BREAK ALUMINUM, CAN PATTERN

STEELWORKER RANKS CAN WIN 2 DOLLARS

POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

The recently concluded settlement in the aluminum industry providing for an estimated 3% average wage increase over the next three years is a blow aimed against the rank and file steelworkers whose contract in basic steel expires July 31.

This settlement, lauded by the top leaders of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and denounced as "inflationary" by the Administration, is in reality an attempt by an unholy alliance of Abel, Nixon, U.S. Steel and Wall Street to foist the can-aluminum "pattern" onto the more than 150,000 workers who produce the country's basic steel.

As such, it aims to establish this "pattern" throughout industry—to saddle the American working class with a "pattern" that does not even begin to meet the needs of steelworkers or any other workers.

The answer of the rank and file workers in basic steel has got to be that they will not swallow this deal, that they will say "NO" to this can-aluminum pattern, and begin a campaign now for $2.00/hour wage increase the first year.

No amount of deception can alter the basic fact that the can-

(Continued on Page 3)

French Trotskyists Rally On Commune

Scab Truck Kills Striker At Newark Texaco Plant

PL's WAR AGAINST LENIN

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

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French Trotskyists Rally On Commune

Scab Truck Kills Striker At Newark Texaco Plant
13,000 Celebrate Commune

BY MARTY JONAS

The 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune was commemorated in Paris by the Alliance Ouvrièrre Internationale. The demonstration formed an enormous show of support for the Paris Commune.

The demonstration to pay homage to the workers and the heroes who fell in its defense was comprised of large contingents not only from the AK, but also from the Organization Communiste Internationale (French section of the Fourth International), and the Comité des Alliance Ouvrièrre (Committee of Workers' Alliances).

The demonstration brought the huge Trotskyist contingent together with leaders of the Socialists Party and contingents from Force Ouvrière, the country's second largest trade union.

COMMUNE

The march was fifteen deep across the street and led by the banner of the National Committee formed to commemorate the Commune. The banner carried a giant poster of the death notice of the Commune's president, Louis-Léopold Bois: "The Commune Is Not Dead." As the banner passed the plaque dedicated the martyrs of the Commune, shouts of "Long Live the Commune!" and the singing of the "Internationale" were taken up. As the banner of the OCI passed the memorial, a tremendous shout of "Long Live the Fourth International!" went up from the demonstrators.

The march culminated a major national campaign of the OCI. The demonstration was attended by 40,000 delegates crowded into the Mutualité Hall in the center of Paris. The delegates had been elected by at least ten times their number of students and young workers at meetings across the country.

FUTURE

Charles Berg, AIS National Secretary, made clear the intention of the French Trotskyists to lead the working class in completing the fight started by the Workers of the Commune in 1871.

"We are in the period of the commencement of the revolution and we must win tens of thousands of young workers who are today also to be the 'Third Force' and the government," he told the delegates. "We marched not merely to commemorate the Commune, like a working class Bastille Day, but to affirm that the Commune is not dead and to prepare the future rule of the working class." Subsequent speakers all voiced the determination to crush the capitalist government of Pompíau as well as the counterrevolutionary efforts of the forces which keep that government in power.

VOYATION

A standing ovation was given Helene Fargier, the young teacher who was gravely injured by Stalinist thugs two weeks before, when she opened the discussion of Comrade Berg's report.

"The more the Stalinists attack us, the bigger the crisis will get inside the CP," she said.

The packed gathering voted unanimously for a resolution pledging maximum support to the Fourth International, to be held in Essen, Germany, on July 4 and 5.

Egypt & Soviet Sign 'Peace Pact'

BY TOM GORDON

On May 27th, Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, fresh from a purge of pro-Moscow leaders from his government, signed a 15-year "friendship and cooperation pact" with Soviet Union President Nikolai Podgorny.

RESPONSIBLE

The treaty ends Egypt and the Soviet Union to "make efforts toward achieving and ensuring a lasting and fair peace in the Middle East in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter". Both parties pledged concerted action against any "danger to peace," and mutual noninterference in the internal affairs of each regime.

The Soviet Union will continue full military, economic, and technical aid to Sadat's bourgeois regime. This treaty can only be another blow against the masses of the Arab Revolution. Its role is only to try to halt Sadat's swing toward the United States, by promising more aid to help in the repression of the masses in Egypt and in strengthening the Egyptian regime against the guerrilla uprisings which are occurring even now.

VAGUE

This is why Podgorny refuses to say one word about the Egyptian Communist Party members and sympathizers now jailed for opposing Sadat's plan to reopen the Suez Canal even without a full Israeli pullback. This is why he has only vague phrases of "support" for the guerrillas coupled with material military and economic supplies for Sadat.

The New York Times, despite the Kremlin's left talk, reports that Washington "the Administration's Middle East specialists do not believe it (the treaty) will hurt the negotiations toward a reopening of the Suez Canal... They also believe there is no chance for the Soviet Union to continue to favor such an agreement..."

The world economic crisis is forcing bourgeois nationalists like Sadat and the CPE into Bandaranaike to line up openly with imperialism and repress the national and working class movements at home.

The Popular Fronts of the PLO will provide Sadat with another "left" cover for a deal with the Zionists at the expense of the Arab masses. This has been the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East all along.
By An SSEU-371 Member

**NEW YORK—The recent gains in the ranks of SSEU-371 to carry through the fight against layoffs to the end was clearly expressed at the SSEU Delegates Assembly meeting on May 27. At the meeting, a motion was overwhelmingly carried which called upon SSEU-371 President Hill to do the following: call publicly for a general strike of the workers to call the worker back to the Cannondale site to demand the immediate reinstatement of the workers from the days of the contract. The three-day, ending in an immediate press conference; have a petition circulated throughout DC 37 calling for a member of the Board of the District of the Council.

The decision by the Delegates Assembly represents a major step toward the level of contract won in the General Electric strike.

The aluminum settlement calls for $14.00 an hour over three years which includes a total of 25c an hour cost of living adjustment paid only in the second and the third year of the contract. It increased the saving, which steelworkers lost in 1989 will bring additional increases in the second and third years of the contract. This is an example of the power of labor groups to call the worker back to the Cannondale site to demand the immediate reinstatement of the workers from the days of the contract.

Several members of the Cannondale site, already facing layoffs, have been hospitalized, according to the Cannondale site.

By David Nichols

The Senate's last week was Percent, 200 people, and the start of the American GIs in Viet-

nam were in the United States, and the first to be published on our issue of March 15.

I know this is a kind of battle that the ranks in steel must prepare around the content of the G.I.s and the steelworkers are ready to fight. The President George H. W. Bush (R) and the President's budget, in their report "The World's Population Problem," last week, he said that the Air America, an arm of the Pentagon, has taken the role of the heroin and that through completely with the puppet government of the Sino-Vietnam. In the first place was explained by Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D-III.) the role of the heroin and that the heron does not come from Vietnam but from the rest of the world. Laos, Cam-

(Continued On Page 1)

40,000 GIs On Heroin

STEEL WORKERS MUST FIGHT FOR $200 AN HOUR

(Continued From Page 1)

out is far closer to the needs of the steelworkers. This settlement was won only after a series of wildcat and full-scale rank and file revolts by the Teamsters against the original aims of the Fitzsimmons leadership.

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Cops Murder Black Youth In Chattanooga

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The rebellion of hundreds of youth in Chattanooga, Tennessee over the past week marked a new upsurge in the class struggle in the South. The government has answered the new upsurge with cold blooded murder.

The disturbances in Chattanooga began on May 22 when hundreds of Black youth who were refused refunds for a cancelled performance by the Wilson Pickett Review. The police proceeded to further provoke the youth with insults and harassment.

Two thousand National Guardsmen were called into the city by Mayor Robert Walker and a court martial. Three hundred youth were arrested, most of them on Friday night and Monday morning, local lawyers appointed as temporary judges cracked out cases in makeshift courtrooms.

Taking their cue from New York City, they went to the streets and were met with a "shoot to kill," Chattanooga Police and National Guard killed Leonard Anderson, an unemployed Black student, right on the spot.

Wylie Williams, a friend of the murdered man, said, "Leon was an outstanding student. He was the type of boy you would just love and..." He was cut off by the guardsmen who were waiting for another one.

"They had a sandbag against the rail..." Williams said... "He had one of these kids holing up in the wall. He said, 'Get up nigger, get up, nigger'"

DYING

The cops then cursed and kicked Anderson as he lay dying. His last words were, "I did nothing."

They took him to the Drey, Mississippi, drunken vigilantes murdered 18 year old Joelle Collier, a black schoolteacher and the way to her graduation party.

Meadville, a white civil rights leader from Mississippi, stated, "I believe they had one of their sandbaggers. They were black and they were. This is not the first incident where reporters believe that black people have the capacity.

Attorney General Mitchell's call on police departments to deal with protests through mass arrests, was carried out by Chattanooga Mayor Walker's arrest of thirty youth protesting the death of Miss Joelle Collier.

NIXON

The murders in Chattanooga and Ogden, New York are part of a concerted move by the Nixon administration to break the workers' movement in the South. It is precisely in Wallace's direction that the capitalist class is being reinforced through the use of repression to crush the movement of the workers and youth.

The workers' protest and bargaining is for changes is over. The upsurge is going to be placed at a time of massive working class struggle throughout the country.

The central task now confronting the working class is the construction of a political weapon, a labor party, to unite the working class on a revolutionary and minority social and economic struggle against Nixon and the entire capitalist system.

Strikes Spread Against Layoffs In Illinois

BY JONAH GALLATIN

CHICAGO—Throughout the state of Illinois, the workers' demands for job security and wage increases to protect their standard of living are being met with fierce opposition from the employers and the government.

Massive layoffs and plant closings have thrown more than a thousand workers out of jobs in dozens cities across Illinois from Rock Island to Danville.

In Urbana, Magnavox laid off nearly 300 workers just last month, and now the company is threatening to shut down its plant permanently, which will throw hundreds more out of work.

Scab Truck Kills N.J. Gas Picket

BY ALFRED RICHARDS

A massive picket line was thrown up in front of Western Union as strike began. Workers main demands center around wage hike.

Pickets Up At Western Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The acuella of the New York 21 and the dismissal of charges against Bobo Seale and Ericka Huggins in no way mean that Nixon intends to stop his repressive actions against the Black Panther Party.

As the New York 21 trial went into its final stages, New York police arrested three members of the Detroit, Ohio branch of the Black Panthers on April 28. The three arrested, Area Captain Mike Molloy, Raymond Dillard and Cheryl Higgins, had come to New York to observe the New York 21 trial and confer with both factions of the New York Panthers. Plane tickets po-
Leaders Try To Block NLRB Strike

The shipping employers are preparing now to undertake a series of further drastic reductions in the deck force in an attempt to avoid the contract's closing the gap between the shipper's demands.

GOVERNMENT

But the danger of government intervention is very real. The recent President-Congressional action to block the railroad signalmen's strike on Nixon's plan to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry aimed at the threats of the longshoremen this fall. The ILA rank must prepare to protect both the workers, the government and the potential leadership of the Gloudon-Smith leadership.

The ranks of the ILA must project a plan to beat the strike by fighting for a program that will satisfy the employers and the government:

Keep the guarantee and extend the guaranteed 200 hours yearly and the New York container terminal.

For a two-year national contract with $1.65 an hour raise after the first year.

Demand that all the LAD and other automated ships, which threaten to make the whole ILA obsolete.

For a 30 hour week and 40 hours pay.

Nationalize the shippers who claim they can't afford to pay! Defeat all anti-strike legislation.

Build a labor party!

Minneapolis Teachers Face Loss Of Past Gains In Survival Fight

By BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—All the gains of the past years in the very survival of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (MFT) itself are today called into question.

That is the central warning from this past year. All the lessons from that period following the 1970 strike must now be brought into full discussion inside the MFT.

The “Gentlemen’s Agreement” which ended the 1970 strike in a compromise has been torn to shreds by the “Gentlemen” on the School Board, the legislature and the courts.

The settlement provided that striking teachers would receive a 10 per cent payment one year after the strike equal to the increase the sub teachers received.

It paid teachers for seven days of “striking” if they took part in the strike when the schools were closed by the Board. It also promised “overload” that section of the state's no strike law which takes away striker's tenure for two years.

For one year the leadership of the MFT went the way of the courts and the legislature to protect this settlement when it came under direct attack launched by labor-hating ex-governor Lowery, all to no avail. The lumpy sam settlement was taken away. The seven days pay are now being deducted from striking teachers' paychecks.

The settlement included

Glen Ray, a militant with years of tenure has been fired without even a right to a hearing. To add insult to injury he had all seven days pay from last year deducted in his final check. Since teachers are not eligible for unemployment, Ray is forced to go off welfare.

These various attacks are followed by the 1971-72 salary proposals of the School Board which are so far below what the teachers are demanding and need, it is absurd.

On May 26th the MFT voted overwhelmingly to take a strike vote and were prepared to strike immediately. This resolution was supported by MFT officials Norm Maen and Dale Holstrom who missed the last night fall. Both officials declared that the teachers don't want a strike but every question is nailed down tight.

"We tried working through the system this year and have found out that it doesn't work. Next fall is not going to be a clean strike. No one is going to cross our picket lines. It might just come down to an insurrection," Moen declared.

These militant words were the only words. On May 26th they held a press conference announcing a special membership meeting May 26th to set a strike date for the first week of June at this meeting best spoke. The meeting of 300 teachers out of 1200 voted to postpone the strike vote until September. The leadership made this an attempt to mollify the rags.

PREPARE

Every retreat from the militancy of last spring's strike on the part of the leadership has only diminished the power of the School Board. They too are preparing for next fall.

The situation must be turned around now, at the June 9th meeting. The leadership must make demands that will beat back the attacks of the School Board. The leadership must start a campaign to draw on the support of the entire labor movement.

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On May 30, 1971, a Smith’s meat plant manager in the Argentine industrial city of Rosario, Santos Sylvester, was released after a week’s captivity by the People’s Revolutionary Army (ERA), supporters of the Patólibe United Secretariat which is also a member of the Latin American Socialist Workers Party. His release was secured by the distribution of $62,500 worth of food, blankets, and clothing to the Rosario poor by the Smith management, the major demand of the kidnappers.

The action is a reflection of the absolute bankruptcy of middle-class radicalism. Just two months ago yet another general strike hit the industrial city of Cordoba in a situation of military dictatorship. The action itself was carried out on the anniversary of the death of Luis Blanco, a fifteen-year-old student killed in clashes with police during the great Argentine general strike movement of June 1969.

The week following the kidnapings Argentine President Lamases reshuffled his cabinet in a desperate effort to maintain a balance between the military and an increasingly militant labor movement, which sees 30% wage increases chewed up by inflation of two months at the same time as Argentina’s economic crisis makes a peso devaluation inevitable.

In this situation Lamasses announced that those selected for his new cabinet are leaders of the Peronist labor unions. The followers of this Bonapartist demagogue have dominated the Argentine labor movement for decades. Now this leadership is being drawn into Lamasses’s cabinet precisely to discipline and stop forward movement of the working class.

The way is rapidly being cleared for the construction of a new leadership in the working class to clear out capitalism in Argentina forever. In a situation never more favorable to the building of a new revolutionary party, the supporters of the United Secretariat are incapable of anything but a propagandistic exercise in middle-class radicalism against “foreign exploiters” in the tradition of the Uruguayan Tupamaros (enthusiastically endorsed by Castro). In a situation where he struggles for Trotskyism is a number one on the agenda, the supporters of the United Secretariat can open only in middle class terrorism. This is Patólibe in action. Its role has always been and always will be to disarm the struggle for the leadership of the working class by Trotskyism, substituting instead the maneuvers and protests of sections of the “radical” or “progressive” middle class.

It would be a great mistake therefore to consider the activities of the ERA simply as an Argentine question. The responsibility for the actions of the Argentine Patólibe falls squarely on the shoulders of the American SWP. It was precisely around this question of guerillaism that the SWP organized its split from the International Com- munist Federation in 1966. The SWP’s renunciation of internationalism and its reunification with the Patólibe. Point 13 of the SWP split statement, upon which the unification took place reads as follows:

“Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare carried out by landless peasants and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semi-colonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War. The experience must be corporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in the colonial countries.” (our emphasis) (“For Marxist Clarification of the World Trotskyist Movement”).

ABN ANOR SMC HITS HOLLIGUANISM

On May 12, 1971, the Ann Arbor SMC voted to reaffirm its stand against the use of physical violence to settle political disputes within the movement for social change. The SMC also reaffirmed its right to participate in the Workers League, and any other tendency, to distribute its literature anywhere and at anytime that it chooses without threat of physical intimidation.
On the Road to Revolution III

FOR THE LAST decade Maoism and the Maoist bureaucracy in China have been able to cover their counterrevolutionary politics behind left-sounding propaganda, slogans and denunciations of "Soviet revisionism." But as with all centrist tendencies when the hour of danger approaches, when it becomes impossible to balance between reform and revolution, the true nature of these tendencies breaks out on the surface. Thus the Maoist bureaucracy openly aids the butchery of Yasho Khan against the Bangla Desh and extends its hand to U.S. imperialism.

In order to make the Chinese Revolution Mao broke pragmatically from Stalin in which popularly supported Chiang Kai Shek and the capitalists. Later Mao, again pragmatically, reacted to Kao's counterrevolutionary denouements with U.S. imperialism. But now it is clear to all that with the return of the prodigal son to the lap of Stalin, no matter how "left" Stalinism may appear on the surface, its essence remains Stalinist and counterrevolutionary. This is the lesson of the events in Pakistan.

This is the lesson not only for China but for all those tendencies which reacting to the degeneration of the Soviet Union, the betrayals of the Communist Parties throughout the world grabbed onto the shritsails of Mao. This is the lesson for the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S.

In 1961 a group which was to form the Progressive Labor Movement and later the Progressive Labor Party broke from the American Communist Party. But this break was a pragmatic one, for at no point did the leadership of PL attempt to get to the roots of revisionism. Since its break it has stumbled pragmatically from one position to the next, from one hysterical zig-zag to the next. It has gone from support and defense of the Soviet Union before calling for a "Fascist state," from uncritical support to Black nationalism to the denial today of the demand for self-determination under any conditions. Early in its history it lined up uncritically with Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. In the latest issue of Challenge (May 21, 1971), it suddenly announces (and none too soon we might add) that "the CCP is no longer following a revolutionary course.">

But this time PL has stumbled into a hole which will break it from even the flimsiest connection with the working class movement and Marxism. Behind all of PL's left chants and slogans is its war against Marxism, against dialectical materialism and against the working class.

ROAD TO REVOLUTION III

This is the meaning of the discussion now going on inside PL centered around a basic document on strategy entitled Road to Revolution III. This document printed for internal consumption and entitled "NC (National Committee) Report on the Continuing Struggle Against Revisionism" is probably the most blatant attack on every principle of Marxism that has ever appeared in the history of the working class movement.

The document makes two central points which are supplemented with "Background Reports." The first is that the roots of revisionism go back to Lenin and the strategy of the Bolshevik Party for the October Revolution, particularly its approach to the peasantry. The second point is that socialism has been "re-versed" in China, primarily because Mao followed Lenin's perspective. To Lenin and Leninism, the leadership of PL counterposes the Paris Commune and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

PL has begun in this document to call into question the whole existence and continuity of the Marxist movement, the experience and historical gains of the working class and with this its ability to take power today. This is how PL assesses the history of the working class movement in its internal report:

"As is so often the case, the leaders not only did not lead, they did not understand the dynamics of the social forces they were struggling to keep up with. The communists thereby developed a false consciousness of what they were involved in, and the masses of working people accepted this consciousness, which thus became a causal factor in future developments. That what actually happened bore no relation to what the communists thought was happening or would happen demonstrates how little they understood the social dynamics of our revolutionary age. And in this latter are to be found all the leaders of the communist movement, each of whom based his polemic against the other on this or that aspect of Lenin's analysis—which was wrong to begin with. That is the fundamental reason for the equivocal character of communist theory and practice. When it tried to explain its correct actions it did so incorrectly, for a correct analysis contradicted the general line. When it attempted to straighten itself out and get closer to reality, all it could really do was sink deeper into the hole, or commit a series of absurdities, scholasticisms or crimes whose only redeeming feature was their noble intent. The final result was the collapse of the movement, its practice and its theory, and the consequent rebirth in 'socialist' garb of anarchist theory and petty-bourgeois politics." (1)

This is a fitting description not of the history of the Marxist movement but of PL itself. Above all it reflects the scepticism and despair of the middle-class radical who has severed himself from this movement and its strategy and today finds himself bankrupt in the face of the tremendous struggles of the working class internationally.

ORIGINS OF PL

While it is important to deal with PL's actual attacks on Lenin and its distortions of history, it is essential that first of all we understand the origins and history of this organization and the philosophical method from which it proceeds.

In 1961 a group around Milt Rosen, presently head of PL, was expelled from the American Communist Party. While PL has never published any material actually dealing with the split, it appears that it was primarily centered on the question of the CP's orientation to the trade unions, its support to the Democratic Party and its conservatism in the student movement.

In a "discussion article" entitled "The Party and the Labor Movement" published in the May, 1959 issue of the CP's Political Affairs, Rosen urged the CP to take up a more militant line in the trade unions. "It is not sufficient for us," said Rosen, "merely to echo the demands of the trade-union leaders, or just to fight for the positive proposals that emanate from the labor hierarchy." (2) Rosen also urged that the question of "Socialism" be brought into the trade unions.

However, while inside and outside the CP, PL refused to come to grips theoretically with the revisionism of the CP. Above all it refused to confront the question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism. Inside the CP, the group began to raise criticisms of the Soviet Union and were branded by the CP as Albanians.

The basic group consisted of a section of the CP's trade union group including Rosen, sections of the Communist Party youth, and middle class intellectuals like Mort Scheer who had been well trained in the CP in Stalinist slander and falsification.

This group around Rosen and its roots in the Foster section of the party. Foster together with James P. Cannon, who was later to become the leader of the American Trotskyist movement, represented within the early CP the native born American workers and the orientation to the American working class. At the same time both Cannon and Foster reflected the weakness of American radicalism, its nationalism and pragmatism, its hostility to theory.

Cannon took a step, a step which in fact made possible the building of a Leninist party in the U.S., to break with this theoretical backwardness when he
supported Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Foster, however, a member of Stalin’s militant trade union movement, joined Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Foster had followed Trotsky’s policies in terms of “common sense.”

Foster’s perspective was to build a movement in the trade unions. In his words, Foster did not follow Lenin’s policies in terms of trade union unity. Of course the whole history of Foster and the CP shows his attempt to be irreconcilable with Leninist policies and its policies reflect an adaptation to the pressures of imperialist on the workers states and the substitution of revisionism for world revolution. At the same time militant trade unionism which denies the necessity for Marxist theory leaves the trade unionists open to the attack of the capitalist class and politically tied to it. As a result of this perspective the CP in the 1930s led the working class into an alliance with Stalin and Hitler.

The bankruptcy and anti-working class character of Foster’s perspective was openly revealed when his group which had a majority in the leadership, lined up against and expelled the Gates section of the leadership which controlled the Daily Worker. After the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution the Gates group began to break away from the CP. Foster does something for a true historical accounting of the Stalin era. Gus Hall, writing in the New York Times in 1971 said, “We shall seek political reality in the 1970s.” Political Af-fairs in anniversary of Foster’s 90th birthday, singles out Foster’s valuable service in this struggle.

Foster also played a leading role in the defense of the Party against a group of revisionists and liquidators led by John Gates, in 1956.” (3)

For Lenin the chance to criticize in public the Soviet Union was a great opportunity. Foster supported this idea in his own time outside of the Communist Party and in a period of the deepening crisis of Stalinism interna-tionally. In other words he supported the build of an American movement which “built a base” in the working class against Stalinism in the world and against the bourgeoisie.

At the heart of this perspective was the refusal of the leadership to break with pragmatism, to take up a theoretical struggle against its past and its roots in Stalinism. It has refused to probe to the roots of revisionism in Stalinism and its opportunism adaptation to the conditions which grew up in the Soviet Union and internationally after the October Revolution. Above all it has refused to confront the struggle of Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement against Stalinism.

As the crisis of Stalinism deepened with the whole world in crisis, the Party opened up in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it found its reflection in the growing split between China and the Soviet Union. Reacting empirically to the split, PL took up sides with Mao and the Chinese bureaucracy. It thus shifted its alliance with the bureaucracy and China. This was a pragmatic alliance, the leadership of the Party turned to the Maoists of Maoism, Maoism provided PL with a left cover particularly among the youth and minorities for its opportunism and conservatism.

ROAD TO REVOLUTION I

In Road to Revolution I, the first document of the Progressive Labor Party written in 1964, we can get a look at not only the perspectives of PL in this era but also the political perspectives for its evolution from Road to Revolution I to Road to revolution III. In Road to Revolution I PL sought to separately out the history of the American Communist Party from the international movement and the developments within the Soviet Union and the Bolshevist Party.

“Revisionism always came forward in this country based on the theory of American exceptionalism,” that the development of capitalism in the U.S. was different than in other countries; that a revolutionary outlook was not necessary: for the U.S. imperialists, it was claimed, were different from other imperialists, as they did not follow an expansionist policy. Enlightened capitalists could make automatic concessions to their own workers. Therefore, there could be an evolutionary path to socialism rather than a revolutionary one.” (7)

This “theory” PL attributes to the leaders of the CP, in particular to Browder and Lovestone. This PL attributed to the development of the CP. But, according to PL, the CP also had a “positive-side”:

“By utilizing its militant pragmatic approach the CP was able to recruit tens of thousands because of its hardhitting fight for reforms. The CP fought effectively for social security, unemployment insurance, and other welfare and other gains credited to the New Deal. And, of course, the Party standing on the side of the working class, on the side of the exploiters of the working class.

As for the development of revisionism interna-tionally, the CP also, in the Soviet Union, PL simply lays it at the doorstep of Tito and Khrushchev and the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union where it sees the “crystallization of developing revisionist trends.”

(8) What disturbed PL, however, most of all about the Congress was Khrushchev’s attacks on Stalin and the “prepared the ground for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed.” (8)

Instead of a dialectical analysis of history, the roots of revisionism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union we are treated to eclecticism. PL abstracts out of history, out of reality, certain impressions and aspects of reality, which it seeks artificially to set up as opposites and resolve in itself.

As Lenin pointed out, particularly in his struggle with Bakhtin on the trade union question, (11) all we get from such a definition are various sides of a phenomenon and nothing more. With this method PL cannot get to its essence and fundamental character. To understand any phenomenon we must study its contradictions, all its sides and connections and re-lationships. Secondly we must take the phenomenon in its development, its changes and connections with the real world. We must analyze it concretely, not the basis of the development of human experience and knowledge. We must seek to understand reality as part of it and as participants in changing it. (12)

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First of all it removes the American Communist Party and Stalin from history and from the historical period and the class struggle internationally. It re-moves them from the developments within the Bol-shevik Party after the October Revolution. PL also removes them from the outside the continuity of the Marxist movement.

PL approaches the question of revisionism as a middle class commentator picking and choosing cer-tain aspects of history and making a judgment upon them. In other words we have the good and bad, the positive and negative sides of the CP and Stalin.

But this method has absolutely nothing to do with dialectics or with Marxism. Marx in fact took this up sharply in his polemic with Proudhon in the Poverty of Philosophy.

“For him, M. Proudhon, every economic category has two sides, one good, the other bad. He looks upon these categories as the petty bourgeois looks upon the great men of history: Napoleon was a great man; he did a lot of good; he also did a lot of harm.”

Marx goes on to describe how Proudhon approaches the economic category of slavery in this way:

“Would M. Proudhon do to save slavery? He would formulate the problem thus: preserve the good side of this economic category, eliminate the bad…”

This method very much reflects the outlook of the middle class caught between the capitalist class and the working class and attempting to balance between the two to avoid the class struggle. Since all you can do with this method is describe the various sides, you cannot make an independent assessment or take a side. It is the end because an acceptance of the reality of the existing leadership of the working class and ul-timately of capitalism. All you can do is patch up this reality just as Proudhon did with slavery.
For PL it represents its acceptance of American pragmatism and its attempt to find a compromise between the working class and the interests of capitalism as they are expressed in Stalinism and trade union bureaucracy.

Since it is impossible for them to do anything but make a distinction between good and bad, PL's judgment is really not made objectively but subjectively. It is based on what works for it at any particular time.

In this way PL picks and chooses from history in order to justify its position. In other words PL picks out and classifies as positive the CP's "militant pragmatic approach" to the trade unions and its "heroic role" in the working class in the 1930s and 1940s. This really becomes PL's way of accepting almost totally the positions of the Communist Party in this period. At the same time it does not have to answer for their fruits in the betrayal of the American working class.

While PL concludes that the CP was a party of reform, this flows not so much from its assessment of the CP as it does from its existence outside of it. PL's new analysis of Stalin and Stalinism and his "anti-imperialist line," without taking responsibility for his crimes. While PL attacks Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin in 1956, it fails to even mention the Hungarian revolution which shook the international Stalinist movement. Following Foster's lead Rosen and his group supported those tanks when they rolled against the Hungarian workers.

PL's analysis, its methods, becomes a cover for its own. In this way it avoids the fundamental questions and above all the question of Trotskyism. The point for Marxists is not to pick the good side of Soviet Union, but the ruling bureaucracy.

It was Stalin himself who helped install Lovestone in power. "American exceptionalism" was merely a justifiable policy for the popular front which tied the American workers to the trade union bureaucracy and to Roosevelt. The popular front was in no sense an "American exception" but was carried out by all the major CP's in the Comintern.

Foster's "militant pragmatic approach" to the trade unions meant above all adaptation and support to the trade union bureaucracy. Foster included in his "left-center coalition" such "militants" as John L Lewis and Siden Hillman. This approach laid the basis in the unions for the popular front which tied the workers to the Democratic Party.

The defeat of the British General Strike, the Chinese Revolution, the rise of fascism in Germany and Spain, the murder of an entire generation of Bolsheviks—this is the context of Stalinism's revolutionist betrayal of the anti-imperialist line...

The basic perspective of PL mapped out in this document becomes a "militant pragmatic approach" to the unions and its loyalty to Stalinism internationally. As was said with Foster, this is an impossible position, more impossible for Rosen because of the deep crisis of Stalinism today. As history has shown there cannot be any compromise between the working class and Stalinism. This only means the subordination of the class to capitalism and its destruction.

**ROAD TO REVOLUTION II**

In Road to Revolution II we begin to see the logic of this perspective as PL is forced to break the connection and reject the bad side of Stalinism but to come to an assessment of it historically. This would mean confronting its essential counterrevolutionary character and its role in defeating the working class internationally. But to do so would unravel everything for PL. It would have to face the most opposite positions which reflect the interests of the working class and capitalism within the working class movement—that is Trotskyism and Stalinism.

To approach it in this way PL would find that the good and bad sides of the CP and Stalin were really united and merely aspects or completely logical expressions of the overall policy of the Comintern. At the heart of both the "American exceptionalism" of the CP and the so-called "anti-imperialist line" of Stalin and the Stalin leadership was the reactionary theory of socialism in one country.

This theory expounded by Stalin after Lenin's death was the expression of the interests of the bureaucracy which developed in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. This bureaucracy reflected the pressure of imperialism on the isolated workers state.

The rise of the bureaucracy coincided with the definite turn against China in particular in Germany, Stalin, who had always been disdainful and hostile to questions of theory, became the spokesman for a bureaucratic caste.

"Socialism in one country" rejected the perspective of world socialist revolution and substituted a nationalistic and conservative perspective for deferring the Soviet Union through alliances with the bourgeoisie internationally. Under Stalin the parties of the Comintern led workers into struggle behind a program of subordination to the diplomatic maneuvers and the narrow national interests of not even the promise and turn against the working class.

In the period between Road to Revolution I and II, oriented to the tasks of the Chinese revolution, the deepening class struggle significantly radicalized the students. In an earlier period they had adapted to the movement of the Blacks with their critical support to Black nationalism.

More and more they turned from what had earlier been primarily a trade union perspective to a student perspective. They opportunistically adapted to middle class protest movements and to student power. In this period PL took over and then dissolved the May 2nd Movement, recruiting a section of it.

PL did not seek to win the students to a working class perspective which requires a fight for Marxism and China. Rather it adapted to middle class radicalism recruiting the students to help out the workers. More and more PL saw itself outside the working class "serving" it. The Worker-Student Alliance became a substitute for the difficult struggle for power forward the class and construct a party capable of leading it to power.

The penetration of the working class and the construction of revolutionary student party is first of all a theoretical question which can only be confronted within the continuity of the Marxist movement and the development of the practical materialism. But it is precisely this that PL sought to avoid.

In Road to Revolution II PL attempts for the first time to deal with the developments in an internationalist perspective. In particular it reacted to the crisis within the international Stalinist movement and its manifestation in the open split between the Soviet Union and China.

Much of the equivocation, the attempt to straddle the two theories, the "right" and the bad of Stalinism, is only the result of the inability theoretically to straddle the class struggle, at a time when that struggle was deepening.

PL supported crushing of Hungarian Revolution, and defends role of CP in thirties, right, at unemployment rally.
From Left to Right: William Z. Foster, an early Stalinist leader PL bases itself on; Jerome, Epton, Rossen and Scher at founding of PL. Their empirical break with CP was not a break with Stalinism, but with the bad side of Stalinism but to come to an assessment of it historically. This would mean confronting its essential counterrevolutionary character and its role in defeating the working class internationally. But to do so we unravel everything for PL. It would impose such damage on Soviet society that it would undermine everything for PL. For PL, it represents its acceptance of American pragmatism and its attempt to find a compromise between the working class and the interests of capitalism as they are expressed in the Stalinist and trade union bureaucracies. Since it is impossible for them to do anything but make a distinction between good and bad, PL's judgment necessarily must be objectively but subjectively. This is based on what works for it at any particular time. In this way PL picks and chooses from history in order to justify its policies. In other words PL picks and chooses the CP's "illuminating approach" to the trade unions and its "heroic role" in the working class in the 1930s and 1940s. This reveals PL's way of accepting almost totally the positions of the Communist Party in this period. At the same time it does not have to answer for their failures in the betrayal of the American working class. While PL concludes that the CP was a party of reform flowing so much from its assessment of the CP as something outside it. In the same way PL defends Stalinism and Stalinism and its "anti-imperialist line" without subjecting its possibility for his crimes. While PL attacks Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin in 1956, it fails to even mention the Hungarian revolution which shook the international Stalinist movement. Following Foster's lead, Stalin and his group supported those tanks when they rolled against the Hungarian workers.

PL's analysis, its method, becomes a cover for its policies. In this way it avoids the fundamental questions and above all the question of Trotskyism. The point for Trotskyism is to pick the good side Soviet Union, but the ruling bureaucracy. It was Stalin himself who helped in power. "American exceptionalism" which might further justification for the popular front with American workers to the trade union base to Roosevelt. The popular front was a "practical" American exception" but was carried not the "left-center coalition" such as "on the popular front. Foster's "militant pragmatic approach" to trade unions meant above all adaptation and the trade union bureaucracies. Foster included "left-center coalition" such as "in the Popular Front of American exceptionism" was the content of Stalinism's "militant revolus." The basic perspective PL mapped on one of America's "pragmatic approach to the trade unions, its "heroic role" in the struggle for the Congress of American workers to the trade union base to Roosevelt. Foster included "left-center coalition" such as "in the Popular Front of American exceptionism" was the content of Stalinism's "militant revolution" to popularize socialist politics.

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ROAD TO REVOLUTION II

In Road to Revolution II, as this perspective of PL is forced to be
not only for a sharp class movement in the trade unions leading up and including a general strike but at the same time profound rank and file movements for a labor party. Faced with this situation the Communist Party together with various liberals are now pushing for new "radical coalitions" to maintain bourgeois politics in a new form. The Socialist Workers Party is heading its own direction but through the form of bourgeois Black and Chicano parties. The SWP could well plan to work in this form of secrecy for at least parts of these new coalitions.

LABOR PARTY
The struggle for a labor party must class, seeks to maintain it in a dependent protest mold behind the middle class and middle class issuers, or ignore it altogether in favor of movements of the middle class. What it opposes most of all, Comrade Wohlfarth stated, were those with the presuppositions to insist that this independent movement of the working class go forward and that a leadership be developed for this movement on the basis of Marxism, to lead this class to power.

RADICALISM
This is why bourgeois radicalism opposes so vehemently anyone who seeks to construct a revolutionary party today on the basis of conscious Marxism.

WORKERS LEAGUE PLANS DAILY PAPER


The preparation of the Workers League for this new period of class struggle requires above all a theoretical development through a turn to the philosophy of dialectical materialism. But dialectics cannot be abstractly applied. It is this which has led Heiey Newton to embrace the Reversals. It develops historically through the struggle against revisionism in the construction of the party.

This is why the struggle against the revisionist theories developed by the SWP is central to the theoretical preparation for the next period. These theories represent the essence of the destruction of the continuity of Marxist theory through the application of pragmatic, isLoading and opportunist practice. The SWP now stands opposed to Marxism on every central point. It has been transformed into a paper which adapted to and supported revisionism to the very fountainhead of international revisionism and therefore the theoretical spokesman for petty bourgeoisie radicalism of all kinds.

The SWP's outlook is rooted in Ernest Mandel's theory of neocapitalism. It does not only with Mandel that capitalism today is in the period of imperialist decay. Mandel described and upon which Trotsky developed the Transitional Program. On this basis it proclaims there

Liquidity
It is no accident, Comrade Wohlfarth stated, that now as it is forced to encourage to Mandel's liquidationist theory that it is no longer a party but a "nucler" of a more super mass party to be carved out of the radicalization process. Without a perspective rooted in the Marxist materialist assessment of the crisis of capitalism, without a perspective rooted in the working class and the working class alone, a party cannot be maintained. It now holds the liquidationist theories of Cochran whom it fought with in 1922. The development of this liquidationism is liquidationism and the SWP has now become the center of this liquidationist movement.

In conclusion Wohlfarth urged that the Workers League not only make the struggle against revisionism central to the life of the group but that we take up this fight now in the working class itself. We must develop the party now through the struggle today to develop a base in the basic industrial and to construct a youth movement rooted in working class and the development of the Bulletin will be central to this.

Within this framework the National Committee heard reports from Steve Cherkosk and John M. Two different perspectives were developed for the fight to construct a rank and file movement to build and build Trotskyist cadre in a daily.

BULLETIN
The National Committee meeting concluded with a special report on the Bulletin. It was announced that the subscription campaign for the Bulletin has been successful raising an average circulation over 8,000. Plans were laid to complete the stated goal of 10,000 paid subscriptions.

At the same time a more long range perspective was developed of development of the circulation and that through a three stage campaign in the next 18 months a sum of $10,000 will be raised to purchase a web offset press and related equipment. With all this the publication of this equipment the Workers League will be better prepared to put out its paper daily with national distribution. A discussion was held on the significance of this perspective. It was noted that Lenin and Trotsky posed the need for daily papers in all countries in the 1920s when the Communist International stressed that the task was the conquest of the mass as a pre-condition of power. Groups like the SWP have no such perspective. They have no target date of a year or two. They have no perspective for power. The Workers League on the other hand fully understands the need for a daily paper which will bring the American working class a daily paper is an absolutely indispensable weapon in the conquest of the political allegiance of the working class.

The strength for such a daily paper will come from the theoretical struggle against liquidationism. It will penetrate deeply into the working class. Only out of this class can the workers take the struggle forward. Only through a theoretical struggle can one build a perspective of revolution.

The Daily will then be able to print out and develop the struggle for the support of the workers. In this battle for the daily paper will we see the critical and will be the weapon for carrying forward this fight.
THE TRIALS OF JIMMY HOFFA
By James R. Hoffa as told to Donald L. Rogers. Chicago. Henry Regnery Co. 1970. "This was not a good time for organized Labor. Other unions lost membership almost as steadily as we gained it. But the Teamsters' relations continued to grow, too..."

Press for areawide labor contracts, working every part of its goal in the wide bargaining agreement. This created change in the structure of one of the oldest unions in organized Labor, as well as the largest.

These are quotes from Jimmy Hoffa's autobiography. They give clearly the conditions in which he, as president of the only major union in the country which was expanding and developing considerably in the face of "bad times" for union organizing, was persecuted by Robert Kennedy and the American bourgeoisie.

It was a time—in the late 1950s and early 1960s—when the other major unions, including UAW and the Steelworkers, were actually losing membership, when the prototypical boom bulging help from the working class into political stuper.

In the light of this, one would think that Hoffa, in his book, would have given the objective conditions facing his union and himself with the vicious, bulldog tenacity with which the Teamsters fought the Teamsters and the Teamsters in union those years. On the contrary, Hoffa saw this as simply a personal conflict in which Kennedy used the fear and hatred that sections of the capitalist press had for the Teamsters for a way to get ahead for himself and his brother John. He didn't see the need of the Teamsters to smash the powerful organizing attempts of the Teamsters in the South and throughout the West.

From the very beginning of his work in the labor movement, Hoffa was a staunch defender of the capitalist system. In his autobiography, he constantly comes out in favor of the "status quo" and bourgeois democracy.

INDIVIDUALISM

In his reminiscences, Hoffa recalls the "raw courage" of his mother, who had to single-handedly bring up and feed her children and handle the poverty depression. His conclusion is that although welfare programs are necessary, they must not be allowed to destroy "the individual desire for self-reliance and self-sufficiency." Hoffa stresses "rugged individualism" throughout his autobiography. "I read and re-read the Horatio Alger books and was a devotee believer in all of the virtues espoused in them."

With such complete belief in bourgeois ideology, one wonders how he could even have involved himself in the labor movement in the first place. But Hoffa answers that question himself. "By entering the labor movement as an activist, I could help do something about eliminating the hard-core poverty which was still in existence in Kroger's warehouse this first organizing attempt, and at that same time I could enter an arena that might permit me to gain a higher degree of personal success as well!"

Such a comfortably pragmatic way of killing the time, with a saw and stone, has not been without its rewards. His "higher degree of personal success" led by the 1960s, Hoffa had established a truck-lease firm in a stockade in Woodstock, and the firm in Washington, where three of his sons are employed. Hoffa invests in New York City brownstones, James Brown sleeves for the State Department, the Fillmore East will close in June, and Mick Jagger just married into the Nicaraguan ruling class.

The times, they are a-changing!

DOLLORES

Well, rock may be dying, folks, but MGM is determined to squeeze a few more dollars from the middle class kids in the suburbs with its latest GP offering, Mad Dogs And Englishmen, or the saga of Joe Cocker performing in all the pleasure palaces of America (Plattsmouth, N.Y., and Dallas, Texas are included among such palaces). Here's how it happened. A&M Records (Herb Alpert controlled) had a hot property in Joe Cocker. But ya gotta keep the product moving. Solution: a filmed nationwide tour starring Mr. Cocker, Leon Russell, his pianist-guitarist-arranger, and any assortment of friends and animals which will perpetuate the myth that well-meaning children can sing and perform and make the world better.

The picture is a documentary of this spring 1970 tour. Joe Cocker continues to be a powerful performer, but the film is a fraud. It would have you believe that all is well in rocktown, that singers and musicians wander around the country performing before adoring audiences, making lots of money, and having a wonderful time. Just the opposite is the case. Groups are starving, audiences can't afford the prices, and record companies are going out of business. The Jefferson Airplane hollers "revolution" courtesy of RCA, while RCA's technology continues to murder workers and peasants in Indochina. Shows you where rock is at!

The film attempts to knit together all the mystical and quasi-religious claptrap so prevalent in rock culture's flight from the class struggle. What results is a sad, and empty film, one that poses fascist solutions far worse than the stockades the May Day Tribe found in Washington.

GARBAGE

Through all this middle class garbage plows Joe Cocker, working class lad that he is. Someone you feel even he doesn't buy the hypocrisy the film serves up in grand proportions. The quiet rap about his baccyhood in Sheffield, England, cuts right through the filth idealism of the film. In fact whenever the music stops, the film is an insult to the audience. However, confused, comes through. How many more working class socialists can the system co-opt before it all comes crashing down?

If you grew up on Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding or—best of all—Ray Charles, Joe Cocker will not be that much of a surprise. But make no mistake—Joe's bad. He has none of the preening quality or self indulgent attitude of most current

THE Trials of Jimmy Hoffa

Films

Mad Dogs & Englishmen

Joe Bello

Singers. His specialty is singing other people's material better! His performance is straight out—raw power from the gut. Leon Russell's backup band plays good, soul shapers, mesmerizing rock. The photography is adequate, depending upon all the "woodstock rooms and cues" to hype the film's supposed message.

If you already like Joe Cocker, then the film may do for you what it was worth the price of admission. But otherwise be prepared for a rotten film.
The Daily World Justifies Repression

The coalition was never set up to bring about socialism despite its demagogic promises. Bandaranaike presented the Ceylonese Communist Party and the other coalition partner, the LSSP, with a choice—join the government or face isolation. The call to join the CP with an openly capitalist party was to hold back the struggles of the working class.

The Daily World’s claim that the government was attempting to move in that direction is starkly refuted by the fact that the rice ration for each Ceylonese was halved, their recreation and plantation workers on strike were shut down with the approval of the Communist Party. But then the real slander, dug out of the traditional Stalinist arsenal begins.

The article continues: “These youth groups were well financed and the CIA and the United National Party have been mentioned as suppliers of funds. Peter Kenmerman, the Communist Party of the USA, in a radio broadcast...” The Daily World then Healthcare, and the struggle against capitalism is the lifeblood of the working class, which is the core of the struggle for freedom. The Daily World’s article is a distorted and one-sided presentation of the events, and it is important to counteract such misinformation with a clear and accurate account of the struggle. The Daily World’s statement that the CIA and the United National Party were involved in financing the youth groups is baseless and should be refuted with facts and evidence. The Daily World’s article is nothing but an attempt to discredit the struggle and to undermine the efforts of the working class in their fight for freedom. It is important to stand with the working class and support their struggle for justice and equality. The Daily World’s article is a distortion of the truth and should be challenged by those who value the struggle for freedom and the achievement of social and economic justice for all.”
Democratic Rights Now!"

those other organizations and parties, we and the other parties that imply that we condone the thuggish suppression of our newspapers. Nor do we demand that the press of our political opponents be suppressed. On the contrary, we stand for the democratic rights of all political parties and organizations that base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name and for the socialist transformation of society, irrespective of the means they advocate... Propaganda and agitation have their place... But the speeches above all, a means of suppression resorted to by governments which cannot find any other answers to the political arguments of their critics and opponents. As this appeal will show, we are justified in believing that herein lies the reason for banning our newspapers.

In this appeal, however, we are only permitted to plead on behalf of our democratic rights. If and when those rights are restored to us, we shall take up once again for public agitation the question of general democratic rights, in defense of which we have always been in the forefront.

ENTHUSIASM

As Marxists, we believe that the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of youth that can be won for the struggle for socialism only if the youth can acquire faith in the ability of an advanced class to lead society onto a new road. The working class can inspire this faith only by its strength, its firmness and determination of its actions and the clarity of its perspective. The propaganda and agitation campaigns by our organizations and the Communist Party was always inspired by this unshakeable belief in the leading role of the working class in the struggle, with its emphasis on Marxist theory and method for ideological training of the working class, not only vehicles for propaganda and agitation; they were above all an ideological struggle. And if the belief in Marxism is the distilled essence of the historical experience of the international working class... A veritable burning of the books has been set in motion by banning our literature.

HOSTILITY

Of all the political parties and organizations in this country that claim to be socialist, Marxist, Leninist or Trotskyist, it was only the RCP and RCP that made a sincere and serious attempt to develop the consciousness of the working class. The only genuine class which holds the key to the socialist transformation of society. And in this, we made a special effort to wean the youth—those of the "Young Left" and "Young Liasko" flame" of the proletarian revolution"—away from the petty-bourgeois adventurism of the JVP and its policy of isolation from the working class...

As a result of our propaganda, agitation and emphasis on Marxist theory for building the new revolutionary leadership, we incurred the hostility of all political parties whose Marxist pretensions were at stake. As their terrorist arm there formed around the JVP and the JVP leaders, with their emphasis on Marxist theory and method for ideological training of the working class, were not only vehicles for propaganda and agitation; they were above all an ideological struggle. And if the belief in Marxism is the distilled essence of the historical experience of the international working class... A veritable burning of the books has been set in motion by banning our literature.

BANNED

Today, precisely at a time when everybody, who is still aloud to work, from the Marxists pretends to be bourgeois champions of "law and order"...it is precisely in our newspapers and in our public agitation that the present situation is not in any way WHATSOEVER. That responsibility must be laid fairly and squarely at the door of those who, confusing Marxism with the JVP, which is a mere gang of bandits, have been working on the strategy of the "law and order party".

On behalf of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League.

The Ceylon Emergency

Record Of Stalinist Betrayal

Since 1951 when Mr. Bandaranaike broke away from the UNP government, the CP gave its full support to him. After selling out the biggest uprising of the workers and peasants in 1953 they again supported Mr. Bandaranaike's government of 1956.

Not only that. This Bandaranaike government then superseded the Tokyo Security Act, through which Mrs. Banda- ranaike secured her "revolutionary" regime, the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF) which was under Stalinist leadership, the promotion of the major trade union which did not join even the one-day general strike called to oppose it. This is how the Stalinists in Ceylon worked out their strategy of reactionary coalition politics.

BANNED

These are the counter-revolutionary policies which flow directly from the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" formulated to serve the bureaucratic apparatus within Soviet Russia at the expense of the gains made by the socialist revolution of 1917.

Violence against workers and the youth throughout the world have seen the bitter fruits of these Stalinist policies in countries like China in 1962, Spain in 1936 and Indonesia in 1965.

Ceylon is heading towards the same line today and it won't be very long before the day of the Ceylonese Sabhata or Lon Noi. Both the Koomanpara and the Samaja Party (KSP) could have put a stop to these Stalinist policies. The Ceylonese Stalinists are not isolated but is being guided by the Marxist-Leninist methodology and policies of the Fourth International.

COLLABORATED

Stalinists who collaborated with British imperialism and their agents in the National Congress during the Second World War continued their support very openly for the capitalist rule in Ceylon since 1947. In 1947 the Stalinist Communist Party of Ceylon formed a united front with the extreme rightist United National Party.

THUSRE

The LSSP was moving not along the road to Bolshevism, but along the path of class-collaboration and capitulation to capitalism, thus entrapping himself into the LSSP (R) which related to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Amid these betrayals of the Stalinists revolutionaries, a new order is evolving the weaknesses of each an every section of the left will be carried out by the right as it moves toward its ultimate goal, the fascist dictatorship.

The coalition government is directed not only against the JVP (People's Liberation Front).

PRISON

The leader of the CP (Peking wing) has been put in prison. Blood-thirsty police and military forces are pursuing the leaders of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League.

They have already framed numbers of prominent Trotskyists.

Under the emergency laws power is vested in the hands of the police and armed forces virtually all civil rights are abandoned.

This is the first round of attacks aimed at the militant youth and workers. Hundreds of millions at present are extremely difficult but still possible if the workers' vanguard, preparation of the workers' vanguard, preparation of the workers' vanguard, preparation of the workers' vanguard and preparation of the workers' vanguard, preparation of the workers' vanguard and preparation of the workers' vanguard, preparation of the workers' vanguard and preparation of the workers' vanguard.

RESISTANCE

Mao has kept silent, perhaps because he is so busy supplying aid to Yahya and Bandyopadhyay in this fight against 75 million people who are in struggle for their right of self-determination.

The naked treachery of Stalinism is becoming more and more open today. Toward the end of the 1960's, linked to the crisis of imperialism, Stalinism began to make use of the weakness of the working class throughout the world.

It is important today that all workers in the Communist Parties and all over the world force their leaders to abandon the treachery of the Ceylon Communist Party and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and Peking which continue to maintain that emergency is the way forward.

Events erupting in all corners of the world testify to the correctness of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which stated very clearly that emergency is the way forward in order to save the world revolution.

This leadership can be built only by the Trotskyists who consciously study and develop the Marxist method through the experiences gained from the victories and the defeats of the working class movement throughout the world.

RECKLESS


This warning of Lenin in 1917 is more than relevant for the situation existing in Ceylon today.


Czechoslovakia

World Stalinists Embrace Invaders

Gustav Husak

By MELODY FARROW

Twelve hundred delegates and 1500 guests to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia wildly applauded and chanted: "Long Live the Soviet Union" as their party chief, Gustav Husak, turned and personally thanked Leonid Brezhnev for the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The slavish and frenzied adulation of the most right-wing representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy betrays the Stalinists' tremendous isolation from and fear of the working class.

In fact, this was not just a congress of the Czech CP, but brought together Stalinist leaders from all over—Edward Gerek from Poland, Honecker from East Germany, two representatives from the American Communist Party and last but not least, Brezhnev.

The Congress was an attempt to solidify the forces of Stalinism against the new upsurge internationally of the working class.

The real purpose of the Congress was to clarify the way for further collaboration with imperialism. It comes at a time when the Soviet Union is rapidly dropping its anti-imperialist stance to make deal after deal with imperialism. Shortly before the Congress began, the Soviet Union offered a plan to discuss mutual troop withdrawals from Europe and agreed to limitations on nuclear weapons. Following its recent 15-year treaty with Egypt the Soviet Union is preparing similar treaties with the other Arab states at a time when these governments are working for a deal with Zionism.

In Spain the Stalinists joined fascist Franco's May Day celebration while France's troops failed workers and in Czechoslovakia the Communist Party directed the guns itself against rebellion unemployed.

ALIANCES

As capitalism goes into crisis and is forced to attack the working class, revolutionary explosions break out in every corner of the globe. These struggles force the Soviet bureaucracy into more and more reactionary alliances in order to preserve the existence of the privileged bureaucracy in the workers states.

This is why the theme of the Congress was the 1968 invasion. The repeated denunciations of the "right wing revisionists" and in particular Dubcek, the repeated declarations of support to the invasion can only mean that more of the same is to come. It is a clear warning to the entire working class of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Despite the American Communist Party's "The preceding two years and the week's developments signify the end of the period of consolidation" and the entering of a "new period," the Czech CP Congress is in testimony to the tremendous crisis they face.

The crisis is so great that it was three years after the invasion before they could consolidate a leadership faithful to their Soviet masters and even hold a congress. During the past three years 500 party members were purged, thousands of youth and workers simply turned their backs on the party and on its meetings.

The real 14th Congress was held secretly in a factory by the Czech workers shortly after the invasion. It was later declared invalid by Husak.

Husak has emerged as a firm supporter of the Moscow line. He stated at the Congress:

"Today we can responsibly declare that the advance of counter-revolutionary forces has been repelled, the socialist system defended."

"Petty bourgeois notions were spread about socialists. The criticism of the party was misused to disrupt its entire history and the whole period of socialist reconstruction is in danger."

BREZHNEV

But it was primarily Brezhnev who set the hard line tone of the Congress. In an informal talk to relatives he denounced "two faced politicians who spoke so much about human socialism," referring to Alexander Dubcek, the former party leader. Brezhnev stated that "the right wing revisionists broke democratic laws of socialist Czechoslovakia."

The presence and role of Brezhnev at the Congress indicates the tremendous pressure being brought to bear on Husak to initiate more political trials against those who opened fought the Stalinists as in the Daladier case. Just one day before the Congress opened Moscow radio demanded a broad explanation in which the Czech events were compared with the 1956 Hungarian uprising:

"The tragedy that was deplored by the fact that in the leadership of the Czech CP there was its own kind of Irene Nagy— Alexander Dubcek."

Dubcek then became the rallying point for the rightist and counter-revolutionary forces.

The "cordial comparison with Nagy, who as Hungarian Prime Minister during the 1956 uprising was later shot at an 'agent of imperialism' makes it clear what Moscow has in mind not only for Dubcek but for the growing opposition movement in the Soviet Union."

Brezhnev spelled out why suppression of opposition is so critical in this period.

"FACTS"

"All those who do not shut their eyes to the facts can see that today it is the world communist movement that is the most reliable stronghold for Euro-American imperialism."

"...we see attempts to sabotage progress in ensuring European security and to disrupt the negotiations for a new system of European relations."

"We explained that the sabotage was directed against the Soviet Union's attempts to solve European problems not in a single package all at once."

"Brezhnev is referring to the Soviet Union's flexible attitude towards reaching separate agreements with the capitalist governments that will stabilize the domination of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy over the working class."

The American CP has nothing but praise for the counter-revolutionary activities of the CP in the Czechoslovakian Union. That is that the American Communist Party.

They have repeatedly called every slander against workers and youth in the Soviet Union and the program supported the crushing of the Hungarian revolution and covered up for the shooting of the Polish workers that took place not in a single package all at once."

"Two members of their National Committee, Erik Bert and Roscoe Proctor, attended the 14th Czech Congress in complete solidarity with the bureaucracy and the second of the American Communist Party."

The blood of the millions of workers and youth who have lost their lives in the fight against Stalinism and imperialism are on the hands of the American Communist Party.

SSEU

(Continued From Page 3)

preparers to implement "Option B," thus cutting in half revenue for the city.

JUNE 16

State employees, whose union, the CSEA, failed to get Rocke-

JUNE 16

feller's decision to lay off 10,000 state employees reversed, have voted for statewide strike action on July 18.

In addition, 2,300 state employees in Middletown, New York have voted to go out "indefinitely on June 1 until all jobs are rescinded and bud-

get cuts restored."

At the same time, Victor Goltzbaum, head of DC 37, is at-

tempting to head off a battle. Goltz inumbers 60,000 and DC 37 delegates meeting on May 18 that the council would call a strike if the recent pension plan negotiated by the union leadership is not acceptable and that it appears that the Republicans and Democrats in the legislature are rapidly making plans to choke the pension plan talks. The plan is called "selective strikes" here and there.

Hill must now take the mandate of the Delegates Assembly directly to the District Council and fight Goltzbaum's policies.

CENTRAL

Hold a press conference and try to get several of the laid off workers at the conference. Hill buried the impor-

tant decision of the Delegates Assembly, the call for the General Strike.

This call for the general strike must be brought forward to the Hill must bring this fight into the district council.

It was through a long inten-

sive campaign in the SSEU by the District Council for a New Leadership to mobilize the rank and file across the country and several at the Delegate Assembly. Hill demanded that Goltzbaum convene a membership meeting of the whole District Council to vote on the SSEU motion. The fight for a general strike must be taken all the way to a break with leaders from the Democratic and Republican parties.

At his recent press conference that he is for a labor party, but it would be a labor party led by the Democratic Party and in the meantime we must press for a workers party. However we can get results from the labor party if we work together.

We say the fight must start at the local level. The labor party has found growing support in the SSEU. The fight for a general strike and the labor party must be taken into every local unit of the city labor movement.

GI DRUGS

(Continued From Page 3)

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West Coast News

Reagan: No Pay Hikes, More Layoffs Planned

BY BILL WINGFIELD

Last week the Bulletin reported the launching, in Ana-
hiem, of a Robert B. Dornan campaign to whip up reac-
tionary hysteria among hometown voters. Now comes Cali-
ifornia's 2,920,000 welfare recipients.

In Anaheim, Reagan blamed welfare costs for impending in-
creases in property taxes and counterproductive funds for welfare and
to funds for education.
The campaign from the Daily Cal called for another People's adven-
ture in a series of editorials.

The change in the status of the Daily Cal from a campus paper to an independent paper was conceived by the University

The new assault on the press, bills and mass media," came after the firing of three mem-
bers of the student newspaper's Editorial Board and threat of legal action against the paper for con-
stituting "incitement to riot.

The whole affair was precipi-
tated by a controversy over the Daily Cal called for another People's adven-
ture in a series of editorials.
BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER
SAN FRANCISCO—At the end of the city workers strike, Mayor Alioto, who led the labor bureaucracy announced a "great" victory—the city would bargain collectively with its workers.

Of course there were "a few minor issues in the agreement," Alioto and the Board of Supervisors are trying to sneak in almost unsaid an "order" concerning "employee-employer relations in the city and county of San Francisco." In a word, the city government is subject to the Industrial Relations Bill of the Tory government in England. The ordinance sets up MERP (Municipal Employees Relations Program) with five members—one is appointed by the Mayor, one by the Board of Supervisors, and one by the Chief Administrative Officer.

In the event of a strike, MERP can only call $200 a day while rendering their services. MERP has the power to intervene in a strike and cooperate with the ordinance through stipulating due deductions.

It can "meet and confer" with the "city and county" on any "actual" or "potential" labor relations issues, to relieve its employees from duty because of lack of work or other legitimate reasons.

Needless to say San Francisco workers are not covered by unemployment insurance.

OUTLAWED

In other words strikes by city employees will be outlawed. This ordinance itself explains its stinking purpose: "The city and county also has the right to relieve its employees from duty because of lack of work or other legitimate reasons."

Needless to say San Francisco workers are not covered by unemployment insurance.

ON THE PROGRESSIVE

Already the word is out that many "temporary" workers will be laid off (most temporaries have VERA [Veterans Employment and Readjustment Act] bills but civil service just does not bother to give them examinations)."

For workers who complain, there is a "merger" plan on the way, a procedure in which, in any dispute, if the two parties cannot agree on a merger, the court appoints a merger arbitrator, who is the "finders" of law. They are up on the mayor again in a strike situation and the CAUCUS.

The union bureaucracy is now busy trying to work out a compromise.

In the last two days, Local 300 leadership has issued two letters to its rank and file. The first letter noted that the meeting of the general membership on their regular monthly basis was a "complete fiasco." The second letter noted that the strike was a "total disaster." The rank and file participated in the "finders" procedure, which is a complete disaster. The rank and file are now up on the "merger" procedure and trying to find a way out of this mess.

Close to 500 airman at Travis Air Force Base staged an all-night rebellion against the racist and repressive practices of the base command.

The disturbance was touched off by the arrest of three Black airmen for allegedly starting a fist-fight. The next night, Sunday, 600 Blacks, angered at the refusal of the base commanders to release their brother airmen, marched on the base and attempted to free the prisoners.

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A布尔 - Maywood To Close, Layoff 1200

BY STEVE CHERKOS

MAYWOOD, CALIF.—On Dec. 24, 200 Chrysler workers at the Maywood assembly plant were told that July 9th would be their last day of work for the company, their age, it will be almost impossible for them to find work. The announced plant closing comes just four months after 370 workers were laid off at the same plant. In recent peak production years, the plant has employed about 1,500 workers. Neither the UAW International, nor the Local 230 leadership offered any real resistance to this massive layoff. No program to fight layoffs and total plant closures has been put forth by these labor bureaucrats. In the 1970s contract betrayal the widespread rank and file demand for 30 hours work for 40 hour pay, which was dropped right off the bat by the Woodland leadership and all were unrealistic and unreasonable. Just one month before the September 14th contract expiration, a direct contract extension by the company plant was closed down by two militant, organized, and rank and file and a section of the local leadership.

The walkout was over the unjust layoff of 370 workers, a whole host of "local" grievances, such as racism, speed-up, compulsory overtime and arbitrary suspensions and firings. The only way the company could get the men back to work was with the shameful assistance of UAW Southern California District Director, Paul Sadoff. Sadoff threatened the ranks that the United Auto Workers national would take over the local and put it "intrustship," guaranteed them no financial assistance whatsoever to sustain the wildcat. He launched a vicious red baiting attack on the Progressive Labor Party for putting out leaflets and selling their news... (Continued On Page 15)
San Mateo Plans No Strike Law

BY JERRY ANDERS SAN MATEO—On May 20, 1971, at an 8pm social wel-
come meeting, the Municipal Employees Union (AFSCME) Local 829’s Business Agent, Frank Gillis, had told the assembled 15 members that, “When the Bob-Boo comes in, the gate- quity coming to union meet-
ings. They just don’t seem to understand what’s happen-

The next morning in the same hall, the Team Stewards Caucus, the rank and file Caucus that has time off their jobs to make Local 829 fight layoffs. These rank and file members passed the following resolutions unanimously: no lay-
oc. No one is firing our employees. No cuts in Mental Health Programs.

Frank Gillis’ hand picked Executive Council had refused to make any layoffs part of their negotia-
tions with management. Gillis and his cronies had refused to inform the workers of the im-

Time after time when this matter was brought up at the monthly local membership meet-
ings, Gillis had retorted with “We don’t know what you mean by the shape of the projected layoffs, and perhaps I can work something out with county management. We won’t alienate the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors.”

NO LAYOFFS

A Rank and File Caucus of workers, has been formed to orga-

As indicated above a large group of rank and file workers have now pledged themselves to go to the general membership meeting of Local 829 on June 3, 1971, to force the Gillis leader-

The Rank and File Caucus has pledged itself to fight for a negotiating committee of rank and file union members to replace the self-appointed negotiating committee of the Gillis Executive Board. The Rank and File Caucus has also demanded that the union fight for no layoffs on any county workers, 20 hours per week, 40 paid days off, 1000 new jobs for the unemployed, and to pass a General Strike of all workers, call a trade union convention for a labor party.

In the last two days, Local 829 leadership has issued two leaflets calling for a special emergency meeting of the general member-
ship on their regular monthly union meeting. These leaflets now hysterically state that “these workers have a domino effect on the staff of all Health and Welfare facilities and could spread to all San Mateo County facilities and effect all of the workers members because of the ‘holding policy’ of the proposed budget by the School Board of Supervisors.”

Gillis’ leadership of Local 829 is now supporting the´rank and file rebellion to manage proposed massive cut-bucks.

MILITARISM

At the same time, Nixon warns the graduating class at West Point to prepare for a fight against this result within the armed forces and calls for militarism for alienation at the time of ‘America First’. The capitalist press, doing its part to whip up the middle class hysteria against the homes, only reports on fistfights and name-
calling between Blacks and whites and builds the incident as a racial one.

The way forward for the strug-

The wall was the uncer tainity of militarists and a whole host of ‘Local’ griev-

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