

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

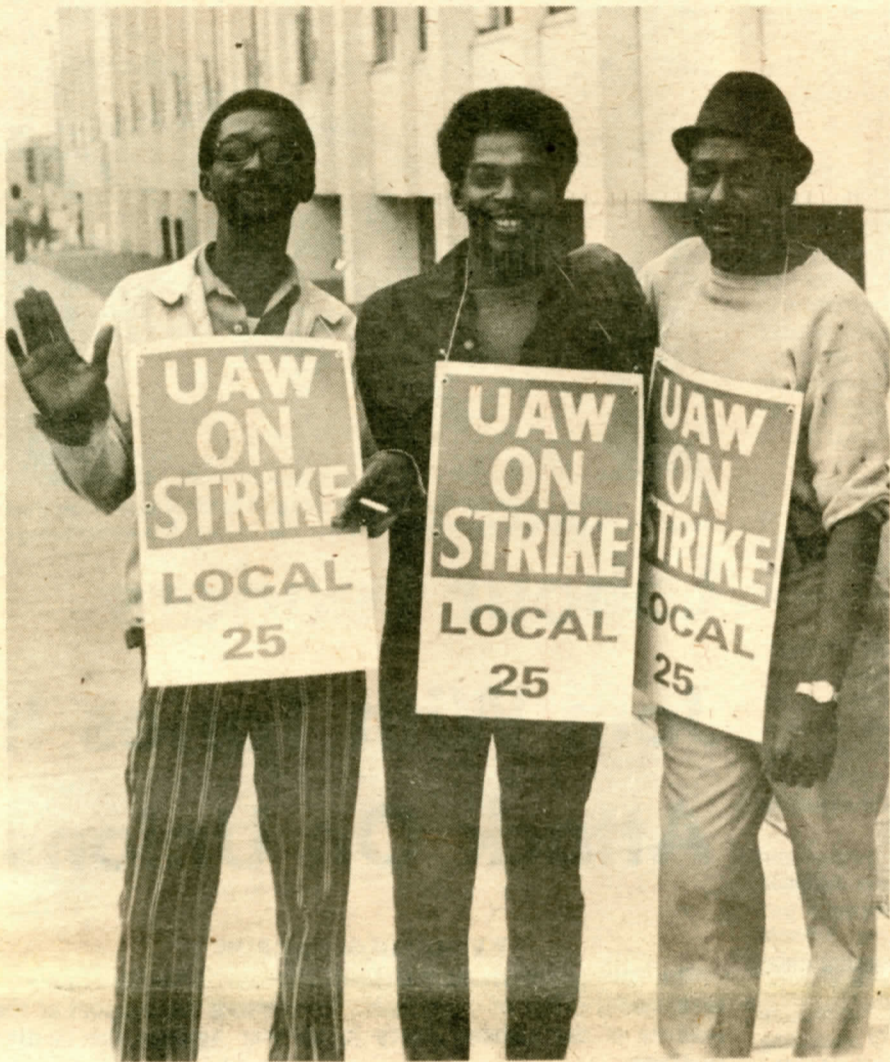
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VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FIFTY SEVEN 266

OCTOBER 23, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



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## Woodcock Sabotages National Shutdown

BY HOWARD WEST

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Woodcock's policy of attempting to avoid a confrontation solves nothing. The confrontation is unavoidable, not only at St. Louis but throughout the General Motors empire. Instead of preparing for this confrontation, the Woodcock "strategy" strengthens GMAD management which can only be defeated by shutting down the entire GMAD operation.

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**Bulletin  
Expansion  
Drive**

**Fund Drive  
Leaps Ahead**

The Bulletin Fall Fund Drive has taken a tremendous leap forward this week with \$6,550.56 coming in, bringing our total to \$15,521.85. This is close to our goal of \$16,500 by the one-third mark. It signifies a great effort in all the branches of the Workers League and Young Socialists and among our readers to overcome the slow start in the first weeks of the drive.

We must now raise the total to \$25,000 by the half-way mark in the drive, in two weeks. In order to do this we must fight to receive at least \$4,000 next week.

The Fall Fund Drive is part of a two-pronged campaign to raise \$100,000 so that our printer can install a web offset press. This will make it possible to expand the Bulletin to 24 pages in the spring and launch the Young Socialist as an independent paper in the fall.

## Dayton Unionists Discuss Fight For Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, Ohio—"The collapse of the Democratic Party is of historic significance," stated Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, to a packed meeting of trade unionists and youth here on Oct. 20.

The meeting was one of many held in the recent period to prepare for the National Conference For a Labor Party Now scheduled for Chicago October 21-22.

"It is not just a matter of McGovern. The process actually began under Humphrey in 1968. It is similar to the period just before the American Civil War when the Whig Party disappeared, the Democratic Party split in two and the Republican Party was born and became the dominant party almost overnight," he stated.

Wohlforth explained how the early Democratic Party was the party of compromise between the chattel slave system of the South and the free labor system of the North. By the 1850s, this compromise could no longer be maintained so the parties of the day were torn asunder. The Democratic Party, he noted, reemerged as the dominant party in this country with Roosevelt in 1932. This time it was the party of reform based on compromise between labor and the big corporations.

"Now the economic basis of reform has disappeared. The large corporations must attack the working class and drive it back. This must in turn tear apart the Democratic Party. There is no way to piece it back together again. Therefore, the struggle to build a new party, a party based on the trade unions, cannot be avoided. It is the only answer to the attacks Nixon is now preparing."

### CONSCIOUSNESS

Wohlforth also emphasized the importance of consciousness in the struggles ahead. "Only by beginning from an understanding that the cause of the attacks on labor lies in the capitalist system itself can trade un-

ionists fight back and win. This is why a study of Marxism is a requirement, a necessity. This is why we must build the Bulletin and extend its circulation broadly into the unions and among youth."

The meeting was attended by an important cross section of the Dayton area labor movement. Two former employees of the recently closed Sunshine Biscuit plant attended the meeting and spoke up.

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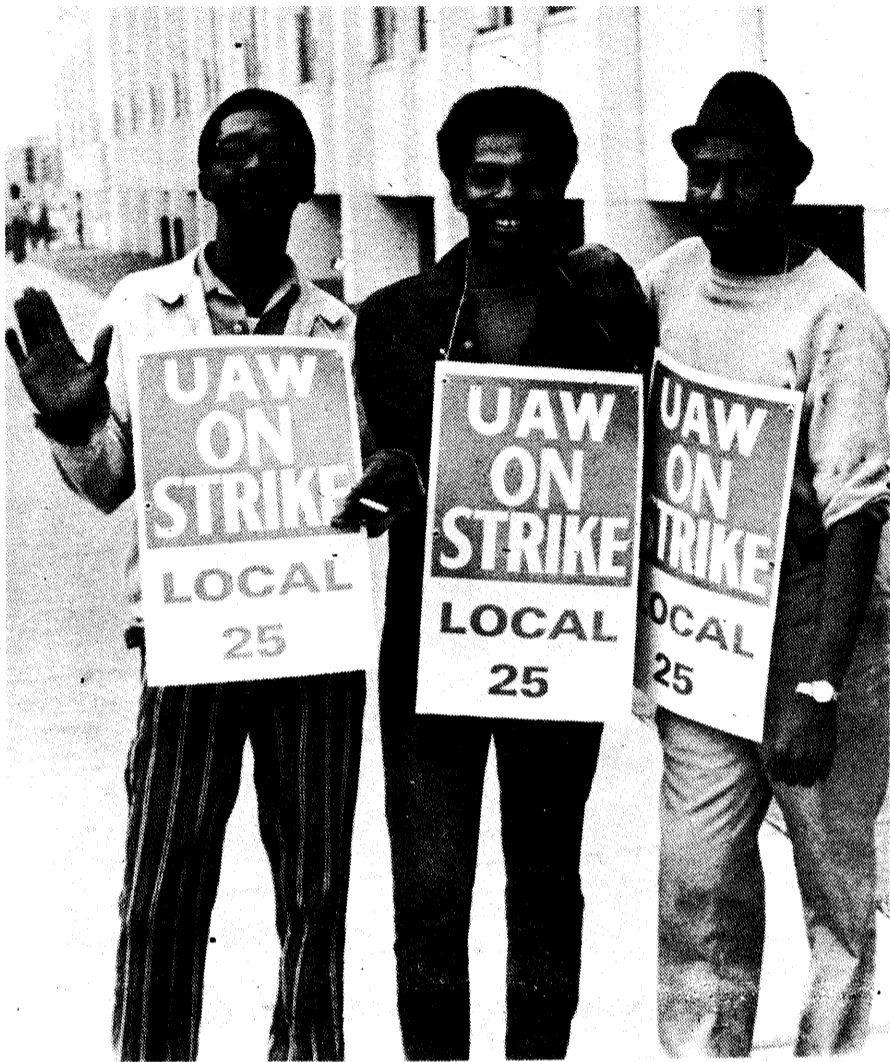
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# Chile Rightists Mobilize To Overthrow Allende

BY ED SMITH

With the vaunted "Chilean road to socialism" breaking apart under his feet, Chilean President Salvador Allende made a desperate midnight address on nationwide radio last week.

In his speech, Allende warned that Chile was being brought to the brink of civil war. Above all, he said, he wished to prevent "a confrontation between Chileans. I am asking you, with a clear conscience, to think of the interests of the Fatherland, of Chile."

Fascists would not be permitted to paralyze the country. But on the other hand the working class should not strike back at its enemies through occupations of factories and communications, which would antagonize the army.

While Allende made his appeals, the Chilean bourgeoisie, which has rallied large sections of the middle class around it, continued its massive campaign to break the back of

## Thousands Arrested By Gandhi

BY ED SMITH

The Congress Party government of Prime Minister Gandhi has dropped its democratic facade and is instituting vast repressions against the working class of India.

The Congress Party has savagely turned upon its collaborator in the government, the Moscow-oriented Communist Party of India. Eight thousand five hundred members of the Communist Party have been arrested in the Bengal area alone.

In the capital of New Delhi, many hundreds have been taken into custody. Among those arrested was the head of the CP, Shripad Amrit Dange.

The arrests are an attempt to crush a mass protest movement organized by the CPI against the complete betrayal by the Congress government of all the promises that enabled it to sweep to power with massive majorities in the last election. The Congress Party was enthusiastically supported by the CPI.

### FORCED

After staking everything on the victory of the Congress Party, the Stalinists were forced to lead the present opposition campaign to maintain any shred of credibility among the working class. Picketing and civil disobedience has been organized, and rallies of up to half a million people have been held.

The mass repression of Mrs. Gandhi's regime shows the desperate fear of the Indian capitalists of enormous revolutionary explosions by the Indian masses in this period.

At the same time the repressions of the CPI were underway, the Indian Army was placed on alert in the state of Assam to guard against continuing student protests against language discrimination. Several towns are under 24 hour curfew and there have been hundreds of arrests.

Popular Unity and deal decisively with the working class from a position of strength.

Working through national businessmen's associations, the right wing has paralyzed trucking, retail trade and construction in a "strike" against the policies of Allende. Not only have many independents and small businessmen suspended operations but many large employers, like in construction, have shut down too. This means that the bosses are actually operating lockouts against workers in order to bring down the Allende regime.

The bosses' offensive began Tuesday, when negotiations between the government and truck owners broke down. An embargo on truck movements was declared by the owners and several highways blocked off. The action was soon joined by shopkeepers, taxi drivers, farmers, and construction employers.

Also on Tuesday, a second edition of the "March of the Pots" was organized by the right wing parties. Thousands of women marched to hear right wing politicians denounce the Popular Unity regime. Unlike last year's march, there was no police interference nor were there any clashes between left and right-wing youth groups.

Finally, the Allende regime responded by putting Santiago and the main provinces under control of the army. The Santiago army commander announced that any public meetings or disorders would be broken up with "the utmost energy."

But as the emergency continued, the right wing ignored the ban. Police used tear gas to disperse right-wing mobs attempting to storm two department stores that had remained open in Santiago.

On Friday, the day of the assault on the stores, Popular Unity handed back the nation's radio stations to private owners. They

had been seized earlier in the week after continuously broadcasting statements of support for the right-wing offensive. The businessmen have threatened to continue their strike "indefinitely."

At the same time, the imperialist friends of the Chile regime were snipping the few threads currently holding the battered Chilean economy together. The Allende government was forced to suspend copper shipments to France after the Braden Kennecott Corporation won a court case to have the copper seized upon its arrival in France.

The company is threatening to use "all means necessary" to "assert its rights over the copper of the El Teniente mine," which has been nationalized by the Allende government.

When news of the decision reached Chile, thousands of students demonstrated against the Kennecott Corporation. Some of the country's "lefts" have suggested suspending debt payments to the U.S. and expelling the U.S. mission.

After using the army and police to repress the railroad workers, the poor peasants and the homeless squatters, Allende demands that the working class not strike back at the reactionaries for fear of "provoking the army." Allende is admitting that he pins his only hope for the survival of his regime on its continued toleration by the army command.

The demand must be raised for the Communist and Socialist parties to break NOW from the Popular Front and set up a government with socialist policies that will ruthlessly crush the counterrevolutionaries. A party of the Fourth International must be constructed to lead this battle at the same time as it battles to arm and lead the masses in struggle against the right wing.

## Wall Street Analyst Predicts Collapse

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—In spite of record profits, the stock exchange continues to be battered by a wave of selling that reflects an emerging credit "crunch" and a complete lack of confidence in the state of the economy.

Friday's session on Wall Street saw a sharp seven point decline as the Dow-Jones industrial average plunged to 930.46, its lowest closing average since August 1. The total decline in the stock exchange over the past week has been 21.38 points.

"As far as I'm concerned, the show is all over," a leading Wall Street analyst told the *Bulletin* during an interview held Monday. "1973 will be a wild year with the total collapse of the stock exchange and the American economy."

William Tehan, an analyst for the brokerage firm P.R. Herzig & Company, said that the international monetary crisis, which is rooted in the massive inflation of the postwar era, has reached its limit.

Far from being a barbaric relic, Tehan declared that Nixon's decision to end converti-

bility of the dollar into gold has set the stage for "a collapse of historic dimensions."

Tehan, whose views on the monetary crisis led to his departure from two Wall Street firms, said that the price of gold will rise to the neighborhood of \$500 an ounce.

"It makes no difference who is elected as far as the economy is concerned, Nixon or McGovern or Abraham Lincoln. There's no bailing out now."

"Looked at historically, the postwar boom really began coming apart at the seams in 1966. The government tried to save everything by letting the central banks inflate the currency."

"A lot of people in the government have the wrong idea that it is possible to create unlimited credit with unlimited boom. Within a few months they'll get the shock of their lives," Tehan



British Young Socialists marched through Sheffield last week during their Right to Work campaign against the Tories. See article Page 7.

## Labour Leaders Join With Tories In Attack On Unions

BY MELODY FARROW

The Tory government in Britain, faced with the enormous international crisis of capitalism, is enlisting the support of the leaders of the Labour Party in its war against the British workers.

The recent annual conference of the Labour Party marked a sharp turn to the right. In desperate fear of the strength of the working class, and of the collapse of the capitalist economy, the Labour leaders showed that they are 100 percent in favor of collaborating with the Tories in defense of the capitalist system.

Harold Wilson, leader of the British Labour Party, made it clear at the conference this month that he would not fight Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath or challenge any of his

policies.

The conference exposed the real position of the Labour Party. On every crucial issue facing the British workers, rising unemployment, a wage freeze, the Common Market and anti-union laws, the Labour Party agreed in principle with the Tories at a time when the Tories are preparing the sharpest attacks on the unions since their election in 1970.

### COALITION

When all the demagoguery and left phrases are stripped away, the Labour Party leaders and their Trades Unions Congress (TUC) supporters are moving closer and closer towards open coalition with the enemies of the working class.

Following the TUC's acceptance of Heath's proposal to limit wage increases to six dollars a week for all workers, the Labour Party passed a resolution calling for a prices and incomes policy if it returns to power in the next election.

Denis Healy, former Cabinet Minister of the Labour Party, called Heath's wage curb "a step in the right direction" and claimed that further talks with the Tories would produce concessions for the unions. Both the TUC and the Labour Party are agreed to wage controls, all they are asking for is a slight increase in the amount.

In the debate on prices and incomes policy, the leader of the largest union, Transport and General Workers (TGWU) who supposedly is to the left of Wilson, abstained.

A resolution passed on the Common Market explicitly rejects withdrawal from the (Continued On Page 18)

said.

He said that the floating of currencies will result in a destruction of international trade and worldwide collapse, and pointed out that the depressions of 1919 and 1929 had been preceded by floating.

"I can't describe the magnitude of this crisis. The market averages now stand at 950, and my guess is that it will go down to 200. The burden of a massive debt is ripping everything apart," he declared.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Tehan estimated that unemployment could rise to about 30 million as industry comes to a standstill.

"Nixon will make it through the elections by the skin of his teeth, and after that he'll be faced with the biggest mess in history."

# UAW Tells Mansfield Ranks To End Strike

BY DOROTHY RILEY

MANSFIELD, Ohio, Oct. 16—In what must be the shortest special union meeting in history, approximately three minutes, members of UAW Local 549 of the Fisher Body stamping plant here were told by the International and local leadership to return to work starting tonight after a strike of only two working days.

There was no discussion and no vote at the meeting. Members were told that the strategy to deal with the nationwide speed-up of General Motors would be to "strike for two days, go back, then go out again." It was admitted that there had been no progress in the negotiations yet and that there would be more meetings with the company tomorrow.

The leadership claimed that there would be a strike vote to set another strike deadline, but would not disclose when the deadline would be.

## STUNNED

As the workers turned around to file out of the meeting, many said: "What did we come for?" One worker told the *Bulletin*: "It wasn't worth a damn."

Others said: "It didn't accomplish anything. I was stunned, I'm still trying to figure it out. I don't know any more than I did before." Most workers said that the strike should continue.

The stepped up drive for speed-up at Mansfield has led to hun-

dreds of layoffs and a pile-up of unsettled Paragraph 78 health, safety and speed-up grievances since the recent model change.

The chairman of the Local 549 shop committee, Jerry Porter, told the *Bulletin* during the strike that this sort of speed-up drive takes place "every year after model change" but admitted that the feeling for strike action among workers who voted 97.8 percent for strike was "very strong" and that this was the first year that the speed-up dispute was leading to a strike.

The Mansfield plant is critical since the parts for all GM cars except the Firebird and the Camaro are made here. Thus a strike at the Mansfield plant could bring about a paralysis of all the GMAD plants.

It is this nationwide shutdown the International is trying to avoid at all costs. At the same time, they are attempting to appease the turmoil in the ranks with their muscle-flexing two day strikes.

The obvious attempt of the International to combine this so-called strategy with backing McGovern and the Democratic Par-

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UAW Local 549 shut down vital Mansfield parts plant, one of four GM plants struck last week.

# UAW Calls Off Flint Strike But Layoffs Remain Threat

BY REX HENRY

FLINT, Oct. 16—As General Motors continues to rock before strike moves by leading UAW locals across the country, the leadership of UAW Local 599, from the Flint, Michigan key Buick plant, moved to avert a confrontation with the auto bosses here.

Climaxing over three weeks of fruitless negotiations, the leadership of Local 599 signed an agreement with Buick management five minutes before the 16,000 man local's strike deadline of 10 a.m. this morning.

Central in the dispute in the plant has been the speed-up and layoffs which have become the GMAD trademark nationally. Following summer changeover at the Buick plant, 200 to 300 of the local's 16,000 men were permanently laid off as Riviera and Electra bodies began arriving from Fisher Body plants with the harness (electrical circuits and wiring of dashboard) already installed.

Production was cut from 78 to 50 cars per hour, making further layoffs and transfers possible. However, at the same time, GM introduced the Sabres to assembly in the plant, almost doubling the workload on those men remaining on the job.

## DEVELOPMENTS

The combination of these developments produced a staggering speed-up for assembly workers which the local leadership described mildly as: "Requiring more than a fair day's work," but which workers at the plant characterize as inhuman.

At the same time, GM bosses late this summer began shifting maintenance and clean up crews, making the deterioration of safety conditions inevitable. The reluctance of workers to accept these conditions prompted repeated firings in some departments.

By the time of the Local 599 strike vote three weeks ago, 360 grievances had been filed in the plant against speed-up alone. These attacks are part of a nationwide union-busting campaign spearheaded by GM and backed by the government.

The role of the leadership of Local 599 has been to deny the national character of the productivity drive at Flint's Buick plant

and to consciously build up illusions among the local's ranks that there could be an amicable relationship with GM.

The agreement which Local 599 President Al Christner will present to the Flint Buick ranks for ratification on November 13 claims to resolve the outstanding Paragraph 78 speed-up grievances at the plant, but it has no provisions for the rehiring of those laid off after changeover this summer, and no guarantee against further layoffs.

## "HIT AND RUN"

Most important, Local 599 President Christner has no intention of pushing for support of other GM locals now on strike, or for a change in the UAW's new "hit and run" strike policy.

"I feel it has to be necessary to keep management from putting a local like Norwood to their knees. The strike at that plant wasn't having any effect, anyway. But I don't think it's necessary to have a nationwide strike against management. We'll just have to let management know they're not going to be able to put a little local like Norwood to its knees."

This approach of the local leadership is modeled after the so-called strategy of the International leadership under UAW President Leonard Woodcock. This is a policy of sabotaging a unified struggle of the union to shut down all 18 GMAD plants, and allowing GM to isolate each local while the speed-up drive is stepped up throughout the GM empire.

A nationwide strike can only come about if each local refuses to accept the Woodcock "strategy" of surrender and fights instead to stay out until a satisfactory settlement is reached.

For Local 599 at Flint this means that the proposed settlement must be voted down by the ranks on November 12 and a continuation of the strike until there is an agreement for full rehiring of all laid off workers, a guarantee against any future layoffs and the end to the new line speed.

# 'We Should All Go Out Now'

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

JANESVILLE—As the Friday deadline for strike action against speed-up at the General Motors Assembly plant approaches here, there is growing dissatisfaction among UAW members with the so-called strategy of the Woodcock leadership.

One UAW member who works at the truck line department and is a shop steward told the *Bulletin* about the conditions in the plant and attacked the perspective of the UAW leadership: "The whole thing isn't getting solved at all. If they go one at a time or two at a time, it isn't going to do any good. All they're doing is playing us back and forth against the other. If they want to do anything, they will have to all go out."

"To accomplish something, we should all go out right now. They need the trucks, they need the cars right now, and they know that."

"Ninety percent of us don't know what is going on. We don't know from one day to the next what's going on. You go to a meeting and you sit there and all they do is talk around you anyway."

"Now, they expect to settle before the strike here. If they settle here, it isn't going to be any different from Norwood. They are saving each other in a roundabout way—the leadership of the union and the company."

"The conditions are getting worse. They've got too much work for the line moving as fast as it is. The next job down from where I'm working, the guys don't get time for anything, not even to light a cigarette much less smoke it. Right now we are working not 60 minutes but 70 minutes an hour."

# The Man Behind Godfrey

BY MICHAEL ROSS

If any worker now on strike, or who has been on strike or may soon be against General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) thinks that GMAD boss Joseph Godfrey is just a man with a license to experiment on one of GM's divisions, let him listen to the man Godfrey takes his orders from, GM board chairman Richard Gerstenberg.

## FRIGIDAIRE

Like Godfrey, Gerstenberg got his start as a time and motion study man at GM's Frigidaire works in Dayton in the 1930s. He revealed his opinions on productivity in an interview in the October issue of *Machine and Tool Blue Book*.

Gerstenberg singles out for praise the 1950 agreement with the UAW, especially the then-new clause, 101(b), which, under the sugar coated words "to produce more with the same amount of human effort," has opened the way for the introduction of all sorts of automated processes. Tens of thousands have been laid off. The 1950 contract was what gave the auto barons the

green light to run all conditions down into the mud.

What is an excessive wage increase to GM's highest paid functionary (with a salary in six figures)? He said:

"None would begrudge the total wage increase of 42 percent in manufacturing since 1965 if it had been accompanied by a 42 percent, rather than only a 14 percent, increase in productivity. Except in unusual cases, almost any wage increase is excessive when it exceeds the increase in productivity."

He then cynically added: "We must improve working conditions (!) and take the boredom from routine jobs. We must increase an employee's satisfaction with his job, heighten pride of workmanship, and as far as feasible, involve the employee in decisions that relate directly to his job."

Just how this is to be done while one is assembling 70 to 100 cars an hour is the height of capitalist hypocrisy.

Only national strike action against GMAD can now stop Godfrey and Gerstenberg in their tracks.

# Ranks Wildcat Against General Dynamics Pact

BY RUTH NELSON

GROTON, Conn., Oct. 13—Riggers and crane operators on the first and second shifts walked off their jobs today at the General Dynamics Electric Boat Division here in opposition to a new agreement worked out between General Dynamics and the leadership of the Metal Trades Council (MTC), which represents over 8000 members of 11 unions.

Although the full terms of a new agreement had not been released to the membership, rumor was enough to provoke the wildcat. According to the men, the tentative agreement would declassify their jobs from skilled to unskilled and would mean a six cent an hour pay cut.

The walkout comes after months of stalling by the union leadership in an attempt to avoid a strike. Three weeks ago, the members of the MTC voted overwhelmingly for a strike. The tentative agreement was reached Thursday night.

## DOWNGRADING

The contract calls for a six cent an hour pay differential in favor of "apprenticeable" and "premium" trades. Essentially this means the downgrading from "skilled" to "unskilled" of many trades including riggers, crane operators, burners, chipper, drillers, and others.

As one worker in an "unapprenticeable" trade told the *Bulletin*: "I've had 14 years burning and I'm still responsible for that work. They're trying to say I don't have that responsibility."

## DANGERS

Many of the ranks realize the danger of the divisions that are being created by the pay differential provision. This was shown by the many welders who walked out even though they would receive the six cents. One worker said: "They're trying to divide us up like before the CIO when each craft had its own union."

The MTC leadership has gone along with the pay differential from the beginning because it was billed as a "pay increase" for certain trades. The MTC is paving the way for the speed-up of the 8000 workers who remain out of 15,000 men who used to work at the Electric Boat Division.

A few months ago, Vice Admiral Rickover, preparing for massive speed-up, attacked shipyard workers across the country by stating that they are "loafing, arriving at work late and leaving early."

Degregory, head of the MTC, has been aiding the company in its attempt to get in the lowest bids possible for the government contracts. He has been saying for months that a strike must be avoided at all costs in order to get the contracts so that rehiring can take place.

However, the recently announced award of a 25 million dollar contract for design of the Trident submarine only ensures that the company will try to complete all contracts with a reduced and downgraded workforce.

## DETERMINATION

Friday's walkout expressed the determination of the ranks to reject this settlement and their dissatisfaction with the leadership's refusal to fight. On Friday the leadership put out a flyer urging the men to keep working.

One worker told the union official to "use it for toilet paper." Stewards, who were sent out to get the men back to work, had no success and were asked, "Is it a good contract or a bad contract?" One steward could only reply that the "language is bad" but the terms are good.

Ever since the 1968 contract, General Dynamics workers have fallen farther and farther behind rates for equally skilled work across the country.

## REJECT

With \$4.11 an hour average wage, \$1.50 an hour increase for the first year must be fought for.

To accept the Pay Board's limits now is only preparation to accept Nixon's attempt to decrease the wage limit to three percent.

The ranks must reject the settlement and fight for strike action.

own. He said he would call a strike "if the fleet owners continued their stalling tactics."

The 3036 leadership has allowed management to hire all new drivers, paying them at 42 percent of the meter as "apprentices," which means that now 55 percent of all taxi drivers are working at seven percent less commission than the old union agreement calls for. The leadership still defends the "dime," an employer scheme to force the workers to pay for all of their own benefits by automatically charging the driver a dime on every fare he picks up.

The Drivers and Mechanics for a Decent Contract are fighting in Local 3036 for the union to call a



Ironworkers Local 396 in St. Louis won its nine week strike, despite hostile news media and the decision of leaders of other construction unions to scab. They won their demand for union control of hiring.

# Rockefellers Lock Out 500 In Radio City Job Fight

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK, Oct. 16—Five hundred employees of the world-famous Radio City Music Hall were locked out of work Thursday following their rejection of the management's "first and last" contract offer.

The Rockefeller family, which owns the Music Hall, is demanding that the musicians, members of Local 802, accept an attrition program that will reduce the orchestra size and eliminate the jobs of substitute musicians over the next year.

"If we were to vote for that contract, we would be voting our friends out of work," a musician told the *Bulletin*.

Although the lockout was lifted today as week-long negotiations resume under the supervision of Mayor Lindsay's favorite mediator, Vincent McDonald, the Rockefellers are out for blood. They are threatening to close Radio City for good if the musicians do not accept the contract offer.

Last month, when the old contract expired, the Music Hall fired all the musicians, but revoked this order in order to avoid paying severance.

Along with the proposal to cut the orchestra size, Radio City is offering only a 5.5 percent wage increase (cited as the "legal limit" in the contract) and refusing to grant additional benefits.

The musicians were bitter over the take-it-or-leave-it proposals of Radio City. "For years they've held a sword over our heads," said one musician. "Every time

city-wide strike to fight for a 60 percent commission for all drivers, for retroactive return of the dimes to all drivers and the seven percent to the 42 percenters, for garage men to start at \$150 a week, and for part timers to receive proportional benefits (they now get none).

At the meeting the Drivers and Mechanics for a Decent Contract raised the necessity to defeat the attacks on the local with a strike against the Pay Board and the building of a labor party.

The taxi drivers must now demand that Van Arsdale call a city-wide strike on November 1 and that strike votes be taken in every garage.

we demand a wage increase, the company screams: 'We'll close the theatre down.'"

Under the terms of the proposed contract, Radio City would not replace musicians who retire, and would make working conditions unbearable by refusing to replace musicians on holiday, sick leave or jury duty.

"To accept the contract would be to take a regressive step in bargaining. We'd be going back to the Middle Ages," declared a musician.

An elderly musician, who does not play at Radio City but who

had come down to union headquarters to follow the developments, told the *Bulletin*:

"You should only know how something like this affects an artist. They push musicians around like dirt in this country. We study for our entire lives to be perfect, because we cannot make mistakes. But if I were a rich doctor, I could bury my mistakes. From us they demand perfection, and then throw us out of work."

The musicians are paid \$250 in wages. The fortune of the Rockefeller Family is estimated between \$10 to \$20 billions.

# Conn. Drivers Reject Cuts As Buses Plan Shutdown

BY ALAN BERENSON

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Both major Connecticut bus companies, the Connecticut Bus Company serving Hartford, New Haven and Stamford, and the Connecticut Railway and Lighting Company serving New Britain, Waterbury and Bridgeport, are threatening total shutdown in the next few weeks.

The Connecticut Bus Company, owned by Clayton Gengrass, in order to sustain its profits, demanded that its workers take a 40 cent an hour pay cut.

After the bus drivers overwhelmingly rejected his "offer," Gengrass has now threatened to shut down his company entirely at midnight on October 29 unless he receives a government subsidy. This has been refused by Governor Meskill, who insists that the company's problems are simply a "labor-management affair."

## SHUTDOWN

The shutdown of the company would mean the end of bus transportation in the major cities of the state and the unemployment of more than 500 bus drivers and other employees of the company.

Meanwhile, the second largest bus company in the state, the Connecticut Railway and Lighting Company, has threatened similar action. Last week, after its 350 workers refused to accept the company's demand for a 70 cent an hour pay cut, the company locked the workers out and

shut down the transportation service in Bridgeport, Waterbury and New Britain.

The officials of the company are now singing the same tune as Gengrass. They too will close down and send the workers to the unemployment line unless the government gives them a subsidy which will permit them to make profits.

The situation in both companies shows precisely the plans that capitalism holds for the working class in this country—attacks on the unions, pay cuts, and complete shutdown and unemployment.

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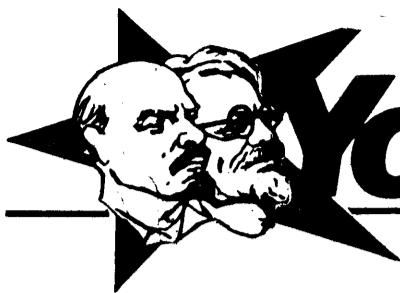
# Taxi Local 3036 Demands City-Wide Strike

BY A LOCAL 3036  
MEMBER

NEW YORK—Taxi drivers of Local 3036 voted overwhelmingly for a city-wide strike to demand a decent contract at their general membership meeting last Wednesday.

Drivers have been working for two years under a rotten agreement which was never ratified and they now are threatened by the state with compulsory arbitration.

Local president, Harry Van Arsdale, attempted to contain the strike movement by refusing to allow any motions except his



# Young Socialist®

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## YSA Defends Stalinist Peace Plan

In refusing to fight against the betrayals being prepared by the Stalinist Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have laid the groundwork for a complete going over to the Stalinist position.

During the recent steering committee meetings of the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, the revisionist YSA persisted in attempting to revive the dead, antiwar movement by calling for the support of the McGovernite forces and the Stalinists.

The Young Socialists fought against this position by putting forth the only alternative—that of mobilizing the American working class against the Democrats and Republicans through the demand that a labor party be built.

The YSA refuses to fight for a labor party and give a revolutionary lead to the antiwar movement, because they seek to preserve an unprincipled alliance with the Stalinists who are utilizing the protest movement to aid McGovern. A call for the labor party would break up that alliance which is so desperately being held onto by the YSA.

Within the latest developments of the class struggle, of the Vietnamese offensive, the auto workers' bid for a nationwide strike, and the killing of a bill that would have raised the minimum wage to \$2.20 an hour, the rightward movement of the YSA has accelerated.

The preparation for going over to the Stalinist position can be seen in an article which appeared in the October 13, 1972 issue of the Militant.

Arguing, in a losing battle, against the Stalinists, who have held several demonstrations calling for support to the seven-point peace program, the YSA at no point denounces that demand for what it is: a complete sellout.

The seven point peace plan, which the Stalinist leadership in Vietnam is calling for, is the main weapon which these traitors seek to implement in order to halt the massive upsurge of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

It's central demand is for a coalition government consisting of people from the Thieu regime, and other counter-revolutionary elements.

The YSA does not even mention the word Stalinism. Instead they concede everything to the Stalinists by stating: "If the Vietnamese are forced to make concessions, or even offer them, the antiwar movement must not welcome this fact."

They write these lines knowing full well that it is the Stalinists who are making the concessions and compromises. This concession to Stalinism demands the distortion of the history of the Marxist movement and these revisionists are quite willing to do it.

"A parallel," writes the YSA, "presents itself from the history of the Russian Revolution: in 1918 the new Bolshevik regime, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, concluded the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany, ceding a large part of Russia to German occupation.

"Likewise, the Vietnamese have every right to decide what concession they will or will not make to end the destruction of their country."

These are plain outright lies. The YSA wants to equate Lenin and Trotsky with the Stalinists in order to justify themselves.

First of all, the conditions were different during the signing of the Brest-Litovsk. After four years of war, Russia could not continue a war against Germany. Second, Lenin and Trotsky, revolutionary leaders during that time, insisted on having open negotiations so that the working class would know everything that was going on.

Lenin had daily reports distributed to workers and turned to the German working class, apologizing for the objective circumstances which were beyond anyone's control, and calling on them to defeat the German capitalist government.

There is no parallel in Vietnam where the Vietnamese are annihilating the South Vietnamese army despite the Stalinists. There is no comparison between Lenin and Trotsky and Madame Binh and none between the open negotiations which were carried out in 1918 and the betrayals laid out secretly in Paris.

The Stalinists have the YSA on the run. The revisionists will now do anything and everything to get on the good side of the Stalinists. Never before has the YSA bent so much on this seven point sell out. They are at the point of breaking and the Stalinists sense it.

Only the call for a labor party to mobilize the working class against the Democrats and Republicans, who are responsible for the war, can end the war.

At the same time, the demand for a labor party becomes the main weapon against the Stalinists who seek to keep the working class tied to the Democratic Party and capitalism.

## McDonald's Stops Bill To Raise Youth Wage

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—McDonald's, the number one selling hamburger chain which employs mostly youth labor, has given the Nixon campaign \$255,000 in return for opposing a minimum wage bill debated in the Congress last week.

The bill, which would have amended the Fair Labor Standards proposal by raising the minimum wage to \$2.00 or \$2.20 an hour, was defeated in the House of Representatives.

The Nixon administration mounted an attack on the bill with the help of the Democrats who are the majority in the House.

### PAY OFF

This pay-off exposes the way big business buys government support for its dirty work. McDonald's paid Nixon \$255,000 for the right to slave drive the youth it employs for miserably low wages.

The opponents of the bill demanded that labor agree to a sub-minimum wage for youth.

In its response, the AFL-CIO stated: "We rejected this outrageous demand (sub-minimum wage for youth). It is obvious that it would do nothing to improve the American standard of living. Rather it would subsidize America's worst employers, who would fire fathers to hire sons and pocket a 40-cent-an-hour differential."

Ray Kroc, head executive of McDonald's, admitted that Nixon's stand had something to do with the \$255,000 gift.

Young workers at McDonald's on 96 St. and Broadway were surprised and bitter over this deal. One girl told the Young Socialist: "We know why he was given the money. Everyone here needs

raises. I'm glad someone is looking into it and doing something about it."

Ronnie Mastine, a 20 year old worker at the McDonald's on Broadway and Kosciuszko St., Brooklyn, stated:

"I hate Nixon. I know it's all a scheme between millionaires. I get paid only \$1.90 an hour. I'm working from 5:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. and this is my second job. I also work in a hospital because I have a lot of problems and need both jobs to get straightened out."

Another 20 year old, Denise Tetone, who has worked for McDonald's for over a year described the everyday work to the Young Socialist.

"There is a system set up with the main objective of getting the food to the customers fast. First you serve drinks and then food, and everything should take under a minute a customer, unless he's getting something special. Over the course of a day you serve several hundred customers.

"It's very tiring work because everything is so fast since it's mass production. We were talking about it downstairs how you just go. It becomes a routine.

"A lot of workers are college and high school kids. I work full time. I'm getting paid \$2.00 an hour for a forty hour week and after taxes I take home \$70. We get periodical raises and I've worked for McDonald's for over a year."

Most youth said that they would not work for McDonald's if



McDonald's President Ray Kroc

they had a choice. As for the elections Ronnie said: "I don't like either one of them, Nixon or McGovern. They definitely have to go."

### UNIONS

When asked about the demand of the Young Socialist that the unions take up the fight of the youth for decent jobs he said: "That's what should be done. The unions should help us out but the thing is how are we going to get them to do it."

The Young Socialists program which calls on the unions to defend jobs for the youth through the building of a labor party against the attacks of the Republicans and Democrats is a necessity for young workers.

The attack on the minimum wage bill was an attempt to pit young workers against older workers in the unions. The speed-up occurring at the McDonald's is being carried out throughout the country by big business, which seeks to fire more workers, have the remaining worker do the job of two men, and drive down wages.

The fight of the Young Socialists to mobilize the trade unions, organize the youth and unemployed through the building of a labor party, is the only solution.



McDonald's president is giving \$255,000 to Nixon's campaign. He supports Nixon's proposed bill which would lower the minimum wages for youth drastically. 90% of their workforce is under the age of 21.

## Young Socialist



Auto, bakery, postal and other workers and youth came to Workers League and YS meeting to build for Chicago Labor Party Conference.

## Lehigh YS Calls On SWP To Fight For Labor Party

BY DENNIS GREEN

BETHLEHEM—The Lehigh Young Socialists intervened in a meeting at Moravian College last Wednesday following an address by Fred Halstead, and demanded that the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate take up a fight for the building of a labor party.

In his remarks, Halstead had made it clear that he would not face the real political issues facing workers. Instead, he urged the continuation of the bankrupt protest politics and suggested that McGovern might be helpful in dispelling "the illusions of the antiwar movement in capitalist politicians."

### WILLING

Halstead stated that: "I've worked with Senator McGovern before and I'm willing to work with him on any issues we agree." This remark shows that the SWP attempts to advance those very illusions that there can be any agreement at all with the very politicians responsible for the war and the attacks on American workers and youth.

In contrast, some of the questions raised by the students reflected a turn among the youth to the working class and an understanding of the crisis.

"What is the SWP's domestic party, and how is the SWP pro-labor?" asked one of the students at the meeting. Halstead replied with a series of formal positions. He said:

"We believe working people

should run the country. We are against the wage freeze. We are in favor of a labor party." The YS speaker raised the question of the role of the revolutionary party in constructing a labor party, and referred to Trotsky's fight with the SWP.

Halstead replied, "I would prefer that masses of workers would join the revolutionary party. If a labor party were formed we would support it. We agitated for it in 1946 when we thought it could be built."

### MASSES

For the masses of workers being attacked by the Pay Board and the vicious productivity drives backed by the Republicans and the Democrats, a labor party is an objective necessity. It is only through the struggle for a labor party against the betrayals of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucracy that a Marxist leadership can be constructed in the working class.

Halstead and the SWP clearly refuse to take up the fight for the revolutionary leadership which is the only defense of the struggles of American and Vietnamese workers.

# Chicago DA Invents 'De Mau Mau Plot'

BY A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—In mass arrests that had the stench of a frame-up, six members of a group called "De Mau Mau" were charged Sunday with nine murders in the city.

The police force acted under the supervision of District Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who three years ago engineered the wanton killing of Illinois Black Panther leader Fred Hampton.

As city police searched for two more suspects, they are preparing to dump a whole summer's worth of unsolved murders on the backs of these youth. In fact, a reign of terror against the entire working class, especially the youth, is being prepared.

One hundred fifty names were found in one apartment and Cook County Sheriff Richard Elrod has stated that it would be speculation for him to state now how many more murder cases and arrests will be involved.

The role of the press has been extremely crucial. The Daily News has been praised for withholding information on new evidence in the cases "in the interests of justice." "Without its cooperation in withholding certain information from publication, these arrests would never have come about," Elrod announced.

The papers printed screaming headlines about Black murder gangs with membership in the thousands, hoping to create a panic among the middle class and a license to murder Black youth in the street.

The arrested youth, all between 18 and 23, belong to De Mau Mau, characterized by the police as drug crazed, white-hating men who go on periodic murder sprees. The Daily News has even established a "murder hot-line."

While the middle class and wealthy suburbanites react in the expected panic, the working class has reacted with extreme anger. Black and white workers alike told the Bulletin that they think the police just seized on informers' statements to "find a scapegoat" for the unsolved murders. "There's going to be war between the people now, and that's not the way it should be happening," one girl told us.

Several pointed out that this new hysteria has been conveniently time to gain re-election for Democratic State Attorney Edward B. Hanrahan. (Hanrahan is quite likely to be found guilty of "obstruction of justice" just days before the election, as his lengthy trial over the Chicago Black Panther murders draws to a close.)

But even the press' vicious reportage has had to bring out some of the truth about the conditions forced on youth today. While Sheriff Elrod and his men speak of "primary trigger men" and racially motivated murder sprees, Black veterans described De Mau Mau as a loosely organized group founded by Black GIs in Vietnam during the late sixties. As the GIs moved around and came back home the organization has spread, although reports of its strength now vary from 25,000 to 3000 members.

The relationship between the arrested Black youth and Malcolm X College further clarifies the real purpose of this scare campaign. This branch of the city college system was founded just after the ghetto rebellions, and every effort is now being made to

paint it as the center of a terrorist conspiracy.

One student there told us: "I think they're just trying to low-rate the school so they can shut it down. It sure would save them money, and they don't want us going to school anyhow."

Malcolm X President Charles Hurst, a leader of the Black nationalist movement in Chicago, offers no lead to the Black youth but contributes to their growing frustration and bitterness. He pushed the De Mau Mau members off campus, and told the press they were "sick" men, even as he spoke of the reasons behind their desperation.

He urges that the trial be held after the elections, in the interests of "fairness." Hurst has no plan to fight against the attacks now begun against his students and the entire working class. He actually endorses Nixon for President.

As the capitalists begin to move against the workers and youth with all of the force of the state, Black nationalism lines up behind the attackers. Only a revolutionary movement that's based on mobilizing the masses of the working class for political power can answer these attacks.

## Bklyn YSA Bows To Stalinists In Debate

BY EDWIN LOPEZ

BROOKLYN COLLEGE—The Young Socialists intervened at a debate held between the YSA and the Stalinists over the seven point peace program which calls for a coalition government in Vietnam.

Fred Halstead, the YSA lead speaker, spoke on the entire history of the Vietnam war without once mentioning Stalinism or betrayals. Instead, he confined himself to saying that, "We could not tell the Vietnamese people what type of government they should have."

The YSA cannot come out openly for the seven point program but at the same time because they seek to keep friendly relations with the Stalinists, they allow the Vietnamese struggle to be stabbed in the back.

As this is happening the YSA continues to bow before the Stalinists. They were practically begging the Stalinists to join their November antiwar demonstration.

The Young Socialists spoke of the fight against the betrayals of Stalinism as central today. The YSA brushed this aside as if it was irrelevant.

The lives of American and Vietnamese workers rest on this fight today. The Stalinists today will hold back the working class from taking power and it is that which is on the agenda.

## NYCCC Bars Club Funds

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BROOKLYN—An attack against all socialist groups was delivered when the student government imposed a maximum \$100 budget on all political organizations at New York City Community College last Thursday.

The nationalists, who control the student government, cited a reactionary law in the student constitution as justification for this action.

This law has never been enforced until now. Its sole purpose is to prevent students from taking up a political fight against the government in defense of a decent education.

The budget hearing itself is evidence of the necessity to take up a political fight to answer the attacks of the government. Only \$100,000 had been allocated to NYCCC, which must provide for over 55 clubs for the entire term.

A string of club representatives presented pleas for more money needed to run clubs such as photography, chemistry, and a day care center for students with children.

It is the nationalists in the student government who have absolutely no program to defend the rights of students in the face of this budget crisis. They could not care less about what the students will face in November when Nixon is elected. They are content in just running their own small operations in the school at the expense of the masses of

students.

The hostility towards the students was expressed very clearly when one student introduced a resolution calling for a halt of the budget hearings and the convening of a mass meeting of the student population to judge the hearings.

Student government officers denounced the resolution, and with total contempt, delivered a barrage of attacks against the students at NYCCC.

### NATIONALISM

It has always been the trait of the nationalists to see themselves above and looking down on the working class and youth. They repeat the same line as Nixon, Wallace, and the Daily News, who say that the youth deserve what they are getting.

They refuse to bring the necessary political questions to the students.

The only defense of the right to education is through the building of a revolutionary movement, that can pit the working class into a fight against the government through the building of a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

## Young Socialists Of Australia Hold Educational Camp

BY  
ADELE SINCLAIR

The Australia N.S.W. Young Socialists held their weekend study camp, September 11 and 12. The three main lectures delivered by Jim Mulgrew, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, dealt with the history of the Fourth International, philosophy and the political situation and the tasks ahead.

In a period of rising youth unemployment and wage controls imposed by the McMahon government, the lectures and discussion groups at the camp took on particular urgency and importance for building a revolutionary leadership among Australian youth.

The camp was held just two days before the reformist and Stalinist leadership of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union were to tie their members, the most militant section of the working class, to an 18 month wage freeze.

On the same day, two Canberra trade unionists appeared in court to face the prospect of six months hard labor for defending basic trade union rights. Until the Young Socialists took up their defense, the Canberra Trade Union leadership was treacherously silent.

A Young Socialist stated: "In every instance the present leadership of the working class has shown itself incapable of defending the working class in this period. We must not let a Labour

government come to power this year pledged to a wage freeze, pledged to Cameron's policies of depriving the trade unions of the right to strike.

"As we learned at the camp, it is only in the fight to take Marxist theory into the struggles of the working class to fight all the bourgeois ideology that has been taken into the labor movement, that the working class will be defended—this is the fight for socialist policies to meet the crisis."

### FIGHT

In leading this fight forward, the Australian Young Socialists have launched an intensive recruitment drive between now and Christmas. They have also raise \$2500 in that time and fight to raise the \$6000 needed by January to expand the bi-weekly Labour Press to a weekly.

Activities such as lobbies and rallies, lectures, day trips, barbecues and dances are being launched in preparation for the week-long Young Socialist national camp in December

## Young Socialist British Workers Cheer YS Right To Work March

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The Tory government is bombarding the British working class with the most vicious attacks aimed at driving down their standard of living. At the same time, the trade union leadership has consistently refused to fight to defend the gains made by the working class.

Rank and file workers have given tremendous support to the Young Socialists Right-To-Work marches which are aimed at mobilizing the working class to bring the government down.

The first march started in Middlesborough, passing through England's most depressed area, and went North to Newcastle. This section of the country is highly industrialized and has been hit sharply with the unemployment policies of the Tory government.

About 20 people apply for every job. Layoffs run around 2000 a month. Statistics show that one out of every 14 people in that area are unemployed.

By Christmas it is estimated that 100,000 more jobs will be eliminated. It is reported that those statistics are also the highest in 35 years.

The Young Socialists and the unemployed youth who joined the march got off with a tremendous start as hundreds of workers

cheered as they went by. Old age pensioners were also there in the crowd cheering. One pensioner said that the marches reminded him of the Hunger Marches of the 1930s.

### CAMPAIGN

Ray Jaxon, YS National Committee member, said that: "The marches are part of a campaign aimed at rousing the working class in the area into a political movement against the Tory government."

They marched for seven days recruiting youth into the Young Socialists, setting up new branches to continue the fight to build a new leadership in the trade union movement. One new youth said: "We are not marching for ourselves but for hundreds of thousands of workers who are feeling the brunt of the Tory attacks."

The second march was in Yorkshire, starting from Leeds moving South to Sheffield. This area is one of the most in-

dustrialized sections in which almost every single industry is under the Tory attacks. There is a 6.5 percent rate of unemployment of which 7000 are youth. The rapidly decaying industries and the government's policies have made living impossible there.

The march took them through seven towns in which they received large support from the local people. A great sum of money was donated by the workers to their cause, as in the first march.

Bradford, a mining town, gave huge support to the young marchers. "I have always taken great pride in young people for sticking up for what they believe is right," said one worker. The miners were in the midst of a national strike. Now, after their "settlement," a large number of mining pits have been closed down creating even more unemployment.

### RIGHT-WING

The right-wing Labour Party bureaucrats, seeing the great support given by their townspeople, sought to stop the marchers from shaking up the situation in their town by refusing to accommodate and feed the marchers.

Rank and file Labour Party members, demonstrating their support for the aims of the marches and the determination of the youth to fight back against the attacks of the Tory government, gave them strength in continuing their march against unemployment.

One marcher stated: "You get the choice of either rotting on the dole (unemployment center) or working like slaves for ridiculously low wages. But we are not prepared to accept that." Another youth said: "We have to fight for the right to work. The Tories left us with little choice."

It becomes crystal clear that what workers face today shows the grim future of the youth. The Tories are preparing to limit wage increases to two pounds, which means an increase up to seven percent and none higher.

The Tory ministers have made it very clear to the union bureaucrats that if they would not help hold down the workers' wages way below the rise in the cost of living, they will throw hundreds of thousands of them out of work.

### UNEMPLOYED

Over one million workers are already unemployed in England. Workers face sharp cuts in their wages and tremendous insecurity of their jobs. The Tory government has taken decisive steps to weaken the trade unions in order to drive the working class and youth back. The cost of housing has doubled while at the same time, the conditions of these houses have continued to deteriorate.

The Right-to-Work marches are part of a campaign to build and train a new leadership in the

(Continued On Page 18)

## ISRAELI YOUTH FIGHT ZIONIST REGIME

BY JEANNIE COOPER

Last week, a demonstration was held outside the German embassy in New York to protest the jailings and witch-hunt being launched against Palestinian and Arab workers and students living in Europe, the United States as well as Israel and Jordan.

The Young Socialist met a young Israeli Jewish student at the demonstration who is trying to unite Jewish and Arab students living in the United States against the Zionist government. The following is an interview with Z.A.

Z.A. told the Young Socialist that there is a movement developing in Israel in defense of Palestinian refugees and against the persecution of the Black Panther Party, a militant organization of Oriental Jews in Israel.

"In March 1972, one of the leaders of the Black Panthers came out against the Israeli government. He said that the Oriental Jews had to unite with East European poor, with the Arabs and the working class against the government. On May 1st, the Black Panthers held a demonstration and were brutally beaten by the police.

"They have become dangerous to the government. The following Thursday, 800 students at Jerusalem University demonstrated in defense of the Black Panthers. They were demanding an apology by the government for the attack on the Panthers' demonstration. There was a



Young Socialists brought contingent to New York rally against West German repression of Palestinians.

change here because traditionally the universities are very conservative in Israel. Immediately following that, 2000 Arab intellectuals and Communists were put under house detention."

Despite the nationalist influence of Zionism forced on the working class, Z.A. told the Young Socialist that there is opposition growing to the policies of the government, even at the high school level.

"In some classes and newspapers they are beginning to expose the fact that the war of 1967 was not a defensive war. The young people, who are taught that there is a relationship between them and any other Jew, no matter what class, are rejecting this. They can't understand what they are doing in Israel. The government is trying to divide the Jewish youth and working class from any historical ties they have with the Arabs in the Middle East."

Z.A. explained how the Israeli economy is completely dependent on American capitalism, and now that the American dollar is so weak, the Israeli economy is facing collapse. This has led to vicious attacks on both Arab and Jewish workers, but particularly against the refugees from the 1967 war and from the original establishment of Israel in 1948 when thousands of Palestinians were forced off their land and from their homes into the Gaza strip.

"A worker who came from Jaffa before 1948 and who now lives in the Gaza strip is forced to return as a slave laborer in Jaffa. They are not allowed to return to their original homes. They do very menial work.

"In my city the refugees are building a new city hall. They get paid much less than Jewish Israeli workers—about \$10 or less a week. There are many people in Gaza who are starving."

Pointing to the desperation of the Zionist government in splitting the working class up, Z.A. noted the recent anti-strike legislation, and the reliance on extreme right-wing organizations such as Gahal and more recently the Jewish Defense League.

"The obvious purpose of the JDL has been to attack the Black Panthers and other left groups. The fact of the matter is that the JDL does a lot of the dirty work that the government doesn't want to do. It saves face for the Israeli government.

Referring to the fight for socialist revolution in the Middle East, Z.A. said: "We have to unite the Arab and Jewish people in the Middle East against the Zionist government. We have to get the Palestinians back into the country because they are very important to the struggle. As long as the Meir government is in power they will never let them return."



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## The Real Meaning Of Watergate

In a "law and order speech" on Sunday Nixon claimed that he had brought a halt to the "frightening trend of crime and anarchy" and vowed that in the next four years he would crack down on "domestic violence." While Nixon was crusading on law and order aimed against the working people, new material was being published on the Watergate Affair and its links to the White House and to what Nixon calls the "backbone" of law enforcement, the Justice Department.

Despite every attempt of Nixon and the Democratic Party to push this business under the rug, the new exposures reveal in the starkest fashion the whole character not only of Nixon but of the capitalist class itself and its brand of "law and order."

First of all it has been established that the money that financed the break-in and bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters came from Nixon's Re-election Committee, headed then by former Attorney General Mitchell. Two of the men indicted in the raid were advisers at the White House. Others included former CIA agents and men active in the rightist movement of Cuban exiles. Alfred Baldwin, one of those arrested, has revealed that he was told by the man in charge of security for Nixon's Committee that he was working for the former Attorney General and was above the law.

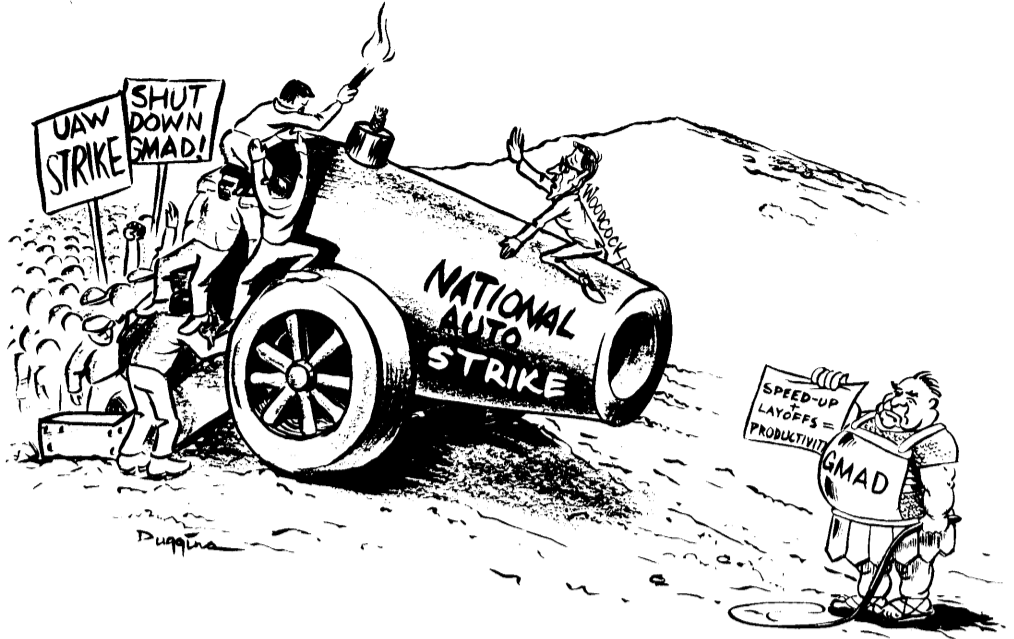
Now Time has revealed that Dwight Chapin, a deputy assistant to Nixon and Gordon Strachan, a staff assistant at the White House, hired Donald Segretti, who was paid by Nixon's personal attorney Herbert Kalmbach out of a fund stashed in the safe of Maurice Stans to disrupt campaign activities of the Democratic Party.

This is not just the question of a scandal or the corruption of individuals as the liberals would have it but it reveals the whole nature of the ruling class as it plunges into crisis and seeks to preserve itself and its profits against the movement of the working class. What Watergate reveals is that in their struggle for survival the capitalist class and their political hirelings in both the Democratic and Republican parties will stop at nothing. They have brought together under the supervision of Nixon: the CIA, rightists, fascists, mercenaries and every species of labor-hating scoundrel and adventurer.

These are the forces that now will be thrown against the labor movement. If Nixon and his party are prepared to use these measures against the other capitalist party, then what are they preparing for the working class?

As the Bulletin has pointed out, the Republican Convention marked a sharp turn to the right on the part of the ruling class and the preparations for dictatorship. Even the facade of bourgeois democracy is stripped away, and the real face of the capitalist class is bared. Nixon's "law and order" means that the capitalist class, its spies, gunmen and rightist agents are beyond the law. "Law and order" is to be used to protect these forces as the basic rights of the working people to a job, to a union, to a decent standard of living are attacked.

The Watergate Affair gives us a glimpse of what is being prepared for after the November elections. It exposes the dangerous policies of the trade union leadership and its Stalinist supporters in their refusal to break the labor movement from the Democratic Party. Only the working class organized in its own party, a labor party, fighting for socialist policies can defeat Nixon and mount the battle to throw out this whole corrupt crowd.



## What we think

### The CP And Leonard Woodcock

The criminal Stalinist policy of support for McGovern and the Democrats is now being brought down against the rank and file auto workers of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). The Communist Party comes forward to cover up the massive betrayal of UAW President Leonard Woodcock who carries out a policy of surrender before the GM union-busting speed-up drive.

All the "left" demagoguery against George Meany, all the militant "opposition" to the GMAD speed-up, all the correct exposures of the Nixon-General Motors productivity drive—are nothing more than a cynical attempt to sacrifice the interests of the auto workers to the needs of the McGovern campaign. It is an unashamed effort by the Stalinists to hold together the crumbling Democratic Party.

This is the real content of the CP's alliance with Woodcock, who it describes as the foremost "progressive" labor bureaucrat because of his leading role in support of McGovern.

The strike against GMAD at Lordstown earlier this year and the recent 178 day strike at Norwood showed above all the willingness and determination of the UAW ranks to fight for an end to the vicious speed-up and layoffs now being pushed throughout the auto industry.

The Woodcock leadership stepped in to "settle" the Norwood strike without as much as a single grievance being resolved and without any agreement at all on line speed—precisely at the moment when the entire GMAD structure was about to explode. The role of the leadership was to prevent the local actions forced by the GMAD management from turning into a nationwide strike against General Motors and a massive confrontation with the government, in other words—a political strike.

Woodcock and his Stalinist apologists dread the prospect of such a confrontation which must mean a showdown of the entire labor movement, not only with Nixon but with McGovern and the Democrats as well.

Behind the GMAD speed-up drive stands the growing assault by Nixon on the rights and conditions of the American working class, an assault based on massive unemployment aimed at smashing the unions in order to protect profits.

On the other side is the strength of the most powerful working class in history which has been expressed in the GMAD struggle by the militance and determination of the GMAD ranks to fight through to the end. The fight against GM's productivity drive poses a fight to construct a labor party and bring it to power on a socialist program. Thus, the acceptance of

capitalism and the needs of the profiteers is what lies behind Woodcock's efforts to sabotage the GMAD strike.

Throughout this whole GMAD battle, from Lordstown up to today, the Communist Party newspaper the Daily World has accepted the leadership of this struggle by Woodcock, refusing even to raise the demand for a nationwide, unified shutdown of GMAD. They completely accept Woodcock's "settlement" of the quickie strikes of the individual locals. They refuse to fight for any extension of these individual strikes, and therefore pay nothing more than lip service to a nationwide strike.

The October 17 Daily World article on Mansfield is truly a public relations job for the local leadership. Having reported that the local leaders had asked the men "to return to work," the reporter, James West, writes that "the strikers feel the strength of their position and know they have it in their power to get a good settlement. The strike is getting help from the regional office in Toledo. At the same time, it was evident that the running of the strike and the negotiations remain at this stage in the hands of the experienced local union leadership."

While lauding this leadership for their conduct of this sellout, obviously carried out at the request of Woodcock and the International, West devotes half of his article to a delighted description of the campaign of the local bureaucrats for McGovern: "The strike headquarters also have the appearance of being a McGovern headquarters, as well as a command post in the fight to unseat reactionary GOP Congressman John Ashbrook."

While going down the line with the UAW bureaucrats in their support for McGovern, the CP also attempts to divert any rank and file opposition to Woodcock into support for McGovern. This was shown at a meeting of the St. Louis Local 25 rank and file committee, called for discussion of a fight against GM. Stalinist national coordinator of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), Fred Gaboury, spoke of "independent labor action" some time in the future, but stated that in the present campaign, each worker had to "sum up the issues and make a decision on the facts as they find them," i.e., support McGovern. In case those at the meeting had not gotten the message, Gaboury warned the meeting "to be careful of the ultra-left." While he devoted time to an attack on Meany, Abel and Tony Boyle, he had nothing at all to say about Leonard Woodcock.

It is absolutely clear that the Stalinists, in moving ever closer to the liberals and the labor bureaucracy see the growing movement for



a labor party and the struggle of the Trotskyists for Marxist principle as a mortal enemy. They stand 100 percent behind Woodcock's statement in which he told a Bulletin reporter: "I'm opposed to a labor party. I think we can do everything through the Democratic Party...If we had a labor party it would kill all the liberal Democrats."

The Communist Party opposes the need to construct a revolutionary leadership based on a fight for revolutionary theory. In opposition to Lenin who wrote that "without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary practice," the Stalinists justify their capitulation to capitalism and to the labor bureaucracy on the narrow grounds of "expediency," on the basis of the philosophy of pragmatism.

The CP talks of acceptance of the "facts," of dealing with "reality," and ends up as the most fraudulent apologists for McGovern and for the betrayal of the struggle against General Motors. The Stalinists carry out the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy which seeks to defend its material privileges against the international working class through peaceful coexistence with world capitalism.

At the same time the Stalinists attempt to cover their betrayals with talk of "networks of rank and file committees" in unions such as the UAW which they see as vehicles for sabotaging the struggle of the rank and file.

A discussion and exposure of the political role and philosophical method of Stalinism in the labor movement must be taken up with the greatest urgency at the October 21-22 Chicago Conference for a Labor Party Now.

# The Building Of The Revolutionary Party In Spain

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SPLIT IN THE TROTSKYIST FRACTION OF COMUNISMO

The following material is reprinted from the August-September issue of *La Aurora*, a publication from Spain. It reflects the position of a group within the Trotskyist Fraction of Comunismo. Comunismo is a centrist organization thrown up during the movement of youth and workers around the Burgos Trials. Its majority rejected the struggle for Trotskyism, supporting the liquidationist positions of the United Secretariat led by Ernest Mandel and supported by the Socialist Workers Party. The minority Trotskyist Fraction developed political sympathy with the OCI of France which recently broke with the International Committee. The opposition has formed within this fraction which is sympathetic with the positions of the International Committee. In the course of this struggle this minority, like the Communist League in Peru, has been forced to confront all the theoretical questions facing the revolutionary party internationally and in Spain.



Francisco de la Iglesia is one of the "Burgos 6," Basque nationalists jailed by Franco.

## THE BUILDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The present situation in the class struggle and the split in the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo.

The split in the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo is no chance occurrence. It responds to the sharpening of the class struggle since the great struggle against the Burgos trial. It responds to the inability of the majority—which imposed its policy—to offer the working class the Marxist policy which is necessary to bring down the Franco dictatorship, regain democratic freedoms and take political power.

The development of the world economic crisis, which can be seen in Spain in the continuous increase in prices, the increase in unemployment (bankruptcies, rationalization, etc.) means that the working class is radicalized more and more. The desire to struggle is evident. The struggles against the Burgos trial which made Franco retreat; the struggles of the miners in the Asturias; of builders in Madrid; in Seat and sympathy with Seat in Catalonia; of students and teachers against the Law on Education; of Sallent and Balsareny; el Ferrol, etc. express this wish to struggle and express at the same time the need for the working class to prepare politically to bring down the dictatorship, to win democratic freedoms and take power.

But these partial movements meet with the treacherous policy of the Stalinist and Social Democratic leadership and with the weak, inconsistent policy of all type of centrists (Organizacion Trotskista (OT-OCI), Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR-Pabloite), Partido Comunista Espanol Internacionalista (PCE-i-Maoist) etc. While the Spanish CP directs the working class and the workers commissions towards the Fascist unions (CNS), and makes a pact between the working class and the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie, not one of these centrist groups wants to struggle anywhere for the independence of the commissions and independence with respect to the CNS and the bourgeoisie. This is a struggle which requires the building of a new revolutionary leadership for the commissions and the working class in general.

Every one of these partial movements poses the question of power whether the mobilized masses are conscious of it or not. The bourgeoisie and its state, in an attempt to resolve their economic crisis, must attack the working class (wages, right to work, etc.) The working class can defend itself in only one way: by preparing to take the power.

This political preparation requires the building of a revolutionary party, independent of the bourgeoisie, independent of its agents in the workers movement (Stalinism and Social Democracy), independent finally of centrism.

At the center of the differences which led to our bureaucratic expulsion was this question of the strategy for bringing the working class to power. The "majority" can talk of a so-called "Universal Republic of the Soviets" and the "Imminence of Revolution" at the same time as it refuses to prepare the working class politically. It is for this reason that the differences centered on the question of whether it was necessary or not to resolve the "crisis of revolutionary leadership" by constructing immediately a new Trotskyist leadership capable of politically defeating Stalinism, Social Democracy and their centrist covers and thus

able to prepare the working class to take the power.

For the majority (today the OT), the so-called "strategy of the United Front" is the formula used to liquidate the revolutionary party. The entire revolutionary program is reduced for these so-called "revolutionaries" to making a United Front, that is: the unity of all working class organizations whatever the policy and the program on which that unity is realized. This can only mean the rejection of the revolutionary program and adaptation to the policy of the strongest organization (in this case, the Spanish Communist Party (SCP)).

Trotsky, in his article "Centrism and the FI" gives the following as one of the characteristics of centrism: "The centrist quickly grasps onto the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and making this tactic a supreme principle." Trotsky adds that it is necessary "to avoid confusing the tactical tasks of the united front with the central historic task: the creation of new parties and a new International."

We in the minority struggled hard against the centrist policy developed by the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo—and now the OT—with the "united front" cover. Only on the basis of the struggle for principles can the new Trotskyist leadership be built. This is the meaning of our uncompromising defense of the "Programme for the Working Class"; our defense of a principled policy against the CNS and the collective agreements, and for the rights of the working class; the rebuilding of the working class unions and all democratic freedoms; our defense of a principled policy against the SCP's pact with the bourgeoisie, for a government of organizations of the working class. The tactic of the united front is subordinated to our independent policy.

The division in our group—our expulsion—takes place at a moment in which the class struggle places on the agenda the question of preparing the overthrow of the dictatorship, the reconquest of demo-

cratic rights and the taking of power. Before this necessity, the OT retreats frightened into centrism, and acts as a cover for the policy of the SCP, which is the most important obstacle to the necessary political preparation of the working class for the taking of power. It is the fear of the middle classes before the revolutionary preparation of the working class for the taking of power.

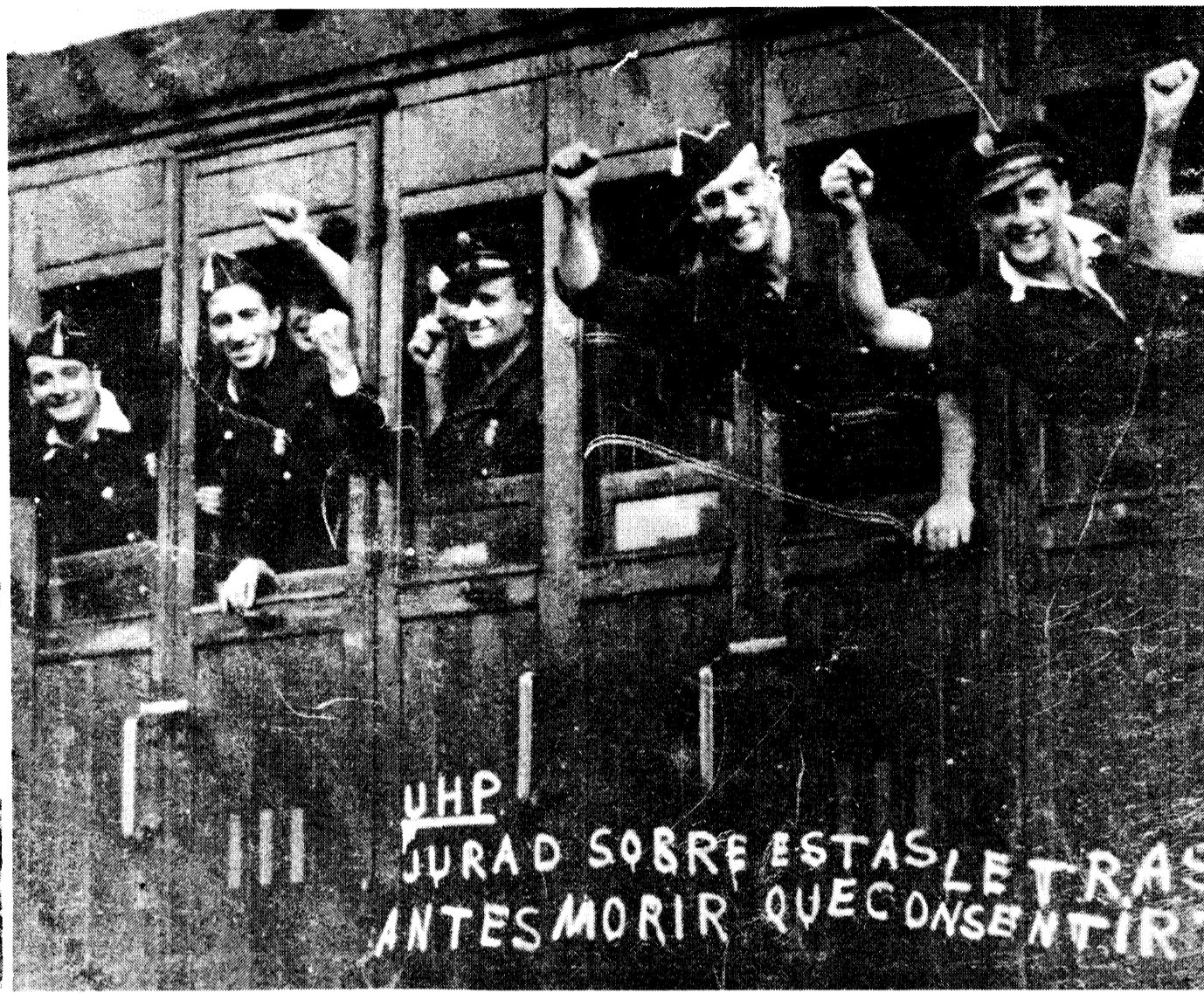
Internationally and nationally, the positions are clear. In the face of the deepening of the economic crisis and the consequent radicalization of the working class, the centrists (the OT, OCI, etc.) wish to liquidate the revolutionary party into the united front; they wish to liquidate the Fourth International (the International Committee) declaring that it has already been destroyed by the Pabloites. They retreat, in a word, in the face of the great tasks posed by the proletarian revolution.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE TROTSKYIST FRACTION OF COMUNISMO

It is necessary to analyze briefly the history of the Trotskyist movement in Spain in order to clarify the position of the Pabloites and ourselves in the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in Spain.

It is necessary to begin with the Spanish Left Opposition (OIE) in the 1930s and the POUM. Without learning the lessons of the POUM, there can be no construction of a revolutionary party in Spain. The POUM was and is a centrist party formed on the basis of an unprincipled fusion of the OIE of Nin, which broke with the Trotskyist movement, and the Worker and Peasant Block (BOC) of Maurin. Internationally, it was opposed to the foundation of the FI and was part of the London Bureau—a centrist International. Nationally, it was unable to develop a policy independent of Stalinism and finally entered into the Popular Front, the working class-middle class alliance which ended any possibility of winning the war and carrying through the revolution in 1936.

The building of the Trotskyist party in



Fascist dictator Franco (far left) defeated Spanish workers in 1936-39 Civil War because of Stalinist betrayals. Cen

Spain can only take place against the POUM which represents the very negation of the FI, the negation of Bolshevism and on the other hand the total acceptance of the Popular Front, which prepared the defeat of 1937-1939. It thus remains for the liquidators of the FI to organize international meetings with these centrists.

Since the war, it is on the basis of the rebirth of the workers movement in the 1960s that Trotskyism begins to reappear in Spain. And it appears at a moment when the world crisis of capitalism was expressed fully in Spain (1969), leading a growing number of students and workers to look for a program and a revolutionary policy capable of providing an alternative to the treacherous Stalinist policy of support for Francoism—support for the Fascist CNS and support for a supposedly “evolutionist” or “democratic” wing of Franco’s bourgeoisie.

The real attempt to build the Trotskyist party in Spain expressed in the group “Comunismo” was frustrated when Comunismo accepted Pabloite revisionism, with its theory of neo-capitalism and its negation of the revolutionary role of the working class and its search for new vanguards (students, intellectuals) to replace an “integrated” working class. The Unified Secretariat of Mandel and company forced Comunismo to remain with the petty bourgeois positions of the Catalan Workers Force (FOC), from which the attempt to build a revolutionary party could only lead to petty bourgeois abortive activity.

The real attempt by the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo to build the Trotskyist party clashed with the acceptance by the majority (today the OT) of the revisionism of the OCI which teaches the OT to give up the construction of the Trotskyist party in Spain, in the name of a united front with the Stalinists, in the name of a “reconstruction” of the FI with the POUM and the whole bunch of centrists. It was against these forces that Trotsky founded the Fourth International in the 1930s.

In this way, the recent attempts to build the FI in Spain have been frustrated, fundamentally as a result of the activities of the revisionists, a result of the pressure of the enemy class on the Trotskyist movement, on the FI.

Having said this, (and we shall return to it in the future) let us take a closer look at how and why the real attempt of the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo to construct

the FI in Spain can now only be the work of the minority in an implacable struggle against Pabloite revisionism and the OT. Not only must the party of the FI in Spain be built against the POUM, but also it can only be built in the struggle against the LCR and the OT.

The fraction of Comunismo was built after the struggles against the Burgos trial based on the great mass movement of workers and students which destroyed all the Pabloite theories about the “integration” of the working class into a supposed “neo-capitalism.” “Towards the masses—Towards the working class!” was the slogan on which the fraction was based. Rejecting the theory of neo-capitalism, and the complete stability of Francoism and capitalism in Spain; starting from the death agony of imperialism and the fascist—not the Bonapartist—nature of the Spanish regime, we had the necessary theoretical bases to orientate ourselves to the working class and to begin to organize a mass movement with Trotskyist policies.

But the OCI and its “strategy of the united front” destroyed this theoretical base. The united front becomes an excuse for rejecting the policy of class independence. It becomes an excuse to abandon the policy against the CNS and against the pact with the bourgeoisie. Compromises are made with the SCP in the name of unity. But it is not just that. The united front also suppresses the need to carry to its philosophical roots the break with Pabloism.

In this way, practical compromises with Stalinism lead to an even more important compromise—in principles and theory. In the Trotskyist movement, this compromise on theory and principle with Stalinism has a name—Pabloism. The adaptation to Stalinism is followed by the refusal to build the independent party of the FI. For this reason, in our statement, Marxism and Revisionism, we explained that what characterized the recent conference, in which the OT was formed, was an adaptation to Stalinism and a return to centrism (Pabloism). The rejection of the construction of independent revolutionary parties is clear and explicit in the “resolution” of that Conference. The task of developing Trotskyism in Spain is ours. We base ourselves on the gains of the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo since the expulsion of Comunismo; the “Program for the Working Class” and the four numbers of *La Aurora* and our struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist fraction. (It

is certain that there are revisionist articles in 3 and 4 of *Aurora*, but it is in fighting against those conceptions that we formed our conceptions. Soon, we shall hold the conference the majority refused to hold which, through a balance sheet of Pabloism and a Programmatic Manifesto, will allow the bases of a Trotskyist party in Spain to be established.

### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

“Without revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary party.” The whole revisionist evolution of the majority is based on the anti-Marxist idea that there is “an objective movement of the working class towards the FI,” that is, that the working class acquires Marxism spontaneously. Their theory holds that the working class will make a revolution independently of whether a revolutionary party is built or not and finally, that it is necessary to adapt to the “objective” movement of the masses and not to struggle to give it the revolutionary leadership which it cannot automatically have.

S. Just, the theoretician of the OCI, has justified this revisionist conception, liquidating the lessons of Lenin’s *What Is To Be Done?* and describing the Leninist conception as “metaphysics” in his book, *Defense of Trotskyism*. We defend the lessons of *What Is To Be Done* which allowed the Bolshevik Party to be built. In it, Lenin stated that:

“...Any bowing to the spontaneous movement of the workers movement, any lowering of the conscious element, the role of social democracy (the Bolshevik party) is equivalent to—completely independent of the person who does it—strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology on the working class. Anyone who speaks about the ‘over-estimation’ of ideology, of exaggerating the conscious elements imagines that the working class movement pure and simple can by itself elaborate an independent ideology as soon as the workers ‘wrench their future from the hands of their leaders.’ But this is a crass mistake, since there cannot be nor can one talk about an independent ideology, elaborated by the working class masses themselves in the course of the movement, the problem is only posed in this way: bourgeois ideology or socialist ideology. There is no middle way (since humanity has not worked out any ‘third

ideology).”

S. Just, the inspirer of the policies of the OT, allows himself to describe Lenin as “metaphysical” in order to be able to introduce the idea that the working class will automatically, spontaneously attain socialist consciousness, on the basis of Marxist ideology without the necessity for the construction of the revolutionary party. The rejection of the construction of the party of the FI is based then on a spontaneist, gradualist, and anti-dialectical conception of the development of socialist consciousness in the working class. And this is at the heart of the revisionist conception of the united front as a strategy.

The construction of the revolutionary party is none other than a constant struggle to introduce Marxism into the working class, that is to fight for the development of socialist consciousness. Or are the masses “natural Marxists” who do not need to learn Marxism? Under capitalism, the working class is divided and subordinated to the influence of bourgeois ideology. Hence the importance of developing Marxist theory, struggling for this theory to penetrate within the working class to transform its consciousness, which can only be done by building the revolutionary party. In particular, it is a struggle against a purely “trade union” consciousness; the idea that the working class needs no more than unions—an idea which is so rooted in the Spanish working class—and that it is not necessary to build a working class political party “different and opposed to the parties of the property owning classes” (as a resolution of the First International states).

The history of the Spanish working class shows—although it is in a negative way—the vital need for the Spanish proletariat to build a revolutionary Marxist party. The working class had to pay a high price for the betrayal of the 1936 revolution by the SCP and the SSP (Social Democrats), helped by Anarchists and Poumists. That price was the destruction of their unions (UGT, CNT) and the same political parties which betrayed them. Then it has to be asked: who can trust that these treacherous parties can lead the working class to overthrow the dictatorship and win their right to organize political parties and trade unions? Nobody can trust these treacherous parties and their followers.

In other words, to overthrow the dictatorship of Franco, to win democratic freedoms and in particular, independent



Center Republican troop train during Civil War. Right, Spanish workers still imprisoned are shown in 1949.

unions and the taking of power are three aspects of the same problem; the need to build a **new revolutionary leadership**, a new revolutionary party, in independent implacable struggle against the traitors and their Poumist and anarchist hangers-on.

1936-1939 was not the first time the Spanish working class had its unions and parties destroyed. In 1873, the dictatorship of General Pavia meant the destruction of the First International in Spain and all the workers' unions. Without unions, the working class saw its wages go down and the length of its working day increase. The anarchist leadership—since the First International in Spain was anarchist—refused to organize the working class in a **political party** independently of the bourgeoisie. They acted as a decisive obstacle to the struggle of the working class in defense of the gain of trade unions.

In 1879, the Spanish Socialist Party was founded, which drew the lessons of the defeat of 1873. It understood the need for a single political party of the working class, capable of guaranteeing the most basic gains of the masses. But the SSP, like the other sections of the Second International—with the great exception of the Bolshevik Party—limited the union (the UGT) to struggling for better conditions in the factories, while the party in the Cortes developed a policy of class compromise, of getting reforms. And at the moment of truth, when the bourgeoisie threatened all the gains of the working class (including the UGT and the SSP themselves) in the war 1936-39, the SSP, far from leading the working class to the taking of power, (the only way to defend gains against a determined Fascist bourgeoisie) made a deal with the so-called democratic bourgeoisie by forming the Popular Front. The Popular Front was the cause of the defeat.

In 1920, the CP was founded. This was the result of the creation of the Third International, once the Second International in 1914-1918 collapsed as an international when each party took up a position in favor of its own ruling class in the inter-imperialist war. But hardly had the CP begun to exist when the Stalinist degeneration began to attack its ranks. The SCP following the opportunist zigs and zags of the Stalinized Third International, went from proclaiming immediate insurrection (at the time of the Republic in 1931) to a united front with the bourgeoisie in the Popular Front of 1936 along with the SSP. That is, at the time when it was ne-

cessary for the revolutionary preparation of the working class, it called for insurrection in order to foil that necessary preparation. And, at the time when the working class was ready to move to take the power it betrayed the movement through a pact with the bourgeoisie.

The rebuilding of the workers movement in Spain after the defeat of 1939 has basically begun by strengthening the Stalinist party and creating a number of centrist groups (without mentioning the "yellow" trade unionists) which developed as a result of the crisis of Stalinism, a result in turn of the continual radicalization of the working class.

Centrism is characterized by its inability to develop policies **distinct** from Stalinist policies. In one way and another, centrism covers up the treacherous policy of the CP: either by refusing to build the new necessary leadership, or refusing to really break with Stalinism. This is the history of the FOC, PCE-i, Comunismo, etc. This is the story of the POUM.

As the class struggle in Spain intensified from the mid-fifties, workers and students clashed with the treacherous policy of the CP, the policy of support for Franco through pacts with the bourgeoisie (National Reconciliation, Pact for Freedom) and the policy of support for the fascist CNS—fighting for its democratization. But the policy of the FLP-FOC, of the PCE-i, of Comunismo, far from constituting an alternative to Stalinist policy, became the best cover for Stalinism. While some refused to pose a political alternative to national reconciliation and the pact for freedom, the others avoided the mass organizations controlled by the CP stating that they intended to develop their policy "independently"—independently of the masses, clearly.

But the history of the POUM, the largest centrist party in the 1930s, is there to prove that the refusal to confront Stalinism with a revolutionary alternative policy can only lead to a cover up for Stalinist policies and immediately to defeat. The continuous development of the mass movement from the mid-fifties has thus been without a revolutionary leadership able to give a revolutionary solution to the militant movement of the masses.

The lessons of the class struggle in Spain from 1939 are clear for Marxists. Only the construction of the revolutionary party in an implacable struggle against anarchism, Social Democracy, Stalinism and centrism can lead the working class to overthrow the dictatorship, win demo-

cratic freedoms and take the power.

If the basic lesson of the history of the Spanish working class is the need to build a Marxist party, alone able to guarantee the slightest gains of the working class in the epoch of the death agony of capitalism, the lesson of the history of the Spanish and international proletariat is that this Marxist party can only be built as the party of the Fourth International.

The FI was founded in 1938 as the only guarantee of the continuity of Marxist theory within the workers' movement against Stalinist revisionism. For a long period, the defeats of the proletariat (Germany, Spain, Greece) the fruit of the counterrevolutionary policy of Stalinists and Social Democrats, who usurped the banners of the October Revolution, prevented the development of the FI. The FI had to form its cadres in the midst of these working class defeats and Stalinist repression. The defense of Marxist theory and its development required a struggle to the death against centrism (the POUM, the German SAP, English ILP, etc., all belonging to the London Bureau). This struggle was exemplified by Trotsky's struggle against the POUM. (See Trotsky's writings on Spain).

Within the FI since World War Two, the revisionist tendency of Pablo, Frank and Mandel developed, who, by adapting to Stalinism, tried to liquidate the struggle for principles on which the FI is based. They rejected the **Transitional Program**, and the building of the independent parties of the FI. Because of the struggle of the IC for principles against Pabloite revisionism, the FI has lived and developed to prepare now, when the world economic crisis pushes the masses into revolutionary activity, to lead the masses to power. And it is because of the principled struggle against Pabloism that the IC has been able today to struggle against the compromise with spontaneity of the OCI and the OT, thus preparing to win the masses to revolutionary policies. This is our task in Spain: the construction of the party of the FI.

### OUR STRUGGLE IN PROLETARIO

The central task of the period, determined by the sharpening of the crisis of imperialism, is, for revolutionaries in Spain and throughout the world, the construction of sections of the Fourth International. The FI can only be built in-

dependently of the bourgeoisie and the traditional organizations which have betrayed the working class (Stalinism, Social Democracy) and all brands of centrism.

This is the task posed before Trotskyists in Spain. It is the central task which directs all our theoretical and practical activity. Only starting with this premise, which can resolve the crisis of humanity, can we determine the nature of the organization necessary for the revolutionary struggle of the class, for the building of the party which can defend workers' gains, destroy the capitalist system and begin the construction of socialism.

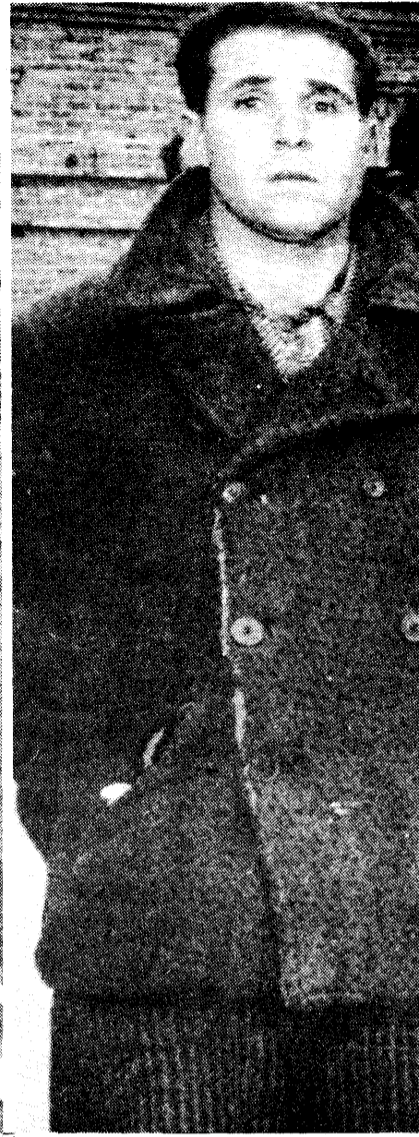
For Trotskyists, Proletario falls within this perspective since in the present situation of the crisis of capitalism internationally, this can no longer be sustained except by more impoverishment of the masses and that is only possible with more repression. We can see the purchasing power decreasing as necessary articles increase in price, and plans for rationalization and bankruptcies (another demonstration of the capitalist crisis) which throw thousands of workers onto the dole throughout the world.

In this situation, the struggle of the workers is a struggle for their own existence which leads to direct confrontations with the state: that is, at the center of each struggle is the struggle for power.

Proletario can be defined as a political working class organization, which struggles not only for the material interests of the working class, but also for the political objectives with the perspective of a working class government. It fights practically with the perspective of unifying the working class (proletarian united front), for a program of defense of the working class for the gaining of democratic freedoms, and the need for a workers government.

It will fight for a government of the workers' alliance—the government of all workers which will carry out the program of the working class.

Proletario defines the proletarian united front as a tactic but frames it within the perspective of its struggle for the unification of the working class; it conceives the united front as an expression of the masses in struggle; it is realized in the mobilization of the masses for their own objectives. Proletario fights for the united front, but always defining the program of working class independence, assuring complete freedom of criticism after and during actions.



Fascist dictator Franco (far left) defeated Spanish workers in 1936-39 Civil War because of Stalinist betrayals. Center Republican troop train during Civil War. Right, Spa

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The fraction of Comunismo was built after the struggles against the Burgos trial based on the great mass movement of workers and students which destroyed all the Pabloite theories about the "integration" of the working class into a supposed "neo-capitalism." "Towards the masses—Towards the working class!" was the slogan on which the fraction was based. Rejecting the theory of neo-capitalism, and the complete stability of Francoism and capitalism in Spain; starting from the death agony of imperialism and the fascist—not the Bonapartist—nature of the Spanish regime, we had the necessary theoretical bases to orientate ourselves to the working class and to begin to organize a mass movement with Trotskyist policies.

But the OCI and its "strategy of the united front" destroyed this theoretical base. The united front becomes an excuse for rejecting the policy of class independence. It becomes an excuse to abandon the policy against the CNS and against the pact with the bourgeoisie. Compromises are made with the SCP in the name of unity. But it is not just that. The united front also suppresses the need to carry to its philosophical roots the break with Pabloism.

In this way, practical compromises with Stalinism lead to an even more important compromise—in principles and theory. In the Trotskyist movement, this compromise on theory and principle with Stalinism has a name—Pabloism. The adaptation to Stalinism is followed by the refusal to build the independent party of the FI. For this reason, in our statement, Marxism and Revisionism, we explained that what characterized the recent conference, in which the OT was formed, was an adaptation to Stalinism and a return to centrism (Pabloism). The rejection of the construction of independent revolutionary parties is clear and explicit in the "resolution" of that Conference. The task of developing Trotskyism in Spain is ours. We base ourselves on the gains of the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo since the expulsion of Comunismo; the "Program for the Working Class" and the four numbers of La Aurora and our struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist fraction. (It

is certain that there are revisionist articles in 3 and 4 of Aurora, but it is in fighting against those conceptions that we formed our conceptions. Soon, we shall hold the conference the majority refused to hold which, through a balance sheet of Pabloism and a Programmatic Manifesto, will allow the bases of a Trotskyist party in Spain to be established.

### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

"Without revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary party." The whole revisionist evolution of the majority is based on the anti-Marxist idea that there is "an objective movement of the working class towards the FI," that is, that the working class acquires Marxism spontaneously. Their theory holds that the working class will make a revolution independently of whether a revolutionary party is built or not and finally, that it is necessary to adapt to the "objective" movement of the masses and not to struggle to give it the revolutionary leadership which it cannot automatically have.

S. Just, the theoretician of the OCI, has justified this revisionist conception, liquidating the lessons of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and describing the Leninist conception as "metaphysics" in his book, *Defense of Trotskyism*. We defend the lessons of *What Is To Be Done* which allowed the Bolshevik Party to be built. In it, Lenin stated that:

"...Any bowing to the spontaneous movement of the workers movement, any lowering of the conscious element, the role of social democracy (the Bolshevik party) is equivalent to—completely independent of the person who does it—strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology on the working class. Anyone who speaks about the 'over-estimation' of ideology, of exaggerating the conscious elements imagines that the working class movement pure and simple can by itself elaborate an independent ideology as soon as the workers 'wrench their future from the hands of their leaders.' But this is a crass mistake,...since there cannot be nor can one talk about an independent ideology, elaborated by the working class masses themselves in the course of the movement, the problem is only posed in this way: bourgeois ideology or socialist ideology. There is no middle way (since humanity has not worked out any 'third

ideology)."

S. Just, the inspirer of the policies of the OT, allows himself to describe Lenin as "metaphysical" in order to be able to introduce the idea that the working class will automatically, spontaneously attain socialist consciousness, on the basis of Marxist ideology without the necessity for the construction of the revolutionary party. The rejection of the construction of the party of the FI is based then on a spontaneist, gradualist, and anti-dialectical conception of the development of socialist consciousness in the working class. And this is at the heart of the revisionist conception of the united front as a strategy.

The construction of the revolutionary party is none other than a constant struggle to introduce Marxism into the working class, that is to fight for the development of socialist consciousness. Or are the masses "natural Marxists" who do not need to learn Marxism? Under capitalism, the working class is divided and subordinated to the influence of bourgeois ideology. Hence the importance of developing Marxist theory, struggling for this theory to penetrate within the working class to transform its consciousness, which can only be done by building the revolutionary party. In particular, it is a struggle against a purely "trade union" consciousness; the idea that the working class needs no more than unions—an idea which is so rooted in the Spanish working class—and that it is not necessary to build a working class political party "different and opposed to the parties of the property owning classes" (as a resolution of the First International states).

The history of the Spanish working class shows—although it is in a negative way—the vital need for the Spanish proletariat to build a revolutionary Marxist party. The working class had to pay a high price for the betrayal of the 1936 revolution by the SCP and the SSP (Social Democrats), helped by Anarchists and Poumists. That price was the destruction of their unions (UGT, CNT) and the same political parties which betrayed them. Then it has to be asked: who can trust that these treacherous parties can lead the working class to overthrow the dictatorship and win their right to organize political parties and trade unions? Nobody can trust these treacherous parties and their followers.

In other words, to overthrow the dictatorship of Franco, to win democratic freedoms and in particular, independent

unions and the taking of power are three aspects of the same problem; the need to build a new revolutionary leadership, a new revolutionary party, in independent implacable struggle against the traitors and their Poumist and anarchist hangers-on.

1936-1939 was not the first time the Spanish working class had its unions and parties destroyed. In 1873, the dictatorship of General Pavia meant the destruction of the First International in Spain and all the workers' unions. Without unions, the working class saw its wages go down and the length of its working day increase. The anarchist leadership—since the First International in Spain was anarchist—refused to organize the working class in a political party independently of the bourgeoisie. They acted as a decisive obstacle to the struggle of the working class in defense of the gain of trade unions.

In 1879, the Spanish Socialist Party was founded, which drew the lessons of the defeat of 1873. It understood the need for a single political party of the working class, capable of guaranteeing the most basic gains of the masses. But the SSP, like the other sections of the Second International—with the great exception of the Bolshevik Party—limited the union (the UGT) to struggling for better conditions in the factories, while the party in the Cortes developed a policy of class compromise, of getting reforms. And at the moment of truth, when the bourgeoisie threatened all the gains of the working class (including the UGT and the SSP themselves) in the war 1936-39, the SSP, far from leading the working class to the taking of power, (the only way to defend gains against a determined Fascist bourgeoisie) made a deal with the so-called democratic bourgeoisie by forming the Popular Front. The Popular Front was the cause of the defeat.

In 1920, the CP was founded. This was the result of the creation of the Third International, once the Second International in 1914-1918 collapsed as an international when each party took up a position in favor of its own ruling class in the inter-imperialist war. But hardly had the CP begun to exist when the Stalinist degeneration began to attack its ranks. The SCP following the opportunist zigzags of the Stalinized Third International, went from proclaiming immediate insurrection (at the time of the Republic in 1931) to a united front with the bourgeoisie in the Popular Front of 1936 along with the SSP. That is, at the time when it was ne-

Proletario is an intermediate organization between the party and the masses. Proletario has no ideological barriers which are strictly defined. Proletario fights for a program of class independence, for the unification of existing working class organizations, forcing them who have relations with the bourgeoisie to break them, and that all these organizations defend the interests of the workers, fighting for the independent struggle through Assemblies and committees. Based on working class democracy, Proletario will also struggle within the existing working class organizations (workers commissions, committees, etc.) for its unification on the working class program.

The differences in Proletario are the essence of the revisionist positions on the party. The OT defines the party as the party of the workers' alliance, and the strategy for building the party as the strategy of the united front.

For the OT what is most important is unity. For them it is not important on what policy this is based, since they start with the objective movement of the working class towards the FI and this objective movement by itself is sufficient; the building of the party is not necessary. But the party is the only thing that could lead this objective movement to the destruction of capitalism. For them, principles are things in themselves, which have nothing to do with political practice. It is this conception of the united front as a strategy which they bring into Proletario; it is starting with the concept that what is important is "unity" (especially with the CP), that everything which is an obstacle to this "unity" has to be eliminated. On representatives and stewards, Proletario is against and for their resignation; the OT says that this is not a question of principle, that it is in the way of unity—with the CP—that it can only be called for when the workers demand it; that the working class government must not be posed either, since it does not mobilize people. Thus it is possible to create in Tarrasa a united committee with the CP (which was of no purpose) where the question of representatives and stewards was never posed, nor the workers government—they set up a united commit-

tee on the basis of the treacherous policy of the CP.

Proletario is a working class organization. The OT says that it cannot be; that it must organize small businessmen, teachers, architects, etc., since they think that Proletario is the present strategy for building the party and that this is "temporary," increasingly more revolutionary, and defined. This is a complete rejection of the Transitional Program.

Our struggle in Proletario has been this: an uncompromising defense of the working class program in face of the attempts of the OT to remove this program in the name of "unity"...unity without principles, program or policy.

In this way we have armed Proletario again with the program we gave it at the time of our expulsion from the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo. On this basis, Proletario could be a pillar of the building of the FI in Spain.

**We reprint below only the introduction to an article by Escobar of the Bolivian POR. This introduction expresses the position of the Trotskyist Fraction minority on the Bolivian events.**

**The Defeat of the Bolivian Proletariat and the Role of the POR.**

#### INTRODUCTION

We are reprinting here the article "Causes of the Defeat" by Filemon Escobar, miners leader in the COB and leading member of the POR.

One of the reasons for the recent non-publication of *La Aurora* has been precisely the refusal by the majority of the Trotskyist fraction of Comunismo to publish this article. For us it is clear that the best way to inform working class militants of the responsibilities in the defeat of the Bolivian proletariat is to publish the article by a leader of the POR which claims to be Trotskyist.

"Revolution unmasks centrism. It anni-

hilates it. This is one of the most important lessons of the Spanish revolution," said Trotsky referring to the POUM. The same thing has happened with the POR.

Through this article, we can see how in the first place a member of the Central Committee of the POR has not the slightest conception or consciousness that it is only the revolutionary party which can lead the masses successfully. F. Escobar, by attributing the responsibility of the defeat to "all the left" shows his centrist wretchedness: for could we expect that Stalinists and Lechinists would lead a revolution?

In the second place, F. Escobar attributes the defeat to the lack of "military organization of the working class." The centrists are always looking for excuses. G. Lora, the General Secretary of the POR explains even more clearly the official policy of the POR:

"During the August days it was not possible to bridge the great abyss existing between the experienced and well-qualified political leadership of the masses, expressed in the Popular Assembly and the tremendous material differences between the two sides, especially in the realm of arms."

Therefore, the "political leadership" (an amalgam of Stalinists, bourgeois nationalists, and so-called Trotskyists) is not responsible for anything. The blame for the defeat can be heaped on the masses!

In the third place, Escobar says: "It is certain that with moving towards Chile, Cuba and the other revolutionary forces, the possibilities of the victory of the counterrevolution decreased." That is, the mistake was made of "isolation" from Allende's Popular Front and Castro. It is as if Allende were not crushing the Chilean masses in the name of the bourgeoisie and as if Castro were not liquidating the revolutionary gains of the Cuban masses. This is the "internationalism" of the POR.

Lora and the POR say—with the support of the OCI and the OT—that the POR maintained throughout the "class independence" of the Bolivian proletariat. But it is clear that for the POR the Torres government was far from being a bourgeois government intent on deceiving the masses with revolutionary phrases while

the fascist right organized openly. It was for the POR a "progressive" government which had to be supported. They tell us now:

"Selich and Banzer are in the hands of the CIA and the Pentagon. Paz Estenssoro is the card which the State Department has placed on the table; Torres appeared opposed to them as the expression of the nationalism of a country oppressed and exploited by Yankee imperialism..."

It is clear that this characterization of Torres as "the expression of the nationalism of a country oppressed and exploited by Yankee imperialism" is a justification for the entire policy of the POR in not opposing Torres at any moment, of subordinating the independence of the working class to support for General Torres.

If any more proof was necessary, there is the formation of the "anti-imperialist united front," after the defeat. Together with the POR, General Torres and his followers, Lechin and the PRIN (bourgeois nationalists) and the BCP (Stalinists) plus other smaller groups (Pabloites, etc.) participate. This FRA is no more than a Popular Front.

The OCI—and the OT—are now caught by their own opportunist support for the POR. In their recent conference in Latin America, they could reach no agreement on the statement presented by the POR. This statement justified this Popular Front. The differences between the POR and the OCI center on two absolutely decisive questions: the nature of Castroism and the nature of Stalinism.

In Bolivia, what was lacking was a revolutionary party, the party of the FI. The POR of Bolivia, by grouping together the best militants under the banner of centrism hostile to the FI became, and still is, the main obstacle to the building of this revolutionary party. The OCI and the OT—by supporting Lora—show what they themselves want to do in France and in Spain. For this reason, the party of the FI must be built in Bolivia against the POR, in France against the OCI and in Spain against the OT.

With the publication of this article by Filemon Escobar, we hope that the most conscious militants will realize this.



Demonstrators in London protest Burgos 6 trial. It was movement of working class in Europe to defend the Burgos 6 that led to the creation of the Comunismo group.

## George Anderson Books

**AUGUST 1914.** By Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Translation by Michael Glenny. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, publishers. 1972. English translation by Michael Glenny. Cloth, \$10.00.

In reading *August 1914*, one is aware that this is the work of rare literary genius. And in finding that this is only the first part of many in "the chief artistic design of (Solzhenitsyn's) life," one recognizes that this begins what may be one of the greatest literary achievements of all time.

Focusing on the Russian Army's campaign into East Prussia at the outbreak of World War I, Solzhenitsyn zeroes in on all aspects of the military debacle from every angle, and in the most vital detail. It is a process of exposing the truth in all its richness through a combination of fact and fiction.

Based on painstaking research of the disposition and movements of the Russian and German armies and of documents and telegrams sent between commanders, the personalities of the actual historical figures (General Samsonov, General Zhilinsky, Grand-Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, etc.) are explored.

The story of the defeat of Samsonov's army by the Germans is tied together through the fictional character of Colonel Vorotyntsev, an energetic, educated, and quick-thinking officer whose very forcefulness brings him into the company of generals (to their great disgust) and also into the closest comradeship with soldiers in the field.

### MAGNIFICENT

Solzhenitsyn's prose is magnificent. It is not in the least self-conscious. His language is clear, expressive, and thorough, and as fresh and immediate as the life (and death) it describes. The translation by Michael Glenny, while leaving a very few awkward turns of phrase that we would not be inclined to attribute to Solzhenitsyn, is excellent.

Solzhenitsyn dissects the sending of the Russian army hurriedly assembled and at one-third readiness into battle against the highly efficient German Army, and the defeats that followed. The Russian Army could not coordinate its advances. The troops were force-marched deep into Prussian territory on a whim from General Headquarters; the soldiers had only hard-tack to sustain them for days on end.

The bulk of the army were fresh peasant recruits who were not used to discipline. One-half of Samsonov's Second Army was not used in offensive actions against the Germans and was trapped in the encirclement by the very German forces which General Headquarters had not allowed them to attack. Whole divisions of troops were force-marched in the wrong direction for days, then made to turn around, march back, and engage directly in heavy fighting.

The stubborn heroism of the soldiers, personified in the character of Blagodaryov, can be seen in the fact that only when the Germans outnumbered them two-to-one were the Russian troops routed and defeated. Blagodaryov, a big peasant-infantryman, jokes that "it isn't enough to kill a Russian soldier; you have to knock him down as well."

### HEROISM

Solzhenitsyn's technique is to alternate terse factual passages with vivid fictional ones to come to a deeper understanding of the whole period. The heroism and dogged determination of the soldiers runs like a thread through every situation. Opposed to it, and decisive in the out-

come of the battle is the cowardice and bumbling incompetence of the self-seeking career officers at the top.

Solzhenitsyn's portraits of the skillfully lying Rennenkampf, General of the First Army who waited in the wings while the Second Army was cut to ribbons, of the venal and cowardly General Zhilinsky, "a deathly gray, bony old man with a stiff back who suffered from a continual need to go to the lavatory," and the dull-witted, narrow-minded strategist of the Russian Army, General Danilov, are slashing exposures of the moral bankruptcy and conservative weight of the military bureaucracy.

Solzhenitsyn does not assume the role of narrator, describing an imaginary scene and peopling it with imaginary characters. Rather, his pen is a camera and Solzhenitsyn is the editor. At the opening of the book, he swings down slowly to a scene of a lonely horsedrawn cart on the Caucasian steppes. Then he pans the stunning early-morning panorama of the Caucasus Range.

He is capable of simply becoming a character in outlook and manner of speech, in the intimate workings of a character's mind, then suddenly zooming back to a medium distance to see the character and his actions from the outside. It is a totally fresh view of life that Solzhenitsyn gives us, as fresh in many ways as cinema, but with the advantage of being free to explore important detail.

This book throws the events of August 1914 into the sharpest relief, with the help of a little artificial light. It lays bare the Czar's favors bestowed on the crew of generals of the Russian Imperial Staff (Col. Vorotyntsev observes at one point that the Russian Army has many more generals than any other army of that period.)

Vorotyntsev's patriotism, of a more skeptical and less flowery type, is shaken when he finds that when the fate of tens of thousands of soldiers and perhaps Russia's survival itself hangs on the eleventh-hour decisions of the General Headquarters, the generals are more interested in gaining rank or not ruffling the Czar's temper than they are in defending the Fatherland.

In fact, the Grand-Duke Nikolai Nikolaev, uncle to the Czar and commander-in-chief of the Russian Army, spent all his time well behind the front lines, safely inside Poland, on the excuse that God would direct the battle as He saw fit, so who needs the Grand-Duke? And he spent one quarter of his working day on his knees in his private railroad car, praying for a Russian victory.

Another general unfortunate enough to be at the front lines falsified telegraphic reports of the fighting so as to cover up his total responsibility for the deaths of two thousand men in one battle. Meanwhile, the generals at Army Group Headquarters, aware that such things were probably going on, tacitly agreed to let sleeping dogs lie, lest responsibility also be aimed at them like a cannon, as Vorotyntsev later did.

### INCOMPETENCE

Solzhenitsyn gives us a sympathetic portrait of General Samsonov, commander of Second Army. Samsonov's tactic of a pincer movement to catch the retreating German Army was undermined by the incompetence, corruption and personal rivalries in the army Staff. The German forces, under Hindenburg and Hermann von Francois finally succeeded in encircling the Second Army and capturing between seventy and ninety thousand soldiers. Only fifteen thousand made it back to Russia. As a result of the hopelessness of the situation, Samsonov feels a heavy responsibility for the losses, and his suicide, movingly described by Solzhenitsyn, is an act of despair in the face of forces over which Samsonov could exert no control.

In a foreword to the book, Solzhenitsyn says, "This book comprises the first part, or fascicle, of a work in many parts. Therefore, it makes no pretense at completeness, even in the development of its characters: except for the operations of

## A New Masterpiece By Solzhenitsyn



Samsonov's army, this is only the initial presentation of a longer work.

"The whole work, however, may take as long as twenty years, and probably I will not live to finish it."

### STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

It is because of the intentions expressed in this foreword that *August 1914* has been banned in the Soviet Union and that Solzhenitsyn has come under a new round of attacks by the hired hacks and the political police of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their situation is very similar to that of General Yanushkevich in *August 1914*. Yanushkevich, as described by Solzhenitsyn, was "a small man with a puffy face, an insinuating manner, and a deep affection for paper and files."

Totally ignorant of military affairs, he was appointed by the Czar to "Lieutenant General, Chief of the Russian Imperial Staff." At a conference following the defeat in East Prussia, Vorotyntsev lashes General Zhilinsky for sending the Russian Army into battle unprepared. Yanushkevich had played his part in that circumstance, and though unaccused, he cowers in fear and hatred, afraid Vorotyntsev will turn the guns on him.

The Soviet bureaucracy, who cultivate within their ranks a similar affection for things administrative, sense that though they are as yet unaccused in *August 1914*, they will sooner or later feel the ruthless club of Solzhenitsyn's inquest into Russian history. His next volume, to be titled *October 1916* according to *Saturday Review*, doubtless is getting too close for comfort. It was in the period of late 1916 and early 1917 that the crisis of Czarism reached its limits. In this crisis, Lenin and Trotsky have written that the conservative tendencies of Stalin, always an organization man, came to the fore. Only five months after October 1916, Stalin was to advocate support to the liberal Kerensky, a policy Lenin fought tooth and nail against in the period of the *April Theses*.

### SUICIDE

To turn the undaunted Solzhenitsyn loose on that period would be suicide for the Stalinists, for they have so falsified and distorted and suppressed the actual historic events surrounding the Russian Revolution that they would be exposed as nothing more than cheap counterfeiters and forgers.

The attack on Solzhenitsyn has come from the liberal literary circles in the capitalist countries as well. Mary Mc-

Carthy reviews *August 1914* in the October 1972 issue of *Saturday Review*. In a facile and pseudo-profound article, she calls Solzhenitsyn's writing "dated techniques," "corny" and "impossible to finish." Other than this, she says nothing about the literary style of the man who wrote *First Circle*, *Cancer Ward*, and *One Day In The Life Of Ivan Denisovich*.

She then proceeds to turn Solzhenitsyn's powerful characters into Tolstoyan interpretations of mythological figures. Ensign Lenartovich, the only literally socialist character in the book, is an idealistic student who has a condescending attitude to the representatives of the "masses" who are under his command. Solzhenitsyn, while not developing the character of Lenartovich, is careful to identify him as a *narodnik*, a political tendency that based itself on theories of peasant revolution and was popular among the middle classes of Russia.

### ARTISTIC DESIGN

Solzhenitsyn has called *August 1914* and his overall plan "the chief artistic design of my life." And though the Kremlin has denied him access to the historical documents and archives he needs, he has nevertheless constructed a powerful and thorough account of a battle which was a symptom of the advanced decay of the Czarist system, and which hastened its collapse.

The war, which at first, as Trotsky says, strengthened the state power and made it seem the only stable thing in a time of chaos, inevitably undermined the Czarist state and pushed Russia to the road of revolution.

Solzhenitsyn therefore begins his investigation in the right place, for the first decisive defeat was a signal of the rotten foundations of Czarism, and the war itself was the rope that hanged the Czarist system and Russian capitalism. A new society had to be born.

This is made crystal clear in the final chapter of *August 1914*, where with bitter and utterly devastating irony, Solzhenitsyn shows the picture of a decadent clique of corrupted men washing their hands of the blood of tens of thousands of Russian dead, declaring themselves innocent before history.

In the final scene, they rejoice over a hollow and insignificant victory of which they have just received news, but each one is quivering inside in uncertainty and the realization that they are utterly incapable of determining the course of events.

# ITALIAN CAPITAL SUPPORTS ANGOLA



Portuguese troops in Angola (left) and Mozambique. Italian capitalists are investing heavily in these colonies and helping Portugal against liberation troops.

## BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Support given by Italian capital to Portugal's imperialist wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea reveals the threat of fascism in Europe.

Portugal spends 58 percent of its annual budget on the wars, at a rate of \$600,000 a day to maintain a 130,000 strong army in Africa.

To shore up the war effort, U.S. President Nixon recently granted a \$436 million loan to Portuguese premier Caetano.

The secretary-general of NATO, Joseph Luns, has given glowing praise to this imperialist venture:

"Portugal has been responsible for notable cultural progress in its overseas territories...Salazar led the country very wisely...NATO has more need of Portugal than Portugal has of NATO...Portugal is sacrificing its own blood for our freedom..."

One enthusiastic backer for Caetano's cultural mission against the African national liberation struggle is the Italian capitalist class, which is intent on a large slice of the profits from mining and farming when the Cabora Bassa and Cunene dams are finally built.

Despite public statements by the Italian government that it is no longer participating in the Cabora Bassa project and that Italy is not strengthening the Portuguese armies, Italy is second only to the U.S. in supplying war equipment to Caetano.

Italian munitions factories have supplied Beretta light automatic rifles and Breda machine guns. Fiat have obliged with 40 G91 fighter bombers, specially

equipped for anti-guerrilla warfare.

The G91 is a real symbol of European cooperation: the frame is built by Fiat, the engine by an English company, the landing equipment by a French company and the electronics by a Dutch firm!

Agusta supplies helicopters, and OTO-Melara armoured cars and guns. The AER Macchi company has a factory in South Africa which builds aircraft for Portugal and South Africa.

Italian capital is already well represented in the Portuguese colonies. Pirelli and the Naval construction firm in Venice are part of a consortium controlling the main iron ore mines in Angola.

Italian capital is also involved in the Cassinga project, which will enable the iron ore to be transported more rapidly.

Perhaps the most sinister venture, however, is the steps being made to establish an Italian settlement in Angola and Mozambique to realize old colonial ambitions of the Italian fascist movement.

## BY MELODY FARROW

Polish leader Edward Gierek returned to Poland October 6 after concluding a 10 year pact of "friendship and cooperation" with France. This agreement, following the deals made by Rumania and Yugoslavia, is a major step towards collaboration with imperialism and opens the door to economic penetration of the workers' states by the capitalist countries.

Gierek hailed the pact as "a common contribution of the two states to...the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different regimes." Throughout the one week trip, Gierek did everything to stress his support to the Pompidou government including a lavish reception in his honor at the Polish embassy and a visit to DeGaulle's tomb in Colombey.

In the agreement, Gierek and Pompidou pledged to respect the principles of each other's sovereignty, independence and equality, no recourse to force or threats, inviolability of the present frontiers and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The joint declaration states:

"The essential goals of each country are to further a relaxation of tensions and to reinforce European security in order to overcome the division of the continents in blocs and to develop peaceful cooperation of the European peoples in all areas. They will equally favor efforts towards a general and complete disarmament."

### AGREEMENT

The heart of the agreement is the section dealing with the development of economic cooperation in the industrial, scientific and technical fields. The declaration states that special interest will be given to metals, machine tools, steel, coal, tex-

tiles, food industries, chemicals, electronics, naval construction and ship building.

Gierek is seeking to attract foreign investment to Poland by offering to produce goods cheaper than some of the Western countries. In 1971, Poland won the bid for construction of a sulfuric acid plant for West Germany.

During his trip, Gierek visited the Berliet auto plant in Lyons which recently awarded Poland a license to assemble buses and streetcars in Polish factories with France furnishing the basic equipment.

### CREDIT

A key aspect of the trade deal is the opening of a credit account for Poland worth \$292 million which Poland will use to purchase equipment from France. The French Prime Minister commenting on the deal told reporters:

"We can see a rapid development of commercial exchange between the two countries and in particular a doubling of our exports to Poland."

Gierek made it clear that he had hoped the deal would go even further, in the amount of credit given and especially on the lowering of Common Market barriers to imports from Eastern Europe. In addition, the two countries have agreed to cooperate on building "mixed enter-

prises" in the underdeveloped countries.

In order to make these deals successful, Gierek has dropped his former opposition to the Common Market just as he has embraced the West German regime in order to further his economic goals. Following the Stalinist line, Gierek declared:

"We consider that the existence of the Common Market and Comecon is a fact that we must recognize. For our part we place no obstacles to the rapprochments of the two countries."

What is actually taking place is the complete breakdown of Comecon, the East European trading bloc, as each Stalinist government seeks to make deals with the capitalist countries, which further weakens the monopoly on foreign trade.

In order to win foreign investment, the Polish regime will attempt to hold down wages and increase the productivity of the Polish workers. Industrial managers have been given greater freedom and incentive and workers are now paid according to how much they produce. It was a two year wage freeze, coupled with soaring prices, that sparked the workers' uprising in December 1970.

### CUTTHROAT

Faced with cutthroat competition among the capitalist nations, France hopes to expand its trade into Eastern Europe to boost its balance of payments.

The first Italians arrived in Luanda (Angola) at the beginning of October 1971. The Portuguese planned for the arrival of more than a million soldier settlers in order to finish off the liberation armies.

Until now, only 500,000 have arrived, 350,000 in Angola and 150,000 in Mozambique. To speed up the process, Portugal has now decided to appeal to ex-colonialists from east and north Africa, now driven back to Europe, and has offered them vast expanses of fertile land in the Cunene and Cabora Bassa valleys.

The project is already under way. The director of the Portuguese Information Center in Rome, Alvaro Mesquitela, has made contact with a Christian Democrat and a farmer in difficulty with the Somali government, Giovanni Capassa.

As a result of this friendly get-together, an agreement was concluded to send to Angola over 100 Italian families expelled from Libya, or preoccupied with the threat of other nationalizations in Somali—refugee Mussolini's men!

The Christian Democrat involved in the transaction is thought to be Bettiol, of the openly pro-fascist wing of the CD party in Venice. Bettiol was the head of a delegation of Italian parliamentarians which, after talks with Caetano, declared that the liberation movements did not exist and that "Portugal was an important reality which the world should take into account."

This development from selling arms or profiteering from colonial plunder could lead to the establishment of an old frontier-type occupation force ready to defend illegitimate gains against the native population which is starving to death.

The project has the backing of the Italian Mercantile Company, which controls 30 percent of Angolan exports to Italy, the manager of which, Silvano Fantoni, hopes to expand the business of banana exports from Angola.

The latest possibility is that apart from ex-colonialists from Libya and Somalia, recruits of a different kind could be made in poverty-stricken southern Italy, a stronghold of the fascists. Perhaps shipments of poor peasants or unemployed to Portuguese Africa to fight on behalf of imperialism in this new land of opportunity?

This "answer" to the unemployment problem is a good indication of the "new Europe" that capital wishes to forge.

# Poland Embraces European Security

The goal of the French government is to totally destroy the foundations of the workers states, using the compromise of the Stalinists to do it.

The desperation of the Stalinists to come to terms with imperialism exposes the fraud of building "socialism in one country." The Stalinists' refusal to construct revolutionary parties in every country against capitalism has condemned the Eastern European countries to economic stagnation and backwardness.

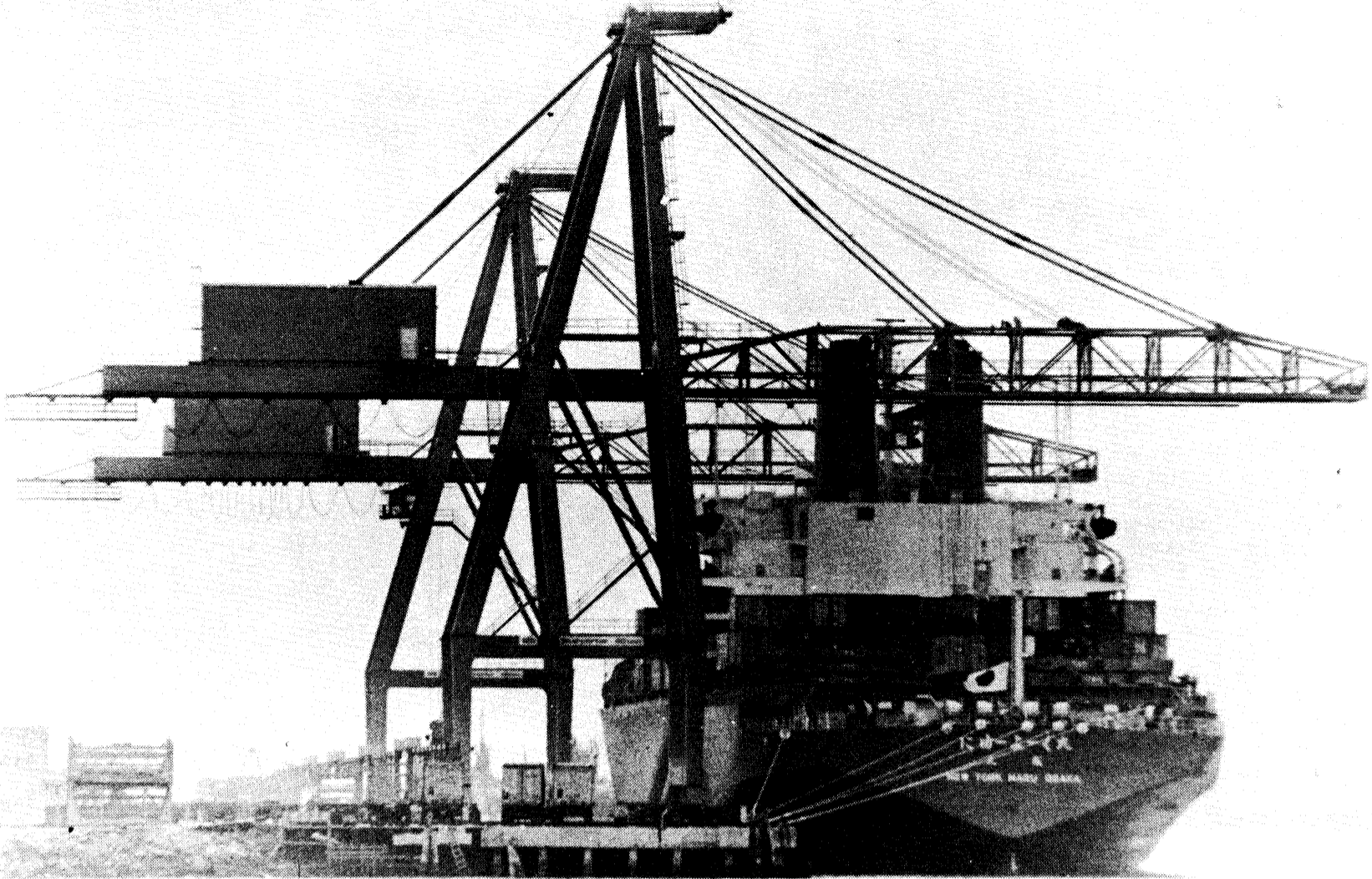
The Pompidou-Gierek agreement is far more than just an economic pact. By pledging "non-interference" in the internal affairs of France, Gierek will look the other way while Pompidou attacks the wages and unions of the French workers.

While Gierek was wining and dining Pompidou, the French government was launching a bitter anti-communist crusade for the 1973 elections.

The meaning of the Stalinists' peaceful coexistence is the recognition and acceptance of capitalism. Now Gierek hopes to take this further by security agreements in which the imperialist and Stalinist leaders will jointly police the European working class.

These plans will be blown apart in the coming year as French and Polish workers renew their struggle against these attacks on a scale greater than the battles of 1968 and 1970.





# "The Maru Is Just Like A Truck"

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Bayonne, N.J.—Japanese shippers are making a determined bid to assume the leadership of the international container cargo service.

Although they entered the container cargo field later than their European and American competitors, the 1964 merger of Japan's two largest shipbuilding firms, Mitsui and Osaka Shosen Kaisha to form Mitsui O.S.K., set the stage for a very rapid development.

Just how far Japan has come during the past eight years was illustrated by the arrival here in Port Jersey of the New York Maru after completing—in the record time of 16 days—its maiden voyage.

Boasting the most modern power system afloat and the fastest cruising speed, the Maru is Japan's latest addition to what soon will be the largest container system in the world.

There is no question that Japan will dominate the Pacific run, for the vast container capacity and speed of its ships will make it the most profitable and efficient delivery system between East Coast and Japanese ports. Those companies that use surface transportation across the United States before loading at West Coast ports will be unable to compete.

Mitsui O.S.K. will have a few more container ships ready within the next 18 months; and like the New York Maru and the New Jersey Maru—scheduled to start service in March 1973—all the ships will be named after American states. But this will be small consolation to its American competitors.

The new Japanese fleet will have a tremendous impact on the

longshoremen of the three main countries that it will serve: Japan, the United States and Britain, for the technological advances represented by these ships will require only a fraction of the work force now needed for the Far East trade.

#### MARU

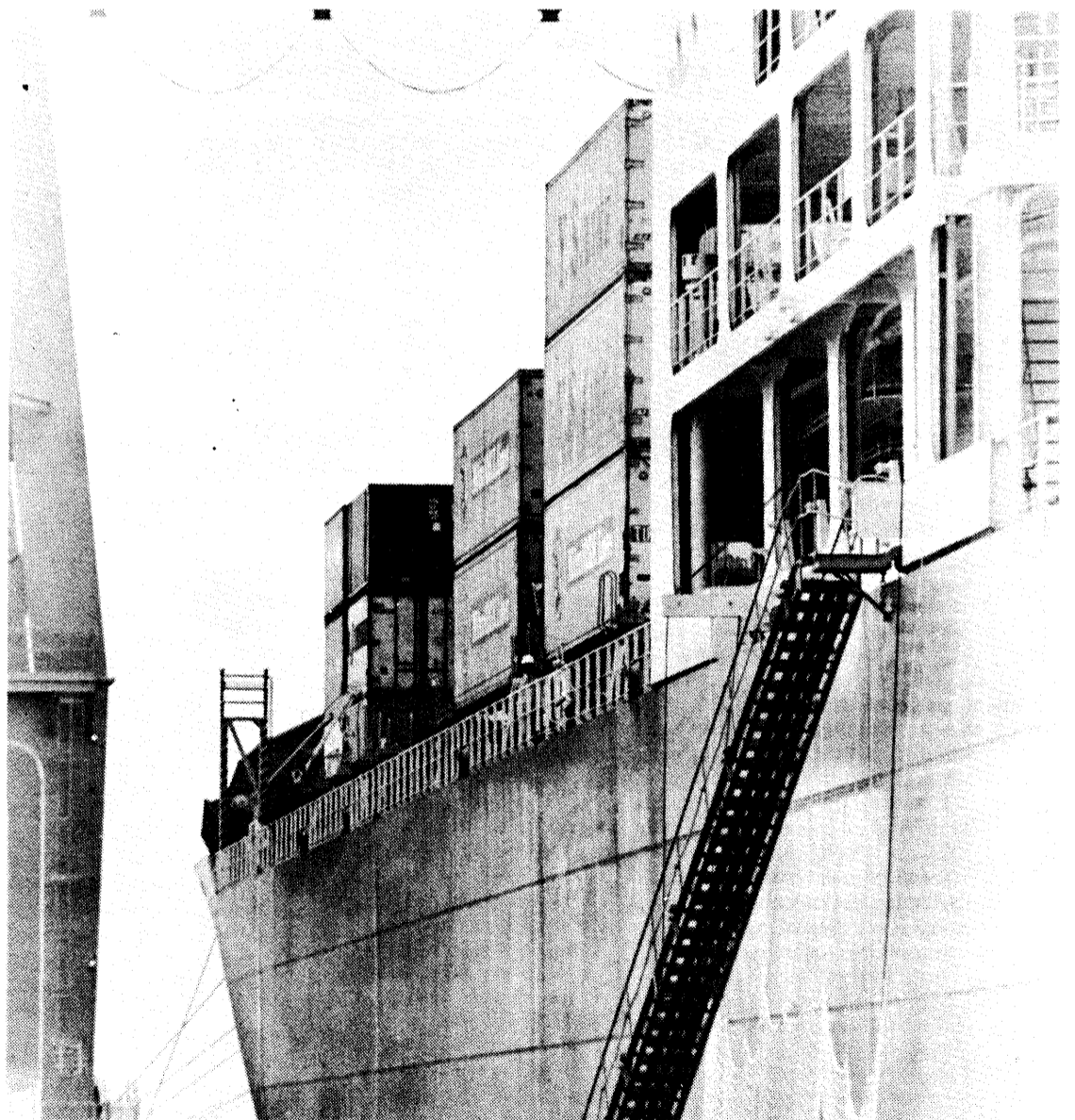
The New York Maru handles a maximum of 1884 20-foot containers which can be loaded and unloaded in little more than a day's time. According to the Maru's captain, Ryokichi Misurida who spoke to *Bulletin* reporters—who inspected the ship upon its arrival—the Maru can handle three times the capacity of most older container ships in one third the time.

"The Maru is just like a truck," he said. "We load her and turn around."

Walking across the deck, we could find no more than five longshoremen on the Maru. Their work consisted primarily in supervising the loading of the cargo. Equipped with the latest in container facilities, including automatic hatch activators and specialized container racks, the Maru brings shipping a giant step closer to the era when cargo will be loaded and unloaded untouched by human hands.

"Ships like this will mean no jobs," said one of the men on the deck. During a 10 minute interview with the *Bulletin*, three 20-foot containers were lowered into place.

In an article written for the *Journal of Commerce*, published the morning of the Maru's arrival, Mitsui O.S.K. President Jiro Gonda stated that "close



Japanese containership "New York Maru" (shown being loaded) docked at Port Jersey in Bayonne, N.J. last week. Such new ships are being used to destroy thousands of longshore jobs in bid to control shipping.

cooperation between the operators and the rationalization of shipping policies are essential in order to promote the trade."

Under capitalism, the extraordinary developments in ship design and transport facilities will mean increased profits for the shipper and the destruction of living conditions for longshoremen.

The container revolution now

taking place under conditions of a massive economic crisis has set the stage for a decisive confrontation between the shippers—defended by the government—and the dockers. All the job conditions won by longshoremen of the ILA and ILWU, above all the Guaranteed Annual Income, must come under attack.

There is no way the conflict

can be avoided and the jobs of longshoremen can be defended except through a political struggle for socialism. This requires the building of a labor party that will fight for the nationalization of industry under workers control.

Only then will the progressive developments in technology, such as containerization, benefit the working class.

**BY DAVID NORTH**

The discussion with trade unionists on **The Case For A Labor Party** which began in the **Bulletin** two months ago has made an important contribution to the fight for the independent political mobilization of the working class against the Democrats and Republicans.

The statements have reflected the development of the powerful movement by all sections of the working class toward a labor party; they have expressed, as well, the turn toward questions of socialism by the most advanced sections of workers.

All the statements show that great changes are taking place in the thinking of workers under conditions of ever-increasing attacks on the trade unions. No one who has read the statements each week—by auto workers, hospital workers, garment workers—can doubt that the trade unions are already in a battle for survival.

It is precisely these attacks that give such urgency to the construction of the labor party. Neither the living conditions nor the basic rights of American workers can be defended without a political struggle against the corporations and their political henchmen.

**THEORETICAL STRUGGLE**

However, the task of breaking masses of workers from the chains of the two party system requires, above all, a theoretical struggle against their present consciousness. Even under the favorable objective conditions that now exist, the labor party will not come into being without the development of a Marxist leadership within the working class.

This leadership will not emerge merely on the basis of an agreement on the need for a labor party. It is no less important to confront the uncertainty and disagreement about the nature of the present crisis even among those trade unionists who agree that a labor party should be built.

In this context, it is important to review the discussion conducted by the **Bulletin** over the past two months, and consider—if only briefly—some of the questions raised by trade unionists about the fight for and the tasks of the labor party.

**THREE QUESTIONS**

Going back over the discussion, one finds that three questions in particular were raised repeatedly. These questions were:

1. Can a labor party be built now?
2. Wouldn't a labor party led by Meany be just as rotten as the Democrats, and therefore don't we have to get rid of Meany and the rest of the bureaucrats before we can have our party?
3. Would it be possible—or even right—for a labor party to demand the nationalization of industry under workers' control? Is it a realistic demand?

These three questions are of great importance because they raise the fundamental issues of the nature of the crisis and the way in which consciousness develops within the working class.

To deal with the first question—can the labor party be built now?—it is necessary to understand the situation faced by millions of workers as the elections draw closer and also to turn to the lessons of American labor history.

The United States—and therefore every capitalist country—is racked by the greatest economic crisis in history. The decision by Nixon on August 15, 1971 to suspend the convertibility of the dollar into gold has set the stage for the complete collapse of the international monetary system and the destruction of world trade. A series of spectacular financial disasters is on the agenda for all the advanced countries.

**DEADLIEST BLOWS**

Big business cannot save itself without destroying the rights and standards won by the working class during the post-war boom. The ruling class must aim its dead-



## BULLETIN REPLIES ON LABOR PARTY



liest blows against the trade unions, where the strength of workers is concentrated. The program of big business in this period is union-busting, speed-ups and wage cuts.

It is through the Government, controlled by the giant corporations, that the attacks on the working class are carried out. Nixon, speaking in the interests of the Rockefellers, Fords, Du Ponts and Mellons, imposes the Pay Board, demands anti-strike laws, and calls for more productivity. The courts and the police stand ready to answer the resistance of workers with injunctions and billy clubs, if not bullets.

In other words, big business is organized politically in the form of the Government itself to launch attacks on the working class.

1972

But now in 1972 the movement within the ranks for a labor party is greater than ever before. Millions of workers realize that while Richard Nixon is openly attacking them, George McGovern has no program to defend the trade unions. For the first time since the "New Deal," masses of workers will not vote for the Democrats. In spite of the great issues before the ranks, an enormous number of them plan to sit this one out.

The collapse of the Democratic Party is a decisive factor in understanding the fact that the labor party can—and must—be built. It is a historic development. The Democrats, who have thrived as long as relative prosperity permitted concessions to the trade unions, are falling apart beneath the weight of the crisis.

This signifies that the era of compromise has come to an end for once and for all. All the attempts of the bureaucrats to rebuild the Democrats as a compromise party or to establish some new compromise with Nixon will fail. Nothing less than a labor party which places the working class on a war footing will do.

It is no accident that the very bureaucrats who are at the forefront of the frantic search for a middle road have already proven themselves incapable of defending the ranks and their trade unions. AFL-CIO President George Meany is "neutral" in this campaign just as he is neutral on the Pay Board. He has no policy to meet the one or the other. UAW President Leonard Woodcock will not organize a nationwide struggle against General Motors because



he realizes that the ensuing political confrontation with the government would expose the bankruptcy of his political ties to McGovern and the Democrats. ILA President Thomas Gleason is carrying his policy of surrender to the logical conclusion: he is supporting Nixon, who led the attacks on longshoremen.

**DEFENSE**

The defense of the unions is inseparable from the fight for a labor party. All the objective conditions exist for its rapid development. It has been called for by state labor councils, demanded by delegates at union conventions, and even threatened by leaders of the largest unions in the world. It must now be built.

This leads us to the second question: Why have a labor party led by Meany? We must get rid of the bureaucrats first.

This position was stated most forcefully in the discussion by Walter Grady of UE Local 190. He stated: "We should not even begin to think about a labor party until we find a way to get rid of people like Meany. It would be like having a labor party in office and a person like Nixon as president."

It must be understood that the real heart of the fight for the labor party is the struggle for a new Marxist leadership within the working class. The labor party is no panacea for revolutionaries. We understand that a labor party controlled by bureaucrats like Meany would lead workers to ruin. Nevertheless, we still demand that Meany fight for the labor party, and we would support him for President on the labor party ticket.

**CONSCIOUSNESS**

Once again, we derive this strategy from the Marxist understanding of how consciousness will develop within the working class. It is through the struggle for a labor party that countless workers and youth will pass on the road to becoming socialists.

George Meany would find leading the American labor party as enjoyable as riding a tiger bareback. From its birth, the labor party would be forced to confront the essential issue of power—who runs the country, labor or capital?

It is in the heat of the struggle that the Marxist movement will wage its greatest struggle to transform the consciousness of millions of workers and to construct the

revolutionary party. Not only will the establishment of the labor party be followed by the greatest housecleaning in the history of the trade union movement, but the most decisive political development will take place as workers confront the principal issue in the international workers movement: the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism.

**FUNDAMENTAL**

It is through a battle against the bureaucracy and the more fundamental theoretical struggle against Stalinism and revisionism that the labor party will be built. This party would have to pose the establishment of socialism as the only solution to the danger of fascist barbarism. The capitalist system cannot be reformed; it must be done away with. The labor party must frankly state its intention to nationalize the means of production under workers control.

This position was put forward in **The Case For A Labor Party**; and a number of workers raised questions about it in their statements. Pedro Lorenzo of the IUE said: "We should work in ways to reach agreement, instead of having to take everything they have."

Johnny Stevens of the ILGWU stated: "I do not think that nationalization can be done. It is not a viable alternative. You would have to shake this country up completely for something like that to happen."

When we say that capitalism is totally bankrupt and that it has no potential for progressive development, we mean essentially that the means of production are in rebellion against the social relations. This means that the vast productive forces developed through scientific and technological conquests cannot exist any longer within the framework of the private ownership of these productive forces by a handful of capitalists. The desperate pursuit of profit, upon which the capitalist system is based, leads inevitably to anarchy in production. It is impossible to harness the productive forces under capitalism and use them for the benefit of mankind.

**DESTROY**

Every technological innovation is used by the capitalist to destroy the living conditions of workers. To understand this one needs to look no further than the docks. Container ships which can revolutionize transportation of goods around the world will mean the destruction of longshore jobs if the industry is left in the hands of capitalists.

A similar situation exists in the auto industry. The vicious speed-up drive was preceded by a heavy investment by General Motors in the most up-to-date production techniques. But GM expects the real price to be paid by the UAW ranks.

In spite of the most extraordinary scientific developments, society is stagnating under capitalism. And with the emergence of the economic crisis, depression and World War III threaten the survival of civilization.

The nationalization of industry under workers' control and the establishment of the socialist planned economy would provide the foundation for the resolution of the crisis and the tremendous growth in the wealth of society. Production for the purpose of profit would be replaced by production on the basis of need. Only when the working class is in control of the economy and has abolished private ownership of the factories will the needs of the great majority of people be met.

Brother Stevens is correct when he says that in order to achieve nationalization, "You would have to shake this country up completely."

Big business will not give up its right to exploit and destroy for the sake of profits. Because of the crisis, it must seek to establish the most ruthless dictatorship to defend this "right." The Watergate revelations, the witch-hunt of militants like Angela Davis and Juan Farinas, and the campaigns of men like Wallace and Schmitz reveal the plans of the corporations.

The fight of the Workers League and Young Socialists for the labor party is the fight to build a conscious leadership in the working class that will fight for the victory of socialism.

The Conference For A Labor Party Now, which meets this weekend in Chicago, will play a historic role in ensuring the success of that fight.

# Midwest News

## Company Union Seeks To Oust UAW At NCR

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, Ohio—UAW Local 616 in National Cash Register now faces an all-out union-busting attack. A company union movement has emerged officially and is seeking a National Labor Relations Board sanction to have all dues to the UAW withheld until a new election is held.

The open drive to smash the union has been preceded by an unprecedented attack on the workers' job security through mass layoffs, automation and threats of further cutbacks.

The company union movement is no small operation. A mass mailing of a four page flyer has been sent out to the 8000 production and maintenance workers. The flyer states:

"The employment level of the Dayton utility is not dependent on the presence or absence of the union...but instead on the ability of the Dayton facility to compete in the market place."

This is a direct appeal to workers to accept the bosses' system of profit, carrying this acceptance to its logical conclusion—the destruction of the members' working conditions, job security, union, and the right to a decent standard of living for their families.

The organizers of this operation boasted that they began their propaganda against the union in July. They have sought to take advantage of the coincidence of mass layoffs and automation and the construction of a new UAW local organized in 1971 that has fought unsuccessfully against these attacks.

The date of the beginning of the company union drive is significant. Just a month earlier, a new labor-hating president, William S. Anderson—fresh from speeding up Japanese workers—was installed. He made the same boast as GMAD boss Godfrey made for General

Motors.

Dayton press carried banner headlines for Anderson's plans for job destruction. In July he announced the plans—a graduated destruction of 2000 jobs by the end of the year out of 8000.

The layoffs began in July. The UAW did not come out with any demands to counter this job destruction program. Last winter, the new local went on strike for sixteen weeks against the speed-up plan called the Standard Hourly Plan. This piece-work system had been agreed to by the so-called independent union in 1968 and led to unbridled speed-up and the workers organizing into the UAW. But after 16 weeks, the leadership pushed through significant wage and pension improvements but left the Standard Hourly Plan in operation with some modification.

Now, the company union advocates seek to make the UAW the scapegoat for the attacks. Company union spokesmen were quoted in the *Journal Herald* as saying:

"Company officials were approached about the idea about a new independent union and they indicated support for such a move, and an independent union could turn things around and prevent further job losses."

Vice President Mark Conley of the UAW local indicated that he was not worried about the company union movement. He said that the membership is getting riled against these people who are starting this movement.

He told the *Bulletin* that

workers were averaging 31 percent above the Standard Hourly Rate or five dollars an hour, but admitted there were a couple of "trouble areas" where the base rate needed correcting. He said the local had no plans to counter the company union movement at the time.

When asked about the massive layoffs that Anderson had announced, Conley pointed out that it was still only 546 workers, and 50 were being recalled, and that 4100 workers had been eliminated during the independent union tenure.

However, 2000 men are earmarked for layoff at the end of the year. It is clear that the only way for the UAW to defeat NCR and its company union drive is for the union to go on the offensive with a fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

## Hormel Speeds Production To Cut Meatpackers' Wages

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

AUSTIN, Minn.—In spite of record-breaking profits of \$16 million this year, the George H. Hormel meat packing company is out to sweat packinghouse workers for even more.

What lies behind these attacks is Hormel's need to break the back of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AMCBWNA). The key is Local P-9 of the Austin plant which employs 3500. Not

only does this plant produce more than the rest of the chain combined, but Local P-9 has a long and impressive history of determined struggle.

Last spring, Hormel in Austin threatened to close the whole beef kill operation and lay off 300 workers because, they complained: "We can't compete." The Local P-9 leadership accepted Hormel's problems and agreed to speed-up the beef kill and introduce new machinery.

Now, refusing to even meet with the union, the company is arrogantly raising the production standards used to compute base pay and piecework increases for the entire chain. They are demanding the workers both speed up and take a wage cut. For example, if on a bacon packing line, the standard negotiated between the company and the union was 100 boxes per hour, the base wage would be around \$4.44 per hour.

If a worker packed 150 boxes, that would be 50 percent of the base and his wage would be \$6.66 per hour. Under the new standard, the company wants a 150 box standard. One worker reported that some of the old standards were too high and even younger workers could not physically make base pay.

### REACTION

In reaction to this, Austin workers have been working at the old standard and no more. As one of the workers reported to the *Bulletin*: "The whole town is starting to scream. It used to be that after work, everyone would cash their checks, spend a little at the bar, and then go home."

"Now we just go home. My

checks alone are cut \$70 per week. But they're going to have a hell of a time breaking this union.

"For 50, 60, 75 years, guys have fought to get the wages we're getting now. I'll stay out on standard for 10 years if I have to. Morale at the plant is the best it's been in a long time."

### CONTRAST

The determination and fighting spirit of the ranks stands in sharp contrast to the cowardly stand of the International and local leadership. The International has refused to call out the entire membership in a fight against plant closings and pushes for productivity.

In the face of Hormel's total disregard for the negotiated contract, Austin Local President Jones keeps trying, as one worker says, "to get Hormel to negotiate like they always did. But the company won't negotiate."

### CLOSE

Behind these attacks stands Hormel's plan to close the large Austin plant. The entire packing industry of Chicago has closed. Swift of South St. Paul has closed. And Armour of South St. Paul plans to close. Hormel, too, wants to move into sections of Iowa where they can use the latest in automated equipment with a fraction of the labor forces who will work for one third the wage.

And behind Hormel stands the government. It is the Pay Board, supported by both the Democrats and Republicans, that demands increased productivity, unemployment, and plant closings.

## Northwest Pilots End Strike

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS-St. Paul—Members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALP-CIO) ended a 95 day strike against Northwest Orient Airlines on October 2.

This return to work settlement was effected through the direct intervention of the federal government, first in the form of mediators and later through the intervention of W.J. Usery, Nixon's Assistant Secretary of Labor.

What was worked out was a compromise on the Pilots Association demand that all 1600 pilots working when the strike began June 30 be immediately taken back. Now 1425 will be on the job from October 3, to be raised to 1510 shortly thereafter and the rest to be taken back "depending on how business improves."

There are still an additional 300 pilots on layoff status since the end of a five month strike against Northwest by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) in December 1970.

What no one should assume is that Northwest management, headed by its president, Donald Nyrop, has any intention of giving up their attempts of trying to gain the whip-hand over Northwest's labor force if not

destroy the unions altogether.

In this latest attempt of Northwest to go after one of the unions it deals with, Nyrop threw all the rocks at his command. He laid off virtually all clerks, stewardesses, machinists and radio operators. Most of these workers live in Minnesota and are prohibited by state law from receiving unemployment benefits due to the fact that it is a strike related layoff.

Big ads were taken out by Northwest in the daily press to show how "overpaid" the pilots were, even though most of them could not possibly meet all the qualifications for earning the maximum amount on the salary schedule. And Nyrop and company only published the maximums.

### KICKBACKS

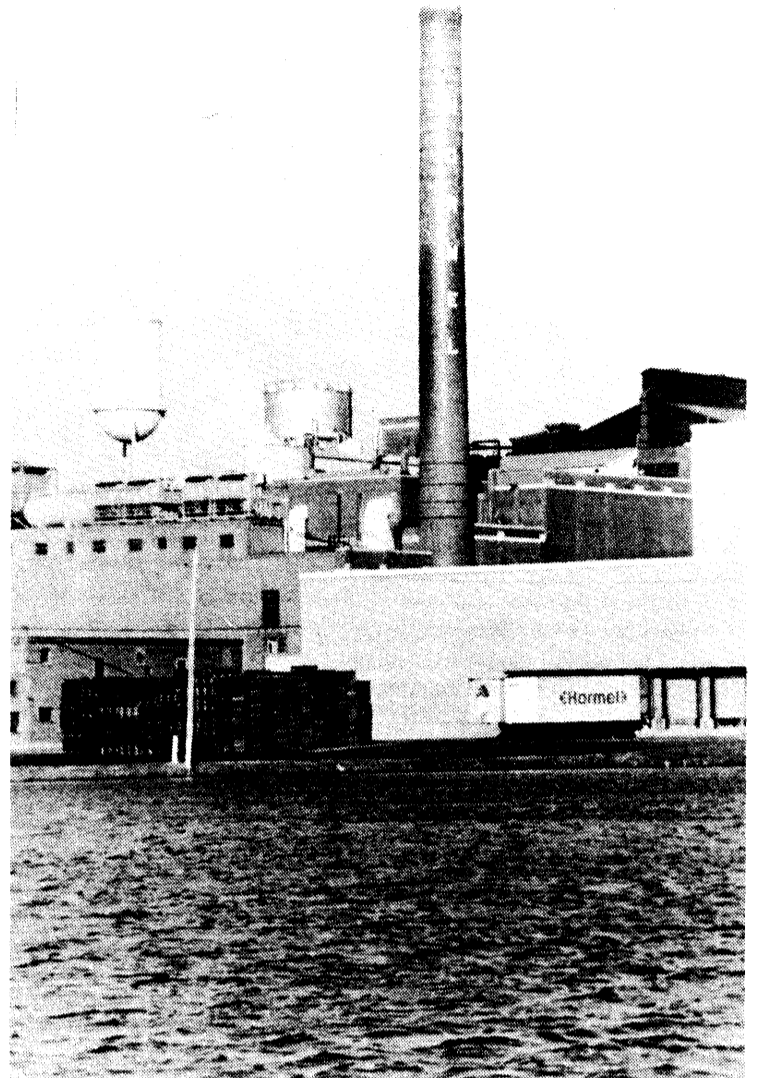
In addition to all this, Northwest made a fortune in kickbacks from the Airlines Mutual Aid Pact, composed of the major airlines, who are compelled to turn over part of their increased revenues to the struck airline.

In this way, Northwest gets much of the money it would have normally received if there had been no strike, with hardly any of the outlay normal operations require. Similar windfalls were reaped during the BRAC strike and the 10 week Machinists strike in 1966. Now the BRAC workers face another contract termination in December.

### DEMOCRATS

What has led the airline workers into their present situation is the continued support given by their leadership to the Democratic Party and their continued willingness to operate under the provisions of the anti-union Railway Labor Act. Under this law, the pilots were prevented from striking for 13 months after their old contract expired.

The bankruptcy of these policies is becoming more and more evident, as Nixon, with the backing of both parties, announces his plans to ban strikes on the docks, as a beginning of an all-out government attack on the transportation unions.



Members of Meatcutters Union Local P-9 at the Hormel meat packing plant in Austin, Minn. are refusing to go along with new speedup in their fight against Hormel company's attempts to break union.

# ST. LOUIS. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

With more than 12,000 unsettled Paragraph 78 health and safety and speed-up grievances piled up in St. Louis, the UAW International leadership admitted that the St. Louis situation was similar to the earlier situations at Lordstown and Norwood, "but more intense." More than 1000 workers have been laid off at the plant as a result of the speed-up drive.

## POLICY

The policy of scattered selective strikes which the leadership used to end the Mansfield Ohio strike at the Fisher Body stamping plant was adopted by the International leadership after the September 17 meeting in Detroit of the GM Council.

At this meeting, 12 of the 18 GMAD delegates voted for a nationwide shutdown of GMAD. However, Woodcock was able to push through the selective four day strike policy as a "compromise."

The ending of the St. Louis strike, like the settlements at Mansfield and Flint, solve nothing and are only a prelude to an inevitable explosion and confrontation with General Motors.

In this situation, there is a critical need for an opposition to take forward the fight against the Woodcock betrayal and to fight instead for a nationwide shutdown, preparations for defense by the entire labor movement against government intervention and for formation of a labor party.

## FIGHT

Above all, a fight must be conducted for strike action at each GMAD local while at the same time fighting for a nationwide shutdown. At a meeting last week called by the UAW Local 25 rank and file committee, the leadership of the committee under Nat Mosely refused to take up any fight to keep the St. Louis local out. He justified this by saying nothing could be done

without a nationwide strike.

But just as at Norwood, the extension of a strike at a key plant such as St. Louis would now make it much more difficult for Woodcock to prevent a nationwide strike. Those like Mosely and others, such as the Stalinists who on occasion give lip service to a nationwide shutdown, but refuse to fight for local strikes against the local leaders, only serve as a cover for Woodcock.

While the Stalinists came out openly at this committee meeting for McGovern, those who spoke against the Democrats such as Mosely and the International Socialists had absolutely no strategy for defeating GMAD or preparing a struggle against Nixon through a campaign for a labor party.

Instead, they agreed with the proposal of Pete Kelly, chairman of the United National Caucus, for a program of "decentralization," of a national organization of shop stewards in opposition to Woodcock, a "network of rank and file committees."

But there can be no network of rank and file committees that can defend the interests of the auto workers unless they are based on a political understanding of the struggle against Woodcock and GMAD. So-called rank and file committees such as those led by the Stalinists are a trap behind which Woodcock is allowed to capitulate to General Motors and the needs of the ranks are subordinated to the McGovern campaign.

A genuine rank and file caucus can only be built in the UAW on the basis of a principled fight for Marxist leadership. Such a leadership must be prepared to fight through to the end to defend the working class instead of beginning with the need for the company to make a profit as the Woodcock leadership does.

The Chicago Conference For A Labor Party Now, to be held October 21-22 will mark a major step forward in the organization and discussion of perspectives for such a caucus.

# MANSFIELD. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

ty could be seen by the distribution in the hall of McGovern material by people from the Mansfield McGovern for President Committee, and by a member of the local's Political Action Committee.

The latter, who supports the politics of the Communist Party, claimed he was a union official. He expressed fear about the large sale of the Bulletin before the meeting. He ordered Bulletin reporters out of the union hall who had come to talk to the local leadership for additional information about the strike. "We

have to see to it that the workers get behind McGovern," he said. According to the Dayton Daily News, the UAW has a strike notice due to expire at 10:00 a.m. Tuesday at the Ford plant in Sterling Heights, Michigan. Like Mansfield, this Ford plant makes all the rear end assemblies for the entire Ford production line.

In the meantime, the St. Louis plant has been ordered to return to work, while strike deadlines are set for Friday at GMAD plants in Fairfax, Kansas, Janesville, Wisconsin, and Arlington, Texas.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

\$1.00 FOR 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB \$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS  
\$4.00 FOR ONE YEAR 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011



Woodcock is betraying struggle against speedup by not organizing nationwide GMAD strike. St Louis (above) and others were sent back.

# RIGHT-TO-WORK. . .

(Continued From Page 7)  
working class which can bring forward their fight against the Tory government to the taking of power.

This leadership is critical if workers are to survive in this period.

The Stalinists play an extremely treacherous role in trying to hold back the workers from fighting against the Tories. It was the Stalinists who, as during the tremendous dock strike last summer, have fought to save the Tory government. The Stalinists try to drown workers and youth in illusions of reforming capitalism, which today means the defeat of the working class.

## DEPRESSION

Every move made by the capitalist class poses extreme dangers ahead for the international working class. Nixon's recent declaration of trade war against Europe and Asia set the stage for a world depression that has never been seen before. It also makes clear that the ruling

class will make the international working class pay for the crisis in the capitalist system.

This means that all over the world workers will be faced with massive unemployment, starvation and repression. The ruling class is clear on what they have to do and at the same time is conscious of the strong working class it will have to deal with.

They are determined to deal with them as they see necessary. The only defense workers have today is the international socialist movement which bases itself on the destruction of capitalism itself.

It is only the Fourth International which is providing the leadership necessary to bring forward the working class in each country against the repression and intolerable conditions.

It is only by bringing the working class to power that the attacks being waged will end and mankind will go forward. It is only with this strategy in every country, that all workers can be defended.

# BRITAIN. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Market which Britain is scheduled to join January 1, despite the mass opposition by the working class. Once again the so-called left trade union leaders refused to oppose Wilson and were content with a resolution which vaguely mentions renegotiating the terms of entry—exactly how to be left up to Wilson.

In fact, only a week after the conference, it was announced that the former Labour Cabinet minister, George Thomson, and the assistant general secretary of the Labour Party Gwn Morgan would take top jobs at the Common Market headquarters in Brussels.

Entry into the Common Market will send unemployment, already at 817,000, skyrocketing and inflation soaring out of control.

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party also instructed its local councils to "obey" the Tory "fair rents" Act which will double the rents on

public housing.

Edward Heath has made it clear that he will make no compromise with the trade unions. The central theme of the Tories' Conference to be held this week will be law and order. In a recent speech, Tory Home Secretary Robert Carr warned of "industrial violence in the form of violent picketing which seems frequently to be inspired by people not directly involved in the dispute."

The Tories are seeking to line up the middle class behind a witch-hunt against the unions and socialist organizations in order to move towards a total clamp-down on the working class.

The Communist Party attempted to cover up for the Labour Party leaders throughout the conference. Both the Communist Party of Britain and the U.S. claimed the Labour Party had "moved to the left" under pressure from such "militant" unions as the TGWU. The Daily World, organ of the American CP, actually claimed that the

# CONFERENCE. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

One, the former recording secretary, explained how Nixon started with \$10,000 and was now worth three and one half million while workers today lose jobs. He, however, took the remarks on the American Civil War as an attack on the South and asserted that life was just as good in the South as in the North.

At this point, an older white worker intervened who had recently been laid off from the custodial department at the University of Dayton "Don't give me that about how good it is in the South. I was born and brought up in Kentucky and what do you think we are all doing up here anyway? We couldn't find work down there."

This worker explained how the university had farmed out her job and that now she was forced on to welfare receiving \$101 a month and so far could not even get food stamps.

## COMBAT

An official of the predominantly Black postal union spoke up in general agreement but raising the need to combat racism under socialism as well as under capitalism. Several workers from Delco-Morain, a producer of parts for GM cars, were present and spoke on the need to reject capitalism and fight for socialism.

A worker from the Norwood GM plant, recently struck in the longest strike in UAW history, asked how a fight could actually be organized in the plants. The discussion centered on the need to organize caucuses which fought directly against the speed-up in the shops and layoffs, while at the same time fighting for the labor party and preparing a Marxist leadership for the future struggles.

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Several members of the newly formed Dayton Young Socialists were also present and participated in the meeting.

Similar meetings were also held in Detroit and in Youngstown, Ohio, the latter the first meeting of the Workers League in that important steel city.

A successful meeting was also held recently at South Florida University. It was attended by farmworkers and other workers and students from the area.

Labour Party was for pulling out of the Common Market and for calling new elections.

The economic crisis of capitalism and the Tory attacks on the working class cannot be halted without a socialist program, without nationalization of all industry under workers control. What Wilson, the so-called left unions and the Communist Party have in common is that they refuse to fight for this.

The Labour Party conference poses sharply the necessity for the British labor movement to throw out the treacherous reformist leaders who have every intention of condemning the working class to the consequences of trade war, depression and slump.

Alternative leadership must be built in the fight to make the Tory government resign. This is the fight being carried out by the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League, and will be at the center of the All Trades Union Alliance Conference on October 22.

# UFW Leader: 'It's Like The Ku Klux Klan'

The following is a statement from UFW organizer Mrs. Elena Rojas to the **Bulletin** on the attack on the UFW office.

It started Saturday. We had a meeting that night, and after the meeting Albert came to the office and there were more than 40 bullets in the windows and in the walls. He came home and picked me up and we came back to the office, and we couldn't figure out what had happened.

We knew it probably had something to do with the farm strike, but also after Friday, when they made the decision to keep Proposition 22 on the ballot, a lot of people were whooping it up around here. We thought maybe they wouldn't put it on the ballot because of all that fraud.

Saturday this place was so full of bullets, so Sunday we were here in the office and people were stopping by, you know, and people wanted to know what had happened. We were talking and towards the evening, getting ready to leave.

There were only about 8 or 10 of us here. And we were talking about lighting some candles, so this would stop. We don't want anybody to get hurt. We were talking about why they did it to us. We had just put in those windows. They cost \$80. They had done it before with rocks.

## SHOOTING

All of a sudden I heard somebody scream: "They're coming." And I turned around and looked and they were running. Just so many of them, and they were running. They were coming from Brinkley's store. I looked at them and I couldn't believe it. Some of them had rifles and all of a sudden they started shooting.

They had rocks and rifles and chains and everything you could think of. I was just standing there looking at them and the next thing I knew I started screaming. We didn't know what to do, where

to run. There were no windows, no windows to hold them back.

Before this we had seen them gathering outside of this office that was rented for them. Albert had called the Sheriff's department all the way to Visalia two hours before. He told them they're starting to get together. They're starting to get together. Please come. And nobody came.

Even on Saturday, we called them and we told them to come and they'd come and stay two or three minutes and then they'd leave us alone again. On Sunday we kept calling them and there wasn't a policeman around here. When they did come, there were these two policemen on the night shift, and their attitude was so hostile. They were so embittered, so prejudiced.

And the guys were across the road and they were calling us bad names. One of them had a rifle in his hand and Albert told them, he said: "Look, that guy has a rifle. If that guy was a Chicano, he'd be in jail already."

## CATTLE

They picked us up on the picket lines for holding hands and singing "Solidarity." They just picked us up like cattle and threw together. They sent the kids to kids and mothers and everything together. They send the kids to Juvenile Hall.

And here you have about 50 guys across the office and they're yelling horrible things. And the guys are just sitting there. And then the policeman told us: "Well, you guys have to defend yourselves like you can."

So that night they ran in here. Danny Taber, the guy that got picked up, threw the rock. They came inside the office. The rock hit me so hard, I felt my head crack. I have a concussion. I think what happened, they were firing bullets into the office and



Cesar Chavez at Los Angeles rally denounces the anti-farmworker Proposition 22 that growers support.

they got scared with their own bullets.

All I can remember is somebody was calling the police and they told them, somebody's been shot here, please come. And they were just waiting around until somebody got killed. And when the policeman came, he said: "All right. Where's your guns?" And we told him: "What guns, we don't have any guns." Here I am all full of blood and everything and he says, "All right. Who got shot?"

## POLICE

When the police came they made no arrests. They arrested nobody and they were all there. See those trees there, they were hiding there.

The police didn't call the ambulance. Al had to call the ambulance. But see the police didn't arrest anybody. But we placed a citizen's arrest.

I know there was a citizen's arrest made on Bill Taber's son. Both of his sons were involved in this Saturday and Sunday night. And one of the guys that was here, saw him hit me with a rock. But they didn't charge him with it. They charged him with just breaking the windows and throwing rocks.

And if you read yesterday's Fresno Bee, it says that we incited Bill Taber, that we made him so mad, it made him throw rocks and break the windows. Which is crazy.

Then to top it all off, they came and they took our union flag, and

they took the Mexican flag. They danced on it outside and they burned it!

## KU KLUX KLAN

I haven't even been able to stay in my house, because we've been followed around the town. We're staying some other place. It's horrible. It's like the Ku Klux Klan. All they needed was masks. And they were so sure they had all the power behind them.

They're so sure that they have all these growers behind them, that they didn't even hide their faces. And they're so sure that we have none whatsoever here. They're so sure about Proposition 22 going through.

Can you imagine, if it goes through, this is going to happen to every office! This will happen to every union office that we have. All of the offices will be burned and destroyed.

Now I have to take my children out of school. They were being harassed so much. They're not here, they're not in town. They're out of town. And I don't know what's going to be done about this. A lot of innocent people have already gotten hurt.

We have no rights, no privileges, we're third-rate citizens. I've always been a U.S. citizen. But I no longer have any faith in the U.S. I will never fight for this country or let my children fight for this country.

They have raised \$750,000 for press and television time to push Proposition 22 from now on.

But nothing will stop us now. I'm not afraid. All the women who work for the union, we're very strong.

Probably in the end they're going to say the farmworkers shot up our own office. Not that 50 or 60 men tried to kill us. Before that they were driving in big trucks, expensive trucks. Big Cadillacs were driving by and letting off their children. They hang out at the corner building. Bill Taber and others rented that place. All the guys went there to get their orders.

They use poor Okie whites, and pay them two dollars. Saturday they came in the office, about 15, and told us we'd better clear out because they were coming. Later they fired about 40 bullets in here. They staged a second assault Sunday night. The first time it was rocks, the second time it was only guns.

They had dogs to attack. And helicopters, and one of the planes crashed in the field. He came down too low, he hit a wire and he crashed in a grapevine. He would have killed some of our people, if he had come a little closer.

They had more than 200 police paid for by the taxes of the citizens of Tulare county. They brought them in buses, they had a kitchen set up for the police out of a truck in the field! They have them there all day long—plus the police the company rented. All of them had guns. You've never seen so many guns in your life.

## FASCISTS STORM UFW...

(Continued From Page 20)

side the storefront office and fired scores of bullets, which were aimed to kill.

Mrs. Elena Rojas, a UFW organizer and wife of Albert Rojas, the Poplar field director, had her skull cracked open by a rock thrown by Danny Taber.

The Tulare County Sheriff's office, which had been repeatedly called by the farm workers prior to the attack when the grower's thugs were massing across the street, failed to show up. Police who did arrive on the scene did not make a single arrest.

Danny Taber, who was placed under citizen's arrest by one of the farm workers in the office, was charged with "malicious mischief" and released on \$500 bail.

This attack followed a series of threats and a shooting spree upon the office the previous evening.

Some 400 farm workers have been brutally arrested in the course of the strike for violating

injunctions handed down by the courts at the request of Buttes Oil and Gas and Bill Taber. These injunctions have outlawed any effective picketing of the fields, where police-escorted scabs and illegal aliens are transported daily by the growers.

Men, women and children have been held in jail on \$625 bail while Danny Taber roams the streets scot free, having had to post only \$500!

## CIVIL WAR

The striking farm workers in Delano and Poplar are living in conditions of civil war. But these conditions are being prepared for every trade unionist and youth by a capitalist class utterly bankrupt and driven to resolve its international crisis by means of dictatorship and fascist barbarism.

It is the cowardly, reformist policies of the Chavez leadership which has checked the strength of the farm workers and enabled the growers to launch these at-

tacks. Chavez has turned the entire anti-Proposition 22 campaign into an election gimmick for McGovern, the man who faithfully served the giant wheat interests in the Senate for years. He has virtually ignored the life and death struggle in Delano and Poplar in his speaking tour against the Proposition.

But the events in Poplar pose in the sharpest way the real meaning of Proposition 22 for the UFW and the rest of labor. Albert Rojas told the **Bulletin** what he felt the attack and Proposition 22 meant. He said:

"They go and use whatever measures possible in order to destroy us. They couldn't do it with the courts, with legislation. As a last ditch attempt, they're trying now with violence. So I see this as their last alternative. They're dealing with destroying the unions by any force necessary. And this is what happened here. This is what you call any force necessary.

In response to the attempted

murder of Sunday, October 8, the UFW leadership has requested an investigation by Nixon's Justice Department. This has been done through the offices of Senators Kennedy and McGovern.

## LABOR

The farm workers have nowhere to turn but to the rest of the labor movement. But any kind of mass mobilization of labor to sweep the fascist scum off the streets of Poplar and force Buttes to renew the UFW contract would shatter Chavez' shaky alliance with McGovern. So instead Chavez turns treacherously on his own ranks and threatens to break the strike and expel those who fight back.

These policies only strengthen the growers, who are investing \$750,000 in a publicity blitz on television and radio from now until the elections to whip up support for Proposition 22.

Last week 20 trade union supporters of the UFW, including Richard Groulx, head of the Ala-

meda Central Labor Council, and James Herman of the ILWU clerks and head of the Ad Hoc Committee to Aid Strikes, were arrested at the headquarters of Buttes Oil and Gas in Oakland. They were demanding that John Boretta, president of Buttes, meet with them and resume negotiations with the UFW.

Boretta refused to meet the union heads and called the police when they refused to leave. Boretta last week referred to the UFW in the capitalist press as "molotov cocktail-throwing goons."

## WORKERS LEAGUE

Only the Workers League and the Young Socialists are fighting to defend the UFW and the entire working class in the only way possible, through the construction of a party of labor now, pledged to overturn all anti-union laws, defend the unions against fascist and police attack, and nationalize the land and industry under workers' control.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115 PHONE 415-621-1310

## Editorial

### CP Helps Labor Leaders Strangle Strike Movement

As the elections approach, the American Communist Party is going into full gear to whip up support in the labor movement and among the youth for the bankrupt McGovern campaign.

The overwhelming majority of the California labor bureaucracy is backing McGovern and has attempted to circumvent the Meany demand for neutrality by a "dump Nixon" resolution. Meany has challenged this resolution and California COPE is preparing to meet with considerable forces in the labor leadership fighting to uphold its resolution.

For the labor bureaucracy here, the McGovern campaign is the fig leaf behind which it attempts to hide its refusal to take up a fight on the real crisis facing the unions.

The same officials who are so adamant about McGovern have so far refused to lift a finger while the farmworkers are stormed by armed vigilante squads.

Without a mention of this, the CP is cheering them on, holding up the right-wing labor bureaucracy of Colorado as pointing the way forward.

They are now prepared to go so far in this betrayal that the People's World reports in detail on the developing struggle in GM and the possibility of a national strike without a single criticism of Leonard Woodcock's betrayal of the Norwood strikers or of his policy of one at a time strike action.

Thus, the real meaning of the Stalinist CP's support to McGovern is support to every attempt to strangle and defeat the unions rather than any labor action that could lead to an explosion before the elections.

The desperation and cynicism of the Stalinists knows no bounds and the People's World is openly calling on McGovern to pull a Truman by appealing to the industrial working class with enough of a "left" approach to capture their votes.

This policy was carried forward among the youth on October 14 in antiwar marches here that used the seven point peace program of the PRG as a means to build what was in essence a campaign rally for McGovern.

It is significant that Dan Rosenshine can write a full page article in the October 13 Militant complaining about the Socialist Workers Party's exclusion from these actions without once mentioning that these were pro-McGovern political rallies.

Thus, with the Democratic Party in a shambles and with auto workers on the brink of a pre-election strike, the SWP continues its electoral activity and its antiwar campaign in such a way as to leave the labor movement and the youth completely open to the poisonous Stalinist campaign for McGovern.

The movement of the auto workers and the determination of the farm workers to defend their union now rips apart and exposes the labor bureaucracy and its revisionist and Stalinist apologists.

This can only be carried forward through the fight of the Workers League and the Young Socialists for the development of a massive movement for a labor party now.

## Woodcock Tells Delegates: Labor Party Isn't Needed

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—"I'm opposed to a labor party. I think we can do everything through the Democratic Party; we don't need a labor party like in other countries. If we had a labor party, it would kill all the liberal Democrats."

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Woodcock called for "a President that will heal the nation's wounds," as big business now consolidates its forces around the Republican Party to take on the trade unions.

Woodcock's address centered on attacking Nixon's policy in Vietnam, but avoided the most basic questions facing working people—the wage restraints, unemployment and productivity. In California, a concerted campaign is now being waged around Proposition 22 which would outlaw strikes by farmworkers. Many trade unionists are aware that this proposition is aimed against all the unions.

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UAW Pres. Woodcock spoke in LA last week. Later, he told Bulletin he opposed labor party because "it would kill all the liberal Democrats."

UAW Region 6 work in the GM and Ford plants, as well as a very large section from the aerospace industry. A member of Local 887 from North American Rockwell told the Bulletin that the local had 30,000 members six years ago, and now has been reduced to 10,000 workers. The recent cancellation by Japan of a \$16.6 billion contract for a fighter jet will mean a big increase in unemployment in the aerospace industry here.

There is little enthusiasm for Woodcock and his Operation Apache Plan of two or three day strikes against the GMAD plants.

An auto worker from the Southgate plant said: "No guy is going to go out and lose two days pay when he knows that the Norwood workers, isolated for 174 days, didn't win."

Local 216 from the GMAD Southgate plant has already endorsed the call for a national strike.

In opposition to Woodcock's attempt to muster support for the dying Democratic Party, a Local 216 member from the United National Caucus said: "The labor movement must take a historic step today and build its own independent labor party."

## Fascists Storm UFW Office

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POPLAR—In the wake of murderous attacks by armed bands of fascists organized by the growers on the United Farm Workers' headquarters in Poplar, Cesar Chavez has threatened to call off the seven week old strike against Buttes Oil and Gas Company's White River vineyards and to expel any union member who does not remain "non-violent."

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(Continued On Page 19)

## High Court Ruling Spurs Attack On Building Jobs

BY BOB GREEN

LOS ANGELES—Utilizing the pretext of a recent California State Supreme Court ruling on the Environmental Quality Act, municipal governments throughout the state have clamped down on the issuance of all new building permits.

The sharpness of the situation was expressed in a statement by James S. Lee, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, who said that:

"If the problem is not solved now, 250,000 California construction workers, including 100,000 in the Los Angeles area, will be out of jobs within a month. It will not only affect the construction industry, which is the second largest in the state, but also related and support industries. We are talking about maybe one and three fourths million people."

Mr. Lee's panicked response of calling for an immediate one-day session of the state legislature to

amend the Environmental Quality Control Act is nothing more than a request for further consideration from precisely those people who were responsible for the original legislation.

The ruling responsible for the snowballing restriction of construction grew out of a suit filed against Mono County by a group of ecologists, the Friends of Mammoth, who sought to bar high-rise construction in the ski resort area of Mammoth Lakes.

Basing themselves upon this precedent, city governments are now refusing to issue permits for structures whose ecological impact has yet to be studied. Since the means for determining this have yet to be established, new construction is rapidly grinding to a halt.

The willingness of municipal governments to comply with the court ruling reflects their response to a funding crisis rooted in the decline of tax revenue. The decline is occurring in the face of a growing need for expanded services.

### Workers League and Young Socialists

## WEEKEND OF EDUCATION & RECREATION IN THE REDWOODS

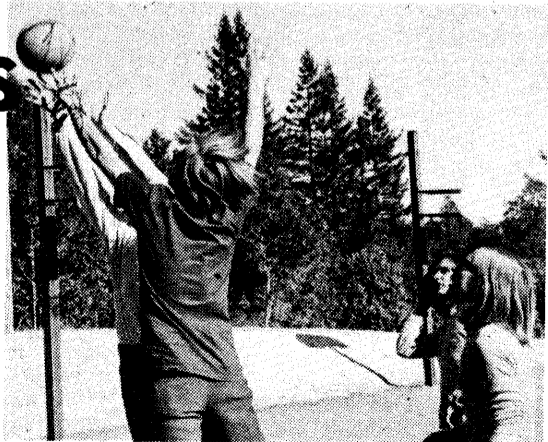
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