

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Capitalist
Leaders Draw
Battle Lines

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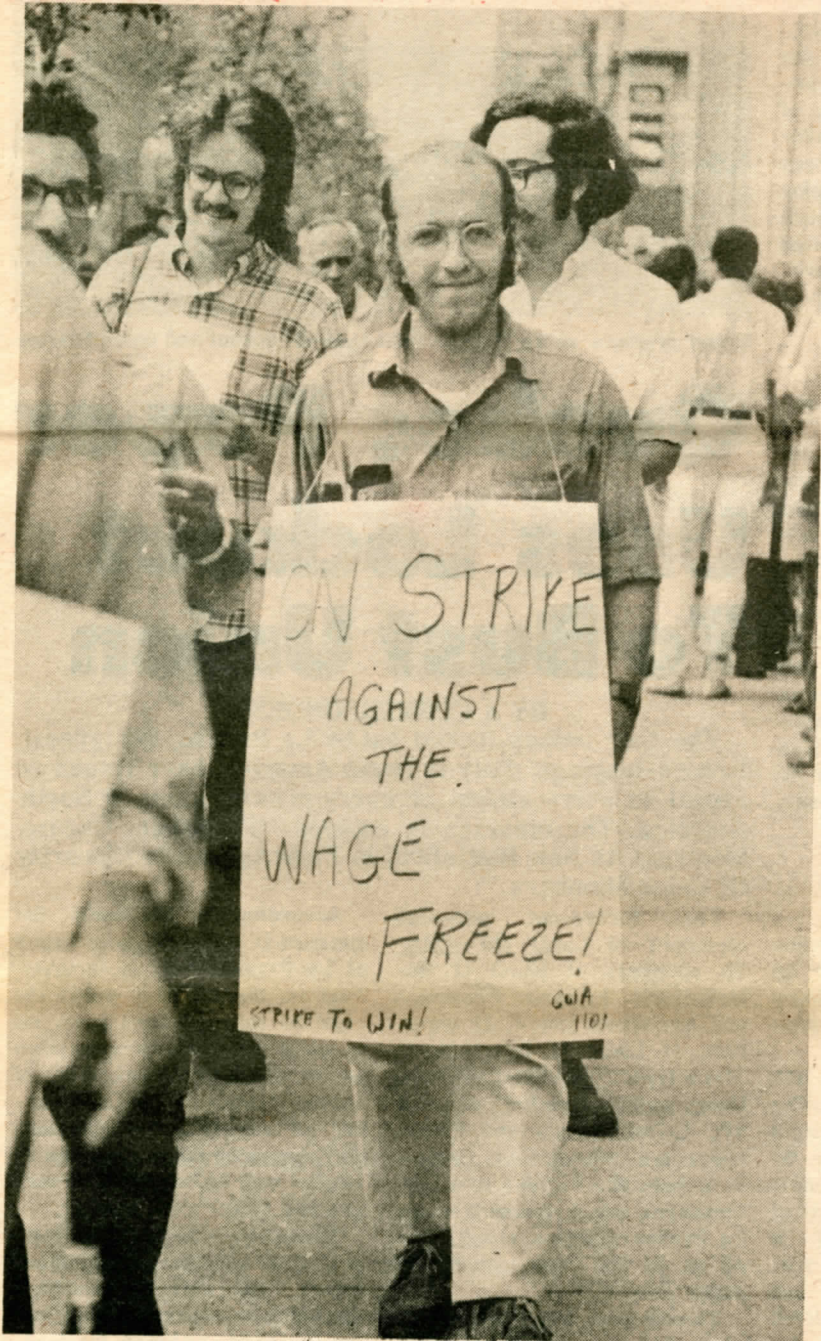
VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER FOUR (213)

SEPTEMBER 27, 1971

JUL 29 1976

FIFTEEN CENTS

INSTITUTION



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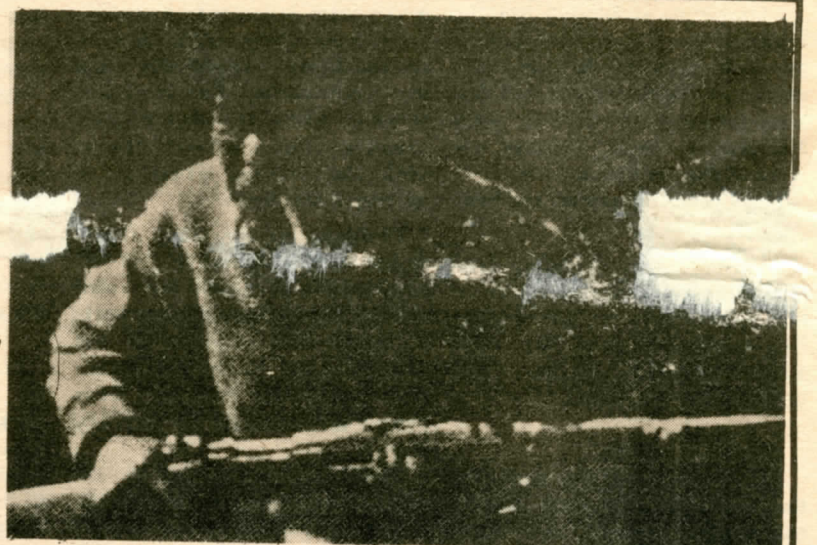
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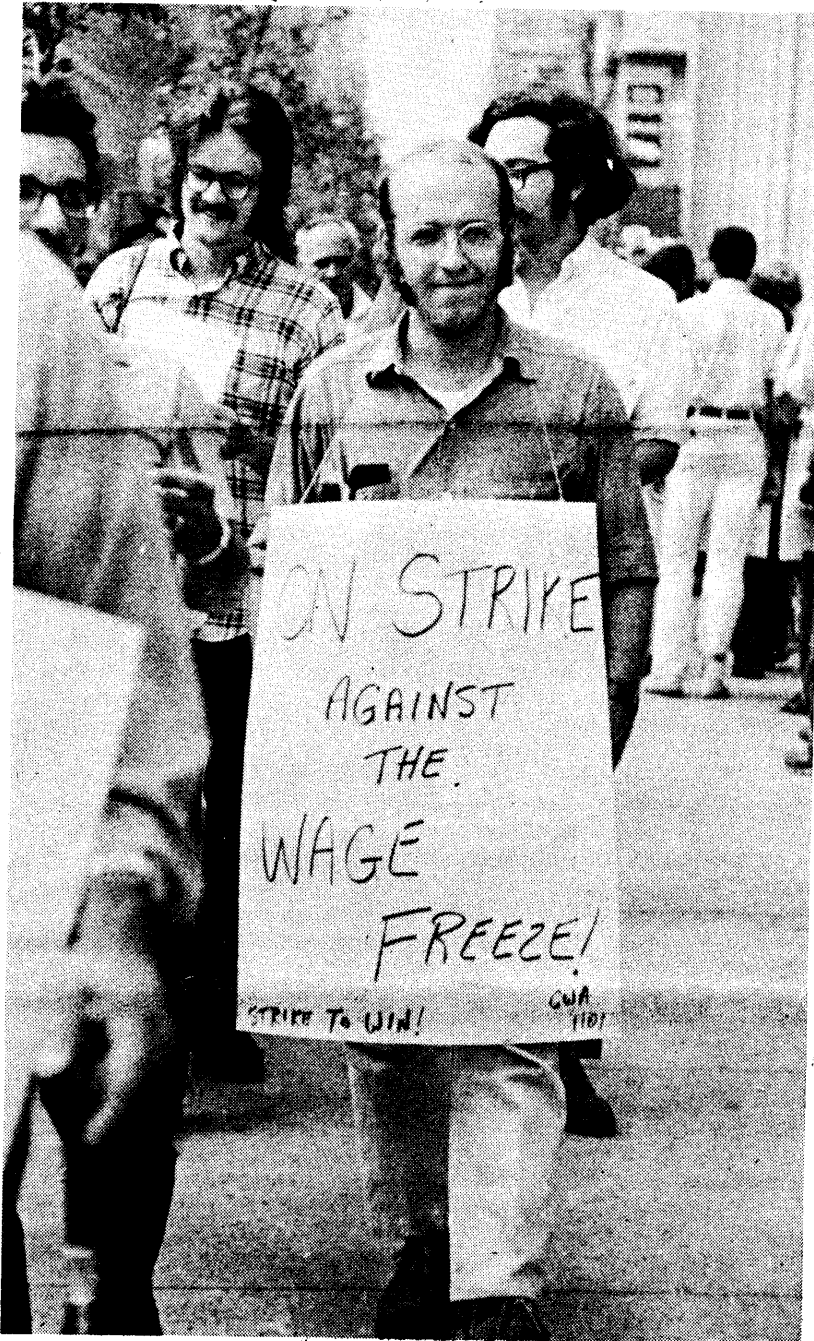
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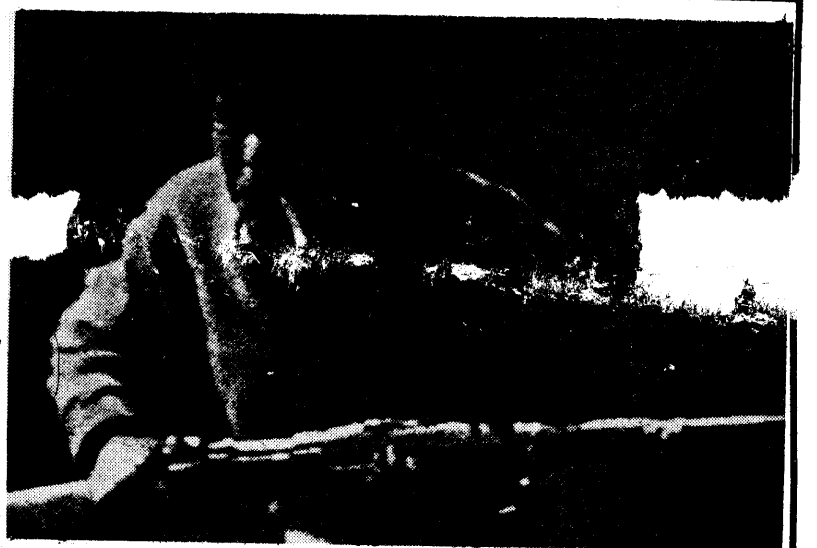
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Antiwar Protests Sweep Vietnam

BY ED SMITH

The political situation in the U.S. puppet state of "South" Vietnam is now boiling over. The U.S. Army, main prop of capitalism in the area, is becoming utterly demoralized and ineffective as a fighting force.

What small base of popular support the anti-NLF forces had has been rapidly eroded away. In this situation the overriding consideration of each bourgeois faction has become its own self-preservation, very much in the manner of rats leaving a sinking ship.

In recent weeks the United States command has become extremely concerned by the activities of South Vietnamese student radicals, who have fire-bombed 33 American army vehicles since August 23. The students have conducted their campaign quite openly and have made it clear they will continue to attack American vehicles and personnel until all American forces have left Vietnam.

On September 18 anti-government students and opposition politicians staged a number of

demonstrations in Saigon against the one-man presidential election scheduled for October 3. Thieu election posters were torn down, army jeeps were burned and their drivers beaten. The demonstrations were finally broken up by massive use of tear gas, and several students were wounded, including Le Van Vinh, president of the student union at Van Hanh University.

The spark of the protest wave was one of the everyday atrocities typical of the American occupation—a Vietnamese boy killed out of hand in Hue, supposedly for trying to steal a GI's watch.

The students by their campaign hope to show the opposition of the Vietnamese people to imperialism's war. "What we are doing is not against individuals," declared a student leader. "We are fighting a system and we want Americans to put pressure on President Nixon to get their people out of here."

DEAL

The terrorist attacks and dissident protests are merely the surface reflection of the extraordinary upsurge of the Viet-

namese workers and peasants against imperialism's war of conquest in Southeast Asia. This upsurge, expressed above all in the continued military struggle of the National Liberation Front, has convinced sections of the American and Vietnamese bourgeoisie that there is no way of attaining a direct military victory over the Liberation Forces and the only hope of salvaging the situation is through the back door—that is, through a rotten deal with the Stalinists who presently are in the leadership of the movement.

DESPERATE

Never has the position of imperialism in Vietnam been so desperate, so untenable—and never has the danger of an agreement between the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie to save imperialism in Southeast Asia from disaster been so acute. Their plans for betrayal of the Vietnamese workers and peasants must be exposed from start to finish and a leadership constructed not to make deals with murderous capitalism, but to destroy it. This is being done and can only be done by the Fourth International.

Ulster Faces Reign Of Terror

BY MELODY FARROW

The Tory government of Prime Minister Heath has reversed its tactics on North Ireland and is seeking to reach a deal to stabilize the situation in Ulster. This is the meaning of Heath's talks with Irish Prime Minister John Lynch and his recent recall of Parliament in Britain to debate the issue.

These moves do not in any way mean that the British imperialists are prepared to relinquish control of North Ireland or make any serious concessions. Heath's aim is to gain a breathing space in Ireland in order to concentrate his attack on the British working class which is sharply moving forward against the government's attacks.

The attempt to reach agreement with Lynch and the Labour Party in Ireland is already in a shambles. Under pressure from Republican forces in his own country, Lynch refused to give up his demand for a united Ireland and an end to Britain's internment of militants.

Heath has offered a proposal to give "representatives of the minority as well as of the majority community in North Ireland an active, guaranteed and permanent role in the life and public affairs of the province."

This means absolutely nothing because the Tories are determined to maintain British occupation of North Ireland. A few sops thrown to the Catholic petty bourgeoisie would change nothing in the miserable living conditions of both Catholic and Protestant workers.

Prime Minister of North Ireland Brian Faulkner knows in turn that any concessions to the Catholics would strengthen the right wing Protestant forces and threaten his own rule.

DEAL

But the threat of any such deal that would include Lynch and the opposition parties in North Ireland and Britain is very real. It would expose Irish workers,



Irish Prime Minister John Lynch.

both Catholic and Protestant, to the danger of a renewed and even more vicious assault from British imperialism and fascists in Ireland.

In anticipation of this the Ulster government is demanding an additional 5,000 troops from Britain and the Army is reportedly on a war-time footing. The Irish Republican Army is stepping up its campaign against British troops while the civil war threatens to spread to the South.

The economy of Ireland is now on the verge of collapse with unemployment at 40,000 and still rising. The capitalist class seeks to blame this situation on the Catholics and on the IRA to further divide the working class and weaken the fight for jobs and wages.

There is no way out of the Ulster crisis except through the united fight of Irish and British workers for the defeat of British imperialism and for the ouster

of the Tories. Only a revolutionary Marxist party based on the common interests of Catholic and Protestant workers can provide a road forward.

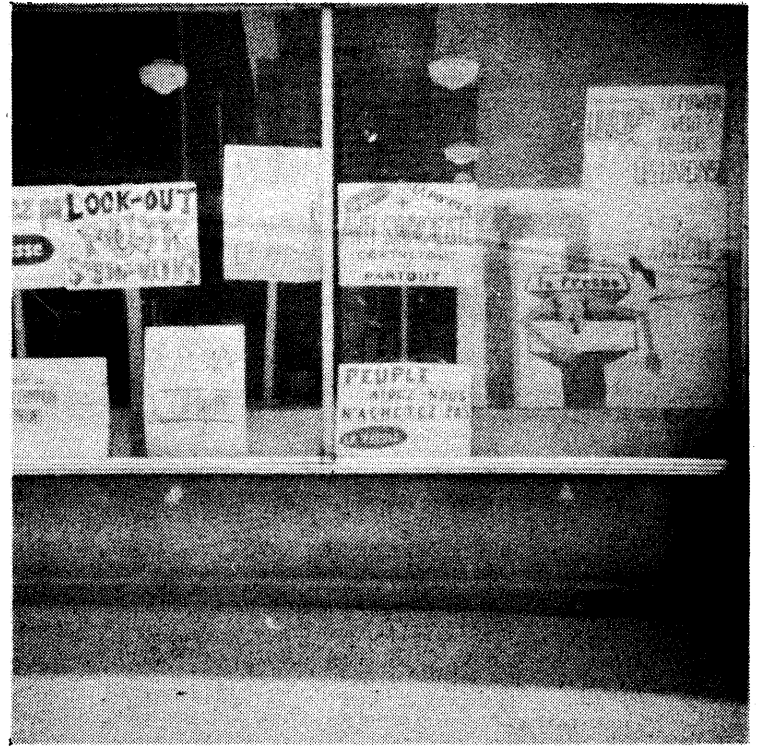
This is the fight that the IRA "Provisionals" seek to deny. The IRA bases itself on and accepts religious divisions created by capitalism and substitutes individual terrorism for the united power of the working class. It provides no answer to the real problems of unemployment and living conditions facing all Irish workers. While we unconditionally support all IRA militants against attacks from the government we give no support to their program of terrorism which only deepens the divisions. The IRA has not only turned away the Protestant workers but is beginning to lose support among Catholics as well.

IRA

The IRA five point program exposes its real position. Cahill's call for a conference with the British Parliament and the IRA's demand for a "new government structure" means acceptance of a bourgeois state. In the end the IRA terror tactics are a means of pressure on the British government.

The Pabloite and state capitalist revisionist groups proceed with the same method in their complete support of IRA policies. The state capitalists' original support to the presence of British troops and now to the IRA is based on their subservience to the surface of events.

In their fear and hostility to the powerful movement of the working class, the revisionists have bowed to every petty bourgeois radical current in Ireland. At the same time these tendencies completely isolate the struggle in Ulster from the struggle of British workers.



Union printers at La Presse fight against lockout and union busting.

Quebec Paper Uses Lockout To Bust Union

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The four unions locked out by La Presse, the largest French-language daily in North America, have issued an appeal to every chapel of every printing union in North America. The message is entitled "Publishers Choose Montreal As New Battlefield In Fight Against Job Security Of Union Members."

The locked-out men—225 members of Local 145 (ITU), 75 members of Local 41, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, 22 members of Local 33, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and 35 members of Local 9P, Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union—have been the victims of a systematized attack mounted by the La Presse management and backed up by the American Newspaper Association.

The company has made it quite clear since negotiations began in January that it has only one intention, as the union's message states:

"It would abolish all jurisdictional claims of all unions on all types of equipment and processes and 'farm out' work at will even to non-union shops." In other words, smash the unions at La Presse.

The company has cold-bloodedly carried out its plans. It is no coincidence that Mr. Berlin, president of the Hearst chain visited La Presse less than one month before the lockout began.

La Presse has continued to publish, although fewer editions daily, through the use of union members whose contracts have not run out, management personnel and scabs, some of them non-union supervisory staff brought in from the Toronto Globe and Mail, a newspaper owned by the same outfit as La Presse, Power Corporation.

REJECTED

The company has tried to weaken the workers by attacking their International unions, charging "American interference" in the strike. The workers have clearly rejected this demagoguery. The role that nationalism, both of the Canadian and Quebec varieties, will play in the crisis is now clearly revealed.

According to the union, the question is not principally wages at La Presse, but job security. That is, the company wants the right to shift workers from job to job at will, destroying the power of the union, and also, of course, cutting back on the number of workers. The company had announced plans to eventually employ only 700 workers. There are now 1300.

The workers have not laid down and died as the management hoped. The four unions have formed a common front against the company, although the leadership capitulated on the question of separate negotiations. On August 25th, 2,000 unionists and supporters, including striking Dominion Stores workers, taxi-drivers, and the Workers Movement of South West Montreal demonstrated against La Presse shouting "Hang the scabs!" The demonstration was broken up quickly by riot police. On August 30, one hundred La Presse workers invaded a serene country club where 45 department heads were enjoying a banquet after a golf tournament, and sent half a dozen to the hospital.

INJUNCTION

It was as a result of the brawl that La Presse went to court and received an injunction. This injunction is a true piece of class injustice. It forbids the locked-out workers from any action which would hinder the production of the paper. They can make no attempt to stop delivery trucks or to prevent scabs or other workers from entering the premises. No demonstrations are allowed and pickets are limited to four. They are forbidden from organizing a boycott against the paper and they are forbidden from even thinking about organizing such a boycott. Any individual or organization which is aware of the

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Big Clash Looms On Pay Freeze

BY OUR LABOR EDITOR

President Nixon, pleased with the spineless response of the labor leaders, has reversed his pledge not to continue the compulsory wage freeze. He has announced through his press secretary and various sources that he is inclined not towards the tripartite board the union leaders were plugging for, but some kind of continued direct government controls.

It is controls enforced by the state that big business is openly demanding. They also make it clear that they will not tolerate any controls on their bloated profits. This, again, becomes Nixon's position. The labor bureaucrats alone are responsible for this as Nixon only acts because he is convinced they will not.

What can and will upset the plans of Nixon and the labor fakers is the action of labor's rank and file. American working men will not tolerate a situation, correctly called fascism by Meany, where their wages and working conditions are dictated by a state which clearly serves the bosses. Key will be politically organizing these ranks so that the trade union movement is forced to fight for its membership—which means no acceptance of any wage freeze of any sort, with or without the sugar coating of a board.

CONTRACTS

According to Labor Secretary Hodgson all union contracts now

in force or being negotiated are up in the air. The government is threatening and clearly planning to revise some if not all of these contracts in order to make the workers pay for the economic crisis.

This is why Nixon cannot afford to go along completely with the union leaders' call for a tripartite board and voluntary compliance. The problem with Meany and Woodcock's proposal is that it may not be effective enough now. He is worried about enforcement. Nixon wants "jaw-boning with teeth" as he put it. He wants government intervention directly in order to insure that the attacks on wages are not diverted or softened at this crucial time.

DEMOCRATS

In his general policies Nixon continues to retain the complete support of the Democrats. While some of them echo union bureaucrats' call for a tripartite panel, they are certainly not in a posi-

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Chicago teachers demonstrate in front of fund raising dinner for Illinois Governor Ogilvie, protesting arrest and jailing of Cook County Teachers Union President Norman Swenson by Mayor Daley.

1199 Ranks Demand Freeze Fight

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The leadership of Local 1199 which represents thousands of hospital workers directly affected by the wage freeze, is desperately trying to head off a rank and file movement for strike action to win the increases due this October and November.

The joint delegates meeting September 15th exposed the tremendous fear of the leadership of a confrontation with the government despite the clear readiness of the delegates to fight the freeze with action.

The 1199 leadership is following the same dangerous path as other labor bureaucrats—verbally opposing the freeze but accepting it in practice by refusing

to do more than make polite protests. This perspective will mean the loss of everything hospital workers have fought for.

DAVIS

President Davis's speech was an attempt to convince the delegates with militant rhetoric that he was going to fight. He denounced the wage freeze as a boon to profits which would only benefit the businessmen. He ridiculed the price freeze as being non-existent and stated that he had few doubts that the freeze would be extended.

"Meany said that government control over wages is the road to fascism, and you know, Meany is right."

Davis denounced Meany for calling for wage controls even before August 16th and for agreeing to a voluntary review board, and accused Nixon of "mismanagement" of the economy.

ATTICA

Davis who had opened the meeting with a brief statement on the Attica prison revolt now tried to isolate this question from the wage freeze. Davis had stated that the meaning of the murder of the Attica inmates was that "Nixon is bringing the war in Vietnam home."

This is absolutely correct. The union leadership is forced to recognize that the wage freeze and the Attica uprising are not temporary measures but mean the declaration of war by the government on the working class.

But the leadership refuses to draw the lessons of these attacks. When it came down to the concrete fight against the freeze Davis said the union would warn the hospitals to "save the money" that workers are due and that if "it takes two or three years" the union would win this fight. He called for a mass protest rally October 1st.

These statements give away the real perspective of the union bureaucracy. The government's brutal attacks on the unions are to be answered with indefinite protests and pressure. The money for the October and November increase is to be

pocketed by the bosses. By posing the problem as one of mismanagement of the economy, Davis is saying that capitalism can be reformed and that worker and boss can peacefully co-exist together.

During his whole speech Davis didn't mention the role of the Democrats in completely accepting the wage freeze. Now when Nixon's attacks are exposing the real role of both Democrats and Republicans the union bureaucracy covers up for them in order to maintain the old bankrupt relationships.

RANKS

A member of the Rank and File Committee took the floor and stated that Attica showed what the government was prepared to do to protect its interests. The fight of the Attica prisoners is the same as the fight against the freeze. The prisoners understood that this government could not be defeated without the united power of all oppressed people. Nixon and Rockefeller are fully prepared to shoot down trade unionists when they move against the wage freeze and they will not be stopped with pressure.

The Rank and File Committee proposed that the union prepare for strike action against the freeze October 1st and call on the whole labor movement to build for general strike action and that 1199 must refuse to cooperate with any form of wage control board.

VOTE

The bureaucracy, frightened by the tremendous applause the speaker received quickly closed discussion and moved to a vote on the President's proposal for a protest demonstration without even recognizing the Rank and File Committee motion. When delegates got up to protest this maneuver they simply adjourned the meeting.

The fight for strike action must now be taken into the October 1st demonstration at Foley Square. We urge all hospital workers to join the Rank and File Committee contingent to fight for:

General Strike action against the freeze!

No Cooperation with Wage Controls!

Build a Labor Party for the 72 elections!

Minn. AFL-CIO Votes General Strike

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS, September 15—Delegates to the Minnesota State AFL-CIO convention here unanimously adopted a special resolution pledging a 24 hour general strike against Nixon's wage freeze, backing an earlier call by national AFL-CIO President George Meany.

This must be seen as the response of one of the most conservative sections of the state's labor movement to both the pressure from their own ranks for action as well as the desire of the union bureaucracy to seek an escape route from such action.

To begin with, the convention never made the fight against the wage freeze the center of its work. The Workers League distributed a leaflet to delegates calling for a general strike against the freeze and the creation of a labor party in 1972 to break with the capitalist parties responsible for the freeze.

The state federation president, David Roe, responded by bureaucratically pushing through an endorsement of Hubert Humphrey for President. Characteristically, Roe refused to even call for any negative votes on the proposal.

This convention surely waded through its share of rubbish. Senator Walter Mondale slanderously compared Nixon's economic policies with those of Karl Marx, saying how terrible it was that Nixon and Connally openly agreed with Marx to the effect that you cannot have capitalism without

war.

Then came national AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland giving advice to big business on how to restabilize itself with full employment. He was followed by AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education Assistant Director John Parkins. Parkins complained about the growing number of non-voters, and pointed out that abstainers in the 1968 elections were 17 million votes higher than Nixon's total vote. But he dared not say that these tens of millions of workers saw nothing to vote for.

The general strike resolution

was tacked on as one of the last points on the agenda. But the brief discussion on it was very significant. One delegate from the Typographers state council said that the one-day general strike was the "most successful method used in Europe by the unions, especially in Britain."

The growing mass movement against capitalism in Britain, shown by the general strike movement and the occupations of the Plessey and Upper Clyde Shipbuilders facilities, will be the road the American workers will have to take to beat back Nixon's attacks.

Cops In Pre-dawn Raid Arrest Brooklyn Youths

BY MARY HAPKINS

In the September 6th issue of the *Bulletin*, the Workers League assessed George Jackson's murder as a prelude to the kind of repression and brutality the Nixon Administration is preparing for the whole working class.

We stated:

"Jackson's death is a warning to all youth and the working class as a whole. This is the brutality which the capitalist class is prepared to use to defend its bankrupt and decaying system."

Right on the heels of Jackson's murder follows the brutal massacre of the inmates at Attica. Also there are new attacks on youth groups in the com-

munities.

Since the takeover of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, a youth organization known as the "Young Black Warriors" have been under constant police harassment and provocation. A recent attack on the organization came following the burning of the church two weeks ago. Police have arrested several members of the organization in pre-dawn raids similar to the Mark Clark and Fred Hampton style in connection with the burning, and with bail as high as \$500.

Only with the unified action of the working class can these attacks be challenged. Thus the coming together of all militant youths in a mass revolutionary movement guided by Marxist theory becomes essential.

ILA Ranks Walk Out Over Hiring Attacks

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Sept. 16—Forty members of International Longshoremen's Association Local 857 walked out of the Greenwich Street hiring hall for one day and refused to be assigned to work in other boroughs. The men elected a delegation of half a dozen who went to the nearby Waterfront Commission offices for an explanation. The men were told they had no business there, and had to leave.

The vicious plans of the employers and the ILA bureaucrats for the upcoming contract could not be more clearly exposed. Borough, not portwide, hiring has been a right of dockers for

years in New York. The start of portwide hiring means that men could be sent, for instance, from Brooklyn to New Jersey, hours away from their usual work place, if Jersey work gangs are short.

ILA ranks must answer this provocation by a strike on October 1, combined with a struggle for a caucus for new leadership in the union, and with a fight for outside union support in the strike. The shippers have made it clear that they will stop at nothing to take away the guarantee and otherwise weaken the union. They will use the government to do it. The Gleason leadership cannot possibly defend the union.

On the day of the walkout, one Local 857 docker said:

"Gleason promised an injunc-

tion against it, then signed the order for portwide hiring posted in the hall. We went to the Local vice president and he doesn't know anything....I think it's a gyp. You remember those anti-hippie demonstrations a few years ago? I was in them, but I've changed my colors a lot. I used to have an American flag on my house but I tore it down."

It is not enough for ILA rank and file simply to strike and stay out despite the leadership, as they have always done. The Nixon government is out to smash the trade unions. The massacres at Attica show what the ruling class has in store for trade unionists if a Marxist leadership is not built in the unions.

ILA ranks must meet the assault of the shippers and their Waterfront Commission with a strike October 1, around a program of winning the \$7.50, extending the full New York guarantee to all men in all ports, no cuts in gang size, and for a 20 year pension at \$500 per month regardless of age. The ranks must also take up the struggle for a labor party.

Only this kind of program and strategy can win anything for the ILA. The ranks must be united against the shippers. The shippers would like nothing better than to be able to restrict the guarantee to a smaller part of the ranks.

The fight on October 1 is not for any one section of the ILA but for the survival of the union. The central task is to build a new leadership in the union.

Frigidaire Ranks Beat Bosses' Wage Cut Plan

DAYTON, OHIO—Every American worker should take careful note of the vicious campaign the Frigidaire division of the giant General Motors corporation here has waged to deprive its thousands of workers of their union, their standard of living and their right to a job.

In less than a year the number of workers at the Dayton plant has been halved from 10,000 to 5,000. Now the company wants to move operations abroad and end all jobs at the Dayton plant.

To help them in their job busting scheme the Dayton Chamber of Commerce set up a "Save Frigidaire Committee" of businessmen and a priest which advised the Frigidaire workers, members of IUE Local 801, that the only way to "save their jobs" was a \$1 an hour wage cut. This offer did not even guarantee the retention of the 5,000 workers still employed at Frigidaire, much less rehiring of the 3,400 laid off since December.

GM cannot show that Frigidaire is not making a profit in Dayton in the first place. The whole operation was a transparent fraud designed to demoralize the Dayton workers to give up their jobs later without a fight, and to break the wage levels at other GM owned plants organized by the IUE elsewhere.

The response of the local and district IUE leadership to this vicious attack can only be described as scandalous. They played right into the hands of Nixon and GM by accepting "foreign competition" as the cause of all Frigidaire's troubles. They even staged a farcical smash-up of a French car in order to "protest" foreign competition which supposedly is taking away American jobs.

The day after these antics, the president of Local 801, Luther Holt, who had sponsored the affair along with some politicians, including Dayton Mayor McGee, called a mass meeting of Local 801 members on short notice to consider the wage cutting proposal. He got more than he bargained for.

AGAINST

The union negotiating com-

mittee stated it was against the wage cut proposal. Immediately a worker proposed a vote of confidence in the negotiating committee for its stand. Holt tried to shunt aside the motion but on the demand of the membership had to submit it to a vote.

The local voted down GM's and the Chamber of Commerce's ploy to destroy their union 7,000 votes to three. As the 801 shop committee chairman put it: "It's

(Continued On Page 14)

St. Louis Auto Plant Plans To Lay Off 700

BY JIM HAYES

ST. LOUIS—The Bulletin has learned that over 700 workers at the huge General Motors assembly plant here will be laid off during the next few weeks. The company, in order to maintain high profits in the current economic crisis, will cut back on employees with up to three years seniority.

The Fisher Body division which has existed in this city for many decades will be eliminated and merged with the General Motors Automobile Division (GMAD). Union officials admit that conditions in factories that have accepted GMAD have worsened with the introduction of speed-ups and stricter company rules.

The St. Louis Fisher plant, known for its militant ranks, was one of the last chosen for GMAD to be started. Earlier this summer there was a wildcat strike over the speed-up in production from 57 to 61 cars per hour.

General Motors Corporation has openly torn up its current local contract with UAW Local 25 in order to introduce GMAD. The union bureaucrats say they will not negotiate a new contract until after a 90 day period. Union representation will be drastically reduced in the future. According to Joe Newton, a salvage and materials division committeeman, the number of UAW committeemen will be cut in half under the new contract. Also

new elections will have to take place for all officers of Local 25.

WARNED

Last year when Woodcock accepted a sellout contract at the end of a 13 week strike, the Workers League warned that it would lead to job cuts and speed-up. Now, Woodcock has not only accepted a wage freeze which he admits totally destroys small gains won in that contract, but prepares to remain silent over the mass unemployment of UAW

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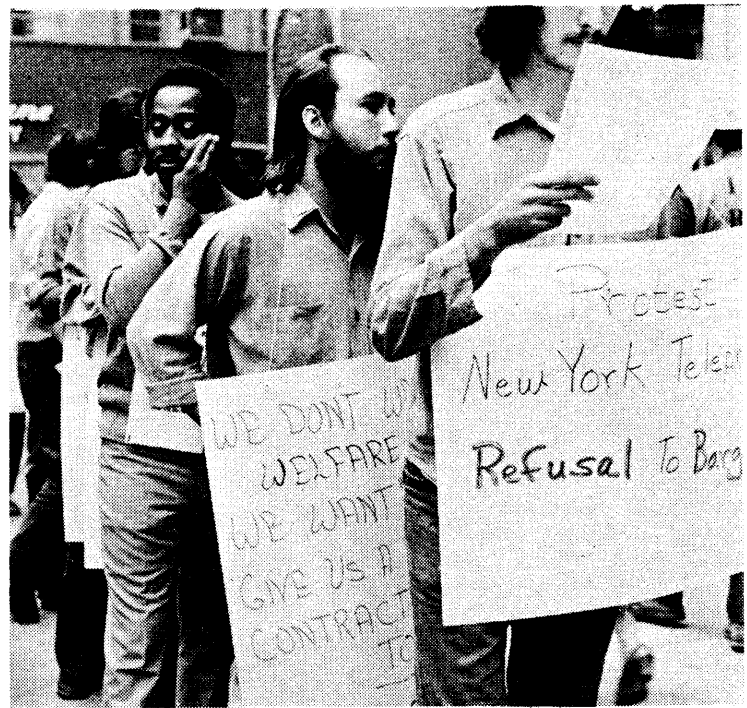
ILA Hacks Refuse Fight On Containers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—On September 15th the entire Baltimore ILA met to discuss distribution of this year's containerization royalties totalling \$700,000.

Although containers and containerization royalties have been in Baltimore for several years, this year is the first for distribution and this was the first discussion about how distribution should be made to the longshoremen.

Containerization has been the biggest menace of unemployment in this port where an estimated 60% of all existing jobs will be eliminated within the next three to five years. Most workers have already been affected with an average worker getting approximately 25 work hours per week.



Local 1101 CWA, in 8th week of strike, rally in front of AT&T.

CWA Leaders Retreat On Nationwide Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—On Friday, September 17th, the Communications Workers of America Local 1101 held a strike rally in front of the AT&T headquarters. The New York local has been on strike for over eight weeks, having rejected the national contract on July 29th.

The International union leadership reneged on its promise that if any one local voted down the national contract, all the locals would remain on strike.

The leadership of 1101 is making only token gestures towards the International leadership. The leaflet issued at the rally was a soft-hearted appeal to the public based on trying to win "the customer" to the side of the union because New York Telephone service is deteriorating. The solution according to the leaflet is to install phone meters the way we have gas and electric meters so that all inefficient service is accounted for!

At the very time that Nixon announces there will be government controls to maintain the wage freeze after the ninety day period, the union has nothing to say about the freeze. The CWA workers will not get one penny increase now or in November unless the 1101 leadership fights to bring out not only the rest of the CWA but the rest of the labor movement in defiance of the freeze. Ricky Carnivale is playing politics for a national leadership position. He refuses to do anything more than call up

Joe Beirne once a week and beg for help.

CAUCUSES

The various caucuses involved in Local 1101 are playing a completely rotten role. None of these, backed by groups such as Spartacist, Workers World, all the way down to the "Fair Share Caucus" of the Socialist Party, have any perspective for the CWA workers. It is becoming clearer to the rank and file that the strike will be broken, and the local destroyed if a political fight against the freeze is not taken up immediately.

The ranks must take up the fight to mobilize all other CWA locals in support of the original New York local demands. Membership meetings must be called at once to demand no retreat on the wage demands in defiance of the freeze, general strike action of the entire labor movement in support of 1101 and other striking locals around the country defying the freeze. The ranks must fight for the calling of a congress of labor, youth and minorities to construct the labor party for '72 to defeat Nixon, AT&T and the entire capitalist class.

This has resulted in many men taking on part time or weekend jobs with a tremendous decrease in standard of living for those who do not.

Within the meeting, three proposals for distribution were presented, that the money should be distributed among a) all those with 700 work hours in the last year, b) all those with 1500 work hours in the last year, and c) all those with five years full time on the waterfront.

The last two proposals submitted by the leadership seek to

divide the better paid "company hired" men from the majority of young and minority workers who are having a hard time meeting the 700 hour GAI eligibility level. Although there was considerable confusion amongst many present on the three proposals, one issue raised was clear to all.

This was that the leadership was announcing, not proposing, that a flat 10% would be taken out of the royalties and given to the national leadership. It was on

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EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas
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Mass Reprisals Hit Prisoners After Massacre

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

All the outcries by liberals and clergy about Rockefeller's "mistake" at Attica will not change the fact that Rockefeller and Nixon consciously made a decision to murder the prisoners and will not hesitate to do so again.

Even after Rockefeller knew that the hostages had been shot and that every statement about the prison officials was a lie he stated: "There was no alternative but to go in."

And he made it very clear why when he said that the prison revolt "had political implications beyond the reform of the prison which it was not possible for us to conform to and at the same time preserve a free society."

When asked if he thought there had been indiscriminate shootings he replied, "No, I don't. I think they did a superb job."

WARNING

The warning is clear. When Rockefeller and the capitalist class are faced with a threat to their system they will use all the brutal force at their disposal to crush it.

It is now clear that the prisoners will face a more ruthless and brutal repression than ever.

This began immediately after state troopers crushed the rebellion.

Some clergy men and legislators who interviewed prisoners reported that prisoners were

shot in the back while lying on the ground with their hands behind their heads. Others were killed while trying to surrender.

LIE

Immediately after the invasion of the prison, members of the negotiating committee were given a tour by Deputy State Commissioner Dunbar of where the hostages were supposedly killed by the prisoners, and were told how one hostage was allegedly castrated. This has now been exposed as a deliberate lie.

James Watson, a 24 year old National Guardsman sent into the prison, testified to a Federal Court about what he had seen during and after the battle.

He said 40 prisoners were brought out on stretchers. "Many of them were twitching. I could see a lot of blood. It appeared that some were in convulsion or shock."

Whenever a prisoner lifted his head a trooper would shout racist obscenities and yell, "Keep your head down or we'll bash it in."

He reported that the troopers forced injured inmates to stand up and continued, "I heard one trooper say 'Break him so he'll stand.' They cracked him a few times. Another inmate was kicked and kicked until he fell down." Watson said that as each prisoner was taken inside he heard ten seconds of sounds like "a club hitting a bone or a person's flesh." Inmates were forced to run a "gauntlet" of blows from the troopers' nightsticks.

(Continued On Page 14)



Some of the more than 2,000 youths who demonstrated in Harlem against massacre at Attica.

Youth Shout Down Liberals At Attica Protest In Harlem

BY GIL GONZALEZ

NEW YORK—A rally was held in Harlem today in protest of the murder of thirty-three inmates who were viciously gunned down by National Guard and police at Attica State prison on Thursday, September 16, 1971.

Thousands of youths who were stunned and fed up with the situation at Attica, the murders of Jonathan and George Jackson, and the arrests of militants across the country came to protest.

The rally was sponsored by various groups including the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Party, Prisoners Solidarity Committee, C.O.R.E., The Republic of New Africa. It was chaired by Charles Kenyatta.

It is very important to understand why these groups allowed Kenyatta to chair the rally. Kenyatta is a right wing nationalist and represents the very logic of the political perspectives of these organizations.

Speaking to a crowd of over two thousand youths, Kenyatta's intentions were quite clear from the very beginning. Kenyatta tried to pose the Attica rebellion as a racial question, denying the rebellion's class character.

As a spokesman for the Prisoners Solidarity Committee, who was at Attica during the rebellion said, "The unity of blacks, Puerto Ricans, whites, and Chicanos made the rebellion basically a class question." All of Mr. Kenyatta's speeches were geared to appeal to the blackness of the crowd. He never really posed any real solution to prevent another Attica from happening.

KENYATTA

What Kenyatta did do was give us Albany's telephone number and told us to call Rockefeller and ask "what is happening to my brothers." He was in essence asking us to appeal to Rockefeller's conscience.

But it was Rockefeller with Nixon's approval who ordered the massacre. Kenyatta supported Rockefeller in this last election, touring the Black communities with this butcher.

When Kenyatta made this proposal the militant crowd of youths who came to the rally turned against him and asked for another speaker. He then presented a speaker from the Black Revolutionary Health Committee who said "the brothers died in Attica because they were poor, they were black and not white."

His next two speakers exposed him and the whole political character of this rally to the crowd of youths. He introduced his next speaker as "a brother who was at Attica fighting for the inmates." This speaker was Herman Badillo, who is well known for his sellout of the inmates at the Tombs last year.

The crowd shouting cries of "murderer" and "vendepatria" did not allow Badillo to reach the platform. Then Kenyatta introduced the next speaker, Basil Patterson, as "a Black man who has always fought for Black people." The crowd shouted him down with cries of "No politicians" and "Black Rocky."

At this point the crowd of youths became concretely aware of the fact that Kenyatta's conception of leadership is a far cry from what is needed to change the situation in this country. Although at the end of the rally the various organizations who helped stage the rally were not in full accord with Kenyatta, we have to understand that the perspective they pose is not basically different.

The attendance of youth at this rally shows their ever increasing need for leadership, a leadership which the nationalists cannot deliver.

At a time when the capitalist class is making massive attacks on all sections of the working class, a leadership must be built to unite the entire working class to fight back. The rebellion at Attica shows the power of the class united. The only way to take forward the fight of our brothers at Attica is through building a Marxist leadership and a revolutionary youth movement.

'We Have To Continue The Fight'

A Bulletin reporting team got these reactions to the Attica massacre.

Mike Green, a Black youth from New Haven, said:

Those prisoners were engaging in a revolutionary activity, and their demands were legitimate. This is a prelude to what is going to happen in America. The state is setting the stage for mass murders of poor and Black people. The next stage will not be just the prisons, but the factories and the streets. It's the real beginning of a Nazi-like trend. The picture is clearly drawn. We must act to prevent further Atticas and this means building a strong revolutionary movement.

A recently discharged young Black G.I.:

The prisoners' revolt at Attica was caused by the conditions in the prisons and people uniting and dedicated to changing the conditions. Rockefeller played the part of "pig" but he will get the people's justice sooner or later. The working people are oppressed and Nixon is doing his best to keep the working class oppressed with his wage freeze and now Attica.

A Black high school student from Bridgeport:

I read your paper last week on George Jackson's murder and you warned then that this is the future we face. I just didn't think it would happen so soon.

But we have to continue the fight but it won't be by forcing the Rockefellers and the rest to change. They have to be thrown out.

The press is really trying to cover up the fact that the troops murdered the hostages, but we see their lies and who they're protecting—the government!

A young worker at the Armstrong factory in New Haven:

What I would like to say about Rockefeller sending in the troops you can't print, but he created a bloody mess and that's putting it mildly. This government would love to get rid of all the militants who are

fighting back.

A New Haven youth:

That was war and that is what this system is all about. Rockefeller murdered those prisoners, but a Democrat would have done the same thing. That's why I think you're right—we need a labor party to fight and stand for what we need.

A New Haven Teamster:

They were fighting for their lives at Attica. They were up against the wall and they had to fight back. The way it happened so quickly and the way they decided together and worked together, it was like a giant wildcat!

Ohio Prisoners Cry 'Free Us' To Demonstrators

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

AKRON—A demonstration was held September 10 at Ohio's State House grounds in Columbus protesting the Attica massacre. The demonstrators, students and young workers from all over Ohio, then marched to the Ohio State Penitentiary.

This brutal medieval symbol of capitalist repression is near the center of the state capital. Built in 1876, its grey walls and parapets were the scene of another "Attica" bloodbath in 1969. White and Black prisoners revolted against the savage conditions and held the prison until an all-out assault by national guardsmen.

All hostages were unharmed

but the prisoners were stripped and forced to lay prone while the police and military singled out those they thought were the revolt leaders and shot them. Five prisoners were murdered in this manner. This was documented by eye witnesses and the facts carried in a series in the Dayton Daily News. The reporter Dale Huffman received a national award for the "story." Nothing was done about the murders or the prison conditions.

The Attica protesters chanted "Jail the Rich, Free the Poor, Power to the People" as they marched around the State Penitentiary. Suddenly hoarse shouts were heard deep inside the dark rusted barred windows of this

evil-looking dungeon. The prisoners shouted, "Free Us!" and "Fifty one in Death Row!" and "Help." The marchers took up the prisoners' cry and chanted "Free the Ohio Fifty-one" and "Free Ahmed Evans" (framed Black militant in Death Row.) One guard in a sentry post 30 feet above the marchers aimed his rifle at a youth at the rear of the march.

LIBERALS

The marchers carried signs saying "Death to Fascism," "Avenge George Jackson," and "Attica-Dachau." They returned to the State House, symbol of Ohio's political and financial bankruptcy. Down in San Juan at the Governors' Conference,

Ohio's Democratic Governor Gilligan openly supported Rockefeller's massacre at Attica and said the demands were not negotiable. Gilligan covered himself with a liberal sanctimonious spiel about nebulous prison reforms. Meanwhile none of the demands of Ohio's prisoners have been met by Gilligan in his own hell-hole prisons and fifty-one prisoners sit in Death Row thanks to Governor Gilligan's refusal to grant clemency.

CHAINS

Only the smashing of the chains of the capitalist political monopoly by the working class will free the imprisoned class victims of the system.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Unions Face Biggest Battles Since '30s

As Attica reveals the real aims of the American big business interests and Nixon prepares to extend the wage freeze with one or another form of compulsion, the American working class is preparing for what could be its biggest battle since the sitdown strikes of the 1930s.

Make no mistake about it—this battle is coming as American workers will not accept wages and conditions imposed upon them by the big business government.

What must be done at this point is to construct a new leadership in the unions to fight for:

- No participation in any form in any board or other arrangement aimed at imposing a wage freeze or ceiling on workers.

- A general strike of labor to break the freeze and any arrangements that follow it.

- The construction of a labor party for '72 fighting to establish a workers government committed to full employment through a shorter work week, an end to inflation and nationalization of industries involved in layoffs and shutdowns.

Faced with a tremendous movement of the rank and file embittered over Nixon's attacks on labor, over the Vietnam War, over Attica while the bosses gorge themselves on profits and prices continue to soar, the labor movement is being forced to begin to face up to these issues. An editorial in MESA Education (Mechanics Educational Society of America AFL-CIO) states:

"Plans are now being hatched in Washington to continue the freeze beyond the 90-day period with some sort of Wage-Price Review Board composed of representatives from government, business and labor.

"It is our belief either Woodcock or Meany, and most likely both, will willingly serve on this board and it must be obvious to both of them, as it is to us, that the only thing that comes through loud and clear in the President's order and the Review Board to follow is that the wage-earners will suffer while the government provides, with the tacit approval of some labor tycoons, huge handouts to big business."

Carpenters Local 1296, the oldest and largest in the San Diego District Council of Carpenters, has voted unanimously for a general strike against Nixon's attacks. The Minnesota State AFL-CIO Convention adopted, again unanimously, a special resolution calling for a 24 hour general strike against the freeze. This call, limited though it is, has been dropped by the top leadership of the unions now that the fight is getting serious.

The Connecticut State Labor Council AFL-CIO, meeting in a highly industrial state with one of the largest unemployment rates, passed a resolution calling for a 35 hour work week at 40 hours pay. It took an unprecedented step in refusing to invite the Governor to attend, Republican Meskill.

Driscoll, President of the Council, stated that "Behind the label Democrat we are now apt to find just as conservative or even reactionary a stance toward labor...as in the most Meskill-oriented Republican." He then called for a "working class coalition in the state made up of labor, liberal and minority groups."

The struggle for Attica cannot be left at the level of Attica. The issue, as the prisoners saw it, was not just prison reform but the struggle of all the oppressed, the whole working class, against its oppressor. It is this struggle which must now be taken forward in the trade unions. Deep in the ranks of labor there is brewing a rebellion as fundamental and determined as that of the Attica prisoners but this time involving millions.

The tops reflect the rebellion below. They will not, they cannot carry this rebellion through to the end. Only a new leadership deeply rooted in the ranks and trained in a Marxist understanding can do this.

We cannot accept collaboration with our enemy in imposing upon ourselves a cut in our own standard of living to benefit our enemy. We cannot continue to support the very political parties which impose this upon us. We cannot continue to live under conditions of our very jobs being taken away and where the youth have no chance of ever getting a job.

The revolution which began at Attica must now be taken forward in every trade union in this land as part of the international struggle of workers everywhere against the same enemy.



What we think

CP, SWP Deny Lesson Of Attica

The brutal massacre at Attica has brought forth from the Stalinists and revisionists the hue and cry of reformism. Precisely as the sharpness of the class struggle is revealed and the capitalist class shows its plans for the entire working class, these forces frantically seek to cover up the meaning of the events, begging the butchers to be more humane.

Above all they work to deny the class character of the struggle which the prisoners themselves made clear united them. They try to separate out the murder of the Attica prisoners from the attacks that Nixon has opened against the labor movement.

The sharper the class struggle, the more these forces reveal that at heart they are with liberals, wanting to preserve the system that is responsible for the attacks.

The Socialist Workers Party is blatant about this. In the September 24th issue of the Militant the editorial states:

"From Attica, New York, last week the rebellion of a significant segment of humanity, demanding to be treated as human beings shook this country to its marrow. It marked another turning point in the deepening, spreading radicalization..."

"In asserting their humanity and demanding their rights, the Attica rebels were expressing one of the most fundamental aspects of the process of radicalization taking place in the United States today. They were proving once again that there is no sector of the population too downtrodden, too outcast, to stand up and fight, to lash out against the oppression they suffer and assert their dignity..."

For the SWP oppression has become something spiritual, not real and material which threatens the very existence of the working class.

The SWP contends that the struggle is one for "dignity" against the "inhuman society." This is based on the stabilization and permanence of capitalism. It is not a question of the complete crisis and decay of

capitalism and its war to destroy the working class, but of "alienation" and the quality of life. They see the fight through the eyes of the middle class and not the working class fighters who died at Attica. The SWP has completely abandoned a class standpoint for an alliance with a section of the capitalist class.

How different is the SWP's statement from the one made by the Black Caucus in Congress which the Communist Party is boosting? "When a system of penal institutions that is created dehumanizes people to such an extent that life has no value within the prison, this surely should shake the conscience of this nation to move towards the eradication of treatment that continues to perpetuate man's inhumanity to man."

It is on this basis that both the CP and SWP are trying to blunt the sharp edge of this struggle by turning it into a reformist campaign for prison reform. They each call for protests, "memorial meetings" and a committee to investigate the revolt and "expose to the public" the facts.

The CP, of course, is quite willing to hand the whole thing over to Herman Badillo, who they have to admit even "avoided laying the blame for the bloody massacre directly on Rockefeller." Badillo played a big role not only in the betrayal of the prisoners who rebelled in the Tombs last year, but in the recent massacre at Attica.

Both the SWP and the CP try to portray the struggle as a racial one, denying the class solidarity expressed in the battle. The CP concludes in its September 16th editorial: "The extirpation of racism from our institutions and customs is an imperative for the defense of democracy."

Behind the CP's talk of racism is the acceptance of the divisions that capitalism and its "institutions" and "customs" have created, and of capitalism itself.

The logic of this perspective was exposed at the rally held in Harlem last week on Attica spon-

sored by the nationalists as well as the Harlem CP. The SWP was there pushing its demand for a Black political party. The rally was turned over to Charles Kenyatta, the right-wing nationalist who campaigned for Rockefeller. Kenyatta brought to the platform Badillo and Basil Patterson, who were booed and shouted down by the youth at the rally.

What the Stalinists and the revisionists refuse to confront is that it is the capitalist system itself which is responsible for the racism and the inhumanity. These are the instruments through which the oppression of one class is maintained over the other. For the CP and the SWP, war, racism and the brutal attacks at Attica are merely excrescences on capitalism that can be removed by pressuring the government.

But Nixon and Rockefeller and the entire capitalist class know better. This is what Rockefeller meant when he said afterwards: "I don't see how I could have done any differently." They know they must bring home the methods of My Lai against the American working class, against the unions as well as against the Attica prisoners.

In this situation the Stalinists and revisionists seek to prevent the only movement that can stop Nixon and that is the independent political mobilization of the working class and youth against capitalism. The Stalinists shake their finger at the youth, saying that they should work within the system and advise a "peaceful transition to socialism." The SWP appeals to the conscience of the bourgeoisie as "human beings."

But the youth and the working class will not swallow the reformist pabulum the SWP and CP are dishing out. Attica has exposed the sharpness and the class nature of the struggle. A new leadership must be built in the unions and among the youth that can measure up to the tasks posed today in the struggle for power. This must be a leadership that bases itself not on impressions of immediate events but on the whole history and continuity of the Marxist movement.

what happened in

BOLIVIA

report by g. lora



INTRODUCTION tim wohlforth

We print this article by Guillermo Lora, General Secretary of the POR, because of the extreme importance of the recent developments in Bolivia for the construction of the Fourth International in Latin America and internationally. The article sheds additional information on the immediate events of the rightist military coup as well as on the political positions of Lora and the POR.

It is important to recognize that while the military coup was an extremely severe blow against the workers and peasants of Bolivia, the struggle is far from over. The new government, as Lora explains, is made up of contradictory elements and the miners remain armed in their own areas. At the same time the working class in the rest of Latin America is on the offensive.

All the more reason to assess the bitter lessons of the Bolivian coup so that our movement may be rearmed for the struggles ahead. There is no room for the slightest complacency as revolutionists are forced into hiding and Banzer could launch bloody attacks on the working class at any moment as did Barrientos.

This account reinforces what we wrote in the August 30th issue of the Bulletin on Bolivia. The critical question posed in the last days of the Popular Assembly was the question of arms for the workers. But this question was above all a political question. The political question was the question of Torres!

On this critical point Lora writes:

"At the same time everybody thought—including we Marxists—that the arms would be given by the governing military team, which would consider that only through resting on the masses and giving them adequate firepower could they at least neutralize the gorilla right."

With this perspective Lora participated in the delegation, along with representatives of the traitorous left nationalist Lechin and of the Communist Party, that asked Torres for arms. Lora describes not only Torres' refusal but he details the traitorous role of Torres and his military friends during the actual street fighting in La Paz.

UNITED FRONT

This position flowed from the whole approach Lora and the POR took to the Popular Assembly from its first days. The POR saw the Popular Assembly as a united front and saw its role within such a united front as essentially influencing it, subordinating the independent role of the party to it. The Popular Assembly, however, was dominated by a bloc of the left nationalists around Lechin and the Communist Party. Both forces were completely uncritical backers of Torres and had for more than a decade pursued a line of subordination to the "national" bourgeoisie.

It would therefore seem that a Marxist approach would have been to start from the perspective of no support to the Torres Government, fighting to bring down this government and to break the Popular Assembly from its support to Torres and its domination by the Stalinists and Lechin. Lora proceeded differently con-

centrating on achieving the common agreement of the "united front" to various political resolutions and proposals.

The Stalinists and Lechin were willing to vote for all kinds of proposals as long as they did not in concrete political life mean a collision with Torres. So the POR was in the position of politically dominating the Popular Assembly in the form of declarations and pronouncements while the actual political relationship was one of the dominance of Lechin and the Stalinists, their collaboration with Torres, with Lora providing the left cover for all this.

LIQUIDATIONISM

Reflecting this liquidationist perspective the POR conducted only a minimum of activity separate from the Popular Assembly and the unions. Its paper appeared only every other week despite its recognition of the revolutionary situation and few independent meetings, leaflettings and the like were conducted. In reality the POR had great influence and authority particularly among sections of the miners but almost no apparatus and party structure with which to independently fight to lead the class. Everything was done through the Popular Assembly and the unions. The sharp delineation between Trotskyism and the Stalinist-Nationalist bloc was not made and fought through to the end. While Lora, recognizing at least six months before the Banzer coup the dangers of a right wing coup, urged the arming of the workers, it was left at that. No steps were taken to arm the workers. Not even the POR militants themselves were armed. No agitation separate from the Popular Assembly was conducted on this question. It is now clear why. Lora expected Torres to hand over the arms! What, pray tell, would have happened in 1917 if Lenin had banked on Kerensky arming the workers?

Lora and the POR never really went beyond a position of critical support to Torres spelled out in the Popular Assembly's resolutions—voted for by the POR—and in its position of seeking arms for the purpose of defending Torres.

THE HISTORY

Why was it that Lora and the POR committed what they now admit to be the mistake of expecting Torres to hand them the arms? After all there have been decades of experience on this question. After all the Trotskyist movement, in particular, is based on an historical understanding of such questions and a bitter struggle to the end against Stalinism over such matters.

The problem, we have explained, lies in the history of the POR and its relations with the Fourth International. In the 1952 period the POR, under Lora's leadership and with the encouragement of Pablo, took a position of critical support to the bourgeois Paz government. Pablo, however, was not satisfied with this. He insisted that the POR dissolve itself and enter the radical bourgeois MNR party. He proposed

the same position in Peru in relation to APRA and in Argentina in relation to Peron.

Lora rebelled at this point and went his own way. But he refused to get at the root cause of Pablo's liquidationist proposal by confronting the questions facing the international movement. He would not join the International Committee and simply turned his back on the international movement, devoting himself to work in the Bolivian working class. With this nationalist outlook, Lora could only empirically break with Pabloism and could not understand what had led him and Pablo into support for the bourgeoisie.

It would not be enough to blame the difficulties in Bolivia on Pablo alone. The SWP shares a responsibility as it refused to discuss the Bolivian question in the hopes that this way Lora could be won to the IC. Lora, himself, must bare his share of responsibility for refusing, after bitterly experiencing Pabloism first hand, to fight it out internationally.

This is why it was possible on June 15, 1965 for Lora's POR to reunite with the rump group headed by Moscoso which was affiliated with the Pabloite United Secretariat. It is significant that this reunification took place around questions of Bolivia only and that the reunified party was independent of international affiliation. Still refusing to confront international questions and responsibilities, Lora ended up back with the Pabloites in an unprincipled unification which was not to last long.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

It is not possible to chart a revolutionary course while at the same time refusing to confront the construction of the Fourth International. The construction of the Fourth International means learning from the long and continuing struggle against petty bourgeois revisionism in its midst and in this way developing an understanding of the Marxist method.

Lenin prepared for October through a bitter fight during World War I against revisionism, centrism and every form of wavering around the demand for the immediate construction of a new international. Then, strengthened through this struggle which was enriched by his studies of Hegel and philosophy, Lenin fought through the revolution in his own country only at that point to use this historic triumph as a jumping off place for the construction of the new international.

That was Lenin's way. That must be ours today. The appearance, for the first time in the history of Latin America, of a formation closely resembling soviets, makes clear that the socialist revolution is now on the agenda not only in Latin America but throughout the world. The solution to the crisis of leadership lies, as we have stated before, through confronting the confusion in the Trotskyist movement. In Bolivia, as in Ceylon, it is clear that had this taken place earlier, socialist revolution could have taken place. In all countries there is no other way to confront the crisis of leadership. That crisis is now the crisis of humanity. It is an immediate crisis.

ON THE 18TH of August the awaited and announced coup d'état by the right wing of the army broke out, having as civilian support the dismembered FSB of Mario Gutierrez (one section headed by Riveros who claims to be a leftist) and the MNR, the faithful servant of U.S. imperialism in the so-called Lima Pact.

The Minister of the Interior Jorge Gallardo Lozada made the official announcement and added that a state of emergency had been declared. (El Nacional, La Paz, August 20).

"The Revolutionary government announces that the fascist coup is underway headed by Mario Gutierrez, chief of the Falange Socialista Boliviana and minority groups of the right of the MNR.

"In the face of rightist subversion, whose coupist scheme has been perfectly detected, a national emergency is declared and we call together the revolutionary and peoples organizations to mobilize around the Revolutionary Government in order to defend the conquests of the Bolivian people and to destroy the fascist counterrevolution. The government is in control of the situation in the countryside and stands firm on the postulates of October 7, together with the people."

Previously it was predicted that the putschist gorilismo (the right wing bourgeois militarists-ed.) would initiate counterrevolutionary operations in the periphery of the country, having as an axis the military troops stationed in the east. In fact, the subversive movement extended itself rapidly to the divisions of Riveralta, Camiri, Bermejo, as far as Tarija. These fire pincers—powerful pincers certainly, because part of the army was engaged in it—were pressing and closing in on La Paz more and more, not so much in the eyes of the population but of the military hierarchy.

The defections of the garrisons of Cochabamba and Oruro turned the situation of President Torres into an unsustainable one, making it impossible for him to recapture Oruro, which was strongly surrounded by the Rangers of Challapata.

The military insurrection began by raising the flag of a furious anti-communism. This must be understood as the struggle against the decision of the mass and revolutionary organizations to establish a socialist regime and a government of workers and peasants; against the strengthening of the Popular Assembly as an organ of power of the masses and of the proletariat which realizes the slogan of the worker-peasant government; against the danger to the state that majority working class participation in COMIBOL would mean and the single university under the direction of the proletariat. Said in another way, gorilismo, when discovering that the accelerated advance of the revolutionary process posed its immediate crushing, saw itself forced to consummate a preventive counterrevolutionary coup.

MILITARISTS

The campaign aimed at justifying the coup concentrated on the program of the proletariat, referring only tangentially to General Torres and his government. The real struggle was and is between the national majority and gorilismo and in it Torres played a role of little importance.

Torres kept on balancing on the head of a pin for nine months, thanks to the extreme pressure established between the extremes in struggle, which accumulated forces without daring to initiate the attack. There is information that indicates that the U.S. embassy lacked confidence in the Torres military regime because it had practically ceased to govern. In one way or another, the factions in struggle made efforts to use the government as a spearhead against the adversary.

The regime born on October 7, 1970 could not at any moment concentrate in its hands total or at least predominant control over the armed forces. It was exhausted in the efforts it made to win over the conspiratorial generals in exchange for the concessions, greater

each time, that were made to them, to the point that at every moment they could move with complete liberty. After each frustrated coup d'état the gorilas in most cases simply had their jobs changed (there are cases where they were not deprived of their commands) and in exceptional cases were sent into exile.

PLAN

The counterrevolutionary plan consisted of taking from Torres all military support, and on the eve of the 19th, the President was, with difficulty, obeyed by 20% of the military commands. Inspired in the experience of October, gorilismo worked firmly and patiently to reach a correlation of forces that would be clear and indisputably favorable to them, so as to capture all political power without a battle and without firing a single cartridge, this in order to prevent the masses from taking over the streets and giving an unforeseeable course to the events. This preoccupation also reached the military chiefs in Torres' camp, who showed signs of fearing the masses more than the right wing of the army.

From the first moment of the fascist revolt in Santa Cruz until Torres' leaving Palacio Quemado three short days elapsed.

It was sufficient time for the masses to take to the streets. The hundreds dead and the five hundred wounded constituted eloquent and tragic proof of this.

At 11 pm on the 20th the Political Command, the body of the Popular Assembly charged with the leadership of the mass movement between sessions of the Assembly, met and decided to call on all the exploited to take to the streets to actively combat the gorila conspiracy. The military command was expanded to include representatives of the political parties belonging to the Assembly.

DEMONSTRATION

On the afternoon of Friday the 21st a massive anti-fascist and anti-imperialist demonstration was held. The workers responded positively to the call made by the Political Command and the COB (Bolivian Trade Union Confederation). The march lasted approximately four hours.

Originally it was agreed to have the rally in front of the Popular Assembly (formerly the Legislative Palace). However because of Lechin's conciliatory spirit, the Government Palace was used instead. The speakers were far below the spirit which moved the demonstrators and none pointed out clearly the objectives for which we must fight and die.

Torres and Lechin were frequently booed, and the latter, speaking under the whip of his adversaries, sought to look radical, with slogans of expropriation of the properties belonging to the fascist conspirators. Torres again showed signs of his servile follow-the-leaderism before the mobilized masses. The demonstrators shouted: "J.J. (Juan Jose) Hit 'em Hard!" and the President responded like a little boy, "I'll hit 'em hard."

LECHIN

The demonstration, between the laughter and the hissing again demonstrated that Lechin was a totally worn out and surpassed figure. The newspaper *Ultima Hora* (August 23) which totally supports him, wrote:

"Lechin spoke amid booing and demands that he make his position clear. This veteran manipulator of crowds with his revolutionary oratory was unable to impose his domination. He stated concepts perhaps different from those he hoped to utter, succeeding in asking for the unity of all left forces and the taking over of the property and businesses of those who supported the conspiracy." Here he appeared as an ailing Belzu.

The anti-fascist march had a smiling face, explainable if it is taken into account that all were sure that the enormous size of it had already by itself crushed the fascist conspiracy. A few hours later it would be clearly seen that the military rebellion could only be crushed by picking up the gun.

In October of 1970 the working class occupied the political scene without arms, as a simple mass. By then it was clearly

understood that in order to be able to defeat gorilismo it was indispensable to put a gun in the hands of the politicized worker. At this time everybody thought—including we Marxists—that the arms would be given by the governing military team, which would consider that only through resting on the masses and giving them adequate firepower could they at least neutralize the gorila right.

WRONG

This position was completely wrong. It did not take into account that Torres preferred to capitulate to his fellow generals before arming masses who showed signs of taking the road to socialism and whose mobilization put in serious danger the army as an institution.

The course taken by events initiated at the end of 1970, the incapacity demonstrated by the military leadership of gaining the confidence of the exploited, of purging the army of the extreme

tage of the proclamation and encouraged the economic demands of the lower strata of the armed forces.

Nevertheless, the rise and radicalization of the masses made an impact every day more and more on the mass of the army, probably in greater measure of an impact on the mass of the army, every day, probably in greater measure the younger officers, in this way beginning its disintegration which was common to all the bourgeois institutions and to the established order itself.

The growth of the revolutionary wave undermines the base of the armed forces (the soldiers are, for the most part, workers, peasants and middle class elements with political and union experience) and ends up destroying them little by little, more than by defeating them in formal battle. The soldiers flee or disobey the orders of their superiors, who must be careful of those who fight in the streets and their subordinates.



Top, left: fascist troops storm campus of University of La Paz to crush student occupation; right: Miners armed only with dynamite fought fully armed troops.

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An anonymous proclamation of ranks and lower officers produced confusion and not a few believed that the army was totally divided between ranks and officers, and that the troops would disobey any order given to fire on the people. Now we know that things occurred differently. The proclamation which originated in the Air Force at La Paz had little repercussion in the rest of the armed forces. The government, whether or not it had anything to do with this act, looked for ways to take advan-

Then the people have within their reach their natural arsenal. This is what already occurred on April 7, 1952.

DEMAND

On the night of the 20th the Political Command centered practically all its discussion on the problems of arms. Until then President Torres and his ministers had offered, one time or another, to give arms to the people, a promise that awakened excessive illusions in certain sections of the workers.

Understanding that the fascist conspiracy was advancing through all the land and the menace of its victory became more serious every moment, it was agreed to send a final committee (Lechin, Mercado, Lora, Lopez, Reyes, and Eid) to the Government Palace to let the President know that if he did not

keep his promise to deliver arms, the Popular Assembly would follow its own path. Torres in order to justify his negative answer, said that if he were to disarm the soldiers in order to deliver the guns to the workers, the officers would respond by rebelling.

We could not say if, at any moment, the President seriously thought about delivering arms to the workers. It seems that he utilized the promise as blackmail against his opponents to the right and the left. What is evident is that he found himself sharply pressured by the military not to do it.

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uni.

The Minister of Government had promised that his troops were going to occupy Laikacota hill, which divides Miraflores from the center of the city and has great strategic importance. But Castrillo's troops set machine gun nests in there. The Military Command stationed itself close to the Siles Stadium in order to be able to direct the military operations. But it could not do so effectively because of lack of reliable information about the situation in general.

It depended exclusively on radio Illimari, which gave misleading reports for tactical reasons and from information that was given by means of police radio. Another small stock of old Mauser rifles arrived at the stadium that soon disappeared amid the thirst for weapons. Other small quantities of munitions were received.

MASSES

The masses attacked the Ministry of War and brought out large amounts of guns, the majority of which were useless. In the streets near the Stadium there were workers and students and, in smaller numbers other elements from other social classes. The majority of these forces belonged to the political parties of the left.

The idea did not occur to those who were there, and less to the leaders of the Political Command, to attack the Great Headquarters. The firepower of Castrillo was too strong. The objective was to wait until the loyal troops forced the fortress to surrender and then the attack would occur. Those who at noon marched towards the stadium were sure that they were going there to organize themselves and to finish off the operation led from the Presidential Palace.

The truth was that the regiment from San Jorge did not move. At about 6 or 7 the Ministry of the Interior asked the armed people to go to Triangular Park about 200 meters from the Great Headquarters. The masses ignored the request because that would mean sending them right to their deaths. Gallardo said it was a way to increase the pressure on the Great Headquarters.

The people who were near the stadium were attacked from Laikacota hill by the rightist snipers who were posted in the buildings of the area. Many dead and wounded fell victim to the combined fire.

Workers and students decided to capture Laikacota. When the mission was almost a success they were asked to leave the hill because, it was said, planes were going to attack the rightists who held the hill.

The truth was that at 5:35 the Air Force which had withdrawn its support to the government and sent an ultimatum to Sanchez to lay down their arms at about 3:00, flew around the battlefield to attack the Colorados regiment and the civilians. At last the workers and students succeeded in silencing the guns of Laikacota.

Only later was it known that at 1:30 pm General Roque Teran, the Commander in Chief of the army, went to the Presidential Palace to announce to Torres that he should flee. Roque was captured by the popular militias, but they only asked him for arms, thinking that he was still loyal to Torres. "But the meeting between the two gave no results and there followed a bitter discussion." (From *Ultima Hora*, August 23.)

The same Roque had to carry out the uncomfortable mission of discussing with the troops of the Colorados and asked them to stop the fire. When the Colorados refused to stop, he then took his jeep and at the same moment fire from the machine guns was heard. Captain Terrazas and another officer died when they tried to cover Roque. Roque suffered a wound in his leg and was taken to the Military Hospital. (*Ultima Hora*) In that way was punished the one who betrayed his General Captain.

THE ACTION

Men and women willing to smash fascism were posted in marginal areas (Alto San Pedro, Villa Victoria, Agua de la Vida, Calvario) and were throwing dynamite.

At noon the Andino regiment and the

Viacha motorized regiment were back in La Paz after deserting in Oruro.

At 4:30 young people and miners went to the Minister of Defense to look for arms. They had been told they were going to get arms there. Result: more deaths and wounded.

At 8:45 Torres left the Presidential Palace, the same one who until 7:00 was urging the masses to keep fighting to the end. The August 24 press confirmed that the former president did not even take the time to resign from his post, and was in the Peruvian embassy with others of his officials, including General Sanchez.

TANKS

The tanks of the Tarapaca regiment, which sowed terror and desolation in the streets of La Paz, entered at 8:00 pm in the heights of the city (Munaypata and Villa Victoria). The State Radio broadcast unrealizable instructions to sabotage the march of the tanks. When the tanks were near the Plaza Murrillo, Radio Illimani stopped transmitting and Torres fled. At the same time the few elements that were left in Miraflores from the Political Command (Lechin, Alandia, Lora) met for the last time, ignoring the real situation. Rumors kept coming in that the Great Headquarters had surrendered.

Three tanks took possession of the Plaza Murrillo and four others went to Laikacota, whose fire caused the majority of deaths. Machine gun fire and dynamite blasts lasted until the next morning. The air force continued its cleaning-up operation, always having Laikacota as their objective.

In Santa Cruz the decree that created the military triumvirate which took the place of Torres was made public. (Jaime Florentino, Merdula, Hugo Banzer, Andus Selica). But it had no life except on paper. On August 22 Hugo Banzer swore himself in as the new president and different ministers were chosen from the MNR and FSB, which, together with the Army form the Nationalist Popular Front.

UNIVERSITY

The first hours of the morning of the 22nd the University of La Paz was militarily occupied and it was said that inside it remained around 20 armed students. The following day a mediation board was chosen (Archbishop of La Paz, diplomats, Red Cross, students) to seek a way out for those refugees in the University.

At noon about 500 students blocked Village Avenue and agreed to meet in assembly. Many were sitting in front of the tanks to stop them from returning to the University.

The Army ordered the students to dissolve themselves as a group. They said that a shot was heard from the upper floors. The airplanes, tanks and soldiers attacked the students, killing seven persons and wounding over 27.

The students said that their *companeros* were murdered in cold blood and others were arrested.

More than 200 students were put in jail after this assembly.

FASCISTS

"Since noon groups of people called by the State Radio were getting together to show their support to the new government of the Nationalist Popular Front" (From *Presencia*, August 23)

Groups of Movimentistas (supporters of the MNR) set up their general headquarters on Colon Street, in front of the Tesla movie house. They made the rounds of the streets of the city on motorcycles distributing propaganda calling on everyone to join the meeting. The Falangists carried out an assault on the Confederation of Secondary School Students on Yanacocha St. to install their offices.

The crowd concentrated in the Murrillo Plaza was not small but there were no university students or workers. There began to group around the MNR and FSB layers of the middle class (small merchants and proprietors, public employees, unemployed, entrepreneurs) who want an institutionally and socially stable regime with guarantees for them and greater opportunities for economic ad-



Bottom, left: Workers militias armed with rifles patrol streets; right: militarists bomb University of La Paz and strategic hill in center of city held by workers.

morning, August 21.

He asked for aid to send clandestine emissaries who would contact the workers, at that time concentrated at San Jose and surrounded by military forces. The operation was given the name "Centipede—Flying Eagle." The leftist delegates from Oruro, among them Emilio Perez, were satisfied with this solution.

In the middle of the deliberations of the Political Command, two members of the POR showed up who represented the miners of Siglo XX and Huanuni, who remained quartered in the vicinity of Vinto, unable to defeat the rangers who guarded Oruro. These workers had only dynamite, and although the sensible thing to do would have been to retreat to their bases to await arms, since there existed little possibility of getting them, they remained in their precarious positions waiting for the arrival of loyal troops.

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In the "Confederacion de Fabriles" 400 Mauser and Garant rifles were given away, many of them in bad shape, and 2,000 rounds of ammunition.

Lechin called by radio for all the masses to meet with their arms in the plaza of the stadium. Right away more than 2,000 people met. That Saturday was a day of great tension. La Paz was shaken by the explosion of dynamite the night before by the miners of Mill-

understood that in order to be able to defeat gorilismo it was indispensable to put a gun in the hands of the politicized worker. At this time everybody thought—including we Marxists—that the arms would be given by the governing military team, which would consider that only through resting on the masses and giving them adequate firepower could they at least neutralize the gorila right.

WRONG

This position was completely wrong. It did not take into account that Torres preferred to capitulate to his fellow generals before arming masses who showed signs of taking the road to socialism and whose mobilization put in serious danger the army as an institution.

The course taken by events initiated at the end of 1970, the incapacity demonstrated by the military leadership of gaining the confidence of the exploited, of purging the army of the extreme

tage of the proclamation and encouraged the economic demands of the lower strata of the armed forces.

Nevertheless, the rise and radicalization of the masses made an impact every day more and more on the mass of the army, probably in greater measure of an impact on the mass of the army, every day, probably in greater measure the younger officers, in this way beginning its disintegration which was common to all the bourgeois institutions and to the established order itself.

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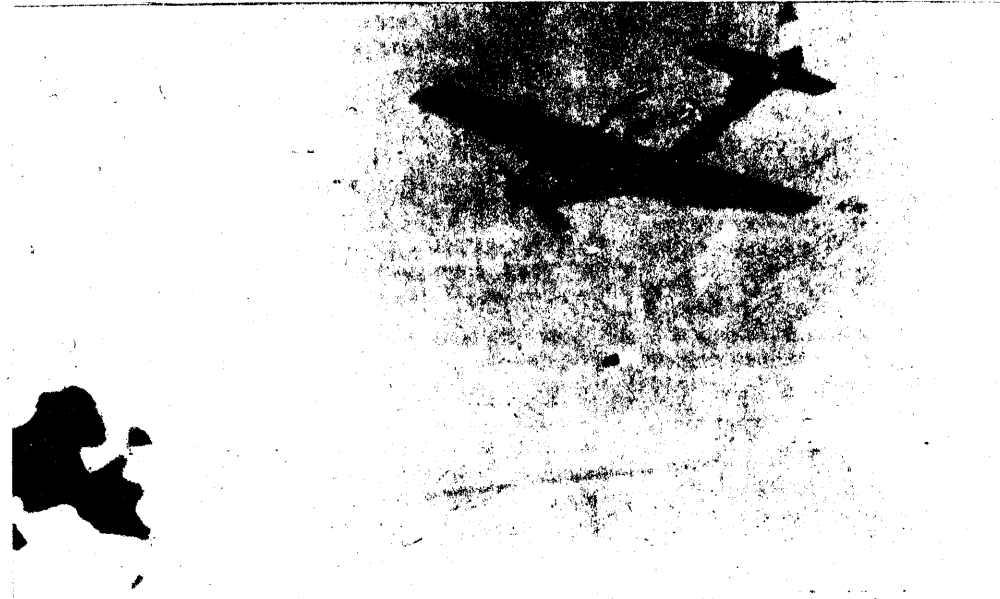
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RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL COMMAND

"The latest events in the country give evidence, once more, that gorilismo, fascist reaction and the servants of imperialism, utilize coup d'etats, terrorism and every means in their vain attempts to crush the revolutionary movement and the working class. The Political Command, in the name of the Popular Assembly, reiterates that its fundamental objective is the construction of socialism and that this can only be achieved through the complete crushing of fascist gorilismo and of reaction, a crushing that entails the destruction of its economic power, disgracefully intact in many sections.

"The fascist coup that has come advancing and proclaiming with beating drums and the national catastrophe that it so desires has a preventive character with reference to the inevitable majority workers' participation in COMIBOL and the sure victory of the Bolivian people and working class, which will be the definite victory of socialism. The defense of our cause which is the cause of the men and women which inhabit this land, obliges us to reject with all energy and decision the fascist provocation.

"In this crucial moment we believe it is our duty to point out that the reaction can comfortably conspire, utilize part of the apparatus and the resources of the state, due to the doubts, weakness and dangerous oscillations from the right to the left of the Torres government. The Bolivian people can neither agree with nor complicate itself in such conduct and makes known that any concession to fascist gorilismo, any agreement with it, amounts to a sharp blow to the revolutionary process, a betrayal of national interests and a marked service to imperialism.

"On account of the above, the Political Command, leadership of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist united front, calls on all Bolivians, men and women, the workers and advanced intellectuals, the soldiers and revolutionary military youth, to stand up for combat, to win the streets, to crush definitely and totally coupist gorilismo, the stone age right wing and the servants of imperialism.

"The Political Command calls on all Bolivians to defend their revolution, which is their own future; to save the country from all that is arrogant and to tear up the counterrevolution by the roots.

"**BOLIVIANS:** The people are at war to the death with fascist gorilismo. As in any war the central objective consists in defeating and crushing the enemy.

"The exploited confide only in their organizations and their own force, and it is around these that they must mobilize."

LA PAZ, August 21, 1971

Statement Of The Political Command

From left to right, top: Cesar Lora, leader of POR killed under Barrientos regime; Hugo Banzer, new military dictator of Bolivia; bottom: Guillermo Lora, head of POR; Filemon Escobar, a leader of militant miners union as well as of POR.



vancement. The slogans that began to be thrown up satisfied their desires, ver- ably: An end to anarchy and abuse; to assert order; work and discipline; respect for private property; banishment of communism and of violence and their replacement with law, etc.

BANZAR

Colonel Hugo Banzar with all sincerity, even though in imperfect and stammering Spanish, clearly defined his political position: "I shall follow the steps of Busch, Villarroel and Barrientos," he said. In a defiant tone he let it be known that he will continue to be a gorila and his biggest and dearest dream is continuing the fascist politics of Barrientos. Banzar is already to the right in relation to the Torres government. Even though both speak of nationalism, this is no more than particular expressions of the petty bourgeois nationalist process initiated in 1952.

OPPORTUNISTS

The action of Movimientista Tema Pe- laez and the Falangist Mario Gutierrez were much more damaging, revealing for everyone. It was evident that they were dealing with two opportunists.

Their speeches were frequently inter- rupted by hisses and some hours before, when they tried to enter the palace, they were sworn at and rotten oranges were thrown at them.

Meanwhile, during the high sounding speeches of the leaders, the militants of the two parties in the filthy alliance exchanged punches. In fear that the fragile alliance would be broken into a million pieces, they have designated to ministerial posts some nonpartisan technicians (even though they were ultra conservative elements politically speak- ing) so they can act as buffers in the internal government struggles.

Given these conditions, the army would continue to be the decisive force. The party base of the regime is being totally split.

PAZ

Seven years after his overthrow Paz comes back to the country under appar- ently surprising circumstances. Over- thrown by Barrientos and Ovando for not being able to bridle the turbulent toiling masses of workers, he is brought by these same Barrientistas to peddle everything contrary to what he said and

did when in power.

It was not in vain that he remarked, in an emotional tone, that he returned to the fatherland now not to make the errors of the past. Which were those errors? His leftist blunders? His ties with labor, which dragged him into what today is called chaos and anarchy?

Returning he formed an alliance, that he wished strong and eternal, nothing less than with Falangism, which was an expression of the vulnerable interests of bossims, of the great miners and of the industrialists who struggled bitterly against the communist deviations of the MNR.

The alliance between the Falangistas and Movimientistas makes one ask which of them has really taken the position of the other. The positions as- sumed by Gutierrez in the last years, the intransigent struggle against the left that arose in his own party, the con- spiracy on the side of gorilismo demon- strate that the FSB continues to be the political expression of reaction. It is the MNR that went over the positions of the Falangists. Paz returned to the country as one of the surest servants of the State Department of the USA and it is this fact that forces him to bloc with the Barrientistas and Falangistas.

ILLUSIONS

Paz is now an eminent exponent of counterevolution. His main weapon is revolutionary nationalism which has been totally overcome by the Bolivian objec- tive situation, by the radicalization of the masses and by the evolution of the class consciousness of the proletariat. This nationalism which in 1952 could appear revolutionary and stir up many illusions in the masses is now unmistakably reac- tionary.

Paz knows fully that the masses are convinced that he betrayed his old preaching and has become a rightist; this is why he emphasizes that his nationalism is of the left.

Surely the movimientista chief dreams of returning to the presidency in the next elections. Nevertheless, Banzer says that it is premature to speak of elections. He also says he does not know how long he shall retain power at the moment, since "first I must attend to

my obligations to the 'people' through the government." (from Ultima Hora, Aug. 24).

At the same time he said there exists no sign of the Paz garrison demanding elections for May, 1972, even though there is obvious proof that the resolu- tion adopted by 500 officials of the army was to this effect.

They repeat what already occurred in 1964, the professional politicians are

sure the victorious generals will sur- render power easily. Already we know that the things occurred and will occur in another manner.

Gutierrez and his movimientista friends speak of pacifying the country and of stopping the persecutions but immediately the military announced they would des- troy the leftists. The battle between re- volution and counterrevolution is posed this way.



Fascist tanks attack snipers in La Paz battle; masses of workers had no weapons.

Student - Faculty Statement

The Student-Faculty Assembly and students from Universidad Mayor de San Andres who met on the 23rd of August decided:

1. To declare that university autonomy is one of the basic principles in our institutional Bolivian life, a right that we cannot give away.
2. University autonomy that was gained in a democratic act in 1932 and which appeared in the Political Constitution of the state is violated wherever there is a change in the government that decides to overlook the university authorities and when armed forces break into the university areas and buildings.
3. The UNSA will be intransigent in the defense of university autonomy.
4. The student assembly decided that until the authorities that were chosen in 1970 or the new authorities are recognized by pleb-iscite to be realized soon, it assigns the control and administration of the University to the deacons and delegates of the schools of Law, Medicine and Pharmacy.
5. To ask the government of the republic for immediate withdrawal of all troops and police from the areas and university buildings.
6. Demand guarantees and liberty of all students and professors who are in jail or are being prosecuted.
7. Ratify its full support to the platform of the 1970 revolution.
8. Declared mourning for those who were killed in the events of the last days."

LA PAZ, August 23, 1971

BOOKS

PAT CONNOLLY

White Niggers Of America

WHITE NIGGERS OF AMERICA
The Precocious Autobiography of a Quebec "Terrorist." By Pierre Vallieres. Monthly Review Press, 1971, \$7.50.

This book is neither "precocious" nor "one of the most important documents of the twentieth century revolution of the American continents" as the *Monthly Review's* "free-lance-Marxist" blurb writers, and Pierre Vallieres himself, would have you believe.

Vallieres, one of the founding members of the FLQ (Front de liberation du Quebec) was jailed on frameup charges of murder from 1966-68, and was again jailed, as one of hundreds, under the martial law unleashed in Canada last year by Trudeau. This autobiography was written in jail in 1966.

While leaning heavily, and often demagogically, on his working class origins and childhood in the slums of Montreal, Vallieres puts forward what can only be described as a mish-mash of petty bourgeois radicalism, eclectically culling and combining elements from Tielhard du Chardin to Kierkegaard and Marx, and topping it all off with Che Guevara.

RELIGION

After writing of his childhood and early youth, he describes: "In the autumn of 1958 it was the 'religious life' into which I plunged, with my eyes closed, the way one commits suicide....Like a madman, half poet, half philosopher, I attempted to unite myself through God with a universe I did not understand."

But even while a seminarian he felt that his "spirituality was rather unique. It drew its inspiration as much from Martin Heidegger's 'essence of freedom,' George Bernanos' 'Why freedom?' Kierkegaard's 'anxiety' and the search for Kafka's 'castle' as from the mystical writings of St. John of the Cross

and the gospel according to St. John, the only two Christian works I knew that seemed 'solid'."

His "break" with the church is a break common among so-called left Catholics—the decadence, hypocrisy, "stupidity" and greed of the institutional Church: "It is no longer as it was in the time of Jesus Christ when the first disciples gave their goods to the poor and Christ himself drove out the exploiters with a whip."

Since there is absolutely no philosophical break with the church he can still write today, "I met the little worker nuns who worked in the factories without proselytizing; Carmelites with dirty hands, without privileges, earning their own living, sharing exactly the same conditions as the workers, living two or three together in miserable rented rooms, like everybody else. They showed me a new face of the Church."

He retains the same bankrupt method as he goes on, although seeking a "practical" expression now to unite with a universe he still does not understand.

"The clear conscience of those who weep over the assassination of Kennedy

and the much more terrible assassination of the Vietnamese people, but who will never dare to compromise themselves by joining the 'disruptive' youth who get clubbed down in the streets of the 'free world.'"

LIBERALISM

This liberalism, this radical taunting of other, less active liberals, is only the other side of the "terrorist FLQ." He has high hopes for the liberals, really, and in frustration becomes a liberal with a gun, a "terrorist."

His equation of Kennedy, an imperialist butcher, with Vietnamese workers and peasants under attack by Kennedy, is only equalled by his "defense" of his relations with Trudeau.

For following his leaving the seminary, he worked on *Cite Libre*, a radical magazine edited by none other than Pierre Trudeau and Gerard Pelletier, now Prime Minister and Secretary of State of Canada, and responsible for attacks not only against Vallieres and the FLQ, but against the whole of the Canadian working class.

He excuses his relations with them by saying "I must say, at that time, plunged up to my neck in philosophy,

I knew absolutely nothing about the links between Trudeau and Pelletier and the Liberal Party." He was, he writes, "enormously disappointed" that they suppressed an article that he wrote on separatism, and attacked separatism itself. "At that time I was far from realizing to what extent the traditional staff of *Cite Libre* was linked with the Establishment...Who could have sworn in 1963, that in Ottawa, Pierre Trudeau would become the number one enemy of French Canadians?" Who, indeed. Certainly not Vallieres.

HOSTILITY

At the heart of this book, with all the nationalism covered by references to the "Quebecois proletariat" is an extreme hostility to the working class and to Marxism.

He writes at the end of the book "I studied in particular the writings and deeds of the revolutionaries of our time: Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Mao Tse Tung, Castro and 'Che' Guevara. I was more impressed by the thoughts of Mao and the ideas of Guevara than by the works of Lenin. It must be said that the unfortunate evolution of the Soviet Union, of the International and of Western Communism obliges us to question several of Lenin's theses, for I do not think we should consider Stalin alone responsible for it."

The Soviet Union, immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution "quickly passed to planned reformism and from that to state capitalism," today none of the gains of the October Revolution are left. It just "quickly passed" to state capitalism. This is how Vallieres explains the degeneration of the USSR. He can give no material or scientific explanation of this "unfortunate evolution," but above all else he does not want us to hold Stalin alone responsible.

Which of Lenin's "theses" must be questioned is not elaborated, but Lenin must take his place alongside Stalin. And not Lenin alone, for in a footnote he explains further: "...Marxism—alas—has become an ideology enslaved to the economic and political interests of a new bourgeoisie whose instruments of economic domination is state capitalism...Marx, Engels and Lenin are in part responsible for this state of affairs, which is called 'revisionism'."

So along with all the petty bourgeois anti-communist scholars and renegades, Vallieres takes his stand that not only did the Bolshevik Revolution result in a new class society, but that Marx, Engels and Lenin are responsible for this.

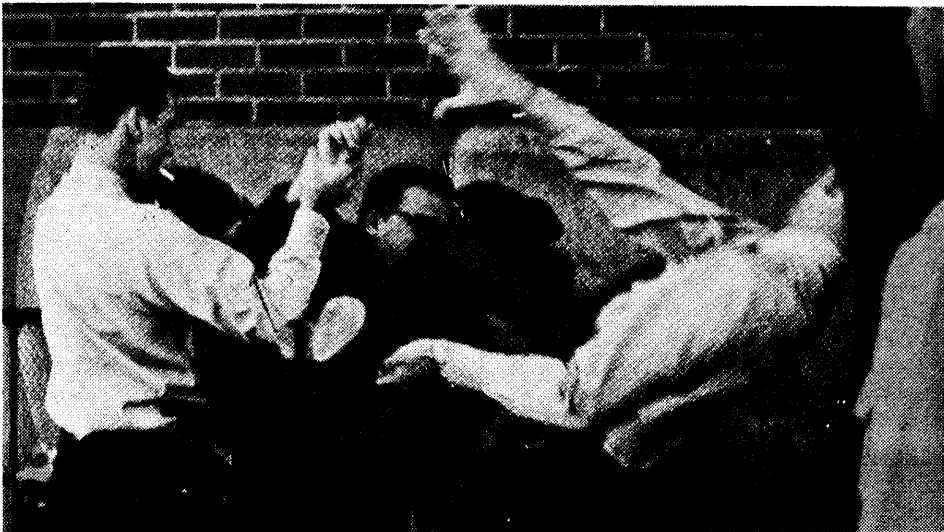
BANKRUPT

This is what stands squarely behind Vallieres' petty bourgeois perspective—his "liberalism with a bomb"—complete hostility to the theoretical and philosophical gains of the working class given material expression in the October Revolution.

This book was written in 1966-67 with an additional chapter added just before its publication this year.

Now as the whole crisis of world capitalism deepens, the Canadian bourgeoisie is thrown into crisis and turmoil as it prepares to unleash all the naked brutality of the capitalist state against the working class. This is what was meant by the declaration of the War Measures Act in Canada last year, as the bourgeoisie confronts an increasingly determined and militant working class.

In the face of this Vallieres is completely bankrupt. The fight is now being taken up to construct the Fourth International in Canada, to take forward the fight of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This fight will be carried forward in the battle against the petty bourgeois nationalists like Vallieres, and the Stalinists and revisionists who tail after them.



Montreal police arresting Pierre Vallieres, Quebec nationalist leader of FLQ.

FILMS

MARTY JONAS

Monte Walsh

MONTE WALSH, Starring Lee Marvin, Jeanne Moreau and Jack Palance.

This film is subtitled "A Real Western." It is really one of the few films we've seen that deserves that tag.

It deals, in a series of episodes, with the dying out of the cowboy. Unlike the many other films on the same theme, however, it does not show the old West fading in some sort of mystical way—that is, the Spirit somehow went out of the West, or the cowboys somehow became cynical about all their heroism, or they became tired, or (a more recent development) the cowboys became neurotic.

Monte Walsh does none of that. For the first time, the decline of the American West, the virtual disappearance of the cowboy is shown as the result of the economic development at the turn of the century.

BARONS

The railroads were coming through and the big corporations and the banks were buying up old ranches for speculation. If a ranch was unprofitable or if the robber barons had no need for a ranch in that area, it would simply be closed down and all the cowboys would be out of work. Severe unemployment began sweeping the West.

Monte Walsh, played by Lee Marvin, finds himself more and more faced with this fate. He's a good cowboy and like most others, he doesn't know how to do anything else. He has watched the fate

of his friends; Shorty laid off early in the film drifts almost against his will into a life of robbery and murder; Chet, played by Jack Palance, marries the "hardware widow" and becomes a small merchant in the town. Walsh struggles to remain a cowboy, against the temptations of marriage and settling down with the devoted bar girl, the "Countess" played by Jeanne Moreau, and against the temptations of going into a Wild West Show. (Upon being shown the gaudy, frilled Buffalo Bill type outfit he would wear, he tells the show owner, "Mister, I won't spit on my past.")

LAST

Even so, the movie shows that it is just a matter of time before the type represented by *Monte Walsh* must die out. There can be no cowboys without the kind of ranches that existed before the robber barons. *Monte Walsh* thus becomes a sort of last hero of his kind, trying to keep alive a particular kind of job and all the "noble ethic" that surrounded it after the material basis for it was gone. But, as we see, the cowboy could only turn into the outlaw, the shopkeeper, or the Wild West frilled fop who became the standard western hero.

Monte Walsh explodes the myths upon which western movies have always been built. It de-romanticizes the cowboy, not by showing as *The Wild Bunch* did that there was real blood and real guts spilling out of all those wounds, but by showing that the cowboy was a migratory worker of sorts in the West, who had real fears of being laid off and felt a helpless victim in the movement of ca-

pitalist development westward at the end of the century.

The film is able to show these fears through a day to day account of the cowboy's life. *Monte Walsh* has an excellent feel for the details of this routine. The cowboys are shown as they work, eat, drink, brawl, play cards, get paid. All this is built up only to show that the whole thing comes crumbling down. What dominates the film from the beginning is the fear of layoff.

For the cowboy, there was no place else to go, the film says. Cowboys, because they were a different breed of men, a very individualistic kind of working man, could not adjust to anything else. So *Walsh* becomes a pathetic character trying to keep the cowboy alive even if only in himself. He just wanders around, presumably never really working again, doing his last cowboy deed of avenging his buddy Chet's murder, until at the end of the film he is reduced to just going on muttering about the past.

It is significant that more and more films, particularly westerns, are being produced which attempt to tell their stories against the background of historical developments. Many of these, like *Soldier Blue* and *Little Big Man* show the Indian massacres as earlier versions of U.S. imperialism's My Lai. These films, *Monte Walsh* the latest among them, are Hollywood's response to a growing interest in politics, especially among the youth, who are the biggest patrons of the movies. The old myths are too easily seen through and are no longer satisfying.

Group Of 10 Meet

Capitalist Leaders Draw Battle Lines

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

THE FAILURE OF the London meeting of the Group of 10 leading capitalist nations to reach any agreement on the world monetary crisis sharply underscores the hopelessness of the situation which world capitalism now faces.

A trade war and a return to the capitalist anarchy of the 1930s is now completely unavoidable no matter what capitalist monetary authorities decide.

The group of ten meeting in which U.S. Secretary of Treasury Connally was reported to have lost his temper on at least one occasion, saw the battle lines drawn between European and American capitalism to the sharpest point since August 15th.

The position of the United States in the Group of Ten meeting as put forward by Connally consisted of the renewed de-

mand that the Europeans and Japanese immediately carry out massive upward revaluations of their currencies. Connally further repeated the U.S. demand that Europe and Japan further liberalize trade restrictions against the U.S. and that they shoulder heavier responsibilities in the area of military and aid expenditures.

Connally said that the Europeans must now assume responsibility for making possible a reversal of the 12 billion dollar balance of payments deficit that the U.S. anticipates for the current year.

As Connally cynically put it: "We had

a problem and we are sharing it with the world just like we shared our prosperity—that's what friends are for."

Meanwhile on the same day as the Group of Ten Meeting, Nixon made clear that Europe and Japan must make these concessions without expecting in return any immediate rescinding of the 10% surcharge which he now links to more long range monetary reform.

The Europeans joined by Japan, finding the American position too much to endure, came with three basic demands. This agreement had been hammered out at a Common Market ministers meeting just three days before. The Europeans demanded that the U.S. agree to a devaluation of the dollar in relation to gold as part of any upward revaluation of European currencies. They demanded

the institution of wider bands of fluctuation for exchange rates and particularly the phasing out of the reserve role of the dollar to be replaced by gold and other reserve instruments to be developed by the IMF.

The response of the U.S. to the European demands was tersely summed up by Connally when he said that "We will not change our position one iota."

Underneath the sharpening battle over how to resolve what is essentially an unresolvable crisis is actually the question of who is going to take the brunt of the beating that will be meted out by the world capitalist collapse.

The U.S. is bound and determined that together with the American working class the chief victim of the crisis will be Europe. The U.S. is in fact now seeking

Soviet Opposition

Persecuted Scientist Denounces Stalinism

BY DAVE GREEN

Zhores A. Medvedev, the world-renowned Soviet biologist whose opposition to the Kremlin bureaucracy led to his confinement in a mental hospital, has written a book describing his ordeal. Titled *A Question of Madness*, the book—written in the form of a journal—is to be translated from the Russian text and published in the United States before the end of the year.

Although the Kremlin bureaucracy was forced by public outcry to release Medvedev after a relatively short period of imprisonment—19 days—it sought to prevent the 46-year old scientist from publicly recounting his harrowing experiences. Medvedev originally consented not to write about his incarceration as long as the government refrained from illegal persecutions of political opponents.

As one may well imagine, the Kremlin made no effort to keep its part of the bargain. Therefore, Medvedev published his journal in order to "call attention to the dangerous tendency of using psychiatry for political purposes, the exploitation of medicine in an alien role as a means of intimidation and punishment—a new and illegal way of isolating people for their views and convictions."

The hounding of Medvedev is by no means an exceptional transgression of justice by the Soviet bureaucracy. The very nature of the State apparatus—that of a parasitic organism—requires that the ruling clique resort to crimi-

nal actions. However, the deepening crisis of capitalism and the forward thrust of the international proletariat has thrown the crown heads of the Kremlin into a malicious confusion that threatens the unrestrained revival of the most brutal devices of Stalinism. The bureaucracy is preparing murderous repression against not only the openly political opponents but also against opposition sympathizers in all walks of Soviet cultural and scientific life.

The case of Medvedev is of particular importance, for his persecution recalls the most terrible episodes of the purges of the 1930s. Medvedev was thrown into opposition against the Kremlin bureaucracy through his efforts to clear the name of the great Soviet geneticist, N. I. Vavilov.

In his important book, *The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko*, Medvedev exposed the manner in which Stalinism infiltrated the Soviet scientific community and led to the stifling of creative thought beneath the weight of erroneous doctrines

championed by the Kremlin.

The defense of scientific thought against the invasion of bureaucratic stupidity and phrase mongering was led by Vavilov. The conditions under which he was forced to conduct this struggle were similar to those under which Trotsky fought for the program of the Left Opposition. And the bureaucracy employed the same methods against both men: insults, deceit and murder.

Vavilov, who died in 1943 in a prison camp, left behind a magnificent statement of defiance which is well worth quoting:

"We shall go to the pyre, we shall burn, but we shall not retreat from our convictions. I tell you, in all frankness, that I believed and still believe and insist on what I think is right, and not only believe—because taking things on faith in science is nonsense—but also say what I know on the basis of wide experience. This is a fact, and to retreat from it simply because someone occupying high posts desire it, is impossible....To our utmost strength we shall follow what is happening in progressive world science. We consider ourselves true Darwinians, because the problem of mastery of the world's riches, can be solved only by this approach, and there should be no irresponsible name-calling."

In the 1960s, Medvedev fought against the lingering influence of T.D. Lysenko, the scientific charlatan whose wild accusations had sealed Vavilov's doom. It was under the patronage of the Kremlin that Lysenko dragged Marxism and natural science into the mud. Even as the absurdity of Lysenko's views on agriculture were being demonstrated by the failure of crops in the Soviet Union, he enjoyed the protection of that so-called liberalizer, Nikita Khrushchev. It was only after Khrushchev's ouster in 1964 that Lysenko was discredited.

However, it is important to emphasize that it was not the desire of the bureaucracy for scientific truth that impelled it to eliminate Lysenkoism. The heirs of Stalin were faced with serious social unrest provoked by bad harvests. But while the bureaucracy dismissed Lysenko and permitted genetics to reassert itself as a science, it did not encourage an investigation of the motives that had allowed Lysenko to impose his muddled thoughts upon the Soviet scientific community.

This question was answered, to the bureaucracy's displeasure, by Medvedev. He wrote in *The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko*:

"The practical measures in agriculture initiated by Lysenko were only weak companions of the fundamental and even more groundless measures carried out

in this area by Stalin and especially by Khrushchev, and which led to more serious damage. The conflict with serious science (not only agriculture) did not originate with Lysenko. It originated with Stalin and was continued later under Khrushchev. Lysenko was a consequence of this conflict; he was the surrogate of a science which satisfied the political aims and tactics of both leaders. Under normal democratic conditions, Lysenko would have remained an ordinary provincial experimenter and a theoretical individualist expressing elements of fanaticism and obscurantism. We have many such people today, and there are many in other countries, but they are not normally placed at the head of science."

This analysis of the roots of Lysenkoism is of special importance, for it effectively answers those who believe in the "theory of double bookkeeping"—as Trotsky called that idea which holds that Stalinism is bad in foreign policy but good for the internal development of the workers state. The bankruptcy of a political system is expressed most sharply when it finds itself in conflict with progress in scientific thought. But just as the Catholic Counter-Reformation could not make the sun revolve around the earth, neither could the Stalinists force chromosomes to banish themselves from cells.

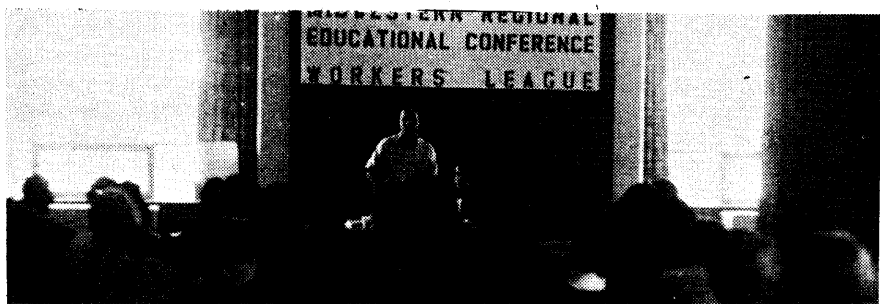
Understood in the framework of history, the ordeal of Medvedev poses sharp dangers to the Russian working class. The bureaucracy finds itself in struggle against the movement of the class and will use whatever brutality necessary to sustain itself. The bureaucracy has banished Solzhenitsyn from Moscow, it has silenced Rostropovich, and it has attempted to consign Medvedev to an insane asylum.

Against the background of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the protests in Red Square, and the rebellion in Poland, the crimes of Stalinism are being condemned in a literary movement that is rediscovering its historical connection to the 1917 Revolution.

Against this unprecedented movement of the working class, expressed most concretely in the growth of the Fourth International, what hope is there for—as Yuli Daniel described them—

"...The fat-faced masters of our destiny, who sit at meetings and preside—our leaders and teachers, true sons of the people, who get congratulatory messages from collective farmers near Ryazan and metal workers in Krivoy Rog, from the Emperor of Ethiopia, and from teachers' congresses, and from the President of the United States, and the staffs of public lavatories."

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For Trade War

to extract from Europe the price of maintaining the world reserve role for the dollar. Nixon's strategy is clearly to preserve the official parity of the dollar as long as possible through the artificial means of refusing to pay out gold for dollars.

Nixon refuses to devalue the dollar in relation to gold and to return to convertibility because he knows such a return to convertibility, even with a substantial devaluation would set in motion a process that would quickly restore gold as the basis of the monetary system. Huge piles of U.S. dollars held abroad would be virtually wiped out as one wave of speculative attack after another reduced the dollar to its real value in relation to gold. Above all the role of world reserve currency for the dollar which has allowed U.S. capitalism to take over and penetrate European and world capitalism as a whole would be at an end.

This process of course can in no way be avoided no matter what Nixon does. Nixon's strategy nevertheless is to try to maintain the position of the dollar, which means maintaining the present outflow of military aid and private investment capital by forcing Europe and Japan to accept trade deficits with the U.S. of a corresponding amount. This will supposedly allow the U.S. balance of payments deficits to be liquidated, issuing in a new era of monetary stability.

The whole scheme is, of course, just as illusory and utopian as the European

scheme to establish a new monetary order without the dollar based on gold and SDRs (Special Drawing Rights).

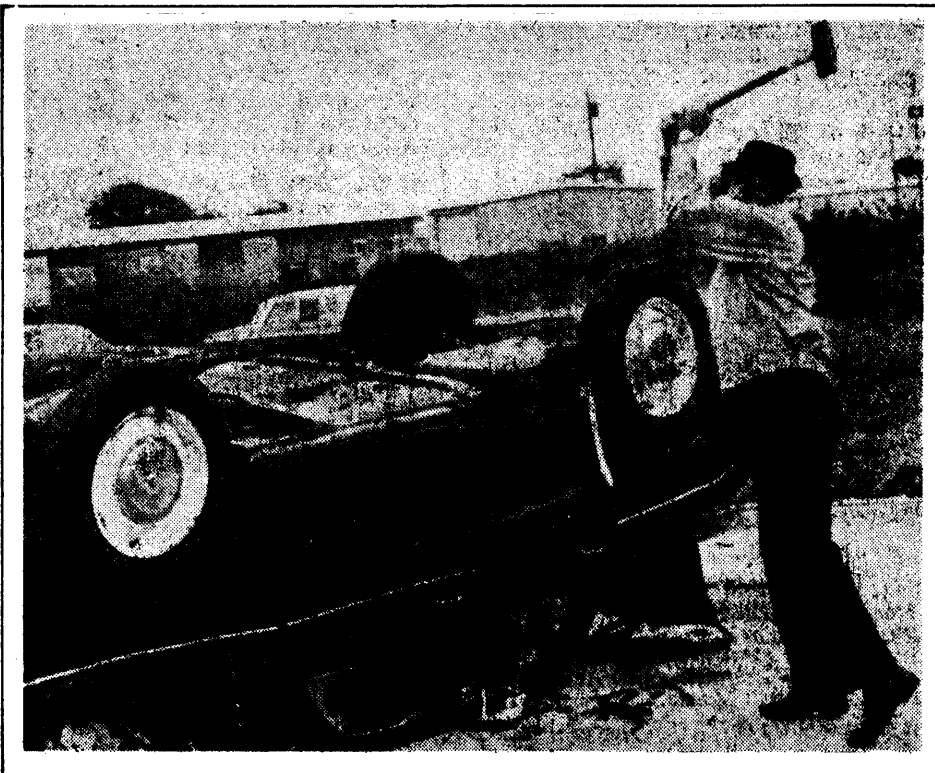
The point is that Nixon's scheme calls for the imposing of a burden on Europe that is entirely beyond its capacity to shoulder and which therefore can only precipitate retaliation leading to a general trade war and world depression.

Already the combination of the 10% surcharge and floating exchange rates is precipitating signs of coming disaster in Europe.

Common Market Steel production has fallen 60 million tons since Nixon's August 15th announcement. Whole sections of small and medium German industry, particularly those like the surgical instruments industry, are faced with extinction. The same is true in relation to the Italian shoe industry which exports 80 million shoes annually to the U.S. and upon which entire Italian towns are based.

Underneath all the platitudinous talk about monetary reform, and expressions of confidence in such institutions as GATT and the IMF, the facts are that the law of the jungle is now taking over in world economic affairs. The only answer for the employers in each country is to cut into their rival market as much as they can while squeezing their working classes at home.

While the overwhelming power of U.S. capitalism allows it to push Europe ahead of it into the pit of depression, America itself is also being dragged directly into



Nixon whips up nationalism as he prepares massive trade war. Here union bureaucrat from IUE Local 801 leads off in smashing French car to protest "foreign competition."

the collapse. This was sharply underscored last week with the collapse of RCA's computer operations.

The collapse of RCA computer operations in a very definite sense expresses the plight of capitalism as a whole. It expresses in particular the problems associated with the rising organic composition of capital, and the falling rate of profit as it confronts a world market which the monetary crisis has brought to a state of collapse. The extremely high organic composition of capital in the computer industry (RCA estimated it would need to pump 500 million into its computer operations between 1971 and 1976 to realize any profit at all) and therefore the low rate

of profit, makes this industry extremely dependent upon a general expansion of the world market.

With the beginning of a collapse in this market, increases in aggregate profits no longer offset the general tendency for the rate of profit to fall. The result was RCA was forced to leave the computer field. The point however is that the impoverishment of Europe, the destruction of the European market and the breakup of world trade now being precipitated by Nixon's measures must now expose the fall in the rate of profit in hundreds of American industries, precipitating bankruptcies which at any moment can go over into a panic on the order of 1929.

Daily World And Moscow

Why Stalinists Won't Recognize Bangla Desh

BY FRED MUELLER

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST Party is making a great effort to portray itself and its allies in Moscow as friends of the people of Bangla Desh. The Daily World has just published a series of five articles written from India by Herbert Aptheker.

Aptheker is well known for his lengthy and lying defense of the brutal crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 by the troops and tanks of Moscow. At that time he wrote an entire book (*The Truth About Hungary*) designed to show that the Revolution was actually a counterrevolution for the restoration of capitalism.

Now Aptheker is applying his skills in a different part of the world and under different circumstances, but to the same end. His aim is to justify the actions of the Soviet bureaucracy in relation to the struggle of Bangla Desh.

Aptheker refers to "what used to be East Pakistan but now is properly called the People's Republic of Bangla Desh." And he says of the people of Bangla Desh, "The 70 million cannot be conquered. The military junta is shaky. U.S. support (and Mao's blessings) are all that sustain it."

While this area must go by the name of Bangla Desh, Aptheker and his party have been very slow in recognizing this.

When the fighting began last March the Stalinists refused to support it as a fight for independence by the Bengali people. According to the March 26 issue of the Daily World:

"The U.S. media are pushing the idea that the Bengalis of East Pakistan are fighting for independence from West Pakistan. In reality this is a distorted approach which neatly sidesteps important political issues which the spokesmen for American capitalism would probably prefer not to get into."

Of course it was not only the spokesmen

for American capitalism who distorted the facts, but the Stalinists as well. They also wanted to avoid the struggle in Bangla Desh. For nearly five weeks the Daily World said absolutely nothing after its initial comment. Then it referred to the struggle for "an independent or autonomous Bangla Desh."

Not until four months after the fighting began did Moscow break its silence on the question of support to Bangla Desh. On March 30 Moscow radio even reported that "the situation is getting back to normal." On April 4 the Soviet government expressed its "concern," called for a "political solution," and praised Yahya Khan for proceeding "in a democratic manner."

So while the masses of Bangla Desh were being slaughtered and driven into exile by the murderous troops of Yahya Khan, the Stalinists waited to see the outcome of the struggle. They could not take a principled stand. And now, as the workers and peasants fight against tremendous odds and show in action that their struggle for self-determination will not be stopped even by wholesale massacres and isolation, the CP seeks to get on the bandwagon.

OPPORTUNISM

This is only the barest outline of the disgusting opportunism of the Stalinists. When Aptheker says that only U.S. support and Mao's blessings are helping the regime of Yahya Khan, he is conveniently omitting the fact that more than the blessings of both Moscow and Peking have been involved. The original assault on the people of Bangla Desh last March 25 and subsequently, involved Soviet as well as Chinese and Western weaponry.

This is of course not a matter of political misjudgement on the part of the Stalinists. They have devoted themselves for many years to bolstering nationalist regimes in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In 1965 Kosygin arranged the famous Tashkent accord between the

Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies. The Soviet bureaucracy played a crucial role in strengthening these regimes at a moment of grave crisis.

Nearly 25 years ago Moscow gave its support to the reactionary religious partition of India. The Stalinists agreed that that Moslem minority constituted a nation on the basis of their religion. Now the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh, nearly 80% of whom are Moslems, gives the lie to this reactionary conception.

The Stalinists' recognition of the right to self-determination is based solely on the diplomatic interests of the bureaucracy and the needs of the bureaucracy and its agents to maintain at least some shred of credibility and prestige among the semi-colonial masses.

This can be seen clearly in the Stalinists' version of self-determination. It is not the struggle of the Bengali nation they are concerned with, but of just a part of that nation. The revolution in East Bengal, however, raises immediately the question of the struggle in West Bengal, behind the Indian border.

A successful revolution in East Bengal could rapidly spread over into the West in a joint struggle against both the Pakistani and Indian bourgeoisies. It could go further throughout the entire Indian subcontinent. Aptheker raises none of these questions. It is this that the Stalinists with their great friendship for Mrs. Gandhi of India and Mrs. Bandaranaike of Ceylon, wish to prevent at all costs. So for them it is a question of the independence of a part of the Bengali nation.

Now that the Stalinists have been forced to recognize political reality in Bangla Desh, that does not at all mean that they will discharge the elementary obligations of working class solidarity. Quite the contrary!

Moscow refuses to recognize Bangla Desh, and not a single one of the Communist Parties, including the American, has called for this. Nor is Moscow supplying

the liberation army with weapons and other support.

What are the Stalinists doing? Their "support" takes the form of uncritical backing of the bourgeois leadership of the Awami League. This leadership has just claimed that negotiations with butcher Yahya Khan are not ruled out. It is looking for a deal with the West Pakistani bourgeoisie, even as the heroic fighters of Bangla Desh continue to meet the most barbarous treatment at the hands of Yahya's troops.

The Awami League has moved to incorporate the Mukti Foj guerrilla fighters into its own liberation army, tightly under its control. The Awami leaders profess optimism on the question of the economic prospects of an independent capitalist Bangla Desh. This is nothing but sheer utopianism and treachery to the masses of impoverished workers and peasants.

Precisely at this time the CP comes forward to uncritically support this leadership. Though it has shifted its policies the essence is the same. While the Peking Stalinists stab from the front, Moscow prepares its knife from behind.

Aptheker's articles, not even beginning to express the fighting determination of the people of Bangla Desh, consist only of attempts to jump on the bandwagon of support, combined with the most treacherous policy of all in the form of support for the bourgeois leadership and of completely subordinating the Communist Party and the masses of workers and peasants to this bourgeoisie.

The only road to victory for the Bangla Desh fighters is on a revolutionary program. This means a fight for the agrarian revolution, nationalization and economic planning, the extension of the struggle to West Bengal and the rest of the region, and the arming of the workers and peasants. This fight will require the building of a Trotskyist leadership in Bengal and the entire Indian subcontinent.

WAGE FREEZE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

tion to do anything about it and they wouldn't want to if they could. Their latest contribution to the battle has been to assure Nixon that the Democratic-sponsored legislation under which the wage freeze was imposed, and which expires next April, will be extended very soon so that it does not become an issue in "an election year."

This is the real face of the capitalist parties, including their liberal spokesmen, for all to see. Even after the freeze their solidarity with Nixon is clear and unmistakable. Can any worker question the role of these men when they seek at this very moment to give Nixon the weapon he needs?

FALSE

Nixon is moving in exactly the direction that Meany correctly

warned several weeks ago was "the road to fascism." Yet all the labor leaders treacherously raise false hopes about what is to come after the 90 day freeze. All of them refuse to give a lead to striking workers or to the entire working class on the fight to smash the freeze and to break from the big business Democratic and Republican Parties.

Now Nixon is moving to get the West Coast longshoremen, on strike for nearly three months, back to work, and to keep the East Coast ILA at work without a contract beyond the September 30 deadline. The only answer to this must be a fight for a nationwide dock strike to beat Nixon back.

The working class now faces the most open and brutal attack on its living standards, both

through the extension of strict controls on wages as well as the threat of depression and massive unemployment on a world scale. These attacks are related directly through the international economic crisis which has forced Nixon's hand and which threatens at any moment to explode.

The only answer must be a fight now for jobs for all, to organize the unemployed behind the unions, for no cooperation with the wage controls. Only general strike action can smash the freeze and the time to prepare and fight for this is now.

LABOR PARTY

Only a complete break with the political parties of the bosses and the building of a labor party for the 1972 elections can take forward the fight against Nixon and his allies' ruthless attacks

ATTICA . . .



Commissioner Oswald

(Continued From Page 5)

After it was all over Watson was warned by a sergeant not to report what he had seen.

Of all the committees being set up by Rockefeller to "investigate" the murder of prisoners at Attica, the committee headed by Clarence Jones of the *Amsterdam News* to "safeguard the rights of prisoners" is the most disgusting and obscene.

Any question of prisoners' rights was blown to pieces last

Monday when state troopers stormed the prison and massacred at least 32 inmates and wounded many more.

Now every liberal Democrat and clergyman in the country is rushing to get on a committee. The purpose of these committees and of the men who join them is to pull the curtain over the brutal reality of the capitalist state that was nakedly exposed at Attica.

Three committees now functioning are a congressional subcommittee of Democrats and Republicans, a criminal investigation headed by Deputy State Attorney General Fischer and a citizens committee. In addition the original negotiators at Attica intend to remain as a watchdog force.

WHITEWASH

Every worker and youth knows that the investigations will solve nothing and will only provide a screen for the continued persecution of prisoners. It will end in a whitewash just as the investigation into the Kent State murders did. The murderers will not put themselves on trial. Every liberal is aiding Rockefeller in this farce by maintaining that something more humane could have been worked out.

The heroism and unity of the Attica prisoners will not be forgotten by the working class and youth. The Attica massacre has made a deep imprint on their thinking that will be remembered when it faces its own showdown with the government.

Again and again the prisoners at Attica called out to the working class and "all oppressed people" and their message was that only the united power of the working class could defeat the government.

The press, the liberals and all the revisionists will now try to submerge this with talk of prison reform and prison conditions. They will try and deny the tremendous unity of Black, Latin and white inmates at Attica and the political character of their fight. But the prisoners had discovered in their struggle that unity of the whole class linked to a struggle for power was the road to victory.

The working class and youth will avenge Attica in a political struggle to defeat the government and its wage freeze with a general strike and to bring a labor party to power.

DAYTON . . . MONTREAL . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

not a question of saving Frigidaire, but of saving Local 801.

On the very day of the vote big ads appeared in the Dayton newspapers promising a 10% discount to all workers who accepted a cut. Local 801 workers flung this back in the Chamber of Commerce's face. "We don't want any charity" shouted one worker at the mass meeting. And a laid off worker told the negotiating committee what the membership wanted: "Give them hell!"

Prior to the meeting a leaflet was circulated by the Frigidaire Rank and File Committee pointing out the fraud of trying to fight Nixon and the bosses with nationalism and "Buy American" campaigns when the real reason for their attacks is the international capitalist crisis that forces the bosses in every capitalist country to try to improve their position by forcing down their own working class.

The committee raised the demand for the smashing of the wage freeze, nationalization of the big corporations like GM, and the building of a labor party to implement these demands.

injunction can be prosecuted for advocating a boycott. How far is this from the corporatist state of Mussolini?

The injunction is temporary, although it has already been extended once. The unions are hopeful it will be lifted. If not, they say their tactics will change. But to whom did the union leaders appeal in the midst of this struggle? Labor Minister Cournoyer. They appealed for a mediator to the Federal Government.

But it is precisely Trudeau's government which stands behind every employer engaged in struggle. It is precisely the Liberals who are encouraging massive unemployment in the "fight against inflation."

UNEMPLOYMENT

Certain things must be made quite clear. There are no impartial arbitrators, no third parties in this period. Nixon has dictated massive unemployment in Canada. The employers are in a desperate spot. They must attempt to drive workers back to the conditions of the 1930s—or worse.

Any labor leader who does not

begin from a deep understanding of this crisis, who continues to attempt to use the tactics of the 1950s, will be bankrupt in this new situation. The employers at this point have no choice: they are prepared to go all the way—to Bonapartism, to fascism. They must destroy the working class as a class, reducing workers to the unit of the machine or factory.

Therefore a leadership is required in the trade unions which is equally prepared, a leadership which is prepared to take on management and the government

ST. LOUIS . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

members.

Although Local 25 bureaucrats admit that GMAD reorganization will go over "like a can of worms", they say "the union can't do anything about it" since "it's their corporation." Even though GM has junked the UAW local contract, they refuse to call a strike to stop massive loss of jobs and union representation.

The membership is kept totally in the dark about the company's plans. Two *Bulletin* reporters were excluded from a night shift union meeting on September 9. They had been invited into the meeting by a rank and file auto worker who is attempting to expose the union bureaucracy's sellout cooperation with General Motors.

A new leadership must be built

and defeat them.

The leadership at *La Presse* is totally unprepared for such a struggle. This is why they find the injunction "incomprehensible." They rely on the courts and on the Liberal government. The only weapon the workers at *La Presse* possess is the organized strength of the workers' movement mobilized in their defense. Maneuvering, tactical combinations, militant trade unionism—all the strategies of the pragmatic workers' movement are useless and bankrupt in this new situation.

in the UAW in time for the upcoming Local 25 elections. Its program should center around the following:

- No GMAD—no layoffs—shut down the whole plant if even one worker is put out of a job.
- No wage freeze now or in the future.
- No speed-ups on the production lines.
- No reduction in union committeemen or shop stewards.
- A 4 day work week at 5 days pay—jobs for all.
- Fight racism at GM and in the union—rehire with full back pay all the Black workers fired last spring.
- Nationalize GM under workers control.
- Build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

BALTIMORE ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

this point that dissension arose. It is not surprising.

With the docks among the hardest hit sectors of industry the upcoming contract fight has been the focus of most members'

attention and frustration. Many workers have told this reporter that the new contract must break with the previous sellouts perpetrated by the ILA leadership and must take a strong stand on higher wages and an end to layoffs.

It is at this point that the national and local leadership seeks to avoid a fight. First, in announcing a delay in possible strike action until after the wage freeze ends, and then in the Wednesday meeting cutting off all discussion on the contract fight and on the fight against containerization.

As Nixon plans to extend the wage freeze it would be the surest folly to pretend that the fight around the new contract can be delayed. The leadership of the ILA has shown that it wants to put off any reckoning until the last possible moment.

The only way to prevent a sell-out is by building a new leadership within the ILA in Baltimore and all ports through the construction of caucuses based on the fight for a decent contract, a general strike of labor against the wage freeze and the construction of a labor party for the '72 elections.

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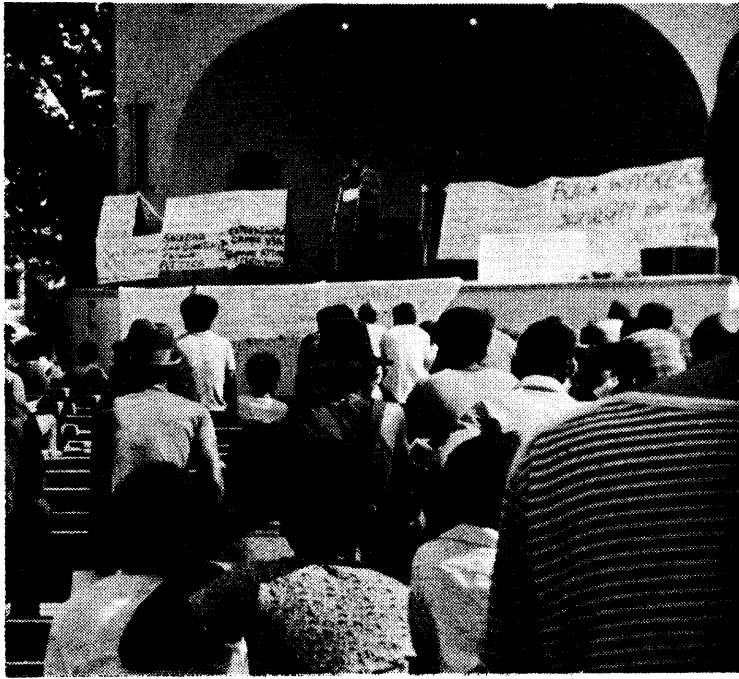
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Stalinists try to channel protest of Attica massacre by youths (Above, L.A. rally) into nationalism and Democratic Party.

CP Pushes Nationalism In Reaction To Attica

BY STEVE CHERKOSS
LOS ANGELES—On Tuesday, September 14, a demonstration attended by some 400 workers and youth was held in downtown L.A. against the vicious wholesale murder by the government of over 30 prisoners.

The rally itself was called on very short notice by a coalition of some 22 organizations. It was politically dominated by the Stalinist Communist Party. Other groups such as the Black Workers Congress, the Young Lords, the La Raza Unida Party and various prison reform organizations were also sponsors.

The fight against repression in the prisons was separated from the world crisis of capitalism and its effect on the working class. The reactionary concept of nationalism in the form of the "third world brothers and sisters got to get it together" was put forward by most of the speakers including the Stalinists. The struggles of the prisoners themselves against capitalism, racism and day to day oppression was portrayed as a fight "to be treated as human beings—as people." Nothing was proposed as to how to take the prison rebellion forward.

Deacon Alexander representing the Angela Davis Defense Committee closed his speech, "Believe me, there's going to be some action—we got to act."

The only speaker who presented a class analysis was Will Beasley of the La Raza Unida Party. He was the only speaker of the day to relate the fight at Attica to the crisis of the capitalist system and the ruling class attack on the working class through the wage freeze. But when it came to program the only thing he proposed was "join any movement of your choice and fight the enemy."

The speakers did not reflect the militancy and understanding of the workers, students and youth attending the rally. The speakers at the rally betrayed the complete bankruptcy and frustration of middle class radicalism and Stalinism. Particularly important is the role of the Communist Party in pushing nationalism to divide the working class and in their separation of the prison struggle from the struggle of the working class as a whole. This is aimed at leading workers and

youth up the blind alley of reformism and nationalism. Their perspective of channeling the anger of the youth into the arms of the Democratic Party or a "new Peoples Party" must be completely rejected by all class conscious workers and youth.

Unless the prison rebellions and attack at Attica are related to the whole crisis of international capitalism and the fight is posed as part of the sharpening class struggle, particularly through the trade unions, nothing can be understood or built. A fight must be taken up inside the unions to release all political prisoners, end all political repression, and bring the murderers of Attica to trial. This is part and parcel of the fight to unite the working class, minorities and youth in the struggle for a labor party based on the unions, pledged to fight for socialism.

INTERVIEW: 'ANSWER IS UNITY'

Q. How have Nixon's recent policies affected the workers at the Naval Supply Center in Oakland?

A. 214 out of a work force of 3,000 are supposed to be laid off on November 1. They call it a "reduction in force." Ninety percent of those laid off are Blacks, due to the fact that they're cutting the low level jobs and not those at the top. Some of the ungraded employees like janitors and those in the trades will be downgraded, bumping clerks will be bumped out of a job. Since veterans have a priority this means they will bump women clerks, many with other 10 years seniority and who are the heads of their household. And these layoffs don't count for the 5% layoff of federal employees that Nixon spoke about. That's supposed to come about through attrition.

Q. Do you think the workers would strike to defend the 214?

A. I think the majority of workers are in favor of retaining the 214, but there is a fear of strikes. Some are even afraid of joining the union. But anything other than striking is just a program of begging. In 1970 we had a big fight and got the no strike clause out of our union constitution, but we haven't had a strike yet.

Q. What was the effect of the Postal strike on the other federal

employees?

A. Well, it made a lot of people aware of what could be done. But even now I'm not sure how many would be willing to strike over these layoffs. There's been some talk about planning some "accidents" to cause a slow down. The Waldie bill isn't really an answer to the 214. But the local officials wouldn't be for a strike. It violates an Executive Order and would mean the loss of recognition for our union. But people should get mad, like the Postal Workers and say, "Damn the order!" People can make that order ineffective. Our union needs new leadership. The present leaders were opposed to taking the no strike clause out of our constitution.

Q. In our paper we've been pointing out that when push comes to shove the so-called liberal Democrats end up attacking working people just as much as the Republicans. We've been campaigning for a labor party based on the trade unions.

A. The Republicans and the Democrats are practically the same. We should have a labor party. Nixon is definitely out to ruin labor. The younger people will go for the labor party. And the older workers will change their attitudes soon, just like the attitude toward the Panthers has changed.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Three supporters of the Workers League were attacked this Saturday by a gang of Progressive Labor hoodlums. The incident occurred at a shopping center where the *Bulletin* is regularly sold.

The Stalinists, led by PL member Hari Dillon, overturned a table at which petitions in defense of Juan Farinas were being collected and destroyed a number of Workers League pamphlets. One comrade was slightly injured. We were warned not to return again or face more serious consequences.

It was clear that this attack was consciously prepared at PL meetings and represents the beginning of a campaign to attempt

to drive the Workers League off the streets. This is the only answer PL can make to our principled political positions and particularly to our consistent exposure of their anti-Leninist policies.

FEAR

This incident is a continuation of PL's desperate attempt to attack Trotskyism at the recent NPAC conference. It is extremely significant that the attack comes after a number of weeks in which several *Bulletin* salesmen have been selling large numbers of papers to workers and youth while as many as eight to ten Challenge supporters have been unable to push their reactionary rag. It reflects the enormous fear of the PL leadership that any of their cadre might even be exposed to the real ideas of

Trotskyism for which they have no answer.

We warn Progressive Labor, these are not the 1930s. We fully intend to carry out the fight to drive every form of Stalinism out of the working class. We will continue to expose week after week in our press its odious betrayals. We also intend to defend our right and the right of every working class tendency to freely distribute and sell its press.

THUGGERY

PL today reflects the crisis and decay of world Stalinism in its most dangerous and disgusting form. In attacking Trotskyism and the Workers League it joins with Nixon in threatening the rights of the entire working class. We call on all workers organizations to repudiate this Stalinist thuggery.

Patriotic Pacifists Protest Freeze

BY RICHARD RIVERA
SAN DIEGO, Sept. 13—A rally was held here Sunday in Newton Park against the Military Pay Freeze, sponsored by the Pacific Counseling Service, a group that provides draft counseling aid to G.I.s who are seeking various types of discharge, the "E.M. Club," a newly formed organization to fight back against the brass, and the Concerned Officers Movement. Also present were members of the "Constella-

tion Vote," a group seeking to prevent the U.S. Constellation from returning to Southeast Asia.

Their reason for holding such a rally was, "The President has decided to freeze our pay raise. The raise that was to have gone into effect in August will not be given to us, either now or soon." In the face of Nixon's vicious attacks on the world working class, these pacifists and radicals scream that "the President pay us our money."

At the heart of their program was the acceptance of the patrio-

tic propaganda that the military exists to serve and defend "our country." "When people are not paid enough they have to tell the people they work for that they need more. We're supposed to be working for our country. We have to tell the people."

The people that the military work for are those of the ruling class in the defense of their private property and their "right" to wring profit from the working class at any cost. That is why the military is shooting workers and peasants in Southeast Asia, breaking strikes in the U.S. and massacring inmates at Attica. That is what the rally sponsors accept unquestioningly and hence support.

In a period in which the working class is continuing its wage offensive in defiance of Nixon's attacks the capitalists are forced to rely more and more on their standing armies to do their bidding with bayonets and rifles.

However, the ranks of the military are coming into open opposition to the role they must play and hence can no longer be counted upon to do the capitalists' bloody bidding. The fact that a section of the military is voicing its opposition to the wage freeze is a further indication of the depth of the effect of the freeze on all sections of the working class, in the factories, the prisons and the military.

The reactionary nature of the rally was borne out at the rally itself, when a *Bulletin* salesman was barred from selling at the rally by its sponsors. Our salesman was confronted by several of the sponsors' goons, one armed with a sheath knife and told that, if necessary, physical force would be used to prevent him from entering the park or selling in the area. The reason given was that they were afraid Trotskyism was "too deep" for the G.I.s and that they would not understand it. What they really fear is just the opposite, that the troops would understand our program and that their reactionary role would be exposed.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

Teachers Fight Union Busting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DALY CITY—The very existence of the trade union movement is at stake in the strike of several hundred elementary school teachers here.

The teachers have struck demanding a written agreement for guaranteeing class sizes and working conditions as well as a procedure for compulsory arbitration of grievances. Such an agreement was signed last year after a brief strike.

This year, with complete confidence that the Nixon policies give them an anti-labor green light, the school board has simply refused to bargain maintaining that any agreement is illegal.

They have followed up this policy with the firing of 227 teachers who are immediately suspended and face legal dismissal within 30 days.

Meanwhile the schools have been kept running with scabs who have been brought in at wages of \$40 a day.

The school district has issued a call for the hiring of 151 new teachers and 75 professional personnel.

One of the most ominous developments in the struggle is the open and conscious exploitation of the massive unemployment among teachers to seek to break the strike.

District Superintendent Frank Greenwood called the dismissals a "bright spot" in the teacher crisis. Noting that there are at present over 5000 unemployed teachers in the Bay Area he explained that the mass firings now offer "a tremendous opportunity to hand pick the kind of teachers we want."

Daly City now becomes a testing ground for every employer and particularly for city governments in new methods for smashing the unions. It is precisely the development of recession and mass unemployment that will enable the employers to dare carry out such policies as they are testing in this strike.

Meanwhile the conduct of the

labor bureaucracy is absolutely despicable. One union bureaucrat this reporter spoke with indicated that the union saw this fight as a court battle and actually said that since the scabs were being paid premium wages above normal substitute wages they were in violation of Nixon's freeze and the city could be sued.

The main activity of the union has been a door-to-door campaign to enlist support among parents in the fight for decent schools. While there can be no doubt that there is enormous support among the parents who are overwhelmingly working class and trade unionists, the appeal is on a completely classless basis.

What is at stake here is the right to strike and the very legal existence of the unions themselves. Daly City is not an isolated town like San Rafael during the printers strike. It is in the very heart of one of the strongest trade union areas in the country. The employers hope to create another San Rafael.

The labor movement must be brought into this fight with all its strength. It is absolutely criminal that the elementary school teachers now stand alone. There must be an immediate fight to shut down every school in the district in support of this struggle.

The unions must mobilize mass pickets to shut these schools down completely to smash the scab movement. There must be preparation to back this struggle with whatever measures are necessary including a general strike if the teachers' demands are not won.

This is an ominous warning to the trade union movement. Victory here is a matter of life and death.



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BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 15,000 striking longshoremen were threatened last week by Curtis Counts "Federal Mediator" with men being imported in to work the docks if the ILWU refuses to return to work.

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In what can only be described as an ultimatum to the strikers, Counts, upon his arrival at the San Francisco airport, declared "that the longshore strike was reaching crisis proportions" and that the government would allow only a week or two before it would intervene directly with its own measures to end the strike.

When he was asked what those measures would be the President's personal envoy said that "One possibility we have is to move men on to the docks, another possible choice would be the implementation of legal machinery which is already available to us."

It is the terrifying possibility to Nixon and the employers of a joint ILA-ILWU national docks shutdown that now forces them to show their hand with strike breaking and a civil war if necessary to drive the longshore-

men back to work.

The whole fraud of the appeal of Harry Bridges for an exemption to the wage freeze from Nixon was thrown back in his face when Counts in the interview said it was "totally unlikely" that the government would make an exception to the striking dockers.

The ILWU leadership and the PMA are now in full negotiation with a demand by Counts that the PMA and ILWU present their "final offer" to him so he can make a decision on the offers.

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