

Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

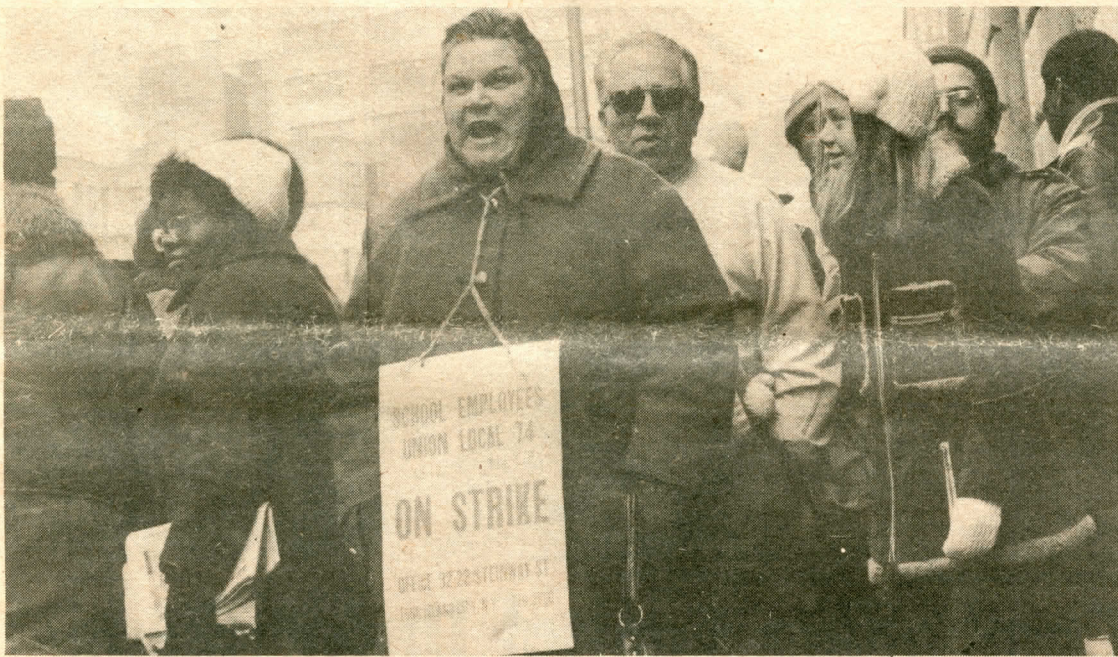
VOLUME TEN NUMBER FIVE 341

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Tape Experts Explode Nixon's Lies—

FORD DECLARES WAR ON UNIONS



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BY MELODY FARROW

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STATEMENT OF THE TRADE UNION ALLIANCE FOR A LABOR PARTY



The Struggle In Steel
see page 5

•"From The Top Down," Part Two of What Is To Be Done Today, by Tim Wohlforth.

•"The Way Forward For Hospital Workers," by Fred Mueller.

Portland Labor Calls For General Strike

BY GERARDO NOYES
PORTLAND, Ore.—

The Columbia-Pacific Building and Construction Trades Council is calling for a four or five day general strike to protest Nixon's handling of the energy crisis.

The council is calling on the AFL-CIO Executive Board to

urge George Meany to authorize this action.

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Oregon construction workers have been hard hit by the sharp downturn in the industry in recent months. Union members also are feeling the energy crisis in the loss of jobs in sales and manufacturing of electric outdoor signs, and in obtaining bolts, reinforcing iron, stainless and structural steel, and plumbing supplies.

Oregon AFL-CIO President Dean Killion accused the oil companies and banks of "conspiring with state officials of the oil producing states and with federal officials" to create a severe shortage in this state.

TOUGH

He claimed that the reason "Oregon is hit harder by this severe shortage is that the oil companies are taking it out on us because of our tough environmental stands.

"People are afraid of a depression. An immediate effect of the walkout would be to point

out to people in Oregon that Congress has not acted responsibly, that it has let a lot of authority go to a president who is not capable of leading the country any more."

**Bulletin
Twice-Weekly
Fund**

This week, \$721.54 was raised for the special Monthly Fund, giving us a grand total of \$1105.96.

Some of the branches did exceptionally well: Brownsville, \$37.50; Queens, \$38.81; Baltimore, \$60; and the Bay Area, \$137.50.

These branches raised this money through contributions from subscribers and collection cans at sales of the paper.

In the next two weeks, we must raise \$4000. This is a big challenge, but with a major effort by all the branches, we can raise \$2000 this week.

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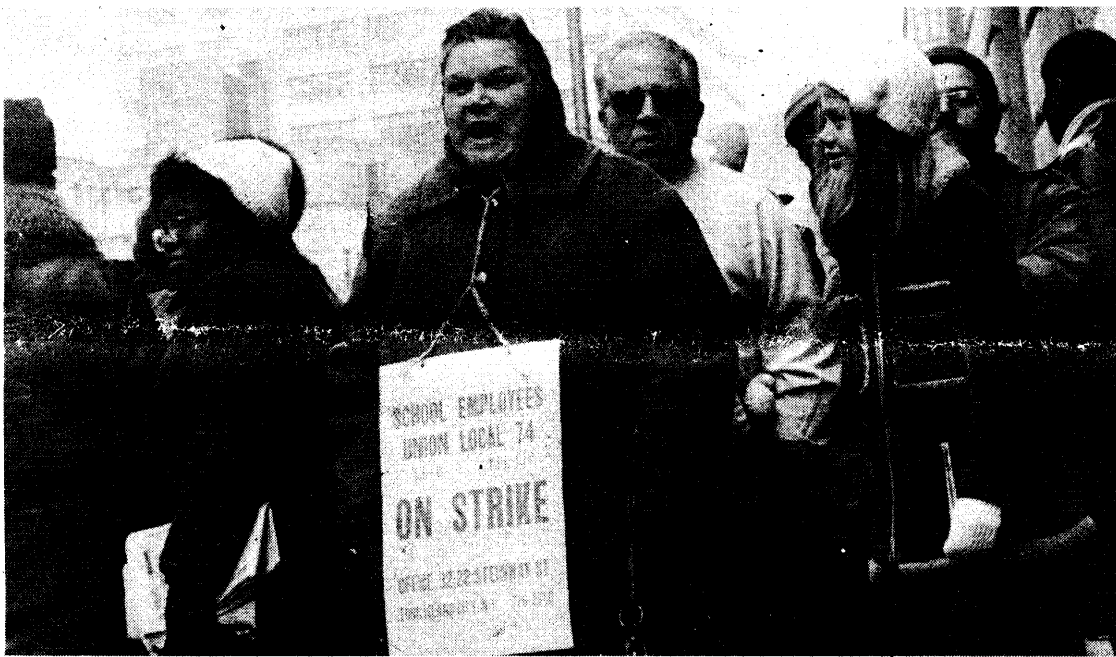
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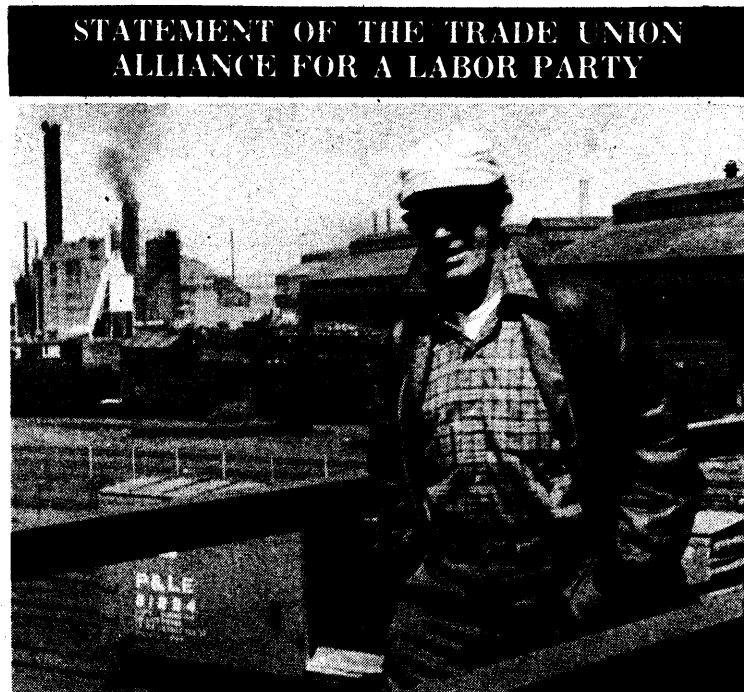
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The Pentagon Plot Against The Working Class

The discovery of a military "spy ring" within the White House is a warning of the growing danger the working class faces as long as Nixon remains in power. The spying by Pentagon officials on Henry Kissinger and other members of the National Security Council and the stealing of classified documents concerns the basic rights of every worker.

Since the 1970 to 1971 period, the military command has increasingly turned its attention to the way the government was being run.

What We Think

Under Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, military generals began to acquire important government posts.

The Pentagon's spying operation began in the same period that Nixon launched his policy of detente with the Soviet

Union and China.

Nixon sought the collaboration of the Stalinist bureaucracies of these countries to halt the revolutionary movements in Vietnam and in the Middle East.

The detente did not represent any change in Nixon's hatred for the Soviet Union and China, but was necessary to save imperialism from military defeat in the colonial countries and to allow American capitalism some stability.

This policy, however, created great unease within the Pentagon, where Nixon's detente was viewed as a "concession" to communism.

If the military aides were spying on Kissinger, it means that they felt they could no longer leave the political defense of the system up to the Republican Party.

Nixon himself, since his election, has consolidated all decision-making in the hands of a few individuals such as Kissinger. The habitual routine of consultations with the Cabinet and working with the state department bureaucracy have been virtually eliminated.

When Nixon discovered the spy ring, rather than fire Admiral Thomas Moorer, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he began to grant the military key positions in the Department of Defense, originally meant to be a "civilian" check on the military.

The exposure of the Watergate plot in the press has now forced Nixon to openly seek the support of the military to hold together his government.

The Watergate events were deliberately published in newspapers like The New York Times and The Washington Post which represent an established section of the capitalist class opposed to Nixon's inflationary credit policy.

Once Watergate came out, however, it was precisely Nixon's weakness, his lack of any support in the country, that has led to a new level of collaboration between Nixon and the Pentagon.

With the appointment of General Haig as Nixon's key advisor, the military has no need to steal documents but is at the center of every government decision. Nixon seeks to balance himself, in a Bonapartist way, on the military as well as on the traditional political leaders.

These army chiefs now see their role as not only defending American capitalism from revolution abroad, but defending the system against the working class here. The military is well aware of the economic and social crisis ripping Nixon's government apart.

The military has acquired enormous power in every section of the government. While they rule together with Nixon now, they will not hesitate if they feel it necessary, to move independently and establish direct

military rule.

It was 18 military leaders, attached to the Federal Energy Commission, who made a top secret trip to Cleveland recently to discuss the prospects of a "national emergency" with corporation leaders.

The military is, above all, the ultimate weapon used by the capitalist class to defend its system.

It was this military which plotted the coup d'etat in Greece which brought another dictatorship to power and in Chile assisted the army to overthrow a democratically elected government, and then launched a reign of terror against the working class. This same military has now considered overthrowing Nixon.

The struggle the working class faces today is not just an economic one, over wages and jobs, but involves its whole future, the very existence of basic democratic rights.

It is not to be ruled out that a section of the capitalist class will back the military in a move to cancel elections, impose martial law, and abolish democratic rule.

The Democratic Party knew about the military spying but kept silent because their primary concern is to defend the capitalist system against the working class.

These developments give greater urgency than ever to the campaign of the Workers League and the Young Socialists to demand the unions mobilize to force Nixon out.

Every wage struggle today is inseparable from the fight for political power. The trade union leadership must call an emergency Congress of Labor to unite the working class against Nixon, demand a new election, and launch a labor party to throw out the Democrats and Republicans.

The working class is more powerful than the forces ranged against it, but what is required is to prepare a revolutionary leadership for the struggles ahead.

Heath Plans Crisis Vote In Britain

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

On January 15, 29,000 British train engineers struck for 24 hours in defense of their pay demands as talks between the leaders of the Trades Union Congress and the government broke down.

The engineers leadership was forced to call this action under intense pressure from the ranks for an all-out strike and a growing movement in the unions for a general strike to force the Heath government out.

At stake in this fight is the existence of the unions and all the democratic rights established by British workers over the last 150 years.

Under the fraudulent pretext of a campaign against "terrorism," troops have been mobilized at the airports in preparation for moves against the unions after a possible declaration of martial law.

The economic crisis, unemployment, and the "terror" campaign are being used to whip up a hysteria among the middle class against the trade unions to create conditions for an election. Should the Tories win, they would bring in a right-wing government with sweeping dictatorial powers.

The Tories are now considering calling an election in February, but sections of the Tories are clearly afraid that they will be defeated.

The deliberate policy of the Heath government is to provoke the greatest economic and political crisis in British history.

Heath is consciously smashing huge sections of British industry and driving thousands of firms into bankruptcy in order to create mass unemployment.

Blaming the miners work action for the power crisis, Heath has forced all industry onto a three day week.

Already, exports, transportation, and construction are down by over 30 percent. Interest rates of 13 percent combined with major reductions in income due to high overhead and reduced hours means collapse for small firms.

Under these conditions, every minute the trade union leadership spends in "discussions" with the government is used to disarm the working class and give Heath precious time. Heath is depending on these leaders as well as the right-wing of the Labour Party to collaborate in this conspiracy.

One day strikes by the railwaymen and the overtime bans and work to rule actions by the miners cannot answer this crisis.

The Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is fighting to forge an alliance of the unions to defend all gains by occupying any factories threatened by closure or layoffs and to mobilize the strength of the labor movement for a general strike to force the Tory government out of office.



Troops remain stationed at London's Heathrow Airport.

Cambodian Capital Under Siege

BY MITCH PATTERSON

The Khmer Rouge, the Cambodian liberation forces, have launched a major offensive against the tottering Lon Nol regime.

The Khmer Rouge is tightening its encirclement of the capital Phnom Penh. Fighting is raging on the north, west, and east borders of the city.

Khmer Rouge commandos have infiltrated the city. Open attacks were launched against the home of the Cambodian army chief, Sosthene Fernandez, and against the police station.

The political arm of the Khmer Rouge, the United National Front, has called on the population to evacuate Phnom Penh and move to the liberated areas.

Phnom Penh's only link to the only deepwater port in the country, Route 4, has just been captured by Khmer Rouge troops for the second time.

The heaviest fighting was reported to be just outside the Pochentong Airport, five miles from Phnom Penh, where the Khmer Rouge is seeking to destroy the small Cambodian air force.

From the east bank of the Mekong River, the Khmer Rouge is firing a continuous barrage of rockets on Lon Nol's palace.

An open rebellion has broken out among Lon Nol's troops against the government. Angry soldiers used government tanks

to surround a prison demanding the release of soldiers arrested for selling the military's gasoline on the black market.

As a protest against the tremendous inflation throughout the country, one government soldier threw a grenade into the market place.

Officials of the Lon Nol government, itself knowing that defeat is near, have asked Lon Nol to leave the country. The former Premier of Cambodia, Son Sann

called on Lon Nol to "remove himself as an issue in the struggle."

They have been feverishly attempting to work out some sort of cease-fire arrangement with Khmer Rouge.

Lon Nol has virtually no support left from any section of the population. The continuing offensive of Khmer Rouge could bring the Cambodian government down within the next few days.

Troops Kill Twelve In India Food Riot

Twelve people were killed and hundreds wounded as food riots swept Gujarat, India last weekend.

Strikes and student demonstrations over the food shortage touched off big raids on grocery stores and shops.

The cost of basic food has risen over 20 percent in the past 12 months. Milk, eggs, cooking oil, and grain can hardly be found in any of the stores.

The paramilitary Border Security Force and Indian army units have been patrolling 16 cities in Gujarat since a curfew was imposed. They have been issued "shoot-on-sight" orders. Three hundred eighty people

have been arrested.

The Chief Minister of Gujarat, Chimanbhai Patel, issued a statement saying that the Indian government would not hesitate to use whatever military force necessary "to thwart widespread violence."

Several unions have announced their intentions to strike next week as a protest against the scarcity of food.

India is now totally dependent on food imports from other countries as agricultural production has virtually collapsed. The soaring price of grain and other raw food materials on the international market means starvation for the masses in India.

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Oil Companies Up Prices 300%

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The oil crisis has provided the large oil companies with enormous opportunities for super profits, hoarding, and price gouging.

The most recent example of price gouging has just been revealed by the major airlines which have been receiving secret phone calls offering them fuel for international jet flights at prices as much as 300 percent above domestic rates.

Pan American has reported receiving at least 24 such calls offering it amounts totalling 30 million gallons of fuel. Pan Am executives report that the offers come from "individuals from many walks of life" including one person from the medical profession.

Tramp oil dealers and pools of speculators are suspected of hoarding huge amounts of fuel for such operations.

The airlines also believe that domestic producers are withholding fuel from domestic supplies in order to sell it for international flight fuel at greatly inflated prices. It is falsely labelled as "bonded" fuel, which is refined abroad and not covered by domestic price controls.

The New York Post just reported that huge amounts of oil in presently existing US fields remains untouched because the oil companies will not spend the money to introduce more sophisticated drilling processes.

EXHAUSTED

The average oil field is termed "exhausted" when 70 percent of the oil still remains, rather than introduce so-called secondary oil recovery techniques.

Major oil companies have done next to nothing with these techniques preferring to milk the wells for the cheapest oil and leave the rest in the ground.

Thus, while hundreds of thousands of American workers are being laid off because of the fuel crisis, 90 billion barrels of oil sits in untapped wells because it is not profitable to take it out.

FREEZE

The major oil companies are using the crisis to freeze out their independent competitors. Because of pressure on the government the Federal Energy Office's fuel allocations do not require domestic producers to supply the independents any fixed amount of oil, forcing them to depend on higher priced foreign oil.

The degree to which this has already hit is expressed in the

amount of gasoline station closures, most of which are independents.

Over 4300 stations are estimated to have shut down since the start of the energy crisis. Closings shot up by 90 percent since the start of 1973. In Los Angeles County 1074 stations have closed because of fuel shortages. In Chicago, more than 500 have been forced to shut down. The latest allocation rules will mean a wave of new filling station failures.

The real figures on oil sales, stocks, and long range reserves are guarded so jealously by the large companies that even the US government is unable to make any calculations except on the basis of inadequate figures provided by the oil monopolies.

WITHHOLD

According to M.A. Adelman, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology oil expert, the oil companies have agreements with the producing countries to withhold vital information from Washington. Information on overseas transactions and their prices is not available.

There are not even any inventory figures on vessels loaded

with foreign oil bound to the United States.

The major oil companies are involved in every phase of oil from production of crude oil to distribution. This enables them to conceal through complex accounting procedures how their profits are made.

Gulf, for example, had profits in the first three quarters of 1973 up 60 percent over the same period in 1972. Gulf sells its own subsidiaries in Europe crude oil from Kuwait at enormously inflated posted prices.

SLASHES

It slashes its European taxes and virtually eliminates US taxes by claiming costs based on the inflated subsidiary prices.

The huge increases in the price of oil must now provoke the wildest speculation. The drive for profit means that workers will not get fuel for their cars and heat for their homes, and face mass unemployment and inflation.

Only the construction of a labor party committed to socialist policies with the nationalization of the energy industry under workers control can assure the planned development of energy resources.

Franco Sentences Militant To Death

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Over 1000 demonstrated in the center of Barcelona, Spain, last week when a military tribunal sentenced Salvador Puig Antich to death.

Salvador Antich, a member of the Iberian Liberation Movement was sentenced to death on two counts and given, in addition, 30 years in jail. Antich was accused of leading a bank robbery in March 1972 and of killing a police inspector in September 1972.

Two alleged accomplices, Jose Luis Pons Llovet, 17, got 30 years in jail and Maria Fernandez, only 15, was sentenced to five years.

Strict security measures were in force around the court room. Armed and mounted policemen guarded the building from the inside.

The Barcelona demonstrators passed out leaflets calling the sentence "an attempt at legal assassination." Molotov cocktails were thrown at the police.

Antich stated that he only drove the car involved in the bank robbery.

Antich admitted firing two shots at the policeman who had come to arrest him last Sep-

tember 1972, but stated that he only fired after having been shot in the jaw, and with no intent to kill.

The sentences must now be personally confirmed by General Franco. Since the assassination of Premier Carrero Blanco, Franco has sought to increase repression.

Any move to carry out the execution will touch off violent demonstrations and strike actions throughout the country.

Spanish police are continuing their manhunt for six young Basque men, allegedly members of the ETA who are accused of killing Carrero.

One of the six, Jose Abaitua Gomez, 24, held a press conference in France and produced work papers to prove that he has not been in Spain since September 1972.

Another witness told reporters that he had been approached to help in a plot to kidnap Gomez and that the Spanish government would pay to have him brought back to Spain.

The plotters are believed to be members of the OAS, a right-wing terrorist organization that opposed the independence of Algeria.



The Young Socialists campaign against unemployment was taken last week to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where many young workers expressed their determination to fight against harassment from Seatrains, disciplinary actions, and speedup, and to join the march against unemployment through Bedford-Stuyvesant February 2.

Meat And Milk To Soar In Price

A dairy industry spokesman has warned that the cost for one gallon of milk will go up at least ten cents by this spring.

This announcement comes on the heels of the disclosure a few days ago by the Bakers Association that the cost of a loaf of bread could soon be one dollar.

Last week milk was \$1.43 per gallon in Chicago. This amounted to a 42 percent increase over the cost for the same gallon a year ago. In New York, prices are even higher: in many stores, 42 cents a quart.

Throughout 1973, milk was one of the basic food commodities that rose continuously in price. In some cities, there were as many as seven increases during the year.

The dairymen have consciously cut back the production of milk in order to receive a higher price for the milk. The prices these dairymen received for their milk rose an unprecedented 30 percent for 1973.

Dairy specialists have stated that prices have increased because of the increased cost of

cattle feed. The dairy industry is using the crisis in the economy to reap tremendous profit returns at the expense of the working class.

The impact of a 33 percent increase in wholesale beef prices over the past six weeks will soon result in another round of price increases in the retail markets.

The American Meat Institute reported that the price of a live steer on the Chicago markets has gone from \$42.13 per pound on December 13 to \$49.50 last week.

The price for a beef carcass, which supermarkets buy, has gone from \$60.50 for 100 pounds, to \$80.25 on January 11.

The Department of Consumer Affairs just announced that the cost of a 38-item market basket of food went up one-half of one percent in only one week. Meat increases accounted for most of the rise.

The Department of Agriculture has just announced that soaring prices for nitrogen will send the price of fertilizer up by 50 percent. This will mean a new wave of increases on all agricultural commodities.

These price increases will lead to a further drastic reduction in every worker's living conditions.



workers league young socialists public meeting

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF LEFT OPPOSITION

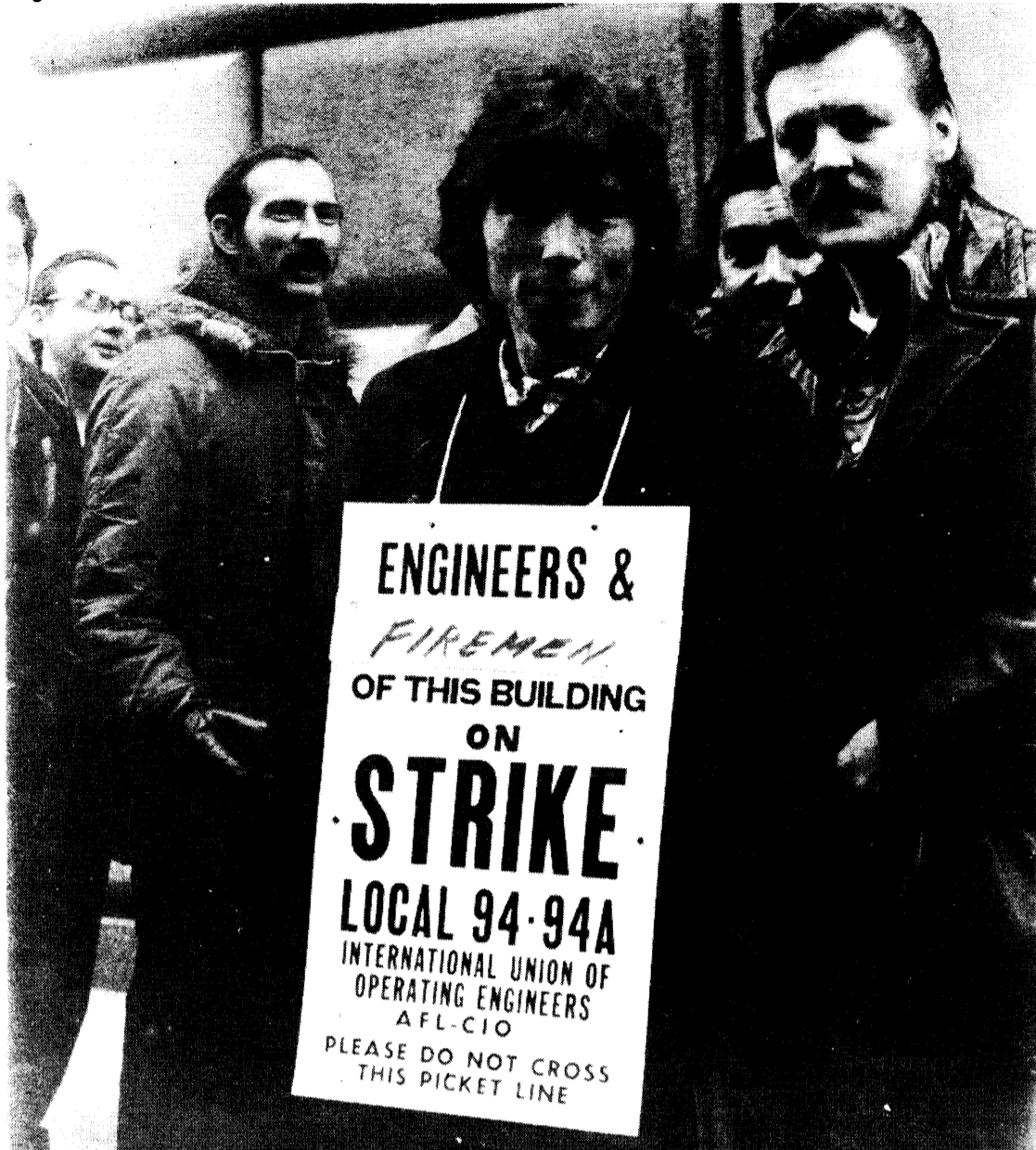
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Engineers and firemen on strike against the New York City Board of Education.

Custodians Strike Hits NY Schools

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The 5000 members of the Cleaners and Matrons Union Local 74 went on strike at twelve midnight January 16.

They are in a battle with the New York City Board of Education for a wage increase of \$1.50 over a three year period.

The workers in Local 74 are responsible for all maintenance and safety in public schools throughout New York City. The strike could shut down 900 elementary, junior high, and high schools within the next few days.

A mass demonstration began Wednesday morning in front of the board of education building in Brooklyn involving between 1000 and 2000 members of the union.

The strike is being supported by Local 94 of the Stationary Firemen's Union, who joined in the demonstration.

The firemen operate the heating furnaces in the city's schools. They had voted unanimously to strike with the maintenance men at a full membership meeting January 15.

The board of education has announced that it will grant no more than a 50 cent increase over

three years claiming that the union's demands are outside of Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines.

"Inflation is going up, right?" Willie Whitfield, Local 74 member, told the Bulletin.

"Gas, meat, milk. They say bread is going to be a dollar a loaf. Can you believe that the board is telling us to accept 59 cents for three years?"

"That is less than 20 cents a year."

William Ayala, Local 94 member, said: "Kids leave a cold home because they know that the school is going to be heated."

"Well, we are the ones that heat it. If it was not for the kids, we would have welded the school gates shut until we got our increase."

WIN

When asked how long he expected the strike to go on, Ayala stated: "Until we win."

Edward Luca, a stationary fireman working in a Brooklyn elementary school, added: "The only reason why every school is not shut down already is because the custodians are still working."

"They cannot strike because of the Taylor Law and the no-strike clause in their contract."

"But they are not going to be able to keep the schools going by themselves. We ask that parents keep their children home to support the strike."

UFA Faces \$1 Million Fine

NEW YORK—The city administration announced today that it will fine the Uniformed Firefighters Association one million dollars for their five and one-half hour strike last November.

It asked that the State Supreme Court rule the maximum punishment against UFA President Vizzini for calling the strike in defiance of the state's Taylor Law.

This action by the city is an attempt to set a precedent for all municipal employees whose contracts will be renegotiated soon.

The Bulletin interviewed the assistant to the president of the UFA, Terry Dolan.

"The city wants a pound of

flesh from us because, during the strike, the men stood 100 percent united. We actually beat them.

DISHONEST

"They are being completely dishonest about the whole thing. They think that this new action against us will whip other unions employed by the city into line. But they will not be able to do it."

"If they go ahead with this million dollar fine, it will virtually destroy the financial structure of the union."

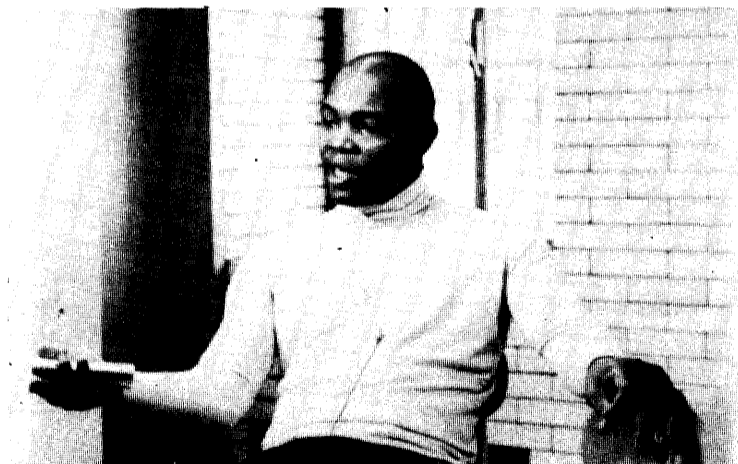
"They want to break the union and set an example for everyone else. If this intimidation continues, we will be forced once again to flex union muscle."

According to Dolan, the city has been illegally transferring union representatives from one

area to another in order to weaken the union.

One union representative was moved from Staten Island to Harlem just when he was taking a union member's grievance to the city.

Blyden Speaks On Attica



Herbert Blyden in an interview with the Bulletin.

NEW YORK—Herbert X. Blyden was in New York's maximum security prison in Attica at the time of the rebellion on September 9, 1971.

Fifteen months later he was indicted by a New York State Supreme Court jury for the murder of two inmates, Hess and Schwartz, during the uprising.

If convicted, he faces life imprisonment. He was released or bail two weeks ago and is waiting for the trial date to be set.

Blyden spoke to the Bulletin on behalf of the Attica Brothers, the 61 men who received 43 indictments on 1300 charges ranging from murder to kidnapping. All were involved in the Attica uprising.

"We do not adhere to the philosophy of nonviolence, but to a revolutionary philosophy for action and change."

"We feel that the prices of milk, bread, meat, and all prices on things that people need act as an economic incarceration of the American worker, very much like the political incarceration of the prisoner. They are relative."

"Workers freedom is confined to the size of their paycheck just as a prisoner's freedom is confined to the size of his cell."

"I have been charged, along with four other brothers, with the murder of two inmates between September 9 and 13, 1971 in the 'D Yard' at Attica."

"Both Hess and Schwartz were known throughout the prison as agents. It was common knowledge."

"The Grand Jury has been sitting since November 1971. They are taking so much time so that they can find prisoners who will testify against us. The state has already spent three and one-half million dollars to investigate what happened at Attica. All that money is in the hands of the

State and no money has been allotted to the defense.

"Every motion that we have brought before the jury has been denied. We asked for a change of venue because the trial will be held in a racist county; it was denied."

"We asked for a dismissal of the case and that was also denied."

"We are going to Buffalo on January 28 to put in a motion for a speedy trial."

"It is just like Watergate. There is a special assistant attorney general to investigate the case. There is a specially selected Grand Jury; there is a special panel of judges headed by Judge Ball."

"Some of the men whose terms were not up were sent to Auburn Special Housing Unit. They have not seen sunlight since the riots. Omar was firebombed in his cell."

"The conditions in Attica have not changed. All the money that was given for reforms went to increased security."

"They have special training schools for the guards to learn new security methods now."

"All of the demands that the Attica Brothers made at the time of the riots have been met on paper. Nothing has changed except security."

"We want half-way houses established until we can do away with all prisons. We will keep at least one for Nixon, Agnew, and Rockefeller who are the real criminals."

"Attica was a continuation of the struggle of oppressed people against the racist oppression of capitalism. Attica is all of us."

Ford Worker Calls For Layoff Fight

George is a member of United Auto Workers Local 463 at the Ford parts depot in Natick, Massachusetts.

He has worked there for more than four years, since September 1969. In the past two weeks, a total of nine workers out of 80 have been laid off.

The first four had less than a year seniority. The second five had over a year. George told the Bulletin: "I have been reading that pamphlet on Watergate, and that Nixon is really rotten. The government is using these layoffs now to weaken the unions so big business can take over."

WOODCOCK

"Woodcock does not speak out against it. I think he is getting paid off. We should be able to vote guys like that down. What we need is new ideas on how to fight the government."

"This fuel crisis is a put on. We need to get them all out with a revolution. Where are we going

to be if we take it.

"The working men support this country. We need to develop a new party, a working people's party, to fight back."

"When negotiations on the Chrysler contract were no good, we did not get anything. They sold us right down the drain for 3.3 percent."

SURVIVE

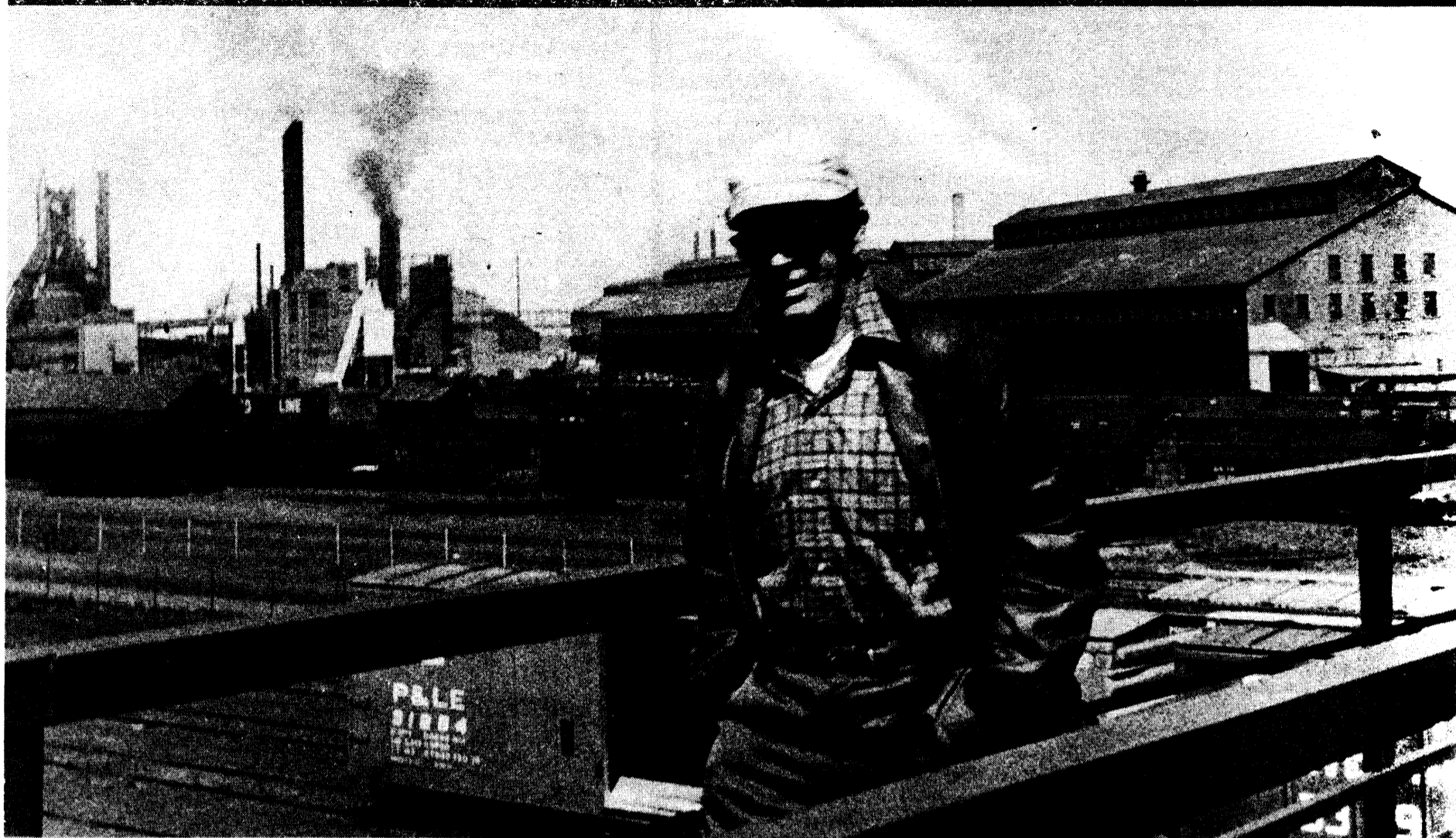
"We did not even make 5.5 percent. You just cannot survive on that with prices the way they are now."

"Woodcock agrees with them and we are paying his salary with \$10.90 in dues a month. With most guys you have to hit them in the head before they realize what is going on."

"It is like that with the layoffs. Even when it happens, they cannot believe it."

"You cannot operate that way. One thing I have learned is that you have to attack before they attack you."

Statement Of The Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party



Steel mill in Duluth, Minnesota closed down last year is a warning of the plans of the steel companies.

The Struggle In Steel

Steel workers must launch the fight now for a two dollar an hour increase in the first year of the contract with a 100 percent cost of living escalator in order to defend their living standards against ram-paging inflation.

Every job must be defended by demanding that the new contract provide for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

To win these demands, steel workers must overturn the "no-strike" deal negotiated by IW Abel and prepare strike action on August 1, the day the contract expires.

CRISIS

The development of the political and economic crisis makes it clear that steel workers can defend their jobs, living standards, and basic rights only through strike action tied to a political fight, centered on the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies, to force Nixon's resignation and demand new elections.

Strike action must be taken against Nixon's wage controls, which are being used to drive down living standards while prices skyrocket. The wholesale price index increased at a rate of 18.2 percent in 1973 alone, which almost equals the entire increase won by steel workers over the three years of the 1971 contract.

Even Nixon's economists admit that inflation will be at least that bad this year. But under the terms of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, signed by Abel last year, the union is to accept a three percent increase without any strike action.

OPPOSITION

Abel pushed through this deal over massive opposition from the ranks in order to avoid a confronta-

tion with the Nixon government.

The fight for a decent wage is a political fight. Phase One of Nixon's wage control laws went into effect on August 15, 1971, just two weeks after the present steel contract was signed. This action represented the decision of the capitalist class that the pay increases won by the working class in 1970 to 1971, through its strikes against General Electric, General Motors, and the threat of a powerful strike against United States Steel, could no longer be tolerated.

LAYOFFS

While refusing to fight the government's wage controls, Abel has no intention of defending steel workers against the growing threat of mass layoffs. At the moment, the situation in steel is one of a high level of production. Unlike 1971, the contract deadline has not been preceded by a large increase in unemployment.

But the conditions which must lead to a sharp crisis in the steel industry within the coming months have already emerged.

•A sharp downturn in production throughout basic industry has already begun. The auto industry, the leading customer of basic steel, has already cut production. In 1973, 9.7 million cars were produced. The most optimistic forecasts call for no more than 7.5 million new cars this year.

CONSTRUCTION

The second major customer of steel, the construction industry, is going into a deep slump. Housing starts, a key indicator of the economy as a whole, has been one of its most depressed sectors.

•The effects of the fuel crisis are just beginning to hit the steel industry. Steward Cort, chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, announced last week: "The most obvious threat to a continued high level of

operations is the energy crisis. Without adequate supplies of fuel oil, we would have to shut down."

In spite of the present level of production, the steel industry will go the way of auto. Up until the contract was signed, auto production was at record levels. The abolition of compulsory overtime was a major issue in the Big Three talks as auto workers demanded an end to the killing nine hour days, six days a week.

Immediately after the contracts were all ratified, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler began the layoffs. They used Woodcock's betrayal of the contract fight, his acceptance of the three percent wage offer, as a basis for new attacks on auto workers. Between December 15 and January 15, more than 200,000 members of the UAW were placed on temporary or indefinite layoffs.

The same is being prepared in steel. The corporations plan to use Abel's refusal to fight to sign a contract that commits the USWA to low wages and ruthless productivity deals, and then proceed with wholesale layoffs.

DEALS

The productivity deals arranged by Abel under the ENA have given the companies a blank check to impose speedups beyond the level of physical endurance. Safety regulations are virtually nonexistent as workers have been murdered in so-called accidents.

Members of the USWA must demand a contract that puts an end to the speedups and gives the ranks control over the production standards in the plants.

There has already developed a tremendous movement in the mills against Abel's no-strike deal and collaboration with Nixon. A large number of locals have already rejected the ENA. Even within sections of the Abel bureaucracy, there has been opposition to a wage settlement within the guidelines.

The enormous opposition to Abel is reflected in the support given to forces within the USWA like the Rank and File Team which has come out against the ENA. However, those forces like RAFT who consider the fight against Abel merely as a trade union question and oppose a political fight against Nixon as the basis upon which a new leadership must be built actually hold back the movement of workers against this government and its supporter, Abel.

The leaders of RAFT, like William Litch, are against the building of a labor party and are therefore unable to carry forward a fight for any of the demands that they actually propose for the new contract.

LAWSUIT

RAFT turns to the government to fight Abel, filing a lawsuit in federal court to overrule the ENA. The leaders of RAFT openly model themselves on the Miller bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers.

But Miller, after only one year in office, has already turned against the movement of miners that swept him into office. He will not fight the wage control laws that miners will face in November, and stands even to the right of Meany by opposing the AFL-CIO campaign for Nixon's impeachment.

COMMUNIST PARTY

RAFT is supported by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who see in the movement around Litch a weapon against the political development of American workers. The National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee led by George Edwards of Local 1104, which supports the policies of the CP, is closely allied to RAFT.

The betrayal of the auto workers in 1973 by the Stalinists shows what they are planning to do in steel this year. They sup-

ported the 3 percent wage deal negotiated by Woodcock with the Big Three. The leaders of the United National Caucus, an opposition group in the UAW similar to RAFT, capitulated to the Woodcock contract with the encouragement of the Stalinists.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for a new leadership in the USWA on the basis of a program centered on the political fight against Nixon. Only on the basis of this political fight can the demands required to defend the living standards of steel workers be won.

ILLUSION

All those like Abel, Litch, and their Stalinist supporters will not face up to the economic crisis and seek to maintain the illusion that workers can defend their living standards and basic rights without fighting for socialist policies through the building of a labor party against Nixon.

Only through the building of a national steel caucus of TUALP and the development of a Marxist leadership in the USWA can thousands of steel workers be rallied to oust the Abel bureaucracy and defeat Nixon.

The TUALP is fighting for:

- A \$2 an hour increase for all with 100 percent cost of living increase.
- Abolish the productivity clause. End the speedup.
- No layoffs. Full job security by establishing a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.
- Thirty and out at \$600 per month with full cost of living.
- Abolish the ENA. All locals may strike over any grievance.
- Full medical benefits for every steel worker and his family.
- Build a labor party pledged to the nationalization of the steel industry under the control of the workers.

We call on steel workers to join the Workers League and to build branches of the TUALP in their locals to carry forward the fight against Nixon.

The following three part series is based on a lecture given by Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League, on Lenin's struggle to construct the Bolshevik Party in the late 1890s and early 1900s.

Today, as the International Committee of the Fourth International prepares for its Fifth World Congress, the question of building parties which can lead the working class to power has never been more sharply posed.

Because of the changed objective conditions created by the crisis of capitalism, it is now possible to make the leap from the leagues and groups, which were necessarily propagandistic in character, to the building of mass revolutionary parties.

This turn into the working class and the construction of a revolutionary party is, above all, a theoretical task. Only through the sharpest theoretical struggles will the cadres be trained and a professional party prepared to lead the battles of the future. For this reason, we return to a study of Lenin's struggle, contained in *What Is To Be Done?* as all the questions that he faced in this earlier period become telescoped today.

What Is To Be Done? and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* must be seen in the light of the Marxist method. This is the question of positing from the present when we look back. In a sense, *What Is To Be Done?* represents a simple expression of the struggles that we have recently gone through which are a more complex and mature expression of them. Commodity production, for example, finds an expression in earlier precapitalist societies and develops and flowers to its full character only under capitalist society. But only in capitalist society can one look back and recognize and determine the character of commodity production in its earlier form.

There are two aspects of this process. First, today developments are telescoped. One studies history, but not in order to repeat the steps that Lenin went through. Lenin went through a certain level of struggle up to 1903 which no one else had gone through. Then almost 10 years passed before he completed a full split with the Mensheviks, and 15 years passed before what he fought for was realized in the Russian Revolution itself.

This is because he approached these questions during the development of imperialism in Russia, that is, where a certain number of years were needed until it came to its own head in World War One, which brought about a revolutionary situation all over the world. But today capitalism has passed through a greater period of decay.

Thus, the problems Lenin fought out in 1900, today are telescoped and combined. One hundred years is compressed into five years; fifteen years, depending on the country, is perhaps compressed into six months or a year or two.

In other words, we have entered not into the 1900 period internationally, but into a period in which we are going to see revolutionary struggles for power in a number of countries, at slightly different paces in different countries, including the US.

We find ourselves grappling with the problems of breaking out of circles, turning into a working class which is moving forward, under conditions in which this working class confronts questions of power and can very well find itself shortly in civil war situations. This gives to our work the greatest urgency.

Early Struggles

In order to understand *What Is To Be Done?*, it is necessary to go into the background of the development of the revolutionary movement up to then. First, Marx's and Engels's struggle to develop the First International was a struggle not only to develop the theoretical basis for the First International in the form of the basic works of Marx—particularly in *Capital* and the *Communist Manifesto*—but was also a struggle to actually create a party, an international party of the working class for the first time.

Marx and Engels were men of action. They were not simply men who looked at questions from the point of view of the study of theory.

However, they were removed from the scene of action for a long time, most of their mature lives, because of a series of circumstances beyond their control, that is, the developments which occurred after the 1848 Revolution.

They were very active in the 1848 Revolution. Marx was a writer and editor of one of the leading radical papers of the period. Engels took part in the military activity during the revolutionary period.

But after the 1848 Revolution, for many years, all those who had participated in the 1848 Revolution, and who were known as the "48ers," were forced into exile and separated from events in Germany. Marx and Engels were among those who ended up in England.

In spite of these objective difficulties, in the fight to construct the First International, the basic principles concerning the construction of the party were laid down which lay the basis for Lenin's fight. The First International was constructed as part of a struggle against the opportunism of the British trade union leadership on the one hand, and the petty bourgeois outlook of the lower middle class and certain privileged artisan sections of the working class.

The minutes of the General Council of the First International, which took place over some four or five years, is a story of that struggle. Marx and Engels began not just simply to clarify the theoretical basis on which the world workers movement would be built scientifically, but they also, on the basis of that program, sought to construct an international party.

However, they were limited by the conditions of the period. They were conducting the struggle in a period in which capitalism was still developing. It had not yet come to its period of fundamental crisis and decline. At the same time, the working class movement was really in a very early stage of its development in every nation. Thus, the First International was a very preliminary and confused organization of workers and it was necessary to fight within it for clarification. Once they achieved that clarification, they came to the realization that the time was not yet there for the construction of an international movement. Therefore, it was necessary for the First International, the General Council, to be moved to New York City and after two or three years of some important activity in the United States, but not that much internationally, the First International went out of existence.

Thus, because of these objective conditions, Marx and Engels were cut off from dealing with the problems which Lenin would face later. It was necessary for the working class to go through a further experience in constructing parties in a number of nations.

2nd International

By the time the Second International was formed, in 1889, there was a very large body of experience in the construction of movements in a number of nations. By and large, the workers of the advanced nations of all the major European countries had been won over to the basic essentials of Marxism, at least to a formal adherence to Marxism. Marxism had triumphed in the socialist movement which had developed all over the world. In particular, the German movement had become a mass movement with tremendous power and influence. On this basis the Second International was formed.

The Second International had from its very origins contradictory forces within it. Revisionist forces were very powerful within the Second International. In the struggle against revisionism, Lenin began to develop his movement and his understanding. He saw his work in Russia as part of the construction of the Second International. He viewed his struggle as a fight under Russian conditions for the internationalist, the Marxist wing of the Second International, which he identified primarily with Karl Kautsky.

In this struggle against revisionism within the Russian movement, Lenin developed Marxism and took it beyond the level of Marx and Engels themselves. It is this sharp theoretical struggle which is contained within *What Is To Be Done*, *Where To Begin?*, which was preparatory to *What Is To Be Done?*, and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. Only because of Lenin's advance of Marxism to a higher stage was the October Revolution victorious.

Lenin was able to develop Marxism because he existed in another period when different questions were raised. The question of actually constructing a party for power was not really raised in Marx's day because the development of capitalism had not yet reached its point of decay—a condition necessary for revolution to be successful internationally.



Thus it was really Lenin who began to confront in detail the problems of constructing a party for the purpose of coming to power. He did so when the working class could actually carry out that task. The construction of the party required the sharpest struggle against the development of revisionism in the international movement as well as in Russia.

When Lenin began this struggle in 1901, the Russian movement had been able really only to do certain things. It had been devoted to the defense of Marxism as a doctrine against various attempts to develop petty bourgeois theories and movements, particularly against what is known as the Narodnik or populist movement which existed in that period. The Narodniks based themselves on peasant rebellions and terrorist activities in Russia. They held that the whole stage of capitalist development could be ignored and that it was possible to establish a series of primitive communist communities on the basis of the peasantry of Russia.

The movement under Plekhanov had conducted a bitter struggle against this petty bourgeois tendency. In this way, the early circles of the Russian Social-Democratic movement were built, primarily by intellectuals who had limited, if any, contact with the working class.

The working class in Russia had just begun to develop and mature under very explosive conditions because of the contradictory character of the development of capitalism there. Within Russia, because of the tremendous influx of British and French capital, the most advanced techniques and factories were established within the old feudalistic Russian empire. Just as capitalism grew up almost overnight and expanded at a feverish pace, so too did the working class grow and mature.

There was a long period in which the movement was devoted to defending doctrine. It could not really do anything else then. Yet, this was tremendously significant and it would have been impossible for the movement to develop to a higher level

without this pioneer work in defense of basic Marxist principle in Russia.

Out of this early struggle, Plekhanov emerged as an international figure in the circles of the Marxist movement all over the world. His writings during this struggle, such as *The Development of the Monist View of History*, *The Materialist Concept of History*, and *The Role of the Individual in History* were translated into many languages and Plekhanov was well-known and well-respected throughout the whole world.

He contributed to the international movement of the day because of the sharp fight necessary in Russia to defend Marxism against liberal and populist middle class tendencies.

By the 1890s to 1905, this fight on the part of Plekhanov had been almost completely victorious. In the intellectual, student circles Marxism was the dominant tendency where it had once only been followed by a small minority. It was this tremendous victory of Marxism, combined with the movement of the working class, which threw the next stage of the movement in Russia into a fundamental crisis.

Marxist Circles

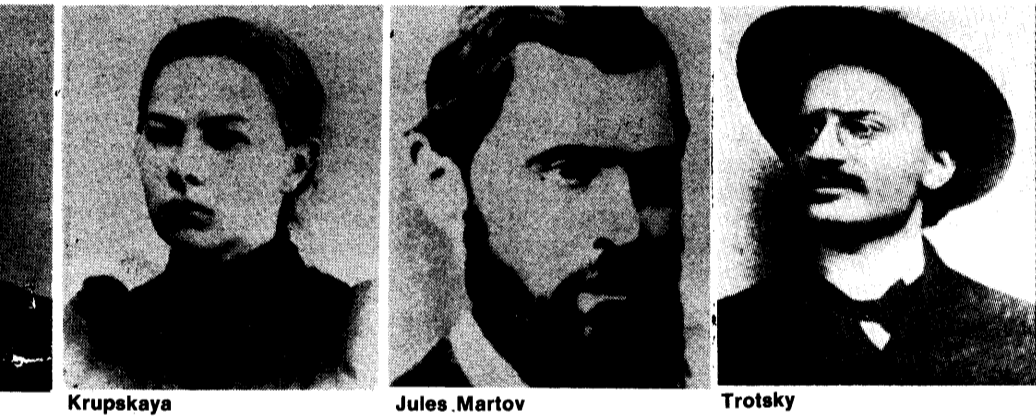
The development of the working class and the tremendous growth of Marxist circles took place simultaneously in the late 1890s. These Marxist circles turned outward among workers and met instantaneous success. All over Russia, reading circles, educational circles, classes among workers were being organized by these student forces. Many of these students were very fresh to the movement. People like Trotsky were really part of that generation. They came out of the fight against the petty bourgeois, Narodnik tendencies.

Lenin, however, was different than these new student forces, such as Trotsky, who were now turning into the working class. He represented the middle generation of Marxists who entered the movement in the latter

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by Tim Wohlforth



Krupskaya

Jules Martov

Trotsky

stage of the earlier period, at the height of the theoretical struggle in defense of Marxism against the petty bourgeois tendencies.

This middle generation was critical, for through Lenin, the continuity of the Marxist movement flowed. During this period, the dominant tendencies were the Narodniks and the individualistic terrorists. Lenin's brother had been a terrorist and had attempted to assassinate the czar. Thus, Lenin had been trained in the crucial theoretical battles of the earlier period.

As the newer, untrained student circles gained tremendous support in the working class, the sharpest difficulties arose within the Russian movement. They organized not only activities of an educational sort, but also street demonstrations, strikes, and the organization of unions. All these activities were occurring under the sharp repression of czarist Russia and, therefore, were illegal and had to be conducted underground.

It was because of the middle class nature of the circles that the crisis developed in the Russian movement around two related points. First, as these students turned out into the working class, they dropped all political struggle, adapting to the present thinking of workers and becoming only activist trade union organizers. Thus, the central political issues that the working class was facing, issues which had to consciously be brought into the workers movement, were dropped. Instead, what occurred was a bowing to the spontaneity of the masses and a glorification of the economic struggle only.

At the same time, these petty bourgeois students persisted in the methods of amateurism which had dominated their study circles. In an earlier period of isolation, these methods did not get them in too much trouble because all they were doing was meeting with a few other students, holding talk sessions. However, when they carried over all their individualism and hostility to discipline into external work among masses of workers, they immediately faced the police.

The police in Russia at that time, as they

are today, were the most organized in the world. They had developed a highly skilled secret police which was extremely sophisticated in political matters. The current police in countries such as Franco's Spain model themselves after the methods of the Russian political police. Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?*, described the operation of the police:

"Naturally, the police, in almost every case, knew the principle leaders of the local movement, since they had already 'gained a reputation' for themselves in their student days, and the police waited only for the right moment to make their raid. They deliberately allowed the study circle sufficient time to develop its work so that they might obtain a palatable *corpus delicti*, and they always permitted several of the persons known to them to remain at liberty 'for breeding'."

As soon as the police were sure of those involved in the activity, they would proceed to round everyone up. Thus, the individualistic methods of these circles led to devastating arrests where whole layers of the movement were destroyed.

Thus, the political problems with which Lenin dealt were life and death matters. As these propaganda circles turned into the workers movement, theory was not developed, but quite the opposite occurred. The turn led to the liquidation of theory. Theory could be preserved by the intellectual as long as it was abstract. Once it was posed as part of practice in the living development of the party, the intellectual who wished to remain a circle person abandoned theory. He was able, therefore, to maintain the same class position as when he upheld theory in the abstract. The "abstract" man became the activist. And the activist abandoned theory, abandoned the party, liquidated the movement politically and ended up in Siberia.

So devastating was this impact that Lenin was really fighting for the very life of the movement. For this reason Lenin was extremely successful. Just as Plekhanov dominated the circles of his day with the

struggle for Marxism, so Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?* had a fantastic impact.

The book was published simultaneously with this tremendous devastation of the movement. Thus, the concrete effect of the policies of the circles—economist—were there for everyone to see, even the economists themselves. Anyone who was at all serious about building a revolutionary movement turned toward the positions in *What Is To Be Done?*

What Is To Be Done? is an attempt to deal theoretically with the problems of the construction of the party and it is in that sense that in *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin emerges as a Leninist.

What Is To Be Done? centers around four essential points. First, socialism must be brought into the working class from the outside. The everyday thinking of the worker is limited to the capitalist system. Workers on their own are able to come to the understanding of the need to organize separately from capital in order to defend themselves from the effects of exploitation. That is, workers come to trade union consciousness. But they do not come to an understanding of the need to actually destroy the system of exploitation itself.

Trade Unionism

Trade union consciousness is bound by capitalism because a trade union is organized for the purpose of negotiating the terms for the sale of labor power to the capitalist. Therefore, a trade union is limited to the acceptance of capitalism as a system.

A socialist or revolutionary leadership is needed in the trade unions to defend them, because the crisis has reached the point where the working class cannot really any longer negotiate the terms of its own exploitation.

Today capital must dictate those terms and must change the very life of the working class to preserve its system. The union, as a union, can never really defend the working class. But only by developing a leadership in the unions that goes beyond unions to the question of the construction of a revolutionary party can the working class be defended through a struggle to destroy capitalism as a system itself. So this extremely critical conception from which the need for a party emerges is the heart of what Lenin explains in *What Is To Be Done?*

Socialism, since it is brought in from the outside, must conflict with what is inside. It must be brought in through the party, as a unity with the working class and in conflict with the existing trade union consciousness of the working class. On this essential position of Lenin we have fought, getting a deeper understanding from Lenin's later philosophical writings on the questions of theory and practice and the Marxist theory of knowledge.

Lenin's second point is that socialism is not the reflection of a single class; it is not the reflection of the working class. The position which the OCI and all liquidators hold is that socialism simply reflects the working class, that the *Communist Manifesto* is a product of a certain development of workers and that the program is the result and expression of the working class. If that were the case, socialism would not need to be brought in from outside, but would arise spontaneously in the workers movement.

However, socialism reflects not just the thinking of one class or the position of one class, but the relationship between classes, and it bases itself on all the previous knowledge accumulated by other classes, particularly by the bourgeoisie. Socialism starts where the bourgeoisie leaves off in its thinking.

Engels explained particularly well in his *Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* and also in sections of *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, that socialism only arose really out of the highest development of bourgeois thinking: Hegel in philosophy, Adam Smith in political economy, Saint-Simon as the utopian petty bourgeois thinker.

To develop a socialist understanding, one must turn objectively to an understanding of the relationship between things, not just between people, because the relationship between classes is determined under capitalism by the relationship between things: economic matters and categories like prices, wages, and so on.

To say that socialism is brought in from the outside does not mean that "the outside" is another class. The outside is the

party which is both part of the working class and in conflict with it. Historically, socialism was introduced from the outside in the sense that it came from the middle class intellectual into the workers movement. But as soon as the next stage of the actual construction of a party for power occurs, a change must take place. This is the point at which *What Is To Be Done?* was written.

To the extent that that party is able to be a Marxist party, it brings into itself the advanced workers, who then bring socialism into the working class from the outside.

They are no longer trade unionists. They are members of a party. And as members of a party, people are not distinct as to their class. They represent the leadership of the working class whether they are from the middle class, the students, or from the trade unions and the workers.

The third point Lenin develops in *What Is To Be Done?* is that the activities of the revolutionary party are not twofold as had been previously thought, but are threefold. It is not just involved in a struggle on the political front: in America, the struggle for a labor party and a workers government based on socialist policies. It is not just involved on the economic front: for certain trade union policies, a shorter work week, wages. It is above all involved in a struggle theoretically for an understanding of socialist and Marxist theory against the bourgeois thinking that permeates the working class and the middle classes. Socialism must continuously reflect the class struggle. There must be a continuous struggle for theory to defeat bourgeois thinking among workers and develop the revolutionary movement.

Marxist Theory

Fourth is the question of amateurism. The revolutionary party brings socialist consciousness into the working class through a conflict with the existing thinking of the working class in order to construct a leadership of the working class for one task: to come to power, to carry through the revolution.

Since the objective situation poses the question of revolution in our time, it becomes absolutely necessary that the party become an instrumentality for action, determined to carry out what it thinks, not an organization for the preservation of a doctrine or the dissemination of an abstraction.

The party must bring together the abstract lessons of the past, continuously posing against those the new experiences of the workers movement as it actually constructs a leadership in the working class. This is why Lenin's struggle on these questions was combined with the struggle against amateurism. In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin wrote about students in the movement during its growth from 1894 to 1901:

"These new warriors marched to battle with astonishingly primitive equipment and training. In a vast number of cases, they had almost no equipment and no training. They marched to war like peasants from the plough, armed only with clubs. A students' circle establishes contacts with workers and sets to work, without any connection with the old members of the movement, without any connection with study circles in other districts, or even other parts of the same city, without any organization of the various divisions of revolutionary work, without any systematic plan of activity covering any length of time. Discontent with the amateurism prevailing among us and the unshakeable determination to rid ourselves of it is what this book is devoted to."

The Workers League is going through a similar stage of development. We have been restricted for a period of time as Plekhanov was. We have fought to defend Trotskyism against revisionism. We have fought to go beyond that and make it live. But we were limited in our ability to make it live; we were only able, by and large, to defend the doctrine as best as we could, to develop method as best as we could, but that method developed very formally and abstractly. We did not choose the conditions. As Engels pointed out, man makes his own history, but he does it under conditions which he does not choose.

We now enter a period where we can change and where we, like the Russian students in their period, can turn into the workers movement and begin to construct a movement.

TO BE CONTINUED

РОССИЙСКАЯ СОЦИАЛЬ-
ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ
РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТИЯ

ИСКРА

Нам нечего возгораться пламя!
Огнем декабристства булимку.

№ 1

ДЕКАБРЬ 1900

№ 1



WHAT IS TO BE DONE TODAY

Part One: Origins of Leninism

by Tim Wohlforth



Plekhanov Vera Zasulich Lenin Krupskaya Jules Martov Trotsky

Thus it was really Lenin who began to confront in detail the problems of constructing a party for the purpose of coming to power. He did so when the working class could actually carry out that task. The construction of the party required the sharpest struggle against the development of revisionism in the international movement as well as in Russia.

When Lenin began this struggle in 1901, the Russian movement had been able really only to do certain things. It had been devoted to the defense of Marxism as a doctrine against various attempts to develop petty bourgeois theories and movements, particularly against what is known as the Narodnik or populist movement which existed in that period. The Narodniks based themselves on peasant rebellions and terrorist activities in Russia. They held that the whole stage of capitalist development could be ignored and that it was possible to establish a series of primitive communist communities on the basis of the peasantry of Russia.

The movement under Plekhanov had conducted a bitter struggle against this petty bourgeois tendency. In this way, the early circles of the Russian Social-Democratic movement were built, primarily by intellectuals who had limited, if any, contact with the working class.

The working class in Russia had just begun to develop and mature under very explosive conditions because of the contradictory character of the development of capitalism there. Within Russia, because of the tremendous influx of British and French capital, the most advanced techniques and factories were established within the old feudalistic Russian empire. Just as capitalism grew up almost overnight and expanded at a feverish pace, so too did the working class grow and mature.

There was a long period in which the movement was devoted to defending doctrine. It could not really do anything else then. Yet, this was tremendously significant and it would have been impossible for the movement to develop to a higher level

without this pioneer work in defense of basic Marxist principle in Russia.

Out of this early struggle, Plekhanov emerged as an international figure in the circles of the Marxist movement all over the world. His writings during this struggle, such as *The Development of The Monist View of History*, *The Materialist Concept of History*, and *The Role of the Individual in History* were translated into many languages and Plekhanov was well-known and well-respected throughout the whole world.

He contributed to the international movement of the day because of the sharp fight necessary in Russia to defend Marxism against liberal and populist middle class tendencies.

By the 1890s to 1905, this fight on the part of Plekhanov had been almost completely victorious. In the intellectual, student circles Marxism was the dominant tendency where it had once only been followed by a small minority. It was this tremendous victory of Marxism, combined with the movement of the working class, which threw the next stage of the movement in Russia into a fundamental crisis.

Marxist Circles

The development of the working class and the tremendous growth of Marxist circles took place simultaneously in the late 1890s. These Marxist circles turned outward among workers and met instantaneous success. All over Russia, reading circles, educational circles, classes among workers were being organized by these student forces. Many of these students were very fresh to the movement. People like Trotsky were really part of that generation. They came out of the fight against the petty bourgeois, Narodnik tendencies.

Lenin, however, was different than these new student forces, such as Trotsky, who were now turning into the working class. He represented the middle generation of Marxists who entered the movement in the latter

stage of the earlier period, at the height of the theoretical struggle in defense of Marxism against the petty bourgeois tendencies.

This middle generation was critical, for through Lenin, the continuity of the Marxist movement flowed. During this period, the dominant tendencies were the Narodniks and the individualistic terrorists. Lenin's brother had been a terrorist and had attempted to assassinate the czar. Thus, Lenin had been trained in the crucial theoretical battles of the earlier period.

As the newer, untrained student circles gained tremendous support in the working class, the sharpest difficulties arose within the Russian movement. They organized not only activities of an educational sort, but also street demonstrations, strikes, and the organization of unions. All these activities were occurring under the sharp repression of czarist Russia and, therefore, were illegal and had to be conducted underground.

It was because of the middle class nature of the circles that the crisis developed in the Russian movement around two related points. First, as these students turned out into the working class, they dropped all political struggle, adapting to the present thinking of workers and becoming only activist trade union organizers. Thus, the central political issues that the working class was facing, issues which had to consciously be brought into the workers movement, were dropped. Instead, what occurred was a bowing to the spontaneity of the masses and a glorification of the economic struggle only.

At the same time, these petty bourgeois students persisted in the methods of amateurism which had dominated their study circles. In an earlier period of isolation, these methods did not get them in too much trouble because all they were doing was meeting with a few other students, holding talk sessions. However, when they carried over all their individualism and hostility to discipline into external work among masses of workers, they immediately faced the police.

The police in Russia at that time, as they

are today, were the most organized in the world. They had developed a highly skilled secret police which was extremely sophisticated in political matters. The current police in countries such as Franco's Spain model themselves after the methods of the Russian political police. Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?*, described the operation of the police:

"Naturally, the police, in almost every case, knew the principle leaders of the local movement, since they had already 'gained a reputation' for themselves in their student days, and the police waited only for the right moment to make their raid. They deliberately allowed the study circle sufficient time to develop its work so that they might obtain a palatable corpus delicti, and they always permitted several of the persons known to them to remain at liberty 'for breeding'."

As soon as the police were sure of those involved in the activity, they would proceed to round everyone up. Thus, the individualistic methods of these circles led to devastating arrests where whole layers of the movement were destroyed.

Thus, the political problems with which Lenin dealt were life and death matters. As these propaganda circles turned into the workers movement, theory was not developed, but quite the opposite occurred. The turn led to the liquidation of theory. Theory could be preserved by the intellectual as long as it was abstract. Once it was posed as part of practice in the living development of the party, the intellectual who wished to remain a circle person abandoned theory. He was able, therefore, to maintain the same class position as when he upheld theory in the abstract. The "abstract" man became the activist. And the activist abandoned theory, abandoned the party, liquidated the movement politically and ended up in Siberia.

So devastating was this impact that Lenin was really fighting for the very life of the movement. For this reason Lenin was extremely successful. Just as Plekhanov dominated the circles of his day with the

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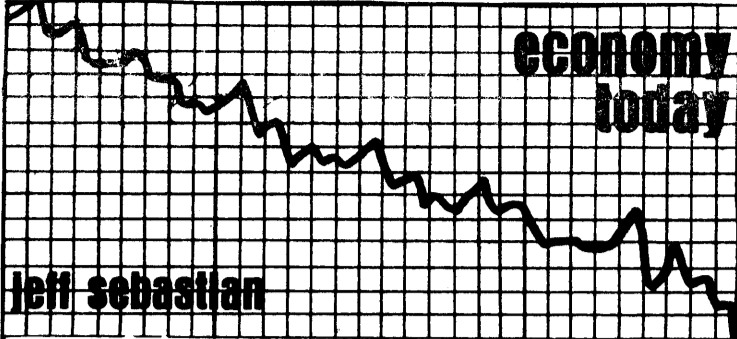
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IMF Scraps Monetary Reforms

Last September, the International Monetary Fund met in Nairobi, Kenya to discuss reform of the world money system. The conference adjourned with glowing promises that proposals for a new system would be ready by July 31, 1974.

This week, the Committee of 20, consisting of representatives of the industrialized countries with a token contingent from the underdeveloped countries, is meeting in Rome.

The only question on which there is virtually unanimous agreement is that monetary reform has been abandoned.

Since the Nairobi conference, the international monetary system has been dominated by skyrocketing oil prices, and uncontrollable inflation.

All proposals for reform were aimed at reestablishing a fixed relationship between currencies, with the dollar as the basic standard of value. All of this was destroyed on August 15, 1971 with the removal of the dollar from the gold standard.

What has been revealed since August 15 is the degree to which the entire postwar expansion of capitalism has been based on an uncontrolled inflation of the dollar.

In the last year alone, the Dow Jones Spot Commodity Index which measures commodity prices has increased by 50 percent more than in the last 50 years. In the same period, the price of gold has nearly doubled.

Thus, the economic situation has been characterized not primarily by the relationship of one currency to another, important as this is, but by the massive depreciation of all national currencies.

Only 15 percent of all the monetary reserves of the industrialized countries are based on gold. The rest is based on paper of completely indeterminate value. The holders of this paper have seen their reserves wiped out every day by the rising price of gold and commodities.

The severing of the dollar from gold and the inability of the capitalists to replace the dollar with any other standard of value has led to a worldwide system of floating exchange rates, in which the dollar, the pound, the yen, and the lira float depending on the fluctuation of the exchange markets.

The currencies of the other Common Market countries are tied together in a joint float against the other currencies.

Two successive devaluations of the dollar have given the United States enormous trading advantages.

The change in the US balance of trade has been nearly \$10 billion from deficit to surplus.

The oil crisis brings this crisis to a head. The US which is not as dependent on oil imports as Europe and Japan, seeks to force all currencies to continue to float.

The American government is convinced that even if the dollar rises against European and Japanese currencies, the massive inflation in Europe and Japan will allow the US to maintain its trade advantage.

The US is determined to force the major burden of mass unemployment and bankruptcy onto Europe and Japan, creating conditions in these countries for revolutionary struggle.

The dollar, which was the center of the entire international monetary system since the end of the war now depreciates continuously in relation to gold.

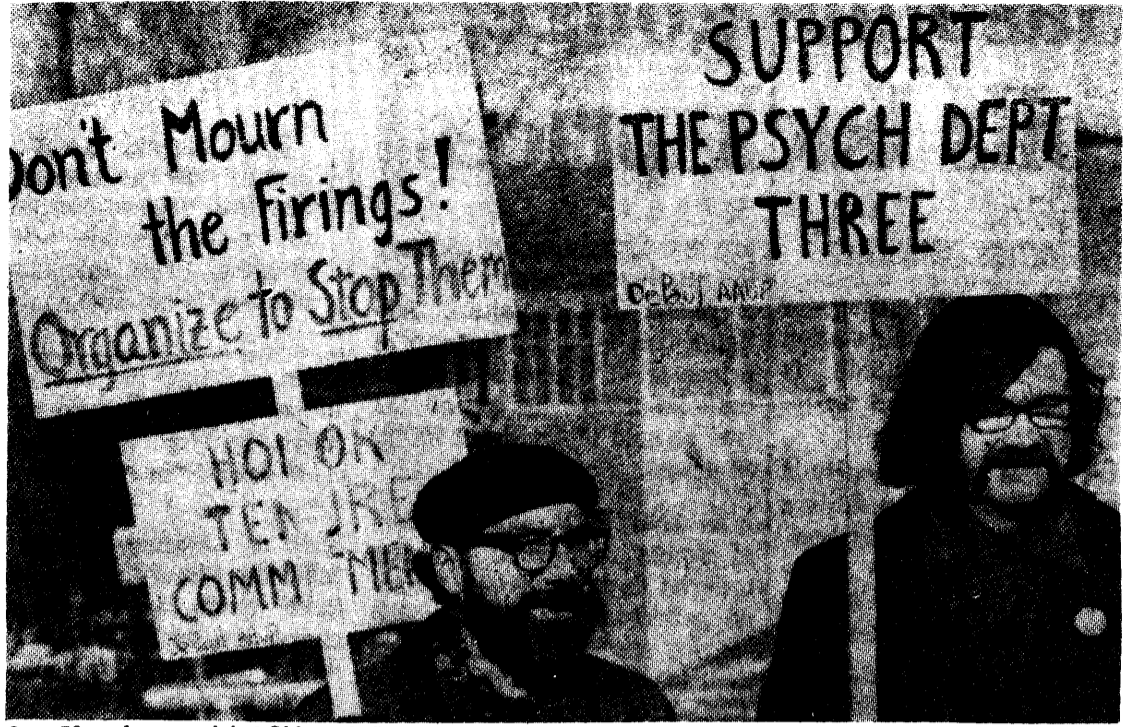
It is no longer able to serve as the international standard of value. The fall of all currencies in relation to the dollar expresses the desperate situation of European and Japanese capitalism.

The determination of the Nixon government to continue the anarchy of wildly fluctuating exchange rates puts an end to all schemes of Special Drawing Rights (paper gold) as a new standard of value. Only gold remains acceptable.

The American drive against Europe and Japan is directed against those very countries where the US has massive investments and markets. Thus, the crisis created in these countries endangers huge amounts of US capital as well.

Industrial collapse and bankruptcy abroad will lead to a sharp reduction in the US export industry and profits of large corporations. Thus, the very conditions created in Europe and Japan must spill back into the US with vicious assaults on the wages, conditions, and basic rights of the American working class.

The layoffs that have already started in American industry are only the beginning. They are a warning that this process is well underway.



Over 50 professors picket Chicago's DePaul University against dismissal of two professors. See opposite page.

Metro Closing Hits 300 Meatcutters

BY MIKE JAMES
ST. PAUL, Minn.—Metro Meatpacking of South St. Paul closed all operations last Friday and permanently dismissed all 300 workers at the plant.

This lockout followed the flat rejection by meat cutters Local P-4 of Metro's wage offer which would have left them a full \$1.50 behind

workers at the neighboring Armour plant.

Company spokesman declared that they could not run a profitable operation if they had to accept the union's demands. Citing losses of \$500,000 since the plant opened in August 1973, they did not even give the workers a day's notice of the shutdown.

SWEATSHOP

The plant was opened as a sweatshop and when the union was voted in, last October, Metro attempted to destroy it.

Metro management went to court in November 1973, claiming that the place was actually owned by Country-Wide, which does not recognize any union.

COURT

Officials of Local P-4 took the case to court and won a favorable decision. However, during the contract negotiations in the past two months, the men were not consulted about the demands.

Willie, who has worked at Metro two months, said: "They should have come down with us and talked to us about how we felt, how we saw things. This never happened."

Lathan, another young worker, said: "We have all the men at Armour behind us. If they pull anything, they will be right along with us."

Armour, also represented by Local P-4, closed down the entire beef kill in 1972, destroying 600 jobs. At that time, union officials said that it could not be stopped.

The morning after the closing, Willie said: "I do not know what we can do now."

"Maybe I can get the army to send me to school. But who knows about a job even then."

Cleveland Cop Shoots Teenager In Head

BY PERRY IVERSON
CLEVELAND, Ohio—Robert Dennis, a 15-year-old freshman at Shaw High School, was shot in the head Friday by East Cleveland police Sgt. William Lloyd.

He died hours later at Huron Road Hospital.

He was killed while sitting in his car waiting for a ticket from the policeman who had forced him to stop for a traffic violation.

According to the police report, Sgt. Lloyd "feared for his life" and shot young Dennis in self-defense. However, Leroy Vance, a nearby gas station manager who witnessed the murder, said:

"The police had to go around me to cut him off. It happened right in front of my gas station I pulled in and saw the policeman jump out of the car.

"He stood near the rear of his car and fired through a side window (of the Dennis car) from about eight feet away.

"He did not give the kid a chance. The kid did not budge. He did not make a threatening move. "He did not reach for the door to get out. He did not do anything."

Tim, a classmate, reported to the Bulletin: "They shot him down in cold blood and everybody at school knows it. Now they say he tried to point something at them and it is going to be ruled justifiable homicide."

Mrs. Marguerite Wesley thought the policeman was gun

crazy. "He did not have to shoot him in the head for a traffic thing like that. He did not have to kill him.

"And it is not just Dennis. To East Cleveland police, a person's life means nothing.

"They know Nixon gets away with breaking the law and it makes them think the police have the right to do it too."

Lawyer Seeks Probe Of FBI Interference

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL., Minn.—"We have learned in the last year that the federal government will stop at nothing to influence the outcome of a trial.

"Watergate, the Florida cases, the Ellsberg case, and the Chicago case have revealed the length to which it will go to destroy particular defendants."

This charge was made by William Kunstler in federal court yesterday as he made a motion for an investigation into the role of the FBI in the case of the Wounded Knee defendants. This trial is the first of many involving charges growing out of last spring's occupation of Wounded Knee.

The latest reason for Kunstler's motion was a meeting on the eve of the trial of three FBI agents with the top management of the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press.

This emphasizes the charges made last week by the defense

that it is impossible for Dennis Banks and Russell Means to get a fair trial due to the interference of the federal government with witnesses and the defense.

The papers claimed the visit was merely arranged to inform the papers that the FBI had a local office and could answer any questions they had.

MOTION DENIED

In spite of the fact that the visit has been admitted and that it is known to involve one of the key government witnesses, Judge Nichols refused to order an investigation and denied the motion.

Every substitutive ruling that Nichols has made reveals his stand with the prosecution in its attempt to frame up Russell Means and Dennis Banks, in what promises to be a trial of several months.

In this way, the government seeks to set a precedent for the other trials and further intimidate those defense witnesses.

midwest news

Police Arrest 10 Pickets In Dayton Strike

DAYTON—Last Friday, police attempted to break the strike at Kuhms Brothers Foundry by arresting 10 pickets.

The excuse used for the police intervention was that the workers violated the injunction by talking too loud and that a fire built in a barrel was too high.

International Union of Electrical Workers Local 768 workers told the Bulletin that the company has been using the courts and taking pictures of pickets in an effort to intimidate them.

The first day of the strike, Democratic Judge Walter Rice issued an injunction limiting the number of pickets at each gate.

Now 10 workers, including strike leaders, are faced with contempt of court charges.

Alex Mays, a picket a captain, one of those issued a subpoena, told the Bulletin:

"The company is trying to fire the militants or put them in jail. The company took down the names of workers who came to the court in support of those who were arrested."

Mays said the company produced five witnesses known to be company men, who openly lied.

At the meetings between union and company negotiators, Kuhms' lawyers walk in, put the company demands on the table, and then walk out.

John Blackman, chief steward, said the company offer would set the union back six years. The company claims that the men have been offered a 95 cents an hour increase, but Charles

Chicago U Plans Firing Of Professors

CHICAGO, Ill.—Over 50 professors picketed the downtown and Lincoln Park campuses of Chicago's DePaul University last week, urging a fight against the proposed dismissal of two psychology professors.

DePaul administrators said that cutbacks in federal funding has forced the elimination of the programs taught by Ernie Doleys and Phil Caracena.

The DePaul chapter of the American Association of University Professors told reporters that the university is using economic problems to fire the men.

AAUP members said that the two tenured faculty members have had sharp disagreements with the department chairman over teaching methods and department policies.

Both have at least seven years seniority, more than most other teachers in the department. The AAUP has set up an "Honor Tenure Committee" to fight.

Askins says it is only 12 cents in new wages, or less than a one percent increase.

The workers are trying to get an increase in the pension plan and retirement after thirty years. Retired workers now receive only \$190 a month after twenty years and \$290 after 30 years.

HOMES

The company has been sending letters to wives of striking workers threatening loss of homes and saying they might have to close the plant.

Very little support has been given to the Kuhms workers by the other locals of the IUE. What is needed is a call for District 7 of the IUE, which includes the Chrysler, Frigidaire, and Delco workers, to mobilize the ranks in support of the Kuhms workers and to fight for strike action against the layoffs at Frigidaire, Delco, and Chrysler Airtemps.

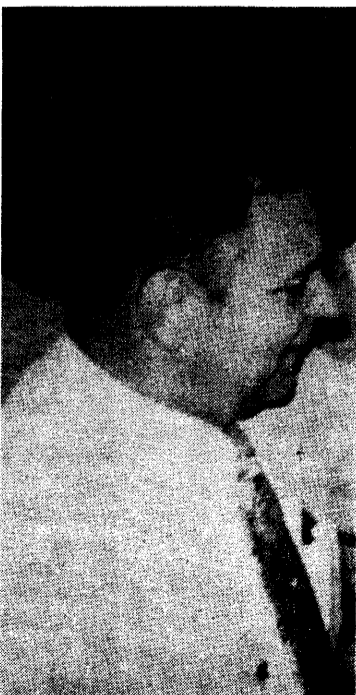
This fight should also be taken to the AFL-CIO council and the UAW. Many Kuhms workers support the building of a labor party as the only way to win their strike and protect their jobs.

We call on all Dayton workers to join the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

Company Bugs Union Heads

GREENSVILLE, S.C.—The motel room of a Textile Workers Union organizer was bugged by two officials of the JP Stevens Company as part of a conspiracy to prevent the unionization of several plants here.

Larry Emerson Burroughs, a plant safety engineer for the company, and Harold Guerry, a personnel manager, were found guilty in



Organizer Al Motley



Pickets at Kuhms Brothers gather around fire shortly before arrests.

'No Strike' Pact Faces Lawsuit

CHICAGO, Ill.—A lawsuit has been filed in federal court, seeking to prevent the implementation of the no-strike pact drawn up by the

steel companies and IW Abel, president of the United Steel Workers of America.

The lawsuit is the central strategy of the District 31 Defend the Right to Strike Committee, which drew about 30 Chicago area steel workers to a meeting last week.

The committee, led by supporters of the Communist Party's union paper, *Labor Today*, reported that 4000 to 6000 signatures had been gathered in the district on a petition denouncing the pact.

These were left with Abel's secretary after Abel refused to accept them during the Basic Steel Industry Conference in Pittsburgh last month.

APPROVED

The suit claims that the agreement is not legal, because it was not approved by the steel workers. The committee is also supporting Ed Sadlowski's campaign to have the courts overturn the election for director of District 31, where Sadlowski was narrowly defeated by Sam Evett.

Through these lawsuits, the forces around the CP are diverting the fight of thousands of steel workers who are determined not to let Abel sign a sweetheart pact this year.

REVOLT

The lead story in the *Labor Today* handed out at the meeting predicts massive rank and file revolts, which will change the nature of the labor movement so that "class collaboration will cease to be a major factor."

But it is precisely the forces around *Labor Today* themselves that act to strengthen that collaboration by inviting Nixon's courts to intervene in the union. Sadlowski and the committee refuse to mobilize the trade union movement in a political battle to force Nixon out and construct a labor party.

YOUNG SOCIALIST REGIONAL CONFERENCES

\$2 Conference & Dance

All conferences
begin at noon

Speakers: Tim Wohlforth,
Workers League National
Secretary, Adele Sinclair,
Young Socialist editor.

MIDWEST

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Minneapolis, St. Paul)
SAT., JAN. 26
Univ. of Wisconsin
YMCA
306 North Brooks
608-251-7622

CLEVELAND
(Pittsburgh, Buffalo,
Dayton, Detroit)
SAT., FEB. 2
Cleveland State Univ.
Euclid & 21 St.
216-851-8822



WEST COAST

SAN FRANCISCO
SAT., JAN. 19
Mission YMCA
4080 Mission
415-824-4096

LOS ANGELES
SUN., JAN. 20
Embassy Auditorium
839 S. Grand Ave.
213-678-3528
Live Band
"Demian"

THE NEW STAGE OF THE CRISIS:

The Case For A New
Election



Speaker:
Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary,
Workers League

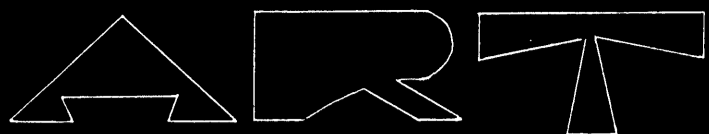
PITTSBURGH
SUN., JAN. 27

Bethesda United
Presbyterian Church
7220 Bennet Street

8 pm

Dinner first: 6 pm

donation: \$3 trade unionists,
\$1 youth and unemployed



duchamp and the "merely aesthetic"

by dianne isaacs

Marcel Duchamp painted his first work in 1902, when he was just 15 years old. In the 1920s, he declared he would never paint again because the canvas offered "too much space to fill," and he abruptly turned to glass sculpture and the famous "Readymades"—common objects mounted and exhibited with his other pieces.

Duchamp's works are presently on display at the New York Museum of Modern Art, and the exhibit shows how the artist, while creating his own unique and personal world, was also a link with virtually every trend of the twentieth century, from Post-Impressionism to Fauvism and Cubism, to Dadaism and Surrealism.

Duchamp was one of a young generation of painters including Picasso, Max Ernst, Salvador Dali, and Andre Breton, who, while having studied all the Impressionists and influenced by their romanticism, found them-

self as a scientist in his own right, and felt that he could never fully express himself through oil and canvas.

Duchamp's greatest works were produced during a period of massive revolutionary upheavals and his art, like that of Picasso's and others, caught this movement and reflected all the dynamics of the tremendous conflicts of the early twentieth century.

Over 40 years before Andy Warhol announced his Pop-Art to the world, Duchamp had presented chairs, bicycles, and urinals mounted and exhibited. He called these works "Readymades," a contribution to the Dadaist movement and Surrealism.

The most ingenious work at the exhibit is his "Glass" and "Green Box." The Glass itself is embellished with objects such as a bicycle tire, threads, and the Chocolate Grinder. Displayed next to it is the "Green Box," a series of sketches and notes laid



Marcel Duchamp.

themselves in an age of turbulence, industrialization, and war, making the landscapes and serene portraits of the older generation completely unsuitable.

These new painters' works captured movement not just in terms of a mixture of colors and brush strokes like Cezanne, but by the very subject matter itself being turned into machine-like forms.

"Nude Descending A Staircase" is Duchamp's classic contribution to the Cubist movement. But this does not stand out at the exhibit as one of Duchamp's greatest works. It is a very scientific study of matter in motion; a very cold, technical work without the compassion of his earlier pieces such as "Portrait (Dulcinea)," which was a precursor to "Nude Descending A Staircase."

While having no disagreements with the general thesis of the Fauvists—"free use of distor-

tion"—Duchamp was a scientist in his own right, and felt that he could never fully express himself through oil and canvas.

While Duchamp called his art a game, something he did when he felt like it, he was continuously through every phase of his life as an artist setting up for himself complex technical problems through which he found new ways of expressing erotic subject matter.

He had an incredible amount of confidence in himself, even an arrogance, which allowed him the greatest freedom of expression. He was concerned with what was beyond the "merely aesthetic," the immediately sensual.

The exhibit now at the Museum of Modern Art is a well assembled tribute to this creativity, and fully covers every phase of his work.



Supporters of the TUALP were cut off from speaking at a union meeting at the Southgate GM plant, where the second shift was eliminated. Woodcock (seated, right) told the men a strike against layoffs would be "asinine."

Lockheed Lays Off 2500

BY A REPORTER

BURBANK—Lockheed Corporation will slash its work force by another 2500 by the end of January.

This new cutback comes on the heels of the recent layoff of 2500 in December, bringing the total layoffs to close to 20 percent of the 19,000 workers at the Burbank and Palmdale facilities.

The latest reduction signals the beginning of the end for Lockheed, which since 1971, has been on the brink of bankruptcy.

Lockheed's financial difficulties were aggravated when Eastern Airlines delayed delivery of nine L-1011 Tristar commercial jets until 1975 and 1976.

Plane deliveries have been reduced from five to three a month due to the federal fuel allocation to airlines and the slowdown in air traffic.

The latest layoff will hit salaried white collar workers the hardest. These include supervisors, engineers, maintenance, and safety experts, who are not unionized.

According to a Lockheed spokesman: "These layoffs will hit those with considerable seniority."

"We cannot predict if these will be the last of the layoffs."

The first layoffs in December affected mostly production workers with one to one and one-half years seniority.

An International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 727 spokesman said: "This layoff is fairly deep." He then went on to say, "It has not hit too awfully hard."

He ruled out the possibility of a collapse of Lockheed, saying: "Not with such a huge company, even if Lockheed goes bankrupt, someone will have to come in, because Lockheed is the number one defense contractor in the US,

and the government has to have their missiles."

That Lockheed is on very shaky ground is proven by its inability to make payments on loans totalling \$650 million. Instead Lockheed is searching for additional funds.

Lockheed's financial crisis can only be solved by bankruptcy, wiping out hundreds of millions of dollars owed to several major banks.

The L-1101 will have to be scrapped, at the cost of 18,000

jobs.

Merger discussions are now under way as the company feels the government will not step in this time to save it.

Union leaders of the IAM have completely accepted these layoffs. After the first big layoffs in December, they denied the possibility of further cutbacks.

Speaking for Local 727, Neil Vandercook said: "We will continue to pressure our good friends in Congress, even though there are not too many of them."

Fremont GM Lays Off 200

BY BARRY GREY

FREMONT—Last Friday, 200 men were permanently laid off here at the General Motors Assembly Division plant.

Most of those laid off were newly hired workers with less than 90 days in the plant. All were on the night shift.

Because of their low seniority, these men are not entitled to Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) and are out of the union.

About 100 of the layoffs were men recently hired for a projected increase in truck production, which has now been cancelled.

Tom Cagle, a member of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Local 1364, told the Bulletin there is a possibility of perhaps 200 more layoffs after January 19.

Management is lowering the ratio of Chevies and increasing Buick production on that date.

SPEEDUP

The layoffs are accompanied by a constant revision of production schedules aimed at forcing

brutal speedup on the men.

One worker said: "Godfrey is talking about the right of GM to occupy 60 minutes out of the hour. They are trying to get 66 out of me."

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for an authorized national strike to win back every job lost, to guarantee no speedup, to institute the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and to reopen the wage section of the contract.

TUALP will take up this fight based on a political struggle against the government, to demand the unions form a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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Portland Rations Gas

BY A REPORTER

PORTLAND—Oregon has launched the first gasoline rationing program in the country.

The program, devised by Governor Tom McCall is voluntarily being carried out by gas station owners.

Cars with even-numbered license plates are being serviced only on even-numbered days of the month; cars with odd-numbered plates, only on odd-numbered days.

Emergency and commercial vehicles still get normal ser-

vices.

The rationing was put into effect in response to what a Eugene gas dealer referred to as "panic buying." Lines up to two hours long were reported in Portland.

Gas stations are now flying huge red and green flags to tell passers-by whether or not they have gas.

These measures are only the mildest beginning toward full-scale compulsory rationing. Oregon led the way in energy crisis measures last fall with mass layoffs, blackouts, and heating cutbacks.

west coast news

Teacher Charged In Nazi Brawl

BY BARRY GREY
SAN FRANCISCO—A high school teacher and leader of the Black Caucus in the teachers union was arrested last Tuesday at her school as a result of her fight to force uniformed Nazis out of a recent board of

peace. She was released on her own recognizance.

Golden held a press conference denying the charges and stating she was only seeking to petition the board of education to dismiss the Nazis from the board of education auditorium.

Ten members of the Workers Action Movement (WAM) who got into a fight with the Nazis at the meeting were savagely beaten and arrested by the



Nazis at board of education meeting last week.

education meeting on school desegregation.

Yvonne Golden was seized at Opportunity II High School and charged with inciting to riot, disturbing a public meeting, and disturbing the

Braceros Killed In Bus Crash

Nineteen farm laborers were killed and 28 were injured when a bus carrying them from Mexicali, Mexico to the George Arakelian farm nearby left the road and plunged over a 20 foot embankment into a drainage ditch filled with water.

The California Highway Patrol spokesman said: "The people were stacked up like dominoes against each other toward the front of the bus."

Three of the dead were women. There was a total of 47 adults squeezed into the school bus.

INJURED

The injured pulled each other through the bus windows to safety.

It is not definitely known yet whether the bus, owned by a Brawley labor contractor, Jesse Ayala, failed to make the turn because the driver was going 40 mph in a 20 mph speed zone or if there was a mechanical failure.

The bus was making the familiar 100 mile trip from the Mexican border to the agriculturally rich Palo Verde Valley.

All those on the bus held "green cards" permitting them to enter the US to work on a daily basis.

Even though years ago the Bracero Program was halted, the immigration department permits the use of the green cards in order to continue the flow of cheap farm labor.



Tuna boats remain tied up in a strike in the Los Angeles and San Diego harbors. The independent boat owners are being forced out of business by the bigger companies and the high cost of fuel.

editorial

Drive Out The Fascists!

In the light of the Nazi provocation at the last board of education meeting, the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party call upon every trade unionist, trade union local, and all official bodies of the labor movement in the Bay Area to mobilize the strength of the working class to smash the fascists.

At the next board of education meeting on February 5, thousands of trade unionists must be present to deal the Nazis a crushing blow.

The fascists come out into the open now with the development of unemployment. Though small in number now, these forces can increase very quickly as they are financed by big business to recruit among the unemployed and split the working class.

The Nazis make their first major appearance in California, where powerful strikes by Teamsters and carpenters have struck blows against Nixon.

The support given to the fascists by the police and Mayor Alioto shows how big business turns to these forces as a weapon against the entire labor movement. They will use the Nazis to carry out their policies of mass unemployment and unparalleled inflation.

The policies of Progressive Labor are a very dangerous diversion from what the working class must do.

PL called a conference of all political tendencies to form an ad hoc committee against Nazism and racism where they proposed a picket line of

PL and other middle class radicals at the next board of education meeting.

This is a middle class adventure which will not stop the Nazis and will only open up more attacks on the left by the police.

The workers are strong and the Nazis are still weak. But rather than mobilize the working class to mop up these rabble, PL by their action, will allow the Nazis to generate an illusion of strength.

Like all middle class tendencies, PL and those joining with them substitute themselves for the independent struggle of the working class for power.

They deliberately blur and confuse the class issues posed by the emergence of the fascists and take the liberal position that Nazism is just an extension of racism and not an attack on the working class as a whole.

In one of their leaflets they say: "Are they merely exercising their rights of free speech or is there some reason larger than themselves for the recent rise of racist theory, of which they are but a small part?"

In a later leaflet, they said: "The ruling class is using the Nazis, as well as Shockley and Jensen as an advance guard to move white workers to a passive acceptance of increased racism towards Black workers and increased oppression of all workers."

The strength of the entire Bay Area labor movement must be mobilized against the fascists and they must be driven out of California.

police. The police stormed into the hall 50 strong to defend 13 members of the National Socialist White People's Party.

Not one Nazi was arrested or even jostled by the police.

DEFENSE

The teachers union must come to the defense of Golden and organize a campaign to have all the charges dropped.

The arrest of Golden comes after a red-scare campaign launched by the capitalist press, the police, and Mayor Alioto since the board of education meeting.

Alioto, a liberal Democrat, praised the police actions in defense of the Nazis. The Nazis have been distributing leaflets in San Francisco, calling for Jews and Blacks to be killed and school buses to be bombed.

RALLY

The San Francisco labor movement must rally thousands of trade unionists to come to the next board of education meeting on school desegregation, scheduled for February 5, to drive the Nazis out and destroy them as a political force.

To date, James Ballard, head of the San Francisco Teachers Federation has not said a word about the Nazi-police attack or the arrest of Yvonne Golden.

Foster Frameup Aimed At Vietnam Vets Group

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND, Calif.—Police are attempting to pin the murder of Marcus Foster, Oakland superintendent of schools on Joseph Remiro and

Russel Little.

Remiro has already been charged with murder.

The alleged evidence linking the men with the "Symbionese Liberation Army" consists of documents and literature police claim they found in their van and a nearby house. Police have refused to show this material to the press.

Sensational headlines are appearing daily in the local press linking Remiro and Little to the Foster killing.

POLICE RAID

Reporters from the Oakland Tribune accompanied police as they raided the former residences of the two, indicating that police and the press are working together. The case has all the earmarks of a coldly calculated frameup.

Remiro, and Little, as well as a third suspect, Nancy Ling, are

continually referred to by the press as former members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldiers Organization, raising the possibility that police will widen the witch-hunt to include left-wing and socialist organizations. VVAW/ WSO denounced the newspaper allegations as a continuation of government attempts to destroy the organization.

The arrests of Remiro and Little, and the subsequent raids have all occurred under the most suspicious circumstances. Police claim the two fired on police when they were stopped for a "routine check."

SET FIRE

Just hours later, a house two blocks away, rented by Nancy Ling, was set on fire.

Police claim the fire was set deliberately to destroy Symbionese literature and equipment. Police have issued a warrant charging Ling with arson.

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

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Desde que la anterior Junta Escolar fue electa el pasado mayo, ellos han trabajado mano a mano con el gobierno rehusando luchar en contra del propuesto corte presupuestal de 1.5 millón y han aceptado el despido de maestros.

Luis Fuentes, el superintendente del distrito, ha utilizado la posición de la anterior junta escolar y el apoyo que está recibiendo de una sección de la unión de maestros, para cubrir el problema central que la comunidad confronta. Conscientemente, él ha utilizado el nacionalismo para dividir más a la comunidad y hacer responsable a la Federación Unida de Maestros (UFT) de las condiciones que existen en las escuelas, como, la carencia de fondos para actividades recreacionales, y el aumento de estudiantes en los salones escolares.

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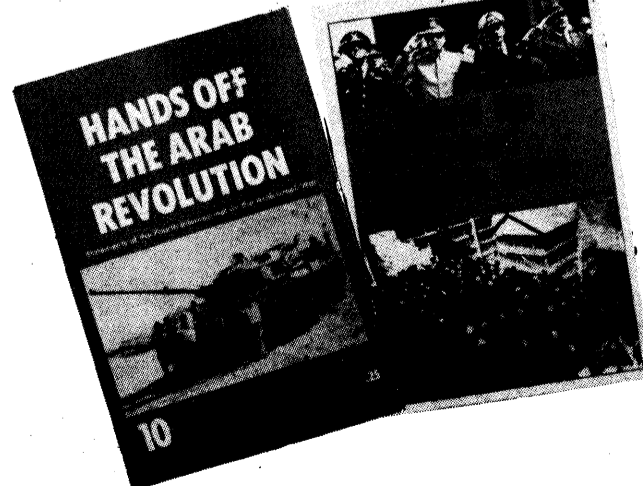
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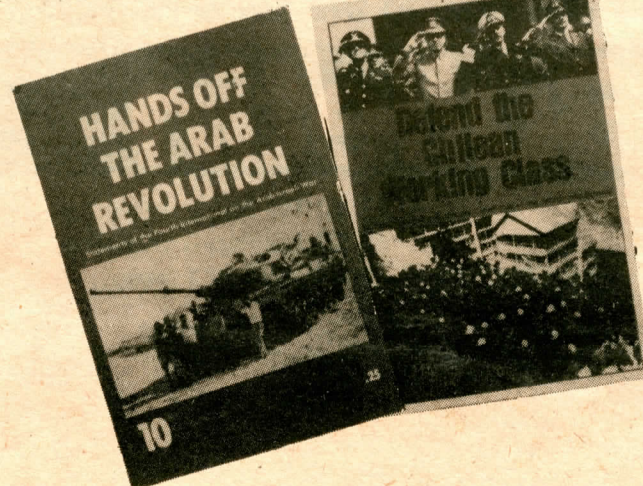
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