

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 23-137 MARCH 16, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

French Police  
Raid Trotskyist  
Youth  
Headquarters

**no deals! all out for victory!**

## PATHET LAO SHOWS THE WAY!



PATHET LAO ARMY (LEFT)  
PLAIN OF JARS AFTER  
RECENT BATTLE (RIGHT)



BY THE EDITOR

The diplomats in Washington, Moscow and Hanoi are scurrying around seeking to pick up the pieces scattered to the high winds by the military initiative of the Pathet Lao army in regaining the Plain of Jars. Once again, as in the Tet Offensive, the action of the workers and peasants has dealt harsh blows against the imperialists and their puppets and placed the Stalinist bureaucrats in a vulnerable, frightened position.

The Plain of Jars offensive reveals first of all the complete fraud of Nixon's so-called "de-escalation" and "Vietnamization" of the war. In actuality it is now clear to all that the United States has gone on the OFFENSIVE militarily in Laos with bombing raids on the scale of those in North Vietnam before the bombing halt, and through the seizure of the Plain of Jars by the CIA-organized Royal Laotian and clandestine Meo armies.

Thus we see there has been no de-escalation of the war at all. Instead the war has been shifted to

Laos, part of the burden of fighting in Vietnam shifted to South Vietnamese troops and a general streamlining of the U.S. armies in Vietnam carried through. In no sense has Nixon given up a military policy aimed at delivering blows to the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Laos and thus forcing a deal on U.S. terms. The United States remains determined to defeat the Vietnamese people regardless of the cost

in Vietnamese and American lives.

The ability of the Pathet Lao Army to so thoroughly rout the Royal Laotian Army reveals the completely bankrupt and corrupt character of the Phouma government. This so-called "neutralist" government rests on the U.S. and the corrupt royalist ruling class forces of Laos. It was essentially class questions which were decisive in Laos. The weak-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)



**Behind  
Featherstone  
Murder, Lamar  
Mob—Nixon  
Fans Racism**

**LOCAL 400 VOTES STRIKE--CLOSE DOWN SF!**

# FRENCH POLICE BREAK INTO TROTSKYIST YOUTH PREMISES



PARIS HEADQUARTERS OF THE TROTSKYIST

BY JOHN SPENCER

The Paris offices of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (French Trotskyist youth movement affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth Inter-

national) were raided by a strong force of police on Wednesday, March 4th.

Ten policemen insisted on searching the AJS premises on the pretext of looking for arms. They had

no warrant for the search.

After thoroughly inspecting the premises, the police left a strong guard stationed outside the building throughout the day.

The AJS-- which organized the highly successful Trotskyist youth rally of 10,000 at Le Bourget on February 1st--recently moved into larger premises to keep pace with the rapid growth of its membership.

French Trotskyists have been in the forefront of the struggles now mounting in the universities against the Pompidou government's sweeping cutbacks in education.

Pompidou's government is clearly extremely worried about the growth of the revolutionary youth movement in France.

Their measures of repression against the students and the youth are a preparation for heavy blows against the working class to take back all the gains the workers made in May-June 1968.

The raid on the AJS premises came just one day after the brutal battle on the campus of Nanterre university, in which police ran amuck against students, with vicious baton charges, tear gas and savage beatings.

In this pogrom of the students, dozens were severely injured.

At one point, a section of the Gendarmerie Mobile (a special police formation) intervened to form a cordon between police and students to protect students from the savagery of other policemen.

In conjunction with other left-wing student organizations, the AJS took part yesterday in a mass rally at Nanterre against the police measures and the Fouchet-Faure plans to slash higher education.

The Communist Party refused to take part in the rally.

#### STRIKE CALL

The AJS has also called for a general strike in the colleges and schools to answer the police repression.

As the working class moves more and more into struggle against the employers, not only in France but in every other part of Europe, the conditions for the building of the mass revolutionary party are rapidly maturing.

That is why Pompidou mortally fears the revolutionary youth movement in France which is growing stronger every day despite the brutal vice repressions.

## what the editors think...

Several trade union officials in New York recently announced their support for the anti-war demonstrations slated for April 13-18th in many large cities. Even on the basis of a reformist program this is a significant step in mobilizing the working class against the war. The first announcements of trade union participation in the April protests show once again the potential for defeating Nixon and ending the war if the power of the working class is brought to bear.

The union leaderships, however, seek to leave the participation on a protest level. They sow the illusion that the end of the war will free the resources necessary to attack social problems at home. In other words, that capitalism remains a progressive system and Vietnam is only a wart on its face.

These leaders spread reformist illusions precisely at the time when the imperialists move toward new adventures in Laos and when attacks on the workers are being stepped up at home. This takes the form not only of the Chicago 7 and Panther trials and all the police-state moves for preventive detention and similar measures, but also the growing unemployment together with inflation, the mass arrests of striking teachers, the all-out effort to break the wage offensive, and the threat of anti-union legislation.

Martin Morgenstern, President of Social Service Employees Union, Local 371 in New York, states, "The workers of this country are paying for the war. This war is being waged at the expense of the working class. The first duty of the labor movement is to oppose the Vietnam War." We agree entirely with these words, but the lesson is clear. The only way to oppose the war is to oppose the bosses in whose interests it is being waged. The way to do this is to mobilize the unions on the April demonstrations with their own banners which link the question of Vietnam with the fight for all the demands of the labor movement at home. This can be the opening gun of a campaign building towards a mass labor demonstration in Washington and then industrial action to

end the war. Labor participation on a mass basis is required in April. The demands should include immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, the fight against inflation and unemployment, for the wage offensive and the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and against racism-- jobs for all, and the building of a labor party.

Morgenstern and his fellow officials do not carry forward the fight to oppose the war when they plan protests at tax offices on April 15th instead of massive intervention in demonstrations which are politically directed against the bosses. The need is to break with the employers and their government, not to bloc with the liberals whose only interest is to cut their losses in Vietnam so that they can get on with the job of stepping up exploitation back home.

The greatest supporter of the line of backing the liberals and dissolving the anti-war energy of the working class into meaningless protest is the Communist Party. This is reflected in the news coverage of the Daily World, which speaks not of the fighting potential of the ranks, but of the wonderful intentions of the so-called "labor peace leaders."

The Daily World reports uncritically on a full page ad in the Washington Post signed by trade unionists and connected with the liberal Vietnam Moratorium Committee. This statement says quite simply, "As long as we are in Vietnam, we will have insufficient housing, education, and health care." "We" means the bosses as well as the workers, and the message is clear: let us make a deal in Vietnam and get back to business as usual in the U.S.

Confused patriotic and reformist illusions are held by millions of workers. The job of Marxists is to shatter these illusions in struggle, not to help build them. It is for this reason that we welcome every trade union participation in the anti-war demonstrations and fight for the largest participation possible. At the same time we fight all the harder against the reformist politics of the Communist Party and the union bureaucrats.

## Brutal Police Attack On Nanterre Students

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Nanterre University, outside Paris, closed classes in the Law and Literature faculties last week. Teaching was stopped on the orders of the French government to allow the University authorities, in collaboration with the police, to attempt to restore order. The thoroughfares of the campus were guarded by large bodies of armed riot police.

Police were brought onto the campus after clashes between fascist and left wing student organizations. Left wing students have been involved in violent clashes during the last week, both with the police and with bands of fascists from both inside and outside the university.

Members of the extreme right-wing organization Union-droit have stationed themselves around examination halls to prevent the picketing of examinations. The Students' Union has called for a boycott on certain of the examinations which have been retained despite government pro-

mises of educational reform.

The clashes at Nanterre are not a student question. French fascism is using the campus as a training ground for its strike-breakers and thugs, and finding there the protection of the "forces of public order".

Hundreds of students were injured when police attacked faculty buildings swinging batons and throwing gas canisters. Students defended themselves, retreating inside the university buildings and using classroom furniture for barricades.

The French ruling class is sharpening its most brutal weapons at Nanterre, in preparation for attacks on the working class. The Nanterre events, the fascist provocations in Italian universities and the exposure of secret political files on students in England underline the class basis of the crisis in European universities.

The way forward for students can only lie in the preparation of the working class for a struggle to overthrow the whole of capitalist society.



POLICE VICIOUSLY ATTACK STUDENTS ON THE NANTERRE CAMPUS.

# Nixon Fans Racism In Featherstone Murder, Lamar

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

March 11--Last night Ralph Featherstone was brutally murdered when a bomb exploded in the car in which he was driving with another man in Bel Air, Maryland. Featherstone was a leader of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee and played a major role in the voter registration drive conducted by SNCC in the South in the early 1960s.

The killing of Featherstone follows on the heels of the cowardly attack on a busload of black children by a mob of 200 wielding clubs and axe handles in Lamar, South Carolina. These racist attacks have been unleashed by the Nixon Administration and have gained momentum in the past weeks with the backtracking on integration and the openly racist statements of the Administration.

The murder of Featherstone and the incident at Lamar pose sharply

the urgent need for the labor movement to take action against the racist policies of the government, as part and parcel of the attacks on the working class and the trade unions.

While the Nixon Administration has opened the door to the most reactionary forces in the South, it is proceeding with its moves against black militants. The explosion that killed Featherstone occurred near the courthouse where his close friend H. Rap Brown is being tried on trumped-up charges of inciting a riot and arson in Cambridge, Maryland. The charges against Brown go back to the rebellions in the ghettos in 1967. Brown is being tried on the basis of a speech he gave in Cambridge in which he allegedly said "burn down this town."

The fires that started in Cambridge were part of the whole struggle by black youth in reaction to the deplorable conditions in the ghettos,



CLUB-WIELDING MOB SURROUNDS SCHOOL BUS IN LAMAR, S.C.

and the moves by the government to push them back even further. It was this frustration and hostility to capitalism that was at the roots of the rebellions which swept not only Cambridge but the entire country.

With the government's attack on Brown and on the Panthers, the victim is indeed becoming the accused. The real cause and the real enemy lies in the capitalist system and its rulers. Nothing could make this clearer than the measures taken by Nixon and Congress to turn back the clock on desegregation and put the ghetto on a semi-legal footing with Nixon's talk of the sanctity of neighborhood schools. These policies are expressed in Patrick Daniel Moynihan's racist principle of "benign neglect" for the ghetto.

The murder of Featherstone, the attacks on the school children in Lamar, the trials of Brown and the Panthers must be seen as attacks on the working class as a whole. The attack on integration is very much a part of the offensive to drive back the wages and conditions of the working class. The attack on black mili-

tants is part of the conscious policy of the Nixon Administration to break the power of the working class with laws and with the courts. The government is preparing the way to implement its new laws proposed against the trade unions.

### RACIST

Nixon and Agnew come forth today with the racist demogogy of a Wallace precisely when the real solidarity and unity of the working class is being posed from the struggles of the Newark teachers to the fight of the San Rafael printers. The government uses this racist poison to divide the working class and to drive it back. Nixon and Agnew are nurturing the racist, anti-working class forces behind Wallace.

The labor movement must immediately take action against these attacks. The unions must call a demonstration to answer the murder of Featherstone and the attacks against black militants, raising the demand for unity in a class battle against racism and against the attacks on the trade unions.

## Local 400 Votes Strike 6 to 1-- All S.F. Labor Must Join!

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO--Last Monday the Board of Supervisors made city workers an insulting offer--a 5% wage increase with cancellation of all seniority increments and a 10% wage decrease for beginning clerks. The wage decrease proposed for clerks, if accepted, would open the way for wage decreases for other city workers. This offer which represents a major attack on the city labor movement is being combined with plans for wholesale reorganization and rationalization of city departments which will mean job cuts, layoffs and speedup.

Monday night the membership of Local 400 voted by a 6 to 1 margin for strike action. Local 400 is a union which includes city clerks, school kitchen workers, librarians, nurses, social workers, as well as employees of the Port Authority and the airport. Also voting for a strike is Local 250 of the hospital workers and Local 66A maintenance workers. The teachers union has promised it will not cross the picket lines.

The leadership of Local 400 has been forced to call this strike under tremendous pressure from the ranks. While this strike can shut down schools, docks, airports, hospitals and city hall, clearly much more is required than other unions simply honoring Local 400's pickets. What is at stake in this strike is not just the demands of Local 400

but the demands of the entire city labor movement.

### FIREMEN

In the recent period the firemen, who have been working one 24 hour shift with several days off afterwards are being pressured to accept 8 hour shifts. At General Hospital and in the schools, conditions have deteriorated and workers are being forced to do twice the work. In the Welfare Department there have been job cuts and social workers are being replaced with clerks at lower pay. Many unions have been attempting to fight this situation for months.

The strike call by Local 400 must be seen as a strike call for the entire city labor movement in San Francisco. The other city unions must do more than honor 400's picket lines, they must join the strike in full, bringing their demands into the battle. This is the only way to defeat the city's attempts to drive back the wages and conditions of city workers.

The leadership of Local 400 is attempting to limit the struggle just to its members. This can only aid in isolating the struggle. The ranks of Local 400 must demand that its leadership take this struggle into all city unions. The ranks must be warned that wages are not the only issue involved in this struggle. Central to the city's drive to make the workers pay for the employers' economic crisis is a combined attack on wages, jobs, and working conditions.

### STRIKE

The city will attempt to take back any concessions on wages through job cuts and speedup. Limiting the struggle to just the 10% wage increase, as the 400 leadership is trying to do, opens the door to the city's plans of rationalization. The ranks of all city unions must demand ironclad guarantees on workload and full employment. This is the only way to beat back the reorganization going forward in the Fire and Welfare Departments.

The strike voted by Local 400 shows the way forward. The fight must now be taken up by all city unions bringing their demands into the struggle and shutting down the entire city of San Francisco until these demands are met. A citywide rally of all unions must be called to map out a strategy for a general strike.

## pathet lao...

(CONTINUED FROM COVER)

ness of the Royal Army lay in its class basis--in the fact that it rested on the corrupt ruling class of Laos and this ruling class in turn survives only because of support from U.S. imperialism. It is the class question which will be decisive in Vietnam as well.

The movement of the workers and peasants in Laos has undercut the position of the ruling bureaucracies of the workers states as well as panicked the Nixon Administration. Thus suddenly we see a spurt of proposals from both sides for a new agreement based on the very Geneva Accords which laid the basis for the war to begin with, in both Vietnam and Laos. The Pathet Lao's proposal, put forward by Prince Souphanouvong to his half-brother Phouma and endorsed by Hanoi, actually goes so far as to demand recognition of the throne!

### STALINISTS

What frightened both imperialists and bureaucrats was that the Pathet Lao offensive revealed that the Phouma government survives in Laos only at the grace of the Pathet Lao. If the Pathet Lao had chosen to move on to Vientiane nothing could have stopped them. A Pathet Lao sweep in Laos would have been an immeasurable aid to the NLF in neighboring South Vietnam and a decisive blow to disintegrate the Saigon Government.

But the offensive stopped at the edge of the Plain of Jars, for the Stalinists did not want to proceed further, to carry forward the civil war in Laos and South Vietnam to victory through the military and social overturn of the imperialist-backed capitalist regimes.

We stand and have always stood for the victory of the NLF and of the Pathet Lao as the only progressive solution to the war. This is

why we refuse to limit our support of the NLF to the political position of the NLF and its sponsors in Hanoi, Moscow and Peking. This is the traitorous position of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as of McCarthy and the rest of the liberals now seeking to use the victory on the battlefield in Laos as an excuse to negotiate a defeat at the tables in Paris.

### LEADERSHIP

The way forward in Vietnam is to fight on to victory. The way forward in the United States is for working class leadership of the struggle against the war.

This is why the Workers League states: A VICTORY OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF VIETNAM AND LAOS IS A VICTORY FOR THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS! A VICTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS IS A VICTORY FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF VIETNAM AND LAOS! Now we must redouble our efforts to turn the April 13-18th mobilizations around the leadership of the working class and move forward to a mass labor march on Washington on Memorial Day!

## Workers League

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: 1333A Stevenson St. Phone: 626-7019  
Los Angeles: 11260 Missouri Ave. No. 1. Phone: 473-0464

CONNECTICUT: P.O. Box 162 Shelton, Conn. 06484

ILLINOIS: Chicago: Box 6044, Main P.O.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: P.O. Box 1057, Southfield, Mich. 48075

Oakland University: Phone: 377-2000, Ext. 3034 863-7951

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: P.O. Box 14002 Univ. Sta. Phone: 336-4700

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone: 863-7951

P.O. Box 3174, St. Louis, Mo. 63130

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: Phone: 624-7179

Manhattan: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC. Phone: 254-7120

Columbia: Phone: 866-6384

Cornell: Ed Smith, Rm. 1305, Class of 1977 Hall. Phone: 256-1377

Stony Brook: Phone: 246-5493

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: G.P.O. Box 7714

State College: 718 W. College Ave. Phone: 237-0739

CANADA: Toronto: P.O. Box 5758, Postal Station A

Montreal: Phone: 935-5373

WISCONSIN: Madison: Phone: 257-7559

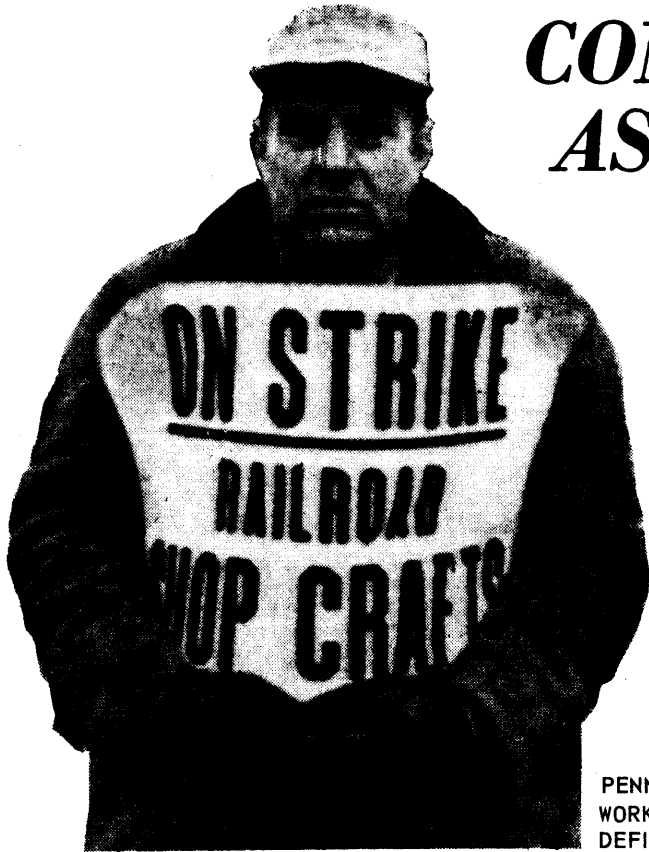
## Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
ART DIRECTOR: Marty Johas

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. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: 254-7120. 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.



# CONGRESS BREAKS RAIL STRIKE AS MOVE TO SLAVE LABOR LAW



PENN CENTRAL  
WORKER IN CLEVELAND  
DEFIES INJUNCTION

BY DAN FRIED

The rapidity with which the U.S. Congress moved to break the railroad shopcraft strike shows that both Nixon and the bipartisan, Democratic-Republican Congress, are sharpening their knives and getting ready to carve up the trade union movement. In one day of "hectic action on Capitol Hill," as the Wall Street Journal described it, they voted to prevent the 48,000 shopcraft workers from striking for a 37 day period--until April 11th. In the Senate, every single "friend of labor" among both the Democrats and Republicans supported this "emergency" law which passed by a vote of 83 to 0. In the House the vote was 343 to 14.

Nixon had at first suggested that Congress impose a "permanent" binding settlement based on the terms that the Sheet Metal Workers had rejected last December as a threat to thousands of jobs. But he was

more than happy to sign into law the stopgap strike breaking measures adopted by Congress. For both Nixon and Congress, this measure allows more time to prepare the passage of Nixon's new law which provides for compulsory arbitration in the transportation industries--railroads, airlines, trucking, maritime and long-shore. Nixon has made it clear that compulsory arbitration in the transportation industry could later be extended to all other industries and as such could be used against the auto workers in the event of a strike next fall.

The government and the railroad carriers are using the threat of this legislation to pressure the Sheet Metal Workers into accepting the terms on the question of revision of work rules which threatens their jobs. George Meany for his part has also done his best to persuade the leaders of the Sheet Metal Workers to swal-

railroad carriers estimate will save them 17 cents an hour.

## TREACHEROUS

The leaders of the three other shopcraft unions have played an even more treacherous role by giving their support to the Nixon proposal for Congress to impose the settlement they had agreed to last December. This settlement was vetoed at that time by the Sheet Metal Workers and in accordance with the agreement of the four unions to stand together, a strike was planned. Led by Mr. William Winnpisinger of the Machinists, they now turn their backs on labor solidarity, stabbing the Sheet Metal Workers in the back by supporting the Congressional strikebreaking.

Meanwhile, the Sheet Metal Workers in the face of the declaration of the railroads not to give an inch, are standing up to the pressure indicating there may still be a strike on April 11th. Following the widespread rank and file wildcat walkouts on the day before the Congressional action, local shopcraft unions have struck California yards of Southern Pacific and Western Pacific in open defiance of the Federal Courts and Congress.

The resistance of these shopcraft workers show the kind of battle that is shaping up as the government steps in to try to smash the militant struggles of the workers for wages and against unemployment. The current jump in the unemployment rate to 4.2% and the continuing runaway inflation add fuel to the fire of this rank and file militancy. With the Congressional action against the shopcraft unions and the proposed compulsory arbitration law, Nixon and the employers have dropped all pretense of the "hands off policy" that Nixon hid behind even as late

as the G.E. strike. The same iron-fisted treatment that has been brought down on the heads of the Black Panthers, the Chicago Conspiracy defendants-- the same all out attack that Agnew and Mitchell have called for against the anti-war movement --is now taking shape against the trade union movement in order to shore up the profits of the U.S. corporations, and to end the inflationary boom that destroys the stability of the dollar as the center of the world monetary system.

## BREAK

In answer to this attack bureaucrats like Winnpisinger crawl before Congress while Meany proposes an "all out voter registration drive" for the elections next November but refuses to break with the Democratic and Republican Parties. What is needed is the immediate launching of a campaign to mobilize the entire trade union movement to prepare for action demanding "no laws against the trade unions." This action must be seen as part of the fight for the complete break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of an independent labor party in the United States.

## Minneapolis Teachers Prepare For Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS-- The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (Local 59) will meet March 18th to accept or reject whatever contract offer the school board has made by that time. If the offer is rejected, as is most probable, and no new offer is made, union teachers will vote April 8th to strike beginning April 9th.

Teachers know that they simply cannot afford another defeat like last year's. But what is necessary is to learn the lessons from that defeat. The leadership of the teachers simply dropped the matter of a strike into the laps of the teachers without offering them any program whatsoever to mobilize behind. No sooner had the vote not to strike been taken than the MFT and the MEA attacked each other as responsible for the sellout.

This time around things must be different. Minneapolis teachers have seen the enormous support given to the heroic Newark teachers by the union movement. This potential exists in Minneapolis.

A real program of large salary increases, full cost of living, union control over job conditions, including smaller class sizes and less hours teaching, can rally all teachers, and students behind a real fight against the plans of the school board to make the teachers and the school system as a whole pay for the financial crisis.

What is necessary is an area wide struggle including St. Paul and the suburbs in a fight for a single contract. This will undercut the strategy of the various school boards--who have always collaborated together--to use divide and conquer tactics, to isolate each local school district.

The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers at its March 18th meeting can take the lead in this struggle and point the way for all Twin City teachers. We urge Local 59 to reject the school board's offer and to take up the struggle for a real, serious program to meet the needs of all Twin Cities teachers.

## PL Plans Student Confrontation In S.F. Strike

BY STEVEN ZELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO-- Bringing hundreds of students into possible confrontation with the police at the picket line of the striking Independent Journal printers is the latest deadly middle class adventure planned by SDS-PL.

The strike which is now going into its third month is in serious trouble. The mass mobilizations of the trade union movement in the Bay area at the plant, and the forced closing of the scab-run newspaper for one day (See Bulletin, March 2) was all the union leadership was about to fight for.

Immediately after the successful closure the union leadership called on the management of the plant to agree to binding arbitration with a recently called in federal mediator. The leadership was already attempting to make large concessions plant by calling in the government to mediate. It exposed further its unwillingness to again mobilize the labor movement when the management rejected even meeting with the federal mediator and felony indictments were issued by the state against the vice president of the ITU at the plant and six others who had been arrested at the earlier militant trade union demonstration at the plant.

It is within this most important labor struggle that SDS-PL now sticks

up its head with a planned student demonstration.

Its whole action is planned around the needs of the students. Instead of fighting to mobilize the labor movement and warn the printers of the attempted sellout, it instead sees the strike as a means to "teach students to be pro-working class" and at the same time to bring them into SDS.

This so-called worker-student alliance is in its essence a popular front with the needs of the working class being subordinated to the needs of the middle class. One PLer at the SDS meeting to plan the demonstration went even so far as to say

that a confrontation between the students and police would be good because it would "show workers in the Bay area that students support their struggles."

What this adventure will only show is that PL with its Stalinist Popular Front will only bring betrayal to the working class.

It is critical that both students and trade unionists take up the fight for the total mobilization of the working class in a mass labor demonstration at the scab run paper to close it permanently if necessary and to force back the criminal indictments against the trade unionists.



UNION PRINTERS PICKET SCAB INDEPENDENT-JOURNAL

# 30 YEARS AFTER



## LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

# PART TWO: TOWARDS THE COUP

**THE OUTBREAK** of the Civil War was no chance happening. It was prepared by a whole succession of bitter class battles that reached back to the last decade of the 19th century and was finally triggered off by a climax of events that had their origin not only in Spanish, but European and world capitalism.

The heavily industrialized regions of the north and around Catalonia were the cradle of the Spanish labour movement. In 1890, the workers first began to act as a national, as distinct from regional, force when they organized a general strike for the eight-hour working day. (This was partly in response to the call for the eight-hour day issued by the founding Congress of the Second International in 1889.)

The next few years saw a rapid awakening of consciousness in the Spanish working class as they drew behind them large sections of the peasantry and rural proletariat.

### Bitter struggles

From their beginning, the class struggles in Spain were bitter and often violent.

Deprived of an expanding internal market and priced out of big sectors of the world market by younger and more efficient rivals, the Spanish capitalist class lost its last American colonies by 1898 and was driven more than class in order to accumulate capital and maintain its rate of profit.

Here, of course, it met with immense resistance in the rapid growth of the Spanish trade unions.

Trapped on all sides, and fearful of a clash with the nobility over the desperately-needed land reform, the ruling class launched itself into a new colonial adventure in North Africa.

But once again Spanish backwardness, the legacy of the old empire, took its toll.

The badly-equipped and Grandee-led army was completely outfought by the Moroccan tribesmen. The government turned to conscription as a panic solution to the problem—and immediately precipitated itself into a far deeper crisis.

A violent strike against the war broke out in Barcelona in July 1909 (the famous Red Week) and rapidly reached insurrectional proportions. The army moved in, crushing the strike only after a week of street-fighting and bloody repressions.

The Spanish working class had come of age.

For the next five years, strike after strike rolled across the length and breadth of Spain, activating not only the entire industrial working class, by this time half a million strong, but important sections of the rural masses.

This was the period of the

exposure of the 'liberals' who dropped their radical phrasemongering when the workers began to move and went over openly to the camp of reaction. Such was the evolution of Lerroux, one-time radical, but after the Red Week a bitter enemy of the workers and in 1936 a Franco supporter.

Only the relative prosperity brought to Spain by its policy of trade with both sides in the First World War blunted the edge of the class struggle.

But by 1916, the partial lull was over as yet another general strike broke out—directed against the rising cost of living brought about by war profiteering.

It was followed by an even bigger strike in August 1917, which reached a revolutionary pitch and was only broken after bitter clashes with the army had resulted in the death of about 70 workers.

But even this bloody defeat did not silence the workers. They could not afford to retreat. The end of the war brought with it rapid contraction of all those industries linked to arms production.

Hundreds of thousands of workers were either sacked or had their wages and conditions attacked.

The pre-war turbulence returned on an even bigger scale.

### 'Strong man'

Between 1918 and the coup d'etat of Primo de Rivera in 1923, no fewer than 12 cabinets were driven from office after their failure to cope with either the rising working-class militancy, the demands of the rural masses or the running sore of the North African colonial adventure.

Unable to develop a revolutionary leadership capable of turning this permanent state of

crisis to revolutionary advantage, the working class exhausted itself in a series of furious strike battles and unco-ordinated local revolts.

Catalan, Galician and Basque separatism, although essentially bourgeois movements, were still a big obstacle to the development of a truly national Spanish workers' movement.

Amidst this turmoil, which continued only because the working class was unable to take power, the stage was being prepared for the rise of the military 'strong man' who could, while championing 'law and order', delude the most back-

King Alfonso XIII, backed by a decisive sector of the ruling class, dismissed Miguel Primo de Rivera in January 1930, before the working class acted independently against the regime.

Devoid of any popular support, the Rivera regime collapsed of its own internal weaknesses and contradictions, which had been masked not only by the short boom, but also by the rift inside the workers' movement.

Trotsky described it thus: 'Six years of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera levelled and compressed in all forms of dissatisfaction and rebellion. Strong towards each of the separate

## A series of articles BY ROBERT BLACK

ward masses with the promises of a 'fair deal'.

Such a man was General Miguel Primo de Rivera, with his slogan of 'Fatherland, Monarchy and Religion'.

It is important in our understanding of this period to make clear that Miguel Primo de Rivera was not a fascist. He was certainly impressed by the success of Mussolini's Italian fascist movement which had also combined support for the monarchy and the church with skilful social demagoguery.

But as a military style Bonapartist, without any mass movement to sustain him, he could only tame the workers' organizations, not crush them.

This he did by cleverly backing the reformist trade unions (the UGT) and Socialist Party against the anarchist FAI and its trade union, the CNT, which were forced into semi-legality.

Through this tactic of splitting the working class by relying on the opportunism of the UGT and Socialist Party leadership (who were drawn into participation in state planning and even the government itself), some stability was achieved.

But even this was only made possible by the post-war recovery of capitalism after 1923. Primo de Rivera, with his half-baked schemes of social reform, bought class peace—at a price.

The ruling class would only continue to pay so long as payment brought results and business remained good.

### The Republic

By 1927, the Rivera experiment was already turning sour, so far as the capitalist class was concerned. After the 1929 world slump, Miguel's removal was only a matter of time. The working class was recovering the unity it had lost after the reformists' treachery in supporting the dictator against the anarchist workers.

classes, it remained impotent in relation to the historic needs of the country. This brought about the wreck of the dictatorship on the submarine reefs of financial and other difficulties before the first revolutionary wave had a chance to reach it. The fall of Primo de Rivera aroused all the forms of dissatisfaction and all hopes. . . .

After a little more than a year (April 14, 1931), the republic was proclaimed. Alfonso had to follow the late dictator into exile. For, in order to preserve their own precarious rule, a section of the ruling class were ready to take the dangerous step of sacrificing the monarchy.

A dangerous step, because in so doing they set in motion, or rather raised to a new pitch, all the hopes of the workers and peasants in a new and better future.

The question facing the republican bourgeoisie was quite simple.

Could they, through an alliance with the leaders of the reformist parties and unions, maintain a grip on the working class and peasantry while going through this 'left' manoeuvre?

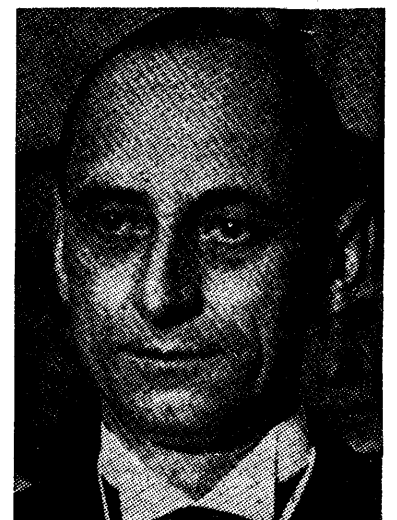
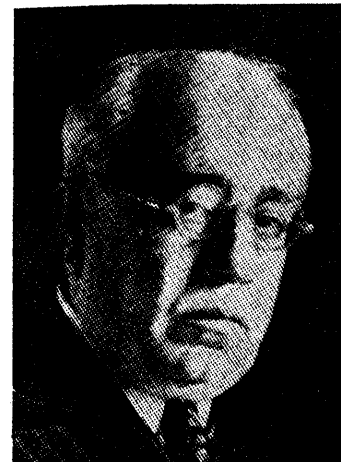
The answer lay not with them, but with the social democrats and, after 1934, with the Stalinists.

In Russia, after the removal of the monarchy in March 1917, the bourgeoisie leaned on the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary leaders in the soviets to

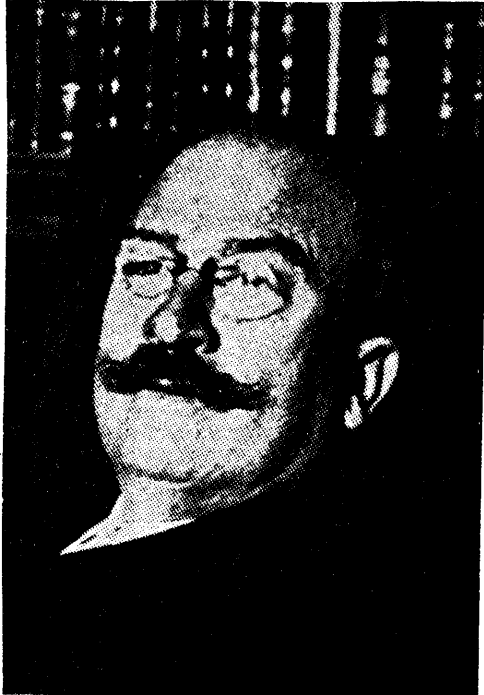
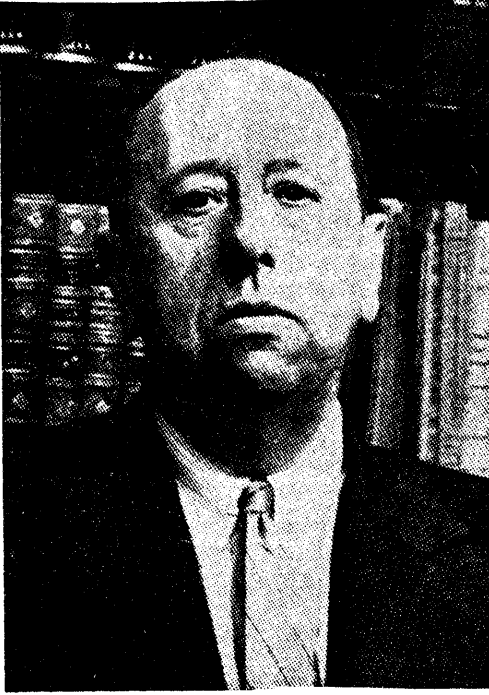
carry through such a tactical turn.

But in Russia there was a Bolshevik party able to capitalize on the opportunities presented by such a manoeuvre, and carry the movement forward from the overthrow of the Tsar to the removal of the Provisional government that replaced him.

The Russian bourgeoisie had scrambled out of its cradle in March 1917, only to tumble into its grave barely nine months



President Manuel Azaña (left) and his Minister of the Interior Casares Quiroga authorized the massacre of revolutionary peasants at Casas Viejas (Cadiz) and thus opened the way for the reactionary regime of Lerroux and Gil Robles, known in Spain as the 'black period'.



Under the government of Gil Robles (left), leader of the CEDA and Radical Party leader Alexander Lerroux, the Asturian miners' uprising of 1934 was brutally suppressed.

later, despite attempts by the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries to apply artificial respiration.

In Spain, when a similar turn in the struggle had been reached, only the counter-revolution was prepared. They had learned from 1917, even if the Spanish working-class leaders had not.

But even without a Bolshevik-type organization and party, the working class understood that the removal of the monarchy had solved nothing—either for them or for their brothers in the countryside.

There still remained the burning question of the land, the grip of the church and the ever-present threat of new army coups (one such coup—abortive—was attempted in 1932), not to speak of the oppressive working and living conditions that weighted down upon the working class in the mines, mills and factories.

This vital period of the maturing crisis, from the fall of the monarchy to the outbreak of the Civil War, divides itself into three phases: the 'liberal honeymoon' of 1931-1933, the turn to the right from 1933-1935 and the new radicalization that found its muffled echo in February 1936 with the 'People's Front' election victory.

### Outward strength

The Provisional government which ushered in the Republic was based on this already analysed bloc between the liberals and the reformists.

It included, for the liberals, the right-wing Lerroux, the middle-of-the-road Quiroga and the 'radical' Azaña.

On the socialist side were the ultra right-wing Indalecio Prieto (at that time much courted by the founders of Spanish fascism and, after 1936, main ally of the Stalinists in their struggle to crush the Socialist Party left wing, and Largo Caballero, previously collaborator with the Primo de Rivera regime, but shortly to undergo a sharp, though short-lived, evolution to the left.

### Right swing

Aware of the radicalization that led up to and was deepened by the removal of Primo de Rivera and the monarchy, the extreme right wing of the bourgeoisie, together with the whole of the nobility and the church, made no overt attempt to block this first republican administration of liberals and reformist socialists.

Using it as a screen, they regrouped their forces and bided their time. They knew that the liberals presented no real threat—it was the movement of the masses that had placed them temporarily in power that was watched by the budding fascist groups, the church, the monarchists and army generals.

Impatient for deep-going social reforms, the workers quickly tired of promises and moved into action in their own right.

In 1931, the first year of the republic, there were 710 major strikes.

In 1932, there were 830. In 1933, the number had more than doubled in two years to 1,499.

The time was drawing near for the ruling class to pull the helm over to the right. The liberals were in danger of losing control.

Already in August 1932 there had been the abortive military putsch of General Sanjurjo. It had failed for lack of support from the ruling class, but this did not, of course, rule out such a solution in the future.

In November 1933, backed by the full weight of the feudal and capitalist reaction, the right-wing parties won a big victory at the general election held after the liberal cabinet broke up.

This victory was greatly assisted by the anarchist leaders who, in the name of the rejection of the state, persuaded millions of workers and peasants to abstain from voting.

Several leading extreme right-wing politicians had already visited Hitler and Mussolini and discussed the strategy of establishing similar regimes in Spain. After November 1933 there was a sharp lurch to the right by the ruling class, with a whole series of bitter clashes climaxed by the rising of the Asturian miners in October 1934.

Already a nationwide strike of agricultural labourers, involving at its peak two million workers, had erupted in June. Although brutally crushed by the new right-wing government under Samper, the ultra-right was not satisfied.

Under Gil Robles—one of the ultra-rights who visited Hitler—the reaction plotted to move even further to the right. Robles brought together all the major parties of the right, except the monarchists, who still stood aside from participation in any 'republican' combination.

This new alliance, the CEDA, though not a fascist movement, was certainly a move towards it and posed enormous dangers to the working class.

Events moved towards their climax in the Asturian revolt. Headed by Franco, the army, stiffened by Legionnaires and backward and corrupted Moroccan mercenaries, took a terrible toll of the miners.

Even according to the pro-Franco accounts the dead numbered at least 2,000 and the prisoners 30,000.

The real figures are therefore, without doubt, much higher. But what was new in the Asturian revolt was not the bloodiness of the repression, but the rise of genuine workers' councils in the course of the struggle.

This not only explained the desperation with which Franco crushed the revolt. It proved that a real revolutionary situation was maturing.

Workers' councils, potential organs of a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government, only spring up when the question of overthrowing the system is working through to the consciousness of the mass of workers.

After 1934 there could be no doubt that the 'republican' phase in the development of the working class was drawing to a close.

Every variety of capitalist rule except fascism had failed to

choke off this irresistible urge towards power in the masses.

The general election of February 1936 (with the anarchists now calling on the workers to vote in the 'People's Front') gave a clear majority to the parties of the centre and left, and for those impressed by such outward signs of strength, it really appeared as if the fascist threat had been beaten back.

The reality was quite the opposite.



## THE FASCIST movement in Spain did not follow the same line of development as its counterparts in Italy and Germany.

There, fascism emerged, after modest beginnings, as a mass movement based on the middle class and above all as a force drawing its strength from the betrayals and defeats of the working class.

But Spain never saw the rise of such a mass fascist party. There were indeed several attempts made to launch one, as we shall see.

But, despite the six-year rule of Miguel Primo de Rivera, which curbed rather than repressed the workers, and the crushing of the Asturian commune, which was a localized defeat, the fighting capacity of the Spanish working class was at its height on the eve of the July 1936 military coup.

Therefore it is hardly surprising that Spanish fascism received scant following in its early years from the classes which traditionally support fascism—the urban lower middle class, the lumpen proletariat and demoralized sections of the rural population.

### Added problem

These layers swing over to fascism only after historic defeats have been inflicted on the working class, when its leadership has failed to provide a revolutionary, socialist alternative to the crisis of capitalism and the decay of its democratic institutions.

There was also the added problem that even more than in Germany and Italy, reaction had operated through the church and the army.

It involved a deep inner struggle before the ruling class could swing over from such a tradition (which up to 1931 had served it well) to the backing or launching of a mass party that would of necessity have to engage in a great deal of 'radical' demagoguery and agitation.

The aristocratic temper of

Spanish ruling circles worked against such a solution. Only in the months before the coup did they take active steps towards it—and even then it was the military and the church that called the tune.

The founders of Spanish fascism were, like their counterparts in Germany, small-time intellectuals bent on forging an ideological and economic synthesis between nationalism and the superficial aspects of the workers' movement.

### Attempted union

Hence Anton Drexler's 'German Workers' Party' which Hitler transformed in less than ten years into a tool of the biggest trusts and banks.

Such an intellectual was Ledesma Ramos.

Impressed by the vitality of the syndicalists and anarchists, which he contrasted favourably with the decay and isolation of the aristocratic parties of the traditional right, he attempted to forge a union between nationalism and syndicalism which could serve as a regenerative force in Spain:

'Our primary goal is revolutionary efficiency. Therefore we do not seek votes, but audacious and valiant minorities.'

This turn to the vocabulary (and also the philosophy) of anarchism as a source of inspiration to Spanish fascism was, of course, also the hallmark of the degeneration of Mussolini, who prior to 1914 stood on the extreme, semi-anarchist left of the Italian Socialist Party, and who took with him into the new Fascist Party in 1919 an important section of the pre-war syndicalist movement.

Now Ledesma Ramos intended to chart the same course in Spain.

It marked, though perhaps in a small way, the depth of the crisis in the Spanish ruling class and its total ideological bankruptcy that fascism from the very beginning had to ape one of the movements it intended to crush.

Ledesma Ramos managed to scrape enough funds together to launch a fascist journal, 'The Conquest of the State', in the weeks following the collapse of the monarchy in 1931. But, as we have already noted, the ruling class had decided to ride the republican tide through its alliance with the liberals and social democrats.

### Few backers

It wanted nothing to do with apparent crackpots like Ledesma Ramos, who appeared to offer them nothing save total intellectual confusion and more than a little dangerous radicalism.

A sample of 'national syndicalist' slogans helps to explain why Ledesma Ramos found few backers at this time:

'Long live fascist Italy! Long live Soviet Russia! Long live Hitler Germany! Long live the Spain we will make! Down with the bourgeois parliamentary democracies!'

Even when the swing to the right came at the end of 1933, it by-passed the fascists and channelled itself into the right-wing bloc led by Gil Robles, or moved towards the monarchists or the Carlists—supporters of the pretender to the vacant Spanish throne.

The middle class were no more impressed by the empty rhetoric of the fascists than were the bourgeoisie and nobility. Unlike Germany, the Spanish middle class had only just begun its experience of bourgeois parliamentary rule, whose rapid degeneration of 1929 drove the German middle classes into the arms of the Nazi demagogues.

But in Spain, the first phase of republican rule released an enormous enthusiasm for democracy in big sections of the middle class.

The fascist movement, launched at the same time as the republic, could not hope to rally much support while middle-class confidence in the republic flourished.

And with the setting in of the inevitable disenchantment with their own liberal leaders, even then support was not guaranteed.

Given firm leadership by the working class, the middle class could have been won to a pro-

gramme of socialist revolution as the only way forward from the 'liberal' republic.

All these factors combined to block the emergence of a genuine mass fascist party on the German or Italian model. And it was only after the ruling class had worked their way through every possible political combination save fascism did they turn to the solution offered by the Italian and German examples.

### Illusion

And when they did begin to show an interest in fascism, it was not to Ledesma Ramos that they turned, but the son of the old dictator, José Antonio Primo de Rivera.

Like Ledesma Ramos, he was obsessed with the project of

building a bridge between the left and right—always the illusion pursued by fascist ideologists in their quest to 'abolish' the class struggle:

'Fascism was born to inspire a faith not of the right (which at bottom aspires to conserve everything, even the unjust) or of the left (which at bottom aspires to destroy everything, even the good), but a collective, integral faith. . . . If anything truly deserves to be called a workers' state, it is the fascist state. Therefore, in the fascist state—and the workers will come to realize this, no matter what—the workers' unions are elevated to the dignity of the organs of the state. . . .'

The sharp swing to the right towards the end of 1933 encouraged José Antonio to launch his own version of Spanish fascism: the 'Falange' or phalanx, in Madrid on October 29.

Though Ledesma Ramos was present at the gathering, and gave his support to the new ven-



General Franco, chief of the Military Academy and Commander-in-chief of Spanish forces in Morocco during the Republican period.

ture, he still maintained a certain independence from José Antonio, who he felt was selling out too easily to the old-style conservatives who were now backing him.

The programme of the Falange now began to take shape against a background of rising class struggle and a mortal crisis of Spanish liberalism.

It showed that the lessons of Hitler's victory six months earlier had not been lost on José Antonio:

'Socialism, which was a legitimate reaction against liberal slavery, went astray because it resulted first, in the materialist interpretation of history, second in scenes of reprisal and third, the proclamation of the dogma of the class struggle.'

Once emptied of these elements, Hitler's 'socialism' had been embraced by the leaders of German big business.

José Antonio hoped for similar patronage in Spain. He went on at the founding conference of the Falange in Madrid to outline his plan for a regenerated Spain, with the working class completely incorporated into the state:

'The Nation is a total unity in which all individuals and classes are integrated, the Nation cannot be in the hands of the strongest class or the best organized party.'

'We want this movement of today, and the state which it creates, to be an efficient, authoritarian instrument at the



service of an indisputable unity, of that permanent unity, of that irrevocable unity that is the Nation.'

**Police protection**

The Gil Robles coalition took the new movement under its wing, and gave it police protection against attacks from the working class, who dismissed its 'national syndicalist' demagoguery with the contempt it deserved.

Only in certain circles amongst big business, the army and the church did the Falange attract any interest, and here it was little more than a question of keeping options open.

At the same time, the 'National Syndicates' of Ledesma Ramos began to attract a little support from a traditionally servile and backward section of the population—taxi-drivers—about 500 of whom were organized into a 'national syndicate' in Madrid.

Apart from this one very modest success, Ledesma Ramos made no headway in his attempts to break the working class from their loyalty to the parties and unions of the left.

Nevertheless, like José Antonio, his activities drew some financial support from the ruling class, some of his backers being Juan March, Spain's richest millionaire, the political agent of the Bilbao industrialists José Felix de Lecquerica, as well as the powerful bank of Vizcaya, which was partly under the ownership and control of the Jesuit order.

It soon became obvious to both José Antonio and Ledesma Ramos that two fascist parties (the Falange and the National Syndicalists) was more than either they or big business could afford.

In February 1934 the two groups merged, with José Antonio very much in command of the new party.

**Workers crushed**

The Asturian uprising gave José Antonio a golden opportunity to transform his rhetoric into deeds. The Falange had its first taste of workers' blood as it moved in behind Franco's mercenaries to clean up the last resistance of the miners.

But although proud of the part played by his party's militia in the crushing of the workers, José Antonio warned the ruling class that they could not hope to continue ruling in the old way and that they had to develop an ideological alternative to the revolutionary consciousness of the working class.

Military repression alone was not enough.

'The strength of the workers'

revolution lies in the fact that the revolutionaries have a mystique—a satanical mystique if you prefer—but a mystical sense of revolution, and to counteract that mystical sense of revolution neither society nor the government has been able to present a mystical sense of a permanent duty valid for every circumstance. . . . Because of this, the miners of the Asturias have been strong and dangerous.'

But how was Spanish fascism to implant this anti-revolutionary 'mystique' in the minds of the Spanish working class while its parties and unions remained intact and the whole class maintained its offensive spirit?

In the Asturias in October 1934, the Falange was on one side of the barricades, the miners on the other.

It became obvious that the Falange could only hope to prosper as a political adjunct of the one force that could crush the working-class organizations—the armed forces.

After 1934 there developed a strategy of the division of labour.

The army was to seize power and proceed to its main task of butchering the organizations of the working class and peasantry.

Protected by this military shield, the Falange was to unfold the political and social programme of the counter-revolution, mobilizing what support it could muster amongst those layers of the masses most demoralized by generations of poverty and broken by spiritual enslavement to the Catholic church.

**Subordinate party**

By 1935, José Antonio had recognized the subordinate role that his party would have to play in any offensive against the workers:

'Whether you desire it or not, soldiers of Spain, during these years in which the army guards the only essence and the only vocation revealing an historical permanence in its full integrity, it will be the duty of the army once more to replace a non-existent state.' (Emphasis in original.)

The Falange was to function as a humble apologist for the naked rule of the army. Meanwhile, the movement continued to drum up what support it could from the middle class.

José Antonio showed that he understood this aspect of his job too:

'Until now fascism has been supported by the lower middle class. The workers will be convinced afterwards. The comfortable classes must bring their historic prestige to the support of fascism.'

Capitalism, as in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, was to be



Only when the ruling class had used every possible method to solve its problems did it turn to fascism in the form of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the old dictator. Antonio is seen above speaking at a meeting. He was later executed in a Republican jail, but the Falange, the right-wing party he founded still exists today under Franco.

abolished in name only:

'When we speak of capitalism, we are not talking about property. Private property is the opposite of capitalism: property is the direct projection of man in his possessions, it is an essential human attribute.'

This definition of the nature of private property is of course lifted en bloc from the teachings of the Catholic church, notably the 1891 Papal Encyclical against socialism:

'With reason then, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have contended for the opposite view, has found in the careful study of nature, and in the laws of nature, the foundations of the division of property, and the practice of all ages has consecrated the principle of private ownership, and as being pre-eminently in conformity with human nature, and as being conducive in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquillity of human existence.'

**Brute force**

The victory of the 'People's Front' naturally swelled the ranks of the Falange. The bourgeoisie had no intention of repeating the experience of 1931-1933 all over again. This time the offensive of the working class would be met with brute force, no concessions.

Under tremendous pressure from the masses, the new government began a timid series of reforms. As expected, their effect was not to quieten the workers and peasants, but whet their appetites for the genuine article.

Now a great wave of strikes hit Spanish industry and farming, the scope of which dwarfed even the great strikes of 1909 and 1917. Talk of a military coup was rife in Madrid and the press discussed it quite openly.

Of course, the liberal government, like all its predecessors, did nothing. The Falange leaders were keenly aware that events were moving towards a climax, with the military leaders under General Mola setting the pace.

A historic decision now confronted Spanish fascism: should it stand aside from the projected coup, or risk association with the old-style army conservatives by offering its support to the counter-revolution?

José Antonio had no alternative but to throw in his lot with the generals if his movement were not to be ground to pulp between the workers and the army.

**Talks of May 29**

Talks were begun with Mola on May 29, while the Carlists, insistent to the last on the claims of the pretender Don Carlos to the Spanish throne, came over only five days before the revolt.

Naturally, the nobility and the church were completely behind the Generals, as were the 'legitimist' monarchists. And the Spanish capitalists, chastened

after their adventures under the republic, were only too glad to

back a force that could finally settle accounts with the powerful workers' movement.

Juan March, the ex-smuggler turned millionaire financier, poured funds into the coffers of the plotters, while the Jesuits provided a vital link with the banking world.

A leading member of the Order, Ruiz Senen, was not only a man of God. He was also the president of nine companies, the vice-president of six and a director of another 29. Like many other Jesuits, he combined both professions to their mutual benefit.

**Franco and the Army**

In the absence of any strong bourgeoisie, the Spanish Army had been closely involved in the various reform movements of the 19th century, always ensuring (as in the revolt of 1854) that their participation guaranteed them the fruits of victory.

But with the rise of the working-class movement, the Army moved over, like the capitalist class, to the side of reaction and from the late 19th century was used time and again to crush strikes in both town and country.

Franco was reared in this tradition of the army as the bulwark against revolution. His first opportunity to honour it came in 1917 in the great strike in the north.

On that occasion, Franco's troops killed 70 miners during the fighting. From that time onwards, Franco made an intensive study of the Spanish and international workers' movement and began to build up a faction in the army leadership that prepared itself politically as well as militarily for the counter-revolution.

Favoured by Miguel Primo de Rivera, he achieved rapid promotion and utilized his new position of authority to persuade his fellow-officers to subscribe to and study the 'Bulletin of the Anti-Communist International', a fascist journal devoted to studying the activities of the international revolutionary movement.

Franco was back in action in the Asturias in 1934, this time as a General. After butchering the miners for a second time, inflicting a hundred times more casualties than in 1917, Franco underlined that this front—against the working class—was far more important than all the wars he had fought against the Moroccan tribesmen:

'The war of Morocco had a certain romantic [!] air, an air of reconquest. But this war is a frontier war, and the fronts are socialism, communism and any other forms that attack civilization to replace it by barbarism.'

**Reckoning**

After the elections of February 1936, Franco sensed that the

moment of reckoning with the working class was approaching. In a telephone conversation with the head of the Civil Guard on the day of the left's victory at the polls, the General implored the government to declare a state of emergency and outlaw the workers' parties and trade unions:

'The masses are in the streets, things are going to come out of these elections, of a revolutionary kind, that are not at all implicit in the result. . . . A more effective way [to fight back] would be for the persons of responsibility and those of us who occupy certain posts in the service of the state and of the constitutional system, to make the necessary contacts so that the masses do not overwhelm us.'

Only one thing stopped the 'republicans' from acting as Franco suggested. Such a step right over to open counter-revolution, if it failed, would be certain to end their careers and probably their lives. And on the other hand, Franco would have little room for them either. His plans did not include the con-



Largo Caballero, leader of the right and left wings respectively of the UGT and Socialist Party.

tinuation of parliamentary democracy.

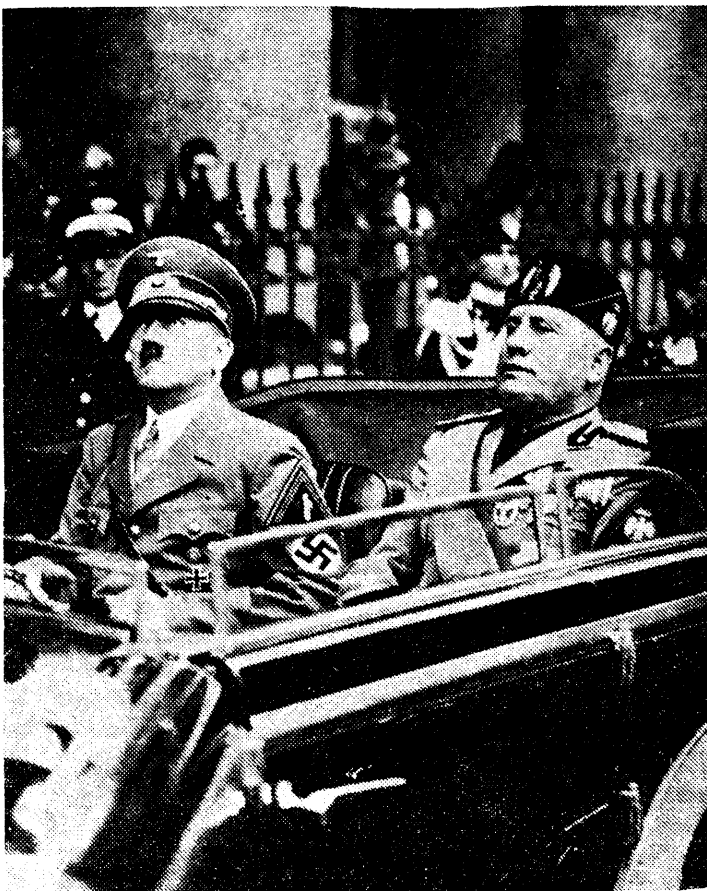
The army and police leaders had of course no such inhibitions. Almost to a man, they fell in behind the main plotters.

They yearned for a regime that would restore full rights to the forces of 'law and order'.

Both sides were now lined up for battle—the ruling class consciously, with a full awareness of the approach of the revolutionary crisis, while the workers found themselves driven blindly towards the holocaust, full of courage and yet totally devoid of a leadership that desired and knew how to win.

In the first hours of the coup, all the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the Spanish working class were forced to the surface, weaknesses that as the struggle developed became transformed into fatal defects.

It is this side of the Spanish working class that we must examine in the next article.



The founders of Spanish fascism found many lessons in the rise of both Hitler and Mussolini. But the aristocratic temper of the Spanish ruling class worked against a mass fascist movement, only turning to fascism on the eve of the coup.

## Part One Continued

# rise of italian fascism

The Turin strike could only have been carried forward by a national and insurrectionary movement. The Socialist Party, during the strike, moved the venue of its conference from Turin to Milan because, as Gramsci sarcastically indicated 'a city under general strike was not suited to socialist discussions'. The congress itself published no bulletin about the strike and 'Avanti!' even refused to publish the strike manifesto of the Turin section. The delegates refused to allow the strike to be extended to the rest of the country.

On April 29, Serrati tried to answer Turinese criticism of his betrayal:

'We are not bound,' he said, 'to accept battle every time that the enemy, feeling himself strong and prepared, provokes it. It seems that the leaders of the

—and his associates to become strongly organized, exploiting the prestige and authority of the party to consolidate their positions in the parliament and the trade unions. 'The directorate,' he said, 'has permitted them to concentrate, and vote resolutions contradicting the principles and tactics of the Third International'.

The non-communist revolutionaries, Gramsci proposed, should be eliminated from the party, and he set to work to form a national faction to work for their elimination. Gramsci's proposal was in line with the decision later taken at the Second Congress of the Communist International in July-August 1920, which approved the

youth movement, while the party centre and its press remained in the hands of the vacillating Serrati faction.

By September 1920, Gramsci had come round to the position that the Socialist Party was 'different in no respect from the English Labour Party . . . it is a conglomeration of parties'.

The revolutionary shocks that had given rise to the rapid disintegration of the Italian Socialist Party were going on apace. In June, soldiers backed by workers in Ancona refused to embark for Albania and raised the flag of revolt.

This coincided with a government crisis in which the prime minister Nitti stood down for the

But Giolitti, with characteristic cunning, refused to be drawn. He relied instead on the Socialist Party leaders and the trade unions. These men refused to extend the struggle beyond purely economic demands, though they used strong words to warn the government against the dangers of intervention.

Meanwhile the movement spread into the countryside. All over Sicily and in many parts of the South peasants began to take over land. In Turin, the communists had to restrain workers from immediately setting out in lorries to attack the army.

The Socialist Party leaders refused to take responsibility for an uprising. Instead, they passed the buck to the trade union leaders, who proceeded to take a ballot of their delegates. This truly fantastic perversion of the democratic process inevitably gave a decision against the immediate socialization of industry, although the decision—591,245 to 409,569—was close.

The Socialist Party secretary hastened to accept this vote as final, though the Socialist Party could, according to the terms of its pact with the trade unions, have taken command of the movement. The news of the factory occupations did not reach Moscow until the latter part of September, though Lenin, Zinoviev and Bukharin had already written on August 27 to the Italian Party pointing out that 'in Italy there are at hand all the most important conditions for a genuinely popular, great proletarian revolution'.

Despite this warning, the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party had betrayed the Italian revolution.

The negotiations for ending the occupations were completed on September 19. The workers received a 10 to 20 per cent increase in wages, increased overtime rates and pay for work done during the occupation, six paid holidays a year and periodical cost-of-living adjustments. The leaders of the occupation were to be protected from victimization. The owners even accepted the 'principle' of workers' control of industry, leaving its terms to be decided by a joint committee of workers' representatives, employers and government.

The occupations seemed to have won a great victory. But though the workers had won major concessions from the owners, who gave them gladly rather than lose their ownership of the factories, the betrayal of the workers' leaders was to turn rapidly into a decisive defeat.

The carrying through of that defeat was to be the task of fascism.

The catastrophic decline in the purchasing power of the lira, together with increased taxation and the funding of government debts, hit the incomes of small investors. Small manufacturers and merchants were driven to the wall by the big monopolies.

Workers were able to win wage increases which partially overcame the effects of these blows, but the small businessmen were squeezed lower and lower.

As Russo writes: 'Too refined to adapt themselves to the narrow existence of the proletariat, too poor to bear the burden of continually increasing prices, they felt themselves caught in pincers that were slowly crushing them'.

Like all historically bankrupt and impotent classes, the middle classes began to dream. At first many sections swung behind the working class, hoping that socialism would bring them relief from their oppression by monopoly capital, and that the working class would assist them.

But the betrayal of the occupations by the Socialist leadership, a betrayal that was made more final and deep-going by the Socialist Party's prestige as a section for a short time of the Communist International, shattered that dream.

Other sections were also recruited by the fascists. Discontented middle-class youth from the universities, the sons of landowners and lesser nobility, lumpenproletarians and criminals, all were drawn into the fascist movement and united together by a combination of demagogic anti-capitalism and mysticism.

### Leader cult

The latter was essential as an ideological cement because, as Daniel Guerin points out in his 'Fascism and Big Business', ' . . . the fascist troops are not homogeneous: each social category to which fascism appeals has its own demands and aspirations'. He cites the words of the Nazi Ernst Kriek, ' . . . through mysticism the many individuals of an assembled crowd are amalgamated in spiritual unity, in a sentimental union'.

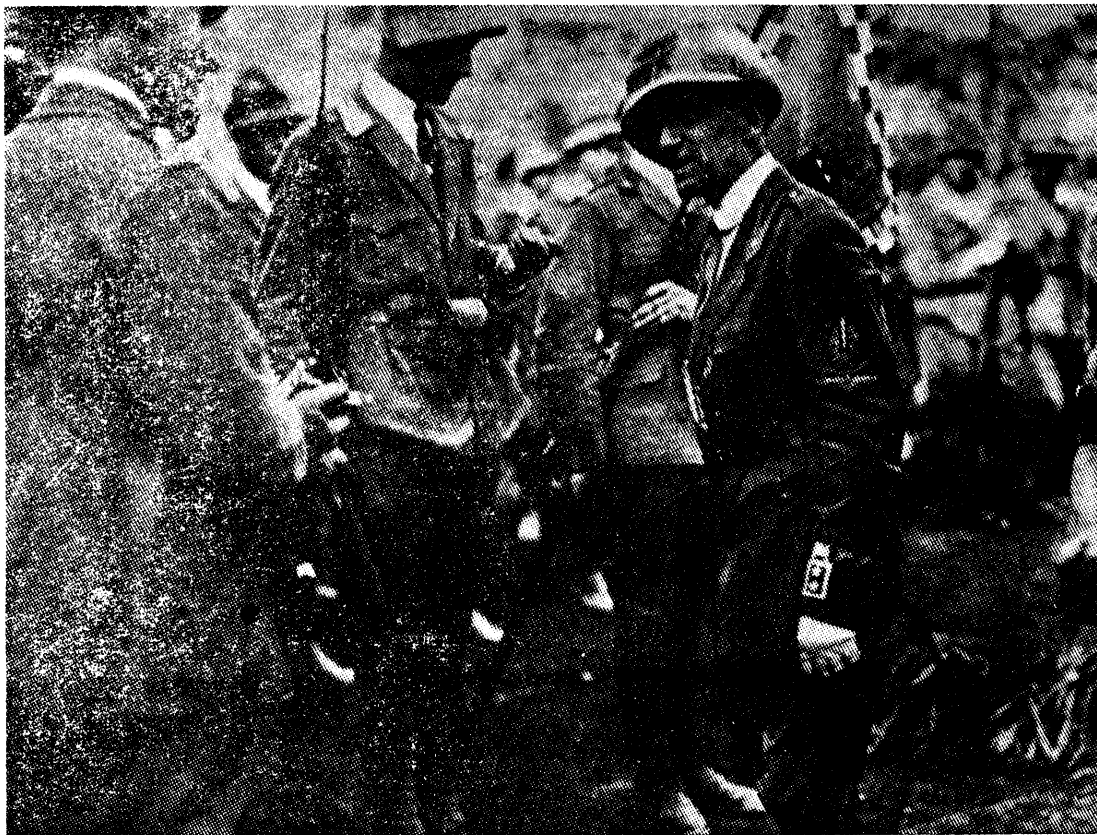
In the Italian fascist movement, just as in that of Hitler, the chief element of mysticism was supplied by the cult of the leader. Mussolini, *il Duce*, was tirelessly built up by the fascist propagandists as a genius who could do no wrong.

Victims of the fascist propaganda were induced to believe implicitly in the leader's will. In this way, the fascist movement did away with the need for rational argument and substituted irrationalism. Much of Mussolini's system of ideas was derived from Sorel and similar philosophers, whose attacks on reason and glorification of the irrational served as a starting point for fascist ideology.

But fascism could not have grown without the support of the Italian monopolists. After the factory occupations, the industrialists and the landowners were thirsting for vengeance. They saw in the fascists not an alternative to democratic government, but a private army which could be deployed against the workers and peasants. The fascists were to be given the job of purging Italy.

On October 20, 1920, just a month after the end of the factory occupations, Giolitti's war minister Bonomi, a former socialist, sent a circular to the army which announced that demobilized officers (more than 60,000 were due to be demobilized) were to be sent to the main centres to join the *fasci di combattimento*, in order to control and staff them, at four-fifths of their army pay. From this time on, the government was to give every assistance to the developing fascist movement.

PART TWO  
WILL BE CONTINUED  
IN THE NEXT ISSUE



The fascists showed their fangs early after the war when the right-wing poet D'Annunzio led 1,000 freebooters on the town, which had been ceded to Yugoslavia after the First World War. They annexed it and set up a constitution which bore marks of the later Italian corporate state.

Turin movement think differently. After seeing themselves attacked, they let down their defences rather than parrying the blow. Becoming hard pressed, they ran around at the last moment looking for help from those less strong and prepared than themselves—after having hurled enough provocative statements to make the enemy believe that their action was nothing less than the beginning of revolution in a Turin by now ready for communism.'

This formula, played in a variety of keys, provided the 'maximalist' leadership of the Socialist Party with an excuse for stepping aside at every important point in the struggle of the working class.

'When the time comes we will be ready,' said Serrati and his supporters in effect, 'until then our advice is: don't provoke the employers.'

But Serrati, despite his ability to 'talk Marxism', which for a time fooled even Lenin, could not recognize the revolution when it came. By his constant attempts to restrain the working class, he played into the hands of the industrialists, who were thus able to inflict decisive defeats.

The 'Italian question' began to dominate the discussions of the Communist International. Throughout the spring of 1920, Lenin had supported Serrati, leader of the majority maximalist tendency, hoping to win him for a more consistently communist position. But as Gramsci's criticisms of Serrati's leadership became more pronounced, Lenin called more and more insistently for a purge of the right wing from the party.

Gramsci sharply criticized the party directorate (under 'maximalist' control) for allowing Turati—leader of the right wing

21 Conditions for affiliation to the International, including a complete break with reformism and centrism; acceptance of the centralized leadership of the International's leadership; change in the name of the party; expulsion of members not accepting the 21 Conditions.

Serrati guaranteed at the Congress to return to Italy and prepare a special party congress to expel the reformists. Though they formally agreed, however, the various sections of the party did not fully accept the Congress decision. As Bordiga, leader of the 'left' anti-parliamentary faction, later remarked: 'None of the Italian delegates accepted Lenin's formulation'.

At the Congress itself, Serrati had defended Turati saying 'I hold no personal feelings against anyone'—to which Lenin replied 'No sentimentalism, please'.

On his return to Italy, Serrati did nothing to remove Turati or his faction from the party.

But beside the weaknesses of the centrist Socialist Party leadership, which played a major role in the betrayal, Gramsci's own Turin group made serious and costly errors in this period. The chief one was that they failed to create a national faction and to fight for leadership in the party. Gramsci himself was critical in 1924 of his position and that of his comrades in 1920:

'Essentially we are now paying for the serious errors we made in 1919-1920. For fear of being thought power-hungry careerists, we did not try to create a definite faction that could be organized throughout Italy . . . we were afraid of a split in the unions and a premature expulsion from the party.'

The position was thus left open for the ultra-left Bordiga faction to win control of the party's

'Piedmontese fox', Giovanni Giolitti, who was to lead Italian capitalism up to the doors of the fascist dictatorship. Giolitti's first act was to suppress the Ancona revolt.

The next stage of the movement, the occupation of the factories, began not in Turin, but in Milan. Wage demands to meet the rising cost of living were rejected by the industrialists, on the grounds that trade was bad. Trade was indeed bad, as the first effects of the post-war slump were beginning to bite in Italy.

### Plants occupied

But instead of the slump depressing the militancy of the workers, it rose to a new pitch. Feeling that a strike would be defeated, the trade union leaders resorted first of all to a go-slow, but the employers reacted with allegations of sabotage and declared a lock-out.

The workers promptly occupied the Alfa-Romeo plant and 280 others were occupied in sympathy. The workers continued to work the plants. They were determined to keep the factories going, with or without the owners. The occupation movement mushroomed across the country.

On September 1 the Turin engineering factories were occupied and within a week almost all Italian heavy industry was taken over. In Turin particularly, the action took on a consciously revolutionary character. The plants were managed by factory councils and the strictest discipline was maintained, with heavy punishments for drunkenness, while some of the factories were turned over to arms manufacture in anticipation of fights with the army.



# Lindsay out to smash ny rent control



STANLEY HILL OF LOCAL SSEU-371 ADDRESSES RALLY CALLED TO PROTEST THREAT TO RENT CONTROL LAW

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NEW YORK-- The Lindsay Administration's announcement on Feb. 26th of plans to modify the city's 27 year old Rent Control Law must be seen as part and parcel of Lindsay's growing attack on the working class which in the last few months has included everything from a vicious 50% hike in the city's transit fare to direct attacks on the city unions.

Although exact amounts have not yet been specified, it is clear that the modification now planned for June 1st could well mean huge rent increases for hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers.

The Rand Corporation, hired at the fabulous sum of \$500,000 by the city to provide the ammunition for Lindsay needed to justify this move, claims that some 722,000 dwellings now rent at less than \$25 per room. It is this situation that the Rand Report suggests should be corrected.

What Rand, the Lindsay Administration and the landlords are saying is that the way to solve the problems of housing shortage (the worst in 20 years) and deterioration in New York City is to hike rents to beef up owners' profits as an inducement for them to plow a few extra pennies into the construction and renovation of existing housing.

STRANGLEHOLD

We say this whole approach is a complete fraud. The landlords have no intention of putting one cent into

the properties that they are now abandoning at the rate of 30,000 per year. Nor can we expect a rent hike in any way to stimulate the construction of new housing outside of the luxury field. The landlords are interested in one thing and

one thing only, milking tenants for every red cent they can get. It is all to the owners' interests to have created a situation in this city where the vacancy rate is at an all time low of less than one percent. This has put them in a position where

they have the tenant completely over a barrel, where they can get away with allowing literally thousands of apartments to go without heat for an entire winter, and thousands more to fall into dilapidation by the city's own standards. Now with rent control out the window, the stranglehold of these landlords will be complete.

We say that the city labor movement must answer this attack. The pathetic middle class protest demonstration held last Saturday, March 7th at Gracie Mansion, drawing together Democratic Party councilman Carter Burden, the CP, SWP, ISC, and the Patriot Party is hardly what is required.

We say that the attack on rent control is a class attack. Although the attack on rent control hits a section of the middle class, it is only by those affected uniting behind the power of the city labor movement that the fight back can be conducted in a serious way. This is why what is now required is the taking up of a fight in the city unions to force the Central Labor Council to take up a political fight against any rent hikes on June 1st or any time thereafter as part of a combined onslaught against Lindsay, against the fare increase, and the attack on the unions.

## Revisionist Policies Sabotage Wisconsin Strike

BY A TEACHING ASSISTANT

MADISON, WIS.-- As the Teaching Assistants Association prepares to shut down the University of Wisconsin, the campus revisionists are already beginning their maneuvers to subordinate the union to middle class radicalism to aid the state in breaking the strike.

A general membership meeting of the TAA has voted overwhelmingly to strike. The strike must now be approved by two-thirds of the entire membership. TAA contract demands include standard \$3600 half-time appointments, guaranteed appointments for the length of graduate study, abolition of secret files on TA's, limitation on class sizes, a health plan, councils consisting of TA's, students and faculty to settle grievances, and a voice for students and TA's in educational planning.

One of the major dangers facing the strike, even before it begins, is the student power strategy advanced by the revisionists. Isolated campus struggles against individual administrations have led to defeat after defeat. The TAA must fight to win the

active support of the rest of labor in Madison. Yet the revisionists do everything in their power to prevent the TAA from recognizing this necessity by posing the support of students as central. As part of this strategy of an alliance with students, the revisionists are attempting to push to the forefront the reformist demand for student participation in educational planning.

CAUCUS

A meeting of representatives of the left student groups was called by the recently formed Radical Caucus of the TAA. This caucus distinguished itself previously by offering a motion at a TAA meeting simply protesting the political firing of a TA. This motion stood in opposition to a motion supported by the Workers League, which would have made the firing a strike issue. Of the groups called together by the Radical Caucus, the most heavily represented were SDS, YSA and IS.

SDS could see nothing in a TAA strike besides an opportunity for student-administration confrontations. They consciously wished to make it an anti-administration struggle, hoping that such a struggle would show the TA's that they have an interest in common with radical students. The main concern of SDS was what the reaction of the TAA would be if SDS destroyed the ROTC building during the strike.

YSA

The principal concern of the YSA, on the other hand, was that SDS not destroy the ROTC building during the strike, since that would interfere with the YSA's more moderate student power strategy. One YSAer strongly criticized the leadership of the TAA for calling the projected strike a labor strike. "It isn't a labor struggle. It must be a labor and student struggle," the YSAer asserted.

The struggle of the TAA for improved wages and conditions as well as the political firing of one of its members are products of the crisis

of capitalism and the attacks on the working class as a whole. This crisis is expressed in the squeeze on education by the state budget cuts and in the moves by the state against militants. Since the revisionists do not see this crisis, they turn not to the working class, but to the students whose motion they isolate from the crisis. Worshipping the consciousness of students, and having unlimited faith in the ability of capitalism to meet the material needs of the workers, the revisionists carry reformism into the labor movement and present the greatest danger to it.

The way forward for the TAA was posed in the struggle of Newark New Jersey teachers last month when massive labor support was mobilized behind the teachers' demands and against the jailings of militants. It is only within the framework of this kind of struggle, that the support of students is meaningful.

## mounting unemployment poses 30 hour week

In the space of two short months, the U.S. unemployment rate has risen 0.7 percentage points to a February high of 4.2%. The February increase of 0.3% was the largest in nine years and the two month increase represented the sharpest rise in unemployment since the recession of 1957. Hardest hit are full-time adult workers in the manufacturing industries. About one third of the February rise was the result of the cutbacks in auto production. The February figures also reveal that all sections of the working class are now being hit by rising unemployment as the economy heads into full scale recession. There is absolutely no assurance that the Administration's efforts to "cool off the economy" can keep the jobless figure from staying under the 6% mark predicted by

George Meany. Joblessness is clearly approaching disastrous proportions.

What is urgently needed is a struggle in the labor movement to unite the entire working class against the rising unemployment around the demand for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. This must be sharply raised as the central demand along with the substantial wage increase and full cost of living escalator in the upcoming negotiations between the UAW and the auto industry. Any proposals which fail to unite the entire working class, black and white, young and old, such as the demand for preferential hiring of black workers, simply play into the hands of the bosses' strategy to divide and weaken the working class at the time when the trade union movement is under vicious attack.

**MINNEAPOLIS**

HEAR LUCY ST. JOHN,  
EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN

**THE  
VIETNAM  
WAR  
AND THE  
AMERICAN  
WORKING  
CLASS**

Friday, March 20th, 8:00 P.M., Room 343,  
Kaufman Memorial Union,  
University of Minnesota

## SWP BACKS REFORMISM AT SMC GATHERING



DENNIS O'CASEY OF WL SPEAKS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, March 8-- The National Steering Committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee held here today was characterized by the complete avoidance of all the political questions raised in the fight against the Vietnam war.

These political questions were brought to the fore very sharply at the New England Anti-War Conference held in Boston last week, where the Stalinists were able politically to dominate the Conference, and where the YSA-SMC followed their lead in diffusing the fight against the war.

Today the SMC under the leadership of the SWP-YSA made every attempt to keep the discussion on the lowest possible level, to avoid the question of Stalinism, and above all the necessity to build a working class movement against the war.

The Workers League raised the question of the role of Stalinist betrayal internationally--as the imperialists step up the war in Laos and try to make a deal with the Soviet Union to go back to the sellout Geneva Accords--and nationally as they try to diffuse the struggle against the Vietnam war and channel the anti-war movement into a Popular Front with the liberals in the Democratic party. The only alternative to Stalinism and the Popular Front is the fight against the war on a class basis, bringing the working class into the lead.

When the Workers League raised these questions, the YSA-SMC ended up defending what the Stalinists did at the Boston Conference, and indeed, the Stalinists role entirely in diffusing the fight against the war. The YSA

contended that the question of "Women's oppression" and ecology are "evils" of capitalism and therefore are legitimate issues for the anti-war movement. The Workers League says that these issues are brought in to diffuse the fight against the war just as the war is being stepped up. The class question of the imperialist war against the Vietnamese and Laotian workers and peasants, and the mobilization of the American working class must be central. These middle class reformist issues are supported by both the YSA and the CP, and they both refuse to take up the class fight.

As these burning political questions, which will decide the fate of the American and international working class, were raised, these so-called "Trotskyists" avoided them like the plague. Not only does the SWP-YSA have no intention of fighting against Stalinism--they are in political agreement with the Stalinists. Under the guise of a "United Front" they are in a popular front bloc with the Stalinists to build a middle class anti-war movement.

This was made most clear by Gus Horowitz of the SWP, who said "The SMC is a united front...the anti-war movement shouldn't be based on a revolutionary program."

### OPPORTUNISTIC

This is a completely opportunistic and dangerous distortion of Marxism. Lenin held that the fight against imperialist war was a fight for international working class solidarity, that it was a revolutionary struggle and required a revolutionary program. The "United Front" is used as a cover for the SWP's capitulation to Stalinism, the mortal enemy of the working class movement. The United Front tactic was developed by Lenin and Trotsky for united action between mass working class parties, in order for the communist party to expose in action the reformist party and win over the workers who supported it. Not only are the SWP and CP not mass working class parties, but the SWP does not expose the reformists--it capitulates to them, and blocs with them against the working class. The SWP-YSA fights every attempt to bring a working class program into the SMC and into the struggle against the war.

Supposedly for the sake of a "United Front," the SWP refuses to fight against Stalinism and for a working class program, a revolutionary program for struggle. They end up in a completely unprincipled alliance with the Stalinists. The only thing they expose is their own bankruptcy and reformism.

## SWP RETREATS

BY FRED MUELLER

In the February 28th issue of the Communist Party's Daily World, a report on the Cleveland conference of the Student Mobilization Committee is printed under the headline "Student Mobe Hampered by Racism of Trotskyist Faction."

This latest development indicates once again the great importance of the struggle within the anti-war movement to the working class. Though this movement remains middle class in its composition and above all in its program, nevertheless the disputes within the SMC reflect the class struggle. Particularly important is the relationship between the Stalinists and the revisionists.

The Daily World article is a vicious attack on the Young Socialist Alliance, which dominates the SMC, and on Trotskyism. The article, written by Victoria Missick, a Brooklyn College student and a member of the newly-formed Young Workers Liberation League, denounces the YSA for refusing to make "the fight against racism" the center of SMC activity. The CP has been able to literally force the SWP-YSA to its knees and to take up the "multi-issue" reformist program of the CP lock stock and barrel precisely because of the SWP-YSA's betrayal of Trotskyism.

But this does not satisfy the CP whose task it is to head off the developments in the working class and the youth towards a revolutionary solution to the war and to channel the struggle into the Democratic Party. What the CP is now saying to the SWP-YSA is that any sign of independence, any remnant of the program of Trotskyism must be dropped.



CP'S FRIEND MAYOR STOKES

The CP's witchhunt and slander of Trotskyism is every bit a part of its history of betraying the working class. The Moscow trials, the slander and the murder of Trotsky was part and parcel of Stalinism's deliverance of the working class up to fascism. While the CPs in the U.S. and internationally were beheading the revolutionary struggles of the working class with their popular fronts to tie the working class to capitalism, the Stalinists were witchhunting and slandering Trotskyism.

### ALTERNATIVE

Trotskyism is the only alternative to Stalinism, it is the program for the victory of the working class over imperialism and imperialism's agents in the Soviet bureaucracy. The CP now steps up its slander campaign precisely when the realization of the Trotskyist program is posed with the movement of the working class internationally, in Vietnam, in Laos, in Czechoslovakia, in Europe and in the U.S. The CP today launches this attack to gather all the revisionist forces around it against Trotskyism and to keep sections

of the youth, students and workers from moving towards the revolutionary alternative.

As we have pointed out, the Stalinists' talk about the working class and a so-called multi-issue approach for the anti-war movement is nothing but a smokescreen behind which they seek to tie this movement even more securely to the liberals and directly to the Democratic Party. An independent class fight against the war and against racism is furthest from their intentions. Thus they use the talk about the working class and the fight against racism to turn students and young workers TOWARDS reformism and liberalism.

The only genuine fight against war is a fight which mobilizes the working class against its own bosses, not behind them or a section of them. But what the Stalinists have in mind and what they propose clearly and consistently is a full-fledged modern version of the Popular Front based upon the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

The CP will not wage a class fight against racism; it raises the question of racism to divert the fight against the war away from a sharp fight against the government at a time when all the liberals are expressing deep pessimism about settling the war through a deal, and even praising Nixon's accomplishment in "defusing" the war as a political issue. Of course the Communist Party and Daily World have uttered not a word of criticism of all these liberals.

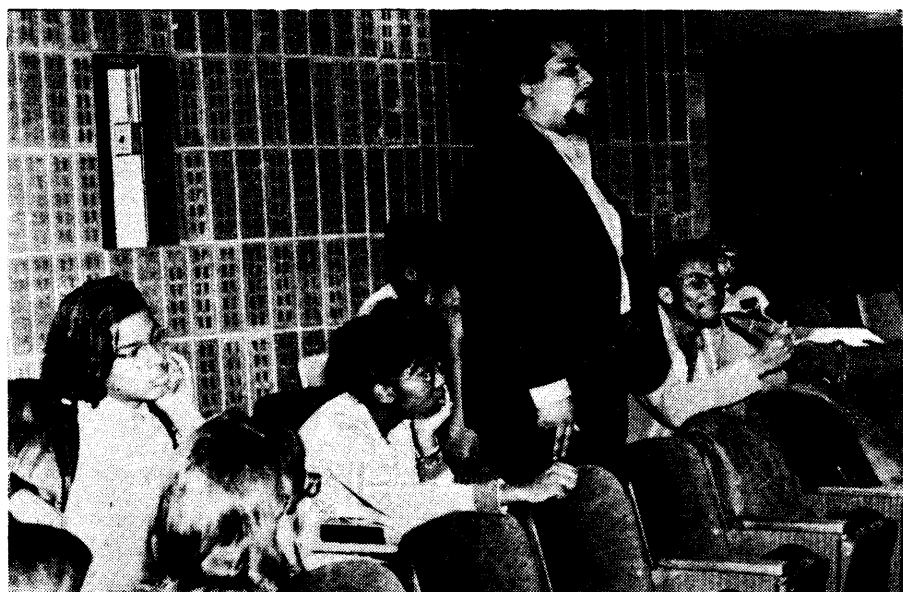
The CP and YWLL show exactly what they mean by linking their so-called struggle against racism to the incumbent black Mayors of Cleveland and Gary, Indiana, Stokes and Hatcher. They denounce the YSA for not supporting these bourgeois politicians.

### LIBERALS

The YSA is incapable of answering the Stalinists' attacks. How can the YSA expose the CP-YWLL opportunism when it itself fights to maintain the bloc with the liberals in the anti-war movement? How can it answer the Stalinists at the very same time as it votes together with them, as it did at the recent Boston anti-war conference, in favor of continuing to welcome bourgeois liberals on the speaking platforms of the anti-war movement? The YSA has completely capitulated to the CP's effort to dissolve the anti-war fight into liberalism through the multi-issue fraud.

Thus the debate between the Stalinists and the revisionists of the YSA degenerates into what sort of middle class protest will be most effective. The Stalinists are on the offensive. The latest example of the continued capitulation of the YSA to the combined pressure of the Stalinists and the liberals is the announcement that the SMC is setting aside separate days during its April 13-18th protests to be devoted to "women's actions" as well as campaigning for democratic rights for GIs and high school students. The YSA is more and more being forced to accept the multi-issue reformist swamp. Every issue is consciously separated from the class struggle and inevitably is posed in liberal fashion.

How can the YSA answer the Stalinists' vicious attack on Trotskyists as being racists? In the latest issue of the Militant a few sentences are devoted to reaffirming non-support to black Democrats like Stokes and Hatcher. But this is no answer at all. Nothing is said to show why the Stalinists support these politicians and how they seek to use them in



MIQUEL PADILLA OF SWP URGES SEPARATIST THIRD WORLD DEMONSTRATIONS



# BEFORE STALINIST SLANDERS

come in this single-issue movement, does this same approach extend to include racists opposed for their own reasons to Vietnam policy? The YSA is incapable of answering this. It is incapable of showing that the fight against racism and against war can only be waged as part of the fight against capitalism.

CLASS

The YSA has fought against the Workers League's struggle for a class fight against the war seeing the struggle against racism and the attacks on the working class as part of the same class fight and raising a class program to unite the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants with the struggles of the American working class. This requires above all the mobilization of the labor movement. This is the only alternative to the Stalinists' Popular Front, and it is this alternative that the SWP-YSA will not raise.

The SWP-YSA is completely incapable of defending Trotskyism because behind its Trotskyist phrases it has abandoned every principle of Trotskyism. With the cover of Trotskyism it has adapted completely to the various middle class movements and has liquidated the party into this milieu abandoning the working class and the fight for Marxist leadership.

Page 6 DAILY WORLD Saturday, February 28, 1970



## Student Mobe hampered by racism of Trotskyist faction

By VICTORIA MISSICK  
 Editor's Note: Miss Missick student at Brooklyn College and attended the recent Mobilization Committee Conference in Cleveland. She is a member of Workers League.

largest this movement has had, but it revealed many of the deep-going problems of the student peace movement.

More than 2,000 people attended the meeting in the large gymnasium of Case Western Reserve University. The focus of the conference was on building toward the spring peace offensive on the campuses, working for mass demonstrations across the

country demanding that all the troops be brought home now.

But the conference refused to deal with other pressing issues facing the country, including the murders and jailings of black liberation fighters and peace activists. The conference, dominated from the steering committee by the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance, particularly refused to have anything to do

with the struggle against white supremacy and racism.

The rationale offered by the YSA-SMC leaders for this is that to take up the fight on this question would "dilute the peace movement and limit broad participation in it, as well as violate the right of black people to self-determination."

However, the fact is that the struggle against racism is a necessary

part of any struggle. In the struggle against war and U.S. imperialism, unless the racist policy is exposed and the necessary white, especially black, will be cultivated to

The SMC, and the YSA, in particular, has attracted many serious youth who are seeking a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism. The SWP-YSA is completely betraying these youth and leading them into the camp of Stalinism.

the anti-war movement. The SWP-YSA in fact capitulates completely to the Stalinists on this question in practice.

In the SMC proposal put forward at the New England conference, the SMC stated in relation to the upcoming campaigns: "Many individuals in the coalition may be supporting candidates of their choosing, and this is every individual's right." In other words every one should do their own thing--if they want to vote for the liberals--that is their "right."

What the SWP-YSA refuses to raise in the anti-war struggle against the popular front with the liberals is the independent fight of the working class through a labor party.

MILD

The Militant does not even report the attack correctly. While the Daily World attacks the YSA as racist, in the Militant this becomes only that the YSA is not "concerned with fighting racism." In answer to the screaming headline of the Daily World the SWP-YSA enters a very mild defense.

Furthermore the YSA's espousal of the single issue movement, divorced from the class struggle and a class program leads it into contradictions which are also exploited by the Stali-

nists. At the Boston conference the question was raised by the November 4th Committee of whether the SMC ignored or played down the issue of racism in the South.

At the recent National Steering Committee meeting of the SMC in Philadelphia, the SWP-YSA refused to clarify its position on this even in light of the Stalinists attack. One member of SMC from Charlottesville reported that in some areas of the South it was necessary to "water down" ideologies to reach "conservative" elements, raising demands such as local control of the schools. The YSA refused to allow this member to clarify his position and refused to clarify itself on this question.

If it is said that Republicans, Democrats and everyone else are wel-

# POOR PEOPLES LEADER MAKES HIS PEACE

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS-- For two years, under liberal Mayor Naftalon, Matthew Eubanks was played up as the black militant leader who was directing the struggles of the poor in Minneapolis.

Quite capable of using revolutionary phrases at times to both scare Naftalon and keep himself in a position to lay some claim to leadership in the seething Minneapolis ghettos, he completely took in the middle class radicals like Peace and Freedom and the YSA, who built him up as a revolutionary, and never made any criticism of his utter lack of any political perspective for fighting poverty, the cops or racism.

There was never any question of his hatred of oppression and his militancy. But never basing himself on the working class, the world for Eubanks consisted of the poor and the non-poor. His short-lived campaigns never confronted capitalism and never understood the essential unity of the poor and unemployed with the working class as a whole.

Thus he was unable to provide any leadership whatsoever when the period of reforms under Naftalon abruptly ended with the election of Stenvig, a Wallacite cop, to Mayor last June.

Last August Eubanks led a week of picketing food prices at ghetto stores in North Minneapolis. The nights of August 12 and 13 Stenvig moved in with a vengeance and his cops gave young protesters and workers who were gathered peacefully along Plymouth Avenue a savage beating. After this assault the anti-poverty movement in Minneapolis foundered and Stenvig's cops made it clear that they intended to enforce "law and order." Eubanks himself was dumped from his anti-poverty job and arrested on phony charges stemming from the incident.

CHANGED

Now, in a recent interview published in the Minneapolis Tribune, it is announced that, "Matthew Eubanks Has Changed."

The interview reports: "Matthew Eubanks, last year's unofficial leader of noisy black militant tactics in Minneapolis, is speaking softly these days. Furthermore he is engaging in calm cooperation with some targets of his verbal attacks--the white business establishment and the white, middle class churches."

Presently working to establish a "People's Cooperative Union Supermarket" in North Minneapolis, Eubanks has received considerable help and money from several Twin Cities businessmen.

But it is not a one way handout. His reliance on local capitalists is political as well as financial. The interview showed where the logic of "poor people's power" has led. Eubanks is aiding the businessmen in the city in attempting to divert the

youth with promises of jobs and the setting up of new businesses at a time when unemployment is at its highest and recession is threatening. These illusions allow the bosses to drive a wedge between the unemployed and the employed workers and that is precisely why Eubanks is getting help from the businesses.

Quoting from the interview: "In Eubank's view, blue-collar unionists are more resistant to black workers than are employers. For example, an electrical contractor would like more black union members because they would swell the labor pool and help him hold labor costs down through the law of supply and demand. Unions, he was saying, have the opposite goal. Eubanks cited this as an example of how poor blacks sometimes have more interests in common with employers

than with blue collar unionists."

DANGEROUS

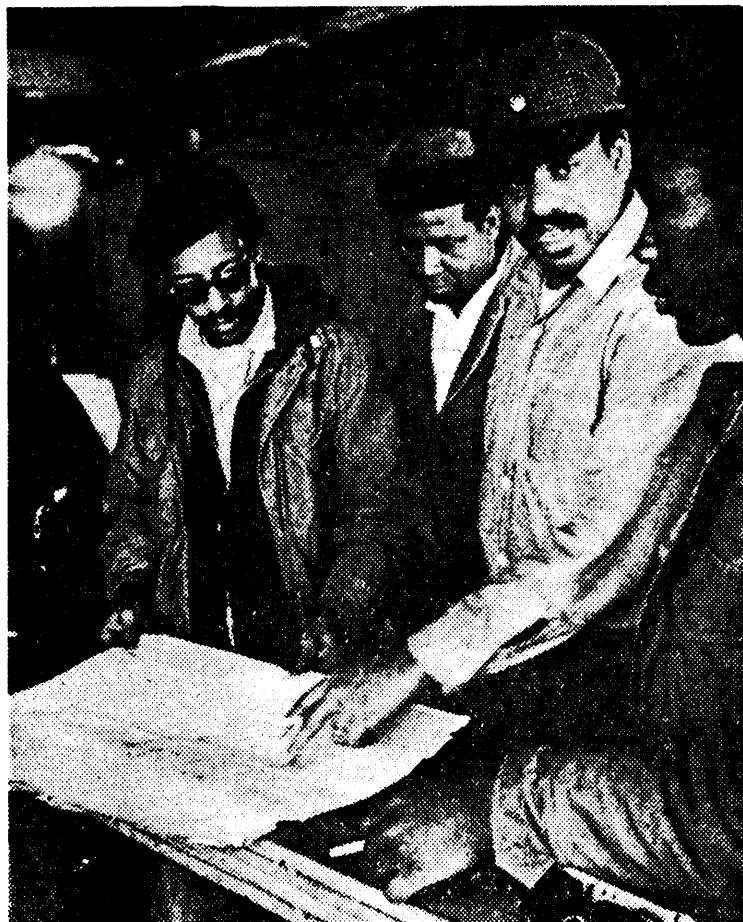
This is tragically dangerous thinking. Eubanks is openly playing the bosses' game. White workers clearly come out as the enemy with this logic, and capitalism gets off scot free. As unemployment increases, Nixon plans to use such schemes as the "Philadelphia Plan" to set white and black workers fighting each other for a dwindling number of jobs.

The fight against racism in the unions must be part of the fight of the entire working class against unemployment and inflation, raising the demands for the 4 day week and 5 days pay, and full cost of living clauses.

Members of the SWP and YSA must take up the evolution of Eubanks and come to grips with the logic of supporting "community control" campaigns which lead to such an out and out anti-working class position.

In the Feb. 20th issue of the Militant, there is a report of the struggle in Chicago, led by black ministers for more black construction jobs. This struggle resulted in a compromise settlement and the establishment of an administrative committee to oversee the administration and implementation of the new hiring and training programs set up. The article reports: "It was agreed that this committee would consist of two representatives from the coalition, two from the unions, two from the construction companies and the 'impartial' mediator Mayor Daley. Thus, the people responsible for the systematic exclusion of Blacks from the construction industry have a majority of five to two on the committee designed to alleviate the problem."

Here we have an unqualified lumping together of the workers, the unions, the companies and the Mayor as the enemies of black workers. There is no mention in the article of the attacks on all construction workers by Nixon or the need to fight Nixon at all.



EUBANKS, SECOND FROM RIGHT, CHECKS REMODELING PLANS

# militants oppose gravediggers pact

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 11-- After an 8 week long strike, Local 365 of the Cemetery Workers and Green Attendants Union voted last night to accept a wage offer of \$13 per week retroactive to Jan. 1st, with an additional \$10.50 per week after July 1st.

## DETROIT YSA BOWS TO EFFORTS TO DIFFUSE VIETNAM STRUGGLE

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

DETROIT-- The tendency to decentralize the anti-war struggle, so clear at the Cleveland SMC conference, reappeared at the March 4th meeting of the Detroit Coalition to End the War. The YSA presented a resolution to hold the April rally in Kennedy Square, an area previously used and one traditional to the labor movement. Right wing elements and the Stalinists proposed a further decentralization. In addition to Kennedy Square they wanted a rally also and simultaneously around the GM building.

A furious floor discussion ensued. It was dominated by Stalinist influenced workers on the one hand and a worker representing the Workers League point of view.

The YSA resolved the issue in typically centrist fashion: There was no real difference therefore a demonstration at the GM building was o.k. The IS saw no difference either.

Over a third of the union voted against the settlement, and voting was delayed several hours as militant workers vehemently objected to the sellout settlement, which the union leaders recommended accepting. One worker, speaking to a Bulletin reporter before the vote meeting, said: "It's not enough. We stayed out 8 weeks and we can stay out 8 more. We want our original demands, we're entitled to it for the work we do."

The gravediggers, who were making \$126.50 per week, originally demanded a \$30.00 per week increase. The wage offer which was accepted was for a total of \$23.50, a mere \$1.00 a week more than management's original offer of \$22.50.

The workers objected not only to this blatant wage sellout, but also to the fact that the union leadership caved in and accepted binding arbitration. All the details of the contract will go into binding arbitration.

The management was pressing for a three year contract, and with all the details of the contract--such as its length--in binding arbitration, they will probably get it. If the workers are tied to this sellout wage settlement for three years, their slight gain will be totally wiped out by the skyrocketing inflation.

"We shouldn't go back under these circumstances, we don't know what we're getting. It isn't right. If we have to hang on three years, we'll never make it," one worker told a Bulletin reporter.

When asked about the question of



MEETING OF GRAVEDIGGERS VOTED FOR SETTLEMENT DESPITE OPPOSITION

binding arbitration, and the union leadership, a worker exploded: "The leadership is good, IF it brings back what we want. But this binding arbitration stinks--it doesn't hurt just us, it hurts every labor union in the country. It takes it all out of our hands."

It is clear that the settlement was made under a great deal of pressure from everyone from Governor Rockefeller on down, threatening binding arbitration if the union would not

settle.

The use of binding arbitration against the gravediggers to discipline and weaken the union's bargaining power, and to tie the hands of the rank and file militants is just what is in store for the whole of the American labor movement. Nixon is moving now to force compulsory arbitration on the railroad workers, and it is clear that the bosses and their government will not stop short of slave labor laws to bring the unions to heel.

# 1199 RANKS RAISE HOSPITAL CONTRACT DEMANDS

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK--The 1199 contract fight is coming up in less than four months. The crisis now facing the ranks is whether they will make new gains or be driven back by the bosses. Will the wage increases make up for losses due to inflation and show substantial gains or will real wages actually go down? Will deteriorating working conditions and extra workloads be stopped or will the bosses be able to follow through on the job freeze with further harrassment, speedup, and job cuts?

There has been no preparation for this struggle by the Davis leadership. Workers are forced or openly told to do more work. After months of maneuvering to prepare workers for the change, housekeeping workers at Beth Israel have been officially informed that their workloads are increased. This is just the beginning of the speedup that the bosses intend to impose in all hospitals. Yet at union meetings discussion of the job freeze and its consequences has been continually suppressed.

At the same time there are re-

ports that Beth Israel has saved over \$1 million in salaries as the result of the job freeze. The ranks must demand an immediate accounting of this situation. The leadership has swept the July contract struggle under the rug. The vital contract demands have been totally obscured in dozens of separate little meetings or completely ignored.

The program that 1199 fights for must include substantial wage increases, but these increases can be totally undermined if the ranks do not have the job security that prevents the bosses from any kind of

harrassment and intimidation, from job cuts, layoffs and speedup.

The central demands for the July contract struggle must be:

A 50% increase over two years with a \$50 non-negotiable minimum.

Greatly increased fringe benefits--more holidays, bigger pensions.

An automatic and unlimited escalator clause.

No job cuts.

Workload specifications for each area to prevent speedup-- more job openings not less, to handle increased patient care.

Elimination of management perogatives used for the harrassment of workers.

Elimination of the no-strike clause.

In the elections in April the Rank and File Committee is running a candidate for Guild Organizer on the above platform. Candidates for delegate should fight for this platform. A discussion of these issues must be held at every chapter and delegates meeting and at these meetings the ranks must make clear that they will settle for nothing less than an all-out fight for the above demands.

## shultz, boyle and the umw elections

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Secretary of Labor Shultz has announced that the Boyle victory in the UMW elections was a fraud, and has ordered new federally supervised elections. After a 60 day investigation, Shultz has decided to void an election that every miner knows was rigged. The government refused to step in although Yablonski made repeated charges of corruption and illegal election practices. Only after Yablonski's death, when mine workers began to shut down the mines in protest did Shultz try to save face by conducting an investigation.

Just as in the past, when the government used the scandals and corruption in the Teamsters to throw Hoffa in jail and weaken the union and to prepare the anti-union Landrum-Griffin Act, Shultz and Nixon are now using the crimes and corruption of Boyle as an excuse to move in and break the power of the unions entirely. Every day, the bosses and government protect and encourage the corruption of the union bureaucracy and then they use the scandals and rank and file protests

over this corruption to run anti-labor "investigations" like the McClellan Committee investigations and the famous Waterfront Crime Commission investigations of the I.L.A.

These investigations are used to strengthen the domination of the government over the unions and to set up new laws to break the unions.

At the same time as Shultz intervenes in the UMW, Nixon and Congress team up to break the rail strike, Nixon prepares the new compulsory arbitration law against the transportation industry unions and later the rest of the unions, and compulsory arbitration is used against the New York Cemetery workers. The pattern is clear--everywhere the bosses and their government are moving toward the total enslavement of the trade unions, in order to defend their profits.

From the very beginning the Workers League demanded the formation of an independent workers committee to investigate the Yablonski murder while all sorts of liberal and conservative politicians pushed for government investigation. The

importance of the demand for the workers themselves to take the investigation into their own hands now is clearly revealed as the government steps in to use the Yablonski murder in order to do a real job on the labor movement.

Democracy can only be won in the UMW by fighting for a leadership which will represent the interests of the miners and thus will have nothing to hide from them.

This means a struggle for the political independence of the unions from the government and the Democratic and Republican parties. This means a complete break from politicians like John D. Rockefeller 4th, who supposedly has "high praise" for the Yablonski reform movement. It was Rockefeller's family that was one of the owners of the Mannington, W. Virginia mine that in 1968 buried 78 miners in its depths as a result of the absence of safety measures.

Shultz's Labor Department is no impartial guardian of democracy. Its belated intervention cannot obscure for one minute the plans of Shultz and the Nixon Administration to strangle and crush the trade unions.

**SUBSCRIBE NOW!**

to the **WEEKLY BULLETIN**

---\$1.00 6 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB  
---\$3.00 FOR FULL YEAR

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

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

BULLETIN RM. 8, 243 E. 10 ST. NYC 10003.