

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 22-136

MARCH 9, 1970

TEN CENTS



STARTING THIS ISSUE

LESSONS OF THE
SPANISH CIVIL WAR

first step to slave labor law

NIXON, CONGRESS ACT TO BREAK RAIL STRIKE

BY DAN FRIED

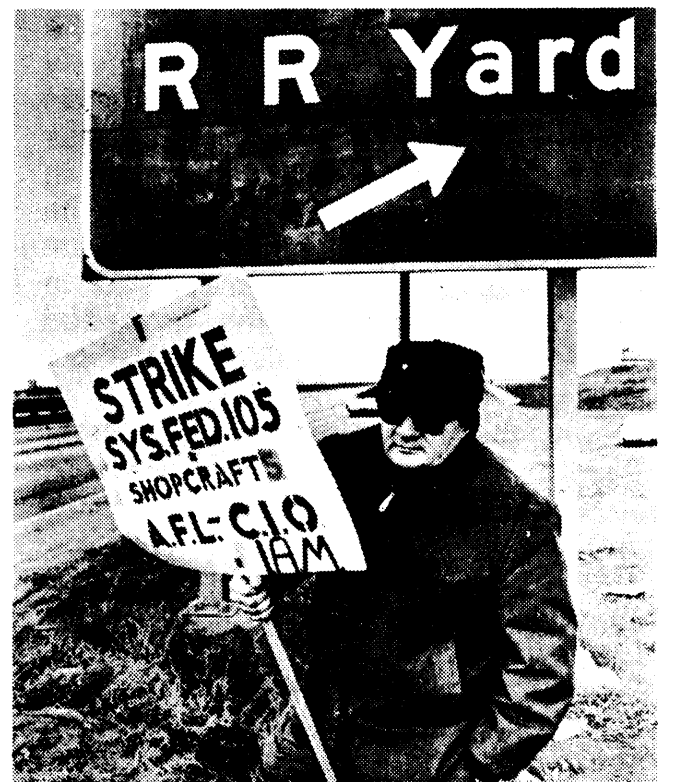
The proposed changes by the Nixon Administration in the Taft-Hartley and Railway Labor acts which have now been sent to Congress are the spearhead of a new attack by the employers aimed at destroying the ability of the American trade unions to defend their members. Underneath the complex network of provisions of the new legislation designed to "deal with national emergency strikes" is the big gun in the arsenal of weapons which this legislation gives to the President--compulsory arbitration. All the talk by Nixon and Shultz that the new laws will facilitate collective bargaining do not disguise the fact that the opposite is

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

STOP PRESS

March 4--Determined to destroy the unity of the railroad shop craft unions and smash the nationwide rail strike set for tomorrow, Nixon has demanded that Congress pass emergency legislation imposing a binding settlement. The terms of the settlement are the same as those rejected last December by the sheet metal workers because those terms are a threat to thousands of jobs.

Penn Central workers at the Cleveland yards showed that they want a real fight against the companies, the courts, Nixon and Congress when they shut down the Cleveland yards yesterday in defiance of a Federal Court order.



He was soon off the picket line

imperialist forces routed in laos



PATHET LAO, LIBERATION FORCES WHICH DROVE IMPERIALISTS FROM PLAIN OF JARS

YSA GIVES IN TO STALINISM AT BOSTON

●
YSA BLOCS
WITH
STALINISTS
AT BAY AREA
CONFERENCE

EDITORIAL

C.P., Democrats, Panthers Promote Popular Front

Under the guise of unity against repression a meeting was held in Brooklyn to hear Shirley Chisholm, Democratic Party Congresswoman, Robert Webb, representing the Black Panther Party, and Herbert Aptheker, well known leader of the Communist Party, were participants. The meeting was sponsored by the Brooklyn Committee in Defense of the Panthers.

Representative Chisholm, according to the Feb. 24th Daily World, "called for the greatest possible unity regardless of 'dress... hair style...or ideology.'" "The fate of the German nation and the Jews there is not so remote," she said. "You say it can't happen here--well, it can happen here, and it is happening here!"

It was precisely the conception of unity against repression and fascism "regardless of ideology" that lay at the basis of the Popular Front policies of the Communist Party in the 1930s. The end result of these policies was the triumph of fascism

in Spain, shortly followed by the sweep of Europe by the Nazi armies.

Repression and fascism have class roots in capitalism. They are part of a CLASS attack by one class against another class, by the capitalist class against the working class. This is why to unite with a section of the capitalist class, purportedly against another, more repressive section of the capitalist class is completely self-destructive. Rather than uniting the working class in a common struggle through which it learns the class nature of the repression it faces, the working class is united with a section of the capitalist class in a liberal protest which covers and obscures the class basis of the repression.

In Spain this meant that the Communist Party held back the workers and peasants from their struggle to establish a socialist society in order to maintain a common bloc with the weak liberal capitalists in the Republic. This in turn demoralized the workers and peasants and facilitated the Fascist offensive led by Franco. At the same time, in France, the Communist Party remained in a Popular Front government which refused even to send aid to its sister Popular Front government in Spain out of consideration for the capitalist allies of France--England and the United States.

Now the Black Panthers and the Communist Party seek to build this Popular Front anew by allying the

struggle against the repression of the Panthers with leading spokesmen of the Democratic Party like Shirley Chisholm. We say that such policies will mean precisely that the blacks in America will face the same treatment the Jews faced in Nazi Germany as racism is used to split the working class and all workers find their class organizations destroyed.

CLASS

The widest possible united action is needed in defense of the Panthers. But this repression must be seen as class repression. First the Panthers and then the trade union movement as a whole. Now we see the real danger of this in Nixon's proposal for compulsory arbitration in the transportation industry.

Class repression must be fought in a class way by the working class. The Bulletin feels the Rank and File Committee in Local 1199 has shown the way, fighting for mass labor action on the Panther trials.

nixon and congress prepare slave labor arbitration law

(CONTINUED FROM COVER)

true. In effect the legislation empowers the President to kill the right to strike of the trade union movement, posing the danger of the complete domination of the unions by the government in the interests of the employers.

The immediate target of the legislation are all the unions in the transportation industry--railroads, airlines, trucking, maritime and long-shore. The legislation empowers the President to appoint a "neutral" three man panel that would choose between "the last best union offer" and the last best management offer"--and make that choice a legally binding settlement. Because the arbitration panel must choose between two existing offers, Nixon and Shultz try to make believe that this is not real compulsory arbitration. But no matter what they say, if the law passes the workers are going to have to accept the terms of a contract dictated by a third party, appointed by a government which is owned lock stock and barrel by the corporations. Make no mistake about it--the "new"

seem to demand further reform--and if our experiences with the new transportation procedures has been encouraging--we may then wish to extend the application of these procedures." Beyond the immediate threat of a nationwide rail strike and the probability of a national Teamsters strike against the trucking bosses next month lies the showdown in the auto industry next fall. Nixon is setting his sights right now on the nearly one million members of the UAW who want a real fight to make up for everything they have lost, including a fight for the escalator clause with no lid.

EMERGENCY

As we go to press it appears that the Administration is preparing to use the possibility of a nationwide strike of railroad shopcraft unions to demand that Congress enact a special "emergency" law imposing a settlement on the railroad unions. Nixon aims to use the rail "emergency" or a trucking "emergency" next month to build support in Congress for the Taft-Hartley revisions establishing compulsory arbitration. The Administration has in fact encouraged the decision of the U.S. District Courts which forbids the unions to strike a single railroad company unless they strike against ALL the railroads at the same time. The unions are left with no alternative but to return to the negotiations, which have been stalemated for over a year because of the railroads' attempts to break down job classifications among the sheet metal workers, or strike the entire industry.

Reacting to the decision of the District Court, the chief negotiator for the unions, Mr. William W. Winpisinger said, "the potential for a nationwide rail shutdown has certainly gone up" and indicated he would recommend a national strike. The railroad companies in turn have welcomed the court decision and appear to be eager to have a decision imposed by Congress, as a first step toward establishing a national compulsory arbitration law. Nixon's proposed changes in the Taft-Hartley and Railway Labor Act do not even go far enough for them.

While Nixon, the courts, the Department of Labor and the railroad

SEC. OF LABOR SHULTZ (RIGHT), AND GEORGE MEANY OF AFL-CIO

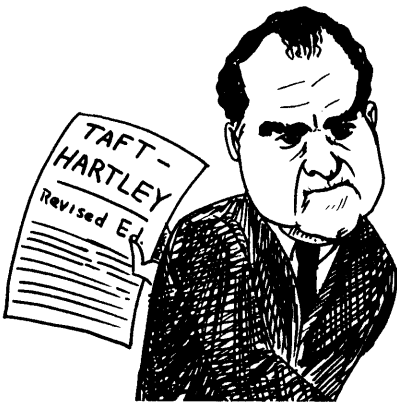


bosses are attacking ferociously, Winpisinger and the other union leaders are preparing to retreat before Congress. They refuse to mobilize the ranks of the union and to call on the rest of labor to defy any Congressional strikebreaking. Meanwhile George Meany has done his best to get the sheet metal union to compromise with the railroads on the disputed question of job security. If the unions yield to Congressional blackmail or refuse to stand up and fight a Congressional settlement, they are simply standing aside as the railroads prepare the elimination of thousands of jobs and the entire union movement is brought further toward the point of complete subordination to the state.

ACTION

The response of George Meany and the rest of labor's top brass is similar. They complain about Nixon's appointment of Carswell to the Supreme Court, and of a longtime attorney for management, Edward B. Miller as head of the NLRB as not being "neutral." They fume about the proposed changes in Taft-Hartley that Nixon has sent to Congress. But their only counter-attack is to appropriate \$850,000 from the AFL-CIO for "an all-out voter registration drive among union members for the November elections." Meany's policy is to spend this mon-

ey on the election of those very Democratic and Republican friends of labor in Congress like Javits and Morse who have led the attack on labor. Meany complains that "we have a recession and rising prices at the same time" and then pours money into the support of the Democratic and Republican parties who protect the capitalists while the workers are hit by this unemployment and inflation. We say, by all means spend the \$850,000--and more--on political action, but spend it as part of an all out campaign to organize a labor party based on the power of the 18 million strong union movement that can stop Nixon, Agnew, Shultz and the strikebreaking Congress.



Taft-Hartley Act will deserve the title, even more than when the original law was passed, "Slave Labor Law."

EXTEND

It is clear that the Administration intends to use this legislation against strikes in the transportation industry only as a prelude to the extension of the compulsory arbitration provisions--which can be invoked any time after the eighty day cooling off period--against strikes in ALL industries. This is what Nixon meant when he said: "If at some later date conditions in other industries

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League is published by Bulletin of International Socialism, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10th St. New York, N.Y. 10003. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and business office: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 754-7120. Subscription rates: U.S.A.-1 year: \$3.00; Foreign-1 year: \$4.00. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND CLASS POSTAGE RATES IS PENDING AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

printed in the U.S.A.

Workers Fight Job Cuts At City Welfare Centers



WELFARE WORKERS IN REORGANIZATION TRAINING SESSION

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NEW YORK--Workers at the Department of Social Services' three experimental centers, East End, Franklin, and Clinton are completely up in arms against the plan for full reorganization to go into effect in these locations March 16.

The details of the reorganization or "separation scheme," revealed for the first time by the city last week, makes clear why there is opposition.

At the very heart of the scheme is the tremendous cut in staff immediately to go into effect. At the East End Center, some 7000 Public Assistance cases were manned just one year ago by no less than 200 social service staff. Through partial reorganization coupled with tremendous overwork this figure was reduced to approximately 130 by January 1970. Now beginning March 16 the same 7000 Public Assistance cases under the new reorganization scheme will require a social service staff of a mere 55.

What is thus involved is a staff cut of nearly 75%. With the introduction of the scheme at all other work locations scheduled to begin in two months and to be completed by mid-1971 what is involved is a cut of some 7200 jobs.

DISASTROUS

Other aspects of the plan are equally disastrous. Spans of supervision traditionally at a ratio of one supervisor to five caseworkers are to be increased 80% with one supervisor in charge of six caseworkers and three case aides. Workload limits and job specifications in the new units or "sections" as they are to be called, are non-existent.

In fact it has been made clear that workers are to be trained for a multiplicity of tasks so that they can be used interchangeably in various units in accordance with the flow of work. The protection against overwork enjoyed by workers by virtue of their being assigned a specific caseload is to be junked in favor of the tremendous speedup that can be achieved through this elasticity concept.

In order to bring this reorganization into being, with its huge staff cuts in the affected locations, huge mass transfers, on a scale never previously faced by staff, are of course taking place.

Simultaneous mass earmarking (a departmental euphemism for demotions) is to take place in the non-affected centers.

While the Morgenstern leadership talks about the great progressive change about to flower forth in the Dept. of Social Service, the workers are being forced to ride around on

this reorganization merry-go-round. They know full well that the new service component in the Dept. of Social Services to which they have all been relegated is nothing more than a huge graveyard in which Commissioner Goldberg hopes to see the fastest possible attrition and retirement until everyone has been funneled off the city payroll.

On Friday, February 28 the biggest meeting ever held at the East End location with some 80 members present passed overwhelmingly a motion demanding President Morgenstern call a halt to the "separation project" at the three centers pending negotiation on the outrageous manning scales, spans of supervision, transfer options and related matters. This same resolution was passed unanimously a day later at the Franklin location.

President Morgenstern, who was present at the East End meeting, made his contempt for any talk of opposition along these lines quite clear.

As in the past Morgenstern pointed out that spans of supervision, workload, etc. were non-negotiable under the terms of the 1969 contract, that at best complaints could be lodged with the worthless tri-partite joint reorganization committee but that essentially the only role for the union was to make sure that transfers were in accordance with seniority.

UMPIRES

In other words the role of the union becomes that of an umpire concerned not with the fact that the jobs of 7200 workers and the union itself are to be liquidated but only with the issue of whether or not they are liquidated in accordance with the contract and seniority.

On the issue of manning scales and the overall impact of employment, Morgenstern revealed the depth of his bankruptcy when he stated that if workers made a good showing in the new reorganized set up, they could prove to Commissioner Goldberg that Public Assistance recipients needed social services, that therefore their jobs were important and that this in turn could perhaps induce Goldberg to reverse the trend towards job cuts.

The workers at East End as well as thousands of workers throughout the Department have long since abandoned the foolish notion that there is anything more involved in this reorganization scheme than an attack on labor, making it impossible for Morgenstern to get away with this kind of humbug.

What is clear is that the contract, which was published this week after more than 6 months, not entirely by coincidence, is anything but the proud document to which Morgenstern sings

IMPERIALISTS ROUTED IN LAOS

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The blow struck against imperialism by the liberation army of Laos, the Pathet Lao, which last week routed the Royalist pro-imperialist forces from the area known as the Plain of Jars is a tremendous step forward for the working class in the U.S. and internationally. The fight by the Pathet Lao together with the Vietnamese workers and peasants, and the guerrilla struggles now breaking out in Thailand against imperialism and its corrupt puppet regimes poses the way forward to the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. This defeat can only be delivered with the support of the international working class. The American working class has a central role to play in this struggle.

The massive bombing by U.S. B-52s in an attempt to stop the offensive of the Pathet Lao only exposes the intention of Nixon not only to continue imperialism's war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, but to extend it. This is the meaning of Nixon's statement in his State of the World Report, "We remain involved in Asia. We are a Pacific power." Nixon's "durable peace" means that U.S. imperialism will continue its wars and it is the working class in the U.S. and in Southeast Asia that will pay the cost.

A U.S. official in Laos put it this way: "There is no thought of letting a Dien Bien Phu situation develop here. When the Plain goes down the chute, it is not really going to make any difference in the situation at all....It will be a propaganda victory for the Communists. But they are going to pay a price for it." It is clear that the U.S. is prepared to use all the methods of mass destruction that have been employed against the Vietnamese people against the Laotian liberation forces.

GENEVA

These forces under the leadership of the Pathet Lao have been conducting a struggle for almost 20 years against imperialism and its agents in the ruling monarchy. After years of fighting in the early 1950s, Laos was granted so-called independence under the terms of the Geneva agreement. The imperialists and the Soviet Union worked to create a coalition government held together by "neutralists." The accord broke down and these forces split between the Pathet Lao and the royalists. In line with the 1954 agreement, the U.S. has been able to maintain its control in Laos through support to the right wing regime. U.S. imperialism is the real prop of the regime which, as in Saigon, does not have the support of the people. As the New York Times put it on March 1st: "Without aid from the U.S. Laos could not exist as a contemporary nation." In other words capitalism and the feudal landlords could not maintain their op-

praises in his introduction to it: "We have provided the society with the opportunity to build a better system if they dare..." In fact it is precisely the CNL, which is attacked by implication in this same introduction for having played on the "fears and insecurities" of staffs, that is being vindicated today with the introduction of this vicious scheme at East End, Franklin and Clinton.

FIGHT

What is posed is that the fight against this scheme is going to have to go forward no matter what this

pression of the peoples of Laos without U.S. imperialism. Over 50 million dollars is spent to bolster this regime. The U.S. equips the Royalist armed forces, which consist of a mercenary army drawn from the minority Meo tribe. This army is trained by the CIA. It was this army that was defeated by the revolutionary forces under the leadership of the Pathet Lao.

While the U.S. has attempted to cloak its operations in Laos in secrecy, it has stepped up its activity as the war in Vietnam has deepened. The Plain of Jars was held by the Pathet Lao from 1964 until late last year when the royalists with heavy backing from U.S. bombers, helicopters, transport planes and advisors were able to gain control. Early this year unmarked American planes forcibly evacuated tens of thousands of civilians from the area of the Plain to prevent them from supporting and giving aid to the liberation forces.

It was Eisenhower who said in 1960: "We cannot let Laos fall to the communists even if we have to fight." Following in the footsteps of his mentor, Nixon is preparing an all out battle. For Nixon, Laos takes on a renewed importance as the test of his Vietnamization fraud poses the possibility of the collapse of the South Vietnamese regime. The pushing back of the Pathet Lao is important not only to prevent the spread of the revolutionary offensive by the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia but also to prepare a position for retreat.

Faced with the defeat of the Royalist forces despite the aid of U.S. bombers, by the liberation army, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma has called on the Soviet Union and Britain to call a conference of the countries which signed the 1962 Geneva agreement governing Laos, to make the Pathet Lao come to terms and to save his regime.

VICTORY

The real way to victory in Laos and Vietnam lies in the struggle against the Stalinist and Social Democratic betrayers of the working class and the mobilization of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries.

The American working class must take up the fight in solidarity with the workers and peasants in Vietnam and Laos. The labor movement must participate in full on April 15th and raise the demand to go forward from April 15th with a massive labor demonstration in Washington taking up the following demands:

Immediate Withdrawal of U.S. Troops from Vietnam!

Fight Inflation and Unemployment-- For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!

Fight Racism--Jobs For All! Build a Labor Party!

contract contains.

The CNL intends to take the demands of the East End and Franklin chapters into the union as a whole beginning with the March 25 General Membership, should the Executive Committee or the Delegates Assembly fail to take action prior to that date.

At the same time the CNL will launch in the next week the beginning of an all out campaign to remove the bankrupt Morgenstern leadership from office in the April 17 election on a platform centering on the fight to throw reorganization back in Lindsay's face for good.

YSA BACKS PHONEY HIGH SCHOOL COALITION



SMC ER WEISMAN (LEFT), AND DON REEVES, CITY G.O. PRESIDENT

BY MELODY FARROW

NEW YORK-- The High School Students Rights Coalition, which includes high school student governments and the Student Mobilization Committee, met at New York Community College to negotiate with the Board of Education a Bill of Rights for high school students. The movement was given much publicity in the New York Times, with Don Reeves, President of student government at Music and Art High School, quoted as saying that it is necessary to work "within the system." The press coverage was hailed by the Militant as showing the Coalition's "importance." It would be more accurate to say its respectability.

The Feb 26th meeting was publicized with the demand that high school students be granted the rights embodied in the Constitution and guaranteed by the Supreme Court. The Bill of Rights proposed by the Coalition demands the right to distribute literature, wear what they want, form political organizations and end police repression in the schools.

ORDER

The hearing was totally controlled by a group of Board of Education bureaucrats who chaired the meeting and "kept order." Throughout the meeting they could barely disguise their complete contempt and hostility for the students. After a group of black students continually interrupted the speakers the Board adjourned the meeting although at least 50 speakers were still waiting to speak.

At this point the hatred of some of the students broke through and one of the Board's officials was hit on the head with a battery. As

behind the westinghouse sell-out

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, PA.-- If anything, the recent 40 month contract agreed to by the four unions led by the UE and IUE, and the Westinghouse Corporation, gives the Westinghouse workers even less than their fellow workers at General Electric. Emboldened by the retreat of the UE and IUE leadership in the settlement at G.E., Westinghouse had announced that there would be no retroactive pay once the contract was signed. The union leaders put up no fight at all for the retroactive pay, winding up with a compromise which gave the workers the 20¢ an hour increase and cost of living increment retroactive only until Jan. 5th instead of Nov. 9th when the old contract expired.

While the proposed Westinghouse contract contains the same wage agreement and the same cost of living escalator with a lid as at G.E., the agreement calls for considerably less compensation for the skilled grades than at G.E., where about

soon as the meeting was adjourned about five cops who had been hidden behind the stage appeared to hustle the Board of Education away.

The meeting had been a complete fraud. The Board of Education has no intention of giving up its right to discipline militant students or give

any real concessions. It was clear that the Coalition is completely dependent on the good wishes of the Board.

However, despite their contempt for the youth, they are encouraging the Coalition precisely because it represents no real threat. The issue is not more democracy, but the conditions in the schools, the overcrowding, the lack of any future for the working class youth when they leave school. The Bill of Rights issue is being used to head off a real struggle against this, and into "safe" channels.

DEMOCRACY

The question of repression cannot be separated from the class nature of the attacks on the youth and the working class, from the system that uses this repression to further its plans to crush the working class and the youth. The lesson of the Chicago trials and the Panther trials is that Nixon is throwing democracy out the window and is using the Supreme

Court as a weapon to destroy all the gains won by the working class. To fight the system on a democratic level is to ignore the fact that this "democracy" depends on the prosperity of the capitalist system. The prosperity is over and to maintain its rule the bourgeoisie must strip away the democratic facade and reveal its open class rule.

The Young Socialist Alliance is playing a major role in fostering the democratic and reformist illusions of the youth. Through the SMC they have entered the coalition and allied with some of the most conservative forces within the high schools, the student government. In order to carry out their aim of taking over student governments they are prepared to adapt to the present level of the students and make any opportunist alliances that are necessary. In doing so, they turn their backs on the working class youth who are ready for a revolutionary struggle against the system but have been trapped in racial fights in schools all over the country.

Leaders Surrender In Newark Teachers Settlement



NEWARK TEACHERS HOLD MILITANT RALLY FOR DEMANDS DURING STRIKE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Only three days after a mass labor rally was held in Newark to support the strike of the Newark teachers, a contract was accepted which wins absolutely nothing solid in the way of better school conditions and gives significant concessions in the way of salary.

It should now be clear to all teachers that the labor support was not seen by the NTU leadership as a powerful weapon to beat back the City, but as merely pressure to secure a few vague promises and

to win the grievance procedure. During the labor demonstration on Feb. 23rd, the leadership was in the midst of round-the-clock negotiations which it refused to report on to the members. The membership saw that the labor support could win them a real victory but the leadership used it as a cover for its capitulation to the bosses.

The starting salary agreed to was \$8,000 which was scaled down from \$10,000 with a \$2,200 across the board increase. Although the contract runs until Jan. 31, 1971, the wage increase does not go into effect until Sept. 1, 1970 and runs to August, 1971. This means that the teachers will have to wait a year and a half to get the raise. The increase stretches over a two year period.

M.E.S.

For this raise the union gave up all the non-economic demands for smaller class sizes and ten More Effective Schools in addition to a request for funds to buy more material for students. The City says it will reduce class sizes to 30 "if and where space permits" and will establish ONE MES school "if Federal funds are available."

This means that it will be left to the state and the Federal government who are busy cutting the budget for education. It means that conditions in the Newark schools will continue to deteriorate. And yet before the agreement was reached, Carol Graves, President of the NTU, stated "we are not selling out for money."

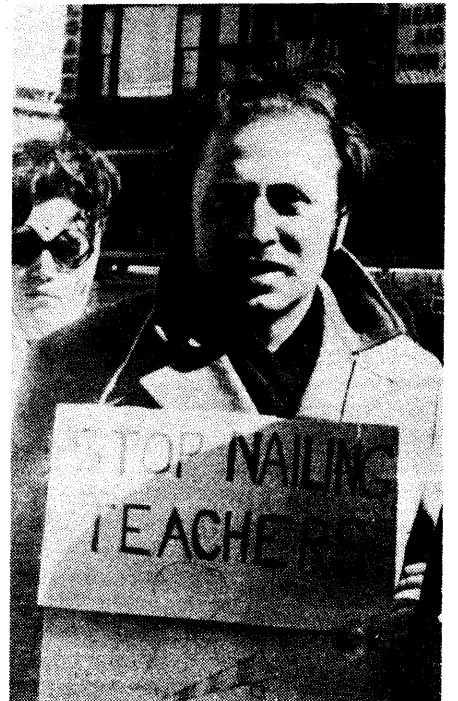
Mayor Addonizio of Newark said the contract "would end the doubts, rivalries, and mistrust which have

hurt relationships among teachers and the Board" and would help prevent future strikes. What he is saying is that the union leadership can be trusted to retreat and will make no threats about taking away the City's authority to decide on school conditions.

ARRESTS

The question which the union leadership is completely avoiding is the charges now faced by all the teachers who were arrested during the strike. Before the settlement the union leaders were reportedly trying to get amnesty for the teachers but nothing was said about this in the agreement. This opens the way for the City to devise even more stringent legislation to stop further strikes.

But the struggle does not end with this sellout. Many teachers fought to continue the strike, which was reflected in the fact that a substantial number of teachers voted against the contract. The massive labor support brought a real change in the understanding of many teachers of the power of the labor movement. The Jersey City teachers' strike, which is still not settled, the Kentucky teachers' strike and the Newark strike, which occurred after the Newark teachers had broken with the company union the National Teachers Association, shows that teachers are emerging as a fighting part of the working class.



NEWARK TEACHER DEMONSTRATES

30 YEARS AFTER



LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

PART ONE: THE LAST CHANCE

ON APRIL 1, 1939, the fascist army of General Franco paraded through the streets of conquered Madrid, the last stronghold of republican resistance.

The Civil War, which erupted on the night of July 17, 1936, had been won by the military and political representatives of the Spanish capitalist and landlord classes.

And, as in Germany six years previously, the workers' parties, unions, collectives and co-operatives were smashed to pulp and their leaders and militants put to death by the thousand.

All vestiges of democratic rights, along with the powerful working-class movement upon which they rested, were swept away as thoroughly as they had been in Germany under the Nazis and in Italy under the fascist terror of Mussolini.

As Franco's forces advanced from their military bases in the north and south, they purged with a terrible vengeance the powerful network of workers' and rural labourers' organizations that had flowered so brilliantly in the first weeks of the workers' counter-offensive against the fascist coup. Franco's revenge was doubly bitter because it was only the marvels of improvisation and courage of the workers that stood between fascism and immediate victory in the first days of the rising against the republic.

Without arms, without a revolutionary leadership, the workers alone took the offensive against the advance of the fascist

columns, brushing aside the vacillations of the liberal and reformist republican politicians and the treachery of the vast majority of the military and police officers.

Following the victory of Franco, the Spanish working class and peasantry underwent a martyrdom exceeded only in Nazi Germany, a whole decade and more of murder, imprisonment, terror and atomization from which it is only now, with the rise of a new generation, fully recovering.

But for the world Trotskyist movement, this 30th anniversary of the defeat of the Spanish working class is least of all an occasion for mourning or cheap nostalgia. Those who specialize in such offerings provide poor counsel in times of defeat and are even more worthless for the preparation of future victories.

We insist that all the issues raised by the Spanish Civil War, issues which subjected all the parties of the Spanish working class to an almost unparalleled historical test, burn even more strongly today in the struggles of the international working class.

The single question posed at the outbreak of the Civil War was this: Given the immense energy, courage and resourcefulness of the working class, could this titanic force be harnessed and disciplined towards one single goal—the seizure of state power and the establishment of socialist property relations?

New generations of workers have a right to know why the Spanish working class, despite its tremendous heroism, was utterly defeated and dismembered. And the answer must be given, for it is intimately bound up with the struggle of the Fourth International to build revolutionary parties in all the major capitalist and imperialist states, the workers' states of East Europe, the Soviet Union and China, and the colonial and semi-colonial nations.

No revolutionary party or tendency worthy of the name can evade its historical responsibili-

ties to the working class when great upheavals, such as those in Spain 1936, throw the major classes against each other in mortal combat. How the party measures up to those responsibilities is determined not only by the devotion of its membership or their willingness to sacrifice everything for the revolution. Neither of these factors, invaluable though they are, can operate independently of the very bedrock upon which the revolutionary party must be built—Marxist theory.

Without Marxist theory, without the generalized and scientifically analysed experiences of all class struggle in human history, these qualities become harnessed to policies and leaderships which bring not victory but defeat.

That was the tragedy of Spain—and Germany. It is because the defeat of the Spanish Revolution comprises such an integral part of the body of experience of the working class that its evaluation today, on the threshold of a new revolutionary era, is so vital.

Great challenge

The Franco coup in 1936 threw down a challenge to all of the parties based on the Spanish working class. And unlike Germany in 1933, where the working class had been exhausted by 15 years of betrayal and defeat and demoralized after 1929 by soaring unemployment and mass poverty, no such alibis were available to the leaders of Spanish Stalinism, anarchism, social democracy and centrism.

From the fall in 1930 of the Bonapartist regime of General Miguel Primo de Rivera through to the outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936, the working class launched an offensive that has been equalled in intensity only by the Russian working class in the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

Youthful, dynamic and bursting with self-confidence, the Spanish working class moved

A series of articles BY ROBERT BLACK

towards decisive action after 1930 largely free from the curse of conservatism that has weighed so heavily on the proletariat of the older, imperialist states of Europe.

Spanish colonialism in its dying years was never able to buttress its rule at home through the creation of a strong and loyal labour bureaucracy on the lines of the leadership of the British trade unions and Labour Party.

In Spain, this gap was filled in part by the Church, with the army always waiting in the wings if the grip of the priest slackened. The Spanish labour movement had many political weaknesses, but they were not the product of a strong tradition of parliamentary reformism.

And unlike France, where a conservative peasantry, its richer sections firmly wedded to the defence of private property, provided a mass basis for capitalist rule, Spain, with its millions of landless agricultural labourers and poor peasants, presented a classic opportunity of winning the vast majority of the rural population to the side of the working class for the building of socialism.

In the Civil War, when rallied by firm working-class leadership, the rural poor fought Franco as hard as anyone, and far harder than the professional 'anti-fascists' of the liberal-reformist camp.

The total inability and, in some cases, refusal of the workers' parties to harness and develop these vast resources of power to the struggle against fascism was not simply a crime against the Spanish people, who have paid for the treachery of their leaders many times over with their lives and liberty.

Spain in 1936 presented the last chance to halt and roll back the tide of counter-revolution that was first creeping, then flooding across Europe after the containment of the Revolution within Russia in the immediate post-war period.

After the fascist coup in Italy (October 1922) came the revolutionary opportunity missed by the German Communist Party (Summer 1923).

Then followed the defeat of the British General Strike and the military coup by Pilsudski in Poland, both in May 1926 and both assisted to a great degree by the opportunist line developed by the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International.

The climax to this chain of defeats in Europe was of course the Nazi victory of 1933. It was this last shattering and qualitatively more devastating blow to the fighting capacity of the international working class that drove Trotsky to break from his previous oppositional, reforming tactic within the Third International and to prepare his forces for the launching of the new, Fourth International.

Just as much as its predecessor, the International of Lenin was now dead and useless for the purposes of revolution. In the hands of the Stalinists it had become a tool of counter-revolution.

The only road ahead for revolutionaries, no matter how hard and isolated, was towards the building of the Fourth International.

That was the lesson of Germany 1933, where the strongest sections of the two old Inter-

nationals had gone down without a fight to such an ignominious defeat.

But many individuals and groups (such as the centrists of the Independent Labour Party in Britain, the exiled SAP from Germany and the left tendency led by Pivert in the French Socialist Party) were still full of illusions in the recuperative power of the old internationals. The first few weeks of the Spanish Civil War were to prove how deluded these centrists were.

Nevertheless, in the period following the German defeat, Trotsky conducted many long and tortuous discussions with the leaders and supporters of these centrist trends, for they relayed in a very distorted form the real problems and struggles of advanced workers fighting to break from the bankrupt programmes of social democracy and Stalinism.

Working in conditions of extreme isolation imposed by exile, Trotsky had no alternative but to develop the tenuous links with the working class that these discussions with centrists provided. It was at all times a tactic subordinated to the central fight for the new programme, leadership and organization which was to become the Fourth International in 1938. In this sense, it can be compared to Lenin's tactical turn towards the Zimmerwald Anti-War conferences of 1915-1916 in his struggle to bring together the forces and develop the programme of the Third, Communist International after the betrayal of the Second in August 1914.

But the failure of the Spanish centrists (the POUM), the most left of all the parties affiliated to the centrist 'London Bureau' organized by Fenner (now Lord) Brockway, to provide revolutionary leadership after 1936, convinced Trotsky that nothing in terms of big new forces would come out of the centrists towards the New International:

'The parties and groups of the London Bureau obviously either do not wish or are incapable of drawing the necessary conclusions from the last warning of history. By this token they doom themselves.' (December 1937.)

Within a year of this final verdict on centrism, Trotsky had launched the Fourth International, terminating a tactical and preparatory period in which the utter worthlessness of centrism had been plumbed to its depths. That was a valuable, indeed, necessary stage in the creation of the programme of the International, but the events in Spain proved that it now had to be brought to an end:

'The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam (trade union) and anarcho-syndicalist Internationals, as on their centrist satellites. . . . All of these organizations are not pledges for the future, but decayed survivals of the past. The epoch of wars and revolutions will raze them to the ground.' (From the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.)

Later sections of this article will underline the correctness of that judgement, confirmed for all time in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. But first of all it is necessary to place that struggle in its historical setting, and to outline the driving forces within

Spanish capitalism that precipitated the open clash of July 1936. Spain is a classic example of the working out of the law of uneven and combined development. Among the first in Europe to unify their nation, the Spanish nobility and merchants utilized the voyages of discovery to become the dominant colonial power by the middle of the 16th century.

Backed by the Vatican, which of course shared in the loot, the Spanish ruling class pillaged the Americas at gun-point (the period of the 'conquistadores') channelling back, first into Spain, then the whole of Europe, a steady flood of precious coin and metal.

But while in central and north-west Europe this new supply of precious metal gave an added impetus to the development of a money economy and capitalist property relations, in Spain it served as a substitute for the development of home industries and improved methods of farming. While the treasure chests flowed back across the Spanish Main, gold could, of course, buy what Spain neglected to produce for itself. But at an enormous cost.

The total parasitism of the Spanish ruling classes and the subsequent decline of the productive forces rendered the Empire incapable of holding on to its old conquests. The three centuries after the period of conquest were an entire epoch of steady decline and decay.

The rise of the capitalist classes of Britain and France, based not only on pillage, but on the creation of surplus value through the creation of a proletariat and the development of productive techniques, left Spain a feudal backwater by the opening of the 19th century.

The past glories of the Empire, and the continued blessings of the Pope, were poor consolation for Spain's economic and political decline.

This economic backwardness of 19th century Spain was most clearly reflected on the political plane in the almost total lack of a firmly democratic bourgeoisie or middle class on the lines of the Jacobins during the great French Revolution of 1789-1793. Three centuries of stagnation in the productive forces, together with the swallowing up of a vast proportion of the surplus product of labour by the parasitic members of the Church, nobility, army, bureaucracy and monarchy had effectively hindered the accumulation of capital and thus stunted the growth of a capitalist class capable of mobilizing the people against the forces of feudalism.

The imperial triumphs of Ferdinand and Cortes had turned into a millstone around the neck of Spain. And, unlike France and Britain, the forces of regeneration never produced their Cromwell or Robespierre. When their pathetic shadows in the persons of President Azaña and Premier Negrin did step on to the republican stage of 1936-1939, they were 100 years too late.

Neither the capitalist class, which had gone over to Franco, nor the masses, who fought not



Many Republicans like those in a French concentration camp (above) left Spain to escape the white terror of the Fascists against the working-class organizations. The 30th anniversary of the ending of the Civil War is not a time for mourning or cheap nostalgia, but for drawing the lessons which the new generations must learn.

for the bourgeoisie, but the socialist revolution, had any need of them.

Only Stalin and the bureaucratic machine he personified found a job for them to do. And once this was completed, he returned them to the historical twilight that has characterized the entire history of the political representatives of the Spanish capitalist class.

Marx and Engels

Writing of the 1854 Madrid uprising against the nobility, Marx noted this deeply ingrained inability of the Spanish middle class to hold on to the positions the people had won for it:

'The barricades were scarcely removed at Madrid, at the request of Espartero (one of the leaders of the revolt) before the counter-revolution was busy at work. . . . In remuneration for the bloody sacrifices of the people, on the barricades and in the public place, numberless decorations have been showered upon the Espartero generals. . . . In order to pave the way for an ultimate silencing of the press, the press law of 1837 has been re-established. Instead of convoking a general constituent Cortes (i.e. assembly), Espartero

is said to intend convoking only the chambers after the Constitution of 1837. . . . To secure as far as possible the success of all these measures and others that are to follow, large masses of troops are being concentrated near Madrid. If any consideration presses itself especially on our attention in this affair, it is the suddenness with which the reaction has set in.' (Karl Marx, 'Revolutionary Spain'.)

This impotence of the democratic movement in Spain was, of course, not only the product of the weakness of the Spanish capitalist class, but also its opposite, the proletariat. As the European upheavals of 1848 proved definitively, only the working class is able to fight consistently for all the goals of the democratic revolution. The capitalist class itself, when faced by the power of the feudal reaction and threatened at its back by the rising militancy of the working class and poorer sections of the peasantry, always goes over to the side of reaction. That was the lesson of the revolutions of 1848 in France (February), Germany (March), Hungary (April) and Italy (December).

Only with the growth of Spanish industry towards the end of the 19th century, particularly in the north (the Basque region

and the Asturias) and the Catalonian region around Barcelona, did the anti-feudal movement develop into a serious force.

The overthrow of the 1868 Republic, carried through by a handful of royalist officers, led Engels to the conclusion that 'Spain is so backward a country industrially that immediate complete emancipation of the working class is still entirely out of the question. Before it gets that far, Spain must pass through various preliminary stages of development and clear away a number of obstacles. The republic offered an opportunity to compress the course of these preliminary stages into the shortest possible time, and to rapidly eliminate the obstacles. But this opportunity could only be made use of through the active political intervention of the Spanish working class.'

When Engels wrote these words in 1873, the Spanish working class was in its infancy and unable to intervene in the defence of the republic as actively as he would have wished. But the collapse of the republic proved his point in a negative way. Only when the working class had come to political maturity could the masses be rallied for a serious assault on the strongholds of Spanish feudalism.

It is clear from these lines of Engels that even in 1873, before the beginning of the imperialist epoch, he was feeling his way towards the political programme developed by Lenin before and during the 1905 Russian Revolution. Briefly, it was that in the more backward capitalist and semi-feudal nations, the struggle for thorough-going democratic demands could no longer be led, as it was in France from 1789 to 1794, by sections of the bourgeoisie and middle classes. The task of leading and carrying out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution fell by default to the working class, which by mobilizing the peasantry and the middle class in the towns, provided the leadership and the material forces for the overthrow of feudal-monarchist rule.

revolution — if necessary against the bourgeoisie itself.

The consolidation of the democratic revolution — i.e. land reform, the eight-hour working day, the separation of church and state, the overthrow of the monarchy, etc.—could not be left to the capitalist class. These immense gains could only be preserved and deepened by the working class pressing ahead towards the conquest of state power, thus making inroads into not only feudal, but capitalist property relations.

Thus, beginning with a struggle against feudal reaction, the revolution becomes permanent, and drives on beyond the democratic stage towards the socialist revolution.

Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution was brilliantly confirmed by the events of 1917. The March revolution, which placed in power the representatives of big capital, could not solve a single basic task of the democratic revolution. Only after the Bolshevik revolution of November 1917, with the transfer of power to the workers', soldiers' and peasants' soviets, could these problems of the land, the church and the war be tackled.

The peculiarities of Spain's economic development are very much bound up with the struggle for the perspectives that made possible the 1917 victory in Russia. Those same perspectives of the Permanent Revolution, opposed with such bitterness and slander by the Stalinists after 1924, provide the theoretical guide-lines for our understanding of the class struggle in Spain. For, with the exception of the tiny Spanish section of the Fourth International, no political tendency based its political activity on this theory. And for that reason more than any other, Franco was victorious.

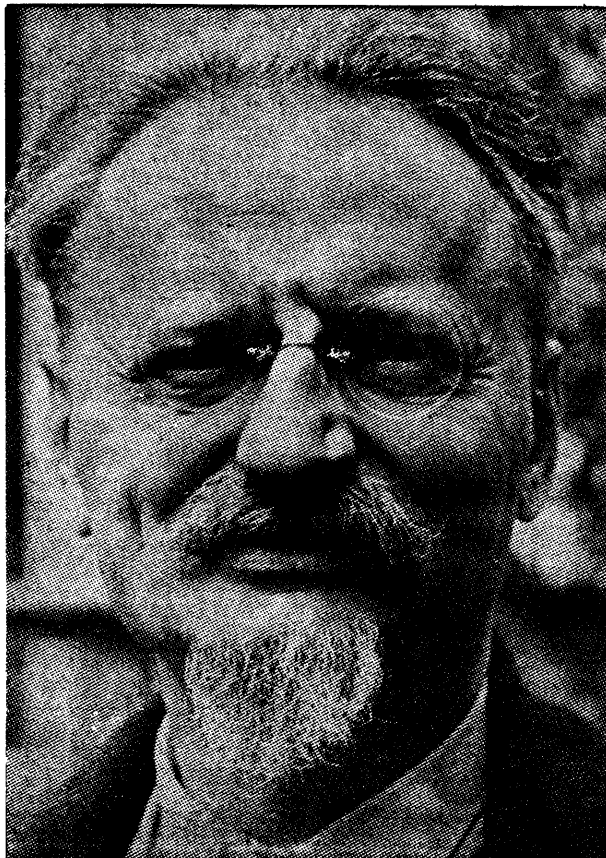
The tasks of the democratic revolution in Spain were truly formidable. At the centre was the question of the land, upon which the livelihood of roughly 70 per cent of the Spanish people directly depended. Three years before the outbreak of the Civil War, the land was distributed as follows:

Category	% of Rural population	% of Land owned
Large landowners ...	1	51.5
Rich peasants ...	14	35.3
Middle peasants ...	20	11.1
Poor peasants ...	25	2.2
Agricultural labourers ...	40	0.0
Totals ...	100	100

Permanent revolution

This theory was further developed by Trotsky, who, in the light of the cowardice displayed by the bourgeoisie in the 1905 Revolution, insisted that it was not enough to lead the bourgeois

The concentration of land ownership was (and remains) even more acute than these figures suggest. The most fertile land is always held by the biggest owners, only the poorest quality soil being left to the middle and poor peasantry.



Within a year of his December 1937 verdict on the centrists, their attitude to the International and their failure to provide revolutionary leadership, Trotsky had formed the Fourth International.



To this we must now add the most explosive element of all: the fact that unlike France or Germany at a similar period of their development, 40 per cent of the rural population of Spain owned no land at all, but drew its income from wage labour on the huge farms and vineyards of the south and west.

Unlike the better-off sections of the peasantry, this class had little or no interest in breaking up the large estates simply to enrich a new layer of peasants, and plunge the remainder into a desperate struggle for existence on a tiny plot devoid of the machinery and implements necessary for modern farming.

Well before the end of the 19th century, the rural labourers and a big section of the poorest peasantry had turned towards the goal of collective ownership and co-operative labour as the only road towards prosperity in the Spanish countryside.

Revolutionary, most often anarchist, propaganda found as enthusiastic a response in the fields of Andalusia and Extremadura as it did in the mines of Asturias, the steel works of Bilbao and the textile mills of Barcelona. Only the rich peasantry set itself firmly against the collectivization plans of the

labourers and poor peasants.

Until 1936, the richest, labour-employing peasantry turned to the right-wing monarchists and Catholic parties for protection against the revolutionary movement in the countryside. In Franco territory, after July 1936, they were the most fanatical of the persecutors of the farm labourers' trade unions. In the republican zone, they flocked to the banner of the one party that stood firm in its defence of private property—the Stalinists.

It is obvious that the liberal capitalists could not solve the agrarian question even if they wanted to do so. Firstly, the rural masses demanded a socialist solution to the decay of the Spanish countryside and naturally the Spanish capitalist class could only fight against, and not for, such a solution.

Equally important for the agrarian revolution was the contradictory position of the capitalist class in the countryside. While desiring a rapid expansion of the home market, which could

of course be made possible only by the elimination of the abysmal poverty of the rural masses, big sections of the bourgeoisie were involved in capitalist agriculture as well as industry and banking.

Aristocratic families, as well as the Jesuits, had gone over to capitalist investments at the end of the 19th century, resulting in the intertwining of the two classes, nobility and bourgeoisie. Thus the Bank of Spain included on its board four Counts, one Viscount, three Marquises and a Duke. But all the other directors were from traditionally banking families.

Insurance and banking were naturally bound up with agriculture, providing it with much-needed credit and marketing facilities.

In no sense was it possible for this capitalist class to place itself at the head of a powerful movement for agrarian reform for any purpose other than to betray it. The agrarian reform, far more radical even than that carried through by the French Revolution, could only be consummated by the socialist revolution and led from the beginning by the Spanish working class.

Church grip

What was lacking was the party which could achieve the unification of these two immense revolutionary movements—the urban and agrarian—and weld

them into a single whole capable of overthrowing the rule of not only the nobles, the church and the military, but the Spanish bourgeoisie itself.

The liberals were just as ineffective when it came to dealing with the power of the Catholic Church, which from its earliest days in Spain has been at the base of every reactionary attack on the Spanish people.

There is little doubt that the liberals hated the grip of the church. Responsible for the 'education' of the young, it had done its work so well that by 1936, 70 per cent of the population was either totally or semi-illiterate. Its parasitic organizations sucked the lifeblood out of the arteries of the Spanish economy.

In 1930, in a population of about 25 million, there were 20,000 monks, 61,000 nuns, 31,000 priests and altogether a total of about 170,000 persons in the pay of the church. They consumed a great deal, but produced nothing.

Four times in the 100 years up to 1936 the bourgeoisie had driven the Jesuits, the most reactionary of all the orders, out

of Spain, but just as often they managed to creep back again under the protection of the monarchy and the nobility. They were as vital to the defence of their privileges as the police and army.

The church could always make its come-back while its property remained intact and the classes that needed its propaganda remained in power. Anti-clerical by tradition, and almost by profession, the liberals could never defeat the church for the same reason that they could not solve the agrarian question.

To close down the parties of the church, to confiscate its lands and to begin the education of Spain's youth in the spirit of modern science and democratic culture, demanded not just anti-clerical demagoguery.

The permanent defeat of the church in Spain merged with the struggle for ownership of the land. And that struggle, as we have already shown, leads inexorably on towards the socialist revolution.

In Russia, there was a party, the Bolsheviks, that grasped the nature of this process in time and directed it towards the successful conquest of power. It is one of the greatest ironies, as well as tragedies, of the Spanish Civil War that the prestige of Bolshevism was prostituted by Stalin to mask his introduction into Spain of the programme of the party against which Bolshevism had to wage a life-and-death struggle for power.

In July 1936 the Third International brought to the Spanish working class not Bolshevism, though that was its disguise, but the policy and programme of Menshevism.

In doing so, it doomed the Spanish working class to defeat. In the words of Trotsky:

'The commanding clique of Stalinists, in accordance with their counter-revolutionary function, consisted of hirelings,

careerists, declassed elements and generally, all types of social refuse. The representatives of other labour organizations—flabby reformists, anarchist phrasemongers, helpless centrists of the P O U M—grumbled, groaned, wavered, manoeuvred, but in the end adapted themselves to the Stalinists.

As a result of their joint activity the camp of social revolution—workers and peasants—proved to be subordinated to the bourgeoisie, or more correctly to its shadow [The liberals of the republican camp. R.B.] It was rendered nameless and spiritless and bled white. There was no lack of heroism on the part of the masses, nor of courage on the part of individual revolutionaries. But the masses were left to their own resources while revolutionists remained disunited, without a plan of action. The "republican" military commanders were more concerned with crushing the social revolution than with scoring military victories [against Franco. R.B.] The soldiers lost confidence in their commanders, the masses—in the government; the peasants stepped aside, the workers became exhausted, defeat followed defeat, demoralization grew apace. All this was not difficult to foresee from the beginning of the Civil War. By setting itself the task of rescuing the capitalist regime, the People's Front doomed itself to military defeat. By turning Bolshevism on its head, Stalin succeeded completely in fulfilling the role of the grave digger of the revolution.'



From the fall in 1930 of Miguel Primo de Rivera's (above) Bonapartist regime, to the outbreak of civil war in 1936, the Spanish working class launched an offensive only equalled in intensity in Russia in 1905 and 1917.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain

For the new generations moving into political life a study of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 contains valuable lessons. This book, hammered out in time with the dramatic events it describes, stands in direct line with the great writings of Marx and Engels on the Revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune and Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution." --From "Forward" by Tom Kemp. 222 page soft-bound.

By Felix Morrow

\$2.50

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS

243 E. 10 ST. RM. 8 NEW YORK 10003

'FASCISM', wrote Clara Zetkin in 1923, 'is the punishment inflicted on the working class for not having continued the revolution begun in Russia.'

At the time she wrote, Mussolini and his fascists had just installed themselves in the saddle in Italy, while in Germany Hitler's coup d'état in Munich had just been defeated.

Much has been written about the development of German fascism, but attention also needs to be paid to the rise of Italian fascism, for the Italian experience served as a 'proto-type' for the fascist movements which sprang up after the First World War all over Europe.

Fascism is a specific form of the political rule of the bourgeoisie in the period of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism. The First World War brought to a violent end the long period of European peace that had followed the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.

It also brought to an end in the most violent possible way the steady growth of reformism and class compromise which had grown up all over Europe with the development of a privileged layer in the working class. It set masses of people in motion across the European stage, and stirred up and alarmed millions of workers and middle-class people. 1914 signalled the opening of the epoch of wars and revolutions.

The Italian capitalist class was thrown into this global conflict with neither the resources nor the historical experience to compete with the major European powers. Its war aims—the recovery of the Trentino and of parts of the Adriatic coast—were essentially parochial and it faced a huge internal crisis. The months before the outbreak of the war had seen pitched battles between troops and workers and peasants in many parts of Italy. Several areas saw the barracks under siege, and in some of the smaller towns local republics had been established.

In the North of Italy, the capitalist class faced a powerful new working class centred on the vast engineering factories of Turin and Milan, while in the South millions of land-hungry peasants confronted the big landowners.

Civil War

The fiasco of Italy's attempt to establish a colony in Libya in 1911 added fuel to the popular discontent. Despite the granting of adult male suffrage in 1913, the paternalist, 'liberal' Giolitti government was incapable of concealing the predatory nature of the system.

From beginning to end, Italy's intervention in the First World War was a continuation of the pre-war battles in the streets between workers and police. 'The national war will be waged in an atmosphere of civil war,' said one senator. The civil war, in one form or another, was to last until the fascist victory in 1922.

Working-class hostility to the war, coupled with the precarious situation at home, prevented the bourgeoisie from intervening immediately, though the representatives of heavy industry, the Olivettis and the Perrones, were excited by the prospect of vast war profits. Their political spokesmen, the nationalists, carried on a determined campaign in opposition to the neutralist position of the government and the Socialist Party. The nationalists began to campaign for entry into the war.

They were soon joined by Benito Mussolini, who was editor of 'Avanti!', the Socialist Party paper, until November 1914. Mussolini was an adventurer who had risen rapidly in the Socialist Party through his skill as a demagogue and journalist, and through his violent attacks on the reformist leadership. Deriving

JOHN SPENCER ANALYSES

his ideas from the anarcho-syndicalist Sorel, and not from Marx, he laid great stress on the role of a political élite devoted to violent change. Though at the beginning of the war he had supported neutrality, he began to swing sharply to the right.

Born of an artisan family, Mussolini grew up a rebel against society. Though he worked as a labourer for a short time, he lived the life of a bohemian wanderer, absorbing anarchist and syndicalist ideas. One Russian socialist who met him during this period said: 'He was no Marxist, but a sentimental poetaster who has read Nietzsche'.

He favoured 'the iron necessity of violence', the compelling need to use force 'surgically', attacked the church and the freemasons, nationalism and landlordism. But he became more and more dominated by the idea of a revolutionary élite, with himself as leader, acting in the name of the people, as against the Marxist insistence on political leadership to mobilize and lead the mass movement of the working class to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The collapse of the Socialist International, as its leaders hastened to support their 'own' national bourgeoisies in the war, undoubtedly played a part in Mussolini's decision to go over to nationalism. He decided that socialism could no longer offer him a career on the lines he sought, and the offer of funds from nationalist sources—from Filippo Naldi, of the 'Resto del Carlino'—helped make up his mind. He and Naldi promptly established a new paper, the 'Popolo d'Italia', calling for war against Austria. In December 1914, he set up the first 'fascio of revolutionary action'—composed of right-wing political freebooters, the forerunners of the post-war fascists.

The war, into which Italy was propelled by the nationalist agitation and the ambitions of the owners of heavy industry, dealt her a terrible blow. More than 500,000 men were killed and 1,500,000 wounded.

Despite being 'on the winning side', the Italian capitalist class gained almost no territory from the peace settlement, though a few industrialists had piled up enormous war profits. Thus the legend of 'proletarian Italy', be-

lines, was not halted by the police. The willingness of the state to stand idly by while the fascists attacked working-class organizations was to be characteristic of the period from 1919 to the victory of fascism. The same attitude was adopted by the government in the case of Fiume, which followed in September 1919.

This Adriatic town had been ceded to Yugoslavia, though occupied after the war by Italy. A section of the army opposed withdrawal and vowed to return

to the supineness of the Socialist Party leadership had given the bourgeoisie ample time to prepare its answer to the workers. On March 7, 1920, the first national conference of industrialists was held at Milan, leading to the formation of the General Federation of Industry. The industrialists concluded a pact with Mussolini, though it was not until the autumn that the industrialists began to pour money into Mussolini's coffers. The March conference drafted a detailed plan of campaign in which everything, from detailed plans for action against the unions to the political restoration of Giolitti, was laid down.

The industrialists' first success came with the Turin general strike. This began on March 29, as the result of a provocation by the Fiat management. Troops had been moved into the city before the provocation and elaborate preparations made for a fight. The strike is said to have started over the introduction of daylight-saving time, which was opposed by the workers. At the Industrie Metallurgiche, a Fiat subsidiary, a worker who put back the clock one hour was immediately sacked, setting off a sit-down strike. The management, after two days, proclaimed a lock-out throughout Fiat.

The industrialists, Gramsci later said, had taken the clockhands incident as a 'Cleopatra's nose'—exploiting a trivial event to change the course of history. The strike rapidly took on the character of a struggle to defend the position of the councils in the factories—the employers demanded that they be given a rigidly circumscribed place, while the workers wanted them to undertake control of production. The strike spread rapidly, ultimately involving more than 250,000 workers, both agricultural and industrial. Nevertheless, the support from the rest of the country was inadequate, chiefly because the trade union leaders, like the Socialist Party functionaries, were not prepared to undertake the tasks of revolutionary leadership.

January 1920 also saw national strikes of postal-telegraph workers and railwaymen, followed by strikes of agricultural workers in many North Italian provinces. All the strikes had a definite economic aim: to maintain wages in the face of the rising cost of living. But they rapidly began to take on a more and more political character. In April, the factory councils organized a general strike in Turin to obtain recognition from the employers. At about this time, the first occupations of factories began. Throughout this period, the Socialist Party leadership alternately tried to calm the workers and promised them revolution some time in the future.

But the supineness of the Socialist Party leadership had given the bourgeoisie ample time to prepare its answer to the workers. On March 7, 1920, the first national conference of industrialists was held at Milan, leading to the formation of the General Federation of Industry. The industrialists concluded a pact with Mussolini, though it was not until the autumn that the industrialists began to pour money into Mussolini's coffers. The March conference drafted a detailed plan of campaign in which everything, from detailed plans for action against the unions to the political restoration of Giolitti, was laid down.

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First of Two Articles

trayed by her allies, 'stabbed in the back' at the conference table, added fuel to the right-wing nationalist propaganda.

The end of the war plunged Italy into crisis once again. Demobilization threw millions of men on to the market for jobs. The lira, debased by the war effort, fell lower and lower on the international money market, while prices rose to astronomical heights. Bread riots began in the major towns and in the countryside peasants returning from the army began to take over landlords' land. The number of strikes began to mount. In October 1919 the Socialist Party Congress, meeting in Bologna, decided by a large majority to adhere to the newly formed Third International.

But the right wing, too, was beginning its preparations. Mussolini's *fasci*, composed of dissatisfied ex-officers, former nationalists and other riff-raff, had united with the *arditi*, the 'commandos' formed during the war. Mussolini's approach was quite clear. On March 23, 1919 at the national convention of the *fasci*, he proclaimed:

'As the succession to the regime is open we must not vacillate. We must hurry. If the regime is to be overthrown it must be we who occupy its place . . . We alone have the right to the succession, because we were the men who forced the country into the war and into victory.'

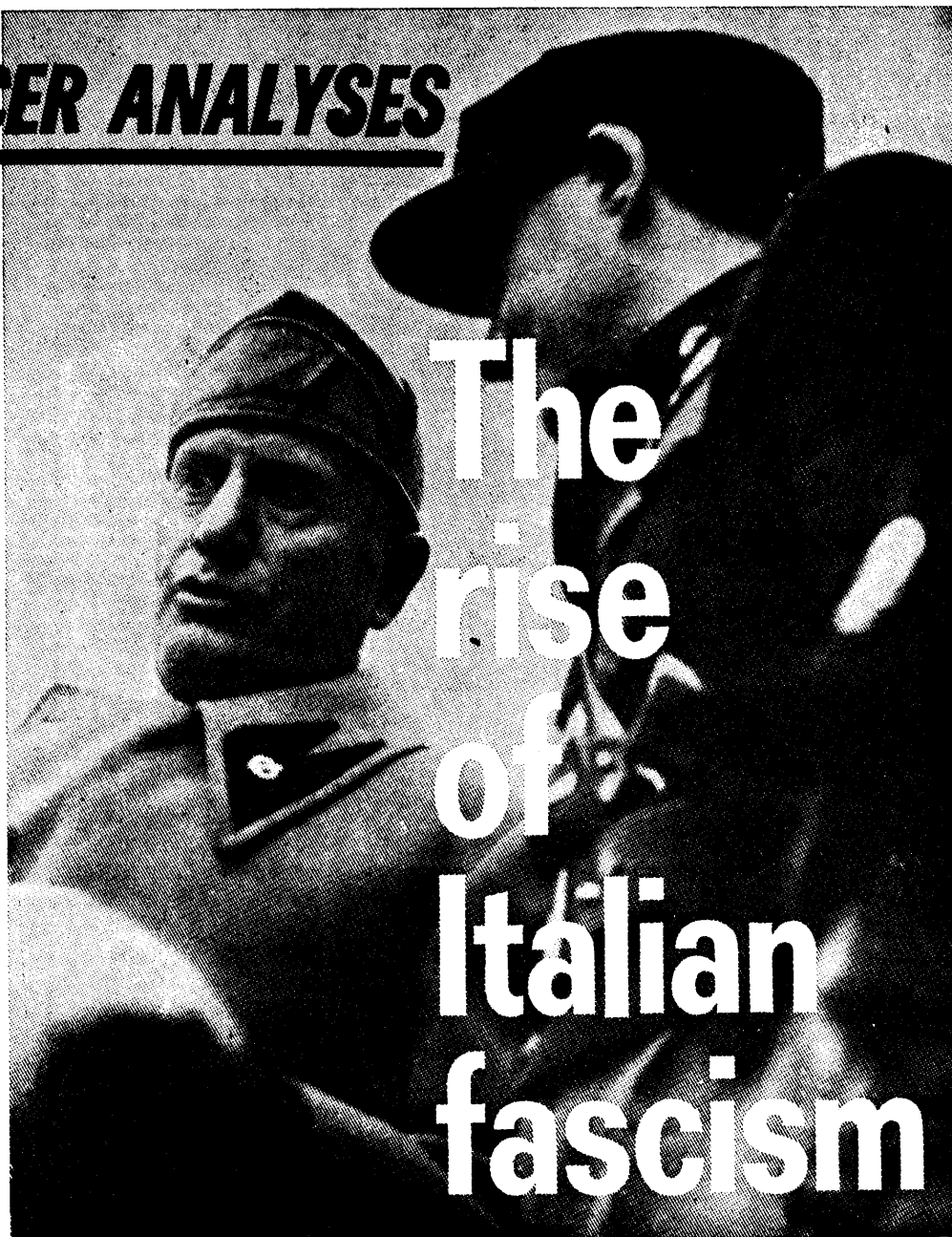
Just what this meant was seen a month later, when the *fasci* attacked the Milan offices of Mussolini's old paper 'Avanti!' and burned down the printshop attached to the office. The operation, conducted along military

and annex the city. The reactionary poet D'Annunzio headed a mixed force of 1,000 freebooters, *arditi* and fascists who descended on the town, annexed it and announced a constitution based on the medieval corporations—thus elaborating for the first time the idea of the corporate state. The fascist triumph at Fiume nourished the urge to extend their regime to the whole country.

D'Annunzio had the support of high-ranking army officers. He also had the backing of many of the industrialists. In March 1919, the big industrialists had created the General Confederation of Industry, which cemented an alliance with Mussolini for the fight against 'Bolshevism'. Big business needed Mussolini and his armed fascist gangs to protect them against the developing struggle of the working class.

But despite the Fiume expedition and their powerful supporters, the fascists were still a long way from power. Between them and control of the state stood a working class which was on the move in a widening and deepening struggle for wages. On the political front, too, there was tremendous enthusiasm for the Socialist Party. In the November 1919 elections, the Socialist Party trebled its parliamentary representation (from 52 to 156) and polled one-third of the total vote. By contrast, Mussolini, standing in the proletarian centre of Milan, polled only 5,000 votes out of 268,000.

The most advanced workers, particularly in Turin, were building factory councils, which by October embraced more than 50,000 workers at 30 plants. By the end of 1919 the factory coun-



The rise of Italian fascism

PART ONE

WILL BE CONTINUED

IN THE NEXT ISSUE



NIXON FLEW TO N.Y.C. FOR POMPIDOU RECEPTION AFTER ZIONISTS DEMONSTRATED AND CITY OFFICIALS REFUSED TO GREET HIM.

BY ROBERT BLACK

The opening stages of President Pompidou's official visit to the United States have revealed many of the contradictions working underneath the surface of international capitalism.

Even as he arrived in Washington, Zionists demonstrated their hostility to the French government's policy of supplying arms to certain Arab states, obviously reminding Pompidou (as if such a reminder were

BITTER U.S.-EUROPEAN RIVALRY UNDERLIES POMPIDOU VISIT

needed) that his host was the chief source of military aid to the Israelis.

U.S. relations with British Prime Minister Wilson who was in the U.S. last month, will not be enhanced by Nixon's speech of welcome, which greeted the French President as the head of "the oldest friend and ally of the United States."

Nixon's observation that the two Presidents must work together towards common goals, as the two countries did when they were allies during the American war of independence, was even less likely to placate ruling-class doubts in Britain.

America and France were of course common allies in the war of independence--against Britain!

termination to enter the Market," he said.

The main question facing the French capitalist class is, however, the constantly growing pressure on their economy from the U.S. monopolies, which have already carved out huge slices of the electronics industry for themselves, and have now opened up negotiations, through Ford, to set up car plants in France.

Pointing out that his government had already opened an office in New York to attract new capital investments into France, he warned that all foreign investments must serve the interests of French as well as U.S. capitalism.

He mentioned the recent attempt of Westinghouse to gain a footing in France as an example of U.S. penetration and insisted that it had to be blocked by his government to defend those of French business interests threatened by the Westinghouse takeover.

Pompidou was equally outspoken on the problems of the international monetary system, which, he stated, was "fragile and will only find its true stability when we find stability for the dollar."

And the dollar, advised Pompidou, can only be stabilized as a world currency when the U.S. economy overcomes inflation, and solves its current balance of payments crisis.

In other words, in the interests of the stability of world capitalism, Nixon must attack the U.S. working class.

Yet when Nixon states that West Europe will have to share the burdens of "defense," he is saying precisely the same thing to Wilson, Brandt, Pompidou and the rest!

Each national leader of world capitalism calls upon his rivals to pay the price for the post-war inflationary boom based upon the pre-eminence of the dollar as a world currency.

Quite understandably, each capitalist class seeks compromise with the working class at home for as long as possible.

The "burdens," to use Nixon's phrase, must be shifted elsewhere.

But the crisis of U.S. capitalism is now so acute that it is no longer willing or able to shore up the whole rickety structure of world capitalism, either in Southeast Asia or strike-torn Europe.

Pompidou's visit has already shown that the world's major capitalist classes are unable to postpone the day of reckoning with the working class for much longer.

The international working class must prepare now for power if it is to meet the onslaught of the U.S. and European monopolies as they struggle for world domination.

Behind the diplomatic small-talk and back-slapping, the knives are being sharpened.

DOUBTS

In his reply to questions put to him at the National Press Club the same evening, Pompidou expressed doubts on the possibility of British entry into the Common Market:

"Right up to the last moment we cannot be sure of the British de-

YSA builds student power at wisconsin

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS.-- Police here have broken up a demonstration of over two thousand students against GE recruitment on campus. The police intervention began when some of the students threw rocks into the windows of a university building. In retreat, groups of students "trashed" other buildings. A number of arrests were made and more warrants are out.

The demonstration was organized by a coalition of student groups. Earlier the coalition had split into two parts, one dominated by the YSA and the other by SDS, the YSA opposing SJS's explicit anti-imperialism. The breach was healed in a last minute agreement.

The YSA was unprepared for the violence which erupted. It had been planning a peaceful protest demonstration against campus complicity with the war. The relationship between the YSA's perspective and what actually occurred is very instructive. The YSA was building a student power demonstration. The YSA was the most consistent opponent of building the demonstration on the basis of working class action, of calling for a labor party. Whatever the intentions of the YSA, student powerism inevitably promotes adventurism.

RELATIONSHIP

The relationship which is developing between the YSA and SDS was brought into clear focus by the GE demonstration. SDS and YSA are united by a common middle class ideology and student power orientation. But there are significant differences between them. SDS is the petty bourgeoisie in disintegration. With nothing to hold it together but its hatred of capitalists and workers alike, SDS is increasingly incapable of any real independent organized political activity. All the factors which make the petty bourgeoisie impotent as an independent political force receive clear expression in SDS. Its meetings are circuses, the politics of its members are an expression of their so-called individuality, and it is totally intractable to discipline.

The YSA is the petty bourgeoisie organized within the working class movement. The "Trotskyism" of the YSA is Trotskyism stripped of

its revolutionary essence, but the Trotskyist forms and phrases, however hollow, allow the YSA to operate in a reasonably coherent and organized manner.

The primary lesson of the GE demonstration is the central importance of the YSA in holding together all the revisionist groups and the dependence of the other revisionist groups on the YSA. SJS was un-

MORE UNEMPLOYMENT HITS AUTO WORKERS

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

The latest casualty of the U.S. recession is the contract of the Chrysler Corporation with the Labor Department's JOBS program under which the nation's third largest auto producer had agreed to hire and train 4,450 production workers in seven plants. By mutual agreement with the Department of Labor, Chrysler has cancelled the contract. This move follows the layoffs of thousands of workers at Chrysler, including over 1,100 who had been trained under the federally subsidized JOBS program.

The cutback in the JOBS program at Chrysler shows what a fraud this program is in terms of its goal of eliminating unemployment among the "hard core unemployed." The program which was launched in January 1968 was warmly embraced by both Johnson and Nixon because it relied heavily on the "private sector" to combat unemployment. But it is the crisis of the capitalist system itself, based on this "private sector" which is producing the recession. According to the government estimates, unemployment may easily reach the 6% mark in this year, threatening an all out depression. Far more important to Nixon and his masters on Wall Street than jobs for the youth and minorities is the Administration's program to "cool off the economy" in order to save the bosses' profits.

The scrapping of the JOBS program at Chrysler is an attack not only on the "hard core unemployed" but, like the persecution of the Panthers, the Carswell appointment, the racist statements by Agnew, and the passage of the Stennis amendment, represents

a sharp turn against the entire working class by the ruling class.

CLOSING

The cancellation of the JOBS program by Chrysler was a direct result of the slump that has hit the auto market, with Chrysler, the "sick man" of the auto industry, getting hit the hardest. But now, the Ford Motor Company, which up to recently had been less affected by the slump, has given "indefinite" layoff notices to another 3,000 workers and ordered shutdowns of 6 assembly plants for from one week to 11 days, affecting 17,200 workers. In addition, Ford is presently closing its Dallas plant which employed 1,550 workers. The total number of workers now on "indefinite" layoff in the auto industry is nearing 30,000.

Clearly the slump in the auto industry is reaching disastrous proportions, posing the need for an all out offensive by the UAW against unemployment around the fight for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. As Meany himself said, "we have a recession and rising prices at the same time." While the UAW contract proposals for the negotiations with the auto bosses correctly raise the demand for a substantial wage gain and the return of the FULL cost of living escalator, Reuther has buried the demand for the "shorter work week" somewhere down near the bottom of the very long list of demands. The demand for the shorter work week, spelled out loud and clear as "30 for 40" must be placed right at the top of the list along with the escalator clause. That is the only way to mount a real fight against unemployment.

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YSA REVISIONIONISTS RETREAT



WORKERS LEAGUE SPOKESMAN, PAT CONNOLLY CALLS FOR LABOR ACTION TO END THE WAR AT BOSTON CONFERENCE

BY PAT CONNOLLY

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Mar. 1--The New England Anti-War Conference held here this weekend had about a thousand participants from the entire area, including the YSA, SMC, SJS, PL, CP, YWLL, and many liberal and pacifist organizations. The conference was held to map out perspectives for spring actions against the war called by the New Mobilization Committee, the National Moratorium Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee. Nine major proposals were placed before the conference for the orientation of the spring actions.

What was clear from the development of the conference, after floor fights around organizational questions, was that the Stalinists, coalesced around the Communist Party youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, are using the cover of a "multi-issue" approach to diffuse the fight against the war.

At the time when Vietnam becomes the central class question facing the working class internationally, the Stalinists, hard on the heels of the liberals, and in conjunction with the

Kremlin's need for deals with imperialism, are pulling back from the fight against the war, and attempting to dissolve the anti-war movement.

This tendency, which marked the National SMC Conference in Cleveland, found even stronger expression here in Cambridge as the Communist Party youth played a greater role. Clearly the YWLL has been able to grow in strength as a result of the bankruptcy of the YSA and the continuing crisis of the various factions of SJS.

REACTIONS

In the face of this attempt by the Stalinists to defuse the war issue, there were two reactions. One was the polarization around the Stalinists of many tendencies--women's liberation, the Grass Roots Organizing Committee, FL-SDS, the November Action Committee, RYM II--all of whom share the Stalinists classless conceptions. At the same time there was the complete political impotence of the YSA-SMC, their inability to fight Stalinism, and their capitulation to it.

The YSA was capable of fighting the Stalinists only on organizational grounds. This was made clear in a floor fight on the first day of the conference. The Stalinists moved to break down the plenary session, and have workshops in the afternoon, rather than having two plenary sessions during the day and workshops in the evening. Rather than having a central political discussion of the question of Vietnam and the proposals presented before the conference for action against the war, the Stalinists wanted to have workshops, "rapping" about everything from women's lib, to ecology, to gay liberation.

The YSA fought this attempt to diffuse the issue of Vietnam by treating it as an organizational question. Incapable of drawing out politically the meaning of the Stalinist proposals, the YSA contended that there weren't enough rooms reserved for workshops and therefore the conference should stick to the agenda and have the plenary session as scheduled. They could not fight for the centrality of the Vietnam question by posing it as the central class issue facing the working class, rather they said that "It's the one thing we all agree on--the war has to be stopped--so let's stick to the main issue of Vietnam for the sake of unity."

Despite their inability politically to fight the Stalinists, the YSA-SMC won this motion by a narrow margin after a heated fight, and then withdrew its motion to continue the

plenary session and AGREED TO DIFFUSE THE CONFERENCE INTO WORKSHOPS!

CAPITULATE

It was as if they WANTED the Stalinists to diffuse the fight against the war. After being unable to fight them politically, and winning the majority in spite of this, the YSA-SMC capitulated completely to the Stalinists, and in that way capitulated completely to the desire of the ruling class to play down the question of the war.

They agreed to have the afternoon workshops, despite the vote, "for the sake of unity." That is, unity at the Stalinists' price, on the Stalinists' program. As one YSAer put it, "If we insist on having the plenary, the Stalinists will walk out and we'll be left by ourselves."

In other words, the YSA would rather have the fight against the war diffused, and used by the Stalinists to create a popular front link-up with the liberal politicians, than to fight politically against the Stalinists. To fight the Stalinists openly and politically would immediately break up the unprincipled unity of their own popular front coalition with the Stalinists in the peace movement. This is the meaning of Fabloism. These are the politics which lead inevitably to capitulation before Stalinism.

LINKS

Every tendency at the conference, with the exception of the YSA, was talking about the working class as they never have before. But the YSA was totally incapable of showing the links which tie all of these tendencies together, that is, Stalinism, the policy of drawing sections of the working class into a middle class reformist movement. Instead, the YSA was forced to attack from the right, saying that the working class is not in motion and therefore the anti-war movement should stick to the issue of Vietnam because it is the issue capable of mobilizing the largest numbers (of the middle class).

Every tendency at the conference, with the exception of the Workers League, either basically agreed with the Stalinists or were paralyzed by them.

Despite all the talk of the working class, no other group could pose the fight to mobilize the working class against the war. The YWLL proposed a tax committee to inform

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC MEETING

HEAR LUCY ST. JOHN, EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN

THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

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YSA SUPPORTS

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO, March 1--Around three hundred people attended the Western States Anti-War Conference here hosted by the Bay Area Peace Action Council (BAFAC). Clearly the turnout was way below its sponsors' hopes not only in size but in areas represented. It thus was a serious blow to the work of the YSA-SWP and SMC which have been the major force in BAFAC. The conference was boycotted by Progressive Labor and most of the SDS-type independent forces.

Sidney Lens of the New Mobilization Committee was the keynote speaker and from that moment on the SWP-YSA sought to maintain its bloc with the liberals and with the Stalinists.

The major struggle on the first day took place around a proposal by

the Vietnam Action Committee of Berkeley that no "ruling class speakers" be permitted on the platform of any future peace demonstrations. They made it clear that spokesmen for both the Democratic and Republican parties were to be barred.

Speaker after speaker from the SWP and YSA opposed this motion insisting that the peace movement must be "broad" enough to include the capitalist parties. They were supported in this position by the liberals and Stalinists present and the motion was defeated by a vote of 200 to 80.

While the Vietnam Action Committee was able to expose in this way the ties of the SWP-YSA and Stalinists to the ruling class parties they themselves had no alternative to offer to these policies. Everything was

BEFORE STALINISM AT BOSTON

workers that their taxes are paying for the war! The November Action Committee radicals proposed 5 day student strikes against the war culminating in marches against "clearly imperialist targets"--Frudential, United Fruit Co., Internal Revenue Service offices, etc. to raise anti-imperialist consciousness among working people. The Grass Roots Committee wants to start its own mass media to "rap" to workers about the war. A liberal group called for "self-determination for Vietnam, and writing our congressmen about the war and taxes." The Labor Committee wants to tell workers to restructure the economy under Reuther's program. All of them oppose the massive mobilization of the working class against the war in Vietnam.

EXPOSE

The second day of the conference exposed sharply and clearly what lies beneath all this talk of the working class. The Women's Liberation group demanded that there be discussion of its proposal that women's liberation be a central focus in the spring actions against the war. The YSA fought this organizationally by pointing out that it wasn't on the agenda. The Stalinists and their supporters left the conference to caucus on the question and came back in full support of the Women's Liberation group.

At this point the conference broke down into complete hysteria. Girls

were weeping at the microphone that they are oppressed. A spokesman for the group claimed that "fascism is male supremacy run rampant." Another speaker contended that women are a colonized people within imperialism, that the women's liberation movement will get even for the rape and murder and oppression women have suffered. All in all it was emotional, hysterical middle class garbage.

UNITY

At this point the SMC-YSA caucused and after a plea for unity and no political discussion, came back into the conference with a proposal that they hoped the conference could agree on: For mass united action against the war on April 15, around the central demand of "Bring All the Troops Home Now," and that other days in the week of April 13-18 be set aside for demonstrations around specific aspects of the war such as war taxes, women and the war, GIs, the draft, Third World oppression. These were the original demands in the SMC proposal arrived at by agreement with the New Mobe. To these demands, the YSA-SMC in caucus added the November Action Committee demand for 5 day student strikes, and work stoppages where possible. The floor was then open for "friendly amendments," which promptly poured forth from the Stalinists--the fight for decent education, decent housing, writ-

ing to senators about the war, the struggle for Third World liberation.

LIBERALS

At this point, Progressive Labor made the motion that in the future no liberals be allowed to speak at anti-war rallies. SDS, the November Action Committee, the Grass Roots Committee, Women's Liberation group, and all the "radicals" blocked with PL. The Communist Party and the YSA blocked together defending the liberals. PL's proposal carried with the votes of the "radicals" against the combined bloc of the CP-YSA.

This action on the final day let the cat out of the bag and revealed for all to see the completely unprincipled character of the entire conference. Progressive Labor, for all its talk about the "revisionism" of the Communist Party, was more than happy to spend the entire day Saturday in bed politically with the Stalinists around an organizational proposal which meant the diffusion of the Vietnam question into a host of reformist causes. The YSA, which was forced into an organizational battle for a full day with the Communist Party, found itself standing with the Communist Party on Sunday over the critical issue of liberalism itself.

The issue at this conference, just as at the Cleveland conference, was Trotskyism versus Stalinism. It was the Workers League which fought for

Trotskyism: for a complete break with reformism, for the independent struggle of the working class against the Vietnam war. The YSA could not fight Stalinism politically because it stood with Stalinism politically--it supported the conception of a multi-class, that is, bourgeois, peace movement.

FORWARD

The only way forward is through mobilizing the working class against the War on April 15th and going forward from April 15th to a massive labor march on Washington and San Francisco Memorial Day demanding:

Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops From Vietnam!

Against Inflation and Unemployment--For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!

Against Racism--Jobs For All!

Build A Labor Party!

smc adopts working class program at city college

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK--The Student Mobilization Committee at City College last week passed the motion that the central orientation of the fight against the war in the Spring Actions would be on a class basis.

This motion, which was put forward by the Workers League, called for the SMC to mobilize students and workers against the war around these demands:

Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops From Vietnam!

Against Unemployment and Inflation--For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!

Against Racism--Jobs For All!

Build a Labor Party!

Both the Young Socialist Alliance and Progressive Labor - SDS were clearly opposed to a working class program being brought into the anti-war movement. All that PL-SDS could offer was the demand that ROTC be driven off campus to "raise anti-imperialist consciousness" and "to show our contempt for this war." The YSA supported this demand and incorporated it into their overall program for the Spring Action against the war at CCNY. It was clear from their rejection of a working class program that they both are interested in protesting the war, but refuse to take up a program that can stop the war.

MASQUERADES

It was also clear that despite the fact that the YSA masquerades under the name "Trotskyist," they are in complete agreement with the Stalinists on building a multi-class popular front, and that they are completely opposed to the independent mobilization of the working class.

Despite the YSA-IL-SDS fight against a working class program being brought into the fight against the war, this motion was passed by the SMC meeting as the central focus of the Spring Action against the war. The Workers League intends to fight for the implementation of this program both on the campuses and in the trade unions. We will fight every effort to diffuse the fight against the war, and every effort to keep the working class out of the lead in this fight.

YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE SPEAKER TAKES THE FLOOR TO PRESENT REFORMIST PROGRAM



POPULAR FRONT IN S F.

on the level of propaganda about imperialism and multi-issue demonstrations.

The IS grouping played a similar role. It called for a "turn to the working class" but made it clear that this turn really amounted to no more than a slightly different mixture of reformism from that of the YSA and the Stalinists. It combined "labor demands" with calls for women's liberation and third world liberation. It called for a no vote to the Democrats and Republicans but refused to call for a labor party thus opening up the door to another bourgeois Peace and Freedom-type party. Its whole orientation was to talk about the working class in middle class circles rather than to develop a fighting class program to be actually taken into the labor movement.

Jeff Sebastian of the Workers League pointed out that the YSA was actually proposing to continue the very popular front policies of the Communist Party which led to fascism and defeat in the 1930s. This was the meaning of its refusal to bar ruling class speakers from future peace demonstrations. A spokesman for the SWP claimed that this popular front was in actuality a "united front" thus in a few sentences repudiating the entire struggle of the Fourth International on this question.

The Workers League proposed the following motion to the conference:

"The Western States Anti-War Conference resolves that the central purpose of April 13-18 anti-war actions will be to bring the labor movement into these actions fighting to center the demonstrations on class

demands.

"The Western States Anti-War Conference call on the national anti-war movement to go forward to a mass labor march on Washington and San Francisco on Memorial Day on the following demands:

Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops from Vietnam!

Against Inflation and Unemployment--For the Wage Offensive and the 30 Hour Week at 40 Hours Pay!

Against Racism--Jobs For All!

Build a Labor Party!"

The Workers League announced that it would proceed forthwith to the fight for this position directly in the trade union movement of the Bay Area as well as within the SMC and similar bodies and would prepare its own intervention on April 13-18 on this basis.

ISRAEL USES NAZI METHODS AGAINST ARABS

BY MARTY JONAS

All the wailing in the capitalist press about the alleged Arab bombing of passenger planes bound for Israel is only meant to cover up Israel's own murderous and expansionist course in the Middle East. It is all to divert attention from the obvious fact that the Zionist rulers of Israel are stopping at nothing to preserve and extend their occupied territories.

Prime Minister Meir said after the Swissair crash: "These organizations (Palestinian guerrillas) have put themselves outside the laws and morality of human society.... Only a very strong reaction from countries and civil aviation bodies will put a stop to those criminals and an end to their killings and destructions." But it is the Israeli government that is the criminal, and the violence of the oppressor--Zionism and its imperialist backers is at question.

The Meir-Dayan regime, behind all its self righteous propaganda, has revealed in fact that it is quite capable of utilizing all of the methods of the Nazis to carry out its aggressive and expansionist aims against the Arab peoples.

COWARDLY

This indeed was the lesson of the brutal bombing of a Cairo metal works factory on February 12th. Eighty workers were killed and close to a hundred wounded. Many are badly burned from napalm. The planes that carried the deadly cargo were U.S.-supplied Phantoms. As ultra-right wing Minister of Transport, General Weizman boasted: "Israel is using American equipment and using it well."

They have since followed this brutal and cowardly attack with continued bombardment of Arab targets. This same Weizman, the architect of Is-

rael's air strategy in the 1967 war, has also stated that Transjordan will one day be part of Israel.

These latest adventures, equal only to the operations of the U.S. in Vietnam, are designed to test the defenses of the Arabs in anticipation of a major offensive to expand Israel's domination further into Arab territory.

But the efforts of Meir, Dayan, and Weizman to push their savage expedition any further are not assured of success.

ANGER

They now have to contend with the Israeli working class. It was the anger of the Israeli workers in Mapam ("left" labor party) which brought the pressure on the Zionist government, forcing them to offer "apologies" for the bombing of the Cairo metalworks. As the Zionists attempt to carry out their plans against the Arab workers and peasants, they will find mounting opposition from their own working class. The increasing attacks on the Arab people are taking place at the same time as the Zionists are forced to open up an economic attack on the Israeli workers.

The Arab workers and peasants, organized primarily in Al Fatah, are showing their determination to push over any obstacles to fight the Zionist murderers. The greatest of these obstacles are the bourgeois nationalist Arab leaders themselves.

HUSSEIN

A state of near civil war has been reached in Jordan as the reactionary regime of King Hussein has been making every attempt to disarm

guerrillas there. Thirty guerrillas were killed in one encounter. The Palestinian guerrilla radio has accused Hussein of a plan "to confront the Palestinian resistance and not the Israeli enemy."

In Lebanon, the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization has capitulated to the unwillingness of the Lebanese government to carry forward the fight against Zionism. It was reported last week that the F.L.O. heads had agreed with the government that commandos would not carry arms into the cities and would limit their agitation and fund-raising to the refugee camps. This is exactly the agreement which Hussein was trying to extract from the guerrillas in Jordan! Thus the pressure of the imperialists is transmitted right through the Lebanese government to the petit-bourgeois guerrilla leadership. This comes right on the heels of the return of Arafat, the guerrilla leader, from a conference with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The fight for the socialist revolution in the Middle East must go forward with the military defeat of Zionism and the construction of a socialist leadership in Israel and the Arab countries. More and more the Israeli workers will see that their allies are not the Zionist rulers but the Arab-Palestinian fighters who are struggling for self-determination against imperialism. To stop the Zionists and their imperialist masters it will be necessary to unite the struggles of the Arab workers and peasants against imperialism with the struggles of the Israeli workers for socialism.

GRAVEDIGGERS REJECT BINDING ARBITRATION



STRIKING GRAVEDIGGER PICKETS CEMETERY IN 7TH WEEK OF STRIKE

BY KAREN FRANKEL

The gravediggers' strike is now into its seventh week, and the workers do not intend to give in one inch. The strike is completely solid, and the gravediggers say that they will stay out several more months if their demands are not met. The basic demand is for a \$30.00 per week increase over the present \$126.50 per week, and a two year contract. The cemetery bosses have offered \$22.50 over three years. The gravediggers emphatically stated that this offer was totally inadequate, and that with the rising cost of living, a three year contract would be suicide.

ARBITRATION

When asked how they felt about Lindsay's binding arbitration proposal, the men replied that the Mayor should keep out of their bargaining. They flatly rejected the idea that binding arbitration could get them any gains. The gravediggers were quite clear on the fact that this sort of tactic will do nothing more than tie their hands by saying that they cannot legally fight for a better wage settlement.

The gravediggers appeared confident in their leadership, but made clear that if the union leadership acquiesced to binding arbitration or a long term contract, they would have to answer to the men. The last contract, after a four week strike, was settled by an offer of a six dollar raise over three years. The union leadership rationalized their sellout at that time by saying that "...You can't squeeze water out of a stone." This time around, the men are firmly intent on squeezing. The religious leaders have not been able to pressure the workers back. As one gravedigger put it, "The Orthodox ones can dig their own graves."

Next Monday, the men will be eligible for unemployment benefits. They know that this means that this weekend there will be some movement on the part of both the cemetery bosses and the union leadership for a settlement before those benefits start rolling in. They are very concerned about being able to keep up with inflation and rising taxes, and when the question of a full cost of living escalator was raised, they felt that they could and should hold out for it.

SAN FRANCISCO NURSES VOTE TO STRIKE

BY EARL OWENS

SAN FRANCISCO, Mar. 3-- Five hundred nurses, interns, aides and supporters stood in front of the San Francisco General Hospital last week at a stop work meeting. The nurses had just voted for strike action with only 3 votes against. They were protesting against the proposal by the head of Civil Service, which would give City workers only 5% increases, and then take it back by eliminating increments and night differentials.

The union bureaucrats opened this meeting calling for 10% increases, but ignored the rank and file demands for fringe benefits and collective bargaining. Divisions still exist between the workers, particularly the nurses, who refuse to be in the same union with the porters. Another divisive force in General Hospital has been the Maoist Workers Defense Committee who make the main emphasis Third World and preferential hiring demands rather than working class demands which can unite all workers.

While City workers throughout San Francisco are prepared for a strike, the New Leftists "do your own thing" SSEU has declared they will not go on strike because the "Labor Council cannot expect workers in the Department of Social Services to sacrifice their jobs over an increase in wages issue."

STRIKE

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats have set up a Council of Public Employee Unions, with closed meetings, to coordinate City workers and negotiate with the Board of Supervisors. Because of protest from the rank and file caucus, the leaders of Local

400 have permitted a rank and file strike committee to be formed. However, the genuineness of this committee must be questioned given that certain select individuals have received letters stating: "You have been appointed to the Local 400 strike committee... You have been named to represent your department."

Real rank and file committees must be built to take control of the strike. Phoney rank and file committees can only cover up a betrayal. The Secretary of the Central Labor Council, George Johns, has personal power to give or withhold strike sanction. He is now negotiating on his own to prevent a strike. City workers, unless they are politically prepared to fight their union leadership, will be sold out. Only a citywide strike can win collective bargaining and a 10% increase.

Workers League

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