UNIONS MUST STRIKE AGAINST WAGE FREEZE

Within one week of the announcement that inflation has climbed at a faster rate during the past year then before the beginning of Phase II, the Nixon Administration has decided to continue and tighten wage controls beyond their April 30 deadline.

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

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

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

This is 2 percent higher than the pre-Pay Board figures. All the basic items purchased by workers are rising faster than their paychecks.

• Food, during just the last three months, has risen at an annual rate of 5.2 percent.
• Services, during the same period since August, has climbed 3.2 percent.
• Clothes, in only the month of October, leaped no less than 7.2 percent.
• For all commodities, during the past three months the increase has been 4.1 percent.

(Continued On Page 8)

GM Locks Norwood Workers In Cage

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

General Motors, encouraged by Nixon's re-election and his calls to end the era of permissiveness, is now employing vicious new methods to force the breakneck speedup in the GMAD plants. This is the meaning of the statement to the Cincinnati Post and Times-Star Company Personnel Director, Gordon Shuler, who complained of "poor quality work" and the necessity of "keeping the lines up to produce their 82 cars per day."

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

On December 4, some of the (Continued On Page 11)
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Meir Arrests 'Trotskyists' To Divert Strike Wave

BY JOSE REYES

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

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

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

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

A strike by technicians prevented flights in and out of Israel for three days and was endorsed only by the government-sponsored trades unions.

**STRIKE**

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

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

In the Israeli parliament, spontaneous from almost every political party called for action against the strikers.

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

He called for military style discipline in government. As Israeli workers begin to break from the Zionist government, Meir regime launch this attack against them and the mass movement toward a united struggle with the Arab working class.

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

Pakistanis Free Jail Labor Heads

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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

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

AWAMI

On December 1, members of the Marri tribe, whose leader is the head of the Awami opposition party for Beluchistan province, staged a protest march over the communities belonging to the Punjabis and have refused to negotiate.

An armed battle between the tribes and the government is shaping up as Bhutto has pledged full military support to the provincial governor in ousting the tribe.

The economic crisis and the increasing pressure on the government by the workers has provoked a full scale political crisis. The Ministry of Public Health has resigned following the resignations in October of the Minister of Justice and the Minister of State. At the same time, Bhutto has appointed a new cabinet of Ministers, one who is head of the People's Party, to attempt to re-

NLF Accuses Nixon Of Preparing More War

BY MELODY FARROW

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

In a previous statement, U.S. Prime Minister, one of the People's Party, is attempting to re-

Nixon Picks Shultz To Lead Trade War Against Europe, Japan

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

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

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

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

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

PAPER

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

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

As Shultz' September 26 speech made clear, refusal of a country to revalue its currency or other-

wise make adjustments required under the plan would become the basis for international economic sanctions being brought against the offending nation or groups of nations by the IMF.

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

DEFICIT

The nature of the inflationary situation in the U.S. was again revealed last week in the Oc-

tober balance of trade figures, which showed a massive deficit of $100 million. This is now ex-
pected to bring the 1972 annual U.S. trade deficit to six billion. Under these conditions, there cannot be any prospect for any halt of the inflationary crisis in Europe.

This is now bringing about huge consequences between the European capitalist class and the European working class. A massive wave of industrial strikes has broken out in France, most recently in the strike of 180,000 bank clerks, in response to the announcement last week of a record in the cost of living of 9 percent.

DESPEERATION

Out of despair, Germany, France and Britain were forced last week to hike domestic bank rates as a gesture against infla-

tion. While this hike of interest must have immediate reperc-


cussions in the form of a col-

lapse of investment and a sharp increase in unemployment, nothing of this kind is any longer sufficient to make even the slightest dent in inflation.

Thus the stage is now set for an escalation of trade war, com-

petitive devaluations, and a new explosion of the monetary crisis. The capitalist class of every country is preparing to hurl the working class into the biggest economic disas-

ter in the history of capitalism. This is the reality of the situ-

ation that poses to the working class the question of power.
Newark Tenant Leader Demands Unions Build Congress Of Labor

BY DAVID NORTH

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

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

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

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

Tenants at the Scudder Homes project, now threatened with eviction for refusing to end their strike, invaded the rent office to take possession of the Housing Authority's records. Officials of the Housing Authority threatened to call in the police against the tenants but decided not to carry out this plan.

The resolution to be presented by Toby Henry reads:

Whereas three leaders of the Stella Wright Tenants Association are now in jail, as are 120 families at the Stella Wright project are threatened with eviction from their homes.

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

Whereas this strike was made (Continued on Page 18)

Big Steel Locals Back Rank & File Candidate

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The nearly one and one-half million members of the nation's second largest union, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), face the most critical election in the union's history. Nominations are now being placed in all locals for the top officers, including President, Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Director and 24 District Directors, for election by referendum vote of the entire membership on February 13.

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

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

The three largest West Coast locals, including Kaiser Steel Local 2869 at Fontana, California, have already nominated Litch. In addition, he has received the nomination from the 12,000 member local in Hamilton Ontario, Local 1376. Home- stead, Pennsylvania and the Bethlehem Lackawanna Local 2604.

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

Wallaceite Joins Cabinet

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

Brinager is a member of the right-wing Lincoln Club, the group of Southern California big businessmen who poured their money into Nixon's secret campaign war chest. He also is the director of the International Speedway Corporation located in Daytona Beach, Fla. The International Speedway Corporation is a member of the Auto Racing Association of Stock Car Drivers, also located in Daytona Beach. The right wing N.A.S.C.A.R. was a staunch supporter of George Wallace during the primaries and financed his campaign plane.

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

Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists

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

To Answer Nixon's Attacks

Sunday February 18
St. Louis Gateway Hotel
622 Washington Ave. (downtown St. Louis)
9:00 AM
Registration & Room $8.00

For reservations and more information write Continuations Committee at 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York 10011. Tel. 212-922-0853
Rockefeller Uses Police Against LIRR Picket Lines

BY DAVID NORTH
NEW YORK, Dec. 12—After spending a full week trying to whip up a public hysteria against the strike, the island road, the state and Metropolitan Transportation Authority have moved to physically smash their unions.

The Bulletin learned that pickets were forced to move in at least one location to escort non-union drivers into station lots behind picket lines.

Although there was no attempt to jam the tracks at St. Morris Park, where the incident occurred, the use of police is probable for the coming back to work injunction, the breaking up of picket lines, and even the use of national guardsmen to run the railroads.

In the past strikes against the 12 non-operating unions on strike is the precedent. Nelson Rockefeller, who has repeatedly denounced the unions' demand for pay raises as "unreasonable and totally unrealistic."

Behind the union-busting campaign is the union-busting of the politicians and the banks that control the MTA that if the ranks win their demand for a 30 percent increase in wages, the Government's controls could be smashed.

It is for this reason that this a year ago. The road and must have the full support of the AFL-CIO.

It must be defended against union-busting, and the AFL-CIO must make it clear that it will not condone any strike action if the Pay Board tries to cut the increase to which the road is demanding.

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

The road’s pressure on the union came up to me and spit in my face.," said a worker who refused to answer questions.

No GAI For Philly Dockers

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

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

Baltimore Shippers To Hire

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
Baltimore, Dec. 3—With the most arrogant disregard for the longshoremen they represent, the International Longshoremen’s Association officials here have allowed the companies of the Steamship Trade Association to reinstitute company hiring.

This means that the old system of hiring companies taking the job has been given an air of legality by the so-called union leaders. This maneuver was justified by the most wanton, open use of racism, pitting the old Jim Crow laws against each other.

SENIORITY
According to the seniority hiring system, set up in the last contract, the Black Local 828, with substantially older members, was getting more jobs than the white Local 829.

The company has taken an open position against jobs for all longshoremen. Under the seniority system, they never once opened their mouths against the open attempts of the companies to drive out men by offering them the most strenuous, dirty jobs first, and debiting every guarantee man in the port if an A man did not take one of these jobs and then tried to get credit on the guarantee.

This poses the most urgent need for the construction of a rank and file committee and new leadership, to be based on uniting Local 828, 829, and 129 in a fight for a full 40 hour week guarantee extended to all union members.

Knickerbocker To Close Despite Emergency Funds

BY AN 119 MEMBER
NEW YORK, December 12—For the second time in less than a year Knickerbocker Hospital is tottering on the brink of financial collapse.

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

For several months, Knickerbocker has managed to meet operating costs only by using tax withholdings from workers’ pay. It now owes $75,000 to the Federal government. The hospital has also used dues money to save the hospital.

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WASHINGTON
The warning of the Bulletin and the Local 119 Rank and File Committee last February is being completely ignored today. At that time, Local 119 President Leon Davis went along with a hospital campaign to pressure workers to "voluntarily" kick back five dollars and more from their weekly pay to the hospital.

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

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

The only answer for the Knickerbocker workers and their 30,000 fellow members in Local 119 is a political fight against the attacks on their jobs and on all essential services, attacks coordinated and inspired by the Nixon administration. The union

The Real Face Of Stalinism Today

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

The YWLL and the Third World Coalition have charged the YSA with being "agents" and "provocateurs." Furthermore, the national leader of the YWLL involved in the beating demanded that the Student Government Association should see as its task the "physical elimination" of the YSA, although "the time is not right." These attacks and slanders are reactions of the Stalinists to the movement of workers and youth towards revolutionary struggles which Stalinism has historically underminded.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bklyn College Youth Call On Unions To Fight Cuts

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

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

The resolution, which was unanimously accepted, demanded more funds for scholarships and that "we must call upon the PSC (University teachers union), the UFT and the PCL to initiate a citywide strike action against the cuts and convince a Congress of Labor to fight for the building of a labor party which will unite trade unions, unemployed and youth against the attacks of the government."

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

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

It was at this point that a member of the Young Socialists spoke condemning any attempts to "smear" the program created by the government upon students to hold a massive demonstration stated that these attacks were aimed at: the very right to an education which the working class had won.

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

The resolution Young Socialist Alliance intervened in order to the more backward conceptions of the youth. They called for a massive conglomeration of stu- dent groups on the most minimal level of agreement. This mean throwing out the political fight for the labor party and concentration on the split created by unprincipled alliances as the anti-war movement.

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

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

Parents, Teachers
End Harlem Boycott

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

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

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

At a press conference on Friday, December 8, the Parents Council addressed over 800 parents and teachers. One leader said: "We, the parents, divided among 30 schools would give each pupil a new little pencil. We're talking about a million dollars." After the meeting, the parents and teachers marched to the Board of Education to pressure Superintendent into raising the $204,000 divided among 30 schools.

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

The parents and teachers reached a limit with reforms and were looking for an alternative. This was expressed when Eliza Jimenez and Mildred Palla, workers at Meat, Poultry Program, made 500 copies of the leaflet issued by the Young Socialists. For this act, they were both fired. Maud used the excuse that Elisa and Mildred were using the equipment of the program, and this would mean that Maud was supporting the boycott.

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

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

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

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

Young Socialists National Conference

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

Saturday and Sunday, May 26-27, 1973
Hunter College Playhouse, 68th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City
$2.50 includes registration and Saturday night dance.

For more information write:
Young Socialists
135 W. 13th Street, 6th Fl.
New York, New York 10011

Children demand "bread, not crumbs" at District 4 (East Harlem) demonstration at Board of Ed against budget cuts.
**Young Socialist Palo Alto YS Rally Against High School Cuts**

**BY A YS REPORTER**

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

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

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

The year old student protest proposal, a section of the auditorium, the J Building, was again put off by the school administration, who claimed that the lack of funds for Ravenswood was the fault of the students themselves because of a high absentee rate and supposed apathy.

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

**COUNTERED**

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

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

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

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

**ILLEGAL**

In open opposition to the students’ demands for a decent education, the administration defied the YS at Ravenswood illegal and cancelled the schedule of fundraising dance for the 8th Annual. But the students have had their way and the YS has determined to establish a YS to fight for their rights, for a decent education, to keep Ravenswood open, to have student lounge, and to have YS meetings at Ravenswood.

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

**Stalinists Attack YSAer**

**BY A YS REPORTER**

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

Newton has refused to face up to the fundamental question before him, that the middle class radicals have towards the working class. Newton has found a comfortable position within capitalism. It is the breakup of the system and the conflict of the working class against the capitalist class which has historically fought all the betrayals of Stalinism.

**Huey Newton Calls Workers ‘Fascist’**

**BY A YS REPORTER**

NEW YORK—On November 29, two Young Socialists Alliance members at the Borough of Manhattan Community College called a meeting at a rally held by a leading member and supporter of the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, youth movement of the Communist Party.

The rally occurred following a meeting of the Student Government Association, at which the YSA had appeared to decline a decision to revoke its charter. The charter had been revoked on the previous meeting as a result of a campaign launched by Richard Heyen, national leader of the YWLL, along with the support of the national Third World Federation.

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

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

**NOMINATING**

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

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

**Deficit Shuts Spectator**

**BY FRED KRUGLOV**

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

The 97 year old student paper of Columbia University has accumulated a $40,000 deficit in the last two years, while the University has been unable to help. Columbia University itself is $70 million in the red even though the tuition has increased. The Spectator has been forced to a staggering $3000 a year for undergraduates and $2100 a year for graduate students, since it is the second largest landowner in New York City and owes $165 dollars worth of real estate taxes. However, declining profits forced it to reduce the amount of tuition for its income. Skyrocketing tuition means that only rich youth can afford to go to college. By not relying on scholarships, loans, and other living expenses, all of these sources are being eliminated because of the crisis.

It didn’t really want them. They were kitchen workers which I don’t really like. The pay is not too good. It’s just $1.90 an hour. But since there is nothing else I just have to take it.”

**Why Midwest Trailblazer Joined The Young Socialists**

**BY NANCY VASQUEZ**

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

Arlene dished her decision to join the YS: ‘Workers and youth really need something to protect them from Nixon’s attacks. Capitalism is relying to destroy working people today. The Young Socialists is the only party really fighting for a labor party. I think that is the only way workers and youth can defend themselves.’

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

**OUTRAGEOUS**

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

“I’ve been looking for a job for the past month or so. I haven’t found anything yet. It is very difficult because of transportation. There is a couple of them but they don’t really want them. They were kitchen workers which I don’t really like. The pay is not too good. It’s just $1.90 an hour. But since there is nothing else I just have to take it.”

**TOUR DESCRIPT**

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

“One guy I met, a steelworker, was telling me when the company started changing shifts. He would have to work for two or three days and then get laid off for the next two or three days and then start again. “The schedule was made on Sunday. He worked overtime and wouldn’t get overtime pay. So it became clear to me the speedup conditions and things like this that workers are facing today. We allow Nixon to bust up the unions there is no hope for the working class at all. I’ll be even more rough on the youth.”

**LABOR PARTY**

“I am going to make sure that I stay with the Young Socialists. I believe in what the YS is doing. I have to have a labor party before these four years are up or the government will destroy us, the working class and youth. I think the labor party is the only way in which to fight the attacks.”
As the revolutionary movement of the working class is increasing at a rapid pace, whole sections of the middle class and students are joining the fight against the Tory government following the lead of the working class. At the National Union of Students conference, held in Margate, the Stalinists moved far to the right by attacking students for demonstrating against their policies. The Stalinists along with the reformists and Liberals condemned the students’ actions and replacing it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies—which was presented by members of the Young Socialist Student Society.

The Young Socialists Student Society is now up against the Stalinists, revisionists and reformists held their first annual conference which presented the following political statement.

THE CRISIS IN THE TORY GOVERNMENT

The Youths Social National conference for students is dis- cussing the crisis in the re- visionary leadership in the universities in a period of serious crisis throughout the capitalist system.

All established relations are being shattered. This is becoming apparent to students and workers in their struggle with the struggling for their standard of living. As capitalism plunges into ever-last- ing slump, it forces the ruling class to terms. The ruling class, the slump, it forces the ruling class, the YS to the special Brand.

A whole battery of propaganda from the Tory government is in the pipeline to project the image of the whole system. To make, therefore, the ar- chitects of the counter-revolutionaries in power, are the only hope to the ruling class in the future.

Inflation is forcing the working class into major battles for wages. Finances are thrown into conflict with the Tory government, it is an impor- tant reformist leadership to take back this fight.

The students have begun to realize that an alter- native revolutionary leader- ship must be built. Immediately this great strength of the working class must be mobilized to make this Tory government resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to fight for socialist policies.

REPRESSION OF STUDENT RIGHTS

In this shake-up of social rela- tions, the real existence of the intelligentsia in the uni- versities is shaken to the core. No longer are students feted by the monopolies in search of talent. Students graduating now do not graduate. Grants are inadequate in this period of rapid inflation causing serious finan- cial problems for students.

The housing situation is near break- down. Attempts by students to organize politically against these conditions are now subjected to reactionary organizations such as the Monday Club as well as the Special Branch. A whole battery of propaganda from the Tory government is in the pipeline to project the image of the whole system.

BORUHESED IDEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITIES

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

The rapid development towards slump, the moves of the ruling class towards dic- tatorship and the strength of the students in the universities have thrown the social sciences into confusion. University air is thick with theories justifying slump and repression.

The increasing number of down in the biological sciences justify slump and even world war—banning 1968—by the mythical over- population problems on “tech- nology.” Their answer—cease technological progress and liquidate the surplus labor pool—is precisely the requirement of monopoly capital as it plunges towards world war.

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

Racist theories of intelligence are rearing their ugly heads. Economists are pondering trying to explain the economic crisis with Keynesian econ- omics which were meant to put an end to such crises.

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

The answer is not to turn away from the frightening complexity of the real world and create a world of fantasy in the mind. But to make a turn to Marxism and begin to grapple with the move- ment of reality.

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

But students must beware of the studies of Marx pursued profes- sionally in the Universities, completely separated from par- ticipation in the struggles of the working class.

These studies are consciously designed to prevent students de- veloping as revolutionaries, while at the same time mas- querading with all manner of left wares.

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

The universities are training grounds for agents of the bour- geoisie. In this present disarray of bourgeois ideology, great op- portunities exist for Marxism.

We can win a new layer of philosophers, historians, econo- mists and others to the revolu- tionary movement.

LEADERSHIP IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Radicalism, left-talking, the separation of theory and prac- tice, reaches its highest level in the social sciences, tries to dis- tinct Marx and is the main brake on the student movement.

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

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

The last president of the Na- tional Union of Students (NUM), Jack Straw, a very radical gen- tleman, is now a Labour coun- cillor voting to implement the Rent Act.

The present leadership of the Students Union, a Communist Party member and fully backed by the Stalinists, continues in this tradi- tion. Protests are all these people can offer. Right wing and Stalinists in the NUM have merged together.

Jack is prepared to talk end- lessly with the Tories, but can only smirk and laugh at the ongoing activities of the ruling class on students.

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

They do by diverting workers away from political struggles and from the revolu- tionary policies of the YS.

In the student movement their aims are all different.

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

They divert workers and students away from political struggle by shooting that mili- tancy and “rank and file” action.

All they can offer is a chance for students to join workers’ rank and file and make nother protests.

The ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS

The YS aim to train a new leadership for the student move- ment which is founded on the bedrock of Marxism and fights tenaciously against all revision of Marxist principles.

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

That is why the YS ushers the warmest greeting to the All Trades Unions Alliance (ATUA) conference which was held on October 22 called to found the revolu- tionary party from the trade union movement.

In this fight against the wor- ship of militancy practiced by the revisionists we follow in the footsteps of Lenin who wrote in 1902 in What Is To Be Done?

“All worship of spontaneity of the working class movement, all besmirching of the ‘conscious ele- ment’ of the role of the revolu- tionary party means a weakening of bourgeois ideology among the workers.”

The YS fights for the policy of bringing down the Tory government and replacing it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. We fight for the participation of student organiza- tions in Councils of Action in order to win the greatest support for this struggle.

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

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

We therefore urge all students to come along and take part, to discuss the points in this resolu- tion and to decide to help us build this revolutionary force through- our colleges and universities.
No Postponement
Of Pay Board Fight

(Continued From Page 1)

Nixon is not only planning to continue wage controls. Shultz made it clear that methods of strengthening the wage freeze are being explored. Already, Nixon has turned to naked force to uphold his union-busting program. Picket lines throughout the country have been attacked by cops as workers strike for a decent wage.

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

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

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

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

Nixon's latest statement completely explodes the contention of the union leadership that the ranks can ignore the Pay Board and get their increases in future negotiations. Already the corporations are crying for the guidelines to be lowered and are getting tongue in preparation for the new negotiations.

The auto companies have already revealed that one of the charges is a 10.7% cost of living clause. There is no way around this fight, the Board must be confronted head on by the full strength of the unions.

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

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

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

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

Sub Drive Nears ¾ Goal

The subscription campaign took a major stride forward this week. The clearing up in St. Paul of the contract at Minneapolis is leading the way with 71, closely followed by Los Angeles with 68. All the Bay Area chapters did well as did the New York City, Chicago, Buffalo, St. Louis, Hartford, and Philadelphia as well.

We need to fill the three-quarters mark by the next week. But the real difficulty lies in the fact that the last two weeks of the drive cover the holiday period and sub work can be difficult. Each branch must therefore work their way over the three-quarters mark by next week. This way we can achieve our goal of 6,500 sub by December 31st bringing our total paid circulation to 30,000.

What we think
Gus Hall and the 'Lesser Evil'

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

Despite the CP's attempts to whip up support for McGovern and keep alive the pretense of the Democratic Party, millions of workers did not vote to re-elect thecaption justices and the former Democratic or the Republican Party. Now the political life of the working people. It was the Communist-led, independent (now the CP) leadership of the trade unions, reflected in the overwhelming participation of a majority of a party of the working class, a labor party.

Now a month after the elections, the CP issues a statement entitled "Communists call for 2-party U.S. elections."

The December 12 issue of the Daily World quotes a report by Gus Hall, the CP's presidential candidate at an "extraordinary meeting" of the CP's central committee: Hall pointed to the "lesser evil" pattern of voting as the main factor imprisoning the working people in the US. Now, however, after the falsity of the CP's support of the Reagan cuts has been revealed, there are many workers ready to make a conscious decision.

"It must be the responsibility of all of us to fight against the lesser evil for such a break," Hall said, including those working inside the Democratic Party. He specified the tendency to believe that the Democratic Party can be taken over by the people's forces, and he said that the Communist Party "does not believe that the illusion fostered by this electoral politics of the US enough formulated."

This is by far one of the clearest pieces of evidence to come out of the mouths of the Stalins. Caught politically with their pants down, the Stalinists are attempting a big cover for their role in the election campaign for new elections to prevent any working class from achieving its political independence and movement against Nixon.

The CP's general policy was formulated by the Stalinist bureaucracy probably as far back as 25 years ago. It was this policy of the Popular Front in which the CP in the 1930s and 1940s persisted with the leadership of the Communistcontrolled CIO from breaking with the IWW and its labor lever of a labor party. Thus in the 1960s the CP and the Stalinists have supported to Roosevelt as the "lesser evil" and now the CP is in an active movement for a labor party into the reformist Democratic Party.

To continue22 incessantly laborious in the Democratic Party was at the heart of the CP election campaign. It was the CP in fact that developed the "lesser evil" pattern in its most sophisticated form to imprison the working class in the "two-party trap."

At the July "Emergency Election Conference" of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, the CP and the trade unionists in the CP described the policies of the CP did everything possible to prevent the labor party from being raised from the floor. When this became evident to the workers of the CP's "official" labor union, the CP attempted to bring into the CP's campaign: "We convinced the Trotskyist leadership in the US and on Nixon. We actually won more votes for McGovern by crashing the CP's campaign." (Daily World, September 24) While the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union did everything possible to assure the election of Nixon, the CP fought the development of an alternative to Nixon—the construction of a labor party. All of this was very well formulated indeed.

But now the CP's "reality" is far away from all of its tremendous movement of the working class. As we said, the decay of "Democracy for Peace" is a result of the strength of the workun class clearly shown in the election and the voting between a section of the capitalist movement and the voting class which was based on reforms. In this period the CP's "reality" is to intrinsically clear that there will be no reforms. The growth of the CP's "reality" is the "splinter stream" in shambles as the working class seeks a new alternative. It is precisely the movement of the working class and the growing support for a labor party that is behind the crisis in the Communist Party.

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

All the conditions are now created for the construction of a new labor party. The CP's "reality" is not a proof of their inability to defeat Nixon and capitalist policies for there will only be constructed through a labor party with its program and action to defeat Nixon and capital policies and not of the CP. As the CP's "reality" in the creation and its Stalinist supporters in the International Conference on the American Labor Party.

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

In October 1970, a general strike of Bolivian workers forced the government to resign in a week. In fact, such a situation immediately opened up the struggle for power, since the bourgeois bloc was completely incapable of securing political power in its hands, because of the great movement forward by the proletariat. Referring to the general strike in October 1970, the opportunist leader of the Bolivian POR, G. Lora states: "If anyone had thought of putting forward the slogan for the taking of power at that moment, he would have seemed like someone mentally sick, it was too much for the spirit dominating the masses, who still did not feel the need to build their own government immediately.

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

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

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

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

Lora capitulated to all the corporatist measures of Torres which he described as "progressive" and "favorable to the working class." When Torres put forward the idea of "workers participation in COMBOL" (the Bolivian Mining Corporation) with the aim of crushing the miners' movement, Lora in turn argued that the manager of COMBOL should be selected by the miners' Federation, reposing thus the same formula as in October 1970 on the question of "workers ministers.

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

After the general strike of October 1970 and having lost half of the ministries to the COB, General Torres was forced to withdraw his proposals by the spontaneous rejection of this policy by the working class. Torres retreated before the power of the working class and withdrew his corporatist measure, in spite of the support which it had got from the opportunism leadership of the workers movement. The working class of Bolivia overcame its own leadership spontaneously and forced Torres to retreat.

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

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

In Russia the Soviets arose sponta¬neously in 1905, however, just their appearance did not make them real instan¬tiation of the struggle for power. Without the leadership of the revolu¬tionary party, the Soviets were necessarily condemned to "willingly hanging over" power to the bourgeoisie. The fact is that the Soviets could play nowhere an autonomous revolutionary role, independent of revolutionary lead¬ership. In July 1917, Lenin undertook a merciless struggle against Soviet fetish¬ism; that is, against the tendency to identify the party to the Soviets. This was at the time when the Soviets were under the control of the Mensheviks, who pursed a counter-revolutionary policy and per¬ceived the Soviets as temporary institutions, "there can be and must be found other paths to the revolutionary move¬ment of the working masses," and, in fact, Lenin pointed to the faulty committees as class centers of power.

Soviet fetishism was at that time but a way of surrendering to the spontaneity of the masses and of subordinating the party to Menshevik and petty bourgeois lead¬ership. Taking the French OCI and the POR of Lora, with the aim of em¬bellishing their opportunism, develop a kind of "Soviet fetishism," which allows them to justify their adaptation to the tradi¬tional leadership of the workers move¬ment, introducing the theory that Soviets appear, develop, and take power spontaneously when "their leaderships corresponding to the natural process," which leads to the Universal Soviet Revolution.

With these arguments, the OCI and the POR are the latest proof of the imperialist crisis, which is no other than the construction of independent revolutionary parties, sections of the FIT in every country. The French OCI and their clones in Latin America tell us that the Popular Assembly was a soviet. It is necessary to point out that these centrist organizations are trying continuously to find evidence to base their thesis of the "imminent revolution" which "proceeds through differ¬ent stages to the Universal Soviet Rev¬olution," which the OCI tells us about the "Soviet in Iran" and the POR about the "soviet traditions" of the Bolivian masses; to the point of maintaining that the peasant unions of the 19th centuries soviets were Soviets. In reality, this supposed dis¬covery of Soviets in the most distant places is no more than one of the illust¬ration of the imperialist method of the petty bourgeoisie. For them, any working-class organization is actually slightly away from ordinary trade union activity and the unorganizable part of the capitalistic society."

On the lips of centrists, such "analyses" only serve to cover up for the permanent failure of the working class and, thus, to avoid con¬sciousness for revolutionary leadership.

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

The Bolivian Popular Assembly was never a soviet. In the first place, it was bureaucratically as the result of an agreement between the "Political Command of the COB" that "the Soviet of the Popular Assembly should change itself into the Popular Assembly. The Soviet of the Popular Assembly was never an organ of the masses, and its delegates were never elected democratically. The only time that it could be considered as such, on November 27, 1917, "it was realized—according to Lora himself—that the Soviet delegates were hardly moving and were extremely indifferent to appointing their delegates." The very fact that the Popular Assembly should agree to meet for "periods of sessions" reflects its bureaucratic nature which contrasts total¬ly with the essence of a soviet and makes it seem like a kind of costrasted Con¬stitution Assembly, it is, without revolu¬tive or legislative power. The Popular Assembly was created as a result of a compromise between the POR, Stalinism, and petty bourgeois nationalist currents. Programatically, the PA was necessary to prepare a defeat for the working class, and its own "con¬stituent bases" prevented in practice the PA (from any circumstance being considered as a soviet. As Lora says, the PA was built around the Politi¬cal Thet of the COB which, as we ana¬lyzed before, it is, in essence, a democracy of the POR since it subordinates the working class to petty bourgeois nationalism. The document calling for the PA headed: "Everyone unite to crush fascist reaction and imperialism" states that those who oppose the COP thesis will be pursued for their ideas. The agreement says literally: "Nobody is persecuted for his opposition, provided that the fractional opposition is developed within the limits of the Political Thet of the COP." Anyone who opposed these theses will be immediately expelled from the Popular Assembly.

To justify its alliances with Stalinism and the petty bourgeois nationalists, Lora has to say that the Stalinist Bolivian CP "never tires of repeating the conclusions of the COP" that "the united parties is the party most influenced by Trotskyism in the world" (G. Lora: From the PA to the Faschist Coop). In the same document, referring to the petty bourgeois party of Lechin, the PHN, Lora declares that "recently it has been radicalized and is closely following the positions of the COP." As for the Christian Democracy, he also declares that "for some time it has been copying its documents and theses." All this is brought in to tell us that Sta¬linists, nationalists and Christian Demo¬crats "accept the positions of Trotsky¬ists".

It is certain that Lora gives us an in¬verted position of his own reality, since he has capitulated to Stalinism and petty bourgeois nationalism and his thesis. This type of opportunistic argument, which leads him to say that the so-called "Revo¬lutionary Anti-imperialist Front" (FRA) expresses the "greatest maturity of the revolutionary process in Bolivia since the left brought together in the FRA has been able to formulate a joint program on the methods to be employed in the revo¬lution." All this was possible, ac¬cording to Lora, because "the Bolivian left under the influence of Trotskyism was successful in drawing the right political conclusions from the disastrous developments of events." All this is the most convenient way of negative, the con¬struction of independent revolutionary parties, sections of the FIT. Now, accor¬ding to Lora, what has to do to "influence the left" (Stalinism included) is to "organize with it and convince it," which is "organizing to take power and build sovietism." Instead of posing the struggle against the Stalinist leadership and the petty bourgeois parties, Lora seeks out an alliance with them and succeeds in this at the expense of adapting his positions completely to theirs. The "theory" of Lora on the question of nothing else but the expression of his un¬limited opportunism.

The PA, as a product of this kind of op¬portunism, never developed any independent perspective for the working class. The very fact that not one of the agreements made by the PA was ever carried out shows how far the cli¬eratic body was divorced from the working class. Contrary to all the ver¬biage of Lora on "the masses producing it from their depths." A revolutionary situation ex¬perienced in Bolivia posed in fact the question of power and the creation of certain organizations as necessities, however, this struggle could in no way be developed spiritually and needed the de¬termined intervention of the Marxist parties struggling against the capitalist tendencies and leaderships in the working class. In Bolivia, as everywhere, the development of revolutionary leadership in¬volves the liquidation of the traditional Bolivian workers and students gather at the Popular Assembly and not an adaptation to this through alliances and fronts.

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

In the final document presented by the OCI to the "Latin American Conference" it is stated that "the worker and peasant Armed Forces headquarter in La Paz Plaza, which the government is a transitional government towards the dictatorship of the pro¬letariat." Such a statement is in fact a complete revision of Marxism. For the Bolshevics, the formula of a worker, pea¬sent government is only a popular name for the dictatorship of the proletariat and between the dictatorship of the bour¬geoisie and the dictatorship of the pro¬letariat there is no transitional stage. In this, the OCI only copies the old Men¬shikov program of the "revolution in two stages" and the formula of "the demo¬cratic dictatorship of workers and pea¬sants." If the PA had been victorious in Bolivia, it would undoubtedly have rapidly unmasked its opportunism leadership and would have been a political advance for the proletariat, which would have created more favorable conditions for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but, in no way, would have meant the setting up of a worker-peasant government, but a petty bourgeois nationalistic government.

BANZER'S COP D'ETAT

In the last issue of Masius prior to the Banana coup, Lora declared that "no danger of a coup existed," that "the Fas¬cists had been defeated" and that "the Popular Assembly would begin its second session without any major problems." A few days later, General Banzer, with the support of the fascists in the Falklands Na¬tional, and the MNR of ex-president Paz Estenssoro, were in power and the workers movement had been defeated, with the consequent persecution and exe-
The OCL has rapidly intensified its opposition and adopted completely revolutionary positions. Thus, for example, in the document "The OCL Against American Revolution" presented to the pseudo-"Trotskyist Latin American Committee," the OCL on April 1st, 1971, its only criticism of the POR was that: "The OCL is divided and is not the POR."

The capitulation of the POR to the OCL is so great that it is only able to ask whether it "understood it rigorously as necessary to abandon the proletarian banner" after a "slogan of the OCL and the POR, the OCL and the POR are not the same party," or whether it was necessary to abandon the "slogan of workers control" and to replace it with "majority working class participation." That is, the OCL is unable to make a single criticism of the POR; it transforms those who it has into ridiculous questions which contain implicitly the heart of the opportunism of the POR and which the OCL consciously continues to remain silent on.

The POR is experiencing a period of formidable leaflet activity, which creates a certain amount of confusion and which is an expression of a certain amount of opportunism.

...
leadership and not an adaptation to this through alliances and fronts.

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

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BANZER'S COUP D'ETAT

In the last issue of Masses prior to the Banzer coup, Lora declared that “no danger of a coup” existed, that “the Fascists had been defeated” and that “the Popular Assembly would begin its second session without any major problems.” A few days later, General Banzer, with the support of the fascists in the Falange Nacional, and the MNR of ex-president Paz Estenssoro, were in power and the workers movement had been defeated, with the consequent persecution and execution of rank and file workers and trade union leaders as well as the legalization of popular working class organizations.

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

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

From every point of view Lora capitulated to Torres, since he not only allowed his “progressive measures” but also presented himself as Torres’ most faithful defender. Lora declared that Torres was a nationalist but an inconsistent one; because one day, he would surrender to imperialism and because, the POR would be consistent, since “it would take the nationalist process to its final conclusion by transforming it into a socialist process.” With this policy Lora formed a front with the Stalinists and all the followers of the theory of the “revolution in stages.” In fact, Lora consumed a political program elaborated by the petty bourgeoisie, and declared that it was necessary to carry it through to the end by transforming it into a socialist program. Thus, for the revisionist Lora, socialism would be no more than consistent nationalism and this is exactly what he stated in the Latin American Conference organized by the OCI last year in Paris, when he maintained that “Stalinism is nothing more than a bridge between petty bourgeois nationalism and Trotskyism.” For the opportunist Lora, everything is a question of degree.

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

Throughout the government of Torres, Lora pursued an opportunist policy, and never posed the independent mobilization of the working class. He even went so far as to argue that the trade unions should give up their economic struggle and, in the
building of revolutionary leadership, that is, a party, a section of the IC of the FI. Such a party can only be built on the basis of the common experience of the defeat, which means necessarily the destruction politically of the political-organizational apparatus of that defeat and especially the POR of Lora. Such leadership has already quite a high degree and must serve to prepare the defeat of the working class and they have a very complex task to accomplish. By its role and, quite the opposite, they have taken refuge in the FRA to promote theParty's activities from understanding the reason for the defeat in 1971 and on this basis to unite the IC.

The Bolshevik proletariat can only defeat the Fascists if it assimilates the causes of its defeat. That is why the state Fascists were victorious because "Torres did not allow the IC."

Gallardo gave "wrong information to the COB," that is the future of the revolution depended. For this, on the "help" that the bourgeoisie or a section of the bourgeoisie could give to the proletariat.

That is, following the arguments of Lora, the party can only be built on the basis that they still maintain. Nothing could be more alien to Marxism, this only helps back up the positions won by the Trotskyist opportunists.

Lora hopes that the working class can defeat Fascism, which they still maintain. Nothing could be more alien to Marxism, this only helps back up the positions won by the Trotskyist opportunists.

Our perspective for the Bolshevik proletariat can exist it can not start from "hope". Winning this battle at the moment, is not the development of the struggle, but the deepening of fascist counter-revolution.

The "optimistic" perspective of Lora and all the centrists in the FRA is only the concrete form of their present capitulation, since that is their justification for their adaptation to the Bamon government. The tremendous difference between the Leninist perspective and the Trotskyist leaders and what is really happening in Bolivia, the only thing that gives rise to confusion and demoralization among workers who see everywhere the development of the struggle, but completely different from their leadership.

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

Unquestionably, the Bolivian working class spontaneously resists the fascists, but it is unable by itself to find a correct perspective to understand only that they have been deceived and betrayed by their "leadership" a year ago was proclaiming the victory of the Bolivian Workers State and only prepared the Bamon government to defend these workers who have understood what must not be done. They were only able to constitute in fact the most advanced section of the working class, and the revolutionary perspective of the proletariat, above all, to them.

The perspective of the revolutionary in Bolivia is today to trace out a correct perspective for the working class, a perspective of the imaginary fantastic of the centrists and bases itself on the ideas and policies of the opposition.

There can be no conception of any future revolutionary development of the proletariat if the lessons of the defeat have not been understood: the resistance of workers to the advance of the fascists can only start from the defense of the gains that they still maintain, in the first place, the trade union organizations. Against the crushing of their democratic rights, by the fascists, the working class must take up a common defense of its rights and democratic freedoms. The Bolshevik working class must struggle for the immediate holding of the national elections and the renewal of the government in all the rights of bourgeois democracy, since only through this gain will the proletariat be able to organize itself freely and prepare the struggle for the conquest and control of power, and only through this will be able to win from the fascists the peasant, the popular poor bourgeois cities.

The advance of the fascists will only be stopped if its social base is cut off, and there are only the fascists that have been thrown into crisis by the crisis of capital imperialism; and it cannot be removed or neutralized through the betrayal of the leadership of the working class. The revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants is only conceivable as the proletariat is based on the consciousness of its task. It is for that reason that the central task is the building of the IC in Bolivia. This task which can be successfully undertaken by the Bolshevik section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

AFTER THE DEFEAT: THE OPPORTUNIST FRONT.

After the defeat of the Bolivian Revolution, the revisionist Lora was unable to draw any lessons from the defeat, ven never, even less able to criticize his own perspective and behavior. On the contrary, Lora reaffirms everything which he has previously done, and on this basis elaborates a new political program which, describing its own words, is but the consistent continuation of his own policy. Lora is undoubtedly correct when he states that his present policy is the same as it has always been, and that it is the "true" Trotskyist perspective. In this perspective, the Bolshevists describes the "deception of the proletariat," the "false" of the class struggle. This is the contribution of Lora to the international "bolshevik" literature of the Fourth International. Lora argues in favor of the Trotskyist perspective that the "true" bolshevik is the one that looks at the social problems in the name of the political struggle, while the Fascists are the ones that have lost the revolutionary perspective.

Consciously, Lora argues in favor of the "false" of the class struggle, the "false" bolsheviks, who are the representatives of the bourgeoisie.

REVISIONISM

The policy of the "anti-imperialist front" is in fact a complete rejection of the ideology and politics of the petty bourgeoisie and consequently of the political-organizational apparatus of that defeat and especially the POR of Lora.

The policy of the "anti-imperialist front" must be unequivocally denounced everywhere. This is the conclusion of the base on which not only the Bolivian working class but the entire American continent, as "Politica Oebera" in Argentina and the POR in Peru. It is true, however, that this policy of the centrists costs the petty bourgeois parties introduce petty bourgeois ideological elements into the proletariat, its distance from the central aim of its struggle, which is none other than the taking of power.

LESSONS

The events in Bolivia, the defeat of the proletariat at the hands of the fascists, is an important lesson for the international proletariat. The imperialism that dominates the world is not only a political force, but also a social force, which can be understood only through the relationship of forces between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The Bolivian case is an example of this. The victory of the Bolivian proletariat was only possible due to the support and participation of the international working class. The Bolivian working class must continue to fight and mobilize the international working class for a new, international struggle against imperialism.
Organizing Basic Steel

met in Pittsburgh on February 3, 1938 to plan unionization of the industry and take on the AA bureaucrats.

Now things really began to get hot as first. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, split the AFL to form the Committee for Industrial Organization and take concrete action to organize basic industries. Then towards the end of the year, a federal court forced Tige to rescind the expulsions of the 32 lodges.

Powders discusses the role played in the formation of these lodges by Golden, Clarence Irwin and John Brophy. Most revealing is how Powders shows that it took intervention of the courts to make sure Lewis was able to start the organizing campaign in steel.

A delegation of Pittsburgh and Youngstown area AA rank and file leaders, including Lewis in Greensburg, PA., on April 1, 1936. Lewis was scheduled to be there to add to a mass meeting of coal miners. At a private meeting with the steel workers, Lewis found out that the heat put on them by the AA in 1936 to form the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of North America (the AA).

Georges Powers tells the bitter price that the steelworkers paid in this struggle to craft unionism in the steel industry. In the defeat in Homestead in 1932 and the Great Steel Strike of 1919. The reader is shown what the steelworkers had to put up with in the mill as well as outside. To keep the corrupt Republican Party marching in the streets, the steel towns placed the Republican campaign ballots in the pay envelopes right before the elections.

What stands out as the most compelling about this book is that this was virtually every occasion the power of the unions was on the defense. And the road forward. For instance, in the 1919 organizing drive, with no state laws providing legal recognition for steel workers, United Mine Worker organizer William Feeney was sent from Columbus to organize in Monessen on April 1st. The Burgess (Mayor) had threatened mass jailings. But..."On the day of the meeting Feeney marched 10,000 coal miners into Monessen and took the town like Grant took Richmond. Thousands of steel workers at all levels signed union cards publicly in the square."

DEPRESSION

The defeat of the 1933 strike, caused espee by the AA's inability to resist. As a consequence of the craft union leadership, prevented virtual industrial organization in the steel towns and districts until the Depression. And with the Depression came massive layoffs in the industry, reaching a high point of 36 percent unemployment among steelworkers in 1933. And for those remaining, came wage cuts after wage out, with 1933 rates for laborers being down to war-time wages in 1918. And to add the final humiliation:..."Mill management such as U.S. Steel saw an opportunity to come forward as benefactors and they announced the distribution of food among the unemployed. They weren't all that beneficent. They meat out the rations to the 'little fellows,' as a most degrading gesture and the steel workers driven to accept the baskets were bitter and angry."

Into this situation in many towns stepped the Unemployment Councils, organized by the Communist Party. Powders describes the organization of the first Unemployment Council in Johnstown in early 1933. It soon spread throughout the valley.

Now in late 1933 through 1934, with a partial economic recovery and large numbers being rehired, the workers began to form local councils. And they began to flood into the unions. These steel workers who began signing up were not the same rank and file belonging to the AA as Powers makes abundantly clear in his account of this period. But it was the rank and file members from this period. For what was Communist Party policy in 1933-34 (and ever since 1920)? It was to characterize the American Federation of Labor affiliates as "social fascists," and pull their own supporters out to form "red union" locals: "Local Ten Mark United Labor Union (TULU). The TULU group in steel was not the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, which had led a number of isolated strikes in the industry in that period, virtually all of which succeeded due to this isolation."

STALINISM

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

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

Today it becomes politically convenient for the Stalinites to try to obscure this betrayal of the working class. Reviewing Powders' book in the November 8 Daily World, Philip Borisovsky comments:..."What's not to the good however—and it's necessary to make this point—is that the role of the Communist Party in building the CIO is totally overlooked. The fact is that most of the rank-and-file against strikes and who did the hard, dirty work of building up the union were Communists. Not only did they do the leg work, they also brought a perspective to the struggle which lifted it above the simple pork chop class, though that was not neglected. So many of them who made the greatest sacrifices remained true to the union leadership, like the unforgettable Tony Salopek of Duquesne. As a steel worker and Communist, he was a model of the kind of man the Communist Party had every reason to be proud of, and whose example is a model for all of us in the working class. (Salopek died last year).

"Powders gives Salopek full credit, but none to his Party and its guidance." But Powders reveals a rather different picture. His own experience with Tony Salopek shows a man whose very activity in 1934-35 was in a sharp clash with Communist Party policy. In that period he was one of the founders of the Federation's lodge of the AA. Activity in "reactionary" union like the AA was the last thing on earth that the Communists wanted their members involved in.

ABSTAINED

Powders extensively names many of the rank and file steelworkers who took part in these organizing drives. If he didn't label most of them who were Communist Party militants, it seems likely for several reasons. To begin with, most CP members abstained from the struggles within the AFL until 1936, when Stalin gave his signal for a turn toward the policies of the Popular Front (alliance of the working class with the liberal section of the employers).

When the CP did get in, putting on the ground floor of many union campaigns. In striking the steelworkers, it was often on the basis of hiding their politics, or subordinating their policies to the dictates of the top leadership of the CIO and the SWOC.

What Borisovsky refuses to discuss especially in the sections of this book dealing with the struggle within the AA from 1933-35. The ranks of the AA, rapidly growing, put up a terrific battle to force their leaders such as president Mike "Grandmother" Tigue and Secretary Louis "Shorty" Leonard to organize the industry. To a large extent the Stalinites were abstainers from this struggle, only dissolving their own TULU union in the industry late in 1944 and going into the AA.

The signals had already begun to be given by Stalin about the new turn. But the CP did not send its supporters into the AA until after the ranks of that union had carried the day at the AA's convention around a program of what Powders calls "concerted action."

The 1935 strike was sold out by the Tige bureaucracy, with the collaboration of the Roosevelt administration and AFL president William Green.

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

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


First Contract

Finally, on March 2, 1937, U.S. Steel signed its first contract with the SWOC. Powers takes a close look at the Memorial Day massacare on Memorial Day of the same year, focusing on the first national contract signing in the organization in the industry until 1942.

Today the Stalinites prefer to lie about their role in this contract and related events. They claim there were no conferences or arrangements for transportation for the contract." The decisive steps towards breaking the AA from the AFL craft union perspective were taken at the AA's 6th Industrial Union Convention, meeting in Connabog, PA. beginning April 28, 1936, and at the State Federation of Labor-Labor Holiday in Pittsburgh in Unison on April 29, only a few miles from each other..."
George Novack's Crusade for Philosophical Tolerance

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

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

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

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

Politics, the practical affairs of running a city state, was viewed in terms of an art rather than a science. The limited developments made in genuine science, in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, could not immediately influence the practical affairs of men. The philosophical activity, which was concerned with searching for truth beyond the common opinions of the day, was regarded as an eccentric if not subversive activity, undermining traditional beliefs which cemented the life of the "polis.

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

DENIAL

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

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

REVIVE

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

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

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

Novack is well acquainted with the assessment of American "philosophy" made by every Marxist from Engels to Trotsky. He knows that Engels had written to the early American Marxists: "For good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all practical, ethical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions they did bring over classes of medieval tradition—the Puritan religion, English common (feudal law), superstition, spirituality, in short, every kind of immobility that was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the working classes stupid."

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

"HAPPY MARRIAGE"

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

What Novack says then is that the ruling classes do not have a philosophy; that its present refusal to ignore philosophy, as it does, for instance, the pretensions of the petty bourgeois academicians to present a "value free," unbiased system of thought, does not itself presuppose the pragmatic philosophy and all the reactionary hostility to theory behind it.

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

At that point, Novack tells us that what is wrong with the so-called "Stalinist" and "fascist" variety, is that it tries to popularize and thus neutralize the masses. Precisely what philosophy totalitarians tried to impose was never considered by Novack. In fact, he continually referred to Stalinists as philosophers as forming a "branch of both revolutionary politics and revolutionary theory."

According to Novack then, the trouble with Stalinism is that it is "illogical" or "other ideas" and philosophy.

"FREEDOM OF CRITICISM"

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

"He who does not deliberate with his eyes cannot fail to see that the new 'critical' trend in socialism is nothing more than a good variety of opportunism. And if we judge people, not by their real historical role, but by their high-sounding appellations they give themselves but by the opinions and principles they actually advocate, it will be clear that 'freedom of criticism' means freedom for an opportunist trend in Social-Democracy, freedom to convert Social Democracy into a democratic party of reform, freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism."

"'Freedom' is a grand word, but under the banner of freedom for industry the most reactionary aims are carried under the banner of freedom of labor, the workers' movement. The use of the term 'freedom of criticism' contains the same inherent falsehood. Those who really wish to promote industry's made progress in science would not demand freedom for a time side by side with the old, but the substitution of the new views for the old."

DEFEND

Thus, when Novack today revises this hoary old slogan, he means to defend a "safe" philosophy and a "bad class" against the "hard" philosophy and party of Lenin which it calls revolutionaries of the Workers League. That is why Novack's whole presentation was actually a defense of the position that we cannot develop a struggle against its opposite, that Marxism can and must be tolerated, i.e., must compromise with bourgeois philosophy and therefore with the bourgeoisie.

It is precisely this "intellectual," the introduction of genuine theoretical strength against Pahlavi liquidationism taken up by the International Committee that Novack calls a case of "sectarianism in Philosophy."

A speaker from Chicago asked Novack a question at the end of the lecture: What do you mean by 'sectarianism' how do you measure concessional in the field of philosophy, like you make tactical concessions in the field of politics. The question still caught up in his up of criticism rhetoric, could only reply, 'Well, you've all just witnessed a case of sectarianism in philosophy.'
Argentina: Moreno Once Again Embraces Peron

BY LUCIA RIVERA

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

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

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

ATTACKS

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

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

For 1967 to 1969, Moreno's supporters entered the Peronista movement and covered this treachery with the excuse of utilizing the unions to break them from this bourgeois tendency. However, they completely capitulated to the Peronistas and in their paper, La Verdad, they declared themselves to be under the discipline of General Peron.

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

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

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

CAPITULATION

The fact that the Justicialist Party has invited the PSA for this discussion reveals the depth of Moreno's capitulation to the Peronist and trade union bureaucracy. Their refusal to be invited reflects the degree to which Peron, Moreno's party, is to be blamed for them because they have avoided the struggle to break this powerful working class from Peronism.

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

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Miners Speak Out On Boyle Regime

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

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

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

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

First Officer: There is just no democracy in this union. We imagine the international officers, who are getting the money, are not very interested in the conditions of the men. They simply don’t have the time to take care of the conditions of the men.

Second Officer: We have no local union in this area. Boyle has been at the Helm for more than 20 years. He is now 75 years old. He is not interested in the conditions of the men. He is interested in his own power and his own control of the union.

Bulletin: How do you think the unions should fight Boyle?

First Officer: We have to be united. We have to have a strong, united front. We have to fight Boyle at every opportunity. We have to fight his policies and his practices. We have to fight his corrupt leadership.

Second Officer: We have to be united. We have to fight Boyle at every opportunity. We have to fight his policies and his practices. We have to fight his corrupt leadership.

Mineworker from Marianna, Pa. in this major mining area, the struggle of the Miners For Democracy is not just a struggle for power. It is a struggle for justice. It is a struggle for democracy. It is a struggle for the future of our country.

Meskill’s War Against Connecticut Workers

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

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

*Unemployment: Every major city in Connecticut now has a developing unemployment rate. The admitted figures given out by the Department of Labor are such as to quote rates of over five percent in dozens of areas. In Hartford, for example, the admitted figure is 8.3 percent.

*Strikeouts: The major source of this unemployment have been the strikeouts and massive layoffs. In Hartford, where unemployment is at its peak, 2,500 workers have lost their jobs.

*Speedups: Along with the conditions of unemployment and shutdowns, the conditions in the plants are now under rapid productivity drives which consist of the use of new machinery. In Hartford, where gun presses are produced, the workers are now being forced to work a 12 hour, seven day a week. This is to continue until Christmas. In New London, the employers have decided to increase the speed of production so that, in their own words, they will be able to “compete successfully on the international market.”

*Conditions: These have been the conditions in Connecticut for the last two years. The quality of life for workers and their families has deteriorated. The unemployment rate is at its peak. The cost of living is out of control. The work force is being decimated. The demands of the workers are being ignored.

*Attack on unions: All this has been accompanied by developing attacks against the unions in Connecticut. At Niagara Falls, Meskill’s favorite Governor, Meskill was quick in 1971 to implement every single aspect of the wage freeze. It was in Connecticut that the Pay Board established its precedent in demanding that members of the Printing Union Local 47 give back money which they received in a strike settlement because the money exceeded Pay Board guidelines. The latest example of the fine track record of Connecticut workers against the boss, is the head of the Connecticut Bus Company, Meskill has been plotting all along with against Geras for this union and all the others in Connecticut.

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

*Conclusions: These have been the conditions in Connecticut for the last two years. The quality of life for workers and their families has deteriorated. The unemployment rate is at its peak. The cost of living is out of control. The work force is being decimated. The demands of the workers are being ignored. The attacks on unions are ongoing. The standard of living is worsening. The condition of the workers is unacceptable. The demands of the workers are being ignored.

*Conclusion: The demand is the only way to defeat Meskill today.
**Midwest News**

**IUE Leaders Shut Local Out Of Koering Negotiations**

**BY JOHN WERNER**

DAYTON—In an exclusive interview with Leonard Lambert, a suspended committeeman and steward of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 691, the Bulletin learned of the new depths to which the IUE has sunk in its sellout of workers.

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

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

Obviously, the IUE does not want the local leaders in on the negotiations.

Lambert pointed out that Local 691 had a one day strike earlier over health and safety violations which are still unresolved. Simple shifts of air, water, and waste water where 220 volts are run to steam welder machines and other work were subjected to carbon monoxide fumes in a testing plant.

The International gave the company extensions through its Health and Safety Board.

Lambert said: “We expect they would go to the IUE and say they want more money, and 691 would respond, ‘We won’t let them stand that way,’ and 691 would help them win the strike.”

**GM Hints Transfer To ‘Flexible’ Quebec Plant**

**SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN**

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

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

Two years ago, when the plant was producing Pontiacs, the labor force at the St. Therese plant totaled 1,600. This number of workers has been cut to 1,100 over the past year in the switch-over to the production of Vegas.

The output of Vegas was originally set at 50 cars per hour for the first 900 per day on a two shift basis. Actual production is operating at less than one third capacity, 20 cars per hour, or 240 per day on a one shift basis.

The 1600 auto workers who were “temporarily” laid off in the July plant closing, which cost the company $17 million in profits, were permanently unemployed. These conditions were instituted against the UAW members here without even a whisper of advice from the joint U.S.-Canadian leadership of Woodcock-Dermert. These leaders have continually allowed Canadian workers to be paid less wages in opposition to the policies of the UAW.

**STRUGGLE**

Now the struggle against the tremendous speed-up in Lordstown town must turn into a struggle against the bosses. The GM bosses have reacted to Woodcock’s minimal “Apaches” strategy of one day strikes in one plant at a time, by threatening to eliminate the wildcat, lay off hundreds of workers and slash pay, and any increases in wages and working conditions are worse.

With liaison bargaining in the auto ranks for a nationwide strike against the UAW and Woodcock wanted to abandon even the minimal action he had taken up to-date. GM could not have put forward these new programs without the support of the IUE bureaucrats, both in Canada and the United States.

The joint IUE-UAW apparatus, which is supposed to reach to every auto worker is the building of a new leadership opposed to the policies of the UAW bureaucracy.
VIETNAM

(Continued From Page 3)

The hostility of the revolutionary masses to the betrayals of Stalinitism must take ex-
pression in the resistance of North Vietnam, as the Kremlin’s charge problems,” indicates the kind of preparations the cor-
porations are making. An old as-
sociate of Speer’s said that he had never known so many British and American offi-
cial and businessmen not to talk to the men.

RETREAT

While management and the government prepare, Abel con-
tinues his retreat hoping to avert a struggle over the 1974 contract. This is the meaning of the en-
trance into a conference next month of top industry repre-
sentative R. Heath Larry. Ex-
tending the idea of the pro-
ductivity committees now from a local to a national level, this con-
fERENCE IS FOR THE PURPOSE OF “JOINTLY SEEKING METHODS TO IMPROVE THE OUTPUT IN THE INDUSTRY.”

PRODUCTIVITY

The drive for productivity through the steel plant layoffs has already paid off in record third quarter profits for the major U.S. corporations. Based on the highest rate in productivity, 6.2 percent in 25 years, profits of $70 billion rose on average 15.9 percent. The steel corporations are a part of the rise, with nine of the largest ten producers showing major earning gains over a year ago.

The attack on the union and on

all basic conditions is becoming a major issue in more and more localities. This was reflected at the Las Vegas Convention in the reports of many delegates that they were being bled dry by the company. A letter, a letter, a letter, which is the present successor of the Dues Protest Committee. The DPC, which was formed in western Pennsylvania in the late 1970s, ran the letter against Richard B. Schmidt and on the basis of a re-

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Just Out!

Bill Litch

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Assembly To Vote On Arming All Officials

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

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

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

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

This bill represents the confluence of pressures from the government to meet the mass struggles of the working class that will follow Nixon's inauguration in January. The capitalist state is looking to the police to do the dirty work, to keep the workers in their place and to control the vanguard of the unemployed.

This bill is aimed directly at the labor movement and the labor movement. The recent murder of a sewer worker by police in New York City is the result of police repression against the sanitation workers who pulled out of the strike. There are 5,000 armed labor-farmers in Poplar were all carried out with state support.

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

Berkeley Coalition Breaks Ups

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

The real face of the entire coalition was brought to the surface in last summer's strike of Berkeley city workers. Bailey and Simmons made a crude attempt to use racism to split Black and white workers. In a desperate attempt to dissociate himself from this fiasco, Hancock demagogically announced his support for the "right of city workers to strike," while opposing all their demands.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The split in the Coalition has thrown the Stalinists into absolute crisis and demoralization. While the Communist Party's newspaper, the People's World, has so far refused to comment on the split, councilwoman Hancock reflects their crisis when she says, "It has become depressingly clear that Bailey and Simmons have no concern for progressive coalition politics in Berkeley."

BART Ignores Dangers in Computerized Trains

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

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

The investigation was launched after an October 2 accident in which a BART train accelerated through the end-of-line Fremont station instead of stopping, crashed into a sandpile barrier, and ended up in the station parking lot. Five were injured in the accident.

The crash, called "one in a million" by BART officials, occurred less than a month after the trouble-plagued BART opened the Oakland to Fremont line, the first of four in the $1.2 billion urban mass transit system.

The trouble was diagnosed as a faulty crystal oscillator which interrupted a slow down signal to a speed control, causing the train to continue its run. The oscillator before the operator could override the computer command.

PANDORA'S BOX

BART officials gave public assurances that the trouble had been located and corrected, but a report by legislative analysts showed that the BART system, with no independent control of safety equipment, is more dangerous.

PUC inspectors checked out the field operation of the trains for two days. Many times the drivers, unsure of the automatic controls, intervened manually before any malfunction actually occurred. Now the main concern is that the safety of these workers who were hired as "attendants" at lower wages and forced to make up for bad design by acting as drivers as well.

ENGINEERING

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

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

On the Eve of Big Class Battles

While Nixon prepares to end "permissiveness" with an all-out war on the labor movement, the working class is making some preparations of its own. The labor bureaucracy has caved in down the line to Nixon's attacks refusing to mobilize a fight back. In California, there are already signs that the rank and file is looking for new leadership even before the coming inauguration.

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

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

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

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

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

Knowing full well the strength he must confront, Governor Reagan recently announced to a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation that he is determined to see legislation along the lines of the notorious Proposition 22. Big class battles about to break out. The building of a revolutionary leadership in the unions is the decisive question.

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

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

Union Organizers Shot By Casino Gangsters

BY MIKE THOMPSON

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

Ralph Lins, a national representative for the Stationary Engineers Union and John C. Dunne, a business representative of Local 39, were found dead following a phony meeting that was set up to discuss plans to organize hospital workers into the Stationary Engineers Union.

The killings follow an attempt at organizing Nevada's gambling casinos, made by Elkay and Dunne.

The casinos have violently resisted any attempts on the part of unions to organize their employees and Nevada businessmen have long opposed organization, using harassment and threats against union organizers. Nevada has one of the most vicious right to work laws of any state.

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

The murderer was well versed in the facts concerning a split between two hospital unions two years ago. The murderer had stated that he worked in a local hospital, but police said that no one by the name given was employed at any hospital in the Sacramento area.

When the union officials went to their office to meet the man who had called, they were shot.

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

The answer to the murder of Elkay and Dunne must be a drive by the entire union movement to organize Nevada workers into unions and break the stranglehold already on the law books in Nevada.

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

Jury Dismissed in Ellisberg Trial

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES, December 12—Federal District Court Judge Byrne, Jr. today declared a mistrial in the Pentagon Papers case of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo, Jr.

The jury, which was selected over four months ago, never heard a word of testimony and because of a delay a mistrial was declared. Byrne dismissed the old jury and the process of selecting a new jury is beginning this week.

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

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COURTS

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

The surveillance log was obtained through an illegal phone tap authorized by the Attorney General without the supervision of a judge, for purposes of "foreign intelligence." U.S. District Judge Matt Byrne, who examined the log, ruled that the log was irrelevant to the case, and decided that the defense lawyers have no right to see it. The government will not even disclose which lawyer is involved in the phone tap.

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

CONSPIRATORS

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

The charging of Ellsberg and Russo with conspiracy relieves the government of the necessity of proving any wrongdoing by the defendants. All they must prove is that they agreed to plan it. For the "crime" of revealing the real history of the Vietnam War, Ellsberg and Russo face enormous sentences if convicted.

Ellsberg faces a maximum sentence of 13 years in prison, plus a $120,000 fine. For Russo, conviction could carry a jail sentence of 35 years, plus a fine of $40,000.

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EDITORIAL

On The Eve Of Big Class Battles

While Nixon prepares to end “permissiveness” with an all-out war on the labor movement, the working class is making some preparations of its own. The labor bureaucracy has caved in down the line to Nixon’s attacks refusing to mobilize a fight back. In California, there are already signs that the rank and file is looking for new leadership even before the coming inauguration.

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

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

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

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

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

Knowing full well the strength he must confront, Governor Reagan recently announced to a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation that he is determined to seek legislation along the lines of the notorious Proposition 22. Big class battles are about to break out. The building of a revolutionary leadership in the unions is the decisive question.

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

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

Union Organizers Shot By Casino Gangsters

BY MIKE THOMPSON

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

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

The pair followed the practice at organizing Nevada’s gambling casinos, made by Eckar and Duncan.

The casinos have violently resisted any attempts on the part of unions to organize their employees and Nevada busi- nessmen have long opposed organization, using harassment and threats against union organizers. Nevada has one of the most vicious right to work laws of any state.

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

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

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

The man who ordered the murder of Eckar and Duncan must be a drive by the entire union move- ment to organize Nevada workers into unions and break the casinos’ power. There are already on the law books in Nevada.

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

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

Jury Dismissed In Ellsberg Trial

BY SHEILA BREHIM

LOS ANGELES, December 12—Federal District Court Judge Byrne, Jr. today declared a mistrial in the Pentagon Papers case of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo, Jr.

The jury, which was selected over four months ago, never heard a word of testimony and because of this delay a mistrial was de- clared. Byrne dismissed the old jury and the process of selecting a new jury is be- ginning this week.

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

Over a year ago, the govern- ment attempted to prevent the press from publishing the Pen- tagon Papers which reveal the class nature of the Vietnam War and the long complicity of both Democratic and Republican ad- ministrations. The papers are a measure of the government's attempts to keep the truth about the war from the public.

The jury deliberated for two months and failed to reach a verdict. The judge then dismissed the jury for various reasons, including incompetence and lack of cooperation.

The judge ruled that the trial was not fair and that the jury was not able to properly deliberate.

The government has said that if a new trial is held, it will continue to seek the suppression of the papers. The judge has ordered that the papers be returned to the government.

If a new trial is held, it will likely be the same judge, Judge Byrne. The judge has been criticized for his handling of the case and for his rulings in favor of the government.

The case has been a point of contention between the government and the media, with the government seeking to suppress the papers and the media seeking to publish them. The case has also been a point of contention between the government and the public, with the public seeking to learn the truth about the Vietnam War.

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