

Bulletin

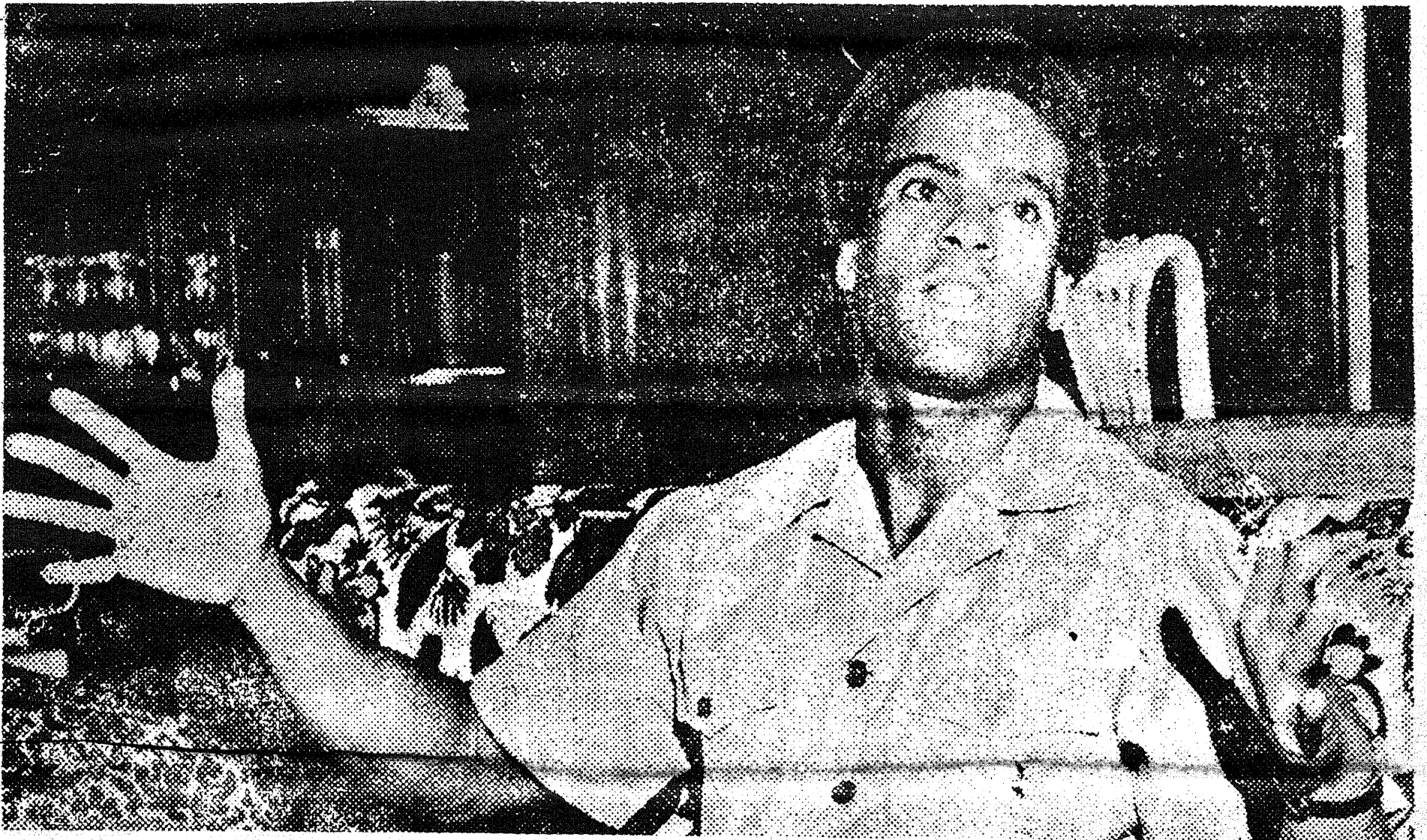
weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 47-162 SEPTEMBER 14, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

*Special Section On
West Coast News*

**Chicano murders
Report From Salinas
State AFL-CIO Meets**

HUEY NEWTON CALLS FOR SOCIALIST AMERICA



**HIJACKERS UPSET
NIXON - BRESHNEV
MID-EAST SELL OUT
EXCLUSIVE REPORT
FROM IRAQ**



Leila Khaled, one of Arab hijackers.

Hijackers Upset Sell Out Of Revolutionary Struggle

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The recent hijacking of four jets and the holding of 150 passengers as hostages is having deep repercussions on the United States' effort to force a deal through in the Middle East at the expense of the Arab masses.

What these actions reveal is the complete inability of Nasser or Hussein to control the Palestinian guerrilla movement. This inability stems, not so much from the relatively weak military strength of these groups, or simply their popularity among the exiled Palestinians. At the heart of the problem for the United States, the bourgeois nationalist regimes, and the Soviet Union is the massive revolutionary movement of the Arab workers and peasants which is sweeping through the Middle East like wildfire. The bourgeois regimes teeter from day to day, seeking to ride out the storm with the help of their friends in the Kremlin and the White House.

Israel's big campaign about purported truce violations by the Egyptians has now been taken up by the United States precisely because the United States questions Nasser's ability to control the Arab masses, not because of any serious worry over the issue itself, of the exact placement of the missiles. Faced with this revolutionary movement the rightist military forces within Israel itself grow from

day to day, preparing above all to utilize their military campaigns as an excuse to destroy the powerful Israeli trade union movement.

Some Arab regimes, like the Iraqis and Syrians seek to ride out the storm by supporting the guerrillas in words while they do business each day with the oil cartels of the imperialists. The real character of these regimes can be seen from the accompanying report from an Iraqi militant.

STALINISM

The American Communist Party has openly endorsed the betrayal of Nasser, Nixon and Breshnev. In the September 9 issue of the Daily World they bury the report of the hijackings in an article entitled "UAR hits Israeli alibi for halting talks," referring to the hijacking groups as the "so-called" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International stand for the self-determination of the Arab peoples which means the right of the Palestinians to their lands seized by the Israelis. We oppose Israel as an exclusively Jewish state and fight for a socialist Middle East in which all peoples can live without fear or exploitation. Such a program requires the construction of a section of the Fourth International in the Middle East in an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois nationalism, Zionism and Stalinism, all of which serve imperialism in one or another fashion.

what the editors think...



NMU bureaucrat Joseph Curran is greeted by Nixons at White House gala banquet.

In a gala banquet of the sort usually reserved for visiting diplomats and businessmen, President Richard Nixon wined and dined some 75 top U.S. labor leaders and their wives at the White House on Labor Day. The assemblage included Teamster's President Frank Fitzsimmons as well as officials of most of the AFL-CIO unions.

This was truly one of the most disgusting spectacles of the year, as Nixon the top enemy of labor, and George Meany, the guest of honor, outdid themselves in exchanging compliments.

In his testimonial to Meany, Nixon came on with the kind of hot air oratory and oily accolade that politicians often use for buttering people up: "In this time of turbulence at home and abroad," said Nixon, "when the old virtues and the good virtues—many of the good ones—are being brought under question, this man has stood like a pillar in a storm—strong, full of character, devoted to his church, devoted to his family, devoted to his country." Yes, devoted to everyone but the workingman, the rank and file of labor to whom he is supposedly responsible!

Even more revolting than Nixon's toast was the statement by Meany that as a President, Nixon is doing "the best he can for the American people." But for the WORKING PEOPLE in the labor movement as well as the unorganized workers, this "best" is a pretty rotten deal which Meany is too busy being patriotic to care much about: a steady decline in the last year and a half in the real wages (buying capacity) of U.S. workers as prices continue to skyrocket and taxation grows; steadily mounting unemployment, to a new six year high last month of 5.1%, behind which an even more serious joblessness exists—10% unemployment in Michigan due to thousands of layoffs in the auto industry and up to 20% in Seattle and Southern California due to aerospace

cutbacks; the continuing war in Indochina which has brought thousands of GIs to their graves in the war that Johnson stepped up and Nixon continues.

At a time when Nixon's Secretary of Labor has made clear his threat to intervene against the auto strike with the statement that a strike would interfere with the national interest, the labor leaders should have boycotted this affair and warned about Nixon's strike-breaking threat. The least we can say for UAW President Woodcock was that he was absent.

Just as disgusting as Meany's role at the banquet was the performance of the rest of the crew which not only included Woodcock's ally Fitzsimmons, but perhaps the most vicious enemy of the rank and file, NMU President Joseph Curran. Curran appeared at the dinner, fresh from the circus of the New York State AFL-CIO convention, where he was a leader of the forces fighting for endorsement of "progressive" gubernatorial candidate, Arthur Goldberg.

This ridiculous fight at the New York AFL-CIO convention over which is the lesser of the Democratic and Republican "lesser evils," like the White House dinner, reveals the crisis of the capitalist politics of the labor bureaucracy. The needs of the workers are left out.

But they are not alone in these efforts. The revisionists like the Communist Party join in the dirty work of support to the Democrats. In their paper, the Daily World, the C.P. takes Meany to task for his admission that the Democratic Party is losing the support of workers: "His unprincipled attack on the Democratic party as 'in a shambles'... aids the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell propaganda."

In 1970, this year of Lenin and Trotsky, only the Workers League in the U.S. fights unequivocally for a decisive break with all Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a labor party.

EDITORIAL

Huey Newton Calls For Socialist America

In his keynote speech to the Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Huey Newton raised the key question confronting the entire working class. Newton called for a fight for socialism in America now.

Newton said that the working class "will use whatever means necessary" to achieve socialism in the United States. "It is a fact that we will get change," said Newton. "We will transform this society, but it is up to the oppressors to decide if it will be by peaceful means."

Capitalism Is Cause

Newton pointed to the capitalist system as the fundamental cause of racism and said that racism could not be fought without a fight against this system. In an interview with the Philadelphia Bulletin, Newton spoke of the need for unity of black and white workers against the capitalists. The white workers' problems "are not against the blacks but against those oppressing them, the blacks and the whites."

Whatever our disagreements with the Black Panther Party, we are in wholehearted agreement with these very important statements of Huey Newton. It is the deepening class struggle which is bringing the question of socialism to the fore. We have always maintained that the attacks on the Panthers are attacks on the entire working class and are preparations for more direct attacks on the labor movement itself. What is needed is a program to upset the plans of the ruling class to split the workers in order to defeat them.

Break With Liberals

It must be understood that neither the liberals nor the Communist Party base themselves upon the fight for socialism and the needs of the working class. The fight for socialism and against racism means that the struggle cannot be subordinated to the liberals, cannot be tied to the program they are willing to accept. They are fully committed to the system which breeds racism in the most vicious form every single day.

The line of the Communist Party is to support the liberal capitalists and their henchmen in the trade unions. This means they are against the fight for socialism, they are against the fight to expose the capitalist system, they seek to sow illusions in this system and in its liberal defenders. This means nothing but delivering the Black Panthers, the youth, and the entire working class into the hands of our enemies.

The only defense is a class offense. We must answer the vicious assaults by the police; we must answer the fascists in the wings with a strategy and a program directed against the class and the system which the police serve. We cannot give one inch politically to the capitalists and all their defenders.

When Agnew warns that "the American people" will accept the "policeman's truncheon" in preference to "the anarchist's bomb" he is threatening the entire working class with a brutal dictatorial regime in order to defend the capitalist system. When Philadelphia police chief Rizzo and New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association leader Kiernan speak about "an organized revolutionary conspiracy" behind assaults on cops they are whipping up an ultra right wing frenzy against the working class.

We must answer these stooges of the ruling class with a campaign in the union movement. All over the country trade unionists must fight in their unions for motions of support to the rights of the Panthers. Students must fight for the largest mobilization of workers as well as students in defense of the Panthers.

Need Labor Party

We must answer the ruling class politically. This is the importance of Newton's speech. The next step is the taking up of a program to mobilize the working class politically against all attacks, of which the attack on the Panthers is a crucial part. The Panthers must now take up a program which includes the fight against the war in Vietnam, the upcoming auto strike, and the fight for an independent labor party against the Democratic and Republican spokesmen for the capitalists.

In Vietnam the entire world strategy of Nixon against the international working class is expressed. The auto struggle poses before all workers the intention of the employers to cut workers' standards of living in order to restore the rate of profit. This entire struggle poses the immediate need for a political break with the bosses. A serious struggle against the ruling class and for socialism means that the fight for a labor party in the U.S. must begin now.

UAW Ranks Must Fight Woodcock's Retreat With Program To Win

BY DAN FRIED

With the September 14 strike deadline in the auto industry only a week away, the biggest problem facing the GM-Ford-Chrysler bosses, the Nixon Administration, Congress and the UAW bureaucracy headed by George Woodcock is the UAW rank and file itself.

As Mr. Woodcock well knows, the ranks believe that the only way to win a decent settlement is with an all-out, knock-down, drag-out strike battle. In the strike votes already taken, overwhelming majorities are for a strike: 90% at GM, 93.6% at Ford, 95% at Chrysler and 98% of Big Three workers in Canada. In Detroit, support is growing among militants and secondary leaders for the demands of the "\$1.25 an hour Now Committee" which calls for a \$1.25 an hour increase the first year.

As the union leadership has correctly pointed out, the companies' arrogant wage offer is really a "non-offer," a "hiccup" calling for 30¢ an hour the first year and an additional 12¢ per hour each of the next two years with no removal of the 8¢ per hour "cap" on cost of living escalator adjustments. Not only that, this initial 30¢ includes the 26¢ an hour owed in catch-up pay resulting from the cost of living cap in the last contract. This leaves a whopping 4¢ an hour in new money at a time when the Team-

sters recently won \$1.65 in new money in their three year contract.

ALL

The ranks in the auto plants are without doubt using less polite language than Woodcock and Bluestone (head of UAW GM Department) to describe this offer. Not only does a strike appear absolutely necessary but there is a growing sentiment among the ranks for a general strike against all of the Big Three. Why wait to find out if the Big Three will go through with their threatened lockout of all auto workers. This is no time for pussy-footing around—but a time to shut them all down.

But Mr. Woodcock despite all the militant sounds coming out of one side of his mouth, is still trying to cast himself in the role of a "reasonable" man, concerned with the interests of everyone, not only the auto workers. That is what he made clear when he said on a "Meet the Press" telecast, that a strike "would be bad for the country." He's right up there echoing the moaning and groaning of the industry and government spokesmen like Secretary of Labor Hodgson, who said on the very same day that a strike against General Motors would be "a very imposing threat" to the nation's economy.

Hodgson's statement is simply the language of government intervention which is now being prepared. It is absolutely incredible that under these conditions, when asked last week about the possibility of government intervention, Woodcock answered: "I don't think so. I talked to Nixon two weeks ago. I don't think the government will interfere." This is how Woodcock prepares for what the ranks are increasingly recognizing as the biggest danger to the strike—government strike-



UAW President Woodcock, (left) with V.P. Fraser, prepares sellout for ranks.

BULLETIN SUPPORTERS HARRASSED BY HACKS

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
MINNEAPOLIS—A most cowardly attack took place on the night of September 3 outside the UAW hall in St. Paul. Supporters of the Workers League were distributing a special leaflet introducing the Bulletin to auto workers who work at the huge Ford assembly plant just across the street.

While we were distributing one worker came up to us and ordered us to leave the area of the building. He shoved a couple of the comrades (including one woman comrade) and tried to intimidate fellow workers into not taking a copy of our leaflet. But workers continued to take leaflets. One truck pulled up and this fellow shouted out to the rider not to take this leaflet. But the rider shouted back "Shut up" and with a big smile took a copy of the leaflet. Another worker said to us that the leaflet really got right to the heart of the situation facing auto workers.

So this red-baiter retreated back into the union hall and the distribution continued. The meeting was to begin at 8:00PM and at 8:05 we were preparing to leave. At this time, when all the members were safely inside, a group of 10 or so guys came out and ordered us to leave. They grabbed the remaining leaflets and papers and tossed them into the air. As we crossed the street to get into our car we saw these same brave fellows hurriedly picking up the scattered leaflets and papers.

In no way does this attack reflect on the rank and file UAW member who faces the biggest fight of his life on September 15. These very same workers at St. Paul Ford just recently voted to strike by an overwhelming margin. We have every reason to believe that this attack was instead the work of the local bureaucracy of the UAW who are terribly afraid of the rank and file. That is why they waited until all members were inside the building. That is why they picked up all the evidence of their assault.

Of course they hope to scare us away just as they seek to intimidate rank and file militants. They will succeed in neither.

breaking.

The real desire to conciliate despite the militant talk is also revealed in the statement of an unnamed "UAW insider" quoted in the September 4 Wall Street Journal: "The workers at Chrysler are more likely to buy a contract than those at GM or Ford Motor Co. And if we get the pattern there we're on our way home." Trying to get the workers to accept as little as possible—that is the method of Woodcock and the UAW bureaucracy. They see the militancy of the ranks as a "problem" to be overcome, not as the dynamic power that can force the Big Three and government to concede.

PROGRAM

Action by the UAW ranks is required now to reverse the retreat of the leadership. We urge that a fight be taken into

every UAW local and emergency meetings called if necessary, to pass a motion for the following demands:

- Strike to shut down all of the Big Three—GM, Ford and Chrysler.
- Minimum wage increase of \$1.25 an hour the first year; immediate payment of the entire 26¢ an hour catch-up pay.
- Re-institution of the full cost-of-living escalator.
- Pension after 30 years regardless of age, which guarantees the retired workers equal income to those on the job.
- SUB coverage for all laidoff workers at full pay and the 30 hour week (at 40 hours pay) to spread employment.
- End speedup and replace with workers control of safety and production standards, and a great extension of relief time.
- Answer any government intervention against the UAW with a call for a general strike by the entire labor movement.

Interview With Militant: Iraq's Regime Of Terror

Reprinted from Workers Press, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International.

Iraqi troops will be used to smash guerrilla forces in the Middle East warns a member of the left-wing Communist Party of Iraq (Revolutionary Group) in an exclusive interview with Workers Press.

Mohamad Abbas arrived in Britain very recently with first hand reports after a tour of guerrilla bases in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

He claimed the Iraqi government's apparent conciliatory attitude to guerrillas and left-wing groups is a front behind which the groups are viciously persecuted. And Abbas accused the Stalinist leaders of the Soviet Union of supporting Iraqi fascists in their campaign to destroy revolutionary forces.

He said, "The USSR doesn't want a revolutionary group anywhere in the Middle East because this threatens their revisionist policies. They have already accepted Israel. They want compromise."

FORBIDDEN

Abbas said: "We call for the support of British workers for the peasants and workers of Iraq in their struggle against the fascists, and to expose the part-Stalinism plays in painting the government as progressive and betraying the principles of Marxist-Leninism."

He warned that far from being friendly to the Palestine guerrillas, the Iraqi government has forbidden its people to join them, has refused to send arms to them and is waging a terror campaign against communist groups at home. The ruling Ba'athist Party, he explained, came to power in 1963 supported by a front of the most reactionary elements representing the interests of British and American firms and particularly oil companies.

He told us that in both 1963 and 1968 there were sharp rises in oil revenues, which foreign companies allowed the Iraqi government to keep to ensure that they had enough cash to retain power.

DECIEVE

"The government," Abbas said, "tries to confuse and deceive the people with progressive gestures against imperialism and Zionism—and they are praised by Moscow—but in reality, they are attacking revolutionaries."

"The overthrow of King Hussein and a revolutionary government in Jordan would be a very serious threat to Iraq and to the whole Middle East. If 12,000 troops are sent to Jordan the object will be to stop the guerrillas, not to help them."

Abbas revealed that the Iraqi government has mounted a new campaign to crush revolutionary groups and he said that now they were even turning on the Stalinists who have co-operated with them in the past.

There are two communist parties in Iraq, both with the same title but differentiated by their activities. The parties are the Moscow-supporting Communist Party of Iraq (Central Committee) and the Communist Party of Iraq (Revolutionary Group).

More than 780 of the central committee group have been arrested in the past three to four months.

The split in the two parties came about in 1967 when low urban wages, landlordism, hundreds of thousands jobless, and the unpopularity of the Kurdish war drove large numbers of workers and peasants to support the then unified CP. They demanded the overthrow of the Ba'athist regime, but when the CP leaders refused to act there was an

internal purge and a new leadership brought forward whose demand for an armed struggle was ostensibly militant.

But, Abbas claimed, the new men were opportunist and said one thing while they were doing another. He said there were deep conflicts within the party which ended with the emergence of the Revolutionary Group in 1968. Then the right-wing Ba'athists mounted a major attack against them.

"The Stalinists," he said, "identified the leaders of the Revolutionary Group to the government, and 320 top cadres were arrested. Thirty of the best of our comrades were killed under torture, some of the others gave way and collaborated and the fate of a lot of them is unknown."

A favored torture for political prisoners, Abbas claimed, was to strip them and put them in a large body-length bucket which would then be filled with wild cats to tear them to pieces.

NECK

He said a boy of 16 endured torture until he died and quoted another who, on the scaffold, seized the rope and—putting it round his own neck—said that his comrades were "higher than hunger or torture."

Many political prisoners, including 250 "left" Ba'athists, are held indefinitely and without trial in the Al Nihaya palace ("The End") at Baghdad, and some have smuggled out letters. One letter of which Abbas gave us a translation said: "First and foremost, we shake your hands warmly and we wish that you are happy. If you ask about our health, we are standing between four walls where we don't see sunlight and where no news can reach us."

"Brother, tell our news to all free men, revolutionaries and fighters for the cause of the toiling classes to make heard the voice of the victims of terror who have been tortured now for more than a year."

"We are swallowing pains and torture in solitary rooms. We had to go through hanging by the limbs from rotating fans in the ceiling and beatings while we were interrogated."

Abbas said the writer of this letter has now been executed.

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Hundreds of youth at Temple University in Philadelphia, trying to get in to hear Black Panther leader Huey Newton, just released from prison. Newton called for a struggle for socialism in America as the only way to end racism. (See editorial, page 2).

BRAC Railroad Strike Faces Federal Intervention Threat

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Some 250,000 BRAC-organized railway clerks are now moving towards strike action against the railroads. The union's International executive board has set September 10 as the strike date if the rail employers do not meet their wage demands.

Union demands include a twelve per cent wage hike each year for three years, a full cost of living clause and benefit improvements.

The most serious danger here is that the union leadership may retreat in the face of possible Federal government intervention. Federal mediator Lawrence Farmer, presently trying to get BRAC strikers at Northwest Airlines to "mediate" away their demands for parity wages with other airlines, is also assigned to this dispute.

But BRAC International President C. L. Dennis has announced that: "We are not disposed to arbitrate the vital issues

involved in our wage and rules movement and, accordingly, it is my plan to decline arbitration." He also announced that the final setting of a strike date, now arranged for September 10, would in no case take place any later than 30 days after the National Mediation Board announces the closing of its files on this wage claim.

Federal government intervention, in the case of a strike, could very well come with more special laws rammed through by Nixon and the Congress.

The shopcraft union leaders (Boilermakers, Electrical Workers, Sheet Metal Workers and Machinists) all caved in and ran away from the necessary fight against Nixon's government.

This retreat has only encouraged the attacks on labor by Nixon. Railway clerks must now hold their leadership to its promise of strike action to force a living wage from the rail barons and Nixon.

Northwest Strike Is Solid In Chicago

BY MICHAEL ROSS

CHICAGO, September 5—Although the main effect of the clerks strike against Northwest Orient Airlines is being felt in the Twin Cities, Northwest's main base, it is clear that BRAC strikers in other Northwest stops are holding out against company attempts to split them away from their fellow workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

This was brought out in an interview with a Chicago BRAC picket today, near an almost deserted Northwest-counter at Chicago's O'Hare field. This sharply contrasted with crowded counters of Continental and other airlines in the same wing of the terminal.

Question: In Minneapolis-St. Paul, there are police stationed wherever you find BRAC pickets. Have they given you any sort of trouble here?

Answer: We only had trouble with them once. That was about two weeks after the strike began. We had a mass picket using about 30 cars going about 20 miles an hour and the station manager called the police. We held another mass picket on the sidewalk two weeks after that without any trouble.

Q. How many of you are on strike in Chicago?

A. About 109.

Q. How many are scabbing?

A. We have one agent who crossed the picket lines the first week and has been working ever since. Last week two mechanics crossed but they didn't even put in eight hours and are out again. Most stewardesses are working.

Q. What kind of support are you getting from other sections of Chicago labor?

A. It was better than now during the first three weeks of the strike, when even the Brinks' guards wouldn't cross the picket lines.

Q. No one wants to say anything good about BRAC's 1966 contract with Northwest. What was wrong with it?

A. We turned down the company's offer

right before the mechanics (IAM) went out. We honored their picket lines, but when that strike was over, we accepted basically the same thing we had rejected.

Q. How many flights came in and out of Chicago on Northwest before the strike—and how many now?

A. Sixty-nine before the strike, seven now.

Q. Chicago has one of the highest living costs in the country, especially on such items as food. What has the lack of a cost-of-living clause meant to you?

A. It meant alot. But Northwest doesn't even want to discuss cost-of-living. Or the merger with Northeast, which would put us all in lower paying jobs due to less seniority. And they won't discuss such issues as longevity pay.

Q. What would be the effect on the strike if you went back on what essentially are Northwest's terms here in Chicago?

A. It would break the union. Chicago is the center station for the U.S. Per passenger, the agents here turn out more

profits than any other city. If we went back in Chicago, the strike would be broken in two days; if the mechanics went back, they would be running 60% normal in two days.

Q. What does their money offer mean?

A. Our top pay as agents would be \$650 a month, while Ozark would be paying \$805. The people at Ozark couldn't believe it. Even supervisors at Ozark refused to believe that their agents get more than our sales representatives or sales managers (supervisory personnel at Northwest-MR)

Q. In the Twin Cities, Northwest is running full page ads promoting their "final offer." Some have interpreted this as a measure of desperation—an indication that Nyrop and Co. are being hurt. Is the strike hurting them in Chicago?

A. They are so cheap here that they have never before taken out radio and TV ads in Chicago. Now they are buying these ads all over the place. But they normally run \$1 million worth of freight out of Chicago. Since the strike began, they have not flown a single freight plane from Chicago.

NMU Seamen Are Hard Hit By Runaway Inflation, Loss Of Jobs

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—All wage gains of the 1969 National Maritime Union contract have now been wiped out by inflation and the 1970 dues increase. In addition, Joe Curran has announced that his strategy of offering manning scale cuts on the passenger liners is a failure and that the passenger liners are never coming out of layup.

One seaman said, "It's very hard to get a job nowadays, with the high technical requirements needed. For the work we do we should get \$600 a month. That's not a lot—Teamsters get \$12,000 or \$13,000 a year. The last contract was better for the companies than for the unions. The passenger ships aren't coming out—that's evident from the mayor's plans to turn the Manhattan piers into hotels."

Curran now plans to spread the wage cuts and unemployment around a bit by announcing that "NMU vacation are meant to be taken" and that men should not work the extra days they need to make a living. This is in addition to the dues increase he rammed through in January.

One man this reporter spoke to said that "Curran's a sellout—look at the last issue of the Pilot. You see his wife christening a new containership—you couldn't see a better example of shipowner-union collusion."

Another seaman commented that "The dues increase and taxes took away our 6% across the board increase, but the opposition emphasizes the pensions. The opposition lacks a leader. Morrissey emphasizes pensions but they're of no interest to a man who is in the union only 4-10 years."

A sympathizer of the Committee for NMU Democracy led by James Morrissey told this reporter that the Committee had won a "victory" in court by forcing the union bureaucracy to pay out as wages a pension increase won under the old contract in 1961 and 1962. The ranks have not yet seen a penny of this money. This "victory"—if the money is ever paid out—is really robbing Peter to pay Paul. The

issue is not switching monies from the pension fund to the wage fund but fighting for a big wages increase and a guaranteed funding of all pensions.

We say the opposition must take up the struggle for wages with a fight for immediate wage re-opener and for an end to job loss in the NMU. This means going to the ranks in order to fight for the ranks, not going to the courts who of course may be willing to switch some money around from one fund to another provided it costs the shippers nothing.

LONGSHOREMEN PROTEST LINDSAY PIER CLOSINGS AS DOCK JOBS DISAPPEAR

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Sept. 3—Longshoremen this morning picketed piers on Manhattan's West Side to protest Mayor Lindsay's plan to turn piers into parks, yacht basins, hotels, and outdoor theaters charging up to \$6 or more admission. Lindsay's plan as announced will last only through January 1971 and will not provide one permanent job. It is designed to paper over the job loss caused by the closing of Manhattan passenger and freight piers. The few passenger liners left are now going mostly to Florida instead of New York.

As a result hirings have fallen off by 17,000 a month in Manhattan over the past year. They have also fallen off by 38,000 in Brooklyn while picking up by only 5,000 in New Jersey container ports. A longshoreman at the West 16th Street ILA hiring hall told this reporter that "they say we can go over to Jersey to get jobs but the men over there don't like it. When the politicians get together with Wall Street, the little man gets screwed—they're already condemning piers 2 through 40."

The ILA bureaucracy has no serious plans against this catastrophic job loss. One Manhattan longshoreman said, "Gleason puts up one picket line but that's nothing—he doesn't have any other plans to do anything. This losing our jobs has been going on for a long time but they don't tell you anything in the beginning. We were supposed to get the container bonus like on the West Coast for payment for lost jobs but they close the piers down and we don't get anything. Every year we have to struggle over it. They spent the money and didn't tell us. If you call a meeting the guys can talk it over but they come around to you one at a time and ask you to sign the container money agreement so alot of guys sign."

Lindsay's plan must be defeated. As one longshoreman said, "Lindsay says people want to look at the river. Who wants to look at the river?—it's polluted. What people want is some employment, not a chance to listen to opera."

UAW Leaders Allow Forced Overtime At Detroit Plant

BY AN AUTO WORKER

DETROIT, Sept. 2—At Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Plant 6, the workers are now being forced to work 12 and 14 hours a day under the compulsory overtime clause in the contract, forced on the rank and file by the union bureaucracy in its bootlicking maneuvers with the bosses.

The compulsory overtime clause has been a factor for tremendous discontent in many auto plants, and Gear and Axle 6 is just one example. Plant 6 workers were forced to work 58 hours a week before changeover, and now as then, the Local 235 bureaucracy refuses to defend the workers against these outrageous attacks by the bosses on this basic right of the workers.

The bosses at Chevy are using this overtime to stock up for a long strike, and when the union bureaucrats allow them to do this, they are guilty of consciously building for the defeat of the rank and file in the upcoming struggle.

No Compulsory Overtime! This must be made a non-negotiable demand. The workers will no longer tolerate these attacks by the bosses with the willing consent of the union bureaucrats.

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1879

1940



Trotsky alighting from his train, which was instrumental in turning the tide of the battle on the Kazan front. Trotsky and his staff travelled in this train to most of the major civil war battles.

SVYAZHISK



Lenin and Trotsky (centre) with delegates to the Tenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, after the storming of the Kronstadt fortress.

WHENEVER two comrades who worked together in the year 1918, fought beneath Kazan against the Czechoslovaks and then in the Urals or at Samara and Tsaritsin, chance to meet again many years later one of them is bound to ask after the first few questions: "Remember Svyazhsk?" and they will clasp each other's hand again.

What is Svyazhsk? Today it is a legend, one of the revolutionary legends which still remain unchronicled, but which are being retold over and over again from one end to another of this Russian wasteland. Not one of the demobilized Red Army men from among the old-timers, the founders of the Workers' and Peasants' Army, upon returning home and reminiscing about the three years of Civil War will skip Svyazhsk. The cross-roads whence the tide of the revolutionary offensive started rolling on all four sides. On the East—toward the Caspian shores, the Caucasus and the borders of Persia. On the North toward Archangel and Poland. Not all together, of course; nor simultaneously.

But it was only after Svyazhsk and Kazan that the Red Army became crystallized into those fighting and political forms which, after undergoing change and being perfected, have become classic for the RSFSR.

On August 6 (1918) numerous hastily organized regiments fled from Kazan; and the best among them, the class-conscious section, clung to Svyazhsk, halted there and decided to make a stand and fight. By the time the mobs of deserters fleeing from Kazan had almost reached Nizhny Novgorod, the dam erected at Svyazhsk had already halted the Czechoslovaks; and their general who tried to take the railroad bridge across the Volga by storm was killed during the night attack.

Thus in the very first clash between the Whites who had just taken Kazan and consequently were stronger in morale and equipment and the core of the Red Army seeking to defend the bridge-head across the Volga, the head of the Czechoslovak offensive was lopped off. They lost their most popular and gifted leader in General Blagotich. Neither the Whites, flushed by their recent victory, nor the Reds rallying round Svyazhsk had any inkling of the historical importance that their initial trial skirmishes would have.

It is extremely difficult to convey the

standing in a row as immobile as the dirty straw-thatched peasant huts and the barracks, occupied by the Fifth Army's staff. This immobility silently underscored that there was no place to go from here, and that it was impermissible to leave.

"Already in 1918 the train represented a mobile apparatus of administration, it was equipped with its own printing plant, telegraph, radio, electric power station, library, garage and bath. This train which steered all wells and brought victory with it would appear in the most critical moments at the key sectors of the various fronts. During Yudenich's October offensive (1919) the train was sent to Petrograd. Out of its personnel was formed a detachment which manned the armored train named after Lenin and another detachment which was incorporated in the Red Army in the region of Ligovo. For its participation in these battles the train received the order of the Red Banner.

In the course of the Civil War the train fulfilled 36 missions, covering a total distance of 97,629 versts." (Trotsky—"How the Revolution Armed Itself", Vol. II, Book 1, p. 463.)—Ed.

Little by little the fanatical faith that this little station would become the starting point for a counter-offensive against Kazan began to take on the shape of reality.

Even a new day that this God-forsaken, poor railway siding held out against the far stronger enemy, added to it strength and raised its mood of confidence. From somewhere in the rear, from far-off villages in the hinterland, came at first soldiers one by one, then tiny detachments, and finally military formations in a far better state of preservation.

I see it now before me, this Svyazhsk where not a single soldier fought 'under compulsion'. Everything that was alive there and fighting in self-defence—all of it was bound together by the strongest ties of voluntary discipline, voluntary participation in a struggle which seemed so hopeless at the outset.

Human beings sleeping on the floors of the station house, in dirty huts filled with straw and broken glass—they hardly hoped for success and consequently feared nothing. The speculation on when and how all this 'would end' interested none. 'Tomorrow'—simply did not exist; there was only a brief hot, smoky piece of time: Today. And one lived on that, as one lives in harvest time.

Morning, noon, evening, night—each single hour was prolonged to the utmost count; every single hour had to be lived through and used up to the last second. It was necessary to reap each hour carefully, finely like ripe wheat in the field is cut to the very root. Each hour seemed so rich, so utterly unlike all of previous life. No sooner did it vanish than in re-appearing it was found to be a miracle.

Planes came and went, dropping their bombs on the station and the railway cars; machine guns with their repulsive barking and the calm syllables of artillery, drew high and withdrew again whilst a human being in a torn military coat, civilian hat, and boots with toes protruding—in short, one of the defenders of Svyazhsk would, smilingly produce a watch from his pocket and bethink himself.

"So that's what it is now—1.30 or 4.30 o'clock. Or, it is 6.20. Therefore I am still alive. Svyazhsk holds. Trotsky's train stands on the rails. A lamp now flickers through the window of the Political Department. Good! The day is ended."

Medical supplies were almost completely absent at Svyazhsk. God knows what the doctors used for bandages. This poverty shamed no one; nor did anyone stand in fear of it. The soldiers on their way with soup kettles to the field kitchen passed by stretchers with the wounded and the dying. Death held no terrors. It was expected daily, always. To lie prone in a wet army coat, with a red splootch on a shirt, with an expressionless face, a muteness that was no longer human—this was something taken for granted.

Brotherhood! Few words have been so abused and rendered pitiful. But brotherhood does come sometimes, in moments of direst need and peril, so selfless, so sacred, so unrepeatable in a single lifetime. And they have not lived and know nothing of life who have never lain at night on a floor in tattered and lice-ridden clothes, thinking all the while how

wonderful is the world, innately wonderful! That here the old has been overthrown and that life is fighting with bare hands for her irrefutable truth, for the white swans of her resurrection, for something far bigger and better than this patch of star-lit sky showing through the velvet blackness of a window with shattered panes—for the future of all mankind.

Once in a century contact is made and new blood is transfused. These beautiful words, almost inhuman in their beauty, and the smell of living sweat, the living breath of others sleeping beside you on the floor. No nightmares, no sentimentalities, but tomorrow the dawn will come and Comrade G., a Czech Bolshevik, will prepare an omelette for the whole 'gang', and the Chief of Staff will pull on a shaggy stiffly frozen shirt washed out last night.

A day will dawn in which someone will die, knowing in his last second that death is only something among many other things, and not the main thing at all; that once again Svyazhsk has not been taken and that the dirty wall is still inscribed with a piece of chalk: 'Workers of the World Unite!'

Against the stream

THE RAINY August days thus passed one by one. The thin, poorly equipped lines did not fall back; the bridge remained in our hands and from the rear, from somewhere far away, reinforcements began to arrive.

Larissa Reissner

1895


Symbol of the international character of the October Revolution is Larissa Reissner, daughter of a Polish mother and a German—East Elbian—landowner; she was born May 1, 1895, in Vilna (Poland), educated in Germany and France; before her 22nd birthday she was an outstanding figure in the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky, "My Life", writes of her in his chapter on Svyazhsk:

"Larissa Reissner, who called Ivan Nikitch (Smirnov) 'the conscience of Svyazhsk' was herself prominent in the Fifth Army, as well as in the Revolution as a whole. This fine young woman flashed across the revolutionary sky like a burning meteor, blinding many. With her appearance in the Olympian goddesses, she combined a subtle and ironical mind and the courage of a warrior. After the capture of Kazan by the Whites, she was arrested, and she was being cross-examined by a Japanese intelligence officer, she took advantage of an interval to slip through the carefully guarded door and disappear."

Her portrait appeared in Intelligence Agency and published in Britain by Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. The short description of life in the Volga-Caspian fleet avoids mentioning the real fighters against the White counter-revolution.

But Larissa Reissner was not altogether unknown to the Russian Communist. The very first issue of 'Communist Review' of May 1921 carries one of her brilliant sketches entitled "The Heroic Sailors of the Russian Revolution."



1926

debris of Tsarist discipline and wild hatred of anything resembling the bark of old officers' commands, the barracks, for old army life.

Despite all this, supplies appeared before our very eyes. Newspapers arrived, boots and overcoats came. And wherever they actually hand out boots, and for keeps, there you will find a really solid army staff; there things are stable; there the army stands firmly entrenched and has no thought of fleeing. That's no joking matter, boots!

The Order of the Red Flag was not yet in existence in the era of Svyazhsk, else it would have been issued to hundreds. Everybody, including the cowardly and the nervous and the simply mediocre workers and Red Army men—everybody, without a single exception, performed unbelievable, heroic deeds; they outdid themselves, like spring streams overflowing their banks they joyfully flooded their own normal lives.

Such was the atmosphere. I remember receiving at that time by extraordinary chance a few letters from Moscow. In them was some talk about the exultation of the petty bourgeoisie preparing to repeat the memorable days of the Paris Commune.

And in the meantime the foremost and most dangerous front of the Republic hung by a thin railway thread and flamed, setting up an unprecedented heroic conflagration which sufficed for three more years of hungry, typhus-ridden, homeless

obtained God knows where—in short, he began building up a strong, geometrically perfect organizational apparatus, with precise connections, indefatigable working capacity and simple in scheme.

In the days to come, whatever the Army or the front, wherever the work began to sputter, Rosengoltz was immediately brought in like a queen-bee in a sack, placed into the disturbed bee hive and would immediately proceed to build, organize, forming cells, buzzing over the telegraph wires. Despite the military overcoat and enormous pistol in his belt, nothing martial could be discerned in his figure, nor in his pale, slightly soft face. His tremendous force did not lie in this field at all, but rather in his natural ability to renew, establish connections, raise the tempo of a halting, infected bloodstream to an explosive speed. At the side of Trotsky he was like a dynamo, regular, well-oiled, noiseless, with powerful levers moving day after day, spinning the un-tearable web of organization.

I do not recall just what kind of work I. N. Smirnov officially performed in the staff of the Fifth Army. Whether he was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council or at the same time also head of the Political Department; but apart from all titles and frameworks he embodied the ethics of the revolution. He was the highest moral criterion; the communist conscience of Svyazhsk.

Even among the non-Party soldier masses and those communists who had not known him previously, his amazing purity and integrity were immediately recognized. It is hardly likely that he himself was aware how much he was feared; how everyone feared nothing so much as to reveal cowardice and weakness before the eyes of this man, who never yelled at anyone, who simply remained himself, calm, courageous. No one commanded as much respect as Ivan Nikitch. Every one felt that in the worst moment he would be the strongest and most fearless.

With Trotsky—it was to die in battle after the last bullet had been fired; to die enthusiastically, oblivious of wounds. With Trotsky—it was the sacred pathos of struggle; words and gestures recalling the best pages of the Great French Revolution.

But with Comrade Smirnov (so it seemed to us at the time and so we spoke in whispers to each other as we huddled close together on the floor during those already cold autumnal nights)—Comrade Smirnov; this was pure calm when 'up against the wall'; or when being grilled by the Whites; or in a fifth prison hole. Yes, that is how one talked about him at Svyazhsk.

Boris Danilovich Mikhailov came a little later, directly from Moscow, I believe, or generally from the centre. He arrived in a civilian coat, with that bright, rapidly changing expression on his face that people have on being freed from prison or big cities.

Within a few hours he was completely overcome by the wild intoxication of Svyazhsk. Changing clothes, he went out on reconnaissance patrol in the vicinity of the White Kazan and returned three days later, tired, his face wind-tanned, his body crawling with ubiquitous lice. By way of compensation, he was all in one piece.

It was a fascinating spectacle to observe the profound inner process taking place in people who arrive at a revolutionary front: they catch fire like a straw roof lit on all four sides, and then on cooling off become transformed into a perfectly clear and uniform piece of cast iron.

Youngest of all was Mezhlauk—Valerin Ivanovich. He had a particularly hard time. His younger brother and wife had remained behind in Kazan and, according to a rumour, had been shot. Later it turned out that his brother actually had died, while his wife suffered indescribably. It was not customary to complain or talk about one's misfortunes at Svyazhsk. And Mezhlauk kept an honest silence, did his

work, and walked through the sticky autumn mud in his long cavalry coat, all of him concentrated on one burning point: Kazan.

Meanwhile the Whites began to sense that with its strengthened resistance, Svyazhsk was growing into something great and dangerous.

Intermittent skirmishes and attacks came to an end; a regular siege, with large organized forces on all sides was started. But they had let slip the propitious moment.

Old Slavin, Commander of the Fifth Army, not a very gifted colonel, but one who knew his business exactly and thoroughly, fixed on a key point of defence, worked out a definite plan and carried it through with truly Latvian stubbornness.

Svyazhsk stood firm, its feet planted in the ground like a bull, its broad forehead lowered towards Kazan, standing immovable on the spot and impatiently shaking its horns, sharp as bayonets.

One sunny autumn morning came narrow, agile and swift torpedo-boats from the Baltic fleet to Svyazhsk. Their appearance created a sensation. The army now felt the river side protected. A series of artillery duels began on the Volga, occurring three or four times daily. Covered by the fire of our batteries concealed along the shore, our flotilla now ventured far forward.

These forays were crowned by such extremely audacious ones as that undertaken on the morning of September 9 by Sailor Markin, one of the founders and outstanding heroes of the Red Fleet. On an unwieldy, armour-plated tug-boat he ventured far out to the very perils of Kazan, landed, drove off the crews of enemy batteries by machine-gun fire and removed the locks from several guns.

Another time, late at night on August 30, our ships came flush up to Kazan, shelled the city, set fire to several barges loaded with munitions and food supplies, and withdrew without losing a single ship. Among others Trotsky, together with the Commander, was aboard the torpedo-boat 'Prochny' which had to fix its steering gear while drifting alongside an enemy barge and under the muzzles of the White Guard artillery.

Vatsetzki, commander-in-chief of the eastern front, arrived at a moment when the offensive against Kazan was already in full swing. Most of us, myself among them, had little exact information concerning the outcome of the conference; only one thing quickly became a matter of general knowledge and was greeted with deep satisfaction on all sides. Our old man (that is what we called our commander among ourselves) declared himself opposed to Vatsetzki's views, who wanted to undertake an attack against Kazan from the left river bank, while our commander decided to storm Kazan on the right bank which dominates the city and not on the left bank which is flat and exposed.

The snail defending force at Shikhrana was slaughtered to the last man. Nor is this all; they literally hunted down and exterminated every living thing in this little station. I had the opportunity to see Shikhrana a few hours after the raid. It bore the stigma of the completely irrational pogrom violence that stamped all the victories of these gentlemen, who never felt themselves the masters and future inhabitants of the soil accidentally and temporarily conquered.

In a courtyard, a cow lay bestially murdered (I say murdered advisedly, not slaughtered); the chicken coop was filled senselessly with chickens riddled in all too human a fashion. The well, the little vegetable garden, the water tower and the houses were treated as if they had been captured human beings and, moreover, Bolsheviks and 'shenies'. The intestines had been ripped out of everything. Animals and inanimate objects sprawled everywhere, decimated, violated, ugly—dead. Alongside this horrible shambles of everything that once had been a human habitation, the indescribable, unutterable death of a few railway employees and Red Army men caught by surprise appeared quite in the nature of things.

Only in Goya's illustrations of the Spanish campaign and guerrilla war can a similar harmony be found of wind-swept trees bending low beneath the weight of hanged men, of dust on roadways, of blood and stones.

From the station Shikhrana, the Savinkov detachment turned towards Svyazhsk, moving along the railroad. We sent our armoured train 'Free Russia' to meet them. So far as I am able to recall, it was armed with long-range naval guns. Its commander, however, did not rise to the level of his task. Being surrounded on two sides (so it appeared to him), he left his train and rushed back to the Revolutionary Military Council in order to report.

In his absence 'Free Russia' was shot to pieces and burned. Its black, burning hulks lay derelict for a long time beside the scoured very close to Svyazhsk.

After the destruction of the armoured train the road to the Volga seemed completely open. The Whites stood directly beneath Svyazhsk, some one-and-a-half to two versts away from the Fifth Army's headquarters. Panic ensued. Part of the Political Department, if not all of it, rushed to the piers and aboard the steamboats.

The regiment, fighting virtually on Volga's banks but higher upstream, wavered and then fled with its commanders and commissars. Toward morning, its maddened detachments were found aboard the staff ships of the Volga war fleet.

In Svyazhsk only the Fifth Army staff with its officers and the train of Trotsky remained.

How Svyazhsk was saved

LEV DAVIDOVICH mobilized the entire personnel of the train, all the clerks, wireless operators, hospital workers, and the guard commanded by the Chief of Staff of the fleet, Comrade Lepetenko (by the way, one of the most courageous and self-sacrificing soldiers of the revolution whose biography could very well provide this book with its most brilliant chapter)—in a word, everyone able to bear a rifle.

The staff offices stood deserted; there was no 'rear' any longer. Everything was thrown against the Whites who had rolled almost flush to the station. From Shikhrana to the first houses of Svyazhsk the entire road was churned up by shells, covered with dead horses, abandoned weapons and empty cartridge shells. The closer to Svyazhsk, all the greater the

Larissa Reissner

1895


Eisewhere Trotsky ranks her with Isaac Babai as the greatest writer of the Civil War period—a remarkable tribute to a girl to whom Russian was a foreign language, acquired in maturity.

"The Front", a collection of her Civil War sketches, from which Svyazhsk is taken, was enormously popular with the Soviet masses.—Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals, etc.—vied with each other in bringing it out in scores of editions. A larger collection of her work, "October, Ausgewählte Schriften", was brought out in Germany by the official Communist publishing house as late as 1930, with an introduction by Redek written in 1926, the year she died.

It was not until Stalin's 50th birthday (December 21, 1929) and the publication on that date of Voroshilov's "Stalin and the Red Army" that the falsification of the history of the Civil War began with full force.

Of course, her sketches have been forbidden literature in the Soviet Union because they portrayed "the Civil War leaders later murdered by Stalin as a Communist falsification of all Stalin's falsifications. More recently a biographical sketch of Larissa Reissner, along with a short account of the "Front" was published in "Sputnik" (November 1968), a monthly digest compiled by the Novosti Press Agency and published in Britain by Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. The short description of life in the Volga-Caspian fleet avoids mentioning the real fighters against the White counter-revolution.

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The Whites advance

BUT PRECISELY at a time when the entire Fifth Army was tensely poised for the attack when its main forces at last began pushing forward under constant counter-attacks and many heavy day-long battles, three 'luminaries' of White Guard Russia got together in order to put an end to the protracted epic of Svyazhsk.

Savinkov, Kappel, and Fortunatov at the head of a considerable force undertook a desperate raid against a railroad station adjoining Svyazhsk, in order in this way to capture Svyazhsk itself and the Volga bridge. The raid was brilliantly executed; after making a long detour, the Whites suddenly swooped down on the station Shikhrana, shot it to pieces, seized the station buildings, cut the connections with the rest of the railway line and burned a munition train stationed there.

The men who did it

IN SVYAZHISK, Trotsky, who was able to give the new-born Army a backbone of steel, who himself sank roots into the soil refusing to yield an inch of ground no matter what happened, who was able to show this handful of defenders a calmness icier than theirs—in Svyazhsk, Trotsky was not alone.

Gathered there were old Party workers, future members of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Republic, and of the Military Councils of the several Armies to whom the future historian of the Civil War will refer as the Marshals of the Great Revolution. Rosengoltz and Gussev, Ivan Nikitch Smirnov, Kobozev, Mezhlauk, the other Smirnov, and many other comrades whose names I no longer recall. From among the sailors, I remember Raskolnikov and the late Markin.

Rosengoltz in his railway car almost from the very first day sprouted the office of the Revolutionary Military Council; extruded maps and rattled typewriters—

havoc.

The advance of the Whites was halted only after they had leaped over the gigantic charred skeleton of the armoured train, still smoking and smelling of molten metal. The advance surges to the very threshold, then rolls back boiling like a receding wave only to fling itself once more against the hastily mobilized reserves of Svyazhsk. Here both sides stand facing each other for several hours, here are many dead.

The Whites then decided that they had before them a fresh and well-organized division of whose existence even their intelligence service had remained unaware. Exhausted from their 48-hour raid, the soldiers tended to over-estimate the strength of the enemy and did not even suspect that opposing them was only a hastily thrown together handful of fighters with no one behind them except Trotsky's and Slavin, sitting beside a map in a smoke-filled sleepless room of the deserted headquarters in the centre of the depopulated Svyazhsk where bullets were whistling through the streets.

Throughout this night, like all the previous ones, Lev Davidovich's train remained standing there as always without its engine. Not a single section of the Fifth Army advancing on Kazan and about to storm it was bothered that night or diverted from the front to cover a virtually defenceless Svyazhsk. The army and the fleet learned about the night attack only after it was all over, after the Whites were already in retreat firmly convinced that almost a whole division was confronting them.

The next day 27 deserters who had fled to the ships in the most critical moment were tried and shot. Among them were several communists. Much was later said about the shooting of these 27, especially in the hinterland, of course, where they did not know by how thin a thread hung the road of Moscow and our entire offensive against Kazan, undertaken with our last means and forces.

To begin with, the whole army was agog with talk about communists having turned cowards; and that laws were not written for them; that they could desert with impunity, while an ordinary rank-and-filer was shot down like a dog.

If not for the exceptional courage of Trotsky, the army commander and other members of the Revolutionary Military Council, the prestige of the communists working in the Army would have been impaired, and lost for a long time to come.

No fine speeches can make it sound plausible to any army suffering every possible privation in the course of six weeks, fighting practically with bare hands, without even bandages, that cowardice is not cowardice and that for guilt there may be 'extenuating circumstances'.

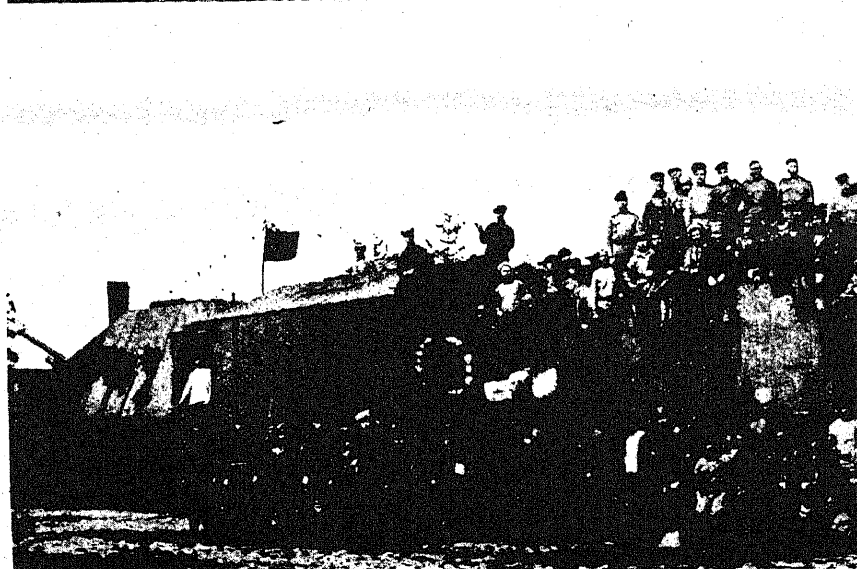
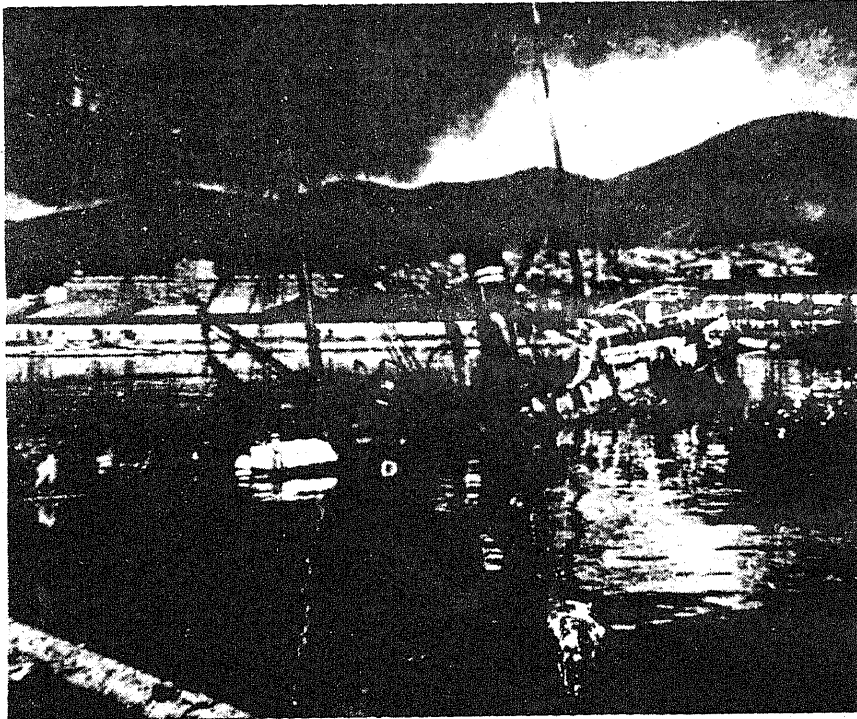
It is said that among those shot were many good comrades, some even whose guilt was redeemed by their previous services, by years in prison and exile. Perfectly true. No one contends that they perished in order to prop up those precepts of the old military code of 'setting an example' when amidst beating of drums 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth' were exacted. Of course, Svyazhsk is a tragedy.

But everyone who has lived the life of the Red Army, who was born and grew strong with it in the battles of Kazan, will testify that the iron spirit of this army would have never crystallized, that the fusion between the Party and the soldier masses, between the rank and file and the summits of the commanding staff would have never been realized if, on the eve of storming Kazan where hundreds of soldiers were to lose their lives, the Party had failed to show clearly before the eyes of the whole army that it was prepared to offer the Revolution this great and bloody sacrifice, that for the Party, too, the severe laws of comradesly discipline are binding; that the Party, too, has the courage to apply ruthlessly the laws of the Soviet Republic to its own members as well.

Twenty-seven were shot and this filled in the breach which the famous raiders had succeeded in making in the self-confidence and unity of the Fifth Army. This salvo which exacted punishment from communists as well as commanders and simple soldiers for cowardice and dishonour in battle forced the least class-conscious section of the soldier mass and the one most inclined toward desertion (and of course there was such a section, too) to pull themselves together, and to align themselves with those who went consciously and without any compulsion into battle.

Precisely in these days was decided the fate of Kazan, and not that alone, but the fate of the entire White intervention. The Red Army found its self-confidence and became regenerated and strong during the long weeks of defence and offence.

In conditions of constant danger and



Devastation on the Volga (Top) a typical civil war battle scene. Above, an armoured train. Such trains, organized and manned by the most conscious elements of the Red Army, played a most important part in the civil war.

with the greatest moral exertions it worked out its laws, its discipline, its new heroic statutes. For the first time panic in the face of the enemy's more modern technique became dissolved. Here one learned to make headway against any artillery; and involuntarily, from the elemental instinct of self-preservation, new methods of warfare were born, those specific battle methods which are already being studied in the highest military academies as the methods of the Civil War.

Of extreme importance is the fact that in those days in Svyazhsk there was precisely such a man as Trotsky.

Trotsky's role

NO MATTER what his calling or his name, it is clear that the creator of the Red Army, the future chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, would have had to be in Svyazhsk; had to live through the entire practical experience of these weeks of battle; had to call upon all the resources of his will and organizational genius for the defence of Svyazhsk, for the defence of the army organism smashed under the fire of the Whites.

Moreover, in revolutionary war there is still another force, another factor without which victory cannot be gained, and that is: the mighty romanticism of the Revolution which enables people straight from the barricades to cast themselves immediately in the harsh forms of the military machine, without losing the quick, light step gained in political demonstrations or the independent spirit and flexibility gained perhaps in long years of Party work under illegality.

To have conquered in 1918 one had to take all the fire of the Revolution, all of its incandescent heat, and harness them to the vulgar, repellent age-old pattern of the army.

Up till now history has always solved this problem with imposing but moth-laden theatrical tricks. She would summon to the stage some individual in a 'three-cornered hat and a grey field uniform' and he or some other general on a white horse would cut the revolutionary blood and marrow into republics, banners, slogans.

In military construction, as in so many other things, the Russian Revolution went its own way. Insurrection and war fused into one, the Army and the Party grew together, inseparably interwoven, and on

the regimental banners were inscribed the unity of their mutual aims, all the sharpest formulae of the class struggle. In the days of Svyazhsk all this remained as yet unformed, only hanging in the air, seeking for expression.

The Workers' and Peasants' Army had to find expression somehow; it had to take on its outward shape, produce its own formulae, but how? This no one clearly knew yet. At that time, of course, no precepts, no dogmatic programme were available in accordance with which this titanic organism could grow and develop.

In the Party and in the masses there lived only a foreboding, a creative premonition of this military revolutionary organization which was never seen before and to which each day's battle whispered some new real characteristic.

Trotsky's great merit lies in this, that he caught up in flight the least gesture of the masses which already bore upon it the stamp of this sought-for and unique organizational formula.

He sifted out and then set going all the little practices whereby besieged Svyazhsk simplified, hastened or organized its work of battle. And this, not simply in the narrow technical sense. No. Every new successful combination of 'specialist and commissar', of him who commands and the one executing the command and bearing the responsibility for it—every successful combination, after it had met the test of experience and had been lucidly formulated, was immediately transformed into an order, a circular, a regulation. In this way the living revolutionary experience was not lost, nor forgotten, nor deformed.

The norm obligatory for all was not mediocrity but, on the contrary, the best, the things of genius conceived by the masses themselves in the most fiery, most creative moments of the struggle.

In little things as well as big—whether in such complex matters as the division of labour among the members of the Revolutionary Military Council or the quick, snappy, friendly gesture exchanged in greeting between a Red Commander and a soldier each busy and hurrying somewhere—it all had to be drawn from life, assimilated and returned as a norm to the masses for universal use.

And wherever things weren't moving, or there was creaking, or bungling, one had to sense what was wrong, one had to help, one had to pull, as the midwife pulls out the new-born babe during a difficult

birth.

One can be the most adept at articulating, one can give to a new army a rationally impeccable plastic form, and nonetheless render its spirit frigid, permit it to evaporate and remain incapable of keeping this spirit alive within the chicken-wire of juridical formulae. To prevent this, one must be a great revolutionist; one must possess the intuition of a creator and an internal radio transmitter of vast power without which there is no approaching the masses.

In the last analysis it is precisely this revolutionary instinct which is the court of highest sanction; which exactly purges its new creative justice of all deeply hidden counter-revolutionary back-slidings. It places its hand of violence upon the deceitful formal justice in the name of the highest, proletarian justice which does not permit its elastic laws to ossify, to become divorced from life and burden the shoulders, of Red Army soldiers with petty, aggravating, superfluous loads.

Trotsky possessed this intuitive sense. In him the revolutionist was never elbowed aside by the soldier, the military leader, the commander. And when with his inhuman, terrible voice he confronted a deserter, we stood in fear of him as one of us, a great rebel who could crush and slay anyone for base cowardice, for treason not to the military but the world-proletarian revolutionary cause.

It was impossible for Trotsky to have been a coward, for otherwise the contempt of this extraordinary army would have crushed him; and it could never have forgiven a weakling for the fraternal blood of the 27 which sprayed its first victory.

A few days before the occupation of Kazan by our troops Lev Davidovich had to leave Svyazhsk; the news of the attempt on Lenin's life called him to Moscow. But neither Savinkov's raid on Svyazhsk, organized with great mastery by the Social-Revolutionists, nor the attempt to assassinate Lenin, undertaken by the same party almost simultaneously with Savinkov's raid, could now halt the Red Army. The final wave of the offensive engulfed Kazan.

On September 9 late at night the troops were embarked on ships and by morning, around 5.30, the clumsy many-decked transports, convoyed by torpedo boats, moved toward the piers of Kazan. It was strange to sail in moonlit twilight past the half-demolished mill with a green roof, behind which a White battery had been located; past the half-burned 'Delphin', gutted and beached on the deserted shore; past all the familiar river bends, tongues of land, sandbanks and inlets over which from dawn to evening death had walked for so many weeks, clouds of smoke had rolled, and golden sheaves of artillery fire had flared.

We sailed with lights out in absolute silence over the black, cold, smoothly flowing Volga.

Aft of the stern, light foam on the dull humming wake washed away by waves that remember nothing and flow unconcernedly to the Caspian Sea. And yet the place through which the giant ship was at this moment silently gliding had only yesterday been a maelstrom ripped and ploughed by wildly exploding shells. And here,

when a moment ago a nightbird tipped noiselessly with its wing the water from which a slight mist curled upward into the cold air, yesterday so many white spumy fountains were rising; yesterday, words of command were restlessly sounding and slim torpedo boats were threading their way through smoke and flames and a rain of steel splinters, their hulls trembling from the compressed impatience of engines and from the recoil of their two-gun batteries which fired once a minute with a sound resembling iron hiccups.

People were firing, scattering away under the hail of down-clattering shells, mopping up the blood on the decks. . . . And now everything is silent; the Volga flows as it has flowed a thousand years ago, as it will flow centuries from now.

We reached the piers without firing a shot. The first flickers of dawn lit up the sky. In the greyish-pink twilight, humped, black, charred phantoms began to appear. Cranes, beams of burned buildings, shattered telegraph poles—all this seemed to have endured endless sorrow and seemed to have lost all capacity for feeling like a tree with twisted, withered branches. Death's kingdom washed by the icy roses of the northern dawn.

And the deserted guns with their muzzles uplifted resemble in the twilight cast-down figures, frozen in mute despair, with heads propped up by hands cold and wet with dew.

Fog. People began shivering from cold and nervous tension; the air is permeated with the odour of machine oil and tarred rope. The gunner's blue collar turns with the movement of the body viewing in amazement the unpopulated, soundless shore reposing in dead silence.

This is victory.

SSEU Leaders Try To Suppress Militant Ranks

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

At an emergency membership meeting on September 2, the Hill leadership of the Social Service Employees Union, Local 371, recommended to the membership that their militant work action be called off. This same recommendation had been turned down by the Delegates Assembly two nights before.

The union leadership, desperately trying to head off the militancy of the ranks, used every trick in the book to make a deal with the City and to destroy the action. Using the old strike fear tactics, Hill presented the crumbs he was able to pick off Goldberg's plate as if it were a big victory. He stated that the City promised to hire 150 workers by September 21, in addition to the 150 just hired. Plans for further staffing, however, would not be revealed until the 21st. Using the same threats as the City, Hill told the ranks that if this deal were not accepted, workers would be suspended, and a strike would ensue.

By modest estimations there are at least 330 uncovered caseloads in the department, as well as a caseload average of well above 75. The union's original demands were for hiring to fill all uncovered caseloads, and to bring the average caseload down to 75.

The City's offer obviously only scratches the surface of the overwork situation in the department. Both the City and Hill are well aware of that simple fact. They are also well aware of what their real solution to that problem will be. They plan to reveal that solution on September 21. It is clear that what Hill and the City have in mind is to put their thumb in the dike wall until they come up with a new dike—reorganization. Hill is biding his time until the City announces its plans to release more staff by the reorganization of several more centers.

CUT

As did the former president of the SSEU, Hill cuts off any militant struggle of the ranks when they threaten the institution of the City's moneysaving reorganization scheme. This time, after a referendum which passed this action by 12 to 1, and after 80-90% of the membership had already started the action, the motion to suspend won by about 45 votes.

The motion specified that all actions being carried on by the membership were to be suspended. Workers in some of the more militant centers, however, are still refusing to handle more than one pending case per week, despite the suspension of the work action.

The central question facing staff, however, is still reorganization. Hill realizes that he can't pull this kind of trick forever on staff. Workers are making the connection between their bad working conditions and reorganization, and Hill is going to have to move fast in order to head off a rejection of the entire reorganization by staff. Reorganization is going to have to be presented to the ranks at contract time in December as a fait accompli, so that the ranks will feel they cannot remove it from their new contract.

On The Job In A Minnesota Cannery

(In a recent article the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune proclaimed, "It's corn harvesting time," and then presented a romanticized picture story of workers on the job in a canning factory. In an effort to discover the reality behind the illusory article, a Bulletin reporter, Leo Russell, interviewed a young worker from a similar plant.)

Q. Where are you working now?

Gary: At a canning factory.

Q. Could you tell me something about your pay and the hours you work?

Gary: I work eleven hours a day, seven days a week for \$1.75 an hour straight time—no extra pay for overtime. There is no union here either. When I started I got two short breaks in the morning, a half hour for lunch, and two short breaks in the afternoon. But now I get one break in the morning and one in the afternoon.

That is why it will be critical for the membership of SSEU-371 to be really prepared to take on Hill and the City on September 21, when they announce plans for the extension of reorganization. The membership must say that they will accept no more deals in order to avoid the hiring of more staff. This is the only way to prepare for the 1971 contract fight.

JUDGE VOIDS GET SET VOTE IN PHILADELPHIA

BY A BULLETIN CORRESPONDENT PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 5—The open attempts to use racism against the trade unions were given added drive this morning in Philadelphia. Judge Joseph Sloan invalidated the August 28 election in which Get Set workers, who are mostly black, voted for the PFT as their bargaining agent. A new election has been scheduled for September 18, which comes after the strike deadline set by the teachers' union.

Just a couple of days prior to this decision, the Board of Education announced the schools would be open and available to those teachers who wanted to scab as well as for those supporters of community control who wished to take over classes in lieu of the teachers.

'Community Control' Threatens Philly Teachers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—The vote of paraprofessional and Get Set personnel in favor of Philadelphia Federation of Teachers puts the union in an extremely strong bargaining position. First, this overwhelming vote by employees mostly black and underpaid exposes the racist lie that the union seeks to represent only "white professionals." Second, this increased support will enable the PFT to close down the schools entirely if the Board of Education is determined to fight the union's struggle for better schools and working conditions.

However the PFT leadership has not indicated that it will use this strength. It has already lowered its wage demands and its agreement to extend the expiration date of the contract indicates that it is willing to compromise further.

As the Bulletin has reported, the American Federation of Teachers' national convention resolution to set as a nationwide goal 20 instructional periods and 20 pupil class size provides a real way to fight for better schools. The fight for "20 and 20" must be taken up by all teachers who wish to be able to provide

One Quarter Oppose 241 Pact

BY A LOCAL 241 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Recently members of Local 241 of the Transport Workers Union voted on a "memorandum of agreement" between the union and Columbia University. The vote came out to 264 for and 113 against, with about one fourth of the union membership abstaining from voting. These results show that despite all the divisive and confusing tactics of the O'Bryan leadership, there was considerable opposition to the proposed contract agreement.

The "memorandum of agreement" proposed a wage increase of 25% over two years for those who presently make less than \$3.00 an hour and of 20% for those who make over \$3.00. This is far below the original union demand of 30% for the first year of the contract and 20% for the second. The other key demands of a 35 hour week at 40 hours pay, a full escalator clause and an end to subcontracting of work previously done by University employees were negotiated away without a fight by the present leadership. What the "memorandum of agreement" proposed on these essential issues was an escalator clause effective on any increase of the cost of living above 6%, and that the University would "notify" the union of any work to be subcontracted. These are completely phony and of no use whatsoever for the workers at Columbia.

The present leadership of Local 241, headed by Jim O'Bryan, not only did not prepare one bit for a serious fight with the University but at every moment tried to confuse and split the ranks. First of all he suspended two militant shop stewards, members of a rank and file group called the Trades Council, which was the group that drew up the original contract proposals. The suspensions were supposedly made because the group had

accepted some money from students during the Cambodia invasion-Kent State strike, but in reality were made to eliminate these two militants from the bargaining committee. Besides this the leadership has followed a conscious policy of dividing the skilled members of the union from the unskilled, mainly maids and janitors. This was done through the acceptance of a higher wage increase for the unskilled workers instead of an across the board increase, and by holding separate meetings for these two groups of workers.

RANKS

Despite the completely undemocratic way of proceeding of the leadership a group of rank and file members of Local 241 got together and issued a leaflet calling on the membership to vote no on the memorandum and demanding that the vote be on the final written contract and that there be an immediate membership meeting to discuss all the issues involved in the contract. These demands, despite the vote in favor of the memorandum, still hold good and should be fought for.

We should remember that this memorandum of agreement is just that—a memorandum, and that we should still demand to have a full membership meeting to ratify the final written contract. This contract should be rejected and negotiations started again on the basis of the following key demands:

- An across-the-board wage increase of 30% during the first year of the contract and 20% during the second year.
- A 15% (not 15¢) wage differential for all night workers.
- A 35 hour week with 40 hours pay.
- A full escalator clause.
- No subcontracting of work previously done by University employees.

quality education. The propaganda campaign being conducted by the Board to paint the union membership as a bunch of greedy goldbricks can be countered effectively only by a fight for 20 and 20. This does not mean that any compromise wage settlement must be accepted. The teachers must push for decent wages to maintain their standard of living.

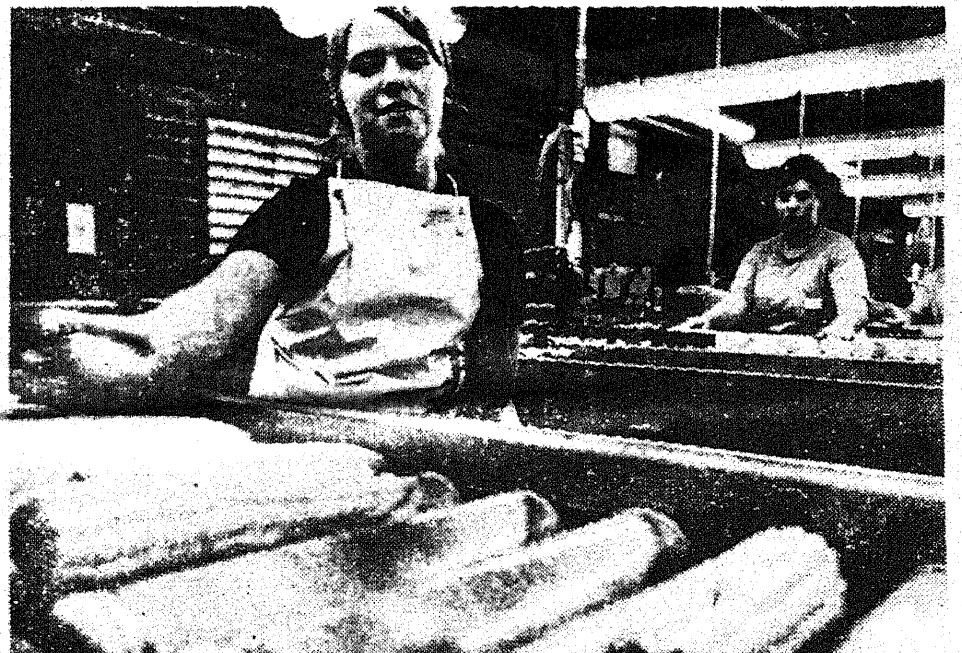
The Board's middle class allies in the black community like Justice Dandridge are helping to spread the racist accusations against the union. In an Inquirer article last week the Judge advocated the use of churches and other centers as schools in the event of a strike. He then called upon teachers to scab and take over these classes. This is an attempt to further depict the union as insensitive to the needs of children.

The Young Workers Liberation League of the Communist Party has taken a position of supporting community control. At a recent United Action Conference of liberals and Communist Party members, Susan Bournstein, a leader of the YWLL, clearly indicated that her organization will support church "schools" and scabbing

a la Justice Dandridge. Another supporter of this position said that it was not a clear "workers-working class situation." The Board would like nothing better in the event of a strike.

Robin Maisel, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party declared that his organization will refuse to support the union and will support the community "leaders". Teachers must reject this blatant opportunism and take up the struggle against racism in a fight for 20 and 20. As we have stressed, "Community control" is only a disguise to obscure the real cause of school decay, the crisis of capitalism and the resulting attack of the government and employers against every gain of the working class.

When asked about the struggle of Philadelphia teachers and community control, a black sanitation worker said, "That is union busting. We are 95% black and stand against these kinds of tactics." This worker and many others, black and white, are ready to fight against racism as it is being used to divide the working class.



Picture above is from company publicity campaign romanticizing working in cannery.

Gary: Mad! I thought it was unjust and stupid. I think the student movement is needed because someone's got to question the government or else it'll become a dictatorship or something like that.

Q. What jobs have you had since

you finished high school?

Gary: I was a butcher in a grocery store for a year and a half. I made \$2.00 an hour. After that I was a cook in a college. I got paid by the month—\$350. I had other similar jobs.

Q. Are these typical of the jobs the kids you know have?

Gary: Most of the kids I talk to of my age get summer jobs in the canning factories or in construction. The kids that aren't in school are usually stuck in a factory someplace with no future and no chance for advancement.

Q. What was your reaction to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia?

Gary: I was mad. Nixon lied—he didn't do what he said in the campaign.

Q. What did you think of the Kent State murders?



La Raza Unida & Class Struggle

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES, September 2—Since Sunday, the bourgeois newsmedia have increasingly concentrated on the death and the personality of slain Chicano journalist Ruben Salazar. This focus serves to direct attention away from the issue of police repression. National Chicano Moratorium Chairman Rosalio Munoz himself contributed to this media smokescreen when in his press conference on August 31, he declared that "We are deeply suspicious" about the death of Salazar, because "the one man (Salazar) who could get our ideas across through the mass media was the one man killed by the Sheriffs."

ALL

The struggle against the war can only go forward around the demand for immediate withdrawal of All U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. And the struggle against repression can only go forward with the policy of the united front of all victims of the repression. The National Chicano Moratorium Committee must demand full access to all records in order to conduct its own independent and public investigation. No faith in the judicial apparatus whose police arm murdered Diaz and Salazar!

In fact, a second person, Angel Gilberto Diaz, died yesterday as a result of multiple gunshot wounds inflicted by Sheriff's deputies during Saturday's clashes.

Who was Ruben Salazar? His boss, KMEX-TV General Manager, Daniel Villanueva described him as committed to "progress for La Raza through democratic institutions." The sad truth is that Salazar, whatever his good intentions, served, through his columns in the Los Angeles Times, to keep Chicano militants tied to Democratic Party politicians such as LA City Councilman Thomas Bradley and tied to trade union bureaucrats such as Irvin P. Mazzei, who is president of the LA County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

Mazzei lauded Salazar for "establishing bridges between (Mexican-Americans) and the larger community to ensure that the institutions of our society serve all its citizens." And Bradley joined with Salazar's bourgeois nationalist boss Villanueva in calling for an investigation by the Justice Department of Saturday's bloody events!

WEAKENED

The National Chicano Moratorium Committee is very much weakened by its political alliances and perspectives.

What are the politics of the Chicano Moratorium? Two principal slogans were advanced for Saturday's mobilization: "Bring our Carnales Home" and "Raza Si, Guerra No!"

Instead of calling for Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia, the first slogan singles out "our carnales." The word "carnales" is idiomatic and means (roughly) "blood brothers"—i.e., only soldiers who are members of La Raza! Instead of counterposing the idea of solidarity with the Indochinese Revolution to the U.S. policy of imperialist wars, the second slogan counterposes "La Raza", that is, the idea of racial-ethnic solidarity.

The major focus given in statements issued by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee logically proceeds from its bourgeois, nationalist perspective. The statements focused on the fact that Chicanos fight and die in Southeast Asia in numbers relatively much greater than the Mexican-American proportion of the

population. And note: even relatively more than black people. Surely to make this point in relation to another oppressed minority within the working class is flatly racist.

The political alliances sought by the leadership of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee also fully accord with their bourgeois nationalist perspective. At Munoz's August 31 press conference, the Peace and Freedom Party candidate for Governor of California was referred to as "our candidate"—just because he is a Chicano! Also asserted at that press conference was the aim of extending the Texas La Raza Unida Party to California. Just an hour ago, a newscast on radio station KMET announced that La Raza Unida has called for a Justice Department investigation of the bloody events of August 29!

MEXICO

At that press conference, Munoz appealed to President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico to "call off his meeting with Nixon until the murderers of Ruben Salazar are brought to justice." But why should Ordaz, who has repeatedly resorted to police terror against Mexican workers, peasants, and students, oppose the police terror unleashed by the U.S. ruling class in Ordaz's own class interest? Munoz's appeal is surely a reductio ad absurdum of his nationalist, non-class viewpoint.



Los Angeles Sheriff's Deputy aims shotgun into cafe where Ruben Salazar was killed.

Brutal Cops Terrorize L.A. Chicano Community

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
LOS ANGELES, August 31, 3 P.M. Forty-eight hours after the outbreak of bloody clashes between Chicano Moratorium demonstrators and Los Angeles police agencies, LA County Sheriff's deputies continued to seal off and patrol a 10 block stretch along Whittier Boulevard in the heart of the Chicano Community. And fifty persons, including Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzalez, head of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice, remained in jail.

The weekend of rioting and police terror began during the interval between the conclusion of a peaceful 2 1/2 mile march by nearly 20,000 Mexican-Americans mobilized by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee and a scheduled rally in Laguna Park, the parade's terminus in East Los Angeles. Tear gas and clubs wielded by 500 police and Sheriff's deputies prevented the post-parade rally from beginning.

LIES

Accounts of events leading up to the police assault upon the assembled crowd conflict, but it is clear that the Mexican-American community should not expect truth in whatever "official" account eventually issues from the LA County Sheriff's Department.

A press conference scheduled for this morning by LA County Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess was cancelled because, said one of Pitchess' flunkies, "there have been too many conflicting stories, some from our own officers." The Sheriff's Department, he continued, needs time to "adjust the various stories!"

LA police and Sheriff's department spokesmen also gave conflicting reports of the arrest of Corky Gonzalez and the murder of Ruben Salazar.

ARREST

Gonzalez and 25 of his staff members and supporters were arrested after police stopped a flatbed truck in which Gonzalez and his companions were travelling.

The LA police report given to the press on Saturday night said that the police stopped the truck "for a possible traffic violation." When police officers approached the truck, the report said, Gonzalez, who was riding in the cab, was observed hiding a revolver under the floorboards. Everyone was then ordered out of the truck and police conducted a search. In this report, it was claimed that the searching officers discovered two .22 caliber revolvers, "a large amount of ammunition," and a .38

caliber revolver from which two shells had been fired.

But on Sunday, in a supplementary report filed with the Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section, it was claimed that all three weapons were fully loaded and that no additional ammunition was found!

When asked about the discrepancies, Inspector John Kinsling replied that he would "neither confirm nor deny" the assertion made in either of the two reports!

Gonzalez and his companions were booked on suspicion of robbery. When asked about that, Kinsling replied that the robbery bookings were "just a routine thing with the department"! Gonzalez was carrying \$370 in cash at the time of his arrest (crusade funds given to him for travel expenses for him and his family); and, said Kinsling, "Any time we stop a traffic case and find that there is a weapon in the car and that its occupants have a sizable amount of money, we always book them for suspicion of robbery."

SALAZAR

Ruben Salazar was a well-known Chicano journalist—a columnist for the Los Angeles Times and news director for the LA Spanish-language television station KMEX. On Saturday night, Sheriff's deputies reported that he had been found dead on the floor of the Silver Dollar Cafe (a bar on Whittier Blvd.) with a bullet wound in his head at 10:45 P.M.

Earlier that afternoon, according to the Sheriff's Department, deputies had surrounded the Silver Dollar Cafe after receiving a report that a man carrying a gun was inside. The deputies reported that they ordered those inside to evacuate and then fired "tear gas but no bullets" into the bar.

Part of the truth emerged the following day. Salazar had been killed by a pointed tear gas shell 10 inches long and 1 1/2 inches in diameter which entered his left temple. The projectile that killed Salazar was, according to the Police Chemical Agents' Manual "...designed and intended for use only against barricaded criminals..." Such projectiles are able to penetrate a one-inch pine board at a distance of 100 yards. It was indeed true that the deputies had not fired bullets into the cafe, but they had fired four such tear gas projectiles through the open front door of the bar!

More of the truth was revealed this afternoon at a press conference given by Daniel Villanueva, who as General Manager of TV station KMEX was Salazar's boss. Villanueva announced that he had received four eyewitness accounts of the events at the Silver Dollar Cafe. Not one of the witnesses observed anyone enter the cafe with a gun, and all four asserted that no warning to clear the cafe was given.

After the deputies began firing tear gas shells into the bar, the patrons, including Villanueva's four witnesses, fled through the back door. They had seen Salazar lying on the floor with blood flowing from his head; and upon encountering Sheriff's deputies stationed outside the rear entrance of the cafe, they informed the deputies that Salazar lay injured inside. The deputies refused to go to Salazar's aid or to allow anyone to reenter the bar; all the patrons were ordered to disperse. The four witnesses then went to inform Villanueva. Villanueva said that he was informed of the injury to Salazar at 5:45 P.M. According to Villanueva, he and other KMEX executives placed 10 phone calls to the Sheriff's and LA Police Departments during the next five hours, pleading with them to enter the cafe and give aid to Salazar!

RIOT

At 1:30 this afternoon, Pacifica radio station KPFK in Los Angeles carried a live broadcast of a press conference given by Rosalio Munoz, Chairman of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee. Munoz asserted that the bloody events were "caused and provoked by the Sheriffs...without reason." Munoz characterized the events as a "police riot" and charged "Sheriff Pitchess, L.A. Police Chief Davis, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors, and the Mayor's office" with "conspiracy to commit the riot."

Salinas Farm Workers Face Scabs, Teamster Goons, Chavez Betrayal

BY EARL OWENS

SALINAS, CALIF.—Some of the lettuce plants have begun to turn brown. The workers in the coolers are respecting the farm workers' picket lines. The Inter-Harvest Co., largest grower in the Salinas valley, signed a contract with the Farm Workers Union. But the lettuce strike continues. At stake is not only the Salinas Valley, but the unionization of the two million agricultural workers in the United States.

The Teamsters Union, which has had the opportunity to organize farm workers for many years but never did so, is allowing itself to be used by the growers to stop the organizing drive of the Farm Workers Union. The growers signed contracts with the Teamsters Union, contracts which omitted a union hiring hall, vital to farm workers who are exploited by labor contractors and are forced to move from crop to crop, without asking the farm workers. Nearly all the Salinas Valley's 7,000 workers decided which union they wanted by walking out of the fields the last week in August despite the Teamsters contracts with the growers.

Car caravans of Teamster goons cruise the valley looking for picket lines to attack. One Teamster said his weapon fired "accidentally" when rocks were thrown

at him by pickets. He provided no explanation as to why he was coming up to a picket line with a shotgun.

NON-VIOLENCE

Cesar Chavez has little to say in his speeches except that it is necessary for farm workers to be "non-violent." At a rally in Salinas in the parking lot next to union headquarters, he defended the philosophy of non-violence on the grounds that "From the churches much money is coming..." Presumably, the churches will not contribute money if farm workers defend themselves.

This writer talked to one worker who was carrying a railroad tie to protect himself. He claimed his picket sign was "invisible." Another worker carried a tiny farm workers flag on top of his

huge railroad tie. Another worker smiled and admitted he had "run" when the teamsters had come at him.

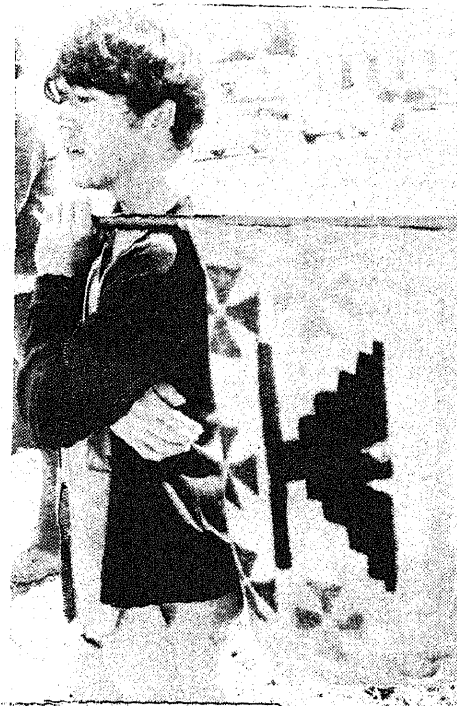
Some of the scabs in the fields are Filipino, while most of the strikers are Spanish speaking. The Farm Workers Union has tended to become a union of largely Spanish speaking workers, (the cover of the union newspaper says: "Viva La Raza"—Long Live the Race), and religious fervor. Every meeting begins with a benediction from a priest, although many farm workers are not particularly religious and there are many Protestant farm workers.

Rather than educating workers as to the meaning of their struggle and extending that struggle, the Chavez leadership emphasizes boycotts as a substitute for strike action and uses Catholicism to provide the ideology. When his leadership is threatened, Chavez resorts to fasting in imitation of Ghandi, maintaining leadership by playing on the farm workers' natural feelings of sympathy.

In Delano, many farm workers have now begun to boycott mass and have become justifiably cynical about Chavez's periodic fasts. If the Farm Workers Union is to become a national union rather than a Spanish-Catholic union, the control of the Catholic Church over the union will have to be fought.

Though there has been no mention of it in the press, in Watsonville, 20 miles from Salinas, 1,000 workers have joined the strike. Because most farm workers "follow the crops," picking lettuce in Salinas, later on plums around San Jose, grapes around Delano, the strike can extend itself and become a general strike if not thwarted by the union leaders.

There is now danger that the Chavez leadership will call off the strike if it



Youth demonstrates for Farm Workers.

sees itself losing control of it, and then call for a boycott. The leadership of Chavez and his advisor Fred Ross must be fought by the organization of a caucus within the Farm Workers Union. Fred Ross, together with Saul Alinsky, financed by the Ford Foundation and the Midas (Muffler) Foundation, have sabotaged every struggle they have entered by tying the working class to the Church and the Democratic Party under the cover of left rhetoric.

The Trial Of 'Siete de la Raza Is Attack On Working Class Youth



Los Siete de la Raza (above), are on frameup trial for the death of policeman.

BY LUIS GUZMAN.

SAN FRANCISCO—The trial of the "Siete de la Raza" here is an attack against youth; in that sense it is a political trial.

On May 1, 1969 policeman Joe Brodnik was killed. The lethal bullet was fired from a pistol owned by fellow policeman Paul McGoran. The two policemen were investigating a group of youth involved in the "suspicious" act of carrying items from their car to a house. The prosecution claims there were seven boys involved, but witnesses give other figures, and it seems likely that several of the defendants were not even in the vicinity.

The prosecution claims that in the course of the arrest there was a fight and policeman McGoran was knocked down and his gun taken away from him...which was then used to kill Brodnik. The defense points out that the defendant charged with the actual shooting, Gary Lescallett, had been knocked out by McGoran, and could not have done the shooting.

The "liberal" newspapers of San Francisco long ago decided the "Siete de la Raza" were guilty and have slanted their articles accordingly. It appears that what actually happened was that policeman McGoran accidentally killed policeman Brodnik and covered up the accident by blaming it on the youth. If this appears far-fetched, it can be pointed out that right after Brodnik was killed, a search was made throughout the neighborhood for the killers; at one point it seemed the killers had been found... the "killer" turned out to be one policeman shooting at another policeman, each believing that the other was the killer!

A struggle must be made to defend "Siete de la Raza" but it must not be

based on "Raza" (Race). White and Black youth face the same problems as Latin youth—unemployment for youth in San Francisco ranges from 25% to 35%. The few jobs that are available barely pay a minimum wage. San Francisco, which was once considered a "union town" is becoming more and more non-union due to the complacency of the labor bureaucracy. Mayor Alioto, who shows his liberalism by having shaken more hands than all other past mayors combined, is cutting city employment in all departments except the police department.

"Community control" is not a solution either. It leaves out the question as to who or which class will lead the community. The "Mission Coalition," a popular front alliance of churches, neighborhood clubs, and social clubs tied in with the Democratic Party, is attempting to speak in the name of the community. The "Mission Rebels," a community house, part of the Mission Coalition, exploits youth by having them sell candy on a commission basis, with the promoters taking most of the profits.

The Mission Coalition, with its unemployed priests looking for congregations and War on Poverty organizers trying to justify their salaries, must be fought. The defense committee of the "Siete de la Raza" has fallen into the trap, however, of allying itself with this coalition instead of allying itself with the working class and the unions who are under attack as well.

The trial of the "Siete de la Raza" has politicized thousands of Latino youth in San Francisco. But they will be led back into the Democratic Party unless a political struggle is waged against "Raza" or Brown capitalists, the priests who are their agents, and "popular front" alliances with them.

California AFL-CIO Demands Nationalization Of Railroads

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The California AFL-CIO labor federation representing some 1,300,000 workers held its annual convention here last week. The meeting comes in a period of great danger to the trade union movement. In California unemployment is over 550,000, the highest in 40 years.

At the same time major inroads are being made by big businessmen against union shops. In Los Angeles 2,000 printers, pressmen, and other unionists have been on strike against the Hearst corporation's *Herald Examiner* for over two years. Most of these striking workers have been forced to get other jobs while the *Herald Examiner* continues to print.

MEANY

George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO and keynote speaker at the convention, pledged that no effective fight would be taken up against the attacks on the trade union movement. "We are going to continue by traditional trade union actions to play our part in bringing a better life to all of the people." By "traditional trade union actions" Mr. Meany means that the AFL-CIO must continue to support Democratic candidates like Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland who called out the National Guard against striking Teamsters, and Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco who proposes legislation to make it illegal for city workers to go on strike.

Mr. Meany continues: "We are going to use the political rights that we have as American citizens. And quite simply, the basis for that is what it was back in the days of Samuel Gompers. We are going to support our friends and try to defeat our enemies."

We ask Mr. Meany if those who call for wage controls, strike breaking, and wage cuts are considered your friends. As for the days of Samuel Gompers, we say that the capitalists and their parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are now preparing the groundwork for the elimination of those political rights.

The recent anti-red campaigns and political frameups conducted against the Black Panthers and others is only a

foretaste of the attacks that the capitalists have planned for the trade union movement.

UNRUH

Also invited to speak at the convention was Democratic candidate for Governor, Jesse Unruh. Unruh, who is supported by the AFL-CIO and the UAW among other trade unions, explained in his address to the convention that he had been in favor of law and order even before Ronald Reagan.

"Back in 1964, when Pat Brown had a thousand strikers arrested at Berkeley, I supported that motion. I was talking tough and voting tough and doing things like carrying the first anti-riot bill that passed the Assembly when Ronald Reagan was still selling for General Electric and Barry Goldwater."

Make no mistake, the anti-riot act passed by Unruh and his cohorts and other repressive measures now used primarily against the students and minorities will quickly be turned against workers and their unions in the coming period. The opposition to those parties, politicians and laws must be taken up now by the trade union movement in order for an effective defense against such betrayals.

RAILROADS

The most important development in the fight against unemployment to come forward at the convention was the demand for the nationalization of the railroads. Presented by the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO on behalf of Operating Engineers #501, the resolution attempted to deal with the collapse of the Penn Central and the continuing attacks on railroad workers in the U.S. Railroad workers faced with the shutdown of less profitable short haul and feeder line passenger service operations by the railroad companies, demanded in the resolution that the federal government manage and finance the upkeep and rebuilding of the nation's railroads.

Whatever its inadequacies the railroad resolution points the way forward for the labor movement. What labor must increasingly realize is that it faces the bankruptcy not just of the railroads but of the entire economic system. What is required is the construction of a labor party which will center its struggle on the nationalization of all basic industry so that the great industrial might of America can be used for the good of all and not the enrichment of a few.

BY LOU BELKIN

"Cleaver", the film expertly edited, shot and directed by William Klein with expert assistance from Godard's editors, Suilline and Chambois, is a scathing soft-color interview with Eldridge Cleaver while in exile, in Algeria in order to attend the Pan African Congress held early in 1970.

Interspersed with the photographic essay are cut-aways to brutal location scenes of Chicago 1968, the murder of Fred Hampton, the torture and massacre of Vietnamese by American soldiers, the McClellan hearings in Washington, along with sardonic Godard-like titles and caricatures of Alioto, Reagan, Nixon and Johnson.

But the star of the picture is indeed Cleaver himself, a charismatic figure whose very presence radiates compelling interest. What he does and says, to whom he speaks, his thoughts on the Panthers and on Babylon (America), combine wit, frustration, rhetoric, and an abysmal contempt for theory. It is only recently that articles have appeared and will appear, from the pens of those like Cleaver, which preach either the liberation of "the black nation" or mass race warfare.

REACTIONARY

The picture provides an insight into the reactionary aspects, not simply of black nationalism, but of bourgeois national liberation movements and their spokesmen. Not once, not a single time during 86 minutes does Cleaver or the others attending the Pan African Congress talk about the struggle of the international working class, about a program for struggle, or about the role of the revolutionary party.

First, in relation to Algeria, we see Cleaver walking amidst the slumlike desolation of North Africa, of "socialist Algeria", after Ben Bella was overthrown by Boumedienne, and thousands of liberation fighters killed by the military junta. It is this junta that has, in fact, permitted French capital to once more assume an overt role in running the Algerian economy, completely stagnating, resulting in the piteous squalor that Cleaver basks in. His rhetoric is characteristic of the petty-bourgeois nationalist, mumbo-jumbo Marxist phraseology mixed with the most virulent sort of racial separatism.

Klein, the director, is always close-up on Cleaver, either in one or two shots with Scheer, editor of Ramparts or with some of the African nationalist leaders.

FILMS

REVIEWED BY
LOU BELKIN

'Cleaver' Is Portrait Of Bankrupt Nationalism



It is these "leaders" such as Ramelo of Zimbabwe, that give so much succor to the reactionary black nationalism preached by Cleaver who in fact set the stage for massive betrayals of African workers and peasants.

THROWBACK

These are all racial separatists in their own way a throwback to the 19th century African "Uncle Toms", people like Edward Blyden, Alexander Crummel and James Africanus Horton. The pre-Garvian nationalists had a profound influence on Nkrumah and Azikwe and, indirectly on Cleaver's "brothers" in the Pan-African Congress, all of whom negate the role of the Marxist party guided by revolutionary theory and the role played by the working class in the colonial struggle.

In that sense, like Cleaver, they are heroic guerrillas, with support among

the peasants and tribesmen, and in that sense sitting ducks for the imperialists. While they are defended by Marxists and advanced sections of workers, they pose a grave danger for the working class movement, and may easily be co-opted by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists because of their class roles.

CLEAVER

Much of the film deals with the Black Panther Party and Cleaver's relationship to it. Although our protagonist is at great pains to decry those blacks whose racialism is used by the "imperialists" to divide white and black people, it is clear that the Panther program and the Panther mission is the "liberation of the black nation." In that sense, rhetoric to the contrary about uniting with militant whites, the real

danger of racial separatism is posed. For these militants the subjective "struggle against the 'pigs,'" the fascist state," the "mother country" assume the most idealist, confused and contradictory forms. At one point the hand-held camera focuses a big close-up on Cleaver, who declares that "The Black Panther Party has put the struggle of our people on a for-real level..." "We confront the oppressor with the negation of everything about him, his entire system..." "...our freedom can only be based upon the negation of the system of oppression and since our struggle is now on that level, we must deal with it on those terms."

Cleaver pragmatically takes a phrase from Marx here, a turn from Malcolm there, a twist from C. Wright Mills here, a slice of Mao there, to completely obscure the class nature of imperialism, focusing instead on the oppression by white people of black people, and what will "work" for black people.

REFORMIST

The Panthers offer a reformist free breakfast program to the community, the ghetto, which Cleaver, in a conversation with Scheer, describes as "an intermediary stage before the gun-battles, reminiscent of speeches and projects proffered up by Fidel before he went into the mountains."

For Cleaver the Panther 10 point program, which addresses itself entirely to the black community, will suffice. At another point in the film, Cleaver sees the importance of the link-up with poor whites. At still another heroic moment Cleaver explicitly states that the Panthers are not the only revolutionary party possible in America. And never does this articulate exile get away from America.

He decries those at the Congress who try to tell the Panthers how to conduct their struggle, as surely the Panthers would not tell the Vietnamese or Angolans how to conduct theirs. Everything is so neatly compartmentalized, and the film, through the use of Godard-like red and white titles ("Le Chinoise" etc.) compartmentalizes Cleaver.

PARADOX

Perhaps the greatest paradox about this film is that it is being widely shown in commercial theaters and got rave reviews in the bourgeois press at the very same time as the Black Panthers are being shot down in the streets and their judicial murders prepared. However having seen the film, it is clear the American rulers do not fear the ideology of a Cleaver but rather the tremendous movement of the working class which lies behind the development of the Panthers. This movement requires the defense of the Panthers, but it also requires a program which goes beyond the Panthers.

This film, since it concentrates on Cleaver and his views rather than the class forces which underlie this development, is essentially a dangerous and reactionary film.

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