The American working class now faces a crisis situation. Richard Nixon is currently in the thick of things, pressing ahead with his plans to smash the trade unions and destroy the living conditions of millions of workers.

Though the elections are over, the greatest political tasks lie before the labor movement. No time can be lost by mobilizing the full strength of the working class through a Congress of Labor which must build a labor party based upon socialist programs and take action now against Nixon's attacks.

The urgency of the situation is exposed by Richard Nixon himself, who, in an interview with the Washington Star-News held just before election day and published last week, outlined in chilling detail his grand design for taking away every right won by the working class over the past 40 years.

With unequalled arrogance, this spokesman of bankers and industrialists declared:

"The average American is just like a child in the family. You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. He is going to do something."

"If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled, and eventually a very weak individual."

Boasting that he never promised "a whole bag full of goodies," Nixon stated that nearly all the social welfare programs instituted during the 1960s will be dropped.

While deploiring the decline of the "work ethic," Nixon pledged that he will personally supervise massive job cuts throughout American industry and particularly among federal employees.

"Masses of civilian employees who are getting in the way of each other," he stated, "...are going to have to take a thinning down."

In the same malicious vein, Nixon declared that "HUD, HEW, transportation are all too fat, (Continued On Page 8)

**Workers League Plans Meetings On Fourth International**

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**

Throughout the country in November and December, the Workers League and the Young Socialists will hold mass meetings on the "Fourth International Today."

These meetings will take place at the most critical time in history for the international working class.

Dany Sylvester, of the National Committee of the British Socialist Labor League and the British Young Socialists and Tim Wohlfarth, National Secretary of the Workers League, will speak at the meetings in Cleveland on November 25 and in New York on November 29.

The British Young Socialists' film, "The Right To Work", and "Three Years of the Workers Press," will be shown. Meetings will also be held in Minneapolis on December 2, San Francisco on December 4, and Los Angeles on December 10.

The Nixon administration has only been waiting to get past the election before moving into action against the working class. A new round of the economic war is being opened by which will throw Europe and Japan into even deeper social and political crisis.

As the statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International printed in this issue of the Bulletin points out, a new stage has been opened in the economic crisis unleashed by Nixon on August 15, 1971. This period is dominated by uncontroltable inflation which means that in order for the value of money to be restored, the working class must be broken and their living standards destroyed.

It is under conditions of revolutionary struggles throughout Europe that the American (Continued On Page 18)

**Open Letter to the 1972 YSA Convention**

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Nixon Reveals Real Platform--

NO SCHOOLS, NO JOBS, NO HOUSING

The American working class now faces a crisis situation. Richard Nixon is putting all his energies into an attack on the unions and the living conditions of millions of workers.

EDITORIAL

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INSIDE
Open Letter
to the 1972
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Page 6
After The Election: Colon Plans Action To Outlaw Strikes By Puerto Rico Labor

BY LUCIA RIVERA

PUERTO RICO—After four years in power the New Progressive Party (PNP) of Ferre was defeated by a big margin of votes by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) on November 7.

The PPD lost in 1968 after having been undefeated for almost 24 years under the leadership of Luis Munoz Marin. This victory of the PPD was a great upset for Ferre and his party, especially because of its relationship with the U.S. Republican Party. Governor Rockefeller went down to the island in June for a fund raising trip for Governor Ferre.

To this moment, the right-wing forces who support Ferre are asking for new elections, and they are saying that Nicholas in going to intervene in favor of Ferre. Constant rallies and a permanent picket line is maintained in front of the election Board.

Bags containing PNP votes are being brought to the Board so that these rightists can fight for new elections.

The PPD, formed in the early 1940s under the banner of "freedom, land and liberty", brought into their ranks the majority of the peasants and workers' movement. They pose the gravest dangers to the labor movement in this period.

All the demagoguery used by this party during the recent campaign is being used to repress the offensive of the working class, and with the support of the union bureaucracy, maintain the coalition of forces on which this party is based.

When the PPD was created, the Puerto Rican Communist Party liquidated and split into it. This was done when the Saez Curales, leading member number 66 of the PPD and also the national secretary of the General Workers' Confederation (CGT), called for complete support to the PPD candidates.

INDEPENDENCE

This turn of the CP came when masses of workers came back from World War II ready to fight for jobs, with the majority of them ready to struggle for the independence of the island. The PPD adopted the issue of independence as a central one in order to bring the majority of the peasantry and workers behind their government and with the full support of the CP this task was achieved.

It was no coincidence that the mayors and gubernatorial seats were occupied by members of the PPD Party. Members upon being elected, the PPD dropped the demand for independence.

The Puerto Rican Independent Party (PIP) was formed after this turn of the PPD. In the middle 1960s Puerto Rico was made a commonwealth of the U.S. The massive immigration to the U.S. of peasants and workers continued during this period. Many came to New York, where now the PIP was formed.

Spanish CP
Backs Franco On EEC Ties

BY A REPORTER

The Eighth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party held in Madrid has declared its support for a "progressive association" between Spain and the Common Market.

The Congress, which because of fascist repression by Spanish dictator General Franco, was held abroad and was attended by 400 delegates, stated: "The Spanish Communist Party is in favor of an association between the European Common Market which will permit a progressive reinforcement of Spain’s cooperation with the Common Market."

The resolution further states that this association should be carried out by a "democratic state" which means, according to the Spanish CP newspaper, Maso Obrero, a "party" grouping all democratic forces (Continued On Page 14).

Brezhnev And Mao Welcome Nixon Victory

BY ED SMITH

While the American Communist Party and various Maoists were scrambling for votes for Democratic candidate George McGovern in the elections, the Soviet bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking were giving notice that they favored the re-election of President Nixon.

These sentiments are linked to the recent multimillion dollar trade deals, summit conferences, and wheat purchases made between the leaders of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies and Nixon. Above all they are founded on the great betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution currently being negotiated in Paris under the threat of Moscow and Peking that they will cut off aid to the Vietnamese if they do not come to terms with Nixon immediately.

In the last development, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai welcomed the re-election of Nixon on November 10 conference with foreign journalists. In response to a question as to whether Nixon’s victory was good news for China, Chou replied: "Yes, because he did play a role in improving relations between the U.S. and China."

As far back as the beginning of October, Russell Train, Nixon’s chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, reported that Russian President Podgorny had told him: "He (Podgorny) looked forward to working with President Nixon for several more years."

Both the Soviet and Chinese press generally ignored the campaign, although in the last lap, some of the Soviet commentators criticized the way McGovern’s campaign was conducted.

Allende Appoints Army Chief To Key Post

On November 17, Salvador Allende, President of the Chilean Popular Unity coalition government, will leave on a visit to Peru, Mexico, and the United Nations. During the two weeks, Allende will be away; the head of state will be Carlos Prats Gonzales, a graduate of the United States Military School at Fort Leavenworth and several years ago commander-in-chief of Chile’s army.

Prats has been made Interior Minister by Allende in order to help settle a month-long shut-down by businessmen and professionals protesting the policies of the Government. The coalition of bosses and their middle class allies called off their lockout after Prats and two other high military officials were installed in the cabinet. Plans for nationalizing parts of Chile’s trucking industry were called off and the Allende regime gave assurances of protection against expropriation of capitalists by "left-wing extremists."

Of all these capitulations to the right wing, the appointment of Prats is the most fundamental. All of Chile’s right-wing parties has greeted his appointment in public statements. As Interior Minis- ter, he is number two man in Chile after Allende and has direct responsibility for Chile’s internal security.

RIGHT WING

The right wing’s main appointment has come because they knew the entry of the military into the cabinet means the effective end to any pretense that Popular Unity is guiding Chile on "the road to socialism." Prats’ words upon entering office were: "We need social peace. We must create a national front to improve the foreign image of Chile."

The entry of the military into Allende’s government roused strong reaction by the Popular Democratic Party of the Popular Unity regime, including major sects of the Popular Unity program. The centerists of the Reformist Left Movement (MIR) called for “guarantees for the security of the democracy and the army.” Allende’s right-wing ministers have been given carte blanche to stop the entry of the military into the cabinet. For his part, Allende responded by saying “The Chilean Army is not like other armies.”

The organizers and bosses who conducted the lockout against the Allende regime called the settlement “a victory for civil and political rights.”

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UAW Heads Meet As Strike Votes Sweep GM

BY REX HENRY

DETOUR—As we go to press, International and local representatives of the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) were meeting in an emergency session of the GMMD Council to assess the results of Leonard Woodcock’s “Apache” strike strategy at GM.

Although the UAW has made no public statement on the nature of the meeting, or the items to be discussed, the crisis facing the UAW leadership is clear. Last week Local 25 in St. Louis which has already struck as part of the hit and run strategy, was forced by the UAW leadership to accept a tentative agreement with GM which settled none of the 13,000 Paragraph 78 speedup grievances in the plant.

The Local, Missouri GM stamping plant has passed a strike vote by an overwhelming margin. Workers at the Lockdown, Ohio GM Vega plant have authorized their second strike of the year.

This movement of the rank and file of the UAW against the vicious speedup campaign by GM is now threatening to drag the UAW leadership into the confrontation with GM which they have conclusively been avoiding for over six months. The meeting of the GMMD Council in Detroit today can only be seen as part of the continuing attempt by Woodcock to put off the inevitable fight with GM.

CRUCIAL

This meeting comes at a particular and crucial time for auto workers in Michigan. UAW Local 589 at the Flint, Michigan Fisher Body Assembly plant recently authorized a shutdown of the

(Continued On Page 18)

125th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto
55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

PUBLIC MEETING

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY

WED. NOV. 29
8pm

speaker:

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League
also: Speakers from East Europe, Haiti and American Young Socialists
Dany Sylve, National Committee of the Socialist Labour League; British Young Socialists

Film: Proprietress, ‘The Right-To-Work March’
Three Years Of The Workers Press

sponsored by Workers League & Young Socialists
contribution $1.50 75c students and unemployed
GM workers in Wilmington man picket line during two-day strike against speedup and unsafe conditions.

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Although the UAW has made no public statement on the nature of the meeting, the item to be discussed, the crisis facing the UAW leadership is clear. Last week Local 29 in St. Louis was already struck as part of the hit and run strategy, was forced by the UAW leadership to accept a tentative agreement with GM which settled none of the 12,000 Paragraph 78 speedup grievances in the plant.

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This movement of the rank and file of the UAW against the vicious speedup campaign by GM is now threatening to drag the UAW leadership into the confrontation with GM which they have consciously been avoiding for over six months. The meeting of the GMAD Council in Detroit today may only be seen as part of the continuing attempt by Woodcock to put off the inevitable fight with GM.

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(Continued On Page 8)

UAW Forced To Strike As Janesville Ranks Shut Line

BY BILL SUARTZ

JANESVILLE, Wis.—UAW Local 95 has announced plans to strike the GMAD plant here. This is the second strike here in the last five weeks.

The local leadership is trying to hold the strike into a two-day walk-on-run strike in accordance with Woodcock’s “Apache Plan.”

This is the fourth time the Janesville local has gone out on a local strike since the introduction of GMAD in 1969 and it has yet to win even one demand.

The local leadership has had to call another strike in response to the resistance of the workers to the conditions of the GMAD at a time when the line speed is supposed to go from 58 cars an hour to 60.

One worker stated: “The line speed is still at 58, but it is supposed to go up to 60. But we don’t know when, or if it will be tomorrow, that’s how the company is. It’s gone up six jobs since I started there. I think it was 52 or so and now it’s 58. My own job was just one station wagon. The rest of my work was O.K. But now every fifth job is a station wagon. That was ridiculous, you just couldn’t do the job.”

There have also been a number of line slowdowns in response to the increased speed-up. One worker described the slowdown in the trunk line: “That was the truck line—they do the same work we do on the frames and stuff. When they shut that line down, which they did that night, those guys sat down, they sat down, they walked off the job. I walked in and they had it shut down. I guess they had it shut down about 20 minutes. The general foreman comes in and says ‘Your job is in jeopardy’ and the guys said to hell with this.’

Why Wilmington Struck— ‘Just Step Over The Body’

BY STEVE SYLVIE

WILMINGTON, Del., Nov. 8—Workers began a two day strike here today in anger over speedup and unsafe working conditions in the General Motors plant.

This action follows a one day walkout which occurred on Octo- ber 22 over an incident which shows just how bad GM will take their drive for increased productivity.

A janitor on the night shift had been stricken with a heart attack and fell into the pit in the trim department. A worker immediately stopped the line but the foreman restarted it and told the men to “just step over the body and keep on working.”

An alternate committee man was suspended when the ranks protested. The entire department then walked out.

The strike that ensued was called off by the union leadership the very next day. In addition, Woodcock and the International leadership withdrew the five day letter which was supposed to give Local 43’s the green light for a two day strike as part of Woodcock’s “Apache” strategy against GM.

ANGER

But as the attacks against auto workers mount, Woodcock and the rest of the bureaucrats are finding it harder and harder to contain the anger of the ranks. They have now been forced to force the five day letter and call a two day strike.

By limiting the strike to two days, however, the leadership is not seriously confronting General Motors and is only trying to dissuade the militancy of the ranks into a futile protest.
CT State Workers
Wildcat Against
Speedup At
Sparrows Point

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Sparrows Point, Md.—Sintering mill workers at the Bethlehem Steel installation here walked off the job early Thursday to protest speedup and attacks on their working conditions.

Although the walkout is supported by the Zone Committee, the leadership of United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 3610 has refused to officially sanction the strike and has sought to keep the strike isolated from the other locals.

The union leadership, in an attempt to isolate and strangle this fight, is utilizing a clause in the current contract which specifies that the mechanical and electrical departments must be on strike as well if the strike in the steel mill is to be considered official. This same maneuver was used to force striking coke oven workers back on the job this past summer.

Salaries

At present, the sintering mill is continuing production in two of its five units, using salaried employees. The steelworkers in the facility are running out and the plant may soon have to cut back on production. The strike in the sintering mill is only the latest in a series of strikes at Sparrows Point in response to government-backed attacks on jobs and working conditions at Bethlehem Steel. Approximately half the men at the plant have been permanently laid off while virtually all those remaining have been arbitrarily laid off and recalled to lower classification jobs.

In the past, each operator in the sintering mill worked with a "shift" of only one or two operators and the operator must perform both jobs himself. During the strike the operator works on the mill, which makes breeding a job in itself.

SAFETY

Under government regulations the company is required to provide safety glasses for the men and maintain clean and safe working conditions. However, both the government and Bethlehem Steel have let safety ride while pushing for productivity.

The role of the Local 3610 leadership is absolutely criminal in this situation. They have marshaled the rank and file in the plant and have not used their power to protect the workers.

The fight against unsafe conditions, speedup and layoffs at Bethlehem Steel can only be taken forward by the rank and file taking control of the plant and the mills.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 11—A statewide rally of about 200 people was held Saturday on the New Haven Green, in defense of the six month old strike against the Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas. Sponsored by the Connecticut and Greater New Haven Labor Councils, the rally drew support from all, railroad, and garment unions but primarily labor leaders themselves. Defense of the strikers has been restricted to protests and boycotts.

In a previous meeting the real conditions of the Farah strike were exposed by Alonzo Macias, a strike leader from El Paso, Texas. The strike began last May over the firings of some workers trying to organize a union.

SPREAD

The strike has spread from San Antonio to other plants in El Paso and Victoria, Texas. But, as Macias pointed out, only one third of the Farah workers are actually out and the most brutal strikebreaking methods are being used by Farah with the help of the courts.

RUN OVER

Two pickets have been run over, one of them by Mrs. Farah, mother of the company owner, Willie Farah. The company has used armed guards and vicious police dogs against the strikers. Still in effect is an injunction obtained by the company which forces picketers to remain 50 feet apart.

$1.60

According to Macias: "All trades at Farah start at $1.60 an hour regardless of skill. Farah doesn't care about anything except getting young and strong workers. They have a retirement plan, but in 20 years no one person has retired from Farah."

At the rally not one political word was uttered or any plans presented to combat Nixon's plans.

Imperirole Leads Racist Attack On Newark Project

BY BOB MICHAELSON

Newark, Nov. 14—Right-wing demagogue Anthony Imperirole is whipping up a racist campaign aimed at stopping construction on the Kawaida Towers housing project in this city's predominantly white North Ward.

The project is being built by the "Temple of Kawaida" whose "spiritual leader" is Black nationalist LFote Jones. The project was approved by the Newark City Council over a year ago.

City Plan Threatens Welfare Jobs

BY AN SSEE MEMBER

New York—This city is now entering its final phase in the reorganization of the Department of Social Services and the attempt to knock the remaining several thousand social service employees off the payrolls.

With the complete compliance of the Cohen leadership, the city has begun setting up its Community Service Programs. These programs are totally vague as to job specifications, guarantees, physical setups, and future funding.

Cohen admitted that with the passage of the federal revenue sharing bill, funding for social services in the city looked bleak. He argued, however, at the last Delegates Assembly meeting, in the face of a large opposition to the plan, that at least the union had the guarantee of funding through the end of the fiscal year and the workers should take what they can get.

The Committee for New Leadership (CNL) opposed the program, calling for no further cooperation with the union and any new programs or projects until the membership votes on a full blueprint, including job specifications, physical plant, and funding. They pointed out that this new program was a complete fraud, and was aimed solely at getting the remaining social service staff out of the centers and on their way off the payrolls.

Cohen countered by alleging that there would be large numbers of social service staff left in the welfare centers, and was able to squeak through an endorsement of his policies by a 50-40 margin.

The city is now openly admitting that it has no intention whatever of retaining social service armed gangs of racists who were prepared to try to smash back the rebellion of Black workers in the ghetto.

Violence

Now Imperirole is threatening violence if construction continues on the Kawaida Towers site. He has organized rallies and pickets at the site, at one point mobilizing 1000 people at a meeting.

Imperirole has tried to gain the support of white workers and youth by claiming that his campaign is not racist.

He has insisted that the apartment complexes are illegal, and is against the interests of the residents in the immediate area, many of whom, he points out, are Black and Spanish speaking. He says there is a lack of sewage pipes and parking spaces for cars.

Newark is in a state of complete financial and economic collapse. The housing situation is among the worst in the country, and Mayor Gibson has made clear his intention to cut back all public services and education.

Faced with this situation, all the reactionary forces try to divert workers away from the (Continued On Page 18)
Detroit Board Cuts Two Months Off School Year

BY A YS REPORTER
DETOIT—Thursday, Detroit's Board of Education dealt what may be the fatal blow to Detroit's educational system and to the future of more than 278,000 school age youth.

The Board voted by a 10 to 3 margin to cut two months from the school year of all elementary, junior high, and high schools in the Detroit metropolitan school districts.

According to this measure, Detroit's 278,000 public school will close on December 21 and remain closed until February 4, a total of eight weeks and a loss of 40 school days.

It is important to note that the School Board is successful in raising an estimate of $10 million that it has recently been forced to repay on a loan for the 1971-72 school year, and that the increase in school days from the school schedule will be necessary, which will almost double the number of school days lost to Detroit youth.

Under these conditions it is very clear that Detroit schools may simply close December 21 without any guarantee to youth or any financial basis for reopening this year.

For the first time in the history of the United States, the American government and the class that represents them have declared their willingness to destroy the livelihood of the youth of an entire city, by taking away one of the most elementary rights of the working class, the right to public education.

Talks had been going on for months which mentioned the possibility of such action being taken, but it was not until after the elections that final steps were taken.

Nixon's overwhelming victory has unleashed the greatest attacks on youth. The next four years will prove to be more vicious than any before.

The Young Socialists are working to educate the citizenry throughout the city for a demonstration under our program that will halt this attack. The only answer for the youth is calling on the unions to take action by holding a Congress of Labor and building a labor party immediately.

March With YS On Nov. 18 For Congress Of Labor

BY A YS REPORTER
The defense of the Vietnamese Revolution and the fight for the Congress of Labor to mobilize American workers and youth against Nixon's attacks will be carried forward by the Young Socialists and Workers League in the November 18 demonstration against the war.

NIXON

This demonstration is taking place at a critical time. Now that he is re-elected, Nixon is preparing to smash all the living conditions of workers and youth by creating mass unemployment and breaking unions.

The Stalinists of the Soviet Union and China are trying to force the Vietnamese to go along with a sellout of the Revolution in order to free Nixon's hands against workers and youth in this country.

Faithful to their masters in the Kremlin, the Communist Party and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice are lobbying for the nine-point "peace" plan. The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will not expose this betrayal.

The Young Socialists were the only movement that considered it important to set up a literature table on Election Day on the UCLA campus in California. They fought for a labor party among the Democrats, Republicans and revisionists. The YS is being well received by youth in southern California.

British YS Film On Jobs March To Be Shown In N.Y. Nov. 29

BY ADELE SINCLAIR
Beginning in February of this year the British Young Socialists led five right to Work marches from different areas in England. They moved through the countryside, gaining physical and financial support along the way, to London for a mass rally of 8500 people at Wembley Pool on March 12.

Throughout the Meetings will also be held in Cleveland, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

These meetings will be critical in this period following Nixon's re-election as Nixon prepares a whole new onslaught on the working class internationally and the workers and youth in the U.S. A revolutionary youth movement can only be constructed as part of the Fourth International.

The release of the film "The Right to Work" takes place at a time of near civil war in England. All the rights of working people have been put on the line by the Tory government. The wage freeze was Heath's open declaration to drive back the living standard of working people at any cost.

Already there are over one million unemployed workers. In areas like Sunderland, unemployment among youth under the age of 18 is as high as 33%. Because of these developments the marches were able to gain a tremendous amount of support, not only from youth and workers, but from the best elements of the middle class.

POWER

Throughout the Young Socialist campaign, it was pointed that in this period there is no alternative other than fighting for political power if workers are to survive.

It is with this understanding that a large section of the middle class is now turning to and fighting with the Young Socialists to kick the Tory government out and bring in a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The film "The Right to Work" shows clearly that only the independent and mass political mobilization of workers and youth can defend their rights. It is with this understanding that we must turn our fight against Nixon's preparations for Bonapartist dictatorship.

The American Young Socialists call on all youth to join in this fight and attend the public meeting, the "Fourth International Today" on November 29, where "The Right to Work" film will be premiered for the first time in the United States.
BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST STEERING COMMITTEE

The National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance takes place in the midst of the deepest economic crisis and a period of sharp struggle between the working class and the capitalists.

Nixon's re-election poses the greatest danger to American workers and youth, because he will be required to launch the most brutal attacks upon their living conditions in order to defend the profit system.

All the revolutionary developments taking place by flow from Nixon's decision on August 12, 1971, to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold. By smashing the Breton Woods arrangements of 1944 upon which the post-war boom had been based and not destroying the foundation of world trade but also ended all the old relations between the working class and capitalists.

Thus, all the advanced industrial nations have been thrown into a trade war which will require the efforts of the workers to defeat the rights of workers in every country.

In Europe, the capitalists call security conferences to prepare civil war and by Edward Heath, the Tory Prime Minister, prepared for a Comm. Market and to break the back of British workers by imposing a wage freeze and throwing trade unions in jail.

BIG ATTACKS

Nixon has already begun big attacks on American workers and youth, through the Pay Board, speedups, unemployment, cuts in education and in housing.

Already, less than two weeks after his election, Nixon makes it clear that he will go on ever further. The second term will not be like the first.

- The Government is demanding a subminimum wage for youth.
- Republican politicians like Anderson, a friend of Nixon, still use racism to divide black and white workers in Canada.
- Financial aid programs are being slashed, and even the most far-left schools are closed.
- The University is threatened with shutdowns.
- Nixon promises in the press to cut social programs and unemployment benefits, while at the same time vowing to throw more youth out of jobs.
- Renewed a.
- A renewed counter-offensive against the Vietnamese revolution is being planned.
- These attacks and the determination of the youth to fight back, show the need to build a revolutionary leadership.

CONGRESS OF LABOR

This is why the Young Socialists fighting to turn the youth to the powerful trade union movement, demanding a Congress of Labor to take immediate action against Nixon's attacks and to build a revolutionary party pledged to socialist programs.

Only the Young Socialists can take advantage of this fight between Washington and the people to prepare for Nixon's re-election before it happened. Their perspective is the product of building a youth movement based upon the fight for Marxist theory in the working class.

The Young Socialist Alliance did not prepare for Nixon's re-election campaign that arm the working class and youth with a program to meet the crisis. The Convention document, "The Dynamics of the Youth Radicalization," has nothing to say about the situation facing the youth today, and poses no way to fight back.

The fight for the labor party, to break the working class from the capitalist parties—the heart of the revolutionary strategy—is simply thrown out by the YSA. The document states comically that the prospect for a labor party is "not an immediate one."

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

While the most favorable conditions exist for the building of a labor party and the development of a leadership in the U.S. within the working class and youth, the orientation of the YSA remains unchanged. The YSA favors this position on the basis of the fraudulent theory of "New Radicalization."

Behind this turn away from the working class is the abandonment of the fight for Marxist theory against revisionism. In the recent statements of George Breitenstein, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party we can see how divergent from philosopher questions leads to outlandish political conclusions.

Only several weeks ago, Breitenstein declared that the ruling class was making a "mistake" in backing Nixon. Shortly thereafter, Breitenstein claimed that militants had nothing to fear because of a "radicalizing" jury system.

These statements only serve to shade the youth and mask the plans of the capitalists. The election results show that far from making a mistake, the ruling class kept Nixon in the White House to carry out big attacks.

To suggest, as Breitenstein does, that the so-called radicalization of the juries means that workers will have their rights defended is completely incorrect. By the Watergate conspiracy, the stacking of the Supreme Court, the renewed prosecution of Daniel Ellsberg, the witch-hunt of Billy Dean Smith, anti-war laws and the attempts to abolish the jury system altogether.

CRISIS

Breitenstein can make statements because he does not have the slightest understanding of the crisis, and this same position is expressed throughout the YSA document. This perspective flows from the rejection of dialectical materialism by the YSA whose philosophical method is most clearly exposed by George Novack's claim that the fight for dialectical materialism is an optional responsibility of the member of a revolutionary party and his open defense of pragmatism.

First and foremost, the document does not see the crisis. It begins by encouraging complacency, stating that "Nixon has won a temporary reprieve from the monetary crisis that threatens..." The document also accepts Nixon's claim about an upturn and talks of "The beginning recovery from the recession."

On the international developments, entitled "Vietnam and World Revolution," the following analysis of the crisis is given:

"Moreover the economic, social, and political crises in the U.S. has exacerbated already existing contradictions in the U.S. These contradictions include deteriorating public services and accelerating urban decay..."

VIETNAM

The document now comes up with a solution for the crisis—ending the war in Vietnam.

This position is no different than that held by the liberals who cannot understand the crisis and think the war is the cause of the capitalist crisis rather than a result of it. Furthermore, this position strengthens the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, who consciously try to mislead the working class with the illusions about an economic recovery.

The method behind this assessment is to pretend that the government proceeds with perceptions separated from an analysis of the development of the international monetary crisis. It rejects the assessment Trotsky made this historical period as the "Death Agony of Capitalism."

The document asserts that "The boom was based on the vastly greater strength of U.S. imperialism in relation to the other capitalist powers." Completely absent from the YSA's statements on the boom is the understanding that the U.S. and Breton Woods arrangements were a tremendous retreat by a weak capitalist class before the working class.

Furthermore, the artificial boom developed by the capitalist class has been the basis for the real revolutionary crisis. The document asserts that "The government had broken the banks and wages, and wages, and wages..." This struggle can only be carried out if youth unite behind the strength of the working class.

Maryland U.

Uses Racism To Cover Backcuts

BY A YS REPORTER

CATONSVILLE, Md.—President Nixon recently commented that Americans should not be "pazzy-soft." This contemptuous statement has found its expression at the Baltimore County campus of the University of Maryland in the form of budget cuts, tuition increases and cuts in all forms of financial aid.

The government attack attacks students in all its efforts—"to fight inflation" the policies of the university administration lead to a division of students among racial lines.

In a "liberal" effort to cover over the University's racist past, the administration claims to be "giving Black students a break" by means of a certain "preferential" treatment.

The situation deepened racial tensions which were manifested in one recent confrontation between faculty and white students.

The struggle was constructed supposedly to serve the needs of Baltimore City with its largely minority population. Nevertheless it was located far out in the suburb of Catonsville, where the students lived in the rural area where the difficulties, especially for those students who do not have cars. Consequently, when the University opened its doors only two percent of the student body consisted of minority youth. With the growth of the University to its current size of 4,000, that figure is only 10.8 percent.

LOSS

Now, however, all youth in the area lose their rights to free education. The benefits that UMBC was supposed to provide them are not even being offered. If a student body is cut drastically.

These cuts mean either that the student body will be increased by only 500 per year, instead of the intended 1000, or that those 1000 new students will be admitted in spite of the fact that the campus would not even be able to serve them in its already inadequate way. Obviously in either case the youth of the area has lost.

Moreover, scholarships, loans and work-study programs have been cut and students are finding it increasingly difficult to find jobs off campus. They find themselves with less money than ever to pay the rising costs of education (tuition was raised $60 per semester this year, with further increases sure to come), and chasing after a diminishing number of jobs.

UNITE

The YS says that Black and white students must unite since any racial antagonism among them merely serves the interests of the profits of the capitalists and their government.

That government, and not fellow students, is directly responsible for the lack of funds for the work-study programs throughout the nation, which in turn are needed to fight for the remaining scholarships, loans and jobs.

The YS calls for all students to begin the fight immediately against all budget cuts and to take up the struggle for the right to education for all. This struggle can only be carried out if youth unite behind the strength of the working class.
To Meet Nixon’s New Attacks
1972 YSA CONVENTION
Young Socialist

ATIONS FOR THE INCOHERENT CRISIS IN WHICH THE SYSTEM IS NOW IN.

POSTWAR BOOM

The postwar boom, created by printing billions of paper dollars that have no gold backing. On November 22, 1972, the U.S. government stopped converting paper dollars into gold. The result: the depletion of the United States’ gold reserves by foreign banks seeking to pay for the United States’ worthless dollars.

What does this mean? It is the most fundamental crisis: a crisis of value. Paper money is flowing all over the world with no gold to back it. In order to restore value to the world economy, the ruling class must attack the source of value—the working class.

This is what is behind the policies of the Nixon government and why the destruction of the working class is required in order to stabilize the capitalist system.

But the YSA document does not see the urgency of the crisis, and the sharp turn that Nixon must now take against the trade unions and into any fighting against anything that has ever been contemplated in the past.

“Although there will continue to be ups and downs in the business cycle, and even in the shortrun, the “historical trend is toward increased pressure on the working class, which will sooner or later lead to a response and a qualitative change in the class struggle around wages and jobs.”

In the face of the most massive attacks being prepared by Nixon, the YSA’s perspective foresees only “increased pressure.” And in place of a scientific understanding of why the working class has already entered into big struggles, the YSA only vaguely expects a development of the class struggle “sooner or later.”

BLIND

Ignoring the crisis, the YSA is blind to the movement of the working class against the Nixon government and the responsibility to resolve the crisis of leadership. The working class is written off as a docile element. Even though the labor movement as a whole country is on the verge of an explosion, the YSA speaks of “the relative quietness of the working class.”

The women’s liberation, black nationalism, and anti-war pro- test movements are substituted for the working class, which is labelled the most backward section of the world. The YSA speaks of “the relative quietness of the working class.”

Yet the bankruptcy of the docu- ment’s perspective is revealed clearly in the chapter on “Development of the Current Revolutionary Situation” and other sections dealing with aspects of the radicalization.

Having adapted to the move ment of the middle class in an earlier period, the YSA’s refl ection is a distorted analysis of the middle class which has overtaken the YSA under new conditions, which the struggle of the working class predominates.

In conclusion entitled “The Youth Radicalization Today and the YSA’s Revolutionary Tasks,” the YSA states:

“Electoral periods are usually times of extreme political polarization. During an electoral period, many political activists are dis- oriented and trapped into working for capitalist party can didates instead of building the independent anti-war move- ment.”

COLLAPSE

The death of the anti-war movement and the collapse of the other middle class protest move ments serves as the thoroughly incorrect pers pective of the YSA, leads to complete demoralization just at a time when those functioning with a Marxist perspective are given the greatest confidence by the developments within the working class.

The bankruptcy of the docu ment consists fundamentally in its inability to present what is now in the objective situation and to present the nature of real youth for the kind of struggle that will soon emerge. This failure is rooted in the abandonment of Marxist theory in the construc tion of the revolutionary perspective. Because the YSA does not see theory as a guide to revolution ary practice, as Lenin and Trotsky did, to be constantly brought into line with the existing practice in order to change social conditions, the YSA mistakes a changing objective situation, its prac tice has become based on a series of superficial impressions of the boom—a period which has come to an end.

This has led the YSA into the middle class swap of women’s liberation and Black Nationalism today puts it in opposition to the move ment of the number one counterrevolutional aries in the labor move ment—the Stalinists. Opportunism, which flows from the revi sion of Marxist theory, finds its sharpest expression in the rela tion of the YSA to the CP and YWLL.

CONFLICT

For Lenin, the conflict, not the unity, of opposites was central. Moreover, he saw the revolu tionary party as a conscious minority in the class in the conflict against its bourgeois method of thought through the struggle to build the party.

For Young Socialists fight against Trotsky’s attempt to compromise the struggle between Marxian philosophy and bourgeois philosophy because the basic problems of the working class are not opposed to the interests of the working class, and to the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership that can take the working class to power.

This conception of compro mise rather than bitter conflict is brought into the policies of the YSA. Novack writes continuously about the virtues of bourgeois democracy, and says that the struggle for socialism is only an extension of the struggle for democracy.

In this way, he proposes pol icies, expressed in the document, that seek to line up liberals on the basis of a common agreement that “the good” in capitalism should be preserved. This is the core of the “anti-war,” women’s lib, and other such movements to which the YSA adapts.

The perspective of the doc ument, along the lines of Novack’s revisionism, excludes a fight for the labor party which poses the question of power to the working class.

The warning that Trotsky made to the SWP about the need to develop dialectical material isism is in more critical than ever before. In that period, the SWP did not respond to the warning and lost its entire youth move ment to the anti-Marxist Shachtmanites in the 1940 split.

For fourteen years, until 1957, they refused to build a youth movement. The turn to the youth in 1957 was a pragmatic one, based on the movement of the working class shown in the “Hunger Marches,” and the renewed interest in Trotskyism among youth following Khrus chev’s revolutions.

PABLO

But the YSA was founded just at that time when the SWP was going toward an unprincipled reunification with the Pabloites, even though Pablo had been the SWP which issued the Open Letter breaking with Pablo and denouncing his position that the Trotskyist movement should be liquidated into the Stalinist par ties. Ten years later, the SWP reunited with the Pabloites, sup pressed all discussion, and threw out the leadership of the YSA for demanding a full discussion of the SWP’s decision to break with the Fourth International. Pablo repeatedly spoke of Trotskyism when he said that Stalinism could be prevented by the revolu tionary direction. Trotsky had maintained that Stalinism was incompatible with the program of the Fourth International and the SWP had split with the Pabloites, it set the stage for a complete capitulation to Stalinism. This is why the YSA doc ument has no strategy for exposing and destroying the Stalinists.

It states:

“The YSA’s approach to the SWP (your movement of the Communist Party) is twofold: on the one hand we participate in the work of the SWP and the YSA in youth activities in the anti-war move ment, women’s or Black struggles, or any other appropriate situation.”

The refusal to fight for the labor par ty and the endorsement of the seven-point peace plan is essentially a surrender to the bureaucratic leadership of the SWP. The YSA speaks of “united front activity,” working with the Stalinists on the most rotten basis—the agree ment to support the leadership of the working class against the capitalists.

This compromise with Stalinism can lead only to betrayal of the youth movement. At this point, the Stalinists are counting on the YSA to win support for the nine-point peace plan that abandoned the revolutionary struggle. But the YSA can do nothing about this betrayal.

The move to drop the labor party demand is part of this retreat just at a time when it would become the weapon of the American working class against Nixon.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

However, the Young Socialists are not making any retreat. We have battled the Stalinists and will continue to do so. This will not be in the abstract; it is a real struggle to build a leader ship and take the working class to power.

The call for a Congress of Labor is a critical development in the turning of the working class toward the struggle for socialism. It is part of our strategy to carry out a theoretical struggle to change the thinking of millions of workers in the construction of a revolutionary movement.

Central to the development of our movement is the fight for theory. The position of the Young Socialists has been clearly stated: “Evaluating the revolutionary youth must devote them selves not only to the task of de veloping Marxist theory in the fight against bourgeois ideology and all aspects of imperialism in the workers’ movement.”

This movement of the youth fulfills its historic obligations in this period.

Last year we warned the YSA of the need to confront these questions and the need to struggle against Stalinism, and ques tions of theory. All members of the YSA are now involved in a revolutionary leadership must demonstrate their commitment meet this responsibility.

125th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto 55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

PUBLIC MEETING

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY

SUNDAY, NOV. 25
8pm

CLEVELAND
STATLER HILTON
EUCLID & 121ST
FOREST CITY B.
3rd FLOOR

PREMIERE: ‘Three Years Of The World Press’ & ‘The British Right-To-Work March’

WORKERS LEAGUE & YOUNG SOCIALISTS

speakers:
Tim Wainwright, National Secretary of the Workers League
also Speakers from American Young Socialists

Darryl Syvieve, National Committee of the Socialist Labour League, British Young Socialists

WORKERS LEAGUE & YOUNG SOCIALISTS
No Jobs, No Schools, No Housing

(Continued From Page 1)

too bloated." Admitting that his Administration has decided to eliminate thousands of jobs, Nixon made it clear that moral considerations would not stand in his way.

"We are going to try to do it in a way that will con-
sider the individual, but we have to accomplish the objective."

Make no mistake about it. In the full flush of his election victory, Nixon is talking about war against the working class.

In less than a week, it has become crystal clear that the second Nixon administration will be nothing like the first. He is talking about creating mass unemployment and slashing all social programs are no idle threats. The plans Nixon has for the working class are already being carried out.

In Detroit, the city administration is threatening to shut down the school system in December, and deprive working class youth of education.

In St. Louis, 25,000 are being thrown into the streets as public housing facilities are eliminated.

In Newark, organized by the Communist party are on the verge of declaring the city bankrupt.

These developments prove that the Nixon administration is determined to make the United States a country where millions of workers will have no jobs, no housing, no unions, no security in their old age, and where their children have no future.

The Congress of Labor must be convened immediately to take action against the attacks—unemployment, speed-ups, wage controls, cuts in social programs—and preparing the alternative by actually organizing a labor party pledged to socialist programs that will meet the crisis.

We propose that the Congress of Labor defeat Nixon’s Pay Board and productivity drive by organizing national general strike action. There is no other way to stop the government’s open robbery of workers, its stepping upon the right to negotiate a decent contract, and speed-ups.

The Congress must answer the threat of massive unemployment by fighting for the 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. We must make the 30 hour week the law of the land, and organize and develop in the interests of the productivity of the country. There must be real job training for youth.

The Congress must reject and fight any attempt to turn back the clock on the living conditions of workers. Billions must be spent for education, housing, and medical care.

All the attacks on the working class flow from the character of capitalism in crisis. Under capitalism, big business uses the vast productive power of industry for profit, not to serve the people.

Nixon and big business are saying that the corporations cannot function unless they lay off millions and destroy the living conditions of the working class.

This means that workers can defend themselves only through the nationalization of industry under their control. Only this way can the economy be planned, organized, and developed in the interests of working people. By controlling the economy, the working class will see to it that everyone has a job, that schools and housing are built, and decent living conditions assured.

The Congress of Labor must unite all sections of the working class in struggle against Nixon around this program.

We urge every trade unionist to take up the fight for the Congress of Labor in his union.

LA Shows The Way

This week marks the one-third point of our $600 sub drive which ends December 31. Having received 379 subs this week, our national total is $1480.

This means that we are 318 subs (five percent) short of our goal. We have:

Branches such as Madison, Racine,

and Hartford, which in the past have brought in many subs, have let the work drop this week.

When we look at the number of subs received in one week is shown by these branches: Los Angeles, 30; Upper West Side, 30; Minne-
aapolis, 30.

The Midwest flowerlaiders, out to get 500 subs by Thanksgiving, brought in over 50 subs this weekend. While this is a good start, they must now send in at least that many more subs a day.

In order to meet our $600 quota by December 31, we must receive 775 subs a week. This can be done if all the branches begin intensive work now on campuses, at factories, and in the communities.

The 1972 election represents a his-
toric turning point in the relation-
ship between the working class and the two parties of big business. Dominat-
ing the campaign and expressing itself in the vote was the movement of millions of American workers against the Democrats and Republi-
cans and toward the building of a labor party.

McGovern’s overwhelming defeat is not a measure of Nixon’s strength, but reflects the defeat of the Demo-

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Books


Mr. Progressive is one of the most effective, certainly unintended, indictments ever of the reactionary nature of populism and if its chief prop in the middle third and the forties, the American Communist Party.

The expose is all the more ineliminable because its author, James M. Shields, like his brother Art of the Daily World, has been for decades—and continues to this day to be—an ardent apostle for every Stalinist zig-zag.

The biographer depicts the political life of a former Governor of the State of Minnesota from 1936 to 1938. Shields, admittedly, is no unbiased commentator. As an “insider” within the state governmental apparatus during the two stormy “Benson years,” he knew the Governor and his advisers intimately. More important, as an appointee in the State Department of Education, Shields more than any single Stalinist helped shape those anti-working class policies which shattered the Farmer-Labor Party (FLP) in 1938.

Written in that familiar and nauseating tradiot of abject innuendo so perverted by Stalin’s own bootlickers during his lifetime, the book is nonetheless a valuable storehouse and documentation of Stalinist treachery to the Minnesota and American working class. It is a treachery that has not diminished. On the contrary, Stalinism today, as yesterday, is capitalism’s most reliable weapon inside the working class movement.

Benson, despite the innuocation from many sources, was never an actual member of the Communist Party. He was a puppet and a dupe of the Stalinists.

But the Norwegian immigrant storekeeper parents in that rural retreat of Appleton, Minnesota, on the Dakota border, the environment in which Benson was brought up to be a “God-fearing Lutheran.” In addition, Benson was a contributing editor to Zion Lutheran Church and served its congregation in several official capacities.

Later as Governor of the State, he was the honored speaker at the twentieth celebration of the Consolidation of the Synod and United Lutheran congregations in his home town. The gist of his spiritual message was that it was people who have failed, “not Christ.”

Another ingredient besides the stoic Protestant creed of Norwegian Lutheranism to mould his views was the “round-the-stove debates” engaged in by radical farmers at the Farmers League in his father’s store. They had early aroused in him an antipathy and suspicion of the big-city exploiters of the little rural folk.

Upon graduation from high school in 1917 he was sent to the law school of the University of Minnesota in the twin cities. He was not one to go straight from high school to the law school, and he was one of those unhappy souls who decided to join the Army during World War I. He eventually was directed to the front line in France as an infantryman in the 31st Company of the 1st Minnesota Engineers. He returned home to the University and later joined the army as a stu- dent of a law firm in the Twin Cities.

Politically, the Benson story is a lesson in the ways in which the old-fashioned agrarianism of the pre-1914 era has beenStudies in the Farmer-Labor Party in the ’30s B.Wills

Appleton post of the American Legion. He was unaware of any contradiction between his membership in this reactionary jingoist organization and his holding of pacifist views. Curiously his praise paci- fism was even bolstered by a belated post- war enthusiasm for the writings of Wood- row Wilson, the very “pacificist” President of the U.S. who so cruelly betrayed his vow to keep America out of the European conflict.

Such glaring inconsistencies in Benson’s beliefs are not excepted. Rather they characterize his entire political philo- sophy and actions. Here, too, in the explana- tion for the relative ease with which the Stalinists were able later to turn him to their instrument.

Shields tells that throughout his career as an employee of a petty bank, Benson retained his populist views. The future governor loved “to play poker, though never for large stakes, for he was a cautious and canny man when it came to personal money matters. All in all, it may be said of him that during this entire decade and a half of community life he exemplified socially and economically the career of a successful though not outstanding small-town, middle-class citi- zen.”

FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Obviously, a man with these qualities would never pose as a threat to the essen- tial structure of the capitalist state. That was well noted within the FLP and appre- ciated by the more conservative anti- working class elements there. Out of concern for the farmers of Swift County in which Appleton is located, many of whom, in addition, were heavily indebted to his own bank, Benson joined the FLP at its founding in 1922.

The party was an outgrowth of two sepa- rate organizations and social classes that now merged. 1) the impoverished farmers of Minnesota headed by A.C. Townsley, an

authoritarian leader of the Nonpartisan League and 2) the craft trade unions led by William Mahoney, editor of St. Paul’s A.F. of L. newspaper, the Union Advocate and at the same time chairmen of the Working People’s Nonpartisan League. In 1922 the new party, waging its first campaign for state and national offices, scored an im- pressive victory against both the Demo- crats and Republicans. A senator and a couple of representatives from the FLP now entered the halls of Congress in Washington, D.C. to the chagrin and gloom of both capitalist parties.

It was the 1929 stock market crash, however, which gave such a sharp impe- tus to the mass growth and influence of the FLP. Unemployed city workers and farmers, some of whom had prospered during the twenties and supported the Republicans, now looked to the FLP with new hope and enthusiasm. This was dramatically shown in the 1932 Minnesota elections as the FLP swept into office with its leaders and candidate for governor, Floyd B. Olson, capturing more than 60 percent of the total vote.

Politically shatterd, the Democratic Party never again looked as any serious independent electoral force in the State. In fact it was to remain moribund in Minne- sota politics until the series of trans- figurations given it by the Stalinists in the early forties. Even then it could not stand on its own feet but had to be grafted onto the FLP organization as it still is to this day: the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party.

Again in 1937 the FLP won hands down. In his second term of office Governor Olson was prevailed upon to appoint Ben- son to the office of Commissioner of Securities for the State of Minnesota. The small town banker was supported by cer- tain farm leaders as well as by contem- porary independent banker friends, Harry Lee of Ellow Lake, Robert Berry of Long Prairie, and especially Ben Dubois of Suka Centre, a real power in central and western counties.

Shields admits that his hero in the pre- sence of Olson “was seldom vocal on programmatic problems. He listened, meditated, adjusted, and—only when he deemed it essential did he object.”

Whatever his meager talents as a Secur- ities Commissioner, he did demonstrate a wardheeler’s zeal for elimination of “carry-overs” from his department. He was in the very process of making his own appointments here, when the State Com- mission of Banking resigned to become chair of the Fifth Federal Reserve District.

Those same political and personal con- siderations which secured Benson’s ap- pointment as Securities Commissioner ob- tained more than once in his selection as the new Banking Commissioner. No sooner was he in his new office when there ap- peared on the scene an individual, who, henceforth, was to influence decisively Benson’s entire political direction and his course of action.

For placed at the new Banking Com- missioner’s disposal was a relatively un- known lawyer, an assistant Attorney Gen- eral in the State. Roger Hutchick’s as- signment was to counsel Benson on ap- pointments. With a ruthlessness that Shields admits caused uneasiness and even “a minor furor” throughout the FLP itself, heads began to roll in the State De- partment of Banking. The amateur Ben- son was awash-strewn by the professional axe-swinging prowess of his new advisor. He likewise could not help admiring Hutchick’s knack for having at his im- mediate disposal the “right” people for those eliminated.

Despite an attempt to play down Ben- son’s ultimate total dependence on Hutch- ick, the biographer is forced repeatedly to detail circumstances showing Benson’s helplessness when separated from his

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future personal secretary and councillor on the Board of Trade in none of Benson's acts as Banking Commissioner did he exercise his reputation as a reformer and innovator. His hardy

courage was capable of dousing but two men. Public opinion (what public opinion makes and un

makers) are an evil; and the chain should be broken anywhere in the best interests of the public. In opposition to the latter he 

was an ardent advocate of farmers living on co-operative farms, of women owned and operated locally.

When the Republican faction voiced serious interest in giving up his govern

or's seat so as to run for the Senate at the 1916 primaries, Benson declined to run, for the side that were so

not to become so ambitious as to threaten a contest in 1926 for the post the governor so coveted that the "Commissioner of Banking was an

ally of the governor's person

influence and wishes." Benson was named for the unexpired Senator's seat in Washi


ton.

In his brief term as Senator in 1916 he went to Washington, but most of his

fire was on that urging the country into a future war. On May 8, just before his

Anti-war Propaganda Bill (32-616) "died lugubriously in committee" Benson said:

"I believe that the case of the United States is as clear as the case of the United States was in 1914 when aug

ust chambers of the Senate:

"I realize that it is useless to talk against the bill to an unacted upon appr

opriation bill which is now before the Senate at the present time. I wish to make

my remarks with the ironic prayer for war of that great German poet, "Give Me a Desk and an	

Expense Account and I Will have the Quotation from Mark Twain to work with.

While Shields conscientiously quotes Mark Twain for the moral, with out

less conscientiousness he denies his readers the information that Benson's unopposed anti-war bill was crushed largely through the efforts of the man whom both he and Benson so revered Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Benson was nominated for governor at the March 1926 convention of the FLP. During his campaign for the office he denounced the Seeleyite group of Bensonism

told, "caampaigned actively for the na

onal Democrat candidates. Most of the so-called Seeleyite delegates in the whole

campaign was an ardent defense of the New Deal and the policies of the liberal

itizens." Support for "liberal" impe

rialists was considered the most

the more conservative wing of the FLP.

POPULAR FRONT

August 22, 1938, in the midst of his campaign for U.S. Senator, Olson.

whom his domination for this post at the FLP

convention has been unanimous, died of cancer. The way was now clear for the

Stalinists to run the kind of campaign they chose. First, through Runlich, they fairly

announced their choice of Bensonism Second--and more important--they had mili

tarily and politically neutralized a large section of the FLP apparatus.

Even the FLP weekly paper, Minnesota Labor News, managed by Abe Harris, now

began to spout the Communist Party's line of the Seeleyite faction. The Seeleyites

were able to capture so many key posts in the FLP apparatus bare covered in

Shields's narrative. Yet without such infor

mation no understanding can be reached as to why the FLP, now in the nemesis, ever, dominate, and finally wreck the FLP in

Minnesota.

The sectarian policies of the Com

munist under Stalin had delivered the political apparatus into the hands of their executor, Hitler, the

Kremalin at the Seventh Congress of the

of the world to embrace "democratic" im

plications of the Seeleyites. The Com

American Stalinists were shoulder deep in pur

uit of the policy known as the Popular Front in this country christened by Broo

the Democratic Front, lest there be

any confusion or doubt of its intent: sup

port for the Popular Front Democrats and his so-called New Deal.

The policy was carried out in the U.S.

with that unquestioning obsequiousness that has without exaggeration earned the

nym for American Socialism--(and the muri

itary and most corrupt branch of the party anywhere in the world).

Hardly a year earlier they had con

demned Floyd Olson as an "incipient

the "Inactivity of the Minnesota So

cial Democrats" were called "Uncle Tacis." Now after the largest demonstration

Congress that was all charged. With prac

tically no influence or forces on behalf of the State, they took full ad

vantage of the loose organizational struc

tured parties of the country. In the clubs of the party, a addition they set up tracts and delegations to the labor organiza

ions and affiliated them to the FLP through the device of submitting names

they were gotten from the unions. Moreover they formed informal blocs with numerous powerful storekeepers

and intellectuals, all with their own per

sonal axes to grind, and, in any case,

ing the Stalinists by giving an independent poli

cal direction to the trade unions and farmers was virtually paralyzing the Seeleyist

a Trotskyists led by the Minnesota State

Communist Workers was in fact a tangle of the Second

SLA. That accounted for, of course, with the Kremlin's line of the FLP in those days, it was in a real half years before the infamous Stalin-Hitl

er pact. The program in its essentials was indistinguishable from that of the na

ional Democratic Party.

The CP forces at the convention also forced through a plank taken right out of the

C.P.'s arsenal. It was inserted for "quarantining the aggressor," a direct in

vitation to imperial war. That acc

cording, of course, with the Kremlin's line of the FLP in those days, it was in a real half years before the infamous Stalin-Hitl

er pact. The program in its essentials was indistinguishable from that of the na

Roosevelt. Benson's keynote speech at Ap

ing on September 20th was no im

provement over the Duluth platform.

The program of the Farmer-Labor Party is one which can scarcely inspire the workers and farmers to close ranks and conduct the stubborn fight which is necessary for victory in the state
elections. The truth is that the Farmer

Law is in mortal danger of a defeat at the hands of reaction, unless the workers and farmers can be armed with a program which will spur them to the utmost efforts to achieve victory.

PLANKS

The last two major planks from the Open Letter were "For a nationwide labor party—Break with the 'New Deal,'" and "Down with Stalinist wreckers!" The Trotskyists made a far more real

istic appraisal of the political situation and the ingredients required by the FLP to win than did the Benson-CP forces. This is how Shucks described the bitterest of defeat:

Elmer Benson was deeply shocked and almost broken hearted. Up to the very end he had counted on victory—close, yes, but still victory. He had confidence in the man whom he had sought so valiantly to serve, he so deluded by the red-baiting monol

poly-dominated opposition as to vote out of office the only real friends and champions the Seeleyites at the last moment to do, but he did manage to swallow the hurt long enough to congratulate the victor.

The obvious favoritism displayed toward the Stalinist trade unionists was a vivid example of the Ukraine arm

C and his numerous runs with non-Stalinist unionists, who sought to take their "members" interests by mili

tant means. Encouraged by the Stalinists, the Trotskyists took advantage of the "New Deal" type "har

mony" between the workers and their bosses. This is what is called helps explain the unbelievable loss to the FLP of the two major elections in Minnesota, the first one in the state, "Minneapolis and St. Paul by a full third of the votes cast."
Shields describes an interesting and significant incident during Benson’s governorship that throws a bit of light on still another aspect of mid-west populism.

During his governorship in 1871, Ben-
son, a good friend from the neighboring State of Wisconsin, Governor Phil LaFol-
ette, had visited Wisconsin, Germany and Italy. What had particularly struck the fancy of this “progressive” was the ability of the Germans to rear their youth. Returning home, the Wisconsin Governor was imbued with ambitious plans to aid a “great resurgence of youth” in this country. He even enlisted the moral and financial support of some fairly sub-
stantial, if middle-aged, industrialists.

One such figure was the millionaire president of Brown & Bigelow, the huge calendar and card publishing company of St. Paul, Minne-
sota. An enthusiastic convert, he lost little time in contributing pleasure to the project of circu-
ulating literature and buttons en-
blazoned with the Swastika emblem. To win additional forces to his new move-
ment LaFollette invited his Minnesota friend to a private party at Ward’s forest
recreation on the Wisconsin side of the St. Croix River. Benson came as an honored guest bringing with him “quite a bevy of Farmer-Laborites,” including a judge, a general of the State National Guard, a State director of personnel, and many other VIP’s.

After dinner and dining guests at a sumptuous outdoor barbecue, Ward asked them to relax and listen to LaFollette’s message.

“Benson, thoroughly primed, rose to the occasion. He made what was public address a full and pointed criticism of the judge’s defeat. What did he talk about? Peace and neutrality, of course.

“The Farmer-Labor party has always been opposed to war. Under no circum-
stances will our party ever stand idly by while this nation drifts into war. The repression of the people will be ten—yes, twenty times more vicious than during the war. Liberals must take the lead in com-
memorating the battle of the front line.

“Without even a work to explain the change in line, our author simply links the current events of 1938 with the jingoism of 1838 with the statement: ‘We have always been opposed to war.’

“Benson had chosen a battle-axe for an audience where he was less

discerning CP on the one side, and, on the other, the Yankee front is any-
where offered in the book. Suddenly the CPs of the world turned for,
they were not in the front line.

“ ‘The Young Turk’ is not the only one who is coming, and ‘Let God save the King.’

“ ‘The FLP was badly split at the 1940 convention. The result of the old


cultural line of the old line.”

“ ‘The CP has a new line of the old line.”

“ ‘The CP should be considered a cultural line of the old line.”

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army of a few score out-and-out Stalinites, marched into Benson on April 4, 1937, and "seized" the legislature. They held it overnight, dragging a few timid legislators, but never succeeded in prying even a peony loose.

While that act served merely as the prelude for some outraged editors and red-baiting up and down the State. The "mob," dressed in red and black, went around, eating, drinking, and even sleeping in the sacred halls of the Capitol. They depicted Benson as a "mosquito" who had red and "aneurystics" at his beck and call to terrorize law-abiding citizens.

The CP forces at the convention also forced a plank taken right out of the "Socialist Popular FRONT" in the pre-election "analysis of the situation" by the state committee of the Socialist Party. The CP, which really means the party set up and controlled by the Russian government, is now based on the RPM, the American youth who are in the trade. The program of the CP was in essentials the same as that of the Progressive Party.

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Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and their allies are arrested by police. This is a report of the political activities of the party in Minneapolis in 1940.

The following text is a natural representation of the document:

"Regardless of what the national organization of the CIO does or has done in this matter, I want to assure you that I am going to continue my opposition to this type of labor and political leadership. We need aggressive, radical, intelligent and honest leadership in the labor movement, and eventually we are going to get it, but not from this type of leadership. To be sure, they are not all crooked, corrupt, dishonest labor leaders, and dangerous men both in the economic and political movements. I hope you realize the necessity for cooperating with some of the Socialists here you now have in this state and not permit a racketeering group to gain control.

It was hardly much of a secret that Presman at the time was himself a strong sympathizer, if not actually a member of the Socialists, who was going to continue his opposition to this type of labor and political leadership. The Socialist party, however, was not going to fall for such tactics.

Stalinists, who had done all in their power to sabotage the victory of the Minneapolis truck drivers, could now claim considerable credit in separating the fights of the 14 strikes from their elected leaders, forcing the men back into Togar's gangster-union racket.

BACK TO ROOSEVELT

With Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the role of the Minneapolis section of the CIO was to push the LP into an electoral bloc with the state's Democratic Party. Their common aim was to lay the groundwork for rapid organizational fusion with the Democrats.

"In Chapter XVIII of his book entitled "MAWILF", Shields tells how the state's Democratic Party, the labor movement, and the Steelworkers were engaged in a struggle for political control. He quotes the following passage from a speech by Harry Bridges:

"The idea of independent political action is based upon something much firmer and more important than the hazy whims of the campus radical or the wishes of semiskilled intellectuals who look at their bell buckets for inspiration. When the Labor Party, or Farmer-Labor party, state, emerges as a part of a nation-wide movement based on and representing the interests of the displaced farmers' organizations, and unemployed employees, it is a substantial gain, and 1940 as the year of the Labor Party in November, 1938 (it was not merely a year of labor-party victories), is an important milestone.

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The Blotted Parasites
Of The Ruling Class

**THE DISCREET CHARM OF THE BOURGEOISIE.** Directed by L. Bunuel, Script by L. Bunuel, C. Carriere; Photography by Chabrol, Champollion, Claude F. Rey, Seyrig, J.P. Cassel, S. Audran.

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie is Luis Bunuel's 29th picture. It is very much a restatement of many of the visions and views that the 72 year old master of movies has previously expressed. The title is of course deadly ironic—Bunuel despises the well-to-do parasites, the nobles, the businessmen, the flamboyant, but he invariably makes movies about them. He enjoys taking the stuffing out of them, ribbing them, grilling them, but never really resolves anything. In a sense he is a master dissector and explorer.

Bunuel, who left Spain after the Civil War, has been most markedly influenced by surrealism. This picture is closest to the early almost totally surrealistic opuses, such as L'Age D'Or and Chien Andelou (Andeloucan Dog), but it is in that gloriously retired collection that he3 associate with the latter pictures. Bunuel was influenced by Andre Breton, a good poet and leader of the surrealists who made an important contribution in collaboration with the Trotskyist movement in the struggle against the demoralization and distortion introduced into art by the Stalinists.

Bunuel's collages, including Bunuel, sought not so much to get away from reality, but, as Breton explains, to uncover reality through exploring the subconscious. The surrealists utilized the work of the cubists, and the anarcho- and nihilistic dadaists in their contempt for commercial art forms and academic social values.

**DREAM**
Yet, it was the fascination of the dream, the automatic writing or painting anything that came to mind without regard to the shifting of sequences in time and space, spontaneously, surprise—these were the facets particularly tickled Bunuel's fancy. Bunuel weaves his movies around dreams themselves. They bridge the gap between scenes, they focus upon individual characters or groups of characters.

In this film, we see the five protagonists walking along a highway, having a very nice day, as though for a party, coats in hand, baloney and the like, left to right in one sequence and from right to left in another. Invariably Bunuel cuts or pans from a closed caption to the sky. The sequences seem meaningless in themselves except for the transitions from one dream to another, but you cannot be certain even about that. Bunuel laboriously and tenaciously, and the sequences together are always beautifully composed and imaginative.

There is no real plot. There are several sub-plots but everything is guesswork. We meet five people, two married couples and a fifth person (Fernando Rey, who was so outstanding in Bunuel's Viridiana) who is fooling around with one of the married women. These people are simultaneously involved in cocaine-smuggling, very definitely are sexual fetishists or satyrs, have absolutely no taste in foods and wines although they pretend they do, have utter contempt for the working class and the youth, and are involved in situations which always expose their impotency, muddle-headedness and foolishness.

Fernando Rey, shrewdest of them, plays the ambassador from Miranda, which one has heard about but which no one can place geographically. He is constantly being abused by army generals and by civilisans in high places about the corruption of his regime.

He is also confronted by a group of unbalanced guerrillas from Miranda and seems to get the better of them. In one sequence a very pretty young revolutionary is seeking toys outside the ambassador's apartment. He takes aim and shoots the toy. He blows away the smoke from the end of the barrel. Bunuel is far too simplistic about these sequences.

We were most impressed by the hilarity and contrivance of the opening sequence which exposes these parasites for what they are. Three of them are to attend a dinner party at the home of their married friends. They arrive and are told by Madame that she has asked her husband to invite them the following day. They then suggest dinner and they take Madame, who is dressed for bed, with them to a favorite eating place.

The restaurant is mysteriously dark. They knock on the door, get no response and prepare to leave. Suddenly, the door opens and a young waitress escorts them into a light filled, though empty dining room. They can't make up their minds about what to eat. They don't know which dish goes with which but it doesn't matter much.

They are informed that the restaurant, now under new ownership, is out of most things. Suddenly they hear wailing and crying in the back room. It seems that the manager had died that after noon and his body is reposing next to the kitchen. This is too much for the "heroes" and they leave. The young waitress tells them to "hurry back soon."

Everything is presented without any real consideration of time. There are flashes forwards and backwards. People are constantly coming up to five and explaining why they are and all of the time, army maneuvers around the house are interrupted while a soldier recounts for the one hundredth time a strange dream that possesses him—a dream about him and his fiancée who may have died and are joined together in life.

The movie is a lot of fun and Bunuel has still another go at his favorite target. His anarchistic preoccupations seem limitless. If there is one thing that can be said of him. Technically he has never been an innovator.

His films are conventionally made and lit. There are never excessive camera angles or changes, no dramatic editing sequences. Rather, the actual content itself is unconventional. We have almost a series of vignettes within which are marginal touches which serve one purpose only—to expose the hypocrisy, the bar- baric stupidity of this class of leeches. Too bad Bunuel never figured out as we are really going to deal with them for good.

That is the film's real weakness.
Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

A NEW STAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS

In every capitalist country, the struggle of the working class now goes forward in conditions where the preparations for taking state power are beginning to predominate.

The effects of the international economic crisis are now being reflected directly in politics; and the political effects of the class struggle are having immediate reactions on the development of the economic contradictions.

This combined character of the contradictions, this revolutionary process, has been accelerating over since the decisions of U.S. President Nixon on August 15, 1971, non-convertibility of the dollar for gold, ending of the Bretton Woods system of fixed parities and international support to capitalist powers, 10 percent import tariff into the U.S.

Since that day, revolutionary leadership of the working class could be fought for only on the basis of understanding that the whole foundation of adjustment of class relations since World War II was removed.

Henceforth, the bourgeoisie of each capitalist country, in order to survive in the trade war unleashed by Nixon, must break the old relationships of trade unions pressure, Keynesian policies of concessions and parliamentary democracy, in order to impose Bonapartist forms of rule.

The political struggles which result from this necessity to break the old forms of rule, a necessity which clashes with the working class's trade union strength built up in the boom, are the furnace within which the working class will be broken from reformism and win to revolutionary politics. This was and is the perspective of the International Committee, against all those revisionists who started from the theory of "neo-capitalism," a new capitalism which could overcome its contradictions.

Since August 1971, these opposed perspectives have been put to the test. At this moment, the spectre of uncontrollable inflation threatens the internal stability of every capitalist country, as well as the whole range of international relations. One year after Nixon's measures the price of gold on the free market rocketed to over $70 per ounce, more than twice the official price in the Bretton Woods period, before settling temporarily at some $60.

The reality of the inflation caused by the 25-year outflow of paper dollars suddenly burst through the surface. This inflation means that the living standards of the masses must be brought into line with the real value of money, and this can be done only by crushing the working class.

Every capitalist publicist is uttering warnings that there is an insuperable connection between crises in the growth of authoritarian and fascist regimes. The treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist leaders, instead of fighting for the overthrow of the capitalist governments, collaborate in the "fight against inflation," thus granting valuable time to the capitalist class to prepare its repressions and disarming the working class in the name of "defending democracy."

Disarray

Not only has the gold price rocketed. The December 18, 1971, Smithsonian agreement on parities, far from staving off the monetary crisis, has been followed by a period of further uncertainty and speculation against weak currencies. Every meeting of bankers and ministers has ended in disarray. Step by step the capitalist class is forced to the basic problem: settle accounts with your own working class!

The European powers, and particularly Britain, are now the center of this crisis. Summit meetings of ministers and bankers together are called to discuss measures against inflation, i.e. against the working class.

The U.S. Treasury sets up a commission to study the implications of sterling's weakness; Nixon's aides are "studying the implications of more intensive trade war."

So hopeless has been the search for a new monetary agreement, and so clear has become the prospect of bitter trade war, massive concentration of capital, wiping out of competitors, massive shutdowns and unemployment, that the point has now been reached where the factor of confidence, a vital one at a certain stage of capitalist crisis, is now verging on collapse.

This was the warning contained in the rush for gold and out of dollars, it explains the periodic rounds of speculation against weak currencies, especially the pound sterling at this time. Share markets drift down in a state of nervousness and unit trust values are collapsing. Speculation is increasing the rate of industrialization is declining, while property speculation goes on unchecked. These are unmistakable signs.

The British capitalists are set to follow their European counterparts into the EEC, with the aim of merging their economic and political power against the working class. The renewed pressure for rapid political union and for joint European wage controls reflects this strategy of trying to overcome the contradiction between the nation state and the development of productive forces. But this cannot be done.

Even since 1969, the mass strikes of the Italian workers have forced the EEC powers to support and tolerate a constantly weakening Italian economy. Paris, Rome, and other Italian monopolies, as well as the massive state enterprises (INR and ENEL) have just recorded runaway losses. Once again, the ability of the bourgeoisie to settle affairs with the working class, or of the working class to take the power, intervenes immediately in the development of the economic crisis and the proposed solutions to it.

Inflation, resulting in the first place from the use of the dominant dollar to back domestic policies of containing rather than confronting the working class, now faces the capitalist class in every country as the very incarnation of the basic character of the capitalist system: a mode of production which raises itself as an independent power against the producers.

It is the latent, uncontrollable expression of the insoluble contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the maintenance of capitalist private property and the nation-state.

The capitalists in the metropolitan countries cannot have their hands free to deal with their own working classes. The colonial masses are intensifying their revolutionary struggles even after nearly 30 years of continuous battle.

Deals

Behind this coming together of the metropolitan and colonial revolutions is the same world economic crisis. For years the imperialists have staved off the approaching crisis in Europe and America by intensifying colonial exploitation. The point has been reached where repayment of colonial credits to the World Bank actually exceeds the total amount of new aid.

Just as the Stalinist bureaucracy collaborates with the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary tasks, so it now seeks to break the colonial peoples. The pressure of Moscow and Peking on North Vietnam for a deal with the American imperialists contains the greatest dangers to the people of Indochina and of all the world. It follows the treacherous role of Moscow and Peking in Bangladesh and in support of the repression of the revolutionary youth in Cyprus.

All these betrayals are part of the new trade agreements and proposed security and military agreements between the Stalinist bureaucracy and U.S. imperialism. The wave of repression in Czechoslovakia and the USSR is the bureaucracy's internal preparation of these betrayals. Here is Stalinism in its counterrevolutionary role. All those revisionists who capitulate to Stalinism share the criminal responsibility.
In August 1972 there were those who prepared an opportunist adaptation by surmising that Nixon's measures, while seriously affecting some countries, would only marginally damage others. This completely missed the universal nature of the crisis.

The inflation problem confronts countries like the U.S. with high unemployment, as well as those like Germany with a serious labor shortage and internal boom. The continued capitalist expansion in Japan and Germany, far from representing an alleviation or moderation of the world crisis, on the contrary aggravates it everywhere. Because of the yen and the Deutsche-mark threaten, the effects of inflation will be transmitted to the economies of all the tender states. The crisis in Japan or Germany could be revalued meaning an immediate slump, so dependent are these bourgeoisies on export of manufactured goods. To make any "contribution" to international capitalism could cost them immediate sacrifice of profits and an onslaught on the working class.

In the weaker capitalist powers, this immediate sensitivity of the international economy to the internal class struggle is even more serious and is now the crux of the political and economic contradictions. The British capitalists' strategy of European entry, helped at every turn by the Labour and trade union leaders, has fostered on the rock of the strength of resistance. The recurrent surges of inflation in Europe in the last few years have forced the British bankers to turn and use the inflation directly as the instrument to beat the working class. They hope to drive down the standard of living as well as creating the panic conditions in the "fixed income" middle class which can turn them against the working class, giving backing to the introduction of authoritarian measures.

This is the pattern for all Europe. And it has already resulted in severe consti-
tional crisis in Holland and Italy. No government can come to an agreement on the struggle in any one of these countries will be a spur to the next stage of the European revolution. In these circumstances the French franc will be forced to devalue at a round of competitive devaluations that could follow. In the case of Italy a whole collapse of the economy is in prospect. Even in fascist Spain, the police have clashed with housewives over rising prices and new economic controls have been instituted.

The bourgeoisie turns more and more to the Bonapartist solutions necessitated by inflation. Inorgan in Britain, The Times, is clear: "If there is no agreement it follows that there will be conflict. The dispute will concern the central issue of the authority of the state. If the state cannot impose its will, it will fall apart."

Training

This is certainly the meaning of uncon-
trollable inflation, the latest expression of the crisis: either Bonapartist rule, with the state, backed by brute force "above" the classes, as a short transitional phase to fascism; or the building of a revolution-
ary political leadership in the working class for the breaking of bourgeois state power.

In every country, the sections of the Fourth International are called upon to intervene in every mass struggle provoked by the stage of crisis, from the basis of Marxist theory, the cadre which can build for the decisive struggle for working-class power.

In the conditions of mass struggle forced by the international inflation, the program of demands by the working class must stress the fact that there is no way out whatever within the framework of continuation of capitalist economy. Defense against inflation by the most determined struggle for wages, resisting all attempts at state control; but this struggle can be successful only if as the whole working class and its government, and linked with the workers towards an alternative leadership.

The fight for the right to work must start from rejection of all sackings and closures: through strikes, factory occupations.

Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

AGAINST

THE REPRESSES-

IN CEYLON

October 30, 1972

The political trials involving about 1000 people who are being held in the so-called "rehabilitation camps" are now in progress in special law courts in Ceylon.

These camps were specially set up by the bourgeois coalition government when the mass killings and arrests of youth started 18 months ago. The government, also recently brought in new statutory laws to set up special judicial procedures for the hundreds of youths in the camps.

These political prisoners were arrested during the abortive uprising in April 1971, led by Janatha Vimukthi Paramara (JVP). This organization, which came into the open in 1968, was mainly composed of university and rural youth who had experien-
ted long periods of unemployment. No doubt these youth could be an invaluable motive force for the socialist revolution if they were trained and organized on the principles of Marxism and the traditions of Bolivianism.

But from the very beginning the JVP op-
posed this perspective of building and training an alternative leadership in the working class. In fact they condemned the working class and its traditional organ-
izations, the trade unions, as reformist, and abandoned any fight to transform the state and its representatives into cadres and organs of revolutionary politics.

They believed in a revolution from the country to the town, believing that the role of the JVP leaders, was best served by writing petitions to Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike to protest her to pardon full-scale one-day hunger strikes in the worst tradition of pacifism.

Aided by these policies of the Pableo revisionist leadership, the Liberal Executive of the People's Liberation Party (LSP), and the Stalinist Communist Party (CCP), the bourgeoisie’s strategy of state control and repression, in the form of a huge security apparatus, was to be able to dominate the political and social life of the country. It was the state that dominated the life of the workers and peasants, thereby winning the support of the bourgeoisie.

Mother grieves for her son who was murdered by the Ceylonese army during JVP rebellion.

They showed this hostility towards Marxism only when they were trained and organized on the principles of Marxism and the traditions of Bolivia.

But from the very beginning the JVP op-
posed this perspective of building and training an alternative leadership in the working class. In fact they condemned the working class and its traditional organ-
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THE BATTLE TO ORGANIZE FLORIDA'S SUGAR

PART FOUR

BY BRUCE MCKAY
CLEWISTON, Fla.—United States Sugar Corporation was born of the crisis of the Great Depression when incorporation papers were filed in Delaware on April 28, 1931.

It was formed with the backing of Charles Stewart Mott, long a major stockholder in General Motors, to acquire the Florida properties of the tiny Southern Sugar Corporation of Clewiston.

Since that time, the Mott family—following the logic of GMAD boss Joseph Godfrey—has forged the most profitable sugar enterprise in the world. This will be a decisive factor as the capitalist world plunges into a trade war in which the victors are those capitalists who can sweat the most surplus value out of their surplus of capital. U.S. Sugar is the dominant force in this, America's Sweetest Town. It operates the Clewiston Inn, where the Motts have a plush suite, and a cattle ranch on the outskirts of town. In one way or another, most residents here depend on the company for their livelihood.

Altogether, U.S. Sugar owns 104,800 acres of Florida land. It operates a mill here and one in Bryant Grove, with a daily grinding capacity of 10,000 tons.

COMPANY TOWN

Bryant is a company town—a sign at the entrance warns trespassers will be arrested—about 50 miles from here, conveniently near the Department of Agriculture's Canal Point sugar cane research center.

In 1971, U.S. Sugar realized net sales of $45,733,604. Not only is this an increase of $10,000,000 since 1965 but a phenomenal rise of $5,000,000 in just one year.

Combined with this substantial gain in earnings was a net profit in 1971 of $2,431,806—a rate of return on sales of 15.5 percent.

In comparison, the world's largest sugar refining company, Amstar Corporation (which among others refines the "Domino" brand), returned a net profit of only $20,000,000 on sales of $269,800,000.

Behind these impressive figures lies a bitter class struggle and one of the most ruthless attacks on workers in the history of American capitalism. It is a history which pays tribute to the combativeness of the working class but which also warns of the dangers facing the working class as employers and the state prepare to attack every basic right and gain won since the 1930s.

The few workers who survived the brutal conditions imposed by U.S. Sugar during the 1930s described for the Bulletin what it was like.

ARMED GUARDS

Most of the workers were forced to live in company camps and were prevented from leaving by armed guards. Conditions were little better for sugar workers at U.S. Sugar than under slavery. In "order to leave the camps at night, you had to go way round, through the cane fields," John Quincy Adams told the Bulletin. Adams remembers when the Clewiston mill was first moved to its present location.

"You might just as well have been working on the chain gang," he said.

During the Depression when millions of workers were unemployed in the South with the breakup of the sharecropping system, U.S. Sugar was able to keep the domestic labor as cane cutters.

Workers were imported from Alabama, Mississippi, southern Georgia and other parts of the South with glowing promises about the work on the sugar plantations. They barely lasted for a second season.

Cane cutters were paid less than a dollar a ton to cut cane in those days. They were kept like convicts in the company camps out in the swamp and usually left to find their own way home after the cutting season.

Adams told the Bulletin many ended up murdered and dumped in drainage canals.

Charles Stewart Mott supervised this reign of terror from his Clewiston Inn suite during this period.

SUGAR BOSSES DEMAND RETURN TO THE '30s

Workers did not take this treatment lying down. Mill workers joined the tremendous upsurge which resulted in the formation of the CIO and unionized the mill under CIO leadership.

The reputation for brutality which U.S. Sugar gained among workers throughout the South partly explains the reluctance of workers today to cut cane. In the mid-1940s the company was forced to start importing Jamaican and Bahamian workers.

Since World War II, the sugar fields have been the scene of continual class battles.

Faced with a unionized mill, the company after the war broke that union in order to begin a vicious attack on mill workers' jobs.

Automation was introduced, both in the mill and the fields, and workers experienced the most ruthless speed-up, which one worker described for the Bulletin:

"They used to have 10 tons to dry sugar with, with 10 men. Now they still have 10 jobs, but they use only two men. They also used to use 25 men in the boiler room. Now there are only four or five."

He said this has brought a continuous deterioration in safety conditions in the mill.

STRIKES

Mill workers fought back to form an IAM local about six years ago, and the company has faced continual strikes and other work actions by the West Indian cane cutters as well.

These workers have struggled to bring cutting wages up from the slave wages of the 1930's to the present hourly minimum of $1.85, and most cutters earn over $2.00 an hour, while a mere pittance for the severity of the work, was won only through the bitterest struggle.

"They'd strike and fight like the devil," one worker said. "I've seen them strike and close down everything until they got what they wanted."

Faced with the international crisis of capitalism, the sugar companies have begun a new assault on every gain which sugar workers have won, and on their very jobs. And the companies are fully backed up by the government.

At the forefront of these new attacks is the industry drive to mechanize cane cutting.

Workers described U.S. Sugar's many efforts since the 1940s to introduce mechanical harvesters. Although they said early efforts with crude machines failed, trials with several machines in the last two years have met with varying degrees of success, and Talisman Sugar Corporation is now well into its harvest using nothing but machines.

"They're working on it now," said one U.S. Sugar worker. "They've had a machine out there. There's no reason why they can't do it."

What is being prepared by U.S. Sugar and American big business as a whole is not merely a return to the 1930s but a whole new stage of attacks on the working class, when millions upon millions of jobs which once existed will be eliminated.

Defending farmworkers from this onslaught is what confronts the United Farm Workers Union in its organizing drive here and throughout the country. This defense can only be taken up through a struggle for the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

CONCLUDED
**Dana Corp. Workers Walk Off**

BY REX HENRY ECORSE, Mich. — Last week, workers at Dana Corporation here, an industrial suburb of Detroit, walked off their jobs, shutting the plant for two days in protest of job reassignments connected with a grueling speedup imposed by Chrysler. The walkout at Dana, a facility primarily involved in assembly of Chrysler trucks, began last week when foreman threatened to dismiss a 30-year seniority for working too slowly. One Dana worker described the incident to the Bulletin:

"They had one of the guys that had quite a bit of seniority back there, but the foreman said it was a job where it’s hard to keep up. The foreman was trying to force him to work faster, so the guy didn’t do anything about it. The foreman just discharged him."

"Then they started talking about firing the whole line. The small president came out, and they told him they could consider himself fired too. That’s when it all started." Immediately after the walkout began, Chrysler’s representatives maintained to get a federal court injunction against the picket line which had been thrown up around the plant. Far from defending the local from the attacks of the court, representatives of Chrysler agreed that the picket was illegal, and with the eager help of the president of Local 2, were successful in pushing through a back-to-work vote in a special local meeting last Sunday.

The ranks of the local agreed to this on the condition that after 30 days, Dana could be struck legally and avoid legal support of the UAW leadership.

**FOCUS**

This incident occurred on the only of the three Dana plants at the Dana plant which produces Dana’s total output of luggage and pickup trucks. This line has been the focus of the Dana bosses’ attacks on the workers since it was introduced less than a year ago. Until that point, line speeds at Dana averaged less than 35 units per hour. However, Dana has used the more advanced machinery on the Dodge line to raise production there up to more than 50 units per hour, and have backed this up with thrashed fringes and disciplinary actions ever since.

Dana workers have described the general conditions in this way: "The company is bent on getting the workers to work in here. First they raise standards. They have three men on a job before, now they’ve got one and they expect the same standards. It’s the same throughout the plant. It’s just ridiculous to work here.

**HAZARD**

These conditions which provoked the walkout last week have continued this week with the same intensity. Yesterday we were again threatened with being fired if we wouldn’t work even though a safety hazard existed. One worker was thrown out quite severely near the Dodge truck line at Dana.

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**Midwest News**

**UE Leaders, Courts Gang Up On Dayton Foundry Strikers**

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**

DAYTON — The November 6 walkout of the third shift of the GH & R Foundry, which employs 1000 workers and makes castings for General Motors, has shut down the company.

Workers told the Bulletin that one electrical repairman had been injured while performing a job that was not in his classification. As a result of his injury, his leg might be lost.

Two electrical repairmen were fired when they refused to perform the same job as the injured electrical repairman. The firings, which sparked the walkout, came on top of rotten and dangerous working conditions, speedup, and company harassment.

Once the workers were out on the street, the attacks by the company were intensified. A restraining order was issued by Judge Walter Right, a liberal Democrat. Radio announcers tried to trick the workers back to work through announcements saying the strike was over.

The company, seeing the continued resistance by the strikers, asked Judge Right to issue an injunction ordering the men back to work or face contempt charges. Six men were named as defendants and were ordered to discontinue the strike.

**DEFENDANTS**

At the hearing, many workers filled the courtroom. Judge Right had these workers give their names, even though they were only spectators. When the workers protested against being required to sign their names, Judge Right said they were all "defendants." He further said they were all subject to fines and jail sentences for refusing to work.

A company representative was able to take the names, thereby enabling the company to use this information at a later date against the workers.

The strike at GH & R was threatened to close Frigidaire’s automotive division, as GH & R supplies the castings needed for the station, supervisors and other non-union employees are being used to man the electronic equipment and prepare the station, taking the jobs of striking engineers and production workers.

**St. Louis Kicks 25,000 Out Of Public Housing**

**BY HOWARD WEST**

ST. LOUIS — The Housing Authority board of commissioners unanimously voted to close the housing units under their control in view of the lack of federal operating funds.

The commissions had requested a four million dollar subsidy, but only 1.6 million dollars was promised. Later it was announced that St. Louis would be one of 5000 cities to share a further 100 million dollar operating subsidy.

However, none of these promised funds have been received and the Authority is existing at present on tenant rental payments. The reserves will be depleted by early 1973. Thomas Costello, executive director of the Authority said he expected to have a long range plan prepared soon and would present it to the commissioners for them to make a decision.

**CLOSING**

There are 25,000 people living in the 5000 housing units presently run by the Housing Authority in St. Louis. Difficulties in obtaining funds have led the housing commissioners to discuss the closing of these projects, but no decision has been drawn up before this year.

The Democratic National Convention and the Department of Housing and Urban Development are trying to smooth over the situation. They are claiming that the funds are not available from somewhere although at this point there are no specific proposals being made.

In the light of the recent elections, there is no room for optimism. Following his re-election, Nixon lost no time in stating that in his view in funds for welfare and federal funds would be the first line of attack in stepping up the government assistance to the housing authorities.

The situation facing the tenants of St. Louis projects shows the urgency with which unions and all sections of the working class must take up the political struggle against these attacks through the construction of a labor party.

**WLWD Execs Scab On Strikers**

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**

DAYTON — Execs pitch in at WLWD-D is the headline of an article in the Dayton Journal Herald which describes how the company use of another person to run the station. Local 1256 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) has been on strike since October 6.

With the assistance of an injunction limiting picketing to three at a gate and an order that the strike is not to interfere in any way with persons going into the station, supervisors and other non-union employees are being used to man the electronic equipment and prepare the station, taking the jobs of striking engineers and production workers.

**PITCHING IN**

Ron Niess, executive director for the station, bragged: "We’re all pitching in to help each other. Salesmen, office personnel, exes are all doing their part."

Strikers turned off their equipment at the beginning of the strike, forcing programs off the air for 35 minutes at WLWD-D in Dayton. WLWD-D is a joint venture of the IBEW locals in Indianapolis, Local 1229 and Cincinnati Local 1224 walked out on their jobs.

Strikers have been working without a contract since December 18, 1973. Shortly after the strike started, Judge Rodman gave an injunction. Love, Democratic Congressman from Ohio, had been called a friend of labor.

Production workers are asking for an increase from $9.00 a week, to bring Dayton wages to that of Cincinnati workers who are making $12. "As it is, it’s an outrage," one worker said. But the majority of the men in Cincinnati qualify for food stamps, and this is a multimillion dollar cut. Strikers have been working without a contract for many years and the company never heard of the word retroactive."
GMAD

MEETINGS

(Continued From Page 3)
plant, which assembles much of the Fisher Bodilen of the United States.
Following changeover this year, Fisher Body is again threatening a speedup of line assembly (from 20 frames per hour to 22 frames per hour, with a reduction in manpower in the plant. Because clean up crews had to be constantly used to maintain production, health and safety conditions in the plant began to deteriorate to the point where smoke from disabled machinery sometimes finds its way to the plant offices.
Since the strike vote the last month, the Local 581 leadership has been involved in negotiations with the Fisher management. The local president told the Bulletin today that negotiations are proceeding well until last week when GM hatched man Johnny Didato, arrived from Detroit.
Since then, negotiations have been completely stalled. Despite this arrogant attack on the local by GM, the president of Local 591 maintained, "This is not a GMAD issue. It is strictly a Fisher issue. And GMAD says GMAD has nothing to do with it."
This is exactly what the Woodcock leadership is respecting. Despite the centrality of the Fisher vote to the future of the International is trying to assume a hands off policy.
Although the Lon 581 leadership believes their pending strike would be 'reopened' by GMAD if this deal is made today, representatives of the local were not even invited to attend the GMAD Council meeting. With the Flint strike done, the move is expected to be seen as an attempt to push a 1972 strike.
HALT

A strike at the Fisher local will have immediate ramifications throughout GM and the Michigan area. Within four hours of a shutdown at Fisher, Local 591 at the same plant would run out of bodies and assembly would roll to a halt.
Local 591 has already informed the Bulletin today that the only way the shutdown would be averted in that situation would be to sign up the 16,000 members of his amalgam, a demoralizing move, for present work. The response of the UAW and file has been different.
Woodcock's recent threat of a national strike at American Motors must be taken up by the UAW and combined with a national GM shutdown to bring speedup in auto to a halt.

(Continued From Page 1)
working class enters into battle with Nixon. Nixon has not wasted a day in making clear that his election is now focused on wholesale attacks on the American workers—massive unemployments, wage cuts, union laws, slashing of all social services.

LEADERSHIP

The construction of a Marxist leadership for this struggle can only take place as part of the building of the Fourth International. Only the forces of the International Committee have fought, all through the 1960s and 1970s for workers and the workers of revolutionary countries.

In the cuts of the International Committee have fought, all through the 1960s and 1970s for workers and the workers of the advanced countries to overthrow capitalism.

With the deepening of the capitalist crisis and the international Stalinist movement has moved into the reaction and collaboration with imperialism. This is the meaning of Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking.

Now they seek to bekith the struggles of the working class and the revolutionary movement. The Stalinists in fact have played a critical role in the defeat of the workers of the manufacturing countries. The rapid development of the economic crisis and the revolutionary movement for the workers of the manufacturing countries have provoked a sharp crisis in the leadership of the revisionist United Secretariat. Having based their movement on the reaction of Marxist theory and abandoning the struggle to build revolutionary parties, they

Puerto Rico

(Continued From Page 2)
there is a population of more than one and one-half million people.

In Puerto Rico, the drive to destroy agriculture has increased and the unemployment is still at high levels, and including part-time workers, 20 percent. Ferre came to power because of his demand to end unemployment, higher wages, and decent living conditions for the Puerto Ricans.

Ferre's government has been one of the most corrupt that Puerto Ricans have ever had. During these past years, full of corruption and in almost every department of government. Prominent figures of the PN are under investigation by the US In-Page Department. The PRNP, headed by Navedo, is an ultra right-wing organization responsible for bombings and physical attacks against "in"-dians.

Behind the Ferre government, the reactionaries have rallied, especially the Cuban refugees and the most corrupt politicians of the island. The PPD, taking advantage of the hatred of the working masses against these elements, has promised that it is going to bring Puerto Ricans to the polls in the future. But they do not have anything to offer to the working class.

M.O.U.

Last year when Nixon on August 15 presented his "crisis" to the working standards of the working class internationally and impose the weight of Wallich, Workers United Movement (MOU), which represent more than 46 trade unions, on the island, started a fight against the wage freeze.

Ferre in order to prevent the sharpest crisis his government had ever confronted, answered the demands of the MOU against the wage freeze. The offensive of the MOU against the wage freeze. The offensive of the MOU against the wage freeze.

(Continued From Page 1)
Puerto Rican working class has been shown its struggle for union recognition, wage increase, and freedom of expression.

Now with the WPD back in power, this victory over the wage freeze is in danger. Before the elections, a leading politician for the PPD suggested that the only way to prevent strikes would be to establish a "Puerto Rican Institute on wages." Patterned after the Institute for Economic and Business Development of the University of Barcelona, the so-called Institute would work to prevent strikes.

Emmanuel, et-member of the Workers United Movement and (200,000,000) of the Syndicate Obrero In-land (island trade union) has this to say. Herandez Colón, new governor of the island from the PPD, has already said that as soon as he gets into office he will set up a committee to write a new constitution. He also said that he will send a delegation to other countries to learn about the problems.

ABSTAIN

The left movement on the island, especially the PDP-PMO, has always abstained in the Free Scandic, refusing to pose any alternative for the working class and breaking from the bourgeois parties. These have support time after time the betrayals of the bureau- crats.

A fight has to start now in the trade union movement against the plans of the PPD to destroy the right to strike and to have demanded wages. In this fight the call for a labor party is central as the PPD has declared victory over the wage freeze, jobs for all and for an independent Puerto Rican movement.

This fight has to be carried out against all "independentist" ten- dencies like the PDP and in particular the WPD, which got more than 15,000 votes in this past election by calling for independence, but whose program is no different than the other bourgeois parties.

SPANISH

(Continued From Page 1) including "progressive sections of the Catholic Church.

Spain's Carrillo, General Secretary of the CP, made a point of emphasizing that demo- cracy could be won by a "poli- tical revolution." He praised "the ability of the working people to overcome any am- inialism and even claimed that this could be done with "less vio- lence than the regime has pro- coked in a normal year of re- volution."

The right wing turn of the Spanish Communist Party towards alliance with a "liberal" section of the bourgeoisie is the Church at the same time that the Soviet Union is con- cluding an important trade agreement with Franco which for the first time since 1939 the Spanish Civil War will reopen diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The agreement already provides for the Soviet export of one million tons of crude in the next year, trade of ships, and export of citrus fruits and steel to the USSR.

This deal by Stalinism with fascist government has already been denounced by the illegal Spanish workers commissions.
The Spanish Communist Party has been forced to condemn the deal because of Stalin- prile but only because if it didn't it lose all credibility with the workers.

DEAL

This pact is a conscious stab in the back by the Stalinists of the Spanish working class. While this deal was being discussed in private meetings Franco's police were shooting and jailing the Climenon. Soon afterwards a long and heroic strike in Sep- tember of the workers at the Alfa Romeo, distributing a leaflet outside a Madrid factory was shot and killed.

Thousands of students have taken to the streets across the colleges this fall and teachers and students are carefully following the events of anti-Franco feeling.

Tract appears in February—will the Soviet bureaucracy to ingrate with the worst enemies of the working class that it is even pre- pared to close its eyes to the re- pression and persecution of its own Spanish CP by the Franco regime.

NEWARK

(Continued From Page 4)
real issues they are facing. The trade union movement must come out unequivocally against any attempt to divide workers along racial lines. This means a fight against Imperialism's racist division which defends se- gregation.

ANTI-UNION

The support that the anti-union Wallacie American Party is now giving to Imperialist's cam- paign, as well as the open support given by the heads of the Newark Police Force, must be seen as a warning to all workers.

Imperialism's movement must be seen by all workers in the campaign as part of the strategy of Pradehus, the banks, and corporations to set up police-state rule over the city in order to take away the rights of the working class and their abili- ty to defend their living standards against the economic crisis.

For this reason, Jones' Black nationalist position and his poli- tics against Imperialism's military adminstration would only aid the defeat of the working class. This perspective on perpetual a racial conflict with Imperialism's military administration would only aid the defeat of the working class. This perspective on perpetual a racial conflict with Imperialism's military administration would only aid the defeat of the working class. This perspective on perpetual a racial conflict with Imperialism's military administration would only aid the defeat of the working class. This perspective on perpetual a racial conflict with Imperialism's military administration would only aid the defeat of the working class.

The trade union movement must take a stand on this issue in order to keep the workers from the attacks being prepared under the banner of the party's campaign. City workers, the Newark Teachers—whose con- trovert in February—will be the first to suffer the con- sequences on invasion.

NAME

STREET

CITY

STATE

ZIP

CEROS FOR A MONTH INTRO

CEROS FOR 6 MONTHS

CEROS FOR ONE YEAR

125 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011
Conference Confronts Theoretical Tasks To Meet Nixon’s Attacks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

SEBASTOPOL, Cal.—The theoretical tasks confronting the working class in the aftermath of the landslide election of Nixon dominated the Third Annual West Coast Educational Conference held in the Redwoods near here.

Close to one hundred workers and youth were represented, including particularly strong contingents from Southern California and from the Palo Alto area. A number of trade unionists, particularly from auto and steel, were present.

This conference concentrated, as did similar conferences held this fall in the East Coast and Midwest, on the meaning for today of the lessons of the history of the United States as well as on the nature of capitalism itself.

Held only three days after the re-election of Nixon, the conference turned its attention to a discussion of a similar period, that just preceding the American Civil War, when the political parties of the period disintegrated under the impact of the intense irrepressible conflict between the free labor system of the North and the slave system of the South.

"Now," Tim Wohlfirth, National Secretary of the Workers League, emphasized, "a new irrepressible conflict is emerging between the capitalist class, which emerged victorious in that war, and the working class."

Wohlfirth insisted that this situation required a conscious preparation through a struggle to construct the Workers League and develop its cadre. He argued that the working class, of the same hue and compromising which dominated Lincoln, Lincoln was able to win despite his hesitancy because of the great power the capitalist class already possessed, its wealth, its state apparatus.

We cannot afford any hesitation in preparation for the confrontation now immediately ahead of us here and internationally.

The lecture on Marx’s Capital as seen in the light of Marxist philosophy was given by Jeff Sebastian, West Coast editor of the Bulletin. In the discussion period Sebastian centered on the question of the contradiction which exists in the commodity between use value and value.

VALUE
He explained how these two aspects of the commodity become separated physically, in the sense that it is the physical characteristics of one commodity which is used to express the value or worth of another. This separation is further deepened as one commodity, gold, emerges as money, to represent the value of all other commodities. This separation develops in time to an opposition, and finally into an opposite movement that the creation of use values themselves is threatened.

So today, when the money system has gotten out of whack in relation to what it is supposed to express in the actual creation of goods and values in the factories, that a collapse in the monetary system is poised. This in turn means a closing of factories, or the turning against the working class of the very capital which was created through its efforts.

Thus, the irrepressible character of the present opposition between capital and labor following the election of Nixon was explained in terms of the fundamentals of capitalism itself.

PERSPECTIVES
An important part of the conference was the presentation Saturday evening of a special report by Tim Wohlfirth of the perspectives developed at the recent International Committee meeting and by the Political Committee.

Wohlfirth explained the new stage of the international capitalist crisis. He spoke of the inflation, now raging through Europe, which is being used to whip up the middle class against the working class, as well as a weapon against the living standards of workers. He explained the virtual collapse of capitalism in Italy.

At the same time he explained how inflation would bring with it great class battles as the workers fought back for wages. The center of this struggle is developing in England where Heath now prepares for a revolutionary showdown with the working class with his wage freeze.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
This situation makes it clear that the construction of a party in the United States will take place, and can only take place, as part of the construction of the Fourth International. This in turn means that the American working class will now enter an intense period of struggle leading the people in the process from the great revolutionary explosions in Europe.

This learning process must be conscious through the struggle of the Workers League and the development of the Bulletin.

Wohlfirth stated that only the Workers League prepared in the course of the present working period for the situation which the working class would face with the re-election of Nixon. This is the meaning of the Chicago conference for a Labor Party, which exposed the dangers which Nixon posed and the complete bankruptcy of the trade union leaders to offer any alternative.

Now, we are able to immediately launch a campaign for a Congress of Labor, so that the entire labor movement can come together to discuss a program and action to answer the attacks Nixon is preparing. We propose that such a Congress take immediate steps to construct a labor party.

Wohlfirth urged that comrades turn to philosophy in order to confront the working class faces. This means a return to the question of contradiction.

The great danger now is that the members of the party will distinguish the opposite in a situation, the present level of thinking of the working class and a socialist alternative based on the conflict between the working class faces, and leave it there.

CONTRADICTION
But the heart of philosophy is contradiction. "The struggle is just beginning," and we must not remain lost in our theoretical understanding.

There was great interest in the questions of America’s history, Marxist economics and Marxist philosophy that were discussed at the camp, itself expressing the new situation in the working class. A tremendous collection of 890.62 was raised for the Bulletin Fund Drive.

In a spirited volley ball game Southern California defeated Northern California. Everyone enjoyed the excellent food and beautiful scenery.

Above, Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlfirth speaks at West Coast educational conference.
Sailors Mutiny Against Officers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN DIEGO, Nov. 10—One hundred thirty sailors, charging the Navy with discrimination, refused to return aboard the carrier USS Constellation until their grievances are met.

This opposition comes after weeks of the Navy's charges of sabotage, and job actions by the crewmen. The sailors have absorbed the most of who are Black but including at least 30 white crewmen, are demanding and higher authority of administrative charges they said were unfairly issued to Black enlisted men for "alleged underachievement," equal punishment for equal offenses committed by Blacks and whites, and amnesty for all those involved in the airings of grievances.

After the men stood ashore alongside the 30,000 ton ship, refusing to return to duty at 3 a.m. Thursday morning, the Navy broke the men into three groups and transferred them to Navy shore duty.

The Navy is claiming that the men will be back on work by 8 a.m. and can be brought up on charges. The men have been ordered not to speak to any reporters.

The rebellion comes only days after Nixon’s election and reflects the growing movement of the working class and youth against the plan to depopulate American workers and to continue the Vietnam war. The capital press has attempted to portray this struggle as a racial one. Of Black sailors against white and to conceal the real situation developing in the armed forces.

Mates & Pilots Leaders Let Ships Through During Strike

BY DENNIS BROWN
LOS ANGELES—On November 9, after 16 days on strike, the Masters, Mates & Pilots Union resumed negotiations.

Bakery Lockout Unions

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON
SAN FRANCISCO—Over 500 Teamsters, Bakers, and Stationary Engineers have been locked out by the major San Francisco bakeries, in an attempt to break the workers' demand that they be given two consecutive days off.

Hundreds of workers in other areas are being locked out throughout California. Last Friday the Bakersfield Bakery of the Dolly Madison production plant shut its doors, locking out 85 Teamsters.

The lockout began last Monday, when Eastern Local 484 set up a picket line at the ITT-owned Continental Bakeries in San Francisco. Immediately, the bakeries retaliated with a lockout of all employees at Kilpatrick’s Bakeries Inc. in San Francisco, Chico, Modesto, and Fresno.

The lockout is a show of solidarity of the employers.

The three major unions in the bakeries all have their contracts up and all are demanding that consecutive days off be given.

The Bakers Union contract expired in October, and after a 30 day warning to the employers, another 30 day extension was worked out by the union leadership. This extension expired on Saturday, and poses a coastwide strike bringing in over 200 Western states, and stopping a large scale production of bread.

Pickets at the Continental Bakery told the Bulletin: It could be a long strike. If they don’t come up with something, we’ll be out until next year at least.

“We don’t get Saturday and Sunday off now, we’ll never get it,” a baker at Continental said.

“We never had a situation where all the union’s contracts expired so close together so we can strike for the same thing.”

Hundreds of workers from three unions in California bakeries have struck solid to demand that they get Saturday and Sunday off from work. This is the first time the unions went out together.

They had broken off on November 6 when the PMA tried to reintroduce issues which were already agreed on. The same day talks broke off, the union agreed to let five American flag East Coast ships from Sea Land and Sea Train Co. sail from the struck West Coast ports to supply so-called emergency goods to Hawaii.

Hawaii is supplied entirely by American flag ships from the West Coast. Just as the strike was becoming effective, the union leadership agreed to release the five ships under the threat of an injunction which Senator Bush of Hawaii was seeking to obtain under the Taft-Hartley law.

The main issues of job security, security of picket lines and pensions are now jeopardized by the leadership’s retreat.

The union faces an unemployment rate of 50 to 60 percent, a situation that can only be resolved with more frequent rotation of crews and double crews on all container ships with a guaranteed year’s pay.

The PMA is demanding the right to pick their own captain and chief officers. According to Hank Walters, head of the Wilmington local: “They could choose the young guys that just got their paper and pass by the guys with 20 years of service.”

The PMA is $1,500,000 behind in their payments to the pension fund and want this to be written off in the new contract.

The elections over, Nixon now feels strengthened to carry out his mandate to outlaw transportation strikes. The ILWU (West Coast dockers) Local 13 in Los Angeles has been chosen by the administration to try to obtain an anti-strike injunction.

All must be ready to face the threat of automation and Nixon’s determination to break the unions in the West in time to weaken. An all out offensive of both on-shore and off-shore maritime workers must now be launched to shut down both East and West Coast ports.
Sailors Mutiny Against Officers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN DIEGO, Nov. 10—One hundred thirty sailors, charging the Navy with discrimination, refused to return aboard the carrier USS Constellation until their grievances are met.

This opposition comes after weeks of the Navy's charges of sabotage, and job actions by the crewmen. The sailors have been on a going-on exercise for Vietnam.

The men, most of whom are Black but including at least 12 white crewmen, are demanding review by higher authority of administrative charges they said were unfairly issued to Black enlisted men for "alleged under-achievement," equal punishment for all equal offenses committed by Blacks and whites, and amnesty for all those involved in the airing of grievances.

After the men stood ashore alongside the 80,000-ton ship, refusing to return to duties at 5 a.m. Thursday morning, the Navy broke the men into three groups and transferred them to Navy shore duty.

The Navy is claiming that the men were walked off the job and can be brought up on charges. The men have been ordered not to speak to any reporters.

The rebellion comes only days after Nixon's election and reflects the growing movement of the working class and youth against his plans to deepen the attacks on American workers and to continue the Vietnam war.

The capitalist press has attempted to portray this struggle as a racial one. Of Black sailors against white and to conceal the explosive situation developing in the armed forces.

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SAN FRANCISCO—Over 500 Teamsters, Bakers, and Stationary Engineers have been locked out by the major San Francisco bakeries, in an attempt to break the workers' demand that they be given two consecutive days off.

Hundreds of workers in other areas are being locked out throughout California. Last Friday the Bakersfield Daily Madison product distribution plant shut its doors; locking out 25 Teamsters.

The lockout began on a lockout and a lockout, when Teamsters Local 484 set up a picket line at the I & E owned Continental Bakeries in San Francisco. Immediately, the bakeries retaliated with a lockout of all employees at Kilpatrick's Bakeries, Inc. in San Francisco, Chico, Modesto, and Fresno.

The lockout is a show of solidarity of the employers.

The three major unions in the bakeries all have their lockouts up and are all demanding that consecutive days off be given.

The Bakers Union contract expired in October, and after a 30 day warning to the employers, another 10 day extension was worked out by the union leadership. This extension expired on Saturday, and poses a widespread strike bringing out over seven Western states, and stopping all large scale production of bread.

Pickets at the Continental Bakery told the Bulletin: It could be a long strike. If they don't come through, we'll be out until next year at least.

"If we don't get Saturday and Sunday off now, we'll never get it," a baker at Continental said.

"We never had a situation where all the union's contracts expired close together so we can strike for the same thing.

By Ted Baker
SAN LEANDRO, CAL.—In a strike with serious implications for the entire labor movement, the American Federation of Grainmillers has shut down all of Kellogg Company.

Kellogg, one of the world's largest producers of breakfast cereals, has taken up Nixon's union busting campaign with a vengeance.

When workers at its Battle Creek and San Leandro plants walked out in sympathy with a strike at the Memphis plant last year, the company brought suit to have the strike declared illegal. Now it is demanding that the union sign a no strike clause as the basis for any new contract.

The union walked out last week when efforts by union leaders to negotiate a peaceful settlement were met with an order by the company introducing compulsory overtime in its plants.

Union members must not allow these negotiations to continue until Kellogg has dropped its suit and its demand for a no strike agreement.

25th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
San Francisco—Over 500 Teamsters, Bakers, and Stationary Engineers have been locked out by the major San Francisco bakeries, in an attempt to break the workers' demand that they be given two consecutive days off.

The ranks must demand that a joint meeting of all the unions be called to plan a strategy to take on the employers, and to prepare a coastwide strike. The unions must fight the right to strike any court injunction that the employers will try and use to break the strike.