

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NOVEMBER
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INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER SIXTY FIVE 274

DECEMBER 18, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

UNIONS MUST STRIKE AGAINST WAGE FREEZE

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EDITORIAL Speaking for Nixon, who is still running his secret government in Camp David, economic boss George Shultz told reporters that this latest decision shows "the President's strong determination to continue the fight against inflation."

This is a shameless lie. Nixon and his cronies in Camp David have absolutely no intention of doing anything about the wild rise in the cost of living. The continuation of the controls means only one thing; and that is that Nixon is determined to outlaw collective bargaining, smash the trade unions, destroy the basic rights of the working class, and drive down its living conditions.

The price statistics tell the real story. While the Pay Board has ripped contract after contract to ribbons and held down wage increases to the area of five percent, the wholesale price index has climbed at an annual rate of 5.4 percent.

This is .2 percent higher than the pre-Pay Board figures.

All the basic items purchased by workers are rising faster than their paychecks.

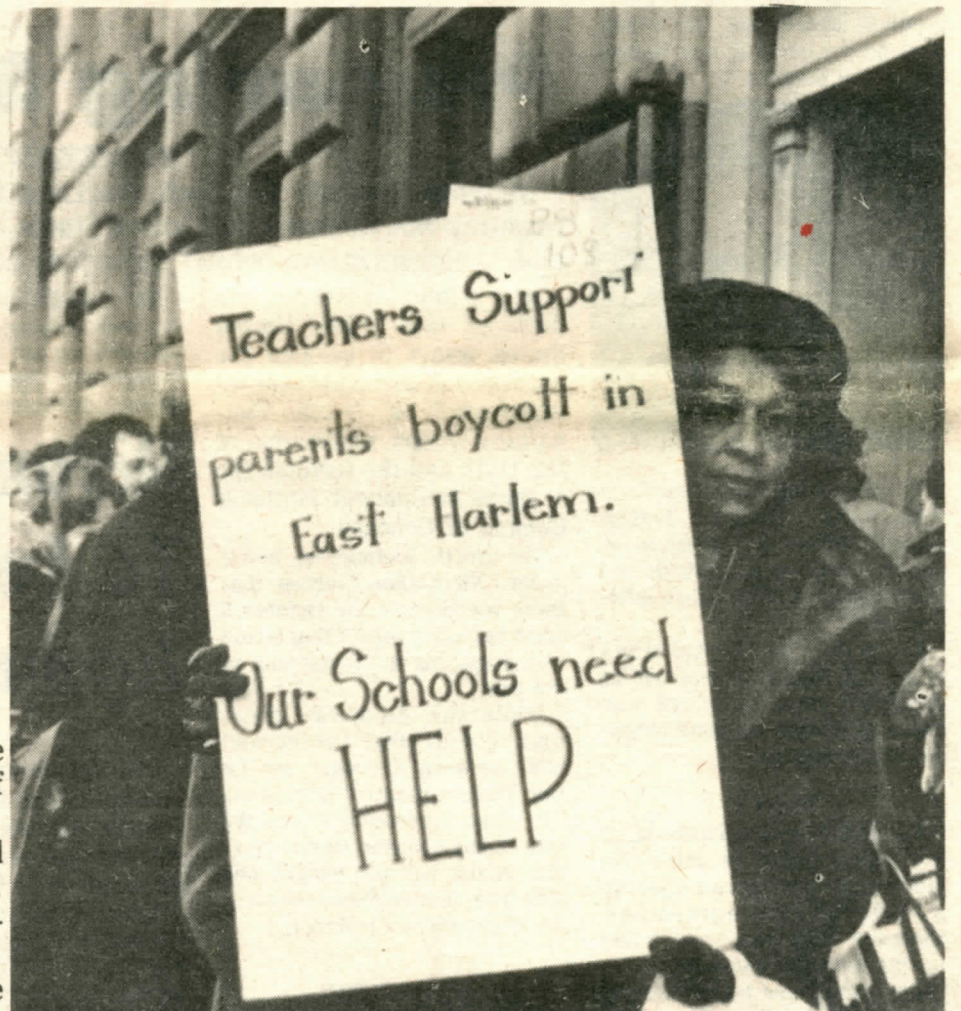
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- Services, during the same period since August, has climbed 3.2 percent.

- Clothes, in only the month of October, leaped no less than 7.2 percent.

- For all commodities, during the past three months the increase has been 4.1 percent.

(Continued On Page 8)



East Harlem demonstration called by parents during their boycott of School District 4 united parents, teachers and students against budget cuts. City has offered only \$240,000 among 30 schools, enough for a "small pencil" per pupil. See article page 5.

**Bulletin
Expansion
Drive**

\$4,006.82

This Week

We have received a total of \$4,006.82 on the Fall Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive bringing our grand total to \$44,535.33. This is within reach of our \$50,000 goal if every effort is now made in the concluding week.

The Bay Area led the way with \$994 while Baltimore sent in \$535. Brownsville and East New York raised over \$150 from their Christmas Fair.

President Nixon has just announced that he will extend the wage freeze while inflation soars higher than it did before the freeze. At the same time school cuts, rent raises and decay of health and welfare hit all sections of the working class. We are heading for a major period of struggle by the working class here and internationally which requires above all the **Bulletin** to bring political leadership to these struggles.

GM Locks Norwood Workers In Cage

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD—General Motors is now going all-out in its efforts to smash the UAW in its GMAD plants, devising new methods of terror against the auto workers. Since December 1, when the Price Control Board granted GM a price increase of \$54 per car, the GMAD plant here has been operating both shifts on a full-time and even overtime basis.

This is in direct contradiction to the short work weeks Local 674 United Auto Workers had been working for the past two months prior to December 1.

Approximately 60 men on each shift have been pulled off their jobs and reassigned on the pretext that they weren't performing satisfactorily. Reassignment consisted of having these men sit around and do nothing or giving them cleanup jobs with

mops and brooms.

In order to intimidate the other workers, these men were held up as an example and called "troublemakers." Now the company has assigned these workers' jobs to younger men whom they have recalled from layoff.

Jim Young, Chairman of the Shop Committee, said:

"Why one night during the past week they (the company) took the men who had been pulled off their jobs and herded them like cattle into a wire enclosure. You wouldn't believe the conditions in the plant! It's the first time I've actually seen anything like it in the Norwood plant!"

"Furthermore," Young said, "additional work has been added to nearly all jobs."

General Motors, encouraged by Nixon's re-election and his

calls to end the era of permissiveness, is now employing vicious new methods to force the breakneck speedup in the GMAD plants. This is the meaning of the statement to the Cincinnati Post and Times-Star Company Personnel Director, Gordon Shuler, who complained of "poor quality work" and the necessity of "keeping the lines up to produce their 832 cars per day."

GM must be answered now by the ranks of the UAW who must demand a nationwide strike to shutdown all GMAD plants. The St. Louis local, which is scheduled to strike this week, can take the lead in this fight by staying out and demanding the International spread this strike nationally.

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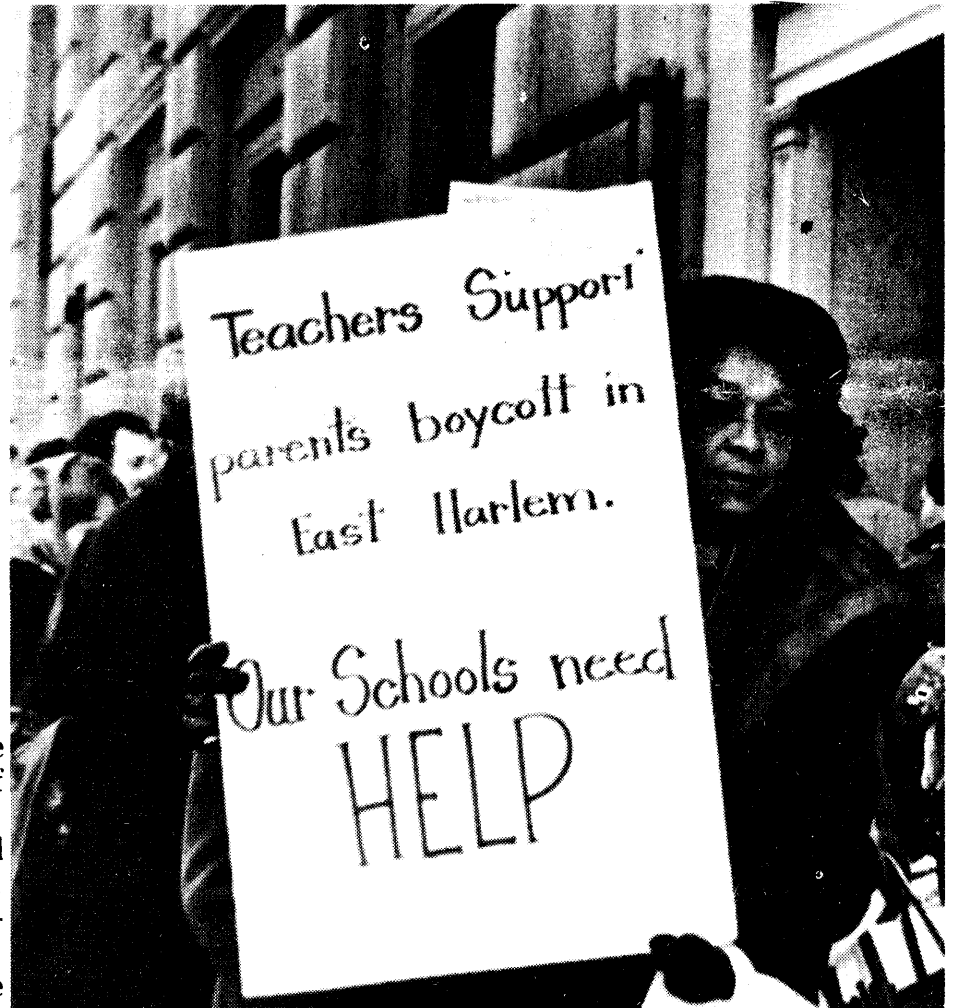
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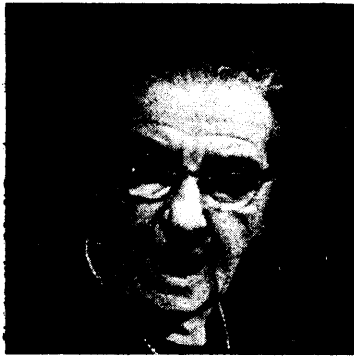
Meir Arrests 'Trotskyists' To Divert Strike Wave

BY JOSE REYES

In the midst of a massive strike wave by Israeli workers, the reactionary Zionist government has ordered the arrest of 21 people whom it accused of being part of a "Syrian spy ring."

Those arrested included 16 Arabs, several of whom are members of the Israeli Communist Party, and four native born Israelis who belonged to a group which split from Matzpen and claims to be Trotskyist.

These arrests occur just as Golda Meir prepares new attacks against the Arab nations. In a recent speech, the Israeli premier stated that she would "not be surprised if war breaks out on the borders."



In spite of all the attempts to whip up a nationalist frenzy, Israeli workers are on the move against the government to defend their standard of living as inflation soars.

A strike by technicians prevented flights in and out of Israel for three days and was ended only after the government made concessions.

STRIKE

The strike occurred although it was illegal under an anti-strike law aimed at workers subject to a civil service agreement. However, this law was defied by the aviation workers and is being defied now by workers in the Income Tax Department and Post Office.

These "illegal" strikes are occurring simultaneously with the threat by dock leader Yshoshua Peretz that every port will be shut unless a new contract is signed within the week.

In the Israeli parliament, spokesmen from almost every political party called for action against the strikes.

Yoram Evidor, a member of the ultra-Zionist Gahal Party, declared that the government has lost all moral authority. In a vicious attack on the trade unions, he declared: "We have got to a point where people are willing to die for Israel but not to work for it."

He called for military style discipline in government. As Israeli workers begin to break from the Zionist government, the Meir regime launches this attack against all those who turn toward a united struggle with the Arab working class.

One of the Israelis arrested, Ehud Adiv, was raised in a kibbutz and served in the 1967 war.

Two others arrested, Yehezkel Cohen and David Kupfer, are workers. The fourth, David Vered, is a teacher.

The myth of the classless Zionist state is eroding and Israeli workers are seeing that their real enemy is the ruling class in their own country.



Tenants demonstrate outside Clay Cross council offices in support of 11 Labour Councillors who refused to implement Tory Rent Act.

NLF Accuses Nixon Of Preparing More War

BY MELODY FARROW

Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, National Liberation Front delegate at the Paris negotiations, accused the United States last week of continuing its policy of war and Vietnamization behind the cover of "peace talks."

In a public statement, she declared that: "The United States wants to re-open the questions of principle such as withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops, restoration of the DMZ and the formula for a three component National Council of Concord."

The North Vietnamese newspaper, Nhan Dan, warned that these revisions in the October 9 point ceasefire meant that Nixon was preparing a "re-opening of the war."

While the American press reports daily that the current talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho are merely "dotting the i's" of an agreement to end the war, it has become crystal clear that Nixon has not budged one inch from his program to destroy the Vietnamese revolution.

SLAUGHTER

Since the new round of talks on the outskirts of Paris began December 4, the United States has dropped thousands of tons of bombs over both North and South Vietnam. At the same time, it has been revealed that the Thieu regime in Saigon is formulating a plan for the mass slaughter of 35,000 political prisoners held in concentration camps.

Using the code name X-18, the plan has been exposed by the NLF as "a campaign of white terror" against all opponents of the Saigon regime.

In spite of the many concessions made by the Stalinist leadership of North Vietnam outlined in the 9 point program, Kissinger's frequent trips to Paris in the two months since he announced an "imminent" ceasefire reveal that the Nixon administration is pressing for further gains.

Kissinger has now put forward the impossible demand that the North Vietnamese withdraw all their troops from the South and end all support to the National Liberation Front.

The escalation of American demands beyond what was apparently agreed to last October throws full light on the fraudulent character of the peace

talks. Nixon's overriding aim is not peace but the obtaining of more favorable conditions for a full-scale resumption of the war.

Nixon Picks Shultz To Lead Trade War Against Europe, Japan

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The appointment of U.S. Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz to head the newly created Council on Economic Policy clearly indicates that the second Nixon administration is now moving toward dictatorship at home and massive international trade war abroad.

The creation of the Council on Economic Policy, a huge new presidential super-agency, makes the heads of nine other cabinet agencies subordinate to Shultz. Shultz, previously responsible as Treasury head to the Congress, is now responsible to no one but Nixon himself.

Shultz now will emerge as the chief architect of the massive economic warfare that is to be launched against Europe and Japan in the aftermath of Nixon's election.

It was Shultz who wrote the vicious U.S. scheme for international monetary reform submitted to the conference of the International Monetary Fund last September 26. This scheme was reaffirmed again recently in a paper circulated by the United States to the three day International Monetary Reform negotiating session, the so-called Committee of 20, which met in Washington.

PAPER

In this paper, the U.S. called for "an objective test" of when nations should take action to adjust their balance of payments. The U.S. is demanding that the criteria be the deviation of mone-

etary reserves of any country from a so-called "norm" which is to be set by the IMF.

As Shultz' September 26 speech made clear, refusal of a country to revalue its currency or otherwise make adjustments required under the plan would become the basis for international economic sanctions being brought against the offending nation or groups of nations by the IMF.

This stance on the part of the United States reflects its arrogant determination to dump the burden of the massive economic crisis onto Europe and Japan. The uncontrollable inflationary binge which now engulfs the whole capitalist world has its source in the United States itself.

DEFICIT

The nature of the inflationary situation in the U.S. was again revealed last week in the October balance of trade figures, which showed a massive deficit of 415 million. This is now expected to bring the 1972 annual U.S. trade deficit to six billion. Under these conditions, there cannot be any prospect for any half of the inflationary crisis in Europe.

This is now bringing about huge

Pakistanis Free Jailed Labor Heads

BY A FOREIGN
CORRESPONDENT

Discontent and hostility by Pakistani workers and peasants to the regime of Ali Bhutto is bringing his government to the brink of total collapse.

Last week, over 3000 industrial workers marched on a Dacca police station and forced the release of two labor leaders who had been accused of possessing arms and ammunition. Five policemen were injured and twenty people were arrested.

AWAMI

On December 1, members of the Marri tribe, whose leader is the head of the Awami opposition party for Belouchistan province, took over the villages belonging to the Punjabis and have refused to evacuate them. An armed battle between the tribes and the government is shaping up as Bhutto has pledged full military support to the province governor in ousting the tribe.

The economic crisis and the upsurge of the Pakistani workers has provoked a full scale political crisis. The Minister of Public Health has resigned following the resignations in October of the Minister of Justice and the Minister of State. At the end of November, two other Ministers, one who is head of the People's Party, attempted to resign.



George Shultz

confrontations between the European capitalist class and the European working class. A massive wave of industrial struggle has broken out in France, most recently in the strike of 180,000 bank clerks, in response to the announcement last week of a record hike in the cost of living of .9 percent.

DESPERATION

Out of desperation, Germany, France and Britain were forced last week to hike domestic bank rates as a gesture against inflation. While this hike of interest must have immediate repercussions in the form of a collapse of investment and a sharp increase in unemployment, nothing of this kind is any longer sufficient to make even the slightest dent in inflation.

Thus the stage is now set for an escalation of trade war, competitive devaluations, and a new explosion of the monetary crisis.

The capitalist class in every country is preparing to hurl the working class internationally into the biggest economic disaster in the history of capitalism. This is the reality of the situation that poses to the working class the question of power.

Newark Tenant Leader Demands Unions Build Congress Of Labor

BY DAVID NORTH

NEWARK—Faced with a jail term due to start December 18 for his defiance of the Newark Housing Authority, Stella Wright Tenants Association President Toby Henry is demanding that the New Jersey labor movement defend the two year old rent strike by calling "for a National Congress of Labor to stop the attacks by Nixon and the two parties by building an American Labor Party to fight for a workers government."

In a resolution to be presented publicly on December 15, at a meeting called by the Workers League in defense of the Stella Wright tenants, Henry is also demanding that the leadership of the state labor movement call a general strike to prevent the destruction of the

rent strike and the imprisonment of its leaders.

This call for the unity of all Newark workers in a political struggle against the attacks by the government comes at a time when thousands of city tenants are in virtual rebellion against the Gibson administration.

Picket lines have been set up around apartment buildings by tenant organizations throughout the city in support of the rent strikes at Stella Wright and their own projects.

Tenants at the Scudder Homes projects, now threatened with eviction for refusing to end their strike, invaded the rent office to take possession of the Housing Authority's records.

Officials of the Housing

Authority threatened to call in riot police against the tenants but decided not to carry out this plan.

The fight must be taken up throughout Newark and the rest of New Jersey in support of Henry's resolution, which shows the way forward for the entire working class.

The resolution to be presented by Toby Henry reads:

Whereas three leaders of the Stella Wright Tenants Association now face arrest and jail, Whereas 1200 families at the Stella Wright project are threatened with eviction from their homes,

Whereas the Newark Housing Authority, the Federal Government and the Gibson Administration are determined to break the tenants' strike,

Whereas this strike was made
(Continued On Page 18)



Children from Stella Wright projects in Newark drink water from pipe. Project's health and safety violations spurred rent strike.

Big Steel Locals Back Rank & File Candidate

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The nearly one and one-half million members of the nation's second largest union, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), face the most critical election in the union's history.

Nominations are now being placed in all locals for the top officers, including President, Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Director and 24 District Directors, for election by referendum vote of the entire membership on February 13.

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With nominations of 160 locals now required to run candidates against the Abel slate, it is even more difficult than in the past to run in the referendum. Nevertheless, steelworkers have an opportunity to vote against the Abel bureaucracy through the candidacies of William Litch for President, Frank Felix for Vice-President, both of the Rank and File Team (RAFT), and George Edwards, of the Steelworkers National Rank and File Committee.

In an exclusive interview with the *Bulletin*, Litch reported that he had widescale support in the biggest locals of the union and, in addition, has a very good chance to pick up the nominations of the 135 locals needed for the nomination.

The three largest West Coast locals, including Kaiser Steel Local 2869 at Fontana, California, have already nominated Litch. In addition, he has received the nomination from the 12,000 member local in Hamilton Ontario; Local 1397 at Homestead, Pennsylvania and the Bethlehem-Lackawanna Local 2604.

SUPPORT

According to Litch: "Support from these big locals is an indication of the tremendous dissatisfaction with the leadership.

The question is will there be enough of the smaller locals which are easier for Abel to buy off." If nominated, Litch said, he has an excellent chance of winning.

Behind this election stands the drive by the corporations, led by the Big Ten Steel producers, to pile up profit through mass layoffs, the closing of entire plants and mills, and the institution of speed up on an unequalled scale.

This drive was launched after the last national contract in basic steel, which instituted the so-called joint productivity committees. The employers saw these committees as the opening wedge of their drive to take back the gains in wages, pensions and the cost of living escalator that had been conceded in the settlement of August 1971.

ABEL

Just as important as the establishment of these committees was the capitulation to the productivity drive of the USWA bureaucracy under President I.W. Abel, who attempted to justify his concern for the corporations' profits against a widespread rebellion of the delegates. As one of the delegates from Local 2211 at the Aliquippa Jones and Laughlin plant charged at the convention, Abel's program has been to "work harder, produce more and put our bodies out on the street."

Abel's answer was to insist that the steelworkers got more than expected in the last contract and now they must make "our industry more competitive" with

foreign producers.

He stated at that time: "I don't have to tell you about unnecessary absenteeism and about men being not lively enough at their time. They must improve the rate of productivity and reduce costs. We hope in this way to safeguard our industry. We need committees at each plant to analyze this problem."

The recent appointment as the chief executive officer of the United States Steel Corporation of Edgar B. Speer, described by the *Wall Street Journal* as a professional "steelman" and as a

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Wallaceite Joins Cabinet

Last week Nixon announced the appointment of Claude Brinegar to head the U.S. Department of Transportation. Brinegar is an executive of the Union Oil Company of Los Angeles.

Brinegar is a member of the right-wing Lincoln Club: the group of Southern California big businessmen who poured their money into Nixon's secret campaign war chest. He also is the director of the International Speedway Corporation

located in Daytona Beach, Fla. The International Speedway Corporation is a member of the National Association of Stock Car Drivers, also located in Daytona Beach. The right-wing NASCAR was a staunch supporter of George Wallace during the primaries and financed his campaign plane.

Nixon is now bringing Wallace men into the cabinet as part of his whole new preparations for all-out war against the working class.



Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists

Called by the Continuations Committee of the National Conference For A Labor Party Now

To Answer Nixon's Attacks

Sunday February 18
St. Louis Gateway Hotel
822 Washington Ave. (downtown St. Louis)
9:00 AM

Registration & Room \$8.00

For reservations and more information write Continuations Committee at 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York 10011. Tel. 212-924-0852

Rockefeller Uses Police Against LIRR Picket Lines

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK, Dec. 12—After spending a full week trying to whip up a public hysteria against the striking Long Island Rail Road ranks, the state and Metropolitan Transportation Authority have moved to physically smash their unions.

The *Bulletin* learned that police were used this morning in at least one location to escort non-union drivers into station lots behind picket lines.

Although there was no attempt to move the trains at Morris Park, where the incident occurred, the use of police is preparation for the issuing of a back to work injunction, the breaking up of picket lines, and even the use of national guardsmen to run the railroads.

Leading the attacks against the 12 non-operating unions on strike is Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who has repeatedly denounced the unions' demand for parity with operating workers as "unconscionable and totally unrealistic."

Behind the union-busting campaign is the understanding by all the politicians and the banks that control the MTA that if the ranks win their demand for a 28 percent increase in wages, the Government's controls policy could be smashed.

It is for this reason that this is a critical strike and must have the full support of the AFL-CIO. It must be defended against union-busting, and the AFL-CIO must make it clear that it will call a general strike action if the Pay Board tries to cut the increases which the ranks are demanding.

The rapid outbursts against the workers by Democratic and Republican politicians and the newspapers, supported by so-called "commuter groups" led by business executives with homes in the suburbs, have already resulted in physical assaults upon striking workers.

"All of a sudden, this person came up to me and spit in my face," said a worker who has

No GAI For Philly Dockers

BY DENIS HAULING

PHILADELPHIA—For the second straight month since the new contract went into effect the Philadelphia dockworkers were denied their Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) from the Philadelphia Maritime Association.

According to the new contract the men are supposed to be guaranteed pay for 1800 hours for the year, or 144 hours a month. The dockers should be receiving their guarantee in monthly payments. However, since the new contract began in October, 1972, they have yet to see any of the money that is owed to them.

been with the LIRR for 30 years. When she tried to explain the strike to her assailant, "he gave me the finger."

Other workers described similar incidents. A car inspector told the *Bulletin*:

"The press has really confused the people about this strike. On the first day, I was out in Far Rockaway and this person came up to me and said: 'You and Mike Quill should drop dead.'

"I told that guy that Lindsay and the city killed Quill six years ago for leading a strike, so there was nothing more they could do to him.

"I don't like all these things that are being said, especially in the papers and by Ronan (Chairman of the MTA). We have families to support and they're talking as if we were criminals. "They should remember that labor built this country, not the businessmen."

He said that the MTA has been determined to break the railroad unions for more than a year.

"Just a while ago, efficiency experts were brought in. They wanted me to do three men's jobs. On top of that, how can you work with someone looking over your shoulder and asking ques-

(Continued On Page 18)

Baltimore Shippers To Hire

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Dec. 5—With the most arrogant disregard for the longshoremen they represent, International Longshoremen's Association officials here have allowed the companies of the Steamship Trade Association to reinstitute company hiring.

When asked about what the union leaders were doing to get this pay, dockworkers said that the only response given by the leadership was that: "It takes time—they'll pay up later."

Many of the men stated that if the situation remains the same, "we don't ever believe we're going to get it." As one dockworker stated, expressing the seriousness of the situation: "It's so bad here, we need a jolt as they had in France. Things are getting out of hand."

The anger of the dockworkers is growing and unless the guarantee is paid in January, the men have stated that strike action must be taken.



Bulletin reporter David North interviews Anthony D'Avanzo, spokesman for the Long Island Rail Road workers. "No contract, no work" is strike motto.

Knickerbocker To Close Despite Emergency Funds

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, December 12—For the second time in less than a year Knickerbocker Hospital is tottering on the brink of financial collapse.

The threatened closing of the hospital last week would have thrown hundreds of workers out on the street without jobs, as well as creating an unbearable burden for the already overcrowded Harlem and Sydenham Hospitals serving the same Harlem population.

For several months, Knickerbocker has managed to meet operating costs only by using taxes withheld from workers' pay. It now owes \$765,000 to the Federal government. The hospital has also used dues money

checked off from Local 1199 members to meet its pressing bills.

The latest word is that an agreement has been reached by which the Internal Revenue Service would agree to temporarily remove the tax lien now placed on the hospital, thus allowing it to use emergency funds to meet its immediate expenses. This so-called solution only postpones the explosion for a few weeks or months at most.

The union leaders at Knickerbocker have done nothing in the present crisis, even as union dues money is misused by the bosses. The patients and hospital workers are being treated like pawns, as the big business trustees and the government place the full burden of the crisis on the working class.

WARNING

The warning of the *Bulletin* and the Local 1199 Rank and File Committee last February is being completely confirmed today. At that time, Local 1199 President Leon Davis went along with a hospital campaign to pressure workers to "voluntarily" kick back five dollars and more from their weekly pay to the hospital.

This was supposed to help the hospital avoid having to close its doors. The workers were told to take a pay cut to save their jobs. But the hospital is closer to collapse than ever.

ANSWER

Every concession to layoffs and speedup threats only increases the dangers facing workers everywhere today.

The only answer for the Knickerbocker workers and their 50,000 fellow members in Local 1199 is a political fight against the attacks on their jobs and on all essential services, attacks coordinated and inspired by the Nixon administration. The union

NEW YORK, December 12—Membership meetings at at least two City hospitals here have adopted motions calling for strike action if the Pay Board cuts the increase awarded to Local 1199 members by arbitrators last July.

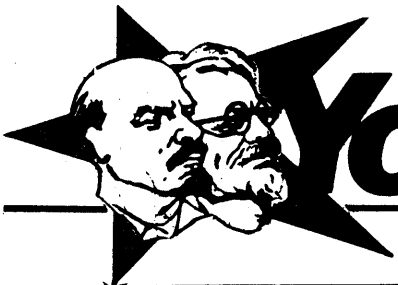
At the November meetings of the Guild Division at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center, a motion for strike action was adopted by a vote of 35-25. At a December 6 meeting at Mount Sinai Hospital, a similar motion was approved. The Mount Sinai meeting went further, insisting on immediate action against the Pay Board's holding back of the increase.

must fight for full payment of dues money and against any cutbacks in jobs or wages.

If hospital workers are going to save their jobs and defend their living standards they will have to fight for a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party for socialist policies, including socialized medicine. This means free medical care for all, full staffing of all hospitals, and the building of new facilities to greatly increase both the quantity and quality of medical care.

This must be linked to the fight against the Pay Board and to all struggles against cuts in social services, especially housing and school cutbacks.

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Young Socialist®

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The Real Face Of Stalinism Today

The brutal beating of a member of the Young Socialist Alliance at Borough of Manhattan Community College by members and supporters of the Young Workers Liberation League, the youth movement of the Communist Party, once again reveals the true nature of Stalinism and the role which they will play in this period.

The YWLL and the Third World Coalition have charged the YSA with being "agents" and "provocateurs." Furthermore, the national leader of the YWLL involved in the beating demanded that the Student Government Association should see as its task the "physical elimination" of the YSA, although "the time is not right."

These attacks and slanders are reactions of the Stalinists to the movement of workers and youth towards revolutionary struggles which Stalinism has historically undermined.



Will Stanley, beaten up

Above all, they fear the turn of thousands of youth in this new period towards the ideas of Leon Trotsky and the principled fight he waged against the counter-revolutionary role of Stalin—a role which the YWLL follows.

The deepening of the crisis in capitalism, and its subsequent attack on the living standards of workers and youth, has forced the working class to seek new leadership to defend their rights. This movement of the working class has come into collision with those forces who want a compromise with capitalism at the expense of the working class.

The movement of the working class has produced a profound crisis within the ranks of Stalinism. In Vietnam, the ranks of the NLF have denounced the role played by the Moscow Stalinists, who are seeking a deal with Nixon, as outright counterrevolutionary.

For this reason, the Stalinists are now reviving all the old slanders and methods of the 1930s and 1940s against Trotskyism.

This is part of the campaign, including the film directed by Joseph Losey, an ex-Stalinist, which is a total distortion of the struggle of Trotsky and rightfully deserves an eternal berth in the Stalinist school of falsification.

This physical attack on a member of a Trotskyist organization must serve as a warning to those who have refused to pay attention to the history of the Marxist movement.

The struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism is not a matter of ideas but of material forces at work which will determine whether socialism or fascism will prevail.

Youth everywhere must turn towards this history and arm themselves with its lessons. This understanding is the only preparation for the tasks ahead of building a revolutionary movement in a ruthless fight against Stalinism in order to expose them before the working class.

The Young Socialists offers its assistance in any way possible, to the YSA, as we have in the past, to join in defense against Stalinist hooliganism.

We further state that we are redoubling our efforts to bring Trotskyism to new layers of youth through the fight to construct the spring conference which will launch the Young Socialists nationwide.

Young Socialists National Conference

This conference will found the Young Socialists as a national organization—the American revolutionary youth movement.

Saturday and Sunday, May 26-27, 1973
Hunter College Playhouse,
68th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City

\$2.50 includes registration and Saturday night dance.

For more information write:

Young Socialists
135 W. 14th Street, 6th Fl.
New York, New York 10011

Bklyn College Youth Call On Unions To Fight Cuts

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

BROOKLYN—At a packed meeting of over 150 students of the Brooklyn College Department of Educational Services (DES) on financial aid, tremendous support was given to the perspective of the Young Socialists for the building of a labor party.

The resolution, which was unanimously accepted, demanded no more budget cuts and that "we must call upon the PSC (University teachers union), the UFT and the AFL-CIO to initiate citywide strike action against the cuts and convene a Congress of Labor to fight for the building of a labor party which will unite trade unions, unemployed and youth against the attacks of the government."

The meeting had been called in response to the immense attacks upon the right to a decent education for youth.

The meeting began with an attack on the students themselves. In answer to the questions students raised concerning funds for the programs, some counselors said that the problem was the lack of concern for fellow students and sheer stupidity for not "reading between the lines."

It was at this point that a member of the Young Socialists spoke condemning any attempts to blame the economic crisis created by the government upon students and teachers. She stated that these attacks were aimed at the very right to an education which the working class had won.

On Monday December 11, the Young Socialists held a meeting to discuss actions to unite students, faculty and staff against the budget cuts.

YSA

The revisionist Young Socialist Alliance intervened to cater to the more backward conceptions of the youth. They called for a massive conglomeration of student groups on the most minimal level of agreement. This means throwing out the political fight for the labor party and constructing the same type of massive, unprincipled alliances as the anti-war movement.

Members of the Young Socialists clearly exposed the role of the YSA at this meeting, stating that our strategy of building the labor party through mobilizing the unions was the only answer to the Democrats and Republicans.

The meeting ended with the decision to hold a massive demonstration on the campus.



Children demand "bread, not crumbs" at District 4 (East Harlem) demonstration at Board of Ed against budget cuts.

Parents, Teachers End Harlem Boycott

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—The boycott of District 4 in East Harlem has ended until after the Christmas holidays. The East Harlem action was sparked off by the firing and transferring of six teachers and principals.

The city came up with the sum of \$204,000 to be divided by the 30 schools in the district, which at first was rejected by the parents.

At a press conference on Friday, December 8, the Parents Council addressed over 800 parents and teachers. One leader said "204,000 dollars divided between 30 schools would give each pupil a new little pencil. We're talking about a million dollars."

After the meeting, the parents and teachers marched to the Board of Education to pressure Scribner into raising the figure. Talks ended with the parents accepting the money later in the week.

The struggle in East Harlem shows the tremendous leaps the working class is taking to defend its rights and living conditions. The unity of parents and teachers was such proof. But what this also showed was that militant actions alone can not guarantee that their demands would be met.

The parents and teachers reached a limit with reforms and were looking for an alternative. This was expressed when Elsa Jimenez and Mildred Palla, workers at Mead Poverty program, made 500 copies of the leaflet issued by the Young Socialists. For this act, they

were both fired. Mead used the excuse that Elsa and Mildred were using the equipment of the program, and this would mean that Mead was supporting the boycott.

The leaflet showed the dangers the boycott faced with politicians and poverty program leaders seeking to keep the parents and teachers divided, and leaving the struggles simply on the level of begging for reforms.

The role of the nationalist PSP, the revisionist Labor Committee and the SWP was to act as a cheering squad for these forces, who blamed the UFT for the conditions in the schools, and tried to keep the movement of the working class tied to the capitalist politicians.

The Young Socialists was the only movement prepared for these developments and fought around the unity of teachers, youth and parents. The YS stressed that the attacks upon the schools is only part of the government's attempt to take away all reforms and gains the working class has struggled for.

The only way that the boycott could go further was to call on the UFT to put the power of the union on the line with a city-wide strike, rallying other sections of the trade unions.

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Palo Alto YS Rallies Against High School Cuts

BY A YS REPORTER

EAST PALO ALTO—Last week 65 students at Ravenswood High School in East Palo Alto protested to the administration demanding adequate facilities and a student lounge.

The anger of the students over deteriorating conditions reached the explosion point when the school implemented a policy requiring the students to obtain passes to use the library. A large number of students rallied together after they were forced to stand outside in the freezing rain because they had no place to go for the hour-long activity period.

In response to this, the ad-

ministration called an emergency meeting. In reply to the angry demands of the students for the right to use the library and the right to a student lounge, the school administration said they could do nothing.

The year old student proposal to partition off a section of the auditorium, the J Building, was again put off by the school administration, who claimed that the lack of funds for Ravenswood was the fault of the

students themselves because of a high absentee rate and supposed vandalism.

One administrator attempted to drive a wedge between the white and Black students there by saying that white students would not use the J Building because Black students used it.

COUNTERED

At the meeting, a Young Socialist speaker countered the attempt of the administration to divert the students into futile committees and protest at the School Board by calling a meeting of the YS immediately following to take up the fight for a student lounge and against the proposed closing of Ravenswood.

One of the vice-principals tried to prevent this meeting. But 30 students met with the YS who pointed out that the only way to save Ravenswood was to unite with the struggle of youth and workers all across the country against Nixon.

Students interviewed by the YS stated that the fight went beyond the student lounge. It was a fight for decent books, for a decent education, and for jobs.

Another student stated that youth who graduate from Ravenswood are reading at the fourth and fifth grade level.

ILLEGAL

In open opposition to the students' demands for a decent education, the administration declared the YS at Ravenswood illegal and cancelled the scheduled fund raising dance for Juan Farinas. But the students have only strengthened their determination to establish a YS to fight for their rights, for a decent education, to keep Ravenswood open, to have student lounge, and to hold YS meetings at Ravenswood.

The YS at Ravenswood will lead this fight, with the understanding that it is not a question of protest. The YS proposed a mass rally of Ravenswood students and East Palo Alto youth before the San Mateo Central Labor Council to call upon the trade union movement to defend the right to an education by calling a Congress of Labor and launching a labor party.

The attack occurred following a meeting of the Student Government Association, at which the YSA had appealed a decision to revoke its charter. The charter had been revoked at the previous meeting as a result of a campaign launched by Richard Hoyen, national leader of the YWLL, along with the support of the nationalist Third World Coalition.

After the appeal was made, the SGA placed the question of the YSA charter into its Political Education Committee, whose chairman is Richard Hoyen.

Upon leaving the building, Hoyen initiated an incident by demanding that the YSA leave the building. When they resisted one member was thrown on the floor and kicked in the face several times.

VIETNAM

With the reactionary role that Stalinism is playing in Vietnam and its role in the presidential elections in which they supported McGovern, workers and youth are seeing the counter-revolutionary role of the YWLL and the CP.

This is why they must slander and physically attack the Trotskyist movement, which has historically fought all the betrayals of Stalinism.

Deficit Shuts Spectator

BY FRED KRUGLOV

NEW YORK—The Columbia Spectator, one of the oldest college newspapers in the country, is expected to close down because of lack of money on Wednesday, December 13.

The 97 year old student paper of Columbia University has accumulated a \$40,000 deficit in the last two years, while the University has been unable to help. Columbia University itself is \$70 million in the red even though the tuition has increased in the last few years to a staggering \$3000 a year for undergraduates and \$2100

a year for graduate students.

The University is the second largest landowner in New York City and owns 216 million dollars worth of stocks besides. However, declining profits forced it to rely more and more on tuition for its income. Skyrocketing tuition means that only rich youth can afford the school without relying on scholarships, loans, and part-time jobs. Now, all of these sources are being eliminated because of the crisis.



Children meet Santa Claus at Brownsville-East New York Christmas Fair, featuring games, prizes and rummage sale.

Stalinists Attack YSAer

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK—On November 29, two Young Socialists Alliance members at the Borough of Manhattan Community College were physically beaten by a leading member and supporters of the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, youth movement of the Communist Party.

Huey Newton Calls Workers 'Fascist'

BY A YS
REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Huey Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, spoke to about 350 students at Santa Clara University last week.

Newton has refused to face up to the fundamental question before workers and youth today, that is, the struggle of Trotskyism against all enemies of Marxism and the working class. This has led him to become a supporter of capitalism, while using Black nationalism to justify his reactionary position.

Newton, when speaking of the Communist Party and its role, said that they had grave illusions: that they envisioned the proletariat, which he defined as white factory workers, as some-day carrying the red flags of revolution. Newton stated that actually the working class would be carrying the flag of Franco in Spain—the fascist flag.

This reveals all the viciousness that the middle class radicals have towards the working class. Newton has found a comfortable position within capitalism. It is the breakup of the system and the conflict of the working class against the capitalist class now which is squeezing all sections of the middle class.

Newton's hatred of the working class was expressed when he stated that, since there were more Black people in the U.S., his advice to the Chicano students and all working class youth was that they would have to make it on their own because "his people" came first.

The fact is that Newton is living off the backs of the Black workers and youth and at their expense, as is every opportunist who is seeking to get into the middle class.

Why Midwest Trailblazer Joined The Young Socialists

NANCY VASQUEZ

Arlene O. is a 19 year old unemployed youth who has been a member of the Young Socialists for two months. She decided to join at the Preliminary Conference held in Chicago in October. Arlene also decided to be part of the Trailblazers which went through the Midwest on a sub drive for the Bulletin.

She discussed her decision to join the YS.

"Workers and youth really need something to protect them from Nixon's attacks. Capitalism is trying to destroy working people today. The Young Socialists is the only party really fighting for a labor party. I think that is the only way workers and youth can defend themselves.

"My father is a farmer and the conditions that he works in stink. He does a farmer's job of milking cows and things like that. He works from 12 hours a day to 20 hours and gets paid \$100 a week, with or without overtime. He's on call which means he has to work when they call him. He's lived on a farm all his life and that's all he knows. Now they are planning to move the farm next month and he's going to have to get a different job.

OUTRAGEOUS

"It's outrageous what he does. He gets up at five in the morning and comes home sometimes at seven. That doesn't give him any time to spend with his family or for enjoyment. On Sunday afternoon he likes to sit down and watch a football game. But if you're on call you can't take a vacation or relax because you have to work. The money situation is very bad. But everyone just seems to manage and that's about it.

"I've been looking for a job for the past month or so. I haven't found anything yet. It is very difficult because of transportation. There was a couple of them but I

didn't really want them. They were kitchen work which I don't really like. The pay is not too good. It's just \$1.60 an hour. But since there is nothing else I'll just have to take it."

TOUR

Arlene discussed the tour:

"I've learned a lot going through towns in this tour. It has brought me to look at the Young Socialists more seriously. I saw it seriously before but this tour really clinched me.

"One guy I met, a steel-worker, was telling me when the company started changing shifts. He would have to work for two or three days and then get laid off for the next two or three days and then start again.

"His schedule was made on Sunday. He worked overtime and wouldn't get overtime pay. So it becomes clear to me the speedup conditions and things like this that workers are facing today. If we allow Nixon to bust up the unions there is no hope for the working class at all. It'll even be more rough on the youth.

LABOR PARTY

"I am going to make sure that I stay with the Young Socialists. I believe in what the YS is doing. We have to have a labor party before these four years are up or the government will destroy us, the working class and youth. I think the labor party is the only way in which to fight the attacks."

British Socialist Students Meet

As the revolutionary movement of the working class is increasing at a rapid pace, whole sections of the middle class and students are joining the fight against the Tory government following the lead of the working class.

At the National Union of Students conference, held two weeks ago in Margate, the Stalinists moved far to the right by attacking students for demonstrating against the Queen's visit to Stirling University.

The Stalinists along with the reformists and Liberals combined to bloc the only motion to raise the real question—of bringing down the Tory government and replacing it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies—which was presented by members of the Young Socialists Student Society.

The Young Socialists Student Society in preparing for the fight against the Stalinists, revisionists and reformists held their first annual conference which presented the following political statement.

THE CRISIS BEHIND THE TORY GOVERNMENT

The Young Socialists national conference for students is discussing the need for revolutionary leadership in the universities in a period of serious crisis throughout the world capitalist system.

All established relations are being shattered. This is becoming apparent to students and workers who are confronted with the struggle to defend their rights and to fight for their standard of living.

As capitalism plunges internationally into recession and slump, it forces the ruling classes of the world into a desperate struggle for survival.

To make, therefore, the archaic structure of British capitalism shape up to the needs of this brutal trade war, the Tory government is faced with the historic task of stripping the working class of all its basic rights.

With American imperialism dominating the world, the Tory government is driven into the Common Market in order to make new alignments with European capital.

With economic and social collapse staring the Tories in the face, it is only the willing allies in the Labour leadership who are prepared to form a virtual coalition with the Tories and in the TUC who are prepared to operate state control of wages, that offer any hope to the ruling class in this political situation.

Inflation is forcing the working class into major battles for wages. Finding itself thrown immediately into conflict with the Tory government, it sees its traditional reformist leadership back down from any fight.

More and more trade unionists have begun to realize that an alternative revolutionary leadership must be built. Immediately this great strength of the working

class must be mobilized to make this Tory government resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to fight for socialist policies.

REPRESSION OF STUDENT RIGHTS

In this shake-up of social relations, the comfortable existence of the intelligentsia in the universities is shaken to the core.

No longer are students feted by the monopolies in search of talent. Students graduating now face the dole queue. Grants are inadequate in this period of rapid inflation causing serious financial problems for students. The housing situation is near breakdown.

Attempts by students to organize politically against these conditions are now subjected to reactionary organizations such as the Monday Club as well as the Special Branch.

A whole battery of proposals from the Tory government is in the pipeline to butcher higher education. Students face the same attack as does the working class and must join with it in the struggle to make this government resign.

BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Faced with these almost unbearable conditions, students are finding their studies inadequate to explain this complete break-up of society.

The rapid development towards slump, the moves of the ruling class towards dictatorship and the strength of the resistance of the working class have thrown the social sciences into confusion. University air is thick with theories justifying slump and repression.

The prophets of doom in the biological sciences justify slump and even world war—blaming pollution and the mythical overpopulation problems on "technology." Their answer—cease technological progress and liquidate the surplus labor pool—is precisely the requirement of monopoly capital as it plunges towards world war.

The techniques of torture used in Ulster today were perfected with the aid of research in University psychology departments.

Racial theories of intelligence are rearing their ugly heads. Economists are foundering, trying to explain the economic crisis with Keynesian economics, which were meant to put an end to such crises.

Everywhere the blinkered methods of the bourgeoisie are unable to explain anything. Using these methods of trying rigidly to separate cause and effect, of seeing the world merely as an object to be contemplated, students can find no solution to the crisis of capitalism.

The answer is not to turn away from the frightening complexity of the real world and create a world of fantasy in the mind, but to make a turn to Marxism and begin to grapple with the movement of reality.



Speaker Brian Prangle of Southampton University addresses British YS Student Society Conference.

Young Socialist

Only by participating in the living struggle of the working class to break it from bourgeois ideology can students begin to fight back against this capitalist system.

But students must beware of the studies of Marx pursued professionally in the Universities, completely separated from participation in the struggles of the working class.

These studies are consciously designed to prevent students developing as revolutionaries, while at the same time masquerading with all manner of left phrases.

The bourgeoisie has never spent money on training people to overthrow it. This parasitic ruling class, unable to develop any new theories of its own depends on revision of Marxism to stave off revolution.

The universities are training grounds for agents of the bourgeoisie. In this present disarray of bourgeois ideology, great opportunities exist for Marxism.

We can win a new layer of philosophers, historians, economists and others to the revolutionary movement.

LEADERSHIP IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Radicalism, left-talking, or the separation of theory and practice, reaches its highest level in the social sciences, tries to dissect Marx and is the main brake on the student movement.

The bourgeois method of rigid antipathy between cause and effect leads to a glut of single-issue protest movements, protesting at single effects and trying to remedy single causes.

This training in the universities and the use of these methods in the student movement has produced some useful servants for the capitalist class.

The last president of the National Union of Students (NUS), Jack Straw, a very radical gentleman, is now a Labour councillor voting to implement the Rent Act.

The present leadership of Digby Jacks, a Communist Party member and fully backed by the Stalinists, continues in this tradition. Protests are all these people can offer. Right wing and Stalinists in the NUS have merged together.

Jacks is prepared to talk endlessly with the Tories, but can only smirk and laugh at the spying activities of the ruling class on students.

As their role at the Upper Clyde Shipyards (UCS) shows, the Stalinists cooperate with Tory plans for mass unemployment and tight discipline in the work places.

This they do by diverting workers away from political struggles and from the revolutionary policies of the YS. In the student movement their aims are no different.

Clustered around the Stalinists are the revisionists, the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group. These radicals cover up for the treacherous role of Stalinism throughout the world.

They divert workers and students away from political struggle by shouting that militancy and "rank and file" action is sufficient.

All they can offer is a chance for students to join workers' picket lines and make noisier protests.

THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS

The YS aim to train a new leadership for the student movement in the Young Socialist Student Societies. This movement is

founded on the bedrock of Marxism and fights tenaciously against all revision of Marxist principles.

The YSSS fights against single-issue protests and the worship of pure militancy as this cannot explain the new task facing students and workers—that of constructing a revolutionary party today.

That is why the YSSS issues the warmest greeting to the All Trades Unions Alliance (ATUA) conference which was held on October 22 called to found the revolutionary party from the trade union movement.

In this fight against the worship of militancy practised by the revisionists we follow in the footsteps of Lenin who wrote in 1902 in *What Is To Be Done?*:

"All worship of spontaneity of the working class movement, all belittling of the 'conscious element' of the role of the revolutionary party means...a strengthening of bourgeois ideology among the workers."

The YSSS fights for the policy of bringing down the Tory government and re-electing a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. We fight for the participation of student organizations in Councils of Action in order to win the greatest support for this struggle.

The YSSS aims to train a cadre of students who will be able to contribute to the building of the revolutionary party as writers, lecturers and propagandists.

We will continue to take up the struggles of the colonial workers and peasants, as there are many overseas students in the colleges and universities.

We therefore urge all students to come along and take part, to discuss the points in this resolution and to decide to help us build this revolutionary force throughout the colleges and universities.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

No Postponement Of Pay Board Fight

(Continued From Page 1)

Nixon is not only planning to continue wage controls. Shultz made it clear that methods of strengthening the wage freeze are being explored.

Already, Nixon has turned to naked force to uphold his union-busting program. Picket lines throughout the country have been attacked by cops as workers strike for a decent wage.

The latest reports come from St. Louis, where police have been used as strikebreakers for CBS, and from New York, where police have now begun threatening the Long Island Rail Road ranks.

The strikes that are now breaking out and the big wage demands that will be made by 4.7 million workers up for new contracts in 1973 show that the working class is ready to fight Nixon.

There cannot be any delay in putting an end to the Pay Board. All the trade union bureaucrats who have said that the wage freeze will soon end have been proven dead wrong by Shultz, who said this week: "I'm ruling out going back to an uncontrolled system."

Following Nixon's announcement of the extension of controls, George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO and Leonard Woodcock, head of the UAW, both issued statements saying they were in favor of controls but thought they should be more "equitable." These labor leaders for over a year have refused to lift a finger to mobilize the unions against the Pay Board which has robbed millions of workers of their wages.

Nixon's latest statement completely explodes the contention of the union leadership that the ranks can ignore the Pay Board and get their increases in future negotiations. Already the corporations are crying for the guidelines to be lowered and are getting tough in preparation for the new negotiations. The auto companies have already revealed that one of the first things to go will be the UAW's cost of living clause. There is no way around this fight, the Board must be confronted head on by the full strength of the unions.

The fight against the Pay Board is a political fight against the Government. This struggle cannot be taken forward without a break from the two parties of big business and the building of a labor party.

The fight against the Pay Board requires a struggle in the unions now against the Meanys and the Woodcocks to construct a new leadership.

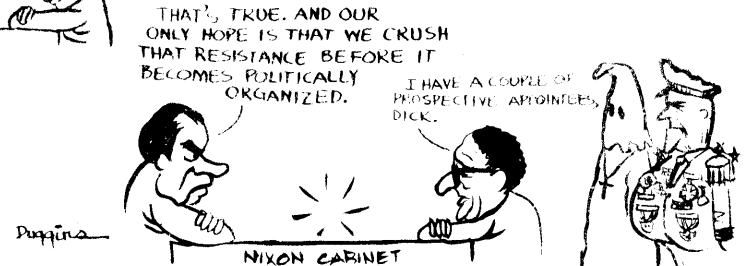
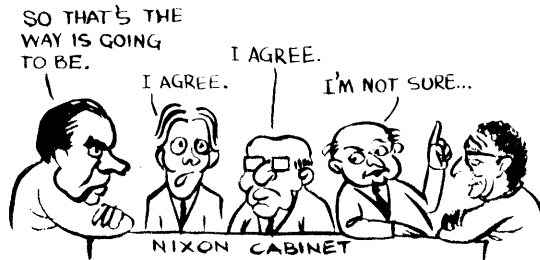
It is for this reason that the meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18 to deepen the fight for a Congress of Labor that will prepare immediate strike action against the Pay Board and build a labor party is so critical.

We call on all trade unionists to prepare to send delegations from their locals to this meeting and continue the fight for the Congress of Labor.

Sub Drive Nears 3/4 Goal

The subscription campaign took a major stride forward this week bringing in 695, giving us a grand total of 4390. Minneapolis is leading the way with 71, closely followed by Los Angeles with 68. All the Bay Area branches did well as the result of an areawide mobilization while Fort Greene, Bushwick, Hartford and Philadelphia also did serious work.

We need some 500 to reach the three-quarters mark by next week. But the real difficulty lies in the fact that the last two weeks of the drive cover the holiday period and sub work can be difficult. Each branch must therefore go way over the three-quarters mark by next week. This way we can achieve our goal of 6,500 subs by December 31st bringing our total paid circulation to 20,000.



What we think

Gus Hall And The 'Lesser Evil'

Now that McGovern has been defeated both in the 1972 elections and in the Democratic Party, the American Communist Party, one of his most enthusiastic supporters, is desperately trying to cover its tracks.

Despite the CP's attempts to whip up support for McGovern and keep labor tied to the Democratic Party, millions of workers did not vote because they understood that neither the Democratic nor the Republican Parties represent the interests of the working people. It was the Communist Party, together with the entire leadership of the trade unions, which sought to prevent the development of a party of the working class, a labor party.

Now a month after the elections, the CP issues a statement entitled "Communists call for end to 2-party grip on U.S. elections." The December 12 issue of the Daily World quotes a report by Gus Hall, the CP's presidential candidate at an "extraordinary meeting" of the CP's central committee: "Hall pointed to the 'lesser evil' pattern of voting as the main factor imprisoning the electorate in the two-party trap. Now, however, after the fiasco of the McGovern campaign, and the purge of even pale liberals from the leadership of the Democratic Party, masses of people are ready to make a clean break," he said.

"It must be the responsibility of all communists to work actively for such a break," Hall said, "including those working inside the Democratic Party." He sharply criticized the tendency to believe that the Democratic Party can be taken over by the people's forces, and he said that the Communists had to some degree fostered this illusion by an electoral policy that was not well enough formulated."

This is by far one of the crudest pieces of cynicism to come out of the mouths of the Stalinists. Caught politically with their pants down, the Stalinists are attempting a big cover for their role in the election in preparation for new attempts to prevent the American working class from achieving its political independence and opening a political offensive against Nixon.

The CP's electoral policy was formulated by the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely for this purpose many years ago. It was this policy of the Popular Front which in the 1930s and 1940s prevented the tremendous development of the CIO from breaking with the capitalist parties and the formation of a labor party. Thus in the 1930s, the CP openly pushed for support to Roosevelt as the "lesser evil" and in the 1940s diverted the actual movement for a labor party into the reformist Progressive Party.

To consciously foster illusions in the Democratic Party was at the

heart of the CP election campaign. It was the CP in fact that developed the "lesser evil" pattern in its most sophisticated form to imprison the working class "in the two-party trap."

At the July "Emergency Election Conference" of Trade Unionists For Action and Democracy, the CP and the trade unionists there who support the policies of the CP did everything possible to prevent the labor party from being raised from the floor. When this became impossible, Fred Gaboury, the head of TUAD, attacked the labor party saying: "I sure wish we had such a party in the 1972 elections. But we don't and it ain't gonna come overnight. We have seen too many aborted third parties come and go..." Gaboury proposed instead that the trade unionists put pressure on McGovern to "prevent further McGovern retreats" and keep him "honest."

Following this conference, Daily World columnist George Morris attacked the Workers League's fight for a labor party at this conference, saying those who fought for this policy were "sectarians and r-r-revolutionary phrasemongers who are blind to the realities taking place. They shout for an abortive 'labor party now' and denounce the pro-McGovern movement, seeing nothing new in it. But true Marxists and constructive progressives who work actively within the great new political stream are concerned far more with the millions in it than with those who head it."

The CP hailed the nomination of McGovern at the Democratic Party Convention and began vicious attacks on Meany for breaking with the Democrats at Miami and for his "neutrality." The purpose of these attacks was not to fight Meany's refusal to pose the only alternative for the working class, a labor party, but to defend that section of the labor bureaucracy who supported McGovern.

Writing in an editorial in the Daily World on October 12, the CP stated its position: "McGovern's proposed peace plan echoes the rising clamor of the people for realistic steps to end the war now. The choice is, as McGovern said, 'between four more years of war or four years of peace.' The re-election of Nixon would threaten four more years of war. The preconditions for four more years of peace is the defeat of Nixon." This is the CP's "lesser evil." "Dump Nixon" campaign.

The CP sought at every point to give the Woodcock section of the labor bureaucracy a left cover in its attempt to hold the unions to the Democratic Party. At every union convention, including the UAW, IAM, UE and USWA, they pushed for resolutions in favor of endorsing McGovern. At some of these conven-

tions resolutions were submitted for a labor party. At the steel convention the position taken by supporters of the CP was that the unions had to back McGovern in order to keep the Democratic Party together.

The whole purpose of Hall's campaign was to gather support for McGovern and keep the American working class tied to the Democratic Party. In this effort the CP was more open than it has been since its support to Roosevelt in the 1930s. Hall even said at one point about the results of the CP's campaign: "We convinced people... We won people away from Nixon. We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did." (Daily World, September 23)

While the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union did everything possible to assure the election of Nixon, the CP fought the development of an alternative to Nixon—the construction of a labor party. All of this was very well formulated indeed.

But now the CP's "reality" is falling apart around it with the tremendous movement of the working class. As we said, the decay of the Democratic Party is a result of the strength of the working class and the breakdown of the coalition between a section of the capitalist class and the working class which was based on reforms. In this period the capitalist class has made it very clear that there will be no reforms. Now the CP finds its "great new political stream" in shambles as the working class seeks a new alternative. It is precisely the movement of the working class and the growing support for a labor party that is behind the crisis in the Communist Party.

Faced with this the CP is now seeking another way to put forward its anti-working class policies to head off the political confrontation with Nixon. It is now attempting to create what it calls an "anti-monopoly party." This party would not be a break but a new capitalist party to keep the working class tied to a section of the capitalist class.

All of the conditions are now created for the construction of a labor party. Nixon has made absolutely clear what he has in store for the American working class. Every single struggle to defend the unions and all of the rights of the working class, the right to education, health care and a decent standard of living require this party and a program of action to defeat Nixon and capitalism. The building of a labor party will only be constructed through a battle against the trade union bureaucracy and its Stalinist supporters. This is the fight which will be taken up at the emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee of the National Conference For A Labor Party Now.

OCI, POR & International Committee



Above: Bolivian Popular Assembly, the so-called Soviet into which revisionists liquidated themselves.
Center: Leading members of the Russian Soviet are sent into exile. Trotsky, second from left.

The following article is the final part of a series which recently appeared in *Communismo*, the weekly organ of the Communist League of Peru. The Communist League is in political agreement with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The General Strike in October 1970 and the Betrayal of the POR

IN OCTOBER 1970, a general strike of Bolivian workers forced four presidents to resign in a week. In fact, such a situation immediately opened up the struggle for power, since the bourgeoisie was completely incapable of securing political power in its hands, because of the great movement forward by the proletariat. Referring to the general strike in October 1970, the opportunist leader of the Bolivian POR, G. Lora states:

"If anyone had thought of putting forward the slogan for the taking of power at that moment, he would have seemed like someone mentally sick, it was too much for the spirit dominating the masses, who still did not feel the need to build their own government immediately."

That is, Lora consciously rejected that opportunity to struggle for power and convert the POR into the vanguard of the proletariat. Instead, he transformed it into a mere spokesman for the spontaneous consciousness of the working class. This is the same policy he followed later in relation to Torres when at no moment did he pose the demand of "Down with Torres!", and allowed the victory of Banzer and the defeat of the proletariat. In reality, Lora was prevented by his hostility to Marxism from posing an alternative policy independent of the policy of Torres. Lora himself says: The events themselves put the masses and Torres in the same trench."

To preserve capitalism in Bolivia, Torres was forced to make big concessions to the working class and, at the same time, have recourse to corporatist measures, relying in this on the complicity of the Stalinists and the POR. It was these opportunist leaderships in the workers movement which allowed the Bolivian bourgeoisie to continue holding power—through General Torres—after defeating the general strike which was ca-



pable of overthrowing four presidents.

Torres had hardly taken power when he gave the COB half of the ministerial positions. This corporatist measure had as its only aim the diversion of the workers movement, by getting it to participate in the control of the bourgeois state. This was an entirely reactionary step since what was at stake was the struggle of the proletariat to destroy the bourgeois state. With this measure, an attempt was being made to involve the working class in the protection of the government. Every tendency, and particularly the POR, capitulated to this corporatist measure.

Lora argued at this time that the "working class ministers" should not be appointed by Torres but by the "COB itself," which would have in no way changed the reactionary character of the corporatist measure, but, on the contrary, it would have integrated the COB into the state apparatus, by emphasizing its corporatist character. In this case, as in every other, Lora with his opportunist policy only covered up for the reactionary nature of the Torres regime instead of unmasking it and posing a struggle to overthrow it.

Lora capitulated to all the corporatist measures of Torres which he described as "progressive" and "favorable to the working class." When Torres put forward the idea of "workers participation in COMIBOL (the Bolivian Mining Corporation)" with the aim of crushing the miners' movement, Lora in turn argued that the manager of COMIBOL should be

selected by the Miners' Federation, repeating thus the same formula as in October 1970 on the question of "workers ministers."

With the argument that "in backward countries the working class must participate in the administration of nationalized firms even in a minority," Lora made "workers participation" the center of his policy towards Torres. With this policy, Lora separated the working class movement from the struggle for power and prepared its defeat. "Workers' co-participation" in the management of firms has an extremely reactionary content, since it constitutes a corporatist form of super-exploitation of the working class, trying to unite the proletariat under the interests of the bourgeoisie. By trying to reconcile the irreconcilable, the so-called "working class delegates" become immediately the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class. "Workers co-participation" is, in any of its forms, a mechanism for controlling the workers movement. Lora not only capitulated to this corporatist measure but made it the center of his policy. What is worse, he put it forward in a revolutionary situation which directly posed the struggle for power. In this sense, Lora's policy is also consistently reactionary from start to finish.

After the general strike of October 1970 and having offered half of the ministries to the COB, General Torres was forced to withdraw his proposals by the spontaneous rejection of this policy by the working class. Torres retreated before the power of the working class and withdrew

his corporatist measure, in spite of the support which it had got from the opportunist leadership of the workers movement. The working class of Bolivia overcame its own leadership spontaneously and forced Torres to retreat.

The retreats by Torres in the face of the workers movement were seen by the petty bourgeois leaderships not for what they were but as progressive activities of Torres which favored the working class. The policy of Torres was a combination of corporatism and retreats before the working class, aimed as a whole at maintaining bourgeois power in Bolivia and preparing the crushing of the working class. One by one, Torres was preparing the conditions for Banzer's military coup supported by the fascists, counting in that on the complicity of the centrist parties and especially the POR.

If it is certain that in October 1970 the Bolivian proletariat was not defeated but preserved its organizations and power, neither did it win a victory because of the betrayal of its own leadership. No tendency opened up a perspective of power for the proletariat and all contributed to the preparation of its defeat. Contrary to what Lora says, the rise of Torres did not mean "the starting point for the radicalization, mobilization and organization of the masses" but on the contrary, the starting point for it to be crushed. Lora could not and did not want to see in October 1970 that what was central was the struggle for power, a struggle which was consciously denied by Lora so that he could sit in the same trench as Torres.

THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY

In Russia the soviets arose spontaneously in 1905; however, just their appearance did not make them real instruments in the struggle for power. Without the leadership of the revolutionary party, the soviets were necessarily condemned to "willingly handing over" power to the bourgeoisie. The fact is that the soviets cannot play anywhere an autonomous revolutionary role, independent of revolutionary leadership. In July 1917, Lenin undertook a merciless struggle against Soviet fetishism, that is, against the tendency to subordinate the party to the soviets. This was at the time when the soviets were under the control of the Mensheviks, who pursued a counter-revolutionary policy and persecuted the Bolsheviks. In these circumstances, "there can and must be found other paths to the revolutionary movement of the working masses" and, in fact, Lenin pointed to the factory committees as organs of struggle for power.

Soviet fetishism was at that time but a way of surrendering to the spontaneity of the masses and of subordinating the party to Menshevik and petty bourgeois leadership. Today, the French OCI and the POR of Lora, with the aim of embellishing their opportunism, develop a kind of "soviet fetishism" which allows them to justify their adaptation to the traditional leadership of the workers movement, by introducing the theory that soviets appear, develop, and take power spontaneously, "with their leaderships corresponding to the natural 'process'" which leads to the Universal Soviet Republic.

With these arguments, the OCI and the POR avoid the central problem posed by the imperialist crisis, which is none other than the construction of independent revolutionary parties, sections of the FI in every country.

The French OCI and their cronies in Latin America tell us that the Popular Assembly was a soviet. It is necessary to point out that these centrist organizations are trying continuously to find evidence to back up their "theory" of the "imminent revolution" which "proceeds through different stages to the Universal Soviet Republic." Thus, the OCI tells us about the "soviet in Irbid" and the POR about the "soviet traditions" of the "Bolivian masses" to the point of maintaining that the peasant unions of the 1950s were soviets. In reality, this supposed discovery of soviets in the most distant places is no more than one more manifestation of the impressionist methods of the petty bourgeoisie. For them, any working class organization which moves slightly away from ordinary trade union activity is a de facto "soviet" or "potential soviet." On the lips of centrists, such "analyses" only serve to cover up for the traditional leaderships in the working class and, thus, to avoid consciously the struggle for revolutionary leadership.

Briefly, the meachanical reasoning of the OCI and the POR is the following: first, a soviet spontaneously appears and this must necessarily develop until it challenges the bourgeoisie for power; the party has absolutely no role to play, since the leaderships would correspond to this process. This is the only meaning of the statement by Lora that "it would be an organ of power although the masses and their leaderships (that is, the leadership of the Popular Assembly) do not realize that they are going towards the taking of power." This completes Lora's argument: first, he says that it is typical of the "mentally sick" to put forward the slogan of the conquest of power and then that "without realizing it" the working class will win power with its traditional leadership.

The Bolivian Popular Assembly was never a soviet. In the first place, it was born bureaucratically as the result of an agreement of the "Political Command of the COB" that one fine day decided to change itself into the Popular Assembly. The Assembly was never an organ of the masses, and its delegates were never elected democratically. The only time that the Popular Assembly met, on May 1, 1971, "it was realized—according to Lora himself—that the masses were hardly moving and were extremely indifferent to appointing their delegates." The very fact

that the Popular Assembly should agree to meet for "periods of sessions" reflects its bureaucratic nature which contrasts totally with the essence of a soviet and makes it seem like a kind of castrated Constituent Assembly, that is, without executive or legislative power.

The Popular Assembly was created as a result of a compromise between the POR, Stalinism, and petty bourgeois nationalist parties. Programatically, the PA was necessarily destined to prepare a defeat for the working class, and its own "constituent bases" prevented in practice the PA from in any circumstance being changed into a soviet. As Lora himself says, the PA was built around the Political Thesis of the COB which, as we analyzed before, is, in essence, reactionary, since it subordinates the working class to petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies. The document calling for the PA headed: "Everyone unite to crush fascist reaction and imperialism" states quite brazenly that those who oppose the COB thesis will be pursued for their ideas. The agreement says literally: "Nobody is persecuted for his opposition, provided that the fractional opposition is developed within the limits of the Political Thesis of the COB." Anyone who opposed these theses will be immediately expelled from the Popular Assembly.

To justify his alliances with Stalinism and the petty bourgeois nationalists, Lora has to say that the Stalinist Bolivian CP "never tires of repeating the conclusions of the POR" and that "without doubt, it is the party most influenced by Trotskyism in the world" (G. Lora: *From the PA to the Fascist Coup*). In the same statement, referring to the petty bourgeois party of Lechin, the PRIN, Lora declares that "recently it has been radicalized and is closely following the positions of the POR." As for the Christian Democracy, he also declares that "for some time it has been copying its documents and theses." All this is brought in to tell us that Stalinists, nationalists and Christian Democrats "accept the positions of Trotskyists."

It is certain that Lora gives us an inverted position of his own reality, since he has capitulated to Stalinism and petty bourgeois nationalism and not vice versa. This type of opportunist argument, which leads him to say that the so-called "Revolutionary Anti-imperialist Front" (FRA) expresses the "great maturity of the revolutionary process in Bolivia since the left brought together in the FRA has been able to formulate a joint program on the methods to be employed in the revolution." All this was possible, according to Lora, because "The Bolivian left under the influence of Trotskyism was successful in drawing the right political conclusions from the dramatic development of events." All this is the most conscious, explicit negation of the construction of independent revolutionary parties, sections of the FI. Now, according to Lora, what has to be done is "influence the left" (Stalinism included) to unite with it and constitute the FRA "which is organizing to take power and build socialism." Instead of posing the struggle against the Stalinist leadership and the petty bourgeois parties, Lora seeks out an alliance with them and succeeds in this at the expense of adapting his positions completely to theirs. The whole "theory" of Lora on the "FRA" is nothing else but the expression of his unlimited opportunism.

The PA, as a product of this kind of opportunism, never developed any independent perspective for the working class. The very fact that not one of the agreements made by the PA was ever carried out shows how far this bureaucratic body was divorced from the working class, contrary to all the verbiage of Lora on "the masses producing it from their depths."

The revolutionary situation experienced in Bolivia posed in fact the taking of power and the creation of soviet organizations as necessities; however, this struggle could in no way be developed spontaneously and needed the conscious, determined intervention of the Marxist party, struggling against the opportunist tendencies and leaderships in the working class. In Bolivia, as everywhere, the building of revolutionary leadership involves the liquidation of the traditional



Bolivian workers and students gather at Armed Forces headquarters in La Paz Plaza, which the leadership and not an adaptation to this through alliances and fronts.

Repeating the same arguments of Lora, the OCI declares that the PA was a soviet, but that unlike all previous soviets, "it was the first centralized form of soviet body which has appeared as the result of the conscious, deliberate intervention of a revolutionary Marxist organization" (statement presented to the Latin American Conference by the OCI). As is well known, Lora says that the PA was the spontaneous creation of the masses and as proof of that points out that no party in Bolivia had ever proposed such a body should be formed. The position of the OCI is, on the one hand, part of its propagandist conception of the building of parties and, on the other, an attempt to defend itself against any accusation of bowing to spontaneity. In reality, the OCI goes further than the POR since it has to defend "consciously and deliberately" the compromises with Stalinists and petty bourgeois nationalists. For the OCI, it was the "Proletarian United Front" (constituted by the POR, the BCP and the Miners' Federation) which opened the way to the formation of the PA. The only "difference" in the positions of the OCI and the POR is that for the OCI it is first necessary to unite with the Stalinists and only afterwards include the petty bourgeois nationalists, while for the POR it is necessary to unite with everybody at the same time.

In the final document presented by the OCI to the "Latin American Conference" it is stated that "the worker and peasant

government is a transitional government towards the dictatorship of the proletariat." Such a statement is in fact a complete revision of Marxism. For the Bolsheviks, the formula of a worker, peasant government is only a popular name for the dictatorship of the proletariat and between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no transitional state. In this, the OCI only copies the old Menshevik program of the "revolution in two stages" and the formula of "the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants." If the PA had been victorious in Bolivia, it would undoubtedly have rapidly unmasked its opportunist leadership and would have been a political advance for the proletariat, which would have created more favorable conditions for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, in no way, would it have meant the setting up of a worker-peasant government, but a petty bourgeois nationalist government.

BANZER'S COUP D'ETAT

In the last issue of *Masas* prior to the Banzer coup, Lora declared that "no danger of a coup" existed, that "the Fascists had been defeated" and that "the Popular Assembly would begin its second session without any major problems." A few days later, General Banzer, with the support of the fascists in the Falange Nacional, and the MNR of ex-president Paz Estenssoro, were in power and the workers movement had been defeated, with the consequent persecution and exe-



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Wide World Photo

cutation of rank and file workers and trade union leaders as well as the illegalization of popular working class organizations.

Banzer only needed three days to overcome the spontaneous resistance of the working class which, betrayed by its own leadership, resisted heroically although there was no possibility of victory. Two days before the Banzer coup all the centrist tendencies were taking for granted the victory of the Bolivian revolution, and were talking about a bloc of "revolutionary governments" in Latin America formed by Cuba, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. General Torres was seen by the revisionists as a pure expression of "revolutionary nationalism."

In reality, Torres took power in Bolivia to restrain the impetuous advance of the Bolivian working class, and he did this by implementing corporatist measures to which every tendency, and particularly the POR of Lora, capitulated. Lora's POR never posed the struggle against Torres: on the contrary, they put themselves willingly in "the same trench" presenting themselves as his "successor," after he capitulated to imperialism.

From every point of view Lora capitulated to Torres, since he not only swallowed his "progressive measures" but also presented himself as Torres' most faithful defender. Lora declared that Torres was a nationalist but an inconsistent one, because one day, he would surrender to imperialism and because, the POR would be consistent, since "it would take the nationalist process to its final conclusion by transforming it into a socialist process." With this policy Lora formed

a front with the Stalinists and all the followers of the theory of the "revolution in stages." In fact, Lora consumed a political program elaborated by the petty bourgeoisie, and declared that it was necessary to carry it through to the end by transforming it into a socialist program. Thus, for the revisionist Lora, socialism would be no more than consistent nationalism and this is exactly what he stated in the Latin American Conference organized by the OCI last year in Paris, when he maintained that "Stalinism is nothing more than a bridge between petty bourgeois nationalism and Trotskyism." For the spontaneist Lora, everything is a question of degree.

All this propaganda by the centrists and the Stalinists, spreading the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie in the working class had only one end product—the disarming of the proletariat in Bolivia, politically. The betrayal by Lora is of immense proportions since, by supporting Torres and stating that there was no threat to the working class, and that if there were one, Torres "would give arms to the working class" and "the Velasco and Allende governments would defend the Bolivian workers' state" he opened the door to the victory of the fascists and a defeat of the proletariat, which in fact took place on August 21, 1971.

Throughout the government of Torres, Lora pursued an opportunist policy, and never posed the independent mobilization of the working class. He even went so far as to argue that the trade unions should give up their economic struggle and, in the

union in the Siglo XX mines, he gave the leadership to the MNR by not standing for elections. In the Popular Assembly, the POR formed a front with the Stalinists, supported the Stalinist candidate, and thus refused to fight for its independent leadership. Lora never gave the peasants a perspective, although they make up the majority of the population of Bolivia, and in all the Masas of 1971 there was only one article which mentioned the existence of the peasants.

Lora's policy was consciously aimed at crushing the militancy of the working class by continuously abstaining from putting forward slogans and intervening directly in the class struggle. Instead of that, the POR acted bureaucratically under the populist leadership of Guillermo Lora, a real folkloric "cacique" from the Altiplano. In fact, the POR has not had a party congress for 15 years and the branches of the POR never functioned regularly even in the period 1970-1971.

After the defeat of August 1971, Lora was unable to draw the slightest lesson from this experience. After the Banzer coup, Lora stated: "The ideological documents of the working class have been fully confirmed. We have nothing to revise." And, what is more, he is not even consistent in his opportunism, since instead of denouncing the "inconsistency of Torres" as he promised to do before the coup, he capitulates even more and announces in defense of Torres that "the people, showing their raised consciousness and political understanding, fought by the side of the Torres government and the Colorado soldiers."

That is, his policy was consistent in its opportunism from start to finish. As the IC of the FI would declare: "Without ever really fighting to defeat Torres, Lora together with the Stalinists relied on a section of the bourgeoisie arming the working class, so that the latter could defeat the whole bourgeoisie." Clearly then, Lora in reality was putting into practice the same policy which he pursued under Pablo in 1952. At no moment did he put forward the slogan of "Down with Torres." This was the policy of Lenin in the April Theses, while Lora is with Stalin and the "old Bolsheviks." For Lora, there were three reasons for the defeat of the Bolivian proletariat:

"a) All the military commands were united against Torres; b) Because the workers and masses in general were unarmed; c) Because the minister of the Interior, Gallardo, gave the military command of the COB completely false information on the situation even on the evening of August 21st."

That is, an absolute rejection of a class analysis of Marxism by Lora. According to Lora, the defeat of a revolution could be caused by a bourgeois minister giving false information to the Workers' Union, or that the military command was unified; that is, simply, to affirm that the revolution would have been victorious if the bourgeois minister gave correct facts to the working class, or the military command had decided to give arms to the working class.

At no moment did Lora think of analyzing the nature of the political leadership of the proletariat and when he does refer to the leadership of the working class he states: "It is wrong to say that the exploited lacked political leadership, there was excellent leadership in the Popular Assembly." This sentence is in itself the conscious refusal to fight for revolutionary leadership. From the moment that the leadership of the Popular Assembly was in the hands of Lechin (ex-vice president of the Republic in the government of Paz Estenssoro) and the strongest faction was the MNR which would later support the Fascists, Lora makes one of the greatest betrayals of the working class by describing the situation as "excellent." In reality, this is the argument used by Lora to cover up his betrayal and justify the rejection of the struggle for the independent leadership of his own party.

The OCI has stated since the defeat of the Bolivian proletariat that "the POR, at each step of the revolutionary process, was able to develop the conditions for the working class to take power," in this way supporting the opportunist policy and betrayal of Lora.

After its break with the IC of the FI, the

OCI has rapidly intensified its opportunism and adopted completely reactionary positions. Thus, for example, in the document "The OCI and the Latin American Revolution" presented to the pseudo-"Trotskyist Latin American Conference" which it held with its cronies in the month of April, its only criticism of the POR was: "The OCI will pose some questions, will reveal reservations on one point and will indicate another problem which it wants to discuss openly with the POR."

The capitulation of the OCI to the POR is so great that it is only able to ask it whether "it undertook as rigorously as necessary centralized action to mobilize the proletariat," whether "its slogans were capable of accelerating the mobilization of the peasant masses," whether "the party had the organizational structure to allow to ensure the centralization necessary for its political intervention," or "whether it was correct to abandon the slogan of 'workers control'" and to replace it with "majority working class participation." That is, the OCI is unable to make a single criticism of the POR; it transforms those which it has into ridiculous questions which contain implicitly the heart of the opportunist policy of the POR and which the OCI consciously covers up and refuses to unmask.

For the OCI, the capitulation of the POR to corporatism only deserves a query like "was it correct or not to abandon workers control..." This is in a situation which is critical for the working class, since the Banzer government meets with no serious resistance from the leadership of the Bolivian workers' movement. The OCI, by acting in this way, not only covers up the betrayals of the POR but also the petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies and Stalinism.

Just as they did before August 1971, the centrist parties—and the POR in particular—took for granted the victory of the revolution in Bolivia and at present, after the defeat of the working class, these very same parties take for granted the imminent defeat of the Fascists. Lora, as we have seen, after the defeat of the proletariat was unable to draw any lessons from the Bolivian experience and, on the contrary, completely reaffirmed his policy which he now develops under the slogan of the "Anti-imperialist United Front."

Once the Banzer coup had taken place in August 1971, Lora gave it a short life because—according to him—the contradictions which would arise between the FSB (Bolivian Socialist Falange), the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) and the army, would rapidly break up the government. From the lips of an opportunist like Lora, such a statement only meant the rejection of any political preparation of the proletariat for the defeat of the Fascists. The "optimism" of centrists has always been a concrete expression of their adaptation to the traditional leaderships of the working class and the capitalist crisis. That is the only meaning of the declarations of Lora on the apparent "triumph of the FRA" in the Siglo XX mines where the FRA won 1668 votes out of 2553 and where the Fascists almost won 1000. Lora cannot see that behind the apparent advance of the FRA what really exists is an advance of the Fascists, which less than six months ago had no strength at all in the unions.

If before the victory of Banzer the Bolivian working class was unable because of the treacherous policy of its own leadership to develop, defend its own gains and defeat the advance of the Fascists, now after the defeat, it is incomparably less prepared to resist the attack of the Fascists in power. This does not mean that the Banzer government can resolve the capitalist crisis, and that it cannot be defeated by the proletariat, but that in power its positions are much stronger and the positions of the proletariat are much weaker if compared with what they were before August 1971. The cause defended by the Fascists is historically doomed, which can be only implemented by crushing the working class and by enslaving the working class and preparing the objective conditions for its objective defeat. It is for that reason that fascism is the last resort of capitalism, and only poses as a solution, the alternative of socialism or barbarism with the central problem being the



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cutation of rank and file workers and trade union leaders as well as the illegalization of popular working class organizations.

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From every point of view Lora capitulated to Torres, since he not only swallowed his "progressive measures" but also presented himself as Torres' most faithful defender. Lora declared that Torres was a nationalist but an inconsistent one, because one day, he would surrender to imperialism and because, the POR would be consistent, since "it would take the nationalist process to its final conclusion by transforming it into a socialist process." With this policy Lora formed

a front with the Stalinists and all the followers of the theory of the "revolution in stages." In fact, Lora consumed a political program, elaborated by the petty bourgeoisie, and declared that it was necessary to carry it through to the end by transforming it into a socialist program. Thus, for the revisionist Lora, socialism would be no more than consistent nationalism and this is exactly what he stated in the Latin American Conference organized by the OCI last year in Paris, when he maintained that "Stalinism is nothing more than a bridge between petty bourgeois nationalism and Trotskyism." For the spontaneist Lora, everything is a question of degree.

All this propaganda by the centrists and the Stalinists, spreading the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie in the working class had only one end product—the disarming of the proletariat in Bolivia, politically. The betrayal by Lora is of immense proportions since, by supporting Torres and stating that there was no threat to the working class, and that if there were one, Torres "would give arms to the working class" and "the Velasco and Allende governments would defend the Bolivian workers' state" he opened the door to the victory of the fascists and a defeat of the proletariat, which in fact took place on August 21, 1971.

Throughout the government of Torres, Lora pursued an opportunist policy, and never posed the independent mobilization of the working class. He even went so far as to argue that the trade unions should give up their economic struggle and, in the

building of revolutionary leadership, that is, a Marxist party, a section of the IC of the FI. Such a party can only be built on the basis of the assimilation of the entire experience of the defeat, which means necessarily the destruction politically of the political leadership which prepared the defeat and especially the POR of Lora. Such leaderships have showed quite nakedly that they only serve to prepare the defeat of the working class and they have made no balance sheet of their own role and, quite the opposite, they have taken refuge in the FRA to prevent the working class from understanding the reason for the defeat in 1971 and on this basis, constructing a correct perspective.

The Bolivian proletariat can only defeat the Fascists if it assimilates the causes of its own defeat. Lora states that the fascists were victorious because "Torres did not give arms" and because the minister Gallardo gave "wrong information to the COB," that is that the future of the revolution depended, for this opportunist, on the "help" that the bourgeoisie or a section of the bourgeoisie could give to the proletariat.

That is, following the arguments of Lora, the proletariat in the future must wait passively until a sector of the bourgeoisie acts "in a revolutionary manner." Nothing could be more alien to Marxism; this only helps back up the positions won by the fascists.

Lora hopes that the working class can defend spontaneously the gains which they still maintain. Nothing could be further from the truth. The results of the union elections in Siglo XX confirm, on the contrary, that fascism has won positions even in the unions. The fact that the FRA still has a majority is only a momentary, circumstantial position and is in no way a guarantee for the future. Since the Bolivian proletariat in the mines represent the main proletarian force in the country the advance of the fascists in those unions only represents a weak reflection of the overwhelming advance of the fascists in other sectors, especially among the peasantry.

No correct perspective for the Bolivian proletariat can exist if it does not start from the fact that what is really happening at the moment, is not the development of proletarian revolution but a deepening of fascist counter-revolution.

The "optimistic" perspective of Lora and all the centrists in the FRA is only the concrete form of their present capitulation since that is their justification for their adaptation to the Banzer government. The tremendous difference between the perspectives of these centrist leaders and what is really happening in Bolivia only adds an additional element of confusion and demoralization among workers who can see everywhere the development of fascism yet hear something completely different from their leadership.

The revolutionary party in Bolivia will only be built through a struggle to the death against all centrist and petty bourgeois nationalists who are all together in the "Anti-imperialist United Front." It is through this political struggle that the Bolivian workers vanguard will assimilate the reasons for its defeat and will find a revolutionary perspective capable of defeating the fascists and carrying through a successful proletarian revolution.

Undoubtedly, the Bolivian working class spontaneously resists the fascists, but it is unable by itself to find a correct perspective. Many Bolivian workers feel that they have been deceived and betrayed by their own leadership which a year ago was proclaiming the victory of the Bolivian Workers State and only prepared the Banzer dictatorship. All these workers who have understood what must not be done but do not know what must be done constitute in fact the most advanced section of the working class, and the revolutionary party must direct its policies, above all, to them.

The central task of the revolutionary in Bolivia is today to trace out a correct perspective for the working class, a perspective which rejects all the ideological fantasies of the centrists and bases itself on the real situation and its development.

There can be no conception of any future revolutionary development of the proletariat if the lessons of the defeat have

not been understood.

The resistance of workers to the advance of the fascists can only start from the defense of the gains that they still maintain, in the first place, the trade union organizations. Against the crushing of any democratic right, by the fascists, the working class must take up a complete defense of its rights and democratic freedoms. The Bolivian working class must struggle for the immediate holding of general elections and the restoration of all the rights of bourgeois democracy, since only through this gain will the proletariat be able to organize itself freely and prepare the struggle for the conquest of power, and only through that will it be able to win from the fascists the peasantry and the poor petty bourgeois in the cities. The advance of the fascists will only be stopped if its social base is removed and these are only the petty bourgeois thrown into crisis by the crisis of capitalism, and it cannot be removed or neutralized through the betrayal of the leadership of the working class. The revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants is only conceivable as the proletariat led by its revolutionary party carrying behind it the peasantry. It is for that reason that the central task is the building of revolutionary leadership, a task which can be successfully undertaken by the Bolivian section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

AFTER THE DEFEAT: THE OPPORTUNIST FRONT.

After the defeat of the Bolivian Revolution, the revisionist Lora was unable to draw any lessons from the defeat and even less able to criticize his own opportunist behavior. On the contrary, Lora reaffirms everything which he has previously done, and on this basis elaborates his present policy which, described in his own words, is but the consistent continuation of his own policy. Lora is absolutely correct when he states that his present policy is the same as it has always been. Of course, it is the same opportunist policy of betrayal which he is developing today under a different label.

If Lora disarmed the Bolivian working class politically, making it impossible for them to confront Torres and defeat the fascists, he continues the same policy today by making alliances with petty bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists through the so-called "Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front." This policy of the "Anti-imperialist Front" must be unreservedly denounced everywhere since it is the base on which not only the Bolivian POR develops its policy but also its Latin American cronies like "Politica Obrera" in Argentina and the POMR in Peru. It is through this policy that these centrist parties introduce petty bourgeois ideology into the proletariat, turning it away from the central aim of its struggle, which is none other than the taking of power.

REVISIONISM

The policy of the "Anti-imperialist front" is based entirely on the complete acceptance of the ideology and politics of the petty bourgeoisie and consequently on a thorough revision of Marxist theory. It is with this policy that the statement of Lora that socialism is the consistent development of nationalism is strengthened. Lora's break with Marxism and consequently his break with any international perspective places him politically in what Trotsky called the camp of the "desperate petty bourgeois." Lora conceives of imperialism in the Kautsky manner, as the oppression of industrial countries on backward countries and not as a stage in capitalist development, not as the epoch of the decay of the whole of capitalism. From that he proceeds to consider within his "anti-imperialism" only the so-called "national problem" and it is for that reason that he describes the Velasco and the Torres government as "anti-imperialist." And similarly he cannot and does not want to understand that nationalization by a bourgeois government has no progressive characteristics but, on the contrary, is a measure which in an extremely reactionary way attempts to "overcome" the capitalist crisis through



Juan Torres, "left-wing" General supported by the revisionists, fled the country rather than give arms to workers in the midst of the right-wing coup.

corporatist measures like those realized by Hitler or Mussolini.

It is only through this rejection of the Leninist theory of imperialism that Lora can say that by taking a "nationalist process" through to its final conclusions socialism will be achieved. Lora can see no conflict, no opposition between nationalism and socialism, between petty bourgeois ideology and Marxism. Consequently, he could maintain that Velasco will "protect the rear of the Bolivian workers state."

The same Lora states that the "Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front" has a central aim "the construction of socialism and the conquest of power." By denying completely the need for an independent revolutionary leadership, Lora gives a front of different parties the task of taking power and building socialism. In this way, Lora covers up for and consciously protects the reformist, petty bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists, since within the FRA are Stalinists, "foquistas," nationalists and even military followers of General Torres. Cynically, Lora hopes to make unsuspecting people believe that the "FRA" has been possible only thanks to the "influence of Trotskyism" on the Bolivian "left," when in reality the FRA is but the expression of the adaptation of the POR to the policies of the petty bourgeoisie and Stalinists.

Consciously, Lora argues in favor of the entry of the petty bourgeoisie in working class organizations. Just as in 1970-1971 when Lora condemned the struggle of the Bolivian proletariat for wages on the grounds that it was an economist struggle, Lora justifies the entry of the petty bourgeoisie into working class organizations, since in this way "the narrow trade union framework would be overcome." Thus, Lora simply becomes a direct agent of the fascists in the unions. Instead of posing an independent revolutionary alternative to the working class, Lora tries to crush the spontaneous consciousness of the proletariat with fascist ideology. Such a position in no way differs from his policy during the Torres government when he called for "workers' co-management" and for the participation of the COB in the bourgeois state. The whole of this policy, which in the first place introduces petty bourgeois ideology into the proletariat, necessarily leads to handing over the organization of the proletariat either to the bourgeois state or nationalist tendencies.

POMR

This same policy of betrayal and surrender of the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie, through the so-called "Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front," is being pursued by the POMR in Peru. Using the arguments of Lora, the POMR stated in the CGTP Congress last year that "The Peruvian proletariat should take the process opened up by the military to its final conclusion and change it into a socialist process." They also said that for the Organization Conference of the CGTP that SINAMOS would be a "bourgeois anti-imperialist front." Thus, like Lora in Bolivia, in Peru the only perspective which the POMR gives the working class is of defeat, of the destruction of its gains and unions.

The OCI supported all the policies of the POR of Bolivia and has used it to begin an international campaign which must be equally fought. The OCI states that what

the POR did was correct although its theoretical positions "weren't." Thus for the OCI Lora acted as a revolutionary but was unable to draw the "correct theoretical conclusions." This method of reasoning, which is the typical method of thinking of the bourgeoisie, is of its very nature opposed to Marxism, and in fact belongs to the camp of metaphysics and Kantian dichotomies. From the OCI, such an affirmation is but one more expression of its constant refusal to develop theory, since theory for them is not necessary for the construction of revolutionary parties. In this way, the OCI denies that "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" and makes an apology for spontaneous consciousness, the immediate, false consciousness of things.

FRONT FOR PARTY

For the OCI, the United Anti-imperialist Front is only conceivable as the "United Workers Front" which organizes it, while for Lora the United anti-imperialist Front comes first. The French organization argues that it was the COB (United Workers Front) which organized the Anti-imperialist Front, in this way criticizing what Lora says but supporting what really happened. In essence, the positions of the OCI and the POR are the same and are equally opportunist, because both centrist parties leave completely on one side the central problem which is revolutionary leadership and which can only be built by liquidating the old reformist, Stalinist or Social Democratic leadership. Throughout the world, only the parties which are sections of the IC of the FI carry through this task.

From the propagandist viewpoint of the OCI, parties are only a mixture of program and apparatus. The Transitional Program is but the "highest expression of Marxism" beyond which no development can exist and the FI is only a framework, an apparatus. This is the very same conception which leads them to say that the FI was destroyed by the Pabloites, thus denying the continuity of the FI in the struggle of the IC from 1953.

LESSONS

The events in Bolivia, the defeat of the proletariat at the hands of the fascists, is an important lesson for the international proletariat and once again puts the problem of revolutionary leadership at the center of attention. Centrist organizations like the POR, which have covered up both for Stalinists and nationalists, have contributed to preparing the defeat of the proletariat, since at no moment did they open up an independent perspective but on the contrary helped to keep it tied to its old leadership. Lora's POR never struggled against opportunist leaderships and even less tried to organize the political struggle against the governments of the bourgeoisie and in particular against the government of General Torres.

As Trotsky declared in the Transitional Program: "The central task of the FI consists in freeing the proletariat from its old leadership," since the crisis of humanity is precisely the crisis of proletarian leadership. The experience in Bolivia shows once more that only the parties of the IC of the FI have at the center of their revolutionary strategy the building of independent revolutionary leadership.

Michael Ross Books

CRADLE OF STEEL UNIONISM, Monongahela Valley, Pa.
By George Powers. Figueroa Printers, Chicago, 153 pgs., 1972, \$1.50.

Despite important political weaknesses, *Cradle of Steel Unionism* is a welcome departure from what liberal academics churn out under the label of "labor history."

George Powers has lived much of his book, covering the struggle to organize basic steel from the Civil War up until 1939. A steelworker since 1933 in western Pennsylvania and South Chicago, he also served as a full-time organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and its successor, the United Steel Workers of America from 1936 through 1947.

The book briefly chronicles early unions in the steel industry until they merged in 1876 to form the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers of North America (the AA).

Powers details the bitter price that the steelworkers have paid for craft unionism in the defeats at Homestead in 1892 and the Great Steel Strike of 1919. The reader is shown what the steelworkers had to put up with in the mill as well as outside. To keep the corrupt Republican Party machine in power in the steel towns of the Monongahela Valley, the steel barons placed Republican sample ballots in the pay envelopes right before the elections!

What stands out as the most commendable feature of this book is that on virtually every occasion the power of the mobilized working class is brought forward. For instance, in the 1919 organizing drive, with any semblance of free speech illegal in the steel towns, United Mine Workers organizer William Feeney was slated to chair a mass meeting in Monessen on April 1st. The Burgess (Mayor) had threatened mass jailings. But instead:

"On the day of the meeting Feeney marched 10,000 coal miners into Monessen and took the town like Grant took Richmond. Thousands of steel workers attended and signed union cards publicly in the square."

DEPRESSION

The defeat of the 1919 strike, caused especially by the treachery of a section of the craft union leaders, prevented virtually all organizing activity in the steel towns and districts until the Depression.

And with the Depression came massive layoffs in the industry, reaching a high point of 56 percent unemployment among steelworkers in 1933. And for those remaining came wage cut after wage cut, with 1933 rates for laborers being down to where they had been in 1918. And to add the final humiliation:

"...Mill managements such as U.S. Steel saw an opportunity to come forward as benefactors and they announced the distribution of food boxes to the unemployed. They weren't all that benevolent. They made the men sign I.O.U.'s. It was a most degrading gesture and steel workers driven to accept the baskets were bitter and angry."

Into this situation in many towns stepped the Unemployment Councils, led by the Stalinists of the Communist Party. Powers describes the organization of the first meeting of its McKeesport branch. It soon spread throughout the valley.

Now in late 1933 through 1934, with a partial economic upturn and large numbers being rehired, the workers began to regain their confidence. And they began to flood into the unions.

Those steel workers who began signing up in the unions overwhelmingly went into the AA as Powers makes abundantly clear. The Stalinists were miles away from this reality. For what was Communist Party policy in 1933-34 (and ever since 1929)? It was to characterize the



Memorial Day Massacre, Republic Steel, Chicago, May 30, 1937.

American Federation of Labor affiliates as "social fascists," and pull their own supporters out to form "red" unions, linked in the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL). The TUUL group in steel was the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, which had led a number of isolated strikes in the industry in that period, virtually none of which succeeded due to this isolation.

STALINISM

This policy of Stalinism, the Third Period, isolated the revolutionary workers from the working class as a whole, often with disastrous effects, as in Germany. There, the German CP was paralyzed politically and had no way of reaching the Social Democratic workers (which the CP characterized as a "social fascist" party). This split in the working class had allowed the real fascists, the Nazis, to come to power and destroy the working class parties and trade unions without a shot being fired.

In the United States, the Third Period was not as disastrous, for the fascists did not come to power, but it did mean allowing capitalism to survive the Depression. It meant that the bureaucracy of the AF got a new lease on life; the CP walked out of the AFL and left the bulk of the organized workers tied to the labor bureaucrats.

Today it becomes politically convenient for the Stalinists to try to obscure this betrayal of the working class. Reviewing Powers' book in the November 8 *Daily World*, Philip Bonosky complains that:

"What's not to the good however—and it's necessary to make this point—is that the role of the Communist Party in building the CIO is totally overlooked. The fact is that most of the rank-and-filers Powers talks about and who did the hard, dirty work of building up the union were Communists. Not only did they do the leg work, they also brought a perspective to the struggle which lifted it above the simple pork chop level, though that was not neglected. So many of them who made the greatest sacrifices remained true to their principles, like the unforgettable Tony Salopek of Duquense. As a steel worker and Communist, he was a model of the kind of man the Communist Party had every reason to be proud of, and whose kind made the Party truly a party of the working class. (Salopek died last year)."

"Powers gives Salopek full credit, but none to his Party and its guidance."

But Powers reveals a rather different picture. His own experience with Tony

Salopek shows a man whose very activity in 1933-34 was in a sharp clash with Communist Party policy. In that period he was one of the founding members of the Duquense lodge of the AA. Activity in "reactionary" unions like the AA. was the last thing on earth that the Stalinists wanted their members involved in.

ABSTAINED

Powers extensively names many of the rank and file steelworkers who took part in these organizing drives. If he doesn't label most of them who were Communist Party militants, it seems likely for several reasons. To begin with, most CP members abstained from the struggles within the AFL until 1935, when Stalin gave his signal for a turn toward the policies of the Popular Front (alliance of the working class with the liberal section of the employers.)

When the CP did go in, getting in on the ground floor in many CIO unions including the steelworkers, it was often on the basis of hiding their politics, or subordinating their politics to the dictates of the top leadership of the CIO and the SWOC.

What Bonosky refuses to discuss especially is the sections of this book dealing with the struggle within the AA from 1933-35. The ranks of the AA, rapidly growing, put up a terrific battle to force their leaders such as president Mike "Grandmother" Tighe and Secretary Louis "Shorty" Leonard to organize the industry. To a large extent the Stalinists were abstainers from this struggle, only dissolving their own TUUL union in the industry late in 1934 and going into the AA. The signals had already begun to be given by Stalin about the new turn. But the CP did not send its supporters into the AA until after the ranks of that union had carried the day at the AA's convention around a program of what Powers calls "concerted action."

The 1934 strike was sold out by the Tighe bureaucracy, with the collaboration of the Roosevelt administration and AFL president William Green.

In return for a few meaningless gestures from Roosevelt, Tighe and Green called off the threatened national steel strike. "Green accomplished what the corporations were unable to do—trick the steel workers into surrender."

Despite these betrayals, the ranks in the industry continued to fight, first taking up a struggle to break up the company unions in the mills, and then going after the Tighe bureaucracy. A rank-and-file conference, with 300 delegates representing 78 lodges,

Organizing Basic Steel

met in Pittsburgh on February 3, 1935 to plan unionization of the industry and take on the AA bureaucrats.

Now things really began to get hot as first, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, split the AFL to form the Committee for Industrial Organization and take concrete action to organize basic industry. And then, on towards the end of the year, a federal court forced Tighe to rescind the expulsions of the 26 lodges.

Powers discusses the role played in the formation of the SWOC by Lewis, Clinton Golden, Clarence Irwin and John Brophy.

Most revealing is how Powers shows that it took intensive rank and file pressure to force Lewis to start the organizing campaign in steel.

A delegation of Pittsburgh and Youngstown area AA rank and file leaders, including Irwin and Powers, met Lewis in Greensburg, Pa., on April 1, 1936. Lewis was scheduled to be there to address a mass meeting of coal miners. At a private meeting with the steel workers, Lewis found the heat put on him:

"Clarence Irwin was first to speak. He presented our urgent request for speed in launching a CIO supported steel organizing drive. He concluded by reporting that Lou Morris, a steel leader from Canton, Ohio, had been unable to come, but sent a letter which he requested be read to Mr. Lewis.

"The letter reaffirmed the urgency that had been expressed by Irwin and concluded with these startling words:

"Tell John L. Lewis to quit windbagging and get on with the job of organizing the steel workers."

"Lewis was stung. His face flared red and he asked, 'Is that what steel workers think of me?'"

"Visibly agitated he rose and asked the assembled group to name a committee of three to meet with him in Washington, D.C. the following Wednesday. He at once instructed Brophy to make all necessary arrangements for transportation for the committee."

The decisive steps towards breaking the AA from the AFL craft union perspectives were taken at the AA's 61st convention, meeting in Cannonsburg, Pa. beginning April 28, 1936, and at the State Federation of Labor convention meeting in Uniontown on April 29, only a few miles from each other.

FIRST CONTRACT

Finally, on March 2, 1937, U.S. Steel signed its first contract with the SWOC.

Powers discusses the Republic Steel massacre on Memorial Day of the same year, which held back much further organization in the industry until 1942.

Today the Stalinists prefer to lie about their role in allowing this defeat to take place. In the unions and in their press, they called on the Little Steel strikers to rely on Roosevelt and his henchmen, such as governor Martin Davey of Ohio or Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago, both of whom called out and used National Guardsmen against the strikers. In fact, today the Stalinists fraudulently acclaim their general secretary, Gus Hall, then a SWOC leader, for being the leader of the "victorious" Little Steel strike of 1937.

Today the situation is such that the labor-Democratic coalition lies very much shattered, despite all the attempts of the Halls and the Bonoskys to resurrect it. Powers' book leaves the reader with the illusion that this sort of coalition was necessary both in the 1930s and today. But in the 1930s, this coalition led the working class into the Second World War. To attempt to rebuild this coalition in today's conditions will lead to even greater catastrophes. The struggle for the creation of a Labor Party therefore takes on far more urgency than even under Roosevelt.

Despite these political weaknesses, Powers' book should be read by steel workers, other unionists and youth. It is an authentic chronicle of what it took to organize basic steel, what the working class had to fight against, and what can be done through the mobilization of the power of that class.



George Novack

George Novack's Crusade For Philosophical Tolerance

Alex Steiner covers George Novack's latest lecture on philosophy and politics.

On December 1, 1972, George Novack was the guest lecturer at the Militant Labor Forum, speaking on "Philosophy and Politics." An historical introduction dealing with the conception of Plato and Aristotle began the lecture and set the theme for the rest of the talk.

According to Novack, the eminent Greeks studied politics "for practical purposes." Philosophy, he stated, was "the most general way of thinking about the problems of the world." That is, Novack set the tone for the discussion by denying that philosophy, which means literally "the love of wisdom," is a human activity which for the Greeks in particular was something valuable in itself, apart from any immediate practical gains.

The Greeks considered philosophy higher than politics. This idealist concept of classical philosophy as pure contemplation did however contain a profound grain of truth: that true knowledge lies in the struggle of conscious beings to grasp the lawfulness of something that is outside of the human mind. Because genuine science could not develop beyond the level of description and classification in ancient Greece, the very concept of a science of history or society was alien to Greek civilization.

Politics, the practical affairs of running a city state, was viewed in terms of an art rather than a science. The limited developments made in genuine science, in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, could not immediately influence the practical affairs of men. The philosophical activity, which was concerned with search for truth beyond the common opinions of

the day, was regarded as an eccentric if not subversive activity, undermining traditional beliefs which cemented the life of the 'polis.'

There was thus in ancient Greece, and ever since, a tension between philosophy and politics. The execution of Socrates, the lover of wisdom, gives dramatic testimony to this. Beneath the idealist form this tension between philosophy and politics took on in ancient Greece lay a very real fact of political life: an activity which seeks for truth against a prevailing, historically formed ideology will always find itself in conflict with a ruling class or clique whose interests lie in preserving an historically doomed social system and the ideology upon which it rests. Plato understood this much better than Novack—that is why the Republic, wherein the philosopher becomes the highest statesman, is a genuine utopian work—speculating about an ideal which Plato knew could never be realized in Athens or anywhere else.

DENIAL

Behind Novack's presentation of the happy marriage between philosophy and politics in ancient Greece lies his denial of the ideological struggle that any progressive world outlook and philosophical system must take up against the prevailing ideology into which it is born. This is particularly true of the present epoch. Marxist philosophy, which is now rooted in a science of history and society (which the Greeks could not develop) can only establish itself through the struggle of the proletarian revolutionary movement against all forms of the dominant bourgeois ideology.

Philosophy and politics can be con-

sciously united today, as it never could be previously, only through the conflict against bourgeois ideology in the actual construction of the revolutionary movement. It is this conflict which Novack continually denies.

REVISE

To maintain his position, Novack was forced to revise history itself, in the course of the lecture. He stated that the American Revolution of 1776 was led by people who had assimilated the highest developments in philosophy of their time. Novack even went so far as to say that the American Revolution represented a closer unity of philosophy and politics than the French Revolution, because in the former, the "philosophers" such as Sam Adams and Tom Paine were actually men of action, while the French philosophes were not.

Anyone acquainted in any superficial way with American "philosophy" and history could tell Novack that the philosophical verbiage of the American Revolution, found in the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, etc., represented merely the most shallow borrowing of the ideas of Locke and the philosophes. The main thing the founding fathers were interested in was Locke's defense of the right of the bourgeoisie to private property as a "natural" and "inalienable" right. To compare this pragmatic, piecemeal borrowing from the philosophers of England and France to the earthshaking ideological war against feudalism undertaken by the English and French bourgeoisie is nothing but a travesty upon this history.

But Novack does not do this out of ignorance; he had a conscious purpose in mind. Novack seeks to manufacture "objective conditions" to explain why it is not necessary to take up a struggle against the spontaneously developed form of bourgeois ideology that dominates the American working class. After all, if you can say that the bourgeois revolution in America represented a highly conscious act, then the heritage this leaves for the working class today does not really demand a ruthless struggle against pragmatism, which is, of all forms of bourgeois thought, the most hostile to theory.

Novack is well acquainted with the assessment of American "philosophy" made by every Marxist from Engels to Trotsky. He knows that Engels had written to the early American Marxists:

"For good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstitions, spiritualism, in short every kind of imbecility that was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the masses stupid."

It is this history of the backwardness of American thought which today Novack tries to falsify, precisely in order to avoid any responsibility for never taking up a fight in the SWP against this backward heritage that keeps the American working class in chains. That is why he was able to actually defend the likes of George Washington as a great revolutionary of his time, as if this opportunist slave-owner had an ounce of the revolutionary spirit and élan of the great revolutionaries of France such as Robespierre or Danton!

"HAPPY MARRIAGE"

Novack's denial of a crisis of theory in American history found another expression in his discussion of the relationship between politics and philosophy in contemporary times. Here, he said, we witness a complete divorce of philosophy and politics. Modern (bourgeois) politicians ignore and deny philosophy, while modern academic philosophers feel philosophy is irrelevant to politics. According to Novack, our task is to reestablish the "happy marriage" between philosophy and politics that existed in the period of the Revolutionary War!

What Novack says then is that the ruling class does not have a philosophy; that its pretensions to ignore philosophy, as well as the pretensions of the petty bourgeois academics to present a "value free," unbiased system of thought, does not itself presuppose the pragmatic philosophy and

all the reactionary hostility to theory behind it.

Thus, when Nixon or Wallace attack the "intellectuals" on the universities, they are not consciously seeking to reinforce a backward philosophy on the American working class, trying to prevent Marxism from penetrating the working class, according to Novack. Novack even has praise for the attempt by John Dewey and the "instrumentalists" to unite philosophy and politics around the central notion of "practice"—an attempt that involves the destruction of both revolutionary politics and revolutionary theory.

At that point, Novack tells us that what is wrong with "totalitarianism," both of the Stalinist and fascist variety, is that it tries to impose philosophy upon the masses. Precisely what philosophy totalitarianism tries to impose was never considered by Novack. He, in fact, continually referred to Stalinist philosophers as representing a branch of Marxism and even said that the writings of Stalin and Mao have some positive value as an introduction to Marxism for neophytes.

According to Novack then, the trouble with Stalinist "philosophy" is not that it represents a fundamental revision of Marxism reflecting the interests of a counterrevolutionary bureaucracy and is ultimately an expression of bourgeois philosophy. No, the trouble with Stalinism is that it is "intolerant" of other ideas and philosophies.

"FREEDOM OF CRITICISM"

Novack's conclusion from this presentation was that Marxism must never subordinate philosophy to politics and must allow for "freedom of criticism." Lenin pointed out against the "freedom of criticism" group in 1902 that the slogan of "freedom of criticism" leaves the door wide open for the entrance of bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement. He wrote against the Novacks of his day:

"He who does not deliberately close his eyes cannot fail to see that the new 'critical' trend in socialism is nothing more nor less than a new variety of opportunism. And if we judge people, not by the glittering uniforms they don or by the high-sounding appellations they give themselves but by their activities and by what they actually advocate, it will be clear that 'freedom of criticism' means freedom for an opportunist trend in Social Democracy, freedom to convert Social Democracy into a democratic party of reform, freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism."

"'Freedom' is a grand word, but under the banner of freedom for industry the most predatory wars were waged, under the banner of freedom of labor, the working people were robbed. The modern use of the term 'freedom of criticism' contains the same inherent falsehood. Those who are really convinced that they have made progress in science would not demand freedom for the new views to continue side by side with the old, but the substitution of the new views for the old..."

DEFEND

Thus, when Novack today revises this hoary old slogan, he means to defend a "soft" philosophy and a "soft" party against the "hard" philosophy and party of Lenin, which is today fought for by the Workers League. That is why Novack's whole presentation was actually a defense of the notion that philosophy does not develop in a struggle against its opposite, that Marxism can and must be tolerant, i.e., must compromise with bourgeois philosophy and therefore with the bourgeoisie.

It is precisely this "intolerance," the intransigence of the theoretical struggle against Pabloite liquidationism taken up by the International Committee that Novack recently wrote against, calling it a case of "Sectarianism in Philosophy."

A speaker from the Workers League asked Novack a question at the end of the lecture: "What do you mean by 'sectarianism' in philosophy? Can you make concessions in the field of philosophy, like you make tactical concessions in the day to day struggle?" Novack, apparently still caught up in his freedom of criticism rhetoric, could only reply, "Well, you've all just witnessed a case of sectarianism in philosophy."

Argentina: Moreno Once Again Embraces Peron

BY LUCIA RIVERA

In Latin America, the working class is on the offensive in a struggle for their rights. In Argentina, the working class has waged the most bitter struggles, especially since the General Strike in 1969 in Cordoba, which forced the mayor of this important city to resign and revealed the instability of the dictatorial government.

In the face of this dual power situation, the Peronist trade union bureaucracy betrayed the working class by compromising over wages demands with the dictator Marcello Livingston.

During this same period, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) split and the majority faction, guerrilla-oriented People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) came into existence. After this split, the PRT-Moreno group liquidated itself into the Argentine Socialist Party (the PSA-Coral section).

ATTACKS

Moreno, before entering the PSA, had waged the most vicious attacks against Trotskyism. He said that the **Transitional Program** has no relevance in today's situation. He held that what was necessary was to combine the petty bourgeois nationalism of Castro and Mao with his revision of Trotskyism in order to fight the dictatorship.

Because the PSA is a legal party, Moreno is participating in the coming presidential elections to be held in March. But this is only part of the history of the Morenistas in seeking to avoid the construction of the revolutionary party.

From 1957 to 1964, Moreno's supporters entered the Peronista movement and covered this treachery with the excuse of infiltrating the unions to break them from this bourgeois tendency. However, they completely capitulated to the Peronists and in their paper, *La Verdad*, they declared themselves to be under the discipline of General Peron.

Today, after the return of Peron to the Argentine after 17 years, these deserters of Trotskyism unite with the Peronist trade union bureaucracy and call this a victory for the working class. The PSA was invited to the meeting of the political parties held on November 20 to elaborate the basis for the national reconstruction with Peron. They declined the invitation on the basis that it was not an open meeting.

Nevertheless, the PSA gave their support to such a meeting. In a declaration about their refusal to accept, they stated: "We are willing to carry on in common any concrete action against imperialism, for the defense of the fatherland and for the defense of the democratic liberties..."

They warn the Peronists not to invite the the Radical Party because they were empowered to represent only 20 percent of the population. They state that: "You shouldn't share discussion with them (RP) especially when the Justicialist Party (Peron's Party) still represents the majority of the Argentinian working class."

CAPITULATION

The fact that the Justicialist Party has invited the PSA for this discussion reveals the depth of Moreno's capitulation to the Peronist and trade union bureaucracy. Their refusal to attend the meeting has not stopped them from giving all their support to Peron. If the Argentine working class still has illusions about Peron, Moreno's party is to be blamed for them because they have avoided the struggle to break this powerful working class from Peronism.

Peron has returned to Argentina to carry out, together with the armed forces, the destruction of the working class. Moreno has joined hands with him, accepting Peron as an alternative to



Coral, leader of Argentine Socialist Party which has always defended Peronism.

Lanusse's dictatorship.

In the pages of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PSA proposes that Peron present his "plan of struggle," and further proposes that 80 percent of the candidates in the upcoming election be workers. The PSA asks Peron to intervene in favor of liberating the imprisoned guerrillas and at the same time attacks the trade union bureaucracy for failing to seriously mobilize the workers for the great Peron.

ABANDONMENT

To ask Peron for a "plan of struggle" and to feed the illusions of millions of workers towards Peron is the most blatant example of the complete abandonment of Marxism by the Morenistas. They are searching for the means to form a popular front with all the traitors to the working class, with Peron at its head.

Today, the socialist revolution is posed on the agenda in Latin America. It is out of this fear of the strength of the working class, which is not going to accept being destroyed with no fight, that the revisionists and their co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party are trying to tie the workers to liberals and so-called anti-imperialists.

The International Committee of the Fourth International has fought for the construction of sections of the Fourth International as the only guarantee for victory to the international working class. The Trotskyist section in Argentina will be built in open fight against the "Morenistas" in order to break the illusions of the working class in Peron.

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Miners Speak Out On Boyle Regime

BY HAL STANTON AND
ABBY RODRIGUEZ

MARIANNA, PA.—The voting is now in progress in the crucial election of national officers in the United Mine Workers. The reactionary Boyle leadership is facing a serious challenge from the Miners For Democracy.

MFD is the rank and file caucus which was consolidated after the murder of Joseph "Jock" Yablonski and the national officer election of December, 1969 which has since been declared invalid by a Federal Circuit Court.

The *Bulletin* sent reporters into Southwestern Pennsylvania this week, which is one of the major centers of mining operations in the country and includes the huge Robena complex owned by U.S. Steel. The following is an interview with two rank and file miners from UMW District 5 who wished to remain anonymous.

Bulletin: What are the conditions which led to the creation of the Miners For Democracy?

First Miner: There just is no democracy in this union. I imagine the International officers control voting by giving jobs to those who support them. Through monetary gain, they control the people who get votes in the elections. During campaigns, they put a lot of people on the payroll as organizers for the union in the scab mines, many of which are located in Kentucky. These guys don't organize anything. They spend their time campaigning for the incumbent officials in their district.

When the votes are counted, Boyle's men will take a local with, say 45 members, and if only two of them vote, and they vote for their man, they will count the entire local of 45 votes for him. When one of their men comes out second best, they declare the votes from the

locals which were strongly against him invalid. This happened in District 4 a year ago when Budzanoski, the incumbent district president, stole the election from the MFD. When Lewis used to run, he was the only man on the ballot.

Lewis was a czar. If anyone bucked him, he got rid of them one way or another. Boyle was his handpicked man. The Steve Kochis campaign for International president was a start, but it didn't get too far. Then Jock Yablonski came along.

Second Miner: The MFD wants the union given back to the rank and file. We have no say in the contract. They sign a contract and then send it back to the ranks for agreement. We send no resolutions, no nothing. One of their (Boyle) officials said during the strike last year, "Keep them (MFD) out of here. Come Christmas we'll ram it down their throats. I hope we straighten out those locals who were 90 percent for the MFD." We got our strike funds a month after the strike began.

Bulletin: What about the Pay Board? How do you think the unions should fight this?

Second Miner: We got our raise. The Pay Board isn't the big problem with us. We just got our second year increase, too. What we need badly is our fringe benefits. After 30 years, we get two weeks vacation. We have no credit union. If you need money for a car or something, you have to go to a bank and pay high interest. Funded pensions should be looked at. If I got 30 years in these mines, I still wouldn't get any money.

Guys who do get their pension after 46



Mineworker from Mariana, Pa. In this major mining area, the struggle of the Miners For Democracy against the Abel bureaucracy has received large support.

years only get \$150 a month. The pension fund that our union has from royalties is broke. It should have \$86 million. It's only got \$33 million. I think everyone should get a decent pension, and the Federal government should back it up if necessary. Boyle right now is earning \$50,000 a year. One of his relatives was earning a huge salary and didn't even have an office!

First Miner: We have to make the mines safer to work. We have to eliminate the dust. The union hierarchy doesn't care. They send a representative around to meetings and he says "If you don't produce more coal, they'll shut down the mine." Machinery has eliminated most of the miners. When I started there were 450,000 of us. Now 100,000 are producing more coal.

Second Miner: They are pushing for production more and more. If you don't produce, they shut down. But of course there's a limit to how far they can push

you. Some want production before safety. About every three or four months they break down for two months. If they were careful, they could have both safety and production. Here they run 400 cars of coal a day when everything is working right. When some of the units break down, they run as few as 200 a day. Much of the machinery and equipment is shoddy.

First Miner: And they do these time-motion studies. Say you have a flat tire on a shuttle buggy. If it takes you 15 minutes to change it under ideal conditions, they always expect you to take only 15 minutes. If you got a load of coal in a buggy it takes at least 30 to 45 minutes to change it. You have to get someone to help you jack it up. Sometimes it slips off the jack three or four times before you get it fixed. When it does that you could get your legs cut off or get killed real easy. When it slips, it could take anywhere from three to sixteen hours to fix.

Meskill's War Against Connecticut Workers

BY ALAN BERENSON

HARTFORD, Conn.—Taking his cue from the pronouncements of President Nixon concerning his next administration, Nixon's favorite Governor, Meskill of Connecticut, last week revealed that he too has some "new plays" to attack the working class of Connecticut in the next years.

Two years ago, Meskill was voted into office in Connecticut. Since then Connecticut workers have experienced nothing but developing unemployment and attacks on all their basic rights. In his inaugural address in 1971, Meskill insisted that he would implement a period of **austerity** in Connecticut. That austerity was to mean:

*Unemployment: Every major city in Connecticut now has a developing unemployment rate. The admitted figures given out by the state unemployment service quote rates of over five percent jobless in every city. In Bridgeport, the admitted figure is 8.3 percent.

*Layoffs, Shutdowns: The major sources of this unemployment have been the shutdowns and massive layoffs. In Hartford, one of the largest factories, Royal Typewriter, closed down throwing 3000 out of work after having laid off 3000 more. Now next year Arrow Hart will also close down. In New London, General Dynamic Electric Boat division has in the last years cut its labor force by half—throwing at least five thousand out of work. State workers have been thrown

out of jobs by Meskill directly. Meskill has hired a private planning commission which has outlined plans upon which Meskill has acted which detail how state workers can be laid off and replaced by non-union labor. At the University of Connecticut 250 food workers face the loss of their jobs. At McCook Hospital, Hartford, this has already happened. Meskill has called the layoffs of hundreds of state workers "the greatest achievement of my term."

Construction workers have also been hit. In Hartford 40 percent of Local 230 of the construction union are unemployed. These are specific examples of developments in Connecticut as a whole.

*Speedup: Along with the conditions of unemployment and shutdowns, the workers in the plants are now undergoing productivity drives which consist of the most vicious speedup. In Colt Arms in Hartford, where guns are produced, the workers are now being forced to work a 12 hour day in the plant. This is to continue until Christmas. In New London, the employers are now attempting to speedup production so that, in their own words, they will be able to "compete successfully on the international market."

*Attacks on unions: All this has been accompanied by developing attacks against the unions in Connecticut. As Nixon's favorite Governor, Meskill was quick in 1971 to implement every single part of the wage freeze. It was in Connecticut that the Pay Board established its precedent in demanding that members of the Printing Union Local 47 give back money which they received in a strike settlement because the money exceeded Pay Board guidelines. Now the clearest example of union-busting is taking place in the struggle of Connecticut bus workers against Gengras, the head of the Connecticut Bus Company. Meskill has been plotting all along with Gengras against this union and all the others in Connecticut.

*Standard of Living: Wages are being forced down. Prices have been spiraling up in the last years. Furthermore, Connecticut workers have been burdened with a new sales tax of seven percent. The housing situation is miserable. While Meskill and friends live in fashionable West Hartford, hundreds of workers are forced to live in dilapidated areas and projects.

CONDITIONS

These have been the conditions in Connecticut in the last two years. Meskill has been fully behind every single attack on all the rights of Connecticut workers and youth. But what every single worker must realize is that the next two years will not merely be the same but will entail the

sharpest intensification of these attacks on the workers and youth in the state.

Along with his promise to renew capital punishment, Meskill also insisted that he is all for the wire tapping of "persons under suspicion." Meskill said: "I think in any case where a criminal is using the telephone in the furtherance of his criminal activity, I think there is no right of privacy that's guaranteed there and that's what we're after."

This talk about capital punishment and wire tapping are the opening stages of an attempt to destroy the unions of American workers, to deprive them of their basic rights, to snoop on them with wire taps, to hold them under the heel of capitalist dictatorship. The unemployment and all the attacks launched by Meskill in the last four years will now be backed up by these political attacks.

On the streets of Hartford, *Bulletin* salesmen have found only support for the bus workers from all workers in the city. They have also found the greatest hatred for Meskill and what he stands for.

Now every union must seriously take on the attacks that Meskill is preparing for Connecticut workers and youth, call them to the attention of the entire American working class, and participate in the convening of a Congress of Labor to form a labor party and defeat Meskill and the Democrats who are totally behind him, and safeguard the hard won rights of Connecticut and American workers. This demand is the only way to defeat Meskill today.



Jim Young, Chairman of the Shop Committee at Norwood GMAD, reads the Bulletin.

NORWOOD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

UAW International officials arrived in Norwood to look into the situation. However, since their arrival, or in spite of it, GM has started swinging the axe.

Already three of the "reassigned" men have been fired under Paragraph 117 of the National Agreement ("Restricting Output").

GM's tactic is threefold: to intimidate the other workers by pointing to these "trouble-makers" as examples; to get rid of men with high seniority; and to replace these jobs with younger men whom the company feels can better keep up the pace of the killing line speed.

Charles Hubbard, one of the three who was recently fired, had worked for General Motors, Norwood, for 17 years. He was told he was in violation of Paragraph 117 ("Walk out or work stoppage").

Hubbard told the *Bulletin*: "It's not too good a place to work. General Motors is using Norwood as a model for this type of plan they are using against the men. It's not too good a place to work. If they can get away on this on one guy (me), they can get away with it on everybody else."

STARTED

"It really started before the strike. I work in Department 17, the Trim Department, on the first shift. Before the strike there were four of us doing nine jobs per hour on Chevy Novas. They (the company) pulled two men off the job and left us two with doing the same nine jobs per hour (a 50 percent speedup).

"This was only one of the many speedup grievances that caused the strike. After the strike the Novas were discontinued and the Camaro and Firebird were run. They added six more jobs per hour, making it fifteen instead of nine."

Hubbard said everyone is pushing too hard to keep up with the line speed. He said the UAW should call for a nationwide strike against GM.

Clearly General Motors feels it is in the driver's seat because of the whole role of Leonard Woodcock and the UAW leadership in holding back a battle against GMAD.

There is no time to lose. The UAW ranks must fight for a nationwide GMAD strike and follow the call of the Southgate local for a Congress of Labor.

St. Louis UAW Local Calls Off Mini-Strike

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Officials of United Auto Workers Local 25 have postponed the mini-strike set for Friday at the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant here.

The strike was called originally over the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) pay approved by the night shift in September, against the speedup in the plant and the four short shifts almost every night. It is estimated that this manning involves \$200-\$300 for each man of this shift.

Day workers interviewed by the *Bulletin* called the strike "pointless" and recalled the experiences of the last mini-strike, when only minor gains were made.

UNCHANGED

The conditions faced by the men are still unchanged. Many workers say that in the recent period they haven't been able to get a hold of the union leadership

to file grievances. At the same time, the leadership is holding back a real struggle against GMAD.

The questions facing the St. Louis plant can only be taken forward by fighting for a national strike to eliminate GMAD and taking this into the April conference of the UAW. This fight against GMAD cannot be postponed until the 1973 contract negotiations. GM is using the capitulation of the leadership to push ahead with its speedup plans.

A fight now against GMAD will lay the base for the contract to make gains on wages and benefits, which are required to keep up with the rising cost of living.

AFL-CIO Tops Teach Army's Labor Class

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS—Pentagon officials were given detailed instructions about the workings of the labor movement in Minnesota by some of the top leaders of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, starting with federation President David Roe.

Those being briefed by Roe and his associates in Minneapolis, November 30, were a selected group of generals and civilian management chiefs from the Pentagon, all taking part in a special ten month course, the Industrial College of the Armed Services.

This course is held annually under the auspices of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. These courses have been going on for some years, obviously preparing sections of the military and civilian defense bureaucracy to better be able to come down on the working class.

COLLABORATING

Also collaborating with Roe were state federation Secretary-Treasurer Neil Sherburne, Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council President Tom Loberg, Minneapolis Building and Construction Trades Council Business Agent Dan Gustafson and Hospital Workers Local 113

President Dorothy Schiager. Schiager proudly told her audience how the leadership of her own local had for years operated the anti-strike provisions of state laws against hospital workers, allegedly "organizing" more and more hospital workers to take up a fight for binding arbitration.

By spelling out the workings of and the relationships between local unions, district councils, city central bodies and the state federation, Roe and his cohorts were handing over to the most hardened enemies of the working class details they would need to effect the destruction of the labor movement. Roe might as well have given them a list of who to arrest.

The building of a Marxist leadership in the unions, and the driving out of the labor movement of the Roes and the Schiagers is the only guarantee that this will not come about.

Midwest News

IUE Leaders Shut Local Out Of Koering Negotiations

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—In an exclusive interview with Leonard Lambert, a suspended committeeman and steward of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 699 and former vice president, the *Bulletin* learned of the new depths to which the IUE has sunk in its sellout of the Koehring Master Division workers.

Since the wildcat strike at Koehring, the company has refused to meet with the local leaders—almost all of whom have been suspended indefinitely. A total of 41 workers have been suspended.

The officially appointed new committee of the local also has been denied the right to sit in on negotiations both by the company and the IUE District Seven bureaucrats. The new committee was told by the International that it was "too late" for them to be seated in negotiations with the company.

Obviously, the International does not want the local workers to see their shoddy sellout deals with the company. Leonard Lambert told the *Bulletin* that "the International was playing the role they were supposed to play." When asked what he meant, Lambert explained:

"The International was never for the workingman. All they

want is the dues. They don't want to help the workingman, they want to help the company and you can quote me on that." Lambert pointed out that both the company and the International would not recognize the newly appointed committee.

Lambert pointed out that Local 699 had a one day strike earlier over health and safety violations which are still unresolved. Workers have to walk through water where 220 volts are run to seam welder machines and other workers are subjected to carbon monoxide fumes in a testing booth. The government continues giving the company extensions through its Health and Safety Bureau in Cleveland.

Wesley Steinhilber, the IUE District 7 president, has told the Local 699 committee that "If they wanted to leave the IUE, he would help them and if they had a couple of more 699's they would go out of their minds...If you boys want out, I'll help you."

GM Hints Transfer To 'Flexible' Quebec Plant

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MONTREAL, December 9—"The Saint Therese plant in Quebec was built to be flexible," a General Motors official reported today to the *Financial Post*, leading financial newspaper of the Canadian capitalist class.

The article revealed new developments in the GM bosses' drive against the UAW. "GM's only other Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio had acquired a reputation as a subversive labor operation...Some observers think that since GM is having quality problems at its Lordstown plant, it would make some sense to transfer some East Coast U.S. production to Quebec."

Two years ago, when the plant was producing Pontiacs, the labor force at the St. Therese plant totaled 2700. This number of workers has been cut to 1100 over the past year in the switch-over to the production of Vegas. The output of Vegas was originally set at 50 cars per hour, or 800 per day on a two shift basis. Actual production is operating at less than one third capacity, at 30 cars per hour, or 240 per day on a one shift basis.

The 1600 auto workers who were "temporarily" laid off during the retooling session, which cost the company \$17 million dollars, are now permanently unemployed. These conditions were instituted against the UAW members here without even a whisper of advice from

the joint U.S.-Canadian leadership of Woodcock-McDermitt.

These leaders have continually allowed Canadian workers to be paid less wages than American workers and have refused to launch a common struggle against GM.

STRUGGLE

Now the struggle against the tremendous speedup in Lordstown must turn into a struggle against massive layoffs. The GM bosses have reacted to Woodcock's minimal "Apache" strategy of one day strikes in one plant at a time, by threatening to completely uproot Lordstown, lay off hundreds of workers and simply shift their capital where wages and working conditions are worse.

Now, with agitation brewing in the auto ranks for a nationwide shutdown against GMAD, Woodcock wants to abandon even the minimal action he had taken up to now. GM could not have put forward these new programs without the agreement of the UAW bureaucrats, both in Canada and the United States.

The urgent task now presented to each and every auto worker is the building of a new leadership in opposition to the policies of the UAW bureaucracy.

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

The hostility of the revolutionary masses to the betrayals of Stalinism must take expression in the resistance of North Vietnam to the Kremlin's demands for more concessions to Nixon if the current talks break down.

Already the North Vietnamese have insisted that they will not withdraw their forces from the South; and a public break between Hanoi and the Soviet Sta-

linists could occur if the Brezhnev clique requires acceptance of this demand.

Such a break, which nearly took place last August when Hanoi accused Moscow of aiding "the drowning pirates" of imperialism, would be the signal for the most massive offensive against the Saigon puppet government in the 25 year history of the revolutionary war.

It is at this very point, when

the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against imperialism and its Stalinist agents reaches a critical stage, that the bankrupt revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party turn their back on the revolution and shut down even their protest marches against the war.

However, the Workers League will deepen its fight for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution by demanding the American labor movement take up a political struggle against Nixon demanding an end to imperialist involvement in Indochina.

It is the revolutionary nature of the struggle in South Vietnam that makes it impossible for the war to be ended through negotiations.

Speaking in China, exiled Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia told reporters last week that even in the event of a ceasefire, "Vietnamese and Laotian

patriots will have to return to combat whether they want to or not."

Asserting that a ceasefire now would not end the fighting just as those of 1954 and 1962 could not, Sihanouk added that: "North Vietnamese leaders have told me that my analysis, although it is pessimistic, is objective. They can see as clearly as we can."

DECISIVE

Even though the negotiations give the appearance that the Vietnam war is winding down, it is actually entering into a new and decisive stage.

The talks have shown that a compromise with Nixon is im-

possible. While the Stalinists of the Soviet Union and China have been anxious for a settlement and a sell out of the revolution, their efforts at negotiations have been disrupted by the turn of the crisis-stricken imperialists toward more vicious aggression and, at the same time, by the movement of the working class in Vietnam.

It is this movement by the workers and peasants of Vietnam—expressed most recently by the insurrection by several NLF battalions against the preparations for a negotiated settlement—that could quickly transform the political and military situation in Indochina.



Bill Litch

NEWARK . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

necessary by the brutal and unlivable conditions endured by the tenants,

Whereas all Newark poli-

ticians of the Democratic and Republican Parties, liberal and conservative alike, have refused to correct the thousands of recorded abuses in the Newark Public Housing System,

Whereas all Newark workers are subjected to attacks beyond human tolerance: mass unemployment—particularly among the youth, decaying schools, drastic cutbacks in social services, police brutality, soaring prices and wage cutting, attacks on the unions and the jailing of teachers,

Whereas these attacks are part and parcel of the assault by Nixon and Big Business on the working class of New Jersey and the rest of the country aimed at busting the unions with the Pay Board and new anti-union laws,

Whereas Nixon and Big Business are promoting the forces of racism such as Imperiale and Wallace to divide the working class,

Therefore, be it resolved that the Stella Wright Tenants Association demands that the organized labor movement of New Jersey—the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and UAW—commit all their resources and mobilize their members in general strike action in the defense of the tenants and their leaders,

Be it further resolved that the New Jersey labor movement call for a National Congress of Labor to stop the attacks by Nixon and the two parties by building an American Labor Party to fight for a workers government.

LIRR . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

tions?

"The MTA brings in these efficiency experts because it claims that the state is broke. But I would like to know why Ronan gave himself a raise and why the MTA has bought a fleet of new cars for the LIRR cops.

"If the public knew the real situation, most of them would back the strike. For instance, our job is pretty dangerous. Where I work, there is live juice and if I make one mistake, 650 volts will go through me.

"Quite a few men have been badly hurt and killed. A good friend of mine—25 years old—was killed when something blew up and burned 75 percent of his body."

Last week, Anthony D'Avanzo, chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and spokesman for the 12-union coalition, declared that the strike would not end until the men won a new contract. He rejected Rockefeller's demand that the ranks return to work while the negotiations continue.

"No contract, no work," a striker told the Bulletin, "that's our slogan."

STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

"tough-minded operating man," who is noted for his "tough stance on mill discipline and discharge problems," indicates the kind of preparations the corporations are making. An old associate of Speer's said that he had "the West Point idea that officers don't talk to the men."

RETREAT

While management and the government prepare, Abel continues his retreat hoping to avert a struggle over the 1974 contract. This is the meaning of his entrance into a conference next month with top industry representative R. Heath Larry. Extending the idea of his productivity committees now from a local to a national level, this conference is for the purpose of "jointly seeking methods to improve the output of the industry."

PRODUCTIVITY

The drive for productivity through speedup and layoffs has already paid off in record third quarter profits for the major U.S. corporations. Based on the highest rise in productivity, 6.2 percent in 25 years, profits of 570 major corporations rose an average of 15.9 percent. The steel corporations were at the center of the rise, with nine of the largest ten producers showing major earning gains over a year ago.

The attack on the union and on

all basic conditions is becoming a major issue in more and more locals. This was reflected at the Las Vegas Convention in the reports of many delegates that they were being bled dry by the companies' continual violation of the contract, which has forced them into costly arbitration proceedings, seriously depleted their funds and resulted in a shrinking membership. More than at any previous convention, delegates demanded the right to strike over grievances.

Writing in the November Aliquippa Steelworker, paper of J&L Local 1211 in Aliquippa, Pa., Mike Stakias states:

"A contract with a large wage increase and incentive doesn't do you a bit of good when your job is eliminated, when laid off, or when you are demoted to the labor pool. Let's face it, this last contract got us everything but the most important item of necessity—JOB SECURITY!

"The companies commenced the head chopping as soon as the present contract went into effect, and they're still cutting the work force. Those who have lost their jobs throughout the mill do not go along with the contention that this is the BEST CONTRACT EVER."

LEADERSHIP

The support for Litch and his running mate Frank Felix is a sign of the search for a new leadership by large sections of the rank and file who want to take up a fight against the attacks in the

plants and mills, in contrast to Abel's capitulation.

Litch, a millwright at Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Felix, a sheet and tin mill worker at U.S. Steel's Gary works, are the leaders of Raft, which is the present successor of the Dues Protest Committee. The DPC, which had tremendous support in western Pennsylvania in the late 1950s, ran the late Donald Rarick against then President David McDonald, and on the basis of a rebellion against MacDonald's "Tuxedo-unionism," received 41 percent of the vote.

At the center of RAFT's campaign is the question of productivity. The RAFT candidates have come out sharply for repeal of the productivity committees, for democratization of the union and for the right to strike over grievances. In addition, Litch states that he is in favor of a shorter work week at no reduction in pay.

In response to the Bulletin's statement that his support for a "job security clause" would leave the door open for attrition of the work force, Litch stated: "I am opposed to any sort of doubling up on jobs. We can't allow attrition. If a man retires he must be replaced and the shorter work week set up. In addition, I'm for making retirement much more attractive by setting up a paid up hospitalization plan for retirees."

The biggest weakness of Litch's campaign is his refusal to see the role of the Stalinists and

Just Out!

THE ESSENTIALS OF DIALECTICS

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An introduction by Alex Steiner deals briefly with the historical development of dialectics and its central role today for the construction of a revolutionary movement. This anthology will prove essential in both introductory and advanced classes in developing a Marxist cadre.

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Assembly To Vote On Arming All Officials

BY ANN LORE

SAN FRANCISCO—A bill that has passed the California State Senate and is pending before the Assembly will mean that virtually every aspect of a worker's daily life will be policed by a gun-carrying state official.

The bill was put forward supposedly to protect city and county officers by authorizing them to carry guns.

Among those covered are state college and university police, state hospital administrators and security officers, toll bridge attendants, school district security men and special employees at the unemployment offices.

Los Angeles is trying to extend it further by including meter maids, traffic officers, dog catchers, park rangers and housing authority officers.

This bill represents the conscious preparation of the government to meet the mass struggles of the working class that will follow Nixon's inauguration in January. The capitalist state is literally arming to the teeth to enforce the vicious cuts required to protect the interests of big business.

This bill is aimed directly at the youth and the labor movement. The recent murder of a militant docker in Baltimore, the mounted police attack on pickets in Cleveland and the attack on the farmworkers in Poplar were all carried out with state support.

The labor movement must prepare to meet these attacks. The unions will only be able to defend their picket lines by mobilizing labor defense guards against these attacks. This can only be carried forward through the calling of a Congress of Labor that will launch the fight for a labor party.

Berkeley Coalition Breaks Up

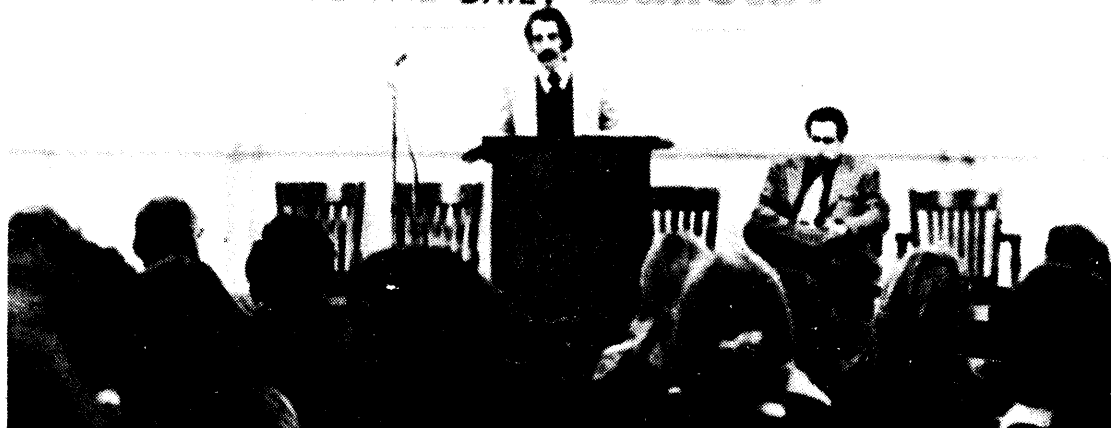
BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—Berkeley's April Coalition, founded two years ago as an amalgam of the Democratic Black Caucus, Stalinism, and the student protest movement, has blown apart at the seams.

A secret meeting of 60 coalition members decided last Sunday to exclude City Council members D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons from future policy making. The split came as the result of continuous collision of the coalition with the organized labor movement and the city's financial crisis.

Since the coalition elected three City Council members in 1971, it has been unable to carry through a single one of the reforms in its platform. Faced with a city government racked with financial crisis, coalition members consistently voted for cutbacks in the city budget and against wage increases for city employees.

Bailey and Simmons consistently voted against Ilona Hancock's resolutions for a women's health center and an affirmative action hiring program for women, insisting that the funds should go to the Black community.



Above: Jeff Sebastian addresses SF IV International Today meeting. Right: Sheila Brehm addresses LA meeting, which was a major step forward for the building of the Trotskyist movement on the West Coast.

BART Ignores Dangers In Computerized Trains

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—An investigation by the state Public Utilities Commission has uncovered hundreds of failures in safety devices in the new Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system's electrically powered trains.

The ultra-modern trains are supposed to operate automatically under computer guidance, but field inspectors found many instances when trains speeded up or slowed down erratically or tried to run through stations and forced their operators (called "attendants" by BART) to intervene and correct the errors manually.

The investigation was launched after an October 2 incident where a BART train accelerated through the end-of-line Fremont

station instead of stopping, crashed into a sandpile barrier, and ended up in the station parking lot. Five were injured in the accident.

The crash, called "one in a million" by BART officials, occurred less than a month after the trouble-plagued BART opened the Oakland to Fremont line, the first of four in the \$1.5 billion urban mass transit system.

The trouble was diagnosed as a faulty crystal oscillator which interpreted a slow down signal as a speedup command, causing the train to barrel through the station before the operator could override the computer command.

PANDORA'S BOX

BART officials gave public assurances that the trouble had been located and corrected, but a report by legislative analyst Allan Post has opened a Pandora's box of allegations of unsafe components, faulty engineering, and outright contempt for the safety of passengers.

Post revealed that BART officials are operating on the manual block system, where no train may leave a station until the dispatcher phones ahead to the next station and makes sure the tracks are clear. This system, begun in 1839 and long since abandoned by conventional railroads, is necessary because BART train drivers have no means of detecting trains dead on the track in front of them and the computer system is not yet able to take over this function.

This slows up operations and, unless corrected, will make it impossible to extend service into San Francisco, since the trains must pass through a long tube under the bay where manual block operation is impossible.

In addition, Post found that the automatic train control system built for BART by Westinghouse

lacked fail-safe controls, which continually monitor the operations of a train and stop it entirely if there is any malfunction. Instead, Westinghouse had built in redundant controls, where commands are sent out by different circuits at the same time, so that if one circuit fails the command will still get through by another.

This is cheaper than fail-safe controls, but it creates the possibility that all the redundant circuits may malfunction simultaneously and cause a disaster. This is apparently what happened in the Fremont accident. BART officials reacted to Post's report by proposing adding on more redundant circuits.

The PUC inspectors checked out the field operation of the trains for two days. Many times the drivers, unsure of the automatic controls, intervened manually before any malfunction actually appeared. Now they are being blamed by BART officials for making the system look worse than it really is.

This shows the complete contempt of the management for the safety of these workers who were hired as "attendants" at lower wages and forced to make up for bad design by acting as drivers as well.

ENGINEERING

Now, the engineering failures combined with raging inflation and the financial crisis of Bay Area governments makes it possible that the system will never be finished.

The lesson of this is that mass transportation and other basic services that working people need cannot be planned or constructed in a system dominated by profit. The tremendous resources of this country can only be used to provide these basic rights if they are taken out of the hands of the big corporations by the working class.

West Coast News

Trotsky's last words:
"I am confident of
victory of Fourth International. Go forward."

THIS MEANS FORWARD
TO THE DAILY Bulletin



Trotskyism Today Meetings Big Success

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Two meetings on the Fourth International Today were held on the West Coast in San Francisco and Los Angeles on December 8 and 10.

The San Francisco meeting was attended by 70 people. Jeff Sebastian spoke on the nature of the crisis today and the preparation of the International Committee on the basis of the continuation of the fight of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to provide the leadership to bring millions of workers, entering into struggle to defend their basic rights, into the fight for power.

He stressed the role of the Bulletin as the key weapon of the party in bringing Marxism into the struggles of the working class to develop a revolutionary leadership. He discussed the need to build the paper into a mass circulation weekly to prepare the way for the daily. A collection at the end of the meeting raised \$450 for the Bulletin.

LOS ANGELES

Fifty-five workers and youth attended the meeting in Los Angeles which represented a tremendous step forward for the Workers League in Southern California.

Speaker Dennis Brehm insisted that the decisive question was the development of a leadership trained in Marxism that can bring to the working class the consciousness that each struggle today requires that the working class prepare to take power.

"Our policy centers on the fight for a Congress of Labor to unite the working class against the common enemy and to prepare plans at this Congress for the building of a labor party.

Speaking for the Young Socialists, Ernie Lewis called on the youth to carry forward the policies of the International Committee.

There was a tremendous response to the showing of the Right to Work March and the Three Years of Workers Press films. A collection at the meeting raised \$305.

West Coast News

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EDITORIAL

On The Eve Of Big Class Battles

While Nixon prepares to end "permissiveness" with an all-out war on the labor movement, the working class is making some preparations of its own.

The labor bureaucracy has caved in down the line to Nixon's attacks refusing to mobilize a fight back. In California, there are already signs that the rank and file is looking for new leadership even before the coming inauguration.

The overwhelming votes for an opposition candidate against I.W. Abel recorded at the Fontana Kaiser plant and the Los Angeles Bethlehem plant are indications of what is developing.

Opposition to the productivity plans of big steel is enormous yet Abel continues to seek ways to deepen collaboration with the companies. Since 1965, over 130,000 jobs have been eliminated in steel. The opposition votes are declarations that steelworkers know a big fight is coming and feel the need for a new leadership.

The same is true in auto where Fremont General Motors workers are forming a caucus demanding a militant lead and Southgate GM workers have given a lead to the entire country with their call for a Congress of Labor and the formation of a labor party.

On the docks, there is now developing the biggest opposition to Bridges in history. This is centered for the moment in L.A. This comes seven months before a new contract is to be negotiated with dockers convinced that the Bridges leadership will do nothing to defend them from the loss of thousands of jobs.

These new developments express the determination of the working class to defend its basic rights. They are a deepening of the process that was revealed when the California labor movement showed its power by mobilizing millions to smash the anti-farmworker legislation in the recent election.

Knowing full well the strength he must confront, Governor Reagan recently announced to a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation that he is determined to seek legislation along the lines of the notorious Proposition 22.

Big class battles are about to break out. The building of a revolutionary leadership in the unions is the decisive question.

The fight to take forward the struggle for a Congress of Labor and a labor party will be posed at the February 18 emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee for a Labor Party Now in St. Louis.

The big movements in the unions now taking place on the West Coast pose the necessity of bringing a significant section of trade unionists to the St. Louis conference.

Union Organizers Shot By Casino Gangsters

BY MIKE THOMPSON

SACRAMENTO—In a mafia-style murder, two union organizers were shot to death in their union office Tuesday.

Roger Ekar, an International representative for the Stationary Engineers Union and John C. Duncan, a business representative of Local 39 were found dead following a phony meeting that was set up to discuss plans to organize hospital workers into the Stationary Engineers Union.

The murders follow the attempts at organizing Nevada's gambling casinos, made by Ekar and Duncan. The casinos have violently resisted any attempts on the part of unions to organize their employees and Nevada businessmen have long opposed organization, using harassment and threats against union organizers. Nevada has one of the most vicious right to work laws of any state.

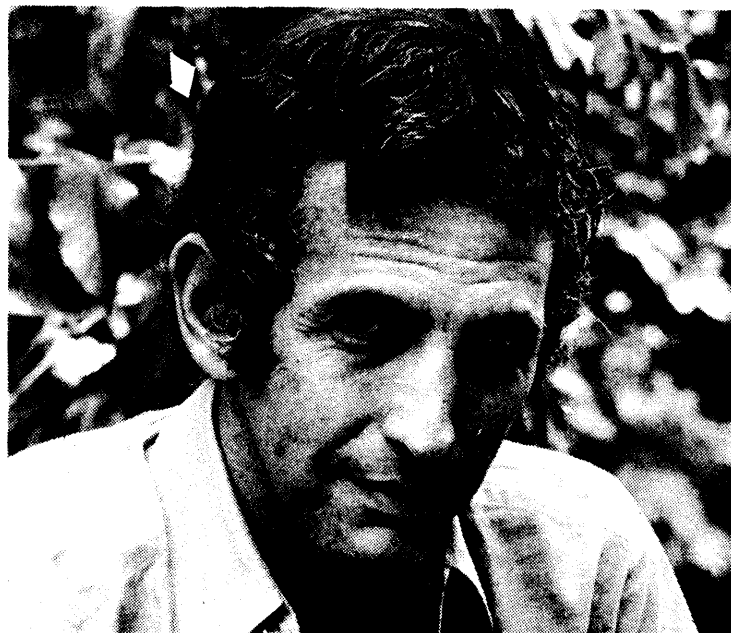
The murders are no accident. They were carried out by professionals. The meeting was set up during a week of phone calls between Ekar and the murderer, who used the pretense of organizing stationary engineers at Mercy General Hospital.

The murderer was well versed in the facts concerning a split between two hospital unions two years ago. The murderer had stated that he worked in a local hospital, but police said that no one by the name given was employed at any hospital in the Sacramento area. When the union officials went to their office to meet the man who had called, they were shot.

This murder was a well-planned, professional attack on the entire union movement. What it means is that the Nevada casinos have no intention of allowing their employees to organize into unions to fight the horrible working conditions that casino workers face. The clubs will use every weapon to prevent unionization.

The only answer to the murder of Ekar and Duncan must be a drive by the entire union movement to organize Nevada workers into unions and break the anti-union laws already on the law books in Nevada.

There must be no confidence in the police. The labor movement must set up its own investigation committee and demand access to all information on the case.



Daniel Ellsberg, on trial under conspiracy charges for releasing Pentagon Papers, asks: "Does the government 'own' history?"

Jury Dismissed In Ellsberg Trial

BY SHEILA BREHM

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They are charged with conspiracy, theft of government property, and violation of the Espionage Act for making public the once-secret study of the origins of the Vietnam War.

Over a year ago, the government attempted to prevent the press from publishing the Pentagon Papers which reveal the class nature of the Vietnam War and the long complicity of both Democratic and Republican administrations.

COURTS

In every step, the courts have lined up against Ellsberg and Russo. The Nixon-backed Supreme Court recently cleared the way for resuming the proceedings by declining to rule on the wiretapping of a member of the defense team.

The surveillance log was obtained through an illegal phone tap authorized by the Attorney General without the supervision of a judge, for purposes of "foreign intelligence."

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Byrne, who examined the log, ruled that the log was irrelevant to the case, and decided that the defense lawyers have no right to see it. The government will not even disclose which lawyer is involved in the phone tap.

In the charges against Russo, the government left out the "intent to injure clause" of the Espionage Act for the first time in history. It is clear that Ellsberg and Russo had no intentions of aiding a foreign power to subvert the American government. As Ellsberg has said:

CONSPIRATORS

"If we are conspirators, then the U.S. Constitution is dead; if we are spies, then the American people are the enemy; if we are thieves, then the Government, not the people, owns history."

The charging of Ellsberg and Russo with conspiracy relieves the government of the necessity of proving any wrongdoing by the defendants. All they must prove is that they agreed to plan it.

For the "crime" of revealing the real history of the Vietnam War, Ellsberg and Russo face enormous sentences if convicted. Ellsberg faces a maximum sentence of 115 years in prison, plus a \$120,000 fine. For Russo, conviction could carry a jail sentence of 35 years, plus a fine of \$40,000.



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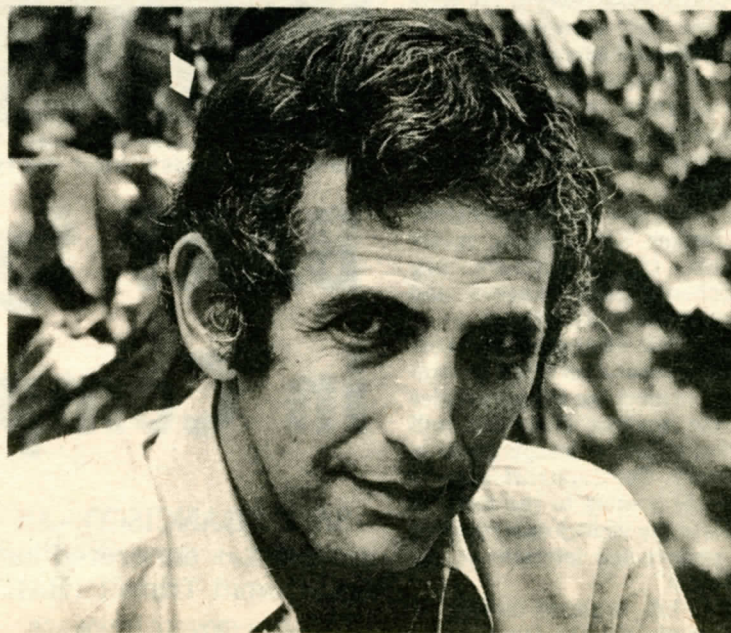
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