Tamil alike is called "artificial." Lund and the SWP, no doubt would call for "Tamil Control of the Tamil Community," which means nothing more than the acceptance of Sinhalese racism as a permanent feature of politics in Ceylon, which even the working class taking power might not be able to eradicate.

## PABLOISM

Lund then proceeds to gloss over the split in the Fourth International in 1953 and its effects in Ceylon. A third of the LSSP led by Henry Peiris and T.B. Subasinghe (today general secretary of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party), deserted on the basis that Pablo was correct on the nature of post-war Stalinism and middle class nationalist forces in the colonial countries—it would be through mass pressure on these forces that the working class would take power, therefore negating the need for the Fourth International.

In this split the LSSP lined up with Pablo. By placing a question mark over the future of the Fourth International, it became impossible to build the LSSP as a revolutionary party from 1953 on. Yet the potential had been there. On August 12, 1953, the LSSP had led the great Hartal strike action against the attacks by the UNP government on the living standards of the masses.

But with Pablo and Mandel firmly in charge, the adaptation to Bandaranaike's SLFP began.

Lund touches on the "responsive cooperation" position of the LSSP from 1956 towards the SLFP government. This was a "critical support" move, with the critical becoming less and less, and the support more and more.

By 1960, the party which Lund claims had been outstanding in its defense of the rights of the Tamil people had changed its program to read that the rights of citizenship of the Tamil Indian plantation workers, made stateless by the UNP government in 1948-49, was a matter for negotiation between the bourgeois governments of India and Ceylon.

The most immediate result of this was

was carried out on the basis of no discussion of the 1953 split or of principled differences.

It was this reunification which provided for the decisive cover behind which the right and center wing leaders of the LSSP prepared to enter the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike.

It was precisely in 1963-64 that the class struggle sharpened so much that a decisive showdown with the Bandaranaike government and the working class became inevitable.

The bulk of the island's labor federations united in the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations (JCTUO) in September, 1963. They organized around what they considered 21 non-negotiable demands.

Reformist demands on the surface for the most part, the struggle to realize these demands would have meant the taking of power by the working class and the beginnings of socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

Behind the 21 demands were united the organizations of the working class in both the cities and towns and the plantations.

On March 21, 1964, several hundred thousand workers massed in Colombo organized by the JCTUO to achieve the 21 demands. Western reporters later wrote that Mrs. Bandaranaike was physically shaking with fear—she knew what this movement of the working class meant to her and her class.

Now as zero hour on the 21 demands approached, who but Dr. N.M. Perera of the LSSP should choose to sneak in through the servants' entrance to the Prime Minister's residence with a proposal for a coalition government.

By June 7, 1964, Perera got his way, with a three fourths vote for coalition at a special party conference. The revolutionary minority walked out and formed the LSSP (R). Pablo and Mandel then found it necessary to expel all who had voted for the coalition from the ranks of the United Secretariat.

At the same time, nothing was seen wrong with Pablo holding office in Ben Bella's nationalist government in Algeria, a government which suppressed the Communist Party and strangled the trade

unions.

The LSSP-SLFP government, for the short period of time it lasted, was able to do two things: break up the JCTUO and the struggle for the 21 demands, and sign a pact with Prime Minister Shastri of India, providing for deportation within 15 years of 525,000 Tamil Indian plantation workers, and making second class citizens of the remainder.

Lund then proceeds to just touch on the 1965-69 period, when the JVP developed, and Tampoe's LSSP (R) went from one disaster to another, being today a clique of bureaucrats in the Ceylon Mercantile Union, of which Tampoe is general secretary.

The JVP was a middle class Sinhalese youth movement, formed by university students and graduates who, disgusted with the betrayals of the LSSP and CP, turned their backs on the working class.

The LSSP (R) remained isolated from this development. But as soon as the JVP began holding mass meetings attracting up to 10,000 people, Tampoe's group began to adapt to and cover up for the weaknesses of the JVP.

Seeing numbers and not politics as the decisive thing, Tampoe formed an unprincipled united front with the JVP, and introduced JVP leader Rohan Wijeweera as a "true Marxist-Leninist" at joint mass meetings.

But the JVP was an all-Sinhalese organization, and a racist organization. JVP speakers went around the island speaking on five main topics, not the least of which was "Indian imperialism."

This was and is covered up for by Tampoe. While we defend the JVP against repression, this in no way obliges us to cover up for their weaknesses.

It is no accident then, that Tampoe's union, one of the most powerful on the island, has taken only verbal action against the state of emergency.

Those who really defend the rights of the JVP, the Revolutionary Communist League, are harassed, their leaders detained and their press banned.

Once again, why are Tampoe and the SWP silent about this?

Lund's entire analysis is dominated by Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism. She continues to defend the Pabloite theory of the students as the detonator of the socialist revolution. It is theories of this order that led the members and supporters of the JVP into a bloodbath.

What stands out is how the SWP waited until the insurrection was in its last and defeated days before making any attempt of a serious analysis of the situation.

Their covering up for the weaknesses of the JVP helped lead the JVP into its present situation.

Unlike the SWP leaders, we do not view Ceylon as an isolated instance. The United Left Front of liberals, Stalinists and revisionists showed its face in the United States most graphically in the form of the anti-war marches of April 24th.

We warn that unless checked in time, the mobilizing of workers behind the liberals will lead to a Ceylon bloodbath in the USA of much greater proportions.

Lund concluded by saying that "the next stage of the struggle in Ceylon will be built on the experience gained by those who have participated in the recent political battles."

How then to explain, except by silence, the abstention of Bala Tampoe's LSSP (R) from last year's elections and the present emergency in Ceylon?

The next stage of struggle against the ruling class, will be built by those who have fought for revolutionary politics in both the US and Ceylon: the Revolutionary Communist League in Ceylon and the Workers League in the US, as part of a common struggle against the politics represented by April 24th, both here and in Ceylon.



## Big Bankers Seek Trade With China

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

Manifestations of Mao's panderings to imperialism have been apparent in Northwest news recently. An article appearing in the *Seattle Times* recounted a speech given by Charles de Bretteville to the Seattle Rotary Club on the role of Seattle in relation to the possibilities of bringing China into fullblown class-collaboration with the imperialist camp.

Charles de Bretteville is chairman of the board of the Bank of California, one of the pillars of finance capital in the imperialist system.

The article begins, "Business is entering a new era of fundamental redirection and Seattle is uniquely qualified to be among its leaders." The article goes on:

"Private capitalism can participate in the opening of trade with 750 million Chinese who must ultimately be brought into the family of nations," development of 'third world' countries, and a comprehensive building of the quality of domestic life."

Dan Evans, Governor of the state of Washington is getting into the act also. The *Seattle Times* covered the content of a telegram sent by Evans to Chou En-Lai, recounting Evans' effort to establish trade and cultural exchanges between Washington State and China.

### MISSION

His plans for doing so are contained in his desire to lead a 10-member mission to the Peoples' Republic later this year. Evans said the mission would be made up of representatives of various manufacturing, commercial, and trade organizations. Earlier in the same week, Evans had met with several industry representatives who had demonstrated interest in trading with China. Among these were the financially hard-pressed Boeing Company, and the timber industry.

In Portland, the principal speaker at the University of Portland's commencement exercises, Harrison Salisbury, assistant managing editor of the *New York Times*, commented on China's recent betrayals of the international class struggle.

He said that the loosening of trade restrictions could prove a boon. Salisbury added, "I don't expect any gold rush, but it has opened up the opportunity for the sale of American grain..."

### TREACHERY

The treachery of Stalinism becomes readily apparent when Mao reaches out to get into the capitalist mainstream as he aids in the butchery of Bengla Desh. Furthermore, capitalism continues to cash in on the nine-lives-for-capitalism strategy of socialism in one country.

As Lenin and Trotsky pointed out over and over again, the workers states can only be defended through the fight of the working class for power internationally.

# LA Workers Face Wage Slash

BY BILL WINGFIELD

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles City Council President John Gibson's proposal to resolve L.A.'s financial crisis by imposing wage cuts on the city's 28,000 employees was extended recently, in modified form, to the 72,000 men and women who draw wages from the L.A. County government's budget.

On April 14, Gibson proposed that the wages of city workers be cut 20% by means of a reduction in the work week to 32 hours with wages—in Gibson's officialese—"based on the actual hours worked rather than their present monthly salaries."

On May 24, Los Angeles County Supervisor Frank Bonelli pro-

posed to trim \$56.2 million off next year's county budget by reducing the work week of county employees to 37 1/2 hours. That is a proposed wage cut of 6 1/4%.

Prior to Bonelli's proposal, the county government had negotiated wage increases, averaging 6.2% (a bare cost-of-living increase), with several employee organiza-

tion representing 67,000 of the county workers. That amounts to an increase of just over \$50 million in the wages bill of those 67,000 workers. Thus Bonelli proposes to wipe out completely the bare cost-of-living increase the workers gained through their unions!

### VICIOUS

Although Bonelli's proposed pay cut for county workers is considerably less than that threatened by Gibson against employees of the city government,

this latest expression of the attack on California's government workers is every bit as vicious; for Bonelli's action, just as Gibson's, expresses a threat to government employees that goes beyond the threat to wages posed at the level of appearance.

Gibson made his proposal as a motion before the City Council just one day before AFSCME's UCLA rally against the wage and job freeze imposed by Reagan on state workers. And, in order to make sure that his challenge to the union had time to get gossiped about by AFSCME members, but not enough time for militants to counter defeatist gossip, Gibson released his proposal to the *LA Times* in advance of its actual presentation as a motion before the City Council. Doing its part, the *Times* obligingly gave Gibson's motion feature-coverage under its major front page headline on the morning of the day preceding AFSCME's rally. Thus Gibson's motion before the City Council was only a part of the action taken by him against both city and state employees!

It follows that government workers need not await the outcome of debates within the various bourgeois councils to draw the conclusions they require to theoretically prepare themselves for struggle.

### CONCLUSION

One conclusion that should be drawn in this instance is: **Had AFSCME responded to Gibson with a fight to bring out CSEA, AFT, and other employee organizations in a general strike against the job freeze and layoffs, Bonelli's proposal would not have been made!**

Another conclusion is: since all divisions of the governmental apparatus of the capitalist state—federal, state, county, and municipal—face the same financial crisis, public employees at all levels of government must be made to understand that they face the same attacks, that today's attack on city workers will be re-expressed more or less viciously, as an attack on county, state or federal employees tomorrow.

## Militant Machinists Suspended

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—A group of members of Lodge #1129, District 50, International Association of Machinists, employed by General Dynamics, Convair Div. here, were recently suspended from union membership.

After considerable red-baiting by the union leadership, everyone who had been involved in the publication of, or had openly supported a particular newspaper published with union funds, was found guilty of using union funds to publish a "communist" newspaper.

## Stalinists Hail Sadat

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

In the greatest display of cynicism since it hailed the Hitler-Stalin Pact as a blow against imperialism, the *People's World* has proclaimed the Soviet-Egyptian "friendship and cooperation pact" as "imperialism's smashing new defeat."

The author, Bob Kaufman, manages each week to perform the most astonishing acrobatics for his Kremlin masters. From a two faced defense of the Czech purges, to cheering on Castro in his attacks on Cuban poet Padilla to this week's astonishing discoveries.

According to Kaufman this pact has nothing whatsoever to do with "peaceful coexistence" and the strengthening of a reactionary regime in the Middle East but, "reaffirms that Egypt is committed to restructuring its society along socialist lines."

The massive purge of Egyptian CP members and sympathizers who oppose Sadat's peace plans is a minor development. As Kaufman points out "The alliance was surely tested in 1959 when Nasser arrested hundreds of Communists and other progressives. Many died in torture in prison camps... yet Soviet aid did not even slow down." As Kaufman puts it Sadat's purge indicates "an instability in the leadership of the Egyptian revolution that has still not been able to achieve that essential element in moving forward towards a socialist society, the active involvement and leadership of workers and peasants."

Any worry that workers and peasants might take some leadership is inadvertently dealt with by Kaufman when he indicates that "the new leadership of the Arab Socialist Union met with Boris Ponomarev, representing the Soviet Communist Party to seek the aid of the Soviet party in helping to make the ASU more truly a vanguard party."

Thus the CP lines up with the

butchers of the Arab Revolution and provides a cover for preparations for new repression.

From Ceylon to Pakistan, from Czechoslovakia to Cuba and now Egypt the *People's World* joins with those who strangle the independence of the working class.

It is for this reason that they now oppose any criticism of the Schrades, Woodcocks, Bridges and Abels and fight so desperately to head off the independent political movement of the working class with popular front politics.

### BERKELEY

The Berkeley election is at the very center of this perspective. According to Bettina Aptheker in the May 29 *People's World* the Berkeley Coalition is not a liberal or center coalition but a new movement for electoral independence. This new movement personified by Ron Dellums is seen as "uniting the Black Community, the academic student movement and the most advanced sections of the organized labor movement."

Dellums is viewed not as a bourgeois politician but, as "an independent radical-democratic force outside of the bourgeois political spectrum." This is a very fancy way of saying a petty bourgeois element who can of course be in no way independent of the bourgeoisie.

The Berkeley Coalition, a crew of petty bourgeois radicals, completely hostile to the working class and committed only to a few mild reforms of the police department is posed as the way forward for a working class facing the greatest attacks since the 1930s.

Around this perspective the Stalinists now come forward to beat back every movement of the class which could develop into a political movement for a labor party.

We warn, the defense of Sadat is no accident. It is a consistent part of the Stalinist bid to become the staunchest defenders of the bourgeois order here at home.


The local Lodge had originally found the group guilty and recommended that they be suspended for one year. The District, having higher authority, overruled the Lodge sentence and ruled that all who were involved should be suspended for five years, with the exception of a business representative who was only sharply reprimanded.

The immediate result is that this group cannot, for the next five years, work as machinists. This ouster sets a very dangerous precedent for all organized labor. The paper represented opposition to the rotten leadership of the District and its Lodges. In view of the recent hotly contested District elections, which are still not settled (due to charges of illegal balloting procedures), and the widespread hostility of the ranks to the local leadership, we are forced to conclude that the bureaucrats are being backed up against the wall, and are lashing out at any potential threat to their positions.

The red-baiting used against this group then must be seen as an excuse that was used to muzzle a militant opposition. That excuse will be used again and new excuses will be found to try to ensure that the leadership will maintain its position in order to continue doing the dirty work of the capitalists.

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# West Coast News

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

## Unemployment Hits 600,000 In California

BY STEVE ZELTZER  
California which has been hit by massive cutbacks in government spending and a depression in its electronics and aerospace industry reached an unemployment rate of 7.4% in May the highest level since 1958.

Over 600,000 workers were without jobs, an increase of 7,000 over April and of 130,000 over May, 1970, when the unemployment rate was 5.8%.

The city of Stockton continued to have the highest regional unemployment rate in the state with 8.9 percent of its available workers out of jobs, followed by Los Angeles with 7.6% unemployed.

With 250,000 high school seniors graduating at the end of the current school year and the majority moving in the labor market the prospect for a summer job or any job for that matter is very dim.

Robert H. Finch, Mr. Nixon's counselor who is in California blamed the high unemployment on the Vietnam War cutbacks. "The same people who were picketing me two years ago be-

cause of the big military program are now picketing because they've lost their jobs in the aerospace industry," Finch said.

The rising unemployment however is the conscious policy of the capitalist government attempting to stifle inflation and increase productivity. Nixon, Reagan and the rest of their class are attempting to use the possible loss of 70,000 jobs at Lockheed and the bankruptcy of the railroads as a whipsaw to lower wages and break the trade unions.

The trade union bureaucracy calls for the election of the Democrats as a solution to the economic policy of the Republicans yet both parties start with the continued existence of capitalism and only differ on how to deal with its bankruptcy.

Democrats and Republicans together call for wage freezes, anti-strike legislation and welfare cuts.

The trade union movement must break once and for all from these labor haters and build its own party. This is the only answer to the policies of the capitalist parties.



Harry Bridges, head of ILWU, refuses to take up fight against bosses plans for unemployment.

## Bridges Prepares For Sellout

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—With less than a month to go till the expiration of the ILWU longshore contract the leadership is doing everything in its power to reach a sellout agreement without a strike.

Everything that Bridges has written and said indicates that, true to the M&M philosophy, he is willing to accept continued automation, attrition and eventual port closures.

Dockers face the most serious struggle in the history of the union with no commitments from the leadership to stand firm on any program or strategy.

M&M is now completely discredited throughout the union. It has been paid for in a run down of conditions and mass unemploy-

ment. The PMA is hell bent on continuing this process through massive automation and the reduction of the union to a small, highly skilled force subject to the most intensive exploitation.

The only way to fight this is in a complete rejection of all automation and attrition schemes and an all out struggle for the shorter work week with a forty hour guarantee for all dockers.

Bridges' strategy is to prevent such a united fight by turning the "A" men against the "B" men and heating up a civil war with the Teamsters.

He is depending on his ability to use the large unemployment among "A" men and the virtual depression in the "B" section of the union to sell two contracts to the ranks.

Bridges is fighting tooth and nail to sell longshoremen on a fight with the teamsters to take over all container freight station work at reduced pay and inferior conditions to those on the docks.

### BLOW

This agreement is calculated to strike a deadly blow at the hiring hall by employing hundreds of men as steady workers. It will ultimately lead to the elimination of most work opportunity outside the stations as the loading and

unloading of containerized ships will be handled by very few men.

What is now needed is a mass fight to see to it that no section of longshoremen will work under inferior wages and conditions.

### FIGHT

Both the CFS and the M&M agreement must be completely rejected. An all out fight must be launched for united action with the teamsters to preserve all cargo handling jobs around the demand for a forty hour guarantee, the shorter work week and absolutely no elimination of jobs.

Dockers must stand firm in demanding that no jobs be handled except through the hiring hall and all work to be done at the same rates and conditions.

There must be no compromise on the wage demands of a dollar an hour each year of a two year contract.

Dockers must be prepared to call out the entire labor movement in their support to defeat any government attempts at strike breaking.

The construction of a leadership that will fight for this perspective is now the only way forward on the docks.

## Fight Chrysler Layoffs

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MAYWOOD—Last week's Bulletin reported on the closure of the Chrysler assembly plant in Maywood. Earlier in the year nearly 800 workers had been laid off and now the remaining 1200 are to get the axe.

The response of regional director Paul Schrade must be seen as a warning to every UAW member. Schrade is the darling of the revisionists, featured speaker at the April 24 NPAC rally and constantly quoted by the Stalinists.

Not only does Schrade not have a program to fight back but, he acts like a member of the board of directors of Chrysler. He disputes with the employers on their own terms.

He claims that the plant should not be shut down on the basis that it is one of the most efficient plants in operation. He claims that the fault lies in the fact that the auto companies

are not perfecting their techniques as quickly as their foreign competitors. He points out that he and the UAW bureaucracy have been demanding for some time the production of more compact cars in order to better compete with foreign imports.

Of course Schrade never bothers to mention that it is that efficiency which he and the UAW bureaucracy have fought so hard to establish that enables companies like Chrysler to rationalize by shutting down operations.

Indeed in this period of capitalist crisis the harder the ranks are forced to work the sooner they will work themselves out of a job.

Apart from appealing to Chrysler to "reconsider their cruel and deplorable decision" Schrade and UAW Chrysler division vice president have little to offer but some proposals to work out transfers which will enable men with seniority to bump their fellow workers at midwestern plants.

## Roofers Win 25% Hike, Explode Wage Guides

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SAN DIEGO—Despite the treachery of union leaders who refused to strike construction sites, roofers of Local 45 have won a contract agreement that threatens to explode Nixon's Wage Review Board, and set back attempts to freeze wages in construction.

After three weeks off the job, roofers and the Roofing Contractors Association agreed to a three-year contract involving a

four-dollar wage and benefit package, with a 25% increase in the first year. Although full terms of the contract have yet to be released, roofers have indicated that the settlement in wages and fringes is only eleven cents short of the original demands. This attests to the strength of the construction unions, because the sell-out leadership of Local 45 and the San Diego Building Trades Council consistently refused to put up picket lines and mobilize the other union to support the roofers.

The result of their fight is a contract that can pose a lead to every other construction union facing negotiations in the near future. With the roofers' contract as a guide, the wage offensive in construction would deepen into an all-out battle against the contractors, who vowed at their recent convention to cooperate with the federal government in smashing the power of the construction unions.

That is why the roofers' fight is not over. In fact, it has only begun. The contractors have made it clear that they do not intend to abide by the agreement. Instead of taking up a struggle against the construction unions, they are calling on the federal government to beat back the roofers. The contractors are appealing to the Wage Review Board to revoke the very agreement that these contractors have just signed!

The ranks must stop this dangerous precedent dead in its tracks. All agreements must take effect immediately, and without regard to any government wage freeze board. The government cannot get away with beating down even one union anywhere in this country. The slightest move to smash the roofers' contract must be met by a swift and powerful GENERAL STRIKE of all labor.

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