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weekly organ of the workers league

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SEPTEMBER 24, 1973

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FIFTEEN CENTS

Chrysler Ranks Must Reject 3% Deal

BY DAVID NORTH
DETROIT, Sept. 19—Auto workers must register a massive "no" vote on the contract worked out behind closed doors by company negotiators and Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers.

By accepting the Chrysler offer of a three percent wage increase for each year of the three year contract, Woodcock has completely surrendered to the wage cutting offensive launched by Nixon and the bosses.

Thousands of auto workers in Detroit are prepared to throw out this settlement.

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(Continued On Page 13)



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Twice-Weekly Bulletin Will Lead Fight For The Labor Party

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Nixon's veto of the minimum wage bill, his call for a 10 percent surcharge, and his approval of the latest industrial and farm price increases signal a new stage in the attack on workers.

These actions were taken as the CIA and US Navy assisted and Nixon welcomed the brutal coup d'etat against Chilean workers. Nixon's attacks on workers and his preparation for dictatorship in this country must now be answered by the calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party as the political weapon of the working class against the government.

The twice-weekly Bulletin will lead the fight for this labor party. It will rally support for the building of the labor party among striking Chrysler auto workers and among all sections of the

working class as they enter into struggle against Nixon. We call on every reader and supporter to take the Bulletin into their plants and communities.

It is only the Bulletin that raises the central political tasks before the working class. Only the twice-weekly Bulletin will fight to build a new leadership in the labor movement that will defeat Nixon's assault on living standards and democratic rights.

Nixon—the pupil of the Mafia, the tool of the bankers, profit-mad industrialists, Wall Street speculators and the sponsor of Chile's fascist generals—is trying to survive the Watergate scandal by convincing the ruling class that he is the man who will destroy the trade unions and drive the workers of this country back to the worst conditions of

the 1930s. He has launched his offensive.

•Inflation is being used by Nixon and the bosses to rob and weaken the working class. The wholesale price index for the last month rose at an annual rate of 75 percent. Farm prices were up 20 percent. All controls on beef were lifted last week and Treasury Secretary Shultz predicted "astounding" increases. The price of gasoline is being raised seven cents a gallon and the government has approved increases in heating fuels that will make it too expensive for workers to heat their homes. Even school lunches are going to cost about 15 cents more than last year.

•Wages, however, are policed by Nixon. The fight for a decent wage is against the law. State workers in California have just had their increases slashed by

seven percent by the Cost of Living Council.

Philadelphia retail clerks had to strike to defend the increase they had won in negotiations. Chrysler's arrogant offer of a three percent wage increase shows that Nixon is determined to lower the control's guidelines below even the 5.5 percent limit. Nixon and the bosses have embarked upon a policy of wage cutting.

•Taxes are going to be raised through the imposition of a 10 percent tax surcharge. Nixon's spokesmen have openly said that the aim of the new taxation will be to "reduce the purchasing power" of millions of working class and middle class families.

Furthermore, prime interest rates have climbed to the record level of 10 percent. Workers, who must pay nearly double that rate

(Continued On Page 6)

**Bulletin
Expansion
Drive**

**Fund Drive
Spurts Ahead**

The \$50,000 Twice-Weekly Bulletin Launching Fund has taken a big spurt forward this week with \$3744.05 received. This brings the grand total to \$5904.75.

We wish to thank the Lower East Side, New York, the Bronx, New York, Washington, Chicago, Dayton and Madison for their contributions. We also wish to thank all those who contributed at the recent Workers League and Young Socialists camp.

We now have a big task ahead of us to reach our one-third mark by October 1. We must receive at least \$5000 this week and next. We must publish in the first issue of the twice-weekly that our fund is coming in on time!

Mass Executions In Chile See p. 7

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Massacre Miners In S. Africa

BY A CORRESPONDENT

On September 11, police called in by the Anglo-American corporation shot into a crowd of striking Black miners at Carletonville, killing 11 and seriously wounding 27.

The days of Sharpeville, when 68 Blacks were massacred in 1960 by South African police have returned.

The uprising took place at the Western Deep Levels in the Transvaal area, 40 miles north of Johannesburg, one of the world's biggest and richest gold mines.

It began when miners refused to accept a pay increase which only raised their salary to \$71 a month. The Anglo-American corporation hires most of the 8500 workers from Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland and forces them to live in a compound under the contract labor system. Thirty-six miners decided to quit and began to organize others.

Prime Minister John Vorster immediately defended the police who, he said, acted with considerable restraint. White university students have demonstrated in Johannesburg and Cape Town in favor of the miners' demands.

Unable to stop the growing struggle of miners against the slave labor system in South Africa with meager token increases, the government is now setting out on a deliberate policy of massacre and terrorism.

The uprisings today are different than the period of Sharpeville in that now thousands of workers are moving into action. South Africa is just at the beginning of a massive strike wave that will rapidly be transformed into revolutionary struggle.

Deadlock In Swedish Vote

The Swedish national election September 16 has produced an unprecedented political crisis.

The Social Democrats, led by Premier Olof Palme, in power since 1932, won the exact same number of seats (175) in Parliament as the opposition, creating a complete deadlock.

The election was a severe blow to the Social Democrats who lost seven seats, while their allies the Communist Party increased their power.

Palme may now either be forced into a new election next January if he loses a vote of confidence in Parliament or may seek to bring the Liberals into his coalition.

The vote expresses deep dissatisfaction among workers with the Social Democrats which is closely tied to the trade union federation. The last few years wildcat strikes against an entrenched and centralized bureaucracy have increased, sparked by the two-month strike of the iron miners. Unemployment has reached 170,000.

Last spring, after a law and order outcry by the opposition, Palme joined them in voting a massive increase in funds for the police in what the Union of Graphic Workers denounced as a "capitulation to reactionary groups."



South African miners in a prison-like compound

Solzhenitsyn Links Detente To Persecution

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet novelist, has denounced the US government as hypocritical for its refusal to speak out against persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union.

In a long statement recently published here, Solzhenitsyn came to the defense of Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet physicist who has been the target of a slander campaign for his fight for democratic reforms in the Soviet Union.

Like Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn linked the repression of intellectuals in the Soviet Union to the moves towards detente with imperialism, particularly the United States.

In a reference to police state violence against the opposition, Solzhenitsyn wrote: "Coexistence on this tightly knit earth should be viewed as an existence not only without wars—that is not enough—but without violence, or anyone's telling us how to live, what to say, what to think, what to know and what not to know."

PURGE

He pointed out that the detente would mean a sanction by countries like the United States for a new series of Stalinist style purge trials like the Moscow trials of the 1930s which destroyed almost the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

He also condemned the hypocrisy of the Democratic Party over the Watergate issue and said:

"Having been personally engaged in research on Russian life before its collapse, I am impressed by the seeming impossible similarity between the Russian monarchy in its final years and say, the Republic of the United States in what, I dare predict, are also its final years before the great breakdown."

More and more oppositionists are beginning to see that the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence is actually a knife aimed at them. It represents a counter-revolutionary alliance of Stalinism and imperialism against the working class. Brezhnev's collaboration with Nixon has been accompanied by a crackdown on intellectuals and

workers in the USSR, while in other countries the Communist Parties hand the workers over to dictatorship.

Sakharov called a conference with foreign correspondents in Moscow September 8 to denounce the charges of the bureaucracy that he is an enemy of peace, explaining his opposition to nuclear testing as early as 1958.

DESTROYED

He exposed the internment of dissidents in psychiatric hospitals where they are mentally destroyed through the use of drugs that depress the central nervous system. General Grigorenko, imprisoned since 1969 has been rendered totally apathetic as a result of such drugs.

Other courageous voices have been lifted in Sakharov's defense. Valentin Turchin, a computer mathematician, who together with Roy Medvedev and Sakharov appealed to the Soviet government in 1970 to implement democratic reforms, has spoken out on his behalf.

Pavel Litvinov, recently released from a Siberian camp after serving four years for his opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Boris Shragin are circulating a letter in the intellectual community against the persecution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy continues to accuse all those who defend the dissidents of connections with the CIA and fascist organizations.

While these oppositionists do not see the fight for liberalization as part of a struggle for political revolution against Stalinist bureaucracy and for the return of workers power in the Soviet Union, their fight poses a tremendous crisis for Brezhnev.

At a time of international upsurge by the working class, Stalinists will not be able to isolate and eliminate their opponents as they did in the 1930s.

Mao Seeks Pompidou Alliance

BY MELODY FARROW

The visit of French President George Pompidou to Peking on September 11 is an ominous development in the deepening rivalry between Europe and America and between China and the Soviet Union.

The first Western European leader to ever visit China and bitterly hated by the French working class, Pompidou was given a warm and lavish reception by Chou En-lai. The tone of the visit was set by the prominent banners which greeted Pompidou: "We firmly support the struggles of European people against hegemony."

The Chinese Stalinists seek an alliance with Pompidou and other European nations to counterbalance Brezhnev's links with the United States and thus create a third force in Europe against the threat of war by US imperialism. Pompidou has been the most outspoken opponent of Nixon's attempt to force the economic crisis on Europe.

After praising the memory of Charles de Gaulle, Chou En-lai declared that China wants "peaceful coexistence" with France and stressed that both countries are "opposed to two superpowers monopolizing world affairs."

He stated that both China and France were the only two countries who continued to openly test nuclear weapons and added: "All countries subjected to aggression or threat are entitled to possess their own means of defense to safeguard their independence."

"The danger of war remains and the detente is only a super-

ficial phenomenon. We must thus make all preparations to resist a war of aggression."

There has been a tremendous increase in tensions between China and the Soviet Stalinists. China has developed its nuclear force to the point of deploying 50 missiles capable of reaching the borders of the USSR and is in the process of developing missiles with a range as far as Moscow and the US.

The Soviet Union now has one-quarter of its air force stationed on the Chinese border and has just increased its army divisions there from 32 to 45. Soviet radio has recently begun broadcasting charges of Chinese attacks on the Mongolian border.

BREZHNEV

Nothing concrete was produced by the talks. While more exchanges and political contacts were pledged, Pompidou made it clear before leaving that he would not simply write off detente, and would maintain relations with Brezhnev.

The most dangerous development raised by these talks is Chou En-lai's attempt to line up with the European capitalists against the American capitalists in the advent of a full-scale war. Having given up any struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism by the working class Chou En-lai and Mao are throwing their lot in with capitalism.

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Trade War Clash Looms Over IMF

BY A CORRESPONDENT

With a little more than a week gone since the close of the international trade conference in Tokyo, capitalist finance ministers are gathering in Nairobi for the opening of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) meeting.

They hope to be able to patch together a compromise to replace the present "floating" system of international exchange rates.

As virtually every capitalist government now admits, the new round of international trade negotiations agreed upon at the Tokyo conference hinges on a compromise agreement at Nairobi and a return to stable exchange rates.

"Without adequate monetary stability, negotiations on trade would not really be meaningful and could be frustrated by exchange rate upheavals," French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing told the Tokyo meeting.

Despite superficial agreement among the capitalist govern-

ments that signed the "Tokyo Declaration," the deepest differences remain unresolved.

At the heart of the problem facing the finance ministers in Nairobi is the tremendous "overhang" of dollars and dollar credit outside the US and Nixon's decision to sever the dollar's ties to gold.

CONVERTIBILITY

While France is insisting that the US must restore the dollar's convertibility into gold as the basis for any new exchange rate system, the US is proposing to replace the present system with one based on Special Drawing Rights—fictitious gold which is nothing more than paper.

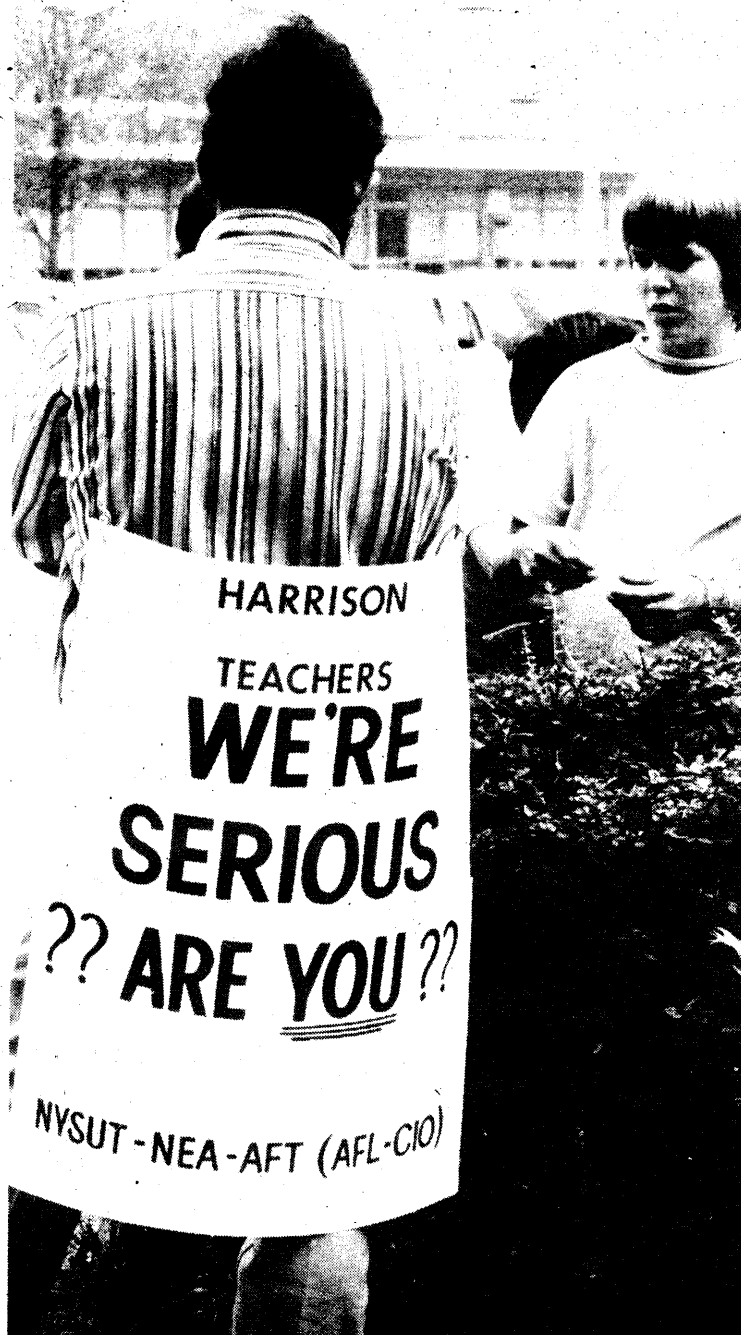
Nixon's plan is to make the European and Japanese dollar holders exchange their paper dollars not for gold but for paper

SDRs, for which the US will take no responsibility.

This is no attempt at compromise. It is a declaration of war. Nixon is serving notice that the US has no intention of ever honoring the dollar as a claim on real value: gold.

European and Japanese capitalists are left with no choice but to try to extract this value from the working class through a violent struggle to destroy the standard of living won during the last 25 years.

The reality facing the capitalist ministers in Nairobi is a crisis which can find no solution within the framework of capitalism outside of the most ruthless trade war, the destruction of vast quantities of inflationary capital and a worldwide depression, and the barbarity of fascism and world war.



Picket line at Harrison, N.Y., as teachers strikes continue nationwide.

Nixon Threatens Tax Hike On Top Of Soaring Prices

BY BRUCE MCKAY

Nixon's proposed 10 percent income tax surcharge would mean a wage cut for every worker.

The proposal comes just as workers face the largest price increases in American history and have already suffered big cutbacks in their standard of living because of inflation.

Presidential adviser Melvin Laird's announcement that the tax increase is being considered drew a sharp rebuff from Nixon's chief economic adviser George Shultz and later from Budget Director Roy Ash, who said "this is not considered the time" to put the surcharge into effect.

Neither Shultz nor Ash denied Nixon is planning to put the proposal into effect. Rather, their reaction reflects the fear within the ruling class of the movement of workers developing throughout the world, and the reaction Laird's announcement will cause in the midst of the wave of strikes across the country.

Nixon, in fact, must let out all the stops now in his drive against the working class.

His tax increase proposal

follows closely on the heels of his decision to veto the minimum wage bill, and it comes as 800,000 children are being eliminated from the government-subsidized school lunch program across the country.

Nixon has told Congress he will veto any "excessive" spending bill. Already, he has impounded funds voted by Congress in violation of the Constitution. Every social program of the 1960s not already wiped out by Nixon now faces the ax.

RATIONS

Nixon's program of "fighting inflation" is to put the working class throughout the world on rations at the same time as small capitalists and large sections of big capital based on credit are bankrupted by the big banking interests.

Combined with Nixon's income tax proposal is a new record prime interest rate of 10 percent.

The continual rise in the prime rate, charged to the biggest corporations, has taken place at the same time as a steady increase in mortgage rates and consumer lending charges.

The high interest rates now

being used as a weapon by the big banks against inflationary paper capital means higher and higher business costs, especially for small capitalists, and ever higher prices and utilities rates for workers.

High commercial lending rates have almost completely drained the home mortgage market, making it virtually impossible for a worker to buy a home. Industry spokesmen have predicted a 40 percent decline in home building by the end of the year.

Workers here are caught in a worldwide inflation. An international interest rate war is being pursued by bankers in each country as they try to keep their rates competitive to prevent an outflow of funds and to attract a larger share of the huge pool of speculative cash.

Overnight interbank call loan rates in London have soared to over one hundred percent. Rates have risen so high that funds have been temporarily attracted away from commodities speculation and gold, keeping the gold price down to around \$100 an ounce.



Local 1131 transit workers from the Washington, D.C. area stage wildcat strike against Metro, a company which took over the bus company and voided the union contract 9 months ago.

Defend Democratic Rights!

The recently concluded Workers League National Conference and Young Socialist Summer Camp in Canada was the target of continuous surveillance with the latest electronic bugging equipment.

The United States and Canadian governments collaborated in these efforts and even attempted to enter the camp for the purposes of breaking it up.

We have recently learned that the Young Socialists club at State College in Pennsylvania has been the object of continuous harassment by the FBI, with contacts and subscribers being hounded by this agency.

These events follow the Watergate revelations which revealed the massive preparations by the government for repression against the working class movement.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War were victims of spying and provocateurs aiming to set the organization up for legal prosecution.

Both the anti-war movement and the Socialist Workers Party have been the targets of massive police surveillance. Electronic eavesdropping and spying were extended to efforts to destroy the Socialist Workers Party presidential election campaign.

These developments have been accompanied by campaigns of violence directed at the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party by the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

Recently, Workers League members selling at the Fremont GM plant were attacked by a dozen Revolutionary Union goons with sticks and pipes.

Organizations such as the NCLC and the RU are more and more operating to assist the police in their filthy work.

These police activities are an expression of the deepening economic and political crisis. Inflation and rising interest rates are now provoking an enormous response in the working class in defense of its living standards. This is the meaning of the explosive upsurge in auto.

The spying, harassment and provocations are preparations for the destruction of democratic rights and the going over to dictatorial forms of rule. They are blows aimed at the destruction of a revolutionary leadership for the working class.

It is imperative that every working class organization unite to build the most massive campaign against these attacks. This must include a defense against the goon squad attacks of the RU and the NCLC.

The Workers League calls on the Socialist Workers Party to join us in launching this campaign, beginning with the calling of a meeting of all working class tendencies to discuss the defense of democratic rights.



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TRADE UNIONISTS, YOUTH WELCOME

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It's extremely important to have a twice-weekly at this time. The crisis of capitalism is deepening every day and I think that at the pace that the conditions are getting worse it's very necessary to have a workers' newspaper that carries news articles concerning the very nature of things that workers have to know. It is necessary to have a newspaper that carries a program that workers must follow in order to take up the struggle against capitalism which is squeezing the very life out of their living standards.

The *Bulletin* already serves as an arm to reach out to the people in terms of explaining the issues to the people, laying the issues squarely before them which the capitalist press doesn't do.

The twice-weekly in my opinion will serve as a better means due to the fact that there will be fresh news twice a week and it will be able to explain the new events that occur as soon as they happen.

The *Bulletin* has served several uses at Delco Moraine. One use has been to reach out to the workers to explain the issues that confront the workers. During sales it has offered myself and other TUALP

members an opportunity to talk over the issues with the workers and explain our program to the workers. I think that in that respect it has helped to make workers more aware of our program and of our existence and the alternative we pose compared to the other groups that are going around and preaching reform. I think the *Bulletin* without a doubt is the only newspaper that poses an alternative to the present crisis we're in. It's the only newspaper that offers a program for the struggle.

If UAW workers would accept the settlement currently being offered to them, they'll rapidly find they'll not be able to live under those terms. I think at the present rate of inflation that such a contract is already outdated even before the ink will be dry. Inflation is increasing at such a rapid rate even Nixon's advisers won't attempt to forecast a let up.

Last week, in a press conference which was televised nationally, Woodcock admitted that voluntary overtime was not the main issue which confronted workers in these negotiations. He openly admitted that wages are the number one issue.

If wages are the number one issue, then Woodcock has to admit that all this time he has been trying to give the workers a snow job on this voluntary overtime. He knew good and well that when the layoffs start pretty soon in industry nationwide, voluntary overtime is going to be a dead issue, because workers are going to be working 40 hours or less. They're going to be lucky to get five days in a work week.

Then, at that time, it's going to be necessary to have a decent base so that your 40 hour work week will provide enough for you to live on. Right now workers are working six or seven days a week and are barely making ends meet and if we don't settle for a substantial wage increase, somewhere in the nature of a 20 percent raise the first year of the contract plus a full cost of living escalator clause then I think there will be tremendous explosions in labor after the workers labor under such a contract and see what they have. After all of this, it goes without saying that the settlement that is being presented to the UAW from Chrysler Corporation is totally inadequate. Workers can not live off of it.

The *Bulletin* in the past has



John Austin

exposed the crookedness and bankruptcy of the bureaucrats and their total lack of leadership in the current crisis. The *Bulletin* has also made accurate predictions not only on the different events that have occurred in the economic crisis, but the *Bulletin* was the only paper that predicted that wages would be the number one issue rather than voluntary overtime or 30 and out.

I think that the most important role of the twice-weekly *Bulletin* is going to be the

exposure not only of the Republican Party but the Democratic Party and their reactionary policies towards workers, that they're not the ones to look to for answers because of the fact that their policies are the same as the Republican Party.

Today, the only way workers can expect to carry on a struggle and defeat the corporations is to establish their own political party, a labor party with a socialist program that there must be production for need rather than for profit.



Mertis Smith

Trade unionists and youth have been getting an understanding from the *Bulletin*, and now they will be getting it twice a week. I think this is a big step forward, so they can understand the meaning of this crisis, and the meaning of the steps the Young Socialists are taking so that we can get Nixon out of office.

I will enjoy selling the twice-weekly *Bulletin*, because then

we can get more youth and trade unionists interested and then we can get this movement built.

I think the twice-weekly will get a very good response. Once workers get the paper in their hands, they will want to get Nixon out. I think the Young Socialists will play a big part in selling the *Bulletin*. The twice-weekly will really help.

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The **Bulletin** in the past has



John Austin

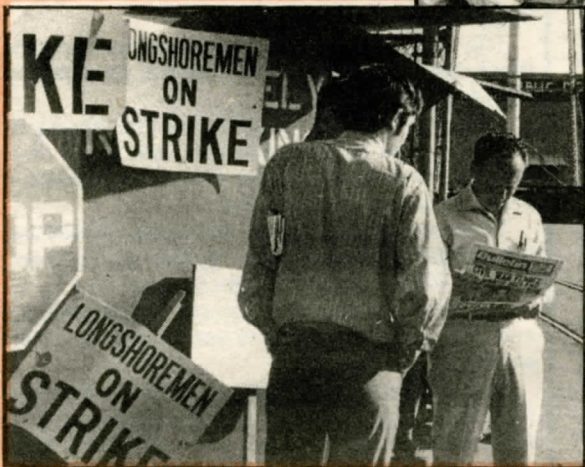
exposed the crookedness and bankruptcy of the bureaucrats and their total lack of leadership in the current crisis. The **Bulletin** has also made accurate predictions not only on the different events that have occurred in the economic crisis, but the **Bulletin** was the only paper that predicted that wages would be the number one issue rather than voluntary overtime or 30 and out.

I think that the most important role of the twice-weekly **Bulletin** is going to be the

exposure not only of the Republican Party but the Democratic Party and their reactionary policies towards workers, that they're not the ones to look to for answers because of the fact that their policies are the same as the Republican Party.

Today, the only way workers can expect to carry on a struggle and defeat the corporations is to establish their own political party, a labor party with a socialist program that there must be production for need rather than for profit.

Greet the twice-weekly Bulletin!



Thursday, Oct. 4th
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Mertis Smith

Trade unionists and youth have been getting an understanding from the **Bulletin**, and now they will be getting it twice a week. I think this is a big step forward, so they can understand the meaning of this crisis, and the meaning of the steps the Young Socialists are taking so that we can get Nixon out of office.

I will enjoy selling the twice-weekly **Bulletin**, because then

we can get more youth and trade unionists interested and then we can get this movement built.

I think the twice-weekly will get a very good response. Once workers get the paper in their hands, they will want to get Nixon out. I think the Young Socialists will play a big part in selling the **Bulletin**. The twice-weekly will really help.

THE TWICE-WEEKLY BULLETIN

The following is an interview with Rudy Sulenta, a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 216, Southgate, California for 25 years. He recently attended the first summer camp held by the Young Socialists and Workers League.

The most important thing I learned at the camp was the seriousness of the crisis. Not only did I learn Marxist philosophy and about the crisis that is here in the world, but I learned the solution.

One of the reasons for the twice-weekly Bulletin is to make workers aware of what is taking place in the world and hope that they will understand, as I have, the crisis that faces American workers, and that by reading the Bulletin they will join the Workers League and continue to fight for a labor party in the United States.

The Watergate scandal and its ramifications must not be overlooked by the working class. Everything in Watergate points toward dictatorship. The American worker can no longer tie himself to the coattails of the Democratic Party.

The straw that broke the camel's back was Kennedy appearing with George Wallace on July 4, calling Wallace a "good American." We can see by this coalition between the southern racists and the northern capitalists, the dangers. It is only through the working class taking power that what faces us will be solved.

It breaks my heart to read that people on fixed incomes, elderly people, in Miami have to steal

food and vitamin pills in order to survive in this so-called richest country of the world. That people, after they have contributed a lifetime of work to build this country can no longer sustain themselves with the necessities of life.

The Bulletin is the only paper that exposes the corruptness of the capitalist system, but more importantly, it shows us the way forward. Therefore, the twice-weekly will have a profound effect on the American working class. Not only will it teach the worker, but it will show him how to fight.

It is fortunate that the Bulletin is coming out twice a week with the situation now developing in auto, like the sit-down strikes in Chrysler. At the same time we see the role of Woodcock in breaking the strike, once again demonstrating the bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy.

And this is what the Bulletin exposes, the corruptness of the bureaucracy. One of the first things the American working class will have to do is to get rid of this bureaucracy and put people in there that will understand what this crisis is, and that this crisis cannot be solved by trade union programs, but by workers having their own political party, a labor party.

The biggest problem facing the

working class is inflation. Inflation is eroding our paychecks. The high interest rates are telling the young workers that they cannot buy homes, that they cannot move out of apartments which have no controls on rent.

And yet our wages are frozen at 5.5 percent! To be saddled with the 3 percent wage increase that Chrysler has offered the UAW is criminal. Our wages are already behind the cost of living. Even though the UAW has a cost of living formula, it does not keep up with the galloping rise in inflation.

The Bulletin has shown auto workers the way forward for a decent contract in 1973. We must now insist that Woodcock get off the Pay Board; we demand a 20 percent wage increase, 30 for 40, but most important, we must have a party that represents the working people.

We cannot depend on the Democrats or Republicans to solve one problem facing us: inflation, high rents, high taxes and so forth. We need to call on all the unions to call a Congress of Labor to run our own candidates for socialist principles.

Many political tendencies sell their paper at the plant gates. But it is only the Bulletin that consistently analyzes the problems and fights for the solution.



Rudy Sulenta

All the others have no comprehension of this crisis today and what faces us.

The twice-weekly will confront all these other tendencies and as more and more workers read the Bulletin, think about it and come to realize its honesty about this crisis and our tasks, all other tendencies will fade away, because they have no answers to what we face today.

As the crisis deepens here and internationally, we can no longer

operate in the same way. This change requires the twice-weekly. At Southgate we will issue a leaflet announcing the twice-weekly with regular days that we will be out there, and workers will be ready for us.

The new Bulletin will not just be a weekly coming out more often, or having more pages, but it will be a major step in the direction of publishing the first daily Trotskyist paper in the United States.

Traditions Of The Labor Press

BY NANCY FIELDS

Today, as the continued survival of capitalism requires Nixon to launch direct attacks on the living standards of the masses, every battle waged by the trade union movement in defense of its gains becomes political.

It is this necessity to wage a political battle against the government, which requires the immediate construction of a labor party.

The urgency of the fight for the labor party poses to the revolutionary movement the task of developing a mass workers' press as the central weapon to construct this party. The launching of the twice-weekly Bulletin is the critical step in this fight.

The role of the labor press as the advocate and major tool in the construction of independent political parties of workers is rooted in the history of the development of the American working class movement.

The actual birth of the workers movement, in the late 1820s, did not simply take the form of workers developing their own trade unions to fight for economic demands but, on the contrary, the very first actions of American workers as a class were political actions.

The turn to politics arose out of the outrage millions of workers felt at the unfulfilled promises supposedly guaranteed to them through the right to vote. The demands of the early workers movement focused not only on the fight for a shorter work week

but on the most fundamental conditions of life: the demands for decent housing, free public education, the abolition of imprisonment for debt as well as demands which actually challenged the development of the capitalist system. Thus, one of the major platforms of the early labor parties—incorporated in the charter of "Working Men's Measures"—was for the abolition of chartered monopolies.

The turn to politics was led by the establishment of workingmen's newspapers throughout the country. The first labor paper was founded in 1828 in Philadelphia.

It was through this paper, the *Journeyman Mechanics' Advocate*, that the early trade union movement in Philadelphia was unified into a central labor body: the Mechanics' Union of Trades' Association. Out of this centralized organization came the launching of the first independent political party of workers in the US.

The labor party movement spread throughout most of New England, into Delaware, New Jersey and Ohio within the next two years. The platform and aims of these parties were carried throughout the sweatshops by the labor presses which grew up in over 61 cities during this period.

The most important paper of the day was headquartered in New York and founded for the sole purpose of establishing "labor's independent political action." On October 31, 1829, the first issue of the *Working Men's Advocate* was published with the

statement that: "The working classes have taken the field and never will they give up the contest until that power that oppresses them is annihilated."

The *Advocate* led the fight of the Working Men's Party of New York—and through its circulation throughout New York State, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire—it exhorted workers to political action. Its famous first editorial, carried in hundreds of issues and distributed to thousands of workers, declared:

"Do you not perceive the aristocracy of the nation is leagued against you? And do you not perceive that it is plainly the interest of those who live on your labor to make it as profitable as possible? Why then do you send these very men to your legislature and give them almost every office? ... Think ye they will legislate for you against themselves? Slightly then have you read the human heart. Awake then!"

CAMPAIGNS

The labor press' main role was to provide the vehicle for publicizing the campaigns of the local labor parties and they were the most effective tool in combating the vicious, anti-labor propaganda spread by the capitalist newspapers. The latter, reacting with tremendous fear at the growth of the independent political action of the working class, initiated widespread campaigns of slander against the electoral candidates of the workers' parties.

In fact, it was only because of the offensive of the *Working*

Men's Advocate that the New York Party was able to gain an important victory in the elections of 1829-1830. While the majority of the workers' newspapers were published only on a local level, the *Advocate* began to develop into a nationwide paper leading the fight to form a national party of labor.

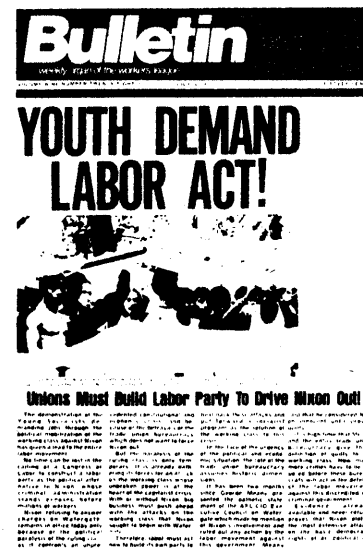
In 1866, it became the official organ of the National Labor Union, whose founding convention's major decision was to construct a national labor party.

LABOR PARTY

The National Labor Union's fight for the labor party was dropped as the political movement of the working class became dominated by the middle class agrarian radical protest politics of the times. At the same time, most of the independent labor papers of the day ceased publication. Thus, during this period of capitalist expansion and development, American workers turned away from politics and toward "pure and simple" trade unionism as the way to assert their independence as a class.

This tendency for the working class movement's fight to be confined on the one hand to militant, industrial unionism and on the other to be dominated by the middle class politically has persisted throughout its development.

Today, in the period of the complete decline of capitalism, it is critical that the first historical developments of the political movement of American workers be brought forward into the trade union movement in the fight to



construct the labor party. This battle to turn the working class to the necessary task of forming its own party requires above all the development of Marxist forces in the trade unions: forces trained to fight the revisionists and Stalinists who at all points seek to keep workers tied to the middle class protest politics which have dominated their development.

At the same time, these forces must be pitted in the sharpest struggle against the trade union bureaucracy who work to confine the current struggles of the class—struggles which are all political—to the past limits of militant unionism. It will only be the twice-weekly Bulletin that will carry out this task and, in the fight for the labor party, the revolutionary forces will be gathered and trained to lead the fight for socialism.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

A Question Of New Leadership

The labor movement must act now to stop the attempt to scuttle Watergate that is now well under way in Washington. The labor movement must act now to throw Nixon out of office and build a labor party as the only alternative to the Republican and Democratic Parties that are opening a war against the working class.

The impending resignation of Agnew, reported by the *Washington Post*, is a step by Nixon to try to restore authority in his Administration and consolidate his rule.

Nixon is seeking to rally big business back to his side by proving that he is prepared to take on and defeat the working class.

If Nixon is allowed to continue in office it will mean the implementation of all of the measures and attacks on democratic rights revealed in Watergate. But this time it will not be the Democratic Party but the working class and its organizations that will be attacked. This is the meaning of the bugging and police harassment of the Workers League-Young Socialists Camp in Canada.

If Nixon is allowed to remain in office, he will try to bring Chile to the US.

The urgent task before the American working class is the construction of a labor party.

In this new situation, it is important that the question of independent political action by the labor movement is being raised in almost every union gathering.

Last week at the convention of the United Electrical Workers, Arnold Miller, new president of the United Mine Workers Union, attacked the Republican and Democratic Parties and called for the election of a "labor president."

The UE resolved to build "a new political movement based on the workers and the unions, the Blacks and other minorities and intellectuals" because the Republican and Democratic Parties "have failed the workers." The Minnesota AFL-CIO last week joined the many unions that have called for Nixon's resignation.

These statements by the labor bureaucracy express the fact that every question before the unions—wages, jobs, inflation—is political and means a collision with the government. But the very same labor leaders that now are forced to make these calls are the major force propping Nixon up.

They refuse to take a single step to implement their speeches and resolutions and instead consciously hold back the struggle of the ranks of the unions.

The construction of a labor party depends on new leadership in the unions that is prepared and capable of facing the political challenge, that can give day by day leadership to the struggle to defend living standards and basic rights. The launching of the twice-weekly *Bulletin* on October 1 now provides the means to build this new leadership and a labor party to fight for socialist policies.

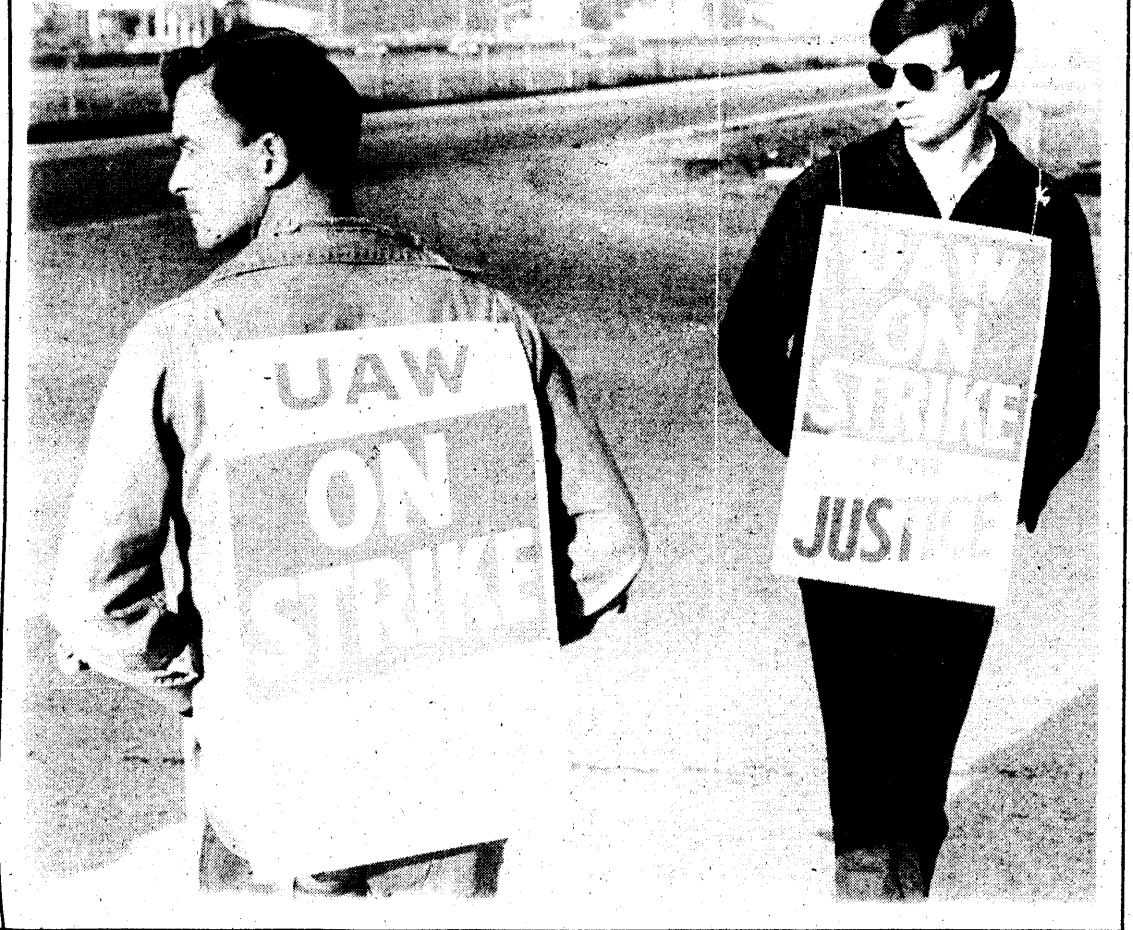
Building The Bulletin

We have received 218 Young Socialist subs this past week bringing the grand total to 2340 on our drive to get 3000 subs by October 1. Minnesota, Dayton, Madison and New Haven all did well.

We must now receive at least 300 subs each week for the next two weeks to complete this drive. Comrades report particularly good results from campus mobilizations.

At the same time, *Bulletin* subscription work must proceed with special attention to renewal work as part of the building of twice-weekly meetings in various areas. This last week brought in 242 subs giving us 448 towards our goal of 3000 by November 1.

Political Committee Statement



Build The Twice-Weekly

(Continued From Page 1)

to borrow money, will find it impossible to meet pressing needs or even mortgage payments.

•Unemployment stands at the five percent level and now threatens every worker as the bosses prepare for cutbacks in production and shutdowns. For the first time in two years, there was a decline in production during the month of August of 0.2 percent.

The government reports that this decline was due to wildcats among Chrysler workers last month which slowed production. This shows not only that the auto industry remains central to the entire economy; but also that all increases in the level of production have been geared to driving down the working conditions in the plant through speedup, wage cutting and unemployment.

The production figures in August show that the movement of the working class in defense of its rights must lead to a violent collision with the bosses and the government because the crisis of the economic system does not permit the compromises that were possible during the boom.

Moreover, the fantastic rise in interest rates is the prelude to a devastating collapse of whole sections of industry whose demand for capital cannot be satisfied because of the unavailability and high cost of money.

High interest rates make new investments unthinkable for the capitalist. Under these conditions, the very right to work must come under attack.

•Democratic rights are under the greatest attack ever as Nixon remains in office in spite of the revelations about Watergate. The fact is that the conspiracy against American workers continues.

Nixon's defiance of the court's order to release the tapes and the statement by his closest associate, John Connally, that Nixon can ignore the Supreme Court means that the preparations for a one-man Bonapartist dictatorship are well-advanced.

Democratic rights do not exist separately from the right to

work, to have a union, to earn a decent wage, to get an education and to feed one's family. Nixon moves to destroy democratic rights in order to destroy the organizations of the working class and the gains it has won in living standards and working conditions.

Nixon wants to turn the clock back to the days of the sweatshops, when the companies had armies of strikebreakers from the ranks of the unemployed to smash every attempt by workers to defend themselves.

Nixon welcomed the coup in Chile which murdered Allende and slaughtered 1000 workers in the streets of Santiago in order to protect the interests of US corporations like Kennecott, Anaconda and ITT against the movement of workers in that country.

To defend the profits of those corporations and others like General Motors, Chrysler and General Electric in this country, Nixon will use the methods of the Chilean generals against American workers.

This man has shown the crimes he will commit in the interest of capitalism. In just the past week, as he greeted the bloody counter-revolution in Chile, Nixon condemned thousands to starvation wages by vetoing the minimum wage bill; he guaranteed the deaths of thousands more by vetoing another bill that would have provided funds for ambulances; and he drove 800,000 youth off the already inadequate school lunch program.

Nixon must now be answered by mobilizing the great strength of the American working class politically against this government through the construction of a labor party. Only such a party, based on the trade unions and independent of the Democrats and Republicans can unite all workers in struggle against Nixon on the basis of socialist policies.

The policies of Nixon—unemployment, wage cutting, dictatorship—are the policies of the capitalist class in crisis. Only with their own labor party, with their own program, can

American workers defeat these policies and establish their own government pledged to defend the interests of the working class.

The labor bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers and Teamsters will not defend the ranks. They have collaborated with Nixon every step of the way, from Phase One to Four, because they will not lead a political fight against the government.

With the launching of the twice-weekly *Bulletin* on October 1, in the midst of the auto strike, great new opportunities are opened to the working class to defeat Nixon and to construct its own alternative to this criminal and hated government.

It was around the weekly newspaper that the Workers League organized the Chicago Conference for a Labor Party Now last October and then founded the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party last February. In St. Louis, the delegates pledged support for the fight to transform the *Bulletin* into a twice-weekly.

Now, the *Bulletin* will rally new forces in the trade unions to develop a Marxist leadership to lead all the struggles of workers consciously against Nixon through the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The Workers League calls on all trade unions, students and youth to rally behind the *Bulletin* to make the twice-weekly the fighting organ of masses of American workers in the struggle for power.

It is out of the fight for the *Bulletin* that a new generation of workers will be brought into a conscious political struggle and trained as Marxists. The *Bulletin* will lead the fight to establish local committees for the labor party and direct all the tasks related to organizing the defense of the working class.

The twice-weekly *Bulletin* will in this way become the most powerful weapon of the working class in defeating Nixon and building the revolutionary leadership required today.



Lessons Of The Popular Front Chile Today— America Tomorrow



Top Left: Chilean military is supplied with the most advanced weapons. Top right: Miners of the El Teniente copper works have been in the forefront of the struggle for socialism. Above: Salvador Allende.

BY MELODY FARROW

Vowing to "exterminate Marxism," the new military junta of Chile is attempting to systematically murder thousands of working people who are fighting back against the army's seizure of power September 11.

The military's rallying cry is "Jakarta," a reference to the 1965 coup d'etat in Indonesia in which millions of Communist Party members were slaughtered.

Fighting still continues between workers and troops in Santiago's industrial belt. Air force planes bombed the Sumar textile plant killing 500 workers.

General Ugarte has launched an unparalleled reign of terror and brutality. Thousands of people are being herded into a Santiago sports stadium converted into a mass prison or are sent to be executed at a second stadium in the suburbs. Amnesty International has received reports from one hospital of 5000 dead. Some prisoners are being thrown out of helicopters.

From November 1970 until the coup d'etat, the US government—from Nixon, Kissinger and the State Department to the CIA—played the central role in instigating fascist opposition to Allende and paving the way for a brutal dictatorship over the Chilean people.

As now admitted by Jack Kubisch, Assistant Secretary for Latin-American affairs, "the highest levels" in Washington were directly informed of the coup the day before and decided on a "hands off" policy. Prior warnings were received at least 10 days earlier. The New York Times reports that the US ambassador, Nathaniel Davis, was closely involved in planning the coup.

The role of Nixon and the American cor-

porations in attacking Chilean workers and poor peasants is of direct concern to American workers. If they will use dictatorship to defend their profits in Latin America, then they will not hesitate to be equally, if not more ruthless in beating back the struggles of workers here to defend their living standards.

In overthrowing Allende, the capitalists and military men did not fear the hesitant and minor reforms of his government, but feared the strength of the powerful Chilean working class, one of the most militant in Latin America.

Allende could not defend the workers against the right wing or build socialism, as he claimed, because he accepted the framework of capitalism and all its institutions and thus of necessity became a prisoner of the Chilean and international bourgeoisie.

His program of a "parliamentary road to socialism," of nationalization and land reform were conceived as gradual reforms within capitalism through class peace between the working class and the capitalist class.

CRISIS

His Popular Unity coalition, composed of his own Socialist Party, the Communist Party and several small bourgeois parties, was immediately faced with a staggering economic crisis.

The Chilean economy is totally dependent on the world market, especially the world price for copper, its major export, which was falling when Allende was elected in 1970.

Because of this position, Chile had the highest foreign debt of any country in the world—two to three billion dollars—more than half of it owed to American banks and investors. This was aggravated by a flight of capital and a 30 percent drop in private investment in Chile following the election.

The backward condition of the economy, created by the exploitation of imperial-

ism, meant that without international credit and loans Chile could not survive. Therefore, Allende's first concern was to reassure the capitalist sharks of American and European banks.

Nationalizations covered only a minority of the major enterprises and where they were instituted, such as in the copper mines and textile industry, the workers had no real voice. The state-appointed managers of these companies became the most corrupt by profiteering in the black market.

Allende was forced to use the printing press to cover over the crisis in production. While industrial production rose barely 3 percent, the volume of paper money in circulation doubled in 1971 alone. This was the cause for a fantastic rate of inflation that has now reached an annual rate of 280 percent.

At the same time, foreign exchange earnings fell from \$500 million to \$120 million in the first year of Allende's regime. Almost all of Chile's food has been imported at tremendous cost.

Although workers had initially received a 30 percent wage boost their real living standards were rapidly falling.

But rather than attack the source of the inflation, capitalism, and expropriate the large estates and industries, Allende turned on the workers who had supported him and exhorted them to "sacrifice." He launched a "battle for production" and attacked strikes for higher wages, a campaign which was loudly supported by the Chilean Communist Party.

On May 30 of this year the Politburo of the CP declared that in order to "save Chile" from inflation, "wage claims of individual categories must be postponed. Wages must be linked to output. Material bonuses should be granted."

From the beginning, the wealthy capitalists, the right-wing parties, the Christian Democrats and the fascist

National Party, bided their time, waiting for a favorable opportunity to get rid of Allende. They never had any intention of cooperating with the Popular Unity regime, but carefully planned a campaign of political and economic sabotage to weaken it and pave the way for a coup.

In December 1971, the first big demonstration of 10,000 middle class women protesting shortages and rising prices was held in Santiago. The shortages were actually created deliberately by the middle class owners and businessmen who sold their products at double or triple the official price on the black market.

In response to the growing right-wing offensive, Allende refused to mobilize the working class, but called on the army to defend his regime against the left as well as the right.

In the fall of 1972 when truck owners and shopkeepers organized a strike, Allende appointed General Carlos Prats Gonzalez to the post of Minister of the Interior and brought two other military leaders into the Cabinet.

The strike was ended in October 1972 with a pledge from the regime that businessmen would be protected from takeovers by leftist militants. Troops were increasingly called out against factory occupations and poor peasants who sought to seize the large land holdings and divide it equally. During this period Allende declared:

"We reject any confrontation. We are going to keep this country from falling into generalized violence and even more from falling into civil war."

Every concession made to the military and capitalists increased Allende's dependence on them and encouraged the right

(Continued On Page 10)

Statement Of The International Com

The leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (USA) has chosen to open a public written discussion on the political questions underlying the split in the Fourth International which took place in 1953.

They have done this in the framework of the preparations of the Pabloite "Unified Secretariat" for its long-postponed world conference, now due towards the end of 1973.

What is noteworthy is that the SWP leaders present themselves as the champions of the split from Pablo revisionism; the defenders of Trotskyist principle and program against all capitulation to Stalinism.

In November 1953, the SWP published its "Open Letter" to the world Trotskyist movement. This denounced Pablo and Pabloism; and in consequence the "International Committee of the Fourth International" was formed, politically and organizationally independent of the Pabloite "International Secretariat." Ten years later, in 1963, the SWP went back to the Pabloites and dropped completely its association with the International Committee, and the "Unified Secretariat" became the new name for the revisionist center.

(Because of the reactionary Voorhis Act, the SWP could never actually affiliate to an international body.)

In the period leading up to the 1963 "reunification," the SWP was characterized above all else by refusal to discuss the fundamental theoretical questions which had split the movement in 1953.

Now, 10 years later, the sections of the "Unified Secretariat" and their supporters, the SWP, are deeply divided on all political questions of strategy and tactics, yet none of them is able to return to the basic principles of Trotskyism. The SWP finds itself in the minority internationally, and is now trying desperately to present itself as the defender of "orthodox Trotskyism."

Such is the enormous pressure of class forces as decisive revolutionary clashes loom up in all the major capitalist countries, that the revisionists are forced to return to the "split" questions which they arrogantly swept aside as "divisive" in 1963.

The first thing which must be said is that an enormous historical responsibility rests particularly on the SWP itself for having covered up these questions and disorientated all those militants who mistook Pabloite revisionism for Trotskyism.

The SWP leadership does not raise these questions again out of any concern for principle, but only because it has itself opportunistically degenerated even further in the last 10 years. Its adaptation to the petty bourgeois "left" in the United States now makes it hostile to even the most tenuous and formal international connections.

Joseph Hansen and his collaborators in the SWP leadership are preparing, with the discussion they have belatedly initiated, to free themselves for their own narrow, national, opportunist adaptation. For this reason, their presentation of the historical questions is completely distorted, in order

pragmatic"

The discussion refute is absolute national defense revisionist basis of problem into the method theoretical national the SWP

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For A Discussion On

The "Open Letter" of 1953 created the possibility of probing the depth of Pabloite revisionism in the period of renewed working class movement opened up by the East German uprising (above). But by refusing to carry forward a theoretical discussion of Pabloism, the SWP found itself in 1963 back with the Pabloites, whose policies in Ceylon led to bloody repression (below).



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Committee Of The Fourth International

pragmatically to suit the immediate "practical" purposes of the SWP.

The first articles published in this discussion* make it essential immediately to refute the lies of the SWP on this history. It is absolutely necessary that an international discussion be opened up, in the defense of Trotskyism against Stalinism and revisionism. But this can be done only on the basis of historical objectivity, with all the problems and all the documents brought into the open and faced up to honestly. This method is the absolute prerequisite of the theoretical rearming of the Fourth International. It is the opposite of the method of the SWP.

Contrary to the claim of the SWP spokesman, it must be said, quite unequivocally, that Pabloite liquidationism, denounced correctly by James Cannon and the SWP in November 1953, had long been developing inside the Fourth International.

Throughout the postwar period to 1953 the SWP was the leading sympathizing section of the Fourth International and had the major political responsibility for the development of the movement. There can be no facing up to the real questions except on the basis of recognizing and analyzing this refusal of theoretical and political responsibility and its disastrous consequences.

The political reality is that the SWP capitulated to the problems of permanent contact with the European sections. Good pragmatists, they pursued their work in the United States, and accepted Pablo as the European and international leader. Pablo

or any principled reunification. This is a lie, as the facts show.

In the spring of 1954 the International Committee sections in Europe unanimously proposed to the SWP that discussion be opened up with the Pabloites in order to



Healy...proposal for a discussion

struggle for clarification of all those cadres shocked and surprised by the split. This would have meant a discussion of all the major political and theoretical questions facing the movement.

This proposal was made in the first place by Comrade G. Healy. When the IC accepted

going rapidly back to Pabloite positions, and not the reverse. In January 1961, the SLL Central Committee addressed a letter to the National Committee of the SWP, drawing to attention the formulations in their publications which had a perspective of self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Above all, the SLL Central Committee analyzed the complete abandonment by Pabloism of the building of independent revolutionary parties.

The letter called for the immediate setting up of an international internal discussion bulletin and the preparation of a Congress of IC sections as the prerequisite for any discussion or unity at that stage.

The SWP rejected this discussion, engaging instead in its independent relations with Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank of the Pabloites, conducted through S. T. Peng. From this time they consistently avoided any principled discussion of the fundamental questions. And when the negotiations for unity came out into the open, they were explicitly accompanied by a commitment not to discuss the fundamental questions of the 1953 split.

When the International Committee, on the Socialist Labour League's proposal, then put forward the setting up of a "parity committee" of the IC and the Pabloite Secretariat, the SWP accepted this, but simply used it as a cover for their own behind the scenes "unity" negotiations with the Pabloites.

It is simply a lie to present the situation, as the SWP now does, as if the IC opposed unification of the world Trotskyist move-

in the ranks..."

The SWP, which now tries to put itself forward as the defender of principles, and to caricature us as opponents of unity, went along and encouraged the Pabloite Secretariat in rejecting these proposals.

Again, in 1970, when Comrade Healy, acting on a decision of the IC, approached the Unified Secretariat for discussion of all the outstanding questions in the world movement, the SWP, together with the Unified Secretariat, completely opposed this approach. They are politically consistent only in their permanent rejection of any principled discussion.

The real truth about the present attempt to raise once again the 1953 questions is very clear. The SWP went into the 1963 "reunification" with the rationalization that the old Pabloite liquidationism was gone, and it was possible to build the Trotskyist movement.

Instead, they are faced with the exact situation predicted in 1963 by the IC. The SWP, through its support of the 1963 "reunification," has played a foremost part in misdirecting a whole generation of the cadres of the SWP and the Pabloite sections. It is above all their rejection of political and theoretical discussion of the basic questions which has done this.

In point of fact, all the youth in the Unified Secretariat sections who tried to come to Trotskyism have been driven by the SWP into the arms of Pabloism. The SWP is as

On Problems of Fourth International

pursued his own revisionist course, building up his administrative machine and relying confidently on the inability and unwillingness of the SWP to examine or criticize the revisionist concepts which he smuggled into the theory and perspectives of the movement.

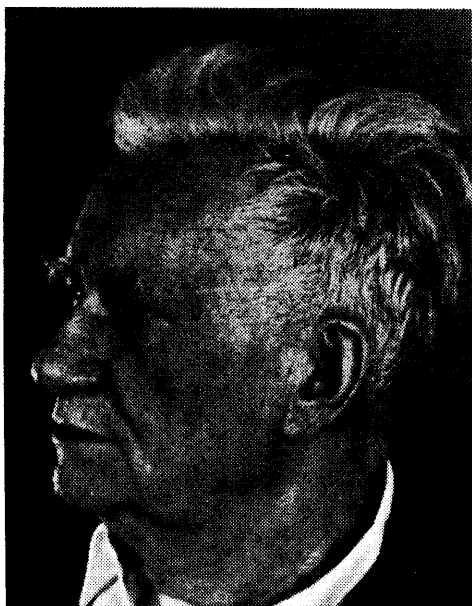
To blame this development on the difficulties of obtaining passports or the misdeeds of the SWP's representatives in Europe is to reduce great historical questions to the level of petty, organizational details. The task facing revolutionists was to overcome these problems. The SWP politically turned against Pabloism in 1953 only when Pablo's methods threatened the internal regime of the SWP.

The "Open Letter" of 1953 was absolutely necessary and correct. It opened up the possibility of really probing the depths of Pablo's revisionism and orienting the revolutionary movement, through that theoretical struggle, to the political tasks of the period opened up by the East German uprising and the French General Strike of 1953. The sections of the International Committee today still endorse completely the politics of the "Open Letter" as they did in 1953.

The split precipitated by the "Open Letter" (a split made necessary by Pablo's revisionism and its organizational consequences) caused considerable confusion in the world Trotskyist movement, and still does. At the time, the Fourth World Congress of the FI (1954) was pending. What was immediately and vitally necessary was political clarification of the questions underlying the split. This was necessary not at all to cover over the split, but to learn from its necessity. Today, the SWP tries to suggest that they did not really want a split. But their "Open Letter" concludes as follows:

"The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally...The political issues have broken through the maneuvers and the fight is now a showdown."

Next, the new SWP discussion material rewrites history to make the SWP the protagonist of political discussion for clarification of the split right from 1954, and to portray the Socialist Labour League in particular as the obstacle to any discussion



James P. Cannon: "Open Letter" of 1953

it and submitted it to the SWP, it was rejected by the SWP Political Committee and this decision conveyed to the IC in a letter of Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary.

The discussion could certainly have proceeded at that time, and was absolutely necessary. The reference to difficulty of travel and passports because of the aftermath of the McCarthy witch-hunt is nothing but an evasion, just as it was for the period before 1953. Year after year, the SWP allowed the split to continue without the theoretical clarification which would have resulted in great gains for the movement. The basic theoretical lessons of revisionism and the split, established a method of political work which came into direct conflict with the narrow national requirements of the SWP.

It is certain that after Dobbs' 1958 trip to Europe, all the international work of the SWP was used for behind-the-scenes approaches to the Pabloites, while all the time professing solidarity with the IC. Cannon and the SWP tried to justify their "unity" approaches with the claim that the Pabloites' reaction to the Hungarian Revolution (1956) brought them back to essential Trotskyist positions. In actual fact Pablo and Mandel advanced a program which excluded the political revolution.

The reality was that the SWP was itself



Farrell Dobbs, behind the scenes in 1958

ment. Mandel functioned on the "parity committee" for the Pabloites, and there was an agreed preparation of discussion documents and of procedure for their circulation in the sections. The SWP deliberately acted to avoid any circulation of these documents in their own ranks and sought only a way of effecting a premature "unification" which avoided the discussion.

It was for this reason that the SWP, having reluctantly agreed to an IC Conference before any proposal of a unification Conference, broke this agreement and prepared the "reunification" Conference of 1963 without the IC majority. The SWP feared one thing above all: discussion of the fundamentals of revisionism as the real preparation for a principled unification.

Hansen also knows very well that on September 27, 1963, after the IC International Conference, the IC wrote to the Pabloite Secretariat saying that "everything must be done to encourage the closest working relations under conditions whereby a principled unification of the movement could be achieved." Among the proposals made to this end were:

1. "That a world congress of the forces of the IC and the International Secretariat (Pabloites) should be convened during the autumn of 1964..."

4. "...that this discussion must take place in all sections, not only in the leaderships, but



Joseph Hansen...distortions about the SLL

guilty as the whole Unified Secretariat for the 1964 betrayal in Ceylon and every other Pabloite capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

If the SWP now likes to come forward, spuriously as the defender of orthodox Trotskyism, against the anti-Marxist line of Mandel, Frank and Maitan, this is the grossest deception. It is the SWP itself, with its opposition to any fundamental discussion in the world movement, which has provided the political basis for the revisionist majority and all its betrayals. The SWP's criticism of Mandel and Frank is a criticism by a party which is moving rapidly to the right.

The International Committee resolves to charge its secretariat with the responsibility of preparing immediately the complete documentation of the relations between Pabloite revisionism, the SWP and the IC since the years immediately preceding the 1963 split, and publishing forthwith the edited documents for international discussion.

The IC, noting that the crisis in the "Unified Secretariat" has driven the SWP, in its own distorted way, to open up the questions of 1953, challenges the SWP and the "Unified Secretariat" to a full investigation and public discussion to establish the historical truth of this whole period.

August 24, 1973

"Education for Socialists" (SWP)
June 1973

(Continued From Page 7)

wing to step up their attacks.

Whole sections of workers and peasants who originally supported Allende became hostile or indifferent to him because of his failure to offer them anything.

Military men were again appointed to high positions in the coalition several times this year and each time they used their power to demand greater control over every aspect of Chilean affairs.

In fact, the coup d'etat was led by the very same generals, Ugarte of the army and Guzman of the air force, who only a few weeks before had been appointed to these posts by Allende to help his government.

For all the talk of socialism, Allende was forced deeper and deeper into collision with the working class because at every stage he began with preserving the bourgeois state.

The Chilean working class was disarmed politically with illusions of a peaceful way to build socialism while the imperialists and capitalists in Chile planned a brutal and violent counterattack.

COMPROMISE

The period of compromise between the classes, or reforms to the working class on which Social Democracy rests, is over. Chile has shown through the sacrifice of many innocent working people that capitalism will not relinquish its interests without a life and death struggle.

In every country of the world, the capitalists are busy preparing for civil war to drive back the working class to a level of exploitation that will mean starvation for masses of people.

Yet in Chile, the Communist Party, following the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" of the Soviet bureaucracy led the working class totally unprepared to this situation. The defeat could have been avoided if the workers had been mobilized and armed in advance, and most importantly, if they had been organized independently of Allende to take power.

Only one week before the coup, Pravda, the official Soviet paper blandly reassured its readers: "If we believe the reports of some information agencies about developments in Chile, then we get the impression that the government of National Unity is just before its downfall. But this is far from it."

Not just the Chilean Stalinists, but the American Communist Party must bear responsibility for the coup and its consequences.

ROSY

The American CP held up the Popular Unity government as a model for development and week after week painted a rosy picture of events in Chile, deliberately covering up the enormous crisis Allende faced.

For example, James Jackson, National Education Director of the CP wrote on August 29 in the party's newspaper *Daily World*:

"They have broken the stranglehold of the imperialist monopolists over their country and smashed the old home-grown oligarchy of the wealthy parasites."

As we have seen from the economic situation in Chile, this assertion is a complete lie. The CP sought to create the impression that some kind of socialist system had been quietly established in Chile.

The American CP must especially take responsibility for the actions of the military because they supported uncritically Allende's decision to bring them into the Cabinet and to put them in charge of internal security.

A *Daily World* editorial on August 15 stated: "The inclusion of four military commanders in the Cabinet and its reconstitution as the National Security Cabinet testifies to the acuteness of the peril and Allende's determination to quell the fascist threat." In the August 28 issue, the *Daily World* directly praised the army for maintaining a "professional role despite pressure from the right."

What does this mean? The only professional role the army has is the business of defending the interests of the capitalist state. They are not neutral. In defending the military, the *Daily World*, like Allende, wants to maintain the bour-



Top center: Student is beaten and dragged away during university uprising. Above center: Military tanks cruise downtown Santiago in hunt for snipers.

geois institutions of capitalism.

In the critical weeks before the show-down, the Stalinists offered the workers no concrete way they could stop the fascists. Like the declarations of the Chilean United Workers Federation, the trade union body, they merely told members to "be ready to smash them." Its only action was a futile 48-hour protest strike on August 21.

Neither Allende, the Chilean trade unions or the Chilean Communist Party or the American Communist Party ever called for a general strike or for the arming of the entire working class and peasantry. Will the Stalinists now justify this open betrayal as they did after the French General Strike of 1968 by saying it was not a revolutionary situation?

ISOLATED

The truth is the working class was not in power in Chile. Because it had been isolated factory by factory and urged to play only a passive role by its leadership it was not able to stop the military despite its tenacious and heroic resistance.

The defeat of the coup required the revolutionary mobilization of the working class and the formation of a workers and peasants government, which the Stalinists oppose.

In the United States the Communist Party proposed as a defense of the Chilean government that its readers write letters to Congress and, in their own words, "to the media and the press demanding guarantees against interference." On the day of the coup, the *Daily World* suggested telegrams be sent to Nixon himself, the man who plotted Allende's overthrow, demanding a "hands off" policy.

On September 12 the Stalinists organized a march on the United Nations led by Angela Davis who told the demonstrators

that: "Chile has been the beacon of light for people throughout the world." She called on the UN to intervene.

Throughout Latin America today every revisionist organization has caved in to the pressure of the Stalinists and accepts their domination over the working class.

In Chile, the MIR (Revolutionary Leftist Movement) which at first led peasant land seizures later followed Castro's advice and ceased its criticism of Allende.

BOLIVIA

In 1971 in Bolivia the Stalinists told the workers that the president, Juan Jose Torres, a military man, would stop the threat of a coup. When the attack began, Torres fled the country and the unarmed workers were left on their own. Guillermo Lora of the Revolutionary Workers Party who had a large following among the miners was in complete agreement with the Stalinists.

Lora, like all the centrists in Latin America, claiming they have broken with Stalinism, but never having joined the international Trotskyist movement, today lines up with the worst traitors of the labor movement.

In the United States, the Stalinists will seek to carry out the same betrayal by telling the working class to rely on Congress to fight Nixon and to carry out social reforms.

Military coup d'etats will now no longer be confined to the underdeveloped countries. We have all the makings of a virtual presidential coup by Nixon over the Watergate tapes.

Nixon seeks to establish legal arguments for assuming unchecked powers that place him above the law, the courts and Congress. The issues of law and order and national security are constantly being whipped up to justify repressive and il-



legal acts by the police.

Nixon now relies on a small inner circle of right-wing advisers and more and more on military men such as General Haig who is now his chief adviser. Nixon is consciously testing out the working class and its leadership, seeking to create favorable conditions for the imposition of a dictatorship. The American capitalists are preparing for this through their actions in Chile.

We live in a period where because of the crisis of the economic system of capitalism, the future of the working class will be decided through civil war, in which either the working class will assert its own rule or the capitalists will impose theirs with war and fascism.

Civil war is the conscious decision of the capitalist class. There is no middle road and no peaceful way of resolving this crisis.

POWERFUL

The working class enters this situation in a powerful position. In the 1930s the French and Spanish Communist Parties entered into Popular Front governments like the Allende regime with a section of the bourgeoisie. These governments came at a time of defeat for the working class after Stalinism had allowed Hitler to come to power in Germany.

Today the working class in Latin America is just at the beginning of a tremendous revolutionary upsurge while powerful political struggles are opening up in the advanced capitalist nations. Stalinism is in the deepest crisis in its history while the Trotskyist movement such as the Liga Comunista in Peru is rapidly gaining strength and support among workers.

We place the events in Chile in this perspective. While the Chilean workers have suffered a defeat which cannot be minimized, the conditions exist to learn the lessons and on this basis to take forward the struggle to build a revolutionary party in Chile. Today the Bolivian workers are once again defying the Banzer dictatorship despite their severe setback in 1971.

Only the construction of sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, which throughout its history has fought to expose and destroy Stalinism, can assure victory.



Henry Kissinger

Roger Sherwood
books

The Company
Mr. Mandel Keeps

TROTSKY: Great Lives Observed. Edited by Irving H. Smith. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973. \$2.45.

Ernest Mandel, of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, has contributed to a book on Trotsky which also carries articles from a Soviet Stalinist and Sir Winston Churchill.

The book, in the "Great Lives Observed" series, contains a chapter by one A. Basmanov.

This man denounces Trotskyism as an attempt "to disrupt and destroy the international working class movement from within."

Trotsky himself is described as "that irreconcilable enemy of Leninism."

Basmanov records with approval that the Trotskyists were "expelled in the 1920s and 1930s from Communist and workers' parties," thus implicitly supporting the campaign of lies and butchery during which Stalin murdered millions of people in those years.

The Fourth International, according to this Stalinist hack, is "a political trend hostile to the working class."

Its program, he goes on, "was based on a political trend hostile towards everything that Communists and the international working class movement as a whole fought for."

Trotskyists, he says, are in favor of war "as the mother of revolution."

LIES

In still more lies, he accuses Trotsky of being opposed to the October Revolution and against Lenin's demand to turn the imperialist war into civil war.

All this old Stalinist hogwash has long since been exposed by the Fourth International.

Yet now it is given credence by Mandel, who sees nothing wrong in contributing to a book that contains such vile rubbish.

The very next section after Basmanov's poison is called "The Trotsky Debate Continued."

It consists of a friendly disagreement over Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution between Nicholas Krasso and Ernest Mandel, being a reproduction of their articles written in 1972.

While the Stalinists consider Trotskyism something to be kicked, beaten and driven out of the labor movement by any measures, including murder, Mandel regards Trotskyism as a subject for "debate."

Mandel in fact makes large concessions to Stalinism in his article, presenting a totally anti-Trotskyist posi-



tion. The revolutionary defeats of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, he claims, were due to "inadequate leadership."

This in 1972! But ever since Stalin deliberately divided and weakened the German working class and permitted Hitler to come to power in 1933, Trotskyists have defined Stalinism as the largest counterrevolutionary force in the workers' movement on a world scale.

Mandel, however, puts it differently. Here is his version:

"Trotsky tirelessly fought for a correct policy for the communist movement. By advocating incorrect policies, Stalin contributed heavily to the defeat of those revolutions." (Emphasis Mandel's.)

It is not a matter of correct versus incorrect policies, nor for that matter of "heavy contributions," but of a fight to

the death between Trotskyism and Stalinism, between revolution and conscious treachery.

Mandel can contribute to the same book as a Stalinist because he has abandoned the Trotskyist position on Stalinism.

He has forgotten the river of blood which separates Trotskyism from Stalinism.

But not only is there the Stalinist's contribution alongside Mandel's, but also one from that inveterate enemy of the working class, Winston Churchill.

Churchill, writing on Trotsky's application to be admitted to Britain following his exile to Turkey, writes about "Leon Trotsky, alias Bronstein."

Trotsky, says Churchill, was based on "the Communist criminal class...criminals...apes...wolves."

This is what we find inside a book to

Left: Winston Churchill, and above Ernest Mandel, who saw nothing wrong with contributing to the same book on Trotsky as Churchill.

which Mandel contributes:

"(Trotsky) like the cancer bacillus, he grew, he fed, he tortured, he slew."

The whole poisonous article is on that level:

"The dull squalid figures of the Russian Revolution... (are) lost in a vast process of Asiatic liquefaction."

What is there to be said about a self-professed "Trotskyist" who permits his material to be published along with such reactionary vomit?

Nothing, except that he is an enemy of genuine Trotskyism. And in fighting his enemies he has found his friends.

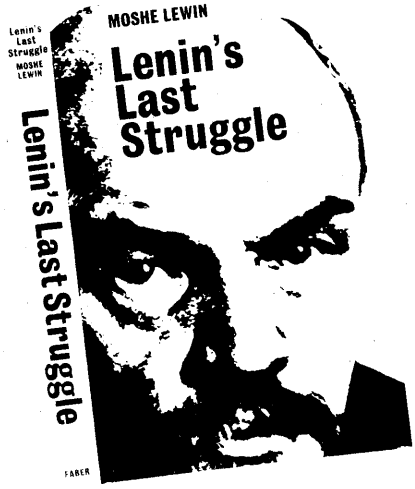
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1199 Leaders Give Hospitals Pay Ultimatum

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

Hospital workers Local 1199 has sent a letter to the League of Voluntary Hospitals and the Cost of Living Council setting an October 15 strike deadline on the 7.5 percent second year pay increase for 30,000 workers in New York voluntary hospitals.

The union letter warns that 1199 members are "unable to meet their budget of 1973 on the wages of 1972" and will "consider themselves released from any obligation from working" unless the full provisions of the contract are enforced by October 15.

The 1199 leadership is sitting on a powder keg. The rank and file will not wait another year as they did for the first year increase. Instead there is more and more talk about a wage reopener to catch up with inflation.

At last month's Guild delegates assembly, the 1199 delegates angrily dissented with Davis' proposed endorsement of Abraham Beame for Mayor. The proposal was rejected by a voice vote. More and more workers are fed up with the Democrats and the lesser of two evils policy of the union leaders.

Clerks Back In Philly

BY A REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—Local 1357 of the Retail Clerks Union has ended a strike and ratified their new contract after receiving assurances from the Cost of Living Council that their contract would be accepted by the government.

This three day strike, conducted over objections from the union leadership, was a result of action by the Cost of Living Council on the retail clerks' previous contract. In July, 1972 the wage board denied their 19 percent wage increase and reduced it to 5.5 percent.

PAY INCREASE

The new contract provides for a pay increase of \$20.00 from the present \$160. Union leaders stated at the ratification meeting that the present contract only makes up for the 1972 rollbacks, which will mean the clerks would now be due an increase from the \$180 a week. This reveals the treacherous role of the union leadership.

Repel NCLC Provocation

The Workers League condemns the campaign of the National Caucus of Labor Committees to deny ballot status to the Communist Party in the upcoming New York City elections and its attempts to divert the fight for a labor party with its fraudulent "US Labor Party."

The NCLC has challenged the Communist Party nominating petitions and is openly appealing to the courts to bar the Communist Party from the ballot.

This follows a history of disruption and physical attacks on Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party election meetings since April.

The NCLC now emerges to do the dirty work of the police and the Democratic and Republican Parties in barring a working class tendency from participating in elections.

This deliberate appeal to anti-communism plays directly into the hands of the Watergate conspirators who aim to destroy every basic right of the working class.

Precisely at the point that the construction of a mass labor party based on the unions becomes a life and death question for the working class, the NCLC not only launches an attack on fundamental political rights but consciously seeks to prevent the development of a labor party.

This is the meaning of the "US Labor Party" set up by the NCLC. A small group of frenzied middle class hooligans doing the work of the police and linked by former members to the police itself, screaming anti-communist epithets, practicing violence against working class tendencies and working hand in hand with the capitalist courts proclaims itself the US Labor Party in order to completely discredit the fight for a labor party in the eyes of the working class.

Every worker and every working class organization must defend the right of the Communist Party to appear on the ballot and must stand united to defend workers' organizations and meetings from these NCLC provocateurs.

ITU Battles NY Times

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—Typographical Local 6 has indefinitely recessed negotiations with the city's three major daily newspapers pending the outcome of a court battle with the New York Times.

The Times went into court September 3 to obtain a preliminary injunction barring "unauthorized" union meetings held during working hours.

The case is actually an attempt by the publishers to

force the printing unions into arbitration in order to impose a wage settlement and automation clause the workers will not accept.

Whatever the outcome of this case, the unions will then face an attempt by Nixon to limit any wage increase to his 5.5 percent guideline.

Typographical Local 6 has already been informed by the Wage Stabilization Board that the third year increase negotiated with the city's commercial printers will be allowed to stand.



The picket line at Columbia University: students and workers.

Davis Backs Off Columbia Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Over 350 members of Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers Union voted here to end their week-long strike of Columbia University.

The strike by over 500 workers shut the cafeteria and crippled the library, computer center and comptroller's office. The school of social work was shut down in solidarity.

The university refused to negotiate with the union for over four months and simply offered a 5.5 percent increase on a take it or leave it basis.

Striking workers occupied the university personnel office to demand that negotiations begin.

The union leadership promised that there would be no end to the strike until a wage package guaranteeing a 7.5 percent increase was agreed upon.

STUDENTS

Tremendous support was received from the students who manned the picket lines and held several support rallies for the strikers.

Throughout the week long strike, the 1199 leadership refused to confront the political nature of the wage demands or to mobilize the forces to shut the university down.

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Attica Brigade who led the student support groups refused to expose this leadership and to fight for a policy to close Columbia.

The real perspective of the union leadership was revealed in

their decision to end the sit-in in the personnel office as soon as the university agreed to negotiate.

The meeting held to vote on the contract was led by Jesse Olsen, Executive Vice-President of Local 1199 who urged the strikers to accept a wage package of 6.3 percent with a minimum raise of 10 dollars for the lowest paid workers.

Olsen claimed that the fact that only a few university departments were shut revealed that this was the best offer the strikers could get.

There were bitter remarks from a number of workers who attacked the leadership for backing down on the 7.5 percent which had been won by 1199 hospital workers.

One striker said: "I haven't lost a week's pay in order to get an increase of \$1.25 more than was originally offered."

Although the contract was overwhelmingly accepted, it was clear that the workers had struck for the 7.5 percent and only went back when they saw the leadership would not fight.

The 1199 leadership has continuously opposed taking up a political campaign in the labor movement for the defeat of the wage freeze. Now, precisely at the point that inflation is raging out of control, they openly impose these guidelines on the ranks.

CLASSES IN MARXISM

for trade unionists

MARXISM IN AMERICA

1. Historical materialism and the development of the American labor movement.
2. The capitalist crisis and the tasks facing the labor movement.

NEW YORK

WED. SEPT. 26
Labor Book Center
135 W. 14th Street
Seventh Floor
Manhattan
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

BOSTON

TUES. SEPT. 25
At Boston University
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

WASHINGTON

SAT. SEPT. 22
All Souls Church Library
16th & Harvard
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Lucy St. John, Editor, Bulletin

PHILADELPHIA

THURS. SEPT. 27
Temple University
Student Activities Center
Room 303
13th & Montgomery
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Lucy St. John, Editor, Bulletin

MADISON

MON. OCT. 8
SUN. OCT. 28
University of Wisconsin
Memorial Union
Old Madison Room
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

CHICAGO

TUES. OCT. 9
MON. OCT. 29
Midland Hotel
Oak Room
172 W. Adams
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

ST. LOUIS

WED. OCT. 10
TUES. OCT. 30
Cabana Branch Library
Basement
1:00 p.m.
Peacock Alley
Community Center
75 N. Ewing
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

DAYTON

FRI. OCT. 12
THURS. NOV. 1
Downtown YMCA
Sage Room
117 W. Monument
7:30 p.m.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

Contribution: \$1 trade unionists
\$.50 for students,
unemployed

Minnesota Labor Votes Nixon Resign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL—Delegates to the sixteenth Minnesota AFL-CIO convention today unanimously voted to demand President Nixon's resignation due to the Watergate scandal.

A resolution from United Steelworkers Local 1938 in Virginia was the basis for this vote, greeted with loud applause.

The state federation's leadership, headed by President David Roe, did everything in its power to void the content of this resolution, which represents the workers real hatred of Nixon.

Strike Hits St. Louis Hospitals

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Workers at three St. Louis hospitals, Lindell, Mt. Rose, and Normandy Osteopathic, struck last week demanding union recognition, wage increases and improved working conditions.

The union, Service Employees International, Local 50 has been fighting for recognition of private hospital workers for a number of years. The Private Hospitals Association has refused to have anything to do with the union and has replied with firings and blackballing for union members.

In their first contract the unionists are demanding a 53 percent wage increase effective immediately. This will bring wages from \$1.85 and \$2.00 per hour to a minimum of \$3.50 per hour. One of the strikers said:

"I think the wage freeze is ridiculous. You cannot buy a chicken for under \$2.25 and you cannot take care of a family."

Another striker, discussing the corruption of Nixon's administration commented, "The Watergate investigations are phony. Nixon should be kicked out now. He's taking more and more away from us. The Democrats are no different. I think the building of a labor party is very important."

To win union recognition at the private hospitals the fight must be taken into the large hospitals. These include the Barnes Hospital-Washington University Medical School complex which employs 10,000 workers and the Firmin Desloge-St. Louis University Medical School where approximately 5000 work.

The organization and mobilization of these workers is not only essential for the defense of their living standards, but is the only answer to the Private Hospitals Association. This will break the isolation of workers at the small hospitals now on strike.

Last year, the Minneapolis Central Labor Council supported a resolution calling for a labor party, but the trade union bureaucracy has since refused to take any action to implement the proposal.

The convention leadership paraded a whole series of Democratic politicians before the delegates, most notably Senators Humphrey and Mondale. They had the same message as national AFL-CIO Political Education director Al Barkan: We are stuck with Nixon until 1976 and nothing can be done to remove him; therefore, "elect a veto-proof Congress in 1974."

The support for the resolution demanding Nixon's resignation emerged in this bureaucratic gathering because political issues now dominate all problems confronting the working class and cannot be shunted aside.

However, Roe and other state AFL-CIO officials introduce these resolutions only to bury them and to head off action by the working class. They intend to drop these resolutions in the wastepaper basket like they did the call for a labor party last year.

It is only through the building of new forces in the trade unions around the fight for the twice-weekly Bulletin that the labor party will be constructed and Nixon defeated.

Midwest News



Pickets from Teamsters Local 682 in St. Louis striking AALCO Express Company after company offered only 3.7 percent wage increase per year. This is only the second strike in 19 years.

Support Builds For Dayton Rent Fight

BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

DAYTON, Ohio—The rent strike at Colonial Hills Apartments continues to gain tenant support.

Over two-thirds of the tenants are supporting the strike which started September 1 when rents were raised \$10 in spite of lack of maintenance and rotten conditions.

Emory Bradey, who lives next to the rental office told us that

every time it rains the water from the sloping ground floods his porch. He pointed to the gaping space underneath his door and showed us how the windows hardly open.

"If there were a fire and my children were upstairs, they wouldn't be able to raise the

window to get out," he said. He told of the poor insulation and the fact that heat bills go up to \$55 or \$60 a month in the winter.

One tenant said she has lived in the housing development for 16 years and it has been 10 years since the walls were painted.

One of the biggest problems is the vacant houses. Every third or fourth house is vacant. Windows are broken out, litter is all around and strewn over the apartments, cabinets and doors torn off.

The children and youth have no play areas or equipment; what they had has been fenced off and the equipment allowed to rust. The children play in these empty houses which is a real safety hazard. Over 70 families have moved out since the rent strike began.

When the apartments were first built there were 16 maintenance men. Now there are five, and tenants are told to make their own repairs. The present owner is a realty company in Columbus, Ohio. A previous owner was a real estate company owned by Paul Tipps, Chairman of the Democratic Party in Montgomery County.

The increase in rent comes at a time when mounting inflation is taking away the very right to live. One of the signs made for the strike said: "\$10 Increase Means No Food in The Kitchen."

A leader in the strike said: "They used to say stay in school and get an education, but now people with college educations are getting laid off and can't get jobs. Many places won't even take your application."

"I used to feel I could at least eat in peace, but now I can't even do that. I have to worry every day about how to feed my children."

Reject Auto Sellout . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
nothing."

John Faulkner, a GM worker at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant, supports the call for a national auto strike. "Three percent, we cannot live on that. Woodcock is with the company."

Woodcock signed the settlement because he supports Nixon's wage cutting program and will not lead a political fight against this government to win a decent contract for the ranks.

The bankruptcy of the entire UAW bureaucracy was most clearly exposed yesterday when Woodcock told reporters: "I live

in blissful hope that the Cost of Living Council, having been such a miserable failure, will just go away."

Auto workers cannot live with this contract. The rate of inflation for two months is greater than the wage increase for one year that the UAW leadership has accepted.

Woodcock's betrayal must be answered by a massive "no" vote in every plant, and the Chrysler strike must continue around the fight for a 20 percent wage increase to defeat this wage cutting drive.

GM and Ford workers must join the strike in a national shutdown, for the Chrysler settle-

ment is clearly the model for the entire auto industry.

Never in the history of the UAW has such a rotten settlement been presented to the ranks for ratification. Even on the issue of compulsory overtime, which Woodcock had pledged to eliminate, the UAW has made all the decisive concessions to the company.

Workers will not have the right to refuse overtime. They can be forced to remain in the plants nine hours every day, six days a week.

Workers will have the chance to reject overtime every third Saturday only if they had perfect attendance records the entire preceding week.

Workers have not won a real 30 and out because Woodcock accepts the provisions that defer the payment of full benefits for another six years and there is no cost of living escalator clause on the pension.

Thousands of local grievances are unresolved. In order to get the ranks back to work by Monday, Woodcock has given local leaders instructions to settle strikes immediately and has warned that there will be no support for local strikes over grievances.

Woodcock is even threatening to put locals which oppose the settlement under receivership.

Auto workers will not be coerced and must vote "no."

Greet the twice-weekly in Minneapolis

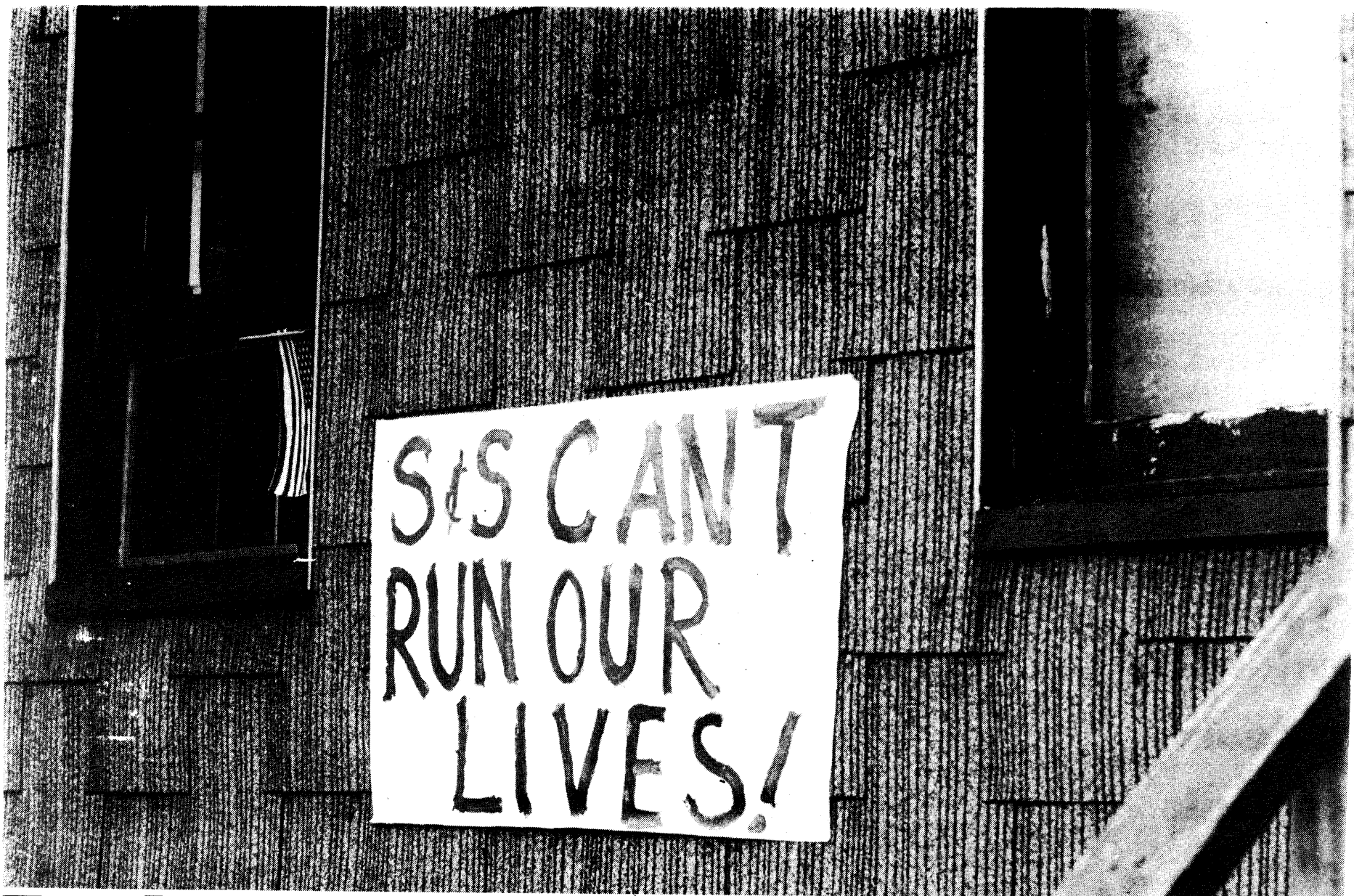
Sat., Oct. 6, 8 pm

Speaker:

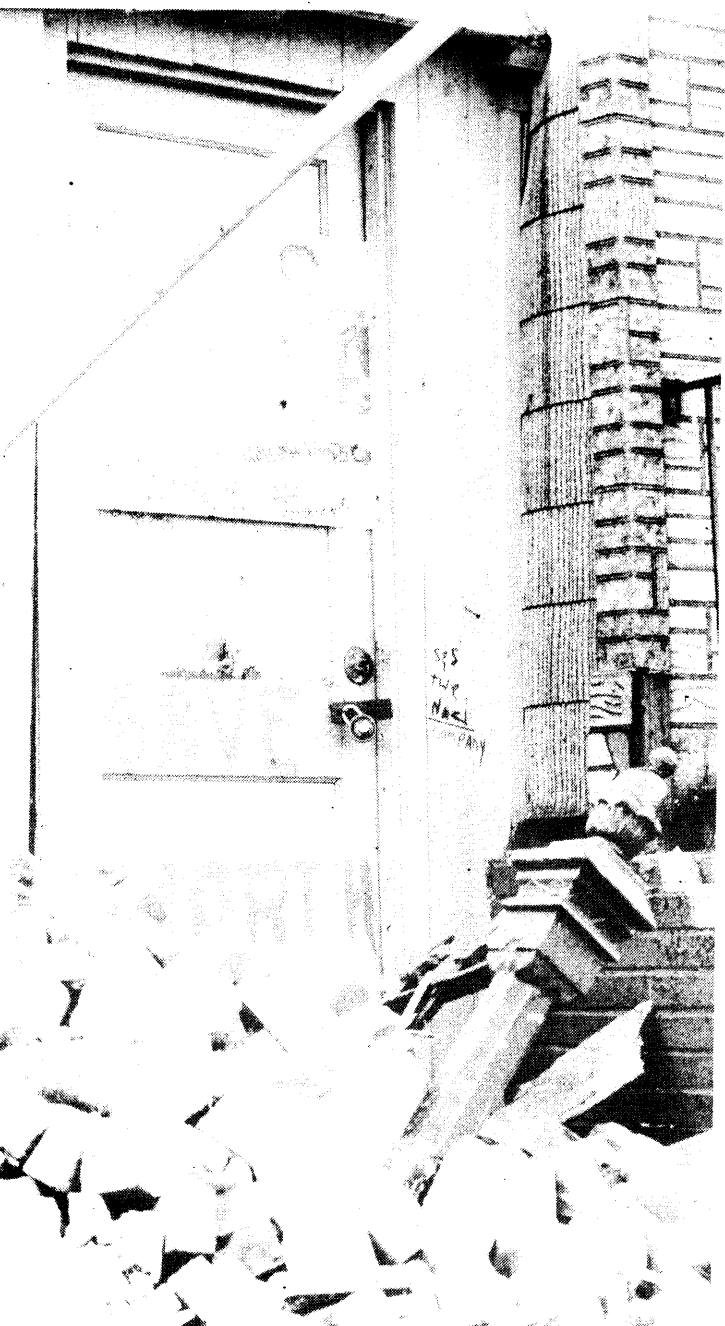
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Factory Throws Northside Tenants Into Street



BY BRUCE McKAY

BROOKLYN—The destruction of workers' homes was the price demanded by the S & S Corrugated Paper Machinery Company to stay in business.

The company threatened to move its plant to New Jersey and fire 500 workers unless the city agreed to condemn a row of houses on North Fourth Street in the Northside section to allow it to expand its facilities.

Mayor John Lindsay has backed S & S all the way, and residents of the Northside area have been fighting the city's attempts to evict them for three years. Their efforts have been largely confined to the courts, appeals to liberal politicians and protest demonstrations.

Lindsay moved to crush their opposition on September 12 after court appeals to the eviction orders were exhausted.

Over 50 police, accompanied by bulldozers and moving vans, moved in to forcibly evict the eight families staying in their homes in defiance of the city.

BARRICADE

The police moved in to break up a demonstration of more than 300 angry residents who formed a human barricade to stop the moving vans from entering the street.

It was a scene from the 1930s. Police terrorized the entire neighborhood. Two already

vacant homes in the center of the block were bulldozed into a pile of rubble in an effort to intimidate the holdouts—apparently in violation of the city's own building regulations.

The eight resisting families, including women over 70 years old, were literally dragged from their homes and thrown into the street with their belongings.

Many had hung out American flags and sang "God Bless America" while the city demolition crew and the police waged their campaign of destruction.

"It was just like Warsaw when the Nazis came in," an elderly Polish woman bitterly recalled.

TRAMPLE

"They thought the police wouldn't come in and throw the flag on the floor and trample it—but they did," said a youth who has participated in the fight against the city from the beginning.

"They came a day early. They weren't supposed to come in until Thursday, and a lot of people weren't finished packing their things away," he said.

"They came when the kids were in school and the parents were at work, so there weren't too many people in the houses but the old people. What can an old lady do against the police?"

The Northside area was settled near the beginning of the century by Eastern European immigrant workers, and some of those who were thrown out in the

streets here have lived in the same house for 40 to 50 years.

"They were hard-working people," one of the older Northside workers told the Bulletin.

"They came over here from Russia and Lithuania and the Ukraine and so forth. They settled here and went to work in the sugar houses and raised their families here.

"These houses are over a hundred years old, but they kept them up and were proud of them. This is one of the last neighborhoods like this that's left," he said.

Lindsay had proposed to move the evicted families into abandoned houses just a block away on North Third. Most of the families have refused, pointing out that the houses are "unfit to live in" and that they would once again face eviction when S & S implemented the second phase of its expansion plans.

Now, in an effort to quell the growing protest over the evictions, the city's Board of Estimate rezoned 28 blocks of Northside to prevent further condemnations and supposedly to allow the construction of new housing under government financing.

In the meantime, the evicted families of North Fourth Street are looking for new homes, with nothing but bitterness for the city and the ruthless drive of S & S for more profits.

IBT-ILWU Clash Over Ro-Ro Ship

BY DENNIS BROWN
LOS ANGELES—A few days after Labor Day, the Lurline, Matson Navigation Company's new roll-on roll-off ship made her maiden voyage.

Local 692 of the Teamsters union immediately set up a picket line which shut down Matson's operations for a day. Teamsters claimed that driving trucks has been traditionally done by Teamsters.

GARAGE

The roll-on roll-off ship—"ro-ro" for short—is like a huge floating garage. It differs from regular container ships in that the truck trailer, with its load, is driven directly onto the ship. It is fastened down until another tractor hooks up at the other end of the voyage and drives off directly onto the highway to the destination.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union holds that the work of loading and unloading ships is traditionally the work of longshoremen. Local 13 ILWU President John Pandora, while watching the teamster pickets, said: "Our union has a contract with the Pacific Maritime Association to load and unload ships whose owners are members of the association. We intend to honor that agreement."

TEAMSTERS

One Local 13 member told the *Bulletin*, "The Teamsters really make me mad. First the UFW, and now us, and to top it all off their president is hooked up with Nixon. They are trying to take our jobs away."

Both the Teamster and ILWU leadership are playing right into the hands of the companies. They are diverting the legitimate anger of the ranks at mounting unemployment into a conflict which leaves the companies completely free to slash jobs while the unions fight each other.

SLOWDOWN

Over the past three weeks, hundreds of longshoremen have been hit with a slowdown, with many getting only one day a week, compared to four or five days only a month ago.

At the same time, the shippers on both coasts have gone to the NLRB and the courts to eliminate all the work rules established since containers were introduced.

Judge James T. Rasbury, who is hearing the West Coast case, has already recommended suspension of the work rules, claiming "it cannot be said that stuffing and unstuffing of today's huge sophisticated containers is work historically or traditionally done by dock workers."

MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS

This threat requires immediate action by both the ILWU and the ILA. Emergency membership meetings should be called to make plans to defend the rights and conditions won by dock workers. The ILWU contract must be reopened and a campaign launched to nationalize the docks through the building of a labor party.



Striking retail clerks at Sears in San Francisco are defying an injunction limiting pickets to four to a door.

Sears Clerks Defy Picket Injunction

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—The month-old strike by Bay Area Sears workers took a decisive turn as retail clerks Local 1100 defied a court injunction limiting picketing. The decision to defy the injunction must be supported by the entire labor movement as the defense of basic democratic rights.

The injunction limits pickets to four at each store entrance, and 50 at each store. Up until now, the injunction has not been enforced and full strength picketing continues at both San Francisco stores.

One picket told the *Bulletin*: "We feel this injunction is wrong and we aren't going to obey it. I think they're making a big mistake, considering this is San Francisco."

A showdown between union forces and the police could come next Friday when workers from all over the Bay Area will demonstrate at the Army Street Sears store in support of the strike and in defiance of the injunction. Any decision to intervene with police against pickets or demonstrators

would have to be made by Mayor Alioto and would strip away the pretense that Alioto is the friend of the labor movement.

The intervention of the courts into this strike and the decision of Local 1100 to defy them has now raised all the political questions facing the labor movement. As a picket captain in San Francisco put it, "There is no other choice, labor must take the political road. The National Labor Relations Board is packed with businessmen, and the courts are anti-labor. As far as I'm concerned, a labor party is past due."

Friday's demonstration must carry forward the decision to defy the court injunction by demanding that a Congress of Labor be called now to construct labor's own political party.

CONDEMN MAOISTS . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

None of the *Bulletin* salesmen was seriously injured.

This attack is the culmination of a history of murder threats, physical intimidation, and harassment by this Stalinist organization against the Workers League and the Young Socialists. On the previous day, September 13, three *Bulletin* salesmen were physically attacked by 10 RU supporters and prevented from selling at the Ford plant in Milpitas.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists have prepared for the new situation signalled by the Chrysler strike, in which masses of workers have entered into political struggle against the government and in direct conflict with their reformist leadership,

by launching the twice-weekly *Bulletin*.

This giant step forward for the Trotskyist movement in the United States has thrown the Stalinists of the Revolutionary Union into the deepest crisis. They seek to carry out the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism, lining up with the cops and the government to destroy revolutionary consciousness and leadership in the working class.

The Workers League calls upon all trade unionists and working class political tendencies to condemn this attack on the democratic right of working class tendencies to freely sell and distribute their papers.

We call for joint action by all workers' organizations to defend this right against any similar attacks.

West Coast News Beer Dealers Use Armed Scabs, Dogs Against Teamsters

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Beer distributors who are trying to break the strike of Teamsters Local 888 beer drivers are now openly provoking warfare on the picket lines.

Three weeks ago, the distributors, led by totally non-union Coors beer, began running scab trucks through the picket lines in San Francisco. Each truck has two guards in addition to the driver. Coors trucks have three guards.

The first deliveries by scab drivers were assisted by a fleet of a dozen armed guards on motorcycles from Richardson Patrol, as well as dogs.

This is the first time in recent history that scabs have tried to break Teamster truck driver picket lines in San Francisco. The city government refuses to enforce an ordinance banning the use of professional strike-breakers.

One picket said: "We know these are professionals. But how can you prove it? Those guards are professional gunmen too and they are doing unloading work."

The Teamster bureaucracy, led by Joint Council 7 President Jack Goldberger, has confined the drivers to protest picketing outside of supermarkets carrying scab beer. After 17 weeks on strike, this is only fueling the drivers' frustration.

Goldberger is the chairman of the Ad Hoc Labor Support Committee which has mobilized hundreds of trade unionists in support of the strike. Beer drivers must demand that he mobilize the labor movement, particularly the 100,000 Teamsters that he leads, to shut down every distributor.

**Greet the
twice-weekly
Bulletin**

**San Francisco
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Van Ness**

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Speaker for both meetings:
Lucy St. John, Bulletin Editor

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WEST COAST OFFICE: 3327 24th Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94110

Phone: 824-4096

Brotherhood Leader Defends Woodcock

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT—The Brotherhood leadership of UAW Local 1364 has come out in support of Woodcock's refusal to take on the Big Three.

At a lunch-time meeting of the night shift Friday, the day the contract expired, shop chairman Earlie Mays told the ranks, who wildcatted four weeks ago, that they must support Woodcock's one at a time strategy.

"Call a general strike of all auto workers just for insulting us," one worker told the Bulletin. "With the prices of food going up, it is hard for a working person. I have three children."

Mays' sharp turn to the right has thrown the Maoist Revolutionary Union into crisis.

WILDCAT

Now some are still handing out Mays' leaflets while others have denounced his latest stand and are calling for a wildcat. But all the Maoists stand with Mays on the central question—their opposition to any political fight against Woodcock's collaboration with Nixon.

The Trade Union Alliance for a

Labor Party will be fighting at the September 23 membership meeting for Local 1364 to condemn this attack and affirm the democratic right of all political tendencies to sell their press and literature.

TUALP will campaign for a motion that Local 1364 shut down Fremont, send pickets to bring out the other three GM and Ford plants in California, and call for a national strike to shut down the Big Three.

Condemn Maoist Attack On Bulletin

BY A REPORTER

FREMONT—On Friday, September 14, 11 supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Union, armed with tire irons and wrenches viciously attacked unarmed Bulletin salesmen selling our press at the General Motors plant in Fremont.

Eleven RU supporters waded into our salesmen, slugging them, throwing them to the ground, and destroying over 30 Bulletins as well as Workers

League literature. Three police cars immediately arrived and drove into the plant.

One auto worker got out of his car and aided the Bulletin salesmen in driving off the RU goons. Another Local 1364 member stopped to defend the Bulletin.

He told the Bulletin: "I saw all those people parked across the street and I saw the police coming. Those people must be a GM goon squad like the farm workers had against them from the Teamsters."

(Continued On Page 15)



Forty-two Teamster drivers, receivers, and storekeepers have struck Westinghouse in Sunnyvale for three weeks, demanding 21 cents more than the settlement for the electrical industry signed in June. Vital deliveries are being cut off from the plant which makes sensitive nuclear equipment for the government.

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The first constitutional convention of the United Farm Workers National Union is being held at the most critical point in the history of that union.

Nixon's offensive against the basic democratic rights and living standards of the American working class has been conducted with the greatest ferocity against the farm workers.

All of the forces of the state in alliance with the growers, the banks, and the Teamster leadership have been thrown against the farm workers to break contracts and destroy the union.

At the Western Conference of Teamsters last week, Fitzsimmons made it clear that there will be no let up in the drive against the UFWU. Pledging complete support for Nixon, Fitzsimmons stated that outside of Delano, he will continue his campaign to sign fraudulent contracts with the growers.

The farm workers have mobilized massive support in the labor movement and the working class as a whole both in California and nationally. It is this strength which forced Fitzsimmons out of Delano.

However, Chavez has refused to take this strength forward to defeat the government-directed drive against the UFWU because this requires a break from the Democratic Party and a political struggle by the labor movement against Nixon, his courts, his police, and his wage controls.

Instead, Chavez has pulled the pickets off of the table grape fields with dozens of growers still holding phony Teamster contracts or unsigned contracts.

For all of their crocodile tears for the farm workers, the Democratic Party politicians who control the State Assembly completely abandoned the fight against Reagan's death penalty bill and, in fact, opened the door to its passage.

This bill is a green light for stepped up police terror, which has already resulted in the murder last month of two striking farm workers by the police and scabs.

The very life of the UFWU and the entire working class demands that this political fight not be put off. This convention must call upon the entire labor movement to convene a Congress of Labor to defend the UFWU and all unions by forcing Nixon to resign and constructing a labor party to unite the working class around socialist policies.

Carta Abierta a la UFW

La primera convención constitucional de la Union Nacional de Trabajadores Agrícolas Unidos tiene lugar en la época más crítica de la historia de la union.

La ofensiva de Nixon en contra de los derechos basicos y del nivel de vida de los trabajadores americanos ha sido conducida con mayor ferocidad en contra de los trabajadores agricolas.

Toda la fuerza del estado en alianza con los grandes cosechadores, los banqueros, y el liderato de los Teamsters se han lanzado en contra de los trabajadores agricolas para romper sus contratos y destruir la union.

Los trabajadores agricolas han movilizado apoyo masivo en el movimiento obrero y en la clase trabajadora tanto en California como nacionalmente. Fue esa fuerza la que saco a Fitzsimmons de Delano.

A pesar de esto, Chavez ha rehusado usar esta fortaleza en contra de los ataques dirigidos por el gobierno contra la UFWU porque esto requiere un rompimiento con el Partido Democratico y una lucha politica en el movimiento laboral en contra de Nixon, sus cortes, su policia y sus controles salariales.

De hecho, Chavez ha suspendido los piquetes en los campos de uva de mesa cuando aun hay docenas de cosecheros que mantienen contratos caravelitas con los Teamsters o contratos sin firmar.

A pesar de todas las lagrimas de cocodrilo por los obreros agricolas los politiqueros del partido democratico que controlan la Asamblea Estatal han abandonado completamente la lucha en contra de la legislacion de la pena de muerte de Reagan y de hecho han abierto la puerta para que sea aceptada.

Esta pieza de legislacion le da la luz verde al aumento del terror policiaco, la cual ya ha resultado en la muerte el mes pasado de dos huelguistas agricolas por la policia y los rompehuelgas.

La existencia de la UFWU y de la clase obrera en general exige que esta lucha politica no sea pospuesta. Esta convención debe llamar a todo el movimiento obrero a que sea convocado un Congreso de Trabajadores para defender a la UFWU y a todas las uniones, forzando a que Nixon renuncie de su cargo y sea construido un partido obrero que una a toda la clase trabajadora alrededor de demandas socialistas.

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