

Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

HOOVER

JUL 30 1976

INSTITUTION

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FORTY EIGHT 323

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1973

FIFTEEN CENTS

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LABOR MUST DEFEND HOSPITAL WORKERS



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BY AN 1199 MEMBER

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Hospital workers were furious to learn that the Cost of Living Council has postponed any discussion on the increase until November 30.

This is a direct challenge to the hospital workers. The government seeks to turn this fight into a showdown and set a precedent for driving wages down even below the 5.5 percent guideline.

Yet the very same day, the Council voted to approve increases in hospital bills up to 9.7 percent and a 4 percent raise in doctors' fees.

William Abelow, head of the League of Voluntary Hospitals, and other hospital officials have been spewing out racist filth, accusing the strikers of "drunkenness" and of carrying knives and referring to them as a

(Continued On Page 12)

Nixon Demands Emergency Powers

BY DAVID NORTH

Nixon's speech Wednesday night on the energy crisis is a blueprint for massive new attacks on the living conditions

and basic rights of the working class.

While declaring that he has no intention of resigning, Nixon called on the Congress to grant him emergency powers unprecedented except for times of war.

He demanded the enactment of an Emergency Energy Act, which would allow him to personally order:

- Reductions of approximately 15 percent in heating oil for homes and factories;
- Curtailment of working hours in factories and a 10-degree lowering of the working temperature in the plants;
- Controls upon the movement of vehicles on the highways;
- Curfews in public places through restrictions on shopping hours and public lighting.

These proposals come from a disastrously weakened administration which can remain in

office only because big business has no substitute at this point and, above all, because the labor bureaucracy refuses to mobilize the working class to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative.

Hours before he delivered the speech, Nixon was shaken by a new report that his personal secretary had said that a critical tape recording of a meeting between Nixon and John Dean was marred by an unexplained gap.

But Nixon has told Congress that he will not resign under any conditions, and has demanded a drastic strengthening of the Executive Branch—that is, Nixon himself—to drive down living conditions.

Nixon makes these demands as the government is now confronted by an upsurge in the

(Continued On Page 12)

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We give special thanks to the Young Socialists branches in Philadelphia and Queens, which held two highly successful parties this past weekend. Philadelphia leading the way, raised over \$300.

We must now push ahead even faster. There are only three weeks left to complete the drive. We need \$4000 per week to reach our goal.

In The Midweek
Edition

•Part Two of
"Revisionist Falsifiers of Lenin," a special Workers Press feature on the British International Socialism Group.

•Interviews with the striking miners of the United Mine Workers and their families who are being jailed in Harlan County, Kentucky.

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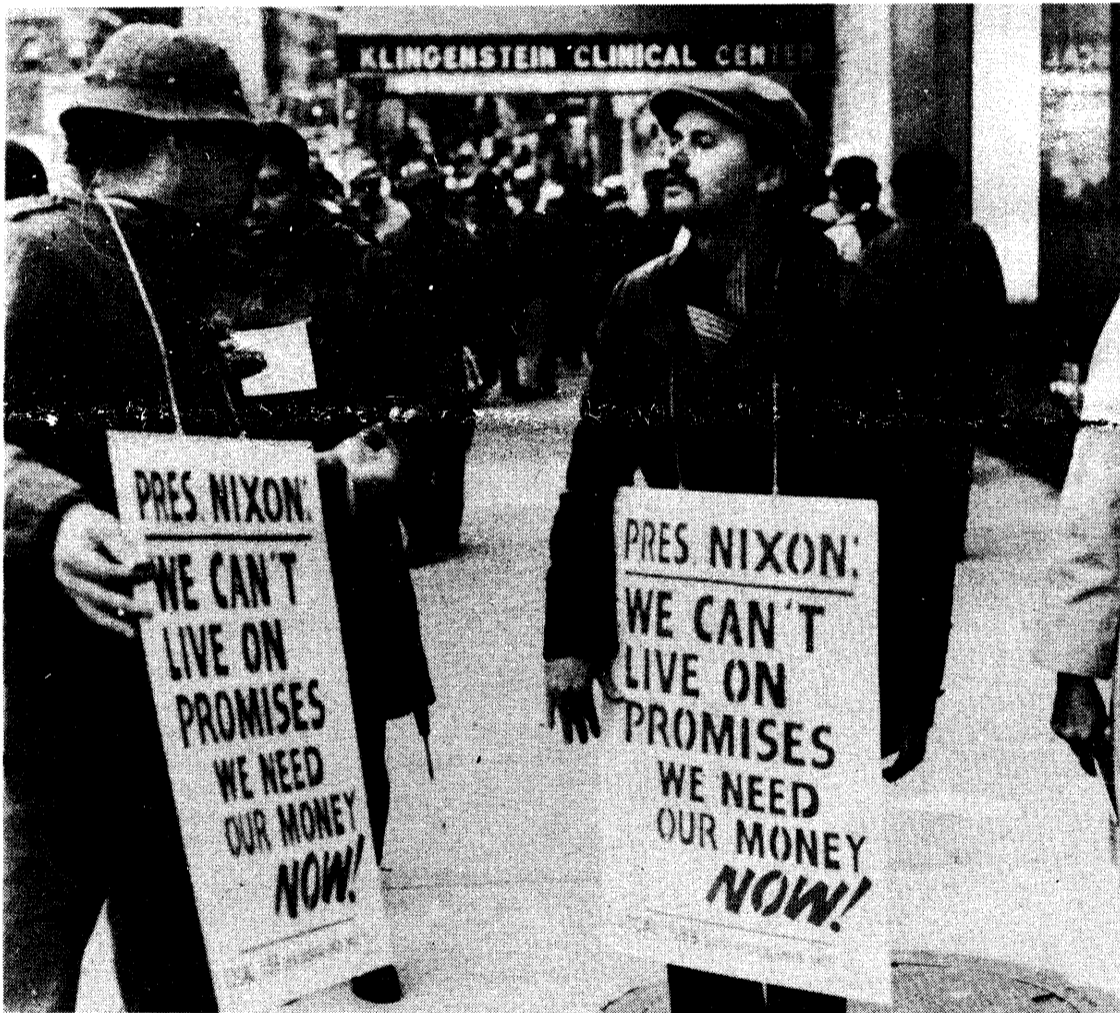
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Labor Must Construct Its Own Alternative To Nixon

We have entered into a new stage of the crisis of capitalism. This stage is now dominated by the tremendous movement of the working class.

In New York City alone an unprecedented strike wave of hospital workers, stewardesses, and newspaper workers is now underway.

It is precisely the strength of the working class that lies behind the historic crisis of the Nixon government and split within the ruling class.

The capitalist system is in the deepest economic crisis. The only way the capitalists can restore value is by taking it from the working class that produces all wealth.

But the capitalists face a working class that for 30 years stands undefeated and has built up tremendous power in its unions. It is now entering

into struggles to defend all the gains it has won in the past.

Virtually every major struggle of the working class is now met with the force of the government, with injunctions, jailings, fines, and police. In Lordstown, Ohio workers were fined and sentenced to jail for standing outside the auto plant before a wildcat was to begin.

In Rock Island, Illinois International Harvester workers fought in the streets with the police that tried to break up their picket line.

The working class is now utilizing the prolonged character of the governmental crisis to begin to move independently in struggle against the government and the attacks on its wages and living standards. This is the meaning of the New York hospital workers strike.

It is the fear of this independent movement now that

forces sections of the capitalist class like The New York Times, The Detroit News, The Washington Post, Time magazine, and sections of the Republican Party to react with panic and desperately seek to resolve this crisis now by moving against Nixon and calling for his resignation.

The New York Times is the spokesman for the Wall Street bankers and eastern big business; The Detroit News is the spokesman for the giant corporation, General Motors. The Washington Post speaks for the Washington establishment, the political center of the ruling class. Time magazine speaks for the right-wing Luce empire.

This fear can be seen clearly in the actions of The Washington Post. Faced with a strike by its own workers, the Post has launched out viciously against the newspaper workers, devising new means of strike-breaking, including building a walk to a connecting hotel to bring in scabs. At the same time, it calls for the resignation of Nixon now to try to resolve the crisis in the government for a decisive confrontation with the working class.

Right now the ruling class is paralyzed. They know they have to put an end to Nixon who says he will "tough it out," but they do not know how or who to put in his place.

Workers can see in the new offensive how this crisis can be resolved. It must be resolved in the interests of the working class by its independent political struggle and the formation of its own party.

While the ruling class is now paralyzed, this is momentary. If the working class loses the initiative, it will mean the crisis is resolved in the interests of the capitalist class, establishing a government with or without Nixon that will take on and try to smash the organizations and democratic rights of the working class.

This is why the alternative can only be built by the working class in this crisis. All sections of the ruling class and its two parties have been exposed as corrupt and willing to destroy the democratic rights of the working class to achieve their ends. The construction of a labor party is the central question today in all struggles.

Workers in their struggles are running up against the limits of their past practice. There is enormous strength now in the movement of the working class. The dangers lie in the present leadership of the labor movement, which in every struggle seeks to dissipate this strength, to isolate each strike and to keep the unions from the means for victory: the unity of the working class in a political fight against the government.

The role of this leadership is to try to keep the working class away from its essentially political tasks today. This is why Meany has refused to act on the AFL-CIO resolution demanding Nixon resign.

The present crisis is a crisis of the system, of the very way in which production is organized. It is a question of the fight by the working class for political power.

That is why revolutionary politics and leadership are required. Only this leadership can organize a practice which brings into every struggle an overall understanding of the whole crisis and the necessity for the class to unite politically to defeat this government.

This is the critical role of the twice-weekly Bulletin of the Workers League and Young Socialist in constructing a Marxist leadership in the working class.

It is this leadership that will organize the forces in the unions to fight for the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and Teamsters to call mass demonstrations demanding Nixon resign and a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

**What
We
Think**

Pompidou Opens War Against French Unions

BY MELODY FARROW

Under the guise of a "price control" program, the French government has launched a savage deflationary policy and an all-out attack on the wages of French workers.

The price controls are a fraud. Only the margin between retail and wholesale prices are to be frozen and a full economic review will take place in December. What the Pompidou regime is preparing is total state control over wages.

The ruthless trade war between the United States and Europe now forces the French capitalists to go to war against the living standards of the working class.

Francois Ceyrac, head of the National Council of French Employers spelled this out when he said:

"This inflationary situation cannot continue without extremely serious consequences especially for our exports."

ATTACKED

In the same breath, Ceyrac attacked George Seguy, general secretary of the CGT, the major trade union federation, for threatening a 24-hour general strike against the cost of living

and warned that this would place the country in an "inextricable situation."

Jacques Rueff, president of the Bank of France admitted that a "super-abundance of international liquidities" was creating uncontrollable inflation, and that it could not be solved by "monetary reform."

The crisis in the French economy has become so sharp that the major auto companies, Peugeot, Renault and Citroen, have announced plans to move to Brazil, threatening massive unemployment in France.

Another devaluation of the franc, narrowly averted a few months ago by injections of credit from the Bundesbank, is now inevitable.

Government figures for September show a .9 percent jump in prices since August. Meat has gone up 24 percent since last January and the price of eggs is rising almost 3 percent a month.

The French Stalinists have been forced by the rank and file to outline some plan of action against inflation, but they seek to limit it to reforms within the capitalist system.

The newspaper of the French Communist Party, L'Humanite, has published a six point program to fight inflation including a price freeze, a public disclosure of present price monitoring procedures, abolition of the Value Added Tax, and a reduction of military expenses.

This falls right into line with Pompidou's strategy. He seeks to line up support among the trade union bureaucrats for fraudulent price controls to disarm workers and then hit them with the most brutal measures.

Pompidou knows that the Stalinists do not have the power to hold the working class back. This is why the police and army are being trained in political espionage and are being equipped for civil war.



1500 French workers in the publishing industry rally against threat to close Larousse where 180 workers have occupied the printing plant.

5000 Greek Marchers Shout 'Death To Tyrants!'

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Shouting "Death to the Tyrants" and "Down With Papadopoulos," a crowd of 5000 demonstrators marched on Athens on November 4 in open defiance of the Greek military dictatorship.

The marchers overpowered a busload of police and entered downtown Athens where more police contingents charged them with clubs. The crowd went on the offensive, throwing stones and forcing the police to retreat with 31 injured.

In Constitution Square, police attempted to arrest demonstrators who placed the Greek

flag on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, but the crowd quickly forced the police to release them.

The marchers chanted "Abstention"—a call for boycotting the elections scheduled for next year by the new "civilian" cabinet headed by Spyros Markezinis.

The uprising began at memorial services for former Premier George Papandreu, a liberal politician who died five years ago.

This tremendous rebellion against one of the most repressive US backed dictatorships means the working class is coming forward against the six-year reign of the Greek junta.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John; Labor Editor: David North
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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Chile Junta Prepares To Welcome USSR Team

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The bureaucracy of the Soviet Union has given the fascist junta in Chile its blessing by going ahead with the return match of the World Soccer Cup.

The game will be held November 21 in the same national stadium in Santiago where 1700 workers are being held pending trial or execution. On October 30, soldiers began transferring them to other prisons.

Brezhnev is giving the Chilean generals a big boost just when they are seeking international recognition by fraudulent propaganda that on the spot killings have stopped.

But the repression continues unabated. Prisoners disappear and anyone found outside after the curfew is shot dead.

General Pinochet announced the state of siege will last at

least another eight months.

Workers are being driven into starvation by a projected rate of inflation of 600 percent. One pair of shoes and gasoline cost a worker 50 percent of his monthly salary, yet workers are denied the right to have unions to defend themselves.

The theme of the junta broadcast on all the radios is: "The party is over, now it is time to pay the bill." It is the workers and the lower middle class who are paying.

A Chile-USSR sports match at this time is the beginning of a move by the Soviet Union to reestablish full relations with the fascist regime.

Kissinger Pushes Arab Rift

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Henry Kissinger has embarked on a nine nation tour that will include Cairo, Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran and will wind up with a visit with Chinese leader Chou En-lai.

Kissinger's goal is to split the conservative Arab regimes who control most of the world's oil supply from Egypt and Syria and thus force Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to make concessions to Israel.

Sadat was careful in his news conference not to attack the United States and even praised Nixon for his "constructive position" in the negotiations.

The reason for this as he himself stated was "I would not fight the US as I would fight Israel. I am not ready to fight America."

The Syrian government, on the other hand, continues to oppose any cease-fire agreement that does not include total liberation of all the occupied lands and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

SYRIA

The Syrian Minister of Information affirmed: "Syria is not disposed to bargain and consequently negotiations with Israel would be useless."

Oil ministers meeting in Kuwait last weekend have decided to reduce oil production to 75 percent of its prewar level. This is another blow against the interests of US imperialism.

The war has thrown Israel into a deep crisis. Nixon has asked Congress to "donate" \$2.2 billion to Israel for military aid because Israel has not even paid back a previous debt.

WAR DEBT

The Israeli government is demanding every worker pay a compulsory "war loan" which amounts to a 7 to 12 percent tax on their income. This is in the form of a bond which if it is ever paid back will be drastically depreciated in value.

The US "pressure" on Israel is only for the purpose of luring Egypt into making concessions that will weaken its position and thus enable Nixon to go on the offensive. This is why Sadat's appeal to Nixon to act as "peace" mediator in a war created by imperialism poses great dangers for the Arab people.



Striking Guild workers from the Daily News at Manhattan Center meeting where back-to-work vote was pushed by the union leadership despite widespread disagreement with 4.9 percent wage settlement.



Anwar Sadat

The talks held in Washington with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy and Israeli Premier Golda Meir accomplished nothing. Sadat is under increasing pressure to renew the war and push Israeli troops out of Egyptian territory.

Sadat reiterated his position that Israel must withdraw from the city of Suez and return to the original October 22 cease-fire line. In his news conference October 30, referring to Israeli forces on the west bank of the canal, Sadat warned:

"I am keeping control over the military with the greatest difficulty because it would like to liquidate the pocket."

Al Ahram, the influential Cairo newspaper wrote that war is closer than peace and it is reported that former Foreign Minister Mohammed Hassan Rayyat has been replaced because he disagreed with Sadat's talks with the United States.

Guild Leaders Betray Daily News Strike

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, Nov. 7—Guild members striking the Daily News since Monday voted today over heavy opposition to return to work.

The decision came after the 1400 workers learned that they had been stabbed in the back by union leaders who had signed a tentative agreement with the New York Times for the same package that the Guild members at the News had rejected.

Shouts of "resign" and "impeach him" greeted Guild leader Jack Deegan when he at-

tempted to explain his reasons for sabotaging the strike at the News.

Although the members, who packed Manhattan Center for the meeting, were prepared to strike in spite of the Times settlement, unit leaders at the News discouraged further action by telling the ranks that officials of several craft unions had ordered their men to cross picket lines if the strike should continue.

The package represents a complete betrayal of the Daily News Guild members. The \$13.85 wage package, which had been called unacceptable by the Guild, is only a 4.9 percent increase.

COST OF LIVING

On cost of living, the ranks will receive no payment for inflationary increases after May 1, 1974.

Upon presenting the package, the unit leadership of the News Guild made no recommendation. But Peter McLaughlin, unit chairman, did everything he could to portray the continuation of the strike as useless.

However, McLaughlin had to admit that in spite of the tentative agreement at the Times, the continuation of the strike would have led to a shutdown of both papers because the Times had offered to print the News in its own facilities.

"If we reject this contract, our picket line will be in front of the New York Times," he said. "This city will go black, and we'll have a good long strike."

Workers denounced the contract when floor discussion began. "I think 4.9 percent is out of the question. It is a disgrace that it is presented," said one worker. "Don't tell me what we'll do in two years. Let's get a contract this year."

DEFIED

Craft workers defied an order by their president last night when he ordered them across the picket lines.

Tremendous support had been mobilized behind the Guild during the strike. None of the craft unions would cross the picket line, and the News was forced to suspend publication.

Nixon Backed Candidates Suffer Big Defeats

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, Nov. 7—Democrat Abraham Beame was elected mayor

yesterday in a light turnout which showed the disgust of voters with the candidates of both parties.

All candidates identified with Nixon suffered massive defeats. New Jersey gubernatorial candidate Charles Sandman lost by more than two to one. Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig, one of Nixon's leading backers, was defeated.

REPUBLICAN PARTY

Republican Party officials attacked Nixon this morning, declaring that Watergate is responsible for the debacle.

The trade union bureaucracy played the most reactionary role in this election by supporting the Democrats rather than breaking with both parties and constructing a labor party as the only alternative to Nixon.

In New York, almost every major union leader lined up behind Abraham Beame who is preparing the most vicious attacks against city workers.

Beame is on record as calling for major spending cuts in housing, education and welfare.

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US-Europe Split Over Oil Embargo

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Sharp cutbacks in Arab oil production are now adding to the uncontrollable inflation and worldwide monetary chaos to bring the tensions between the United States, the Common Market and Japan to the breaking point.

Facing the loss of 40 percent of its entire oil imports due to Arab oil production slashes, the Japanese cabinet has urged Israeli withdrawal to the pre-1967 Middle East War boundaries.

Japanese industries fear reduced output in key industries of 10 percent and as much as 20 percent by this spring. Japan produces only 1 percent of her oil requirements domestically, and with the soaring cost of imports, projects a rise in costs from this year's \$4 billion to an annual bill

industry.

Japanese oil producers are now threatening to cut off all supplies of jet fuel to United States Air Force bases in Japan as well as to foreign airlines. There is growing speculation about possible retaliation against Japanese aircraft.

These developments now bring into question the very continuation of NATO and of the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty.

CANDLE

A leading European banker, Dr. Diether H. Hoffman, has de-



Picket line set up by firemen in midtown Manhattan during their first strike against city. Union now faces fine and possible jail sentence for President Vizzini. For more news on firemen, see page 9.

Firemen's Leader Calls Off Strike

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—Eleven thousand firemen here returned to work after walking picket lines for five and one-half hours in the first strike in the history of the New York City Fire Department.

Richard Vizzini, president of the 11,000-member Uniformed Firefighters Association capitulated to pressure from the city and agreed to submit the firemen's contract to binding arbitration.

Vizzini has stabbed firemen in the back by submitting to the legal procedures of the city's collective bargaining law and climbing down on wage demands to a figure reportedly very close to government wage guidelines.

Under the terms of the agreement, Vizzini is liable to a fine and a 30 day jail sentence. The

union can still be fined any amount set by a judge. Individual strikers face loss of pay and the union's right to a dues checkoff can be revoked.

The very fact that the city was willing to provoke the union to the point of a strike reflects its determination to stop at nothing in its drive to take on and break the city unions.

Plans for the calling up of the National Guard which would have led to a major confrontation with the unions were under way before Vizzini climbed down.

The strike was over-

whelmingly supported by the ranks with the city reduced to the barest skeleton force of scabs.

One fireman told the Bulletin that there was only one driver and truck available in all of Manhattan. "We ask anything that is reasonable. The offer we got was ridiculous.

"Gas alone went up five cents a gallon. I do not care what they use, we have everyone out. These men are devoted. This is the first time in history. It is unbelievable. I have 18 years on this job and I never believed I would be out the door."

Another worker said: "If these men at the News can strike, we have got the right to do the same thing. These politicians are all crooks. Who are they to tell us we are breaking the law.

"If there's a catastrophe like up in Boston, and there everyone was working, it will be Lindsay's responsibility."

Despite all the hysteria whipped up by the capitalist press, firemen got big support from sections of workers.

"This is the saddest day of my life. I never thought I would see this happen. But do you see anyone passing by making any comments?"

"I am surprised by the support. I was really opposed to the Long Island Railroad strike because it hit the public, but now I just don't know."

Student Rally Hits College Budget Cuts

BY DAVE KELLY

LOCK HAVEN, Pa.—A massive demonstration of 1800 students at the Lock Haven State College, a teachers' college, confronted Pennsylvania Democratic Governor Shapp.

The students held a mock funeral for higher education in Pennsylvania, to demonstrate against the massive cutbacks in state appropriations. Shapp was on the Lock Haven campus attending a Democratic Party banquet.

Lock Haven State College is part of the state college system of Pennsylvania, and is currently operating on an eight million dollar budget deficit.

Shapp's "hold the line" policy for college budgets has thrown the 14 state-supported colleges into serious financial crisis.

Lock Haven State College, along with Indiana University (in Indiana, Pennsylvania) is already facing closure. At Lock Haven State, class sizes have been doubled, with students actually forced to sit in the halls of the classroom buildings.

A fine arts building, recently completed at a cost of \$3.4 million, remains closed because the legislature will not appropriate even the extra \$100,000 for lighting fixtures and furniture.

The militance of the students was demonstrated by the fact that almost two-thirds of the stu-

dent body, many of them commuting students from the towns of Jersey Shore and Williamsport, showed up in the rain.

The students carried signs and banners saying: "How do we impeach governors?", "Dear Mom, send money, Shapp won't," and "Is the legislature sleeping?"

Washington Post Fails To Print Scab Edition

BY A REPORTER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Typographers and printers for the Washington Post returned to work November 5 after forcing the newspaper to rehire Michael Padilla and halt production of the paper with nonunion labor.

Washington Post editor Katherine Graham deliberately sought to bust the union by putting out a "cold-type" edition of the paper with new automated equipment, such as an optical scanner.

When the printers heard about these plans, they marched in, tore the paper off the press and occupied the premises to protect their jobs.

Federal marshalls were called in and no one was allowed to enter the building.

Despite the temporary agreement, the Post may still proceed with a damage suit against the union for over half a million dollars. The US District Court announced that a hearing scheduled for November 6 on the union's defiance of a temporary restraining order would still take place.



Stewardesses out on strike against TWA. See story, page 11.

of \$15 to \$16 billion.

Since the beginning of the year Japanese foreign currency reserves have declined from \$20 billion to \$14 billion.

The nine members of the European Economic Community have now called on Israel to "end its territorial occupation" of Arab lands and condemned the "occupation of territory by force."

Holland, which maintains close relations with Zionism, has been hit by a total embargo on Arab oil and has been forced to institute severe rationing. Much oil is exported from the Dutch port of Rotterdam to European refineries and this crisis can rapidly hit the other European countries.

Germany already anticipates a 10 to 15 percent cut and is preparing rationing measures to conserve fuel. France has been forced to raise gasoline prices 8 percent and 25 and 21 percent for domestic and industrial fuels.

The Japanese dread power cuts which will force big drops in production and a rise in prices in the midst of runaway inflation. They fear further declines in an already severely affected export

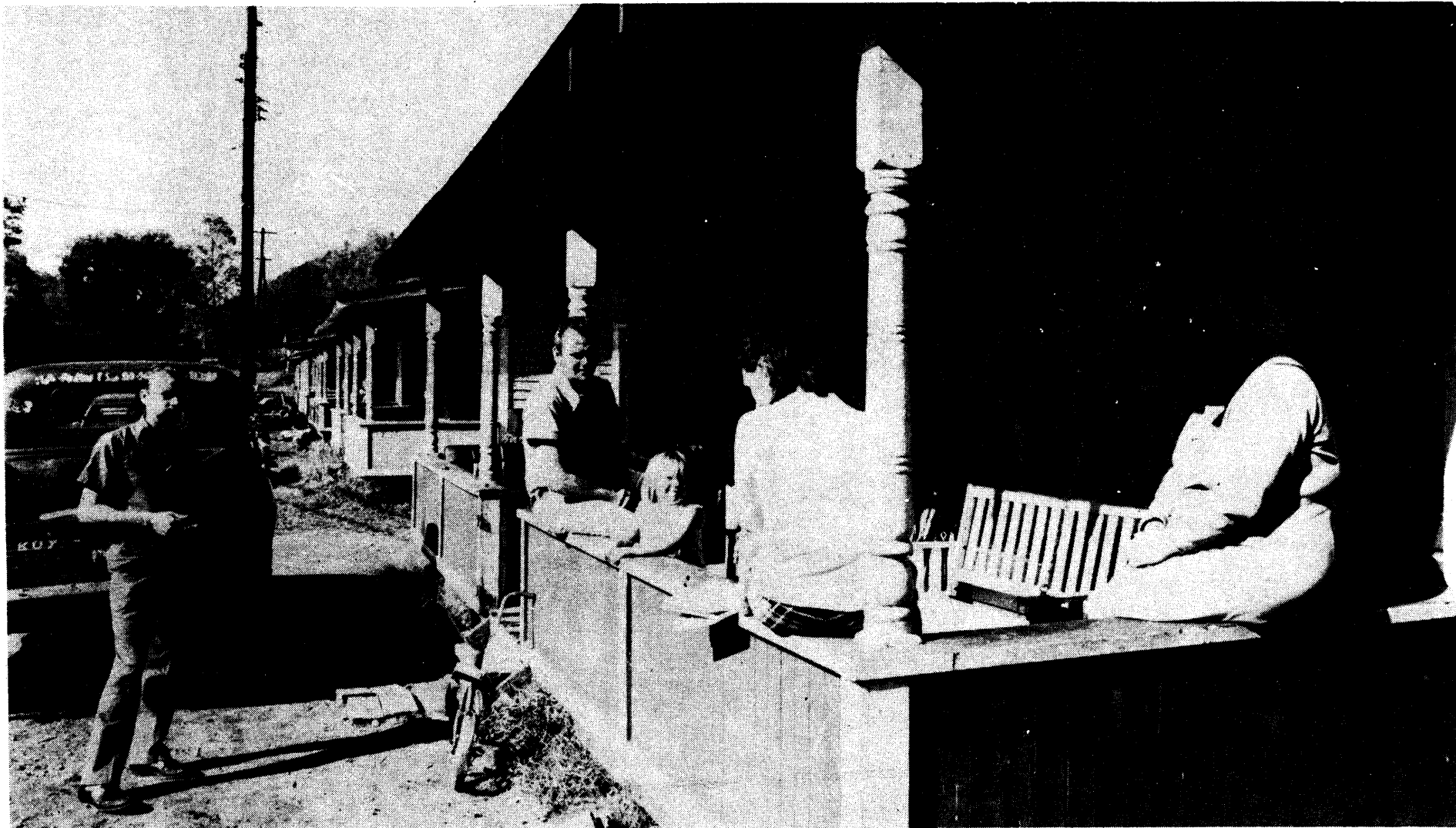
clared that the oil crisis endangers monetary talks by introducing enormous new forces for inflation. He described the disintegration of the Common Market as: "The spirit of Rome is now lit by a candle rather than an oil lamp."

The United States has publicly denounced the Europeans for refusing to line up with its policies towards Israel and the Middle East.

What the oil crisis now reveals is that as each imperialist power seeks to save its own neck in the midst of uncontrollable inflation, the conditions for new imperialist wars are rapidly developing.

The US dollar has risen spectacularly on the foreign exchanges against all major foreign currencies. This reflects not confidence in the United States but the conviction that devastating crises are about to hit Europe and Japan. The US now acts to force revolutionary conditions onto Europe.

American workers will face even greater rises in the cost of living as the impact of these developments begins to take hold.



A Fight To The Finish In Harlan County

**BY DAVID NORTH
HARLAN COUNTY,
Ky.**—For more than three months, virtually no coal has been taken out of the rich mines that lie in the hills beneath the property owned by the Eastover Land Company.

Directly below the entrance to the mines, at the foot of a hill, live the coal miners who have shut down operations. The two coal camps in Brookside are made up of primitive wooden shacks which are usually older than the men who live in them.

The Eastover Mining

Company is not only the employer of the miners, but also their landlord. Its parent firm, the giant Duke Power Company, has attempted to counter criticism of its brutal strikebreaking methods by claiming that the miners in the coal camps live in the lap of luxury.

Many of the shacks do not have functioning toilets or running water. Old fashioned stove pipe heaters are all that many miners have to keep their families warm during the hard winters.

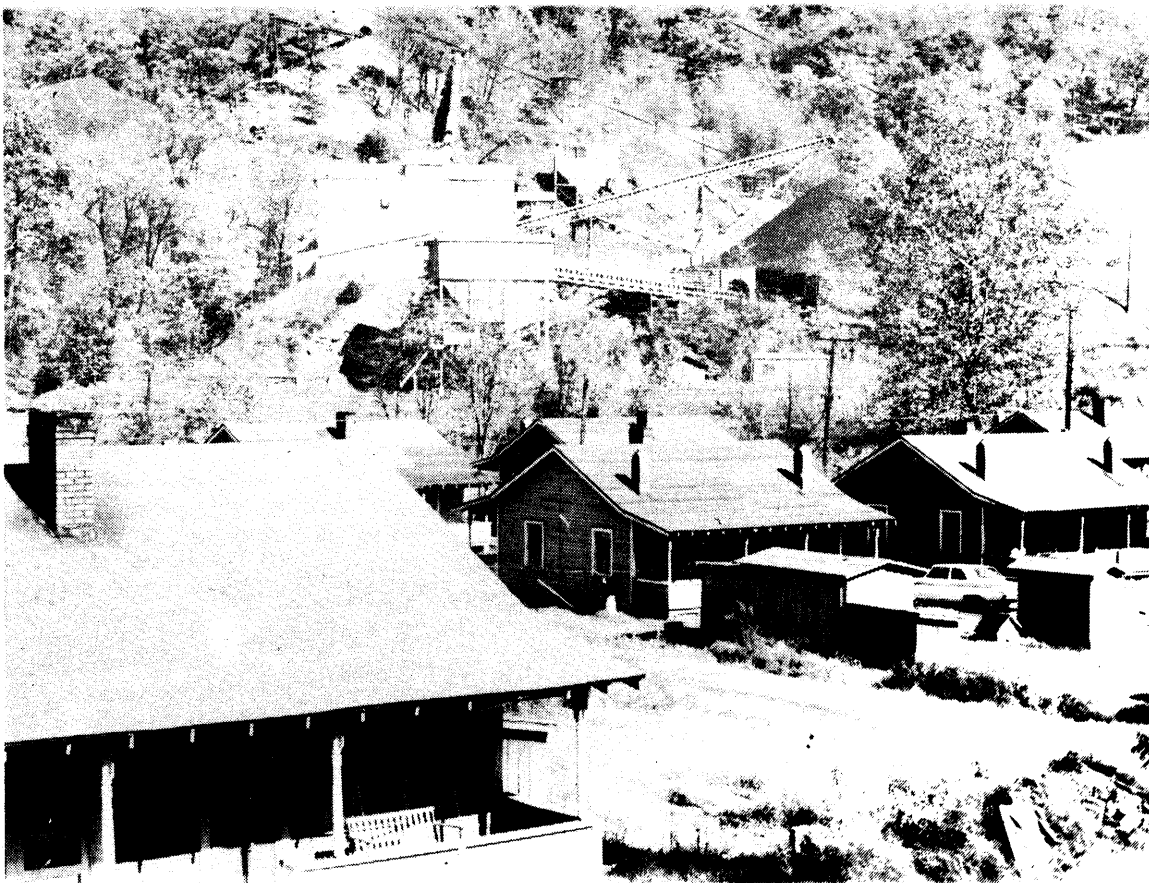
Wages are at least \$10 a day lower in Harlan than those paid to United Mine Workers around the country. Because the coal operators here do not pay portal-to-portal as stipulated in UMW contracts, the Brookside miners lose an average of one hour in wages every day for traveling time.

Now the Harlan County miners are fighting to organize the UMW. They are battling scabs, state troopers, assassins, and the courts. Women have joined their husbands to defend their picket lines. Children have gone to jail with both their parents.

"The UMW is going to get in here; I just know that," said Mary Widner, who was arrested for picketing and spent 30 hours in jail.

Roger Pace, who faces a possible 20-year jail sentence for throwing a rock, said as he stood on the railroad tracks that normally serve the trains that carry the bituminous coal of Harlan to the great industrial centers of this country:

"We got families and we are here and we are here to stay. If anyone thinks we are finished, they should know we have not even started yet."



PART ONE: CLIFF'S PHILOSOPHICAL METHOD AND THE QUESTION OF PARTY RULES

The following is a series reprinted from **Workers Press** dealing with the British International Socialists.

BY PETER JEFFRIES

In a recent number of the journal **International Socialism** (May 1973, No. 58) Mr. T. Cliff has written an article "Lenin and the Revolutionary Party."

Cliff is the leading member and founder of the "state capitalist" group "International Socialism" which in 1950 abandoned the Fourth International on the spurious grounds that the 1917 Russian Revolution had been definitively defeated and replaced with a new system of class exploitation, "state capitalism."

Over the last 23 years, Cliff and his group have been consistently hostile to Marxism and particularly to Bolshevism. Any references which they have made to Lenin have always been inspired with one aim: to oppose in practice and in theory the building of a revolutionary party.

In place of such party building they have always substituted the crudest forms of "rank and file-ism" which has always had the closest connections with the positions of syndicalism and anarchism.

Cliff's latest effort is no exception. In the articles which follow we shall examine in detail the distortions of Lenin which this revisionist is forced to make to serve the opportunist needs of his group.

But first it is necessary to deal with Cliff at a more basic level. For underlying all his treatment of Lenin's writings on party organization and building is a persistent and crass idealism.

The history of the Marxist movement has established one thing with great force and



Mr. T. Cliff

clarity: that all serious struggles between trends within the movement continually involve irreconcilable philosophical differences. Indeed, one of the great gains for the Trotskyist movement (represented by parties affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth International) has been its increasing ability, particularly over the last decade, to raise the fight against its revisionist opponents of all stripes to the level of basic philosophical method.

It is from this philosophical premise that we begin our examination of Cliff.

At one point in his article he states: "Lenin regarded party rules as a convenience, not something that ought to take great time and thought."

Here, in a single sentence, is the real essence of Cliff's entire article. For he tries to distort the history of Bolshevism, its struggles on organizational principles, from the standpoint of... "convenience"! For Cliff, history is to be seen from the point of view of the desires of individuals and their needs.

At one blow he utterly rejects the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism as the science of cognition of objective reality.

For the basic question, when examining all questions in the history of the movement, is whether they reflect changes in the relations between the classes, and whether important differences within the movement are ultimately a reflection of (antagonistic) class forces.

A materialist must answer this question with an unambiguous "yes." An idealist will answer "no." And, as we shall establish, Cliff is clearly within the second camp, the camp of idealism.

To establish this, we can start with the question which Cliff himself has raised, that is the question of party "rules" which was, of course (although one would never gather this from his article), a matter at the very

center of the split between Bolshevism and Menshevism in 1903.

At the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, held in 1903, Lenin proposed a draft of paragraph 1 of the rules which would have read: "A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts its program and who supports the Party financially and by personal participation in one of the Party organizations." Martov's counterdraft proposed to change the relevant passage of this paragraph (the emphasized words) with the phrase "works under the control and direction of one of the Party organizations."

And it was on this basis of the wording of paragraph 1 of the rules (which for Cliff are a matter of "convenience") that the historic split between Bolshevism (the "majority" which won the day at the Congress on the main political questions of the RSDLP, although not on the wording of the rules) and Menshevism (the "minority") was to take place.

And without this split there could have been no revolution in 1917.

We say this because the Bolshevik-Menshevik split was not one concerning merely organizational details and procedures. It was concerned with the fundamental nature of the Party which had to be built and its relationship to the rapidly-growing working class movement in Russia.

The years 1900-1903 mark a decisive turning point in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. Until then (in the period of Plekhanov's leadership) it had been necessarily confined to a series of small, isolated propaganda circles. Now the rapid upsurge of the working class movement (itself a product of accelerated capitalist development) demanded a sharp break from the past.

The changed objective situation demanded a Party which aimed at becoming the decisive force within the working class movement, able to give a revolutionary lead on all economic, theoretical and political questions which it faced and armed with an all-Russian newspaper which would be its organizer.

These then were the basic, historical questions which underlay Lenin's break with Martov. It was a split in no way concerned with matters of a mere tactical "convenience," as Cliff pretends. The break between Bolshevism and Menshevism was a reflection of the struggle between those seeking to express the historical interest of the rapidly-growing working class at a new stage of its development as against those who reflected petty bourgeois pressures upon the movement. It is in no way an accident that all the bitter "organizational" disputes of 1903 found their expression in practice during the 1905 Revolution.

The idealist Cliff has always rejected the materialist conception that serious differences within a party are ultimately a reflection of the class struggle. That this is the case is clear from an earlier article, "The Revolutionary Party and the Class, or Trotsky on Substitutionism" (**International Socialism**, August 1960), where he writes: "...one cannot but regret Trotsky's sweeping statement that 'any serious factional fight in a party is always in the final analysis a reflection of the class struggle' (In *Defense of Marxism*, New York 1942, p. 60). This verges on a vulgar materialist interpretation of human thought as growing directly out of material conditions! What class pressures separated Lenin from Luxemburg, or Trotsky from Lenin (1903-1917), or what class pressures can one see in Plekhanov's zigzags?"

Here Cliff's philosophical idealism is patent. As so often in such middle class circles there is an attempt to "cover" it by a crude attack on what he takes to be "vulgar materialism."

(We can of course fully understand Cliff's "regret" that Trotsky should have so accurately characterized as "petty bourgeois" the opposition within the Socialist Workers Party in America after 1939. For one of the factions against which Trotsky did battle held basically the same counterrevolutionary "state capitalist" views with which Cliff was to desert Trotskyism at the time of the Korean War.)

Cliff's attack on Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* is no accident. For it is entirely consistent with his rejection of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism. For Cliff, as he has already told us, party differences reflect merely the tactical maneuverings of individual leaders. For Marxists they reflect (if only ultimately and indirectly) the movement of



Revisionist Fals

objective (class) forces.

The whole point about the faction fight within the SWP after 1939 was that Trotsky was able politically to compel his opponents to declare their scepticism about or outright opposition to dialectical materialism. And there can be no doubt that "great class pressures" (World War II, the defense of the USSR against imperialism) were involved. And they were equally involved a decade later when Cliff and his associates split publicly from the Trotskyist movement, when the defense of North Korea and China against American and British imperialism was raised from the level of an abstract theoretical principle to the level of a revolutionary practical responsibility.

(And we should perhaps remind Cliff's followers of today that when in 1950 they adopted their "neutral" position and refused to take up the defense of either North Korea or China, their friends in America, the Shachtmanites, had their leaflets translated into Korean and dropped over the North Korean frontier by the US Air Force as imperialist propaganda!)

For Cliff "differences within the movement" ("differences" which under certain objective historical conditions of class struggle can lead to "splits") are not a reflection of hostile class pressures upon the movement. For to understand the inner-party struggle from this materialist standpoint would be to introduce principles into the party, a method which Cliff—like all revisionists a determined advocate of opportunist adaptation and "experimentation" as methods of party building—cannot contemplate.

One thing must be emphasized again, as against Cliff's method. In insisting upon a centralized party, Lenin was not dealing with purely organizational measures. For it was only through such a party that the conflict between theory and practice could be grappled with successfully.

Underlying Lenin's conception of the party was the understanding that the working class could never spontaneously develop Marxism from its own immediate experiences in the struggle against capitalism.

This was the central point of *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), a position from which he was never to depart. (We shall deal in a later article with Cliff's clumsy distortion of Lenin on this point.)

Marxism had to be and could only be developed in a living struggle against the spontaneity of the working class. It was to carry out this struggle (for revolutionary theory) that the need for a disciplined, centralized party arose, and not at all from the (illegal) conditions peculiar to Russia at the beginning of the century.

Such a party was to be based upon the principle of democratic centralism. It would in fact be a party which constituted a unity and conflict of opposites. There would first be the maximum possible discussion by the whole of the membership on its policies, program and tactics. Once decisions had been democratically reached, they would be carried out in a centralized, disciplined manner by members under the leadership of a central committee charged with leading the fight to implement the party's program and policies.

And in this fight to carry out and test its program, the party necessarily would be in continual struggle against the immediate, limited, spontaneous, consciousness of the working class.

The party is obliged to carry out this fight because the working class, as an oppressed class, is under the domination of bourgeois ideology.

There was no third ideology, midway between Marxism and bourgeois thought.



Max Shachtman

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a "third" ideology, and moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology). (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* P. 39.)

We must stress again that the development of Marxist theory could proceed only in unity with and at the same time in conflict against the spontaneity of the working class. It was the fight for Marxism in this way, which always constituted the content of the party's practice for Lenin.

The form of this struggle would vary, of course, depending upon many factors, such as the degree of political freedom within the state, etc. But this was an entirely secondary matter. This is precisely what Lenin had in mind when he wrote in 1913 (*How Vera Zasulich Slays Liquidationism*) that organizationally, the party "while



sifiers Of Lenin

retaining its fundamental character, has known how to adapt its form to changing conditions, to change in this form in accordance with the demands of the moment."

In other words, for Lenin, although certainly not for the revisionist Cliff, matters of a basic, theoretical nature were involved in the conception of a party which he (Lenin) fought for against all brands of revisionism.

Marxist theory is developed only in the struggle which in practice seeks to posit each new living perception on to the party's body of theoretical knowledge (negation); it is out of this living struggle between living perception and abstract theory that new knowledge (negation of negation) is extracted and once again through practice new living perceptions are posited on this negation, thus preparing for a further negation of negation.

In taking up Mr. T. Cliff's idealist method—which reduces party building to the "whims," "tactical acumen," "flexibility" and "convenience" of its leading figures or figure, we can also draw upon a recent article by another member of Cliff's International Socialism group, one P. Binns.

We shall find that Binns adopts precisely the same method as Cliff in a contribution to the journal *Radical Philosophy* (No. 4, Spring 1973), entitled "The Marxist Theory of Truth."

That Binns should share Cliff's (idealist) philosophical outlook is no accident. For the entire basis of Cliff's revisionist group's analysis of the USSR as "state capitalist" is thoroughly idealist. It takes certain isolated impressions from the USSR ("dictatorship"; an "authoritarian structure"; "wide differentials in income"; etc.) and with this middle class idealist method constructs the counterrevolutionary "theory" that the USSR is capitalist.

It is an "analysis" which refuses to start from the nationalized property relations (a legal reflection of the social relations of production) as established by the 1917 Revolution, relations which, despite the enormous betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy, have been preserved.

The virtue of Binns' article is that the idealist method with which Cliff mis-educates his members is quite explicit. Discussing the various approaches which he believes have been taken to the questions of objectivity and truth among Marxists, Binns makes the following statement:

"An idea is material not because it is about atoms and physicality, but because it becomes a material force in a really existent society and to do this it may just as easily be about spiritual chimeras (e.g. witchcraft in 17th century Europe) as about more solid objects. The materiality of an

idea is thus its actual power to change, influence and control social behavior absolutely irrespective of the content of that idea." (*Radical Philosophy*, No. 4, p. 7. Emphasis added.)

Here Binns is unambiguous. For him consciousness determines existence through



Trotsky

practice. The materialist origin of ideas is completely ignored (that is left open). They are to be judged, not according to the accuracy with which they reflect the development of the objective material and social world (the standpoint of dialectical materialism), but merely from the standpoint of the results which they achieve.

Binns, to be more specific, substitutes for a materialist conception of knowledge—which grasps that within each relative part (moment) of a process is contained the absolute (however incompletely and imperfectly)—the most vulgar form of pragmatism. And pragmatism, because it takes "experience" as its basic starting point, is a form of idealism, as against materialism, which starts from the movement of matter as the objective source of all knowledge and ideas.

Secondly, Binns "forgets" that an idea can only become "a material force" through practice. An idea, as an idea, must necessarily be dead and abstract until it is carried into practice by human beings and in the case of Marxist terms by the Party.

Because he wishes always to ignore the conflict between theory and practice, Binns inevitably takes an idealist position in relation to the theory of knowledge. As against Binns we can quote Marx in *The German Ideology* (London 1970 edn):

"In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine or conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and

echoes of this life process...

"Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life.

"...As soon as this active life process is described, history ceases to be a collection of dead facts as it is with the empiricists (themselves still abstract), or an imagined activity of imagined subjects, as with the idealists." (Pp. 47-48. Emphasis added, PJ).

In other words, Binns sees the identity of opposites, but not the conflict between them. It is this specific rejection of materialist dialectics which runs through his article. Therefore, we need to examine its implications further and establish its connections with the idealist method which is at the root of the "state capitalist" revisionism.

We can start with the analysis of capitalism.

Marxists, unlike Binns, start from capitalism as a mode of production. As such it is a conflict and unity of two opposites, the productive forces and the social relations of production. The productive forces and the social relations mode of production are unified in that it is only possible to develop the productive forces through definite social relations (those of wage labor and capital) which are "independent of will and consciousness."

But the social relations of production tend increasingly under capitalism to come into ever more violent conflict with the productive forces. It is this conflict alone which provides the objective basis for the struggle for socialism by the working class.

But in considering the unity and conflict of the social relations of production and the productive forces, an important consideration arises, which must be stressed in connection with Binns' treatment.

It is this: the unity of the social relations of production and the productive forces is relative to the absolute conflict which exists between them. It is relative in that the aim of the proletarian revolution is to destroy the present unity between the productive forces and the present social relations of production (based upon profit) and lay the basis for a new, higher, unity between them (based upon the co-operative ownership of the means of production and their conscious regulation.)

Similarly, when we consider the nature of the class struggle under capitalism. The relations between the working class and the capitalist class constitute a unity of opposites.

But once again, this unity is relative to the absolute conflict between the classes. It is precisely through the objective conflict of class forces that the unity between the classes is established and constantly modified as the "opposites" continually move and change.

Now Binns rejects this method. In arguing that truth is relative to the end in view, irrespective of its objective content, he, like all sophists, separates out the absolute from the relative while at the same time taking the latter (the relative) as the more profound and essential.

Binns again takes this position when he writes: (op. cit., p. 5)

"When Lenin asserted that the unity of theory and practice occurred within the theory of knowledge, he meant that no notion of validity was sufficient which excluded the process whereby the class could seize upon the ideas and make them relevant to their immediate problems and in doing so advance the development of the class itself."

Binns is actually quoting out of context a passage from Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks* (p. 219), where he writes:

"The unity of the theoretical idea (of knowledge) and of practice—this NB—and this unity precisely is the theory of knowledge, for the resulting sum is the "absolute idea" (and the idea = the objectively true)."

As we shall establish in the case of Cliff later, Binns is guilty here of deliberately taking a paragraph from Lenin and giving it precisely the opposite meaning to that of Lenin.

For Lenin the unity between theory and practice (a relative unity) was established only through the objective conflict between

them (an absolute conflict). And this unity could be established only in practice, through the continual struggle (which is absolute) of the party to actualize its theory. It was not a unity which could be established in the head, as Binns imagines.

Binns only wishes to see the relative unity between theory and practice (relative because in the course of development both theory, and its opposite practice, are enriched and changed because as an idealist he must at all costs deny the absolute nature of the struggle between them.

Lenin was very clear on this point, that is of the relationship between the "unity" and the "conflict" of opposites. Whereas for Binns, as we have seen, the unity of opposites is absolute and their struggle relative, for Hegel (and for Lenin) precisely the reverse was the case. Lenin quotes with approval a passage from Hegel's *Logic*, where he writes:

"But it has been a fundamental prejudice of hitherto existing logic and of ordinary imagination that Contradiction is a determination having less essence and im-



Hegel

manence than Identity; but indeed if there were any question of rank, and the two determinations had to be fixed as separate, Contradiction would have to be taken as the more profound and more fully essential. For as opposed to it, Identity is only the determination of simple immediacy, or dead Being, while Contradiction is the root of all movement and vitality, and it is only insofar as it contains a Contradiction that anything moves and has impulse and actuality." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, "Philosophical Notebooks" p. 139.)

Why does the "philosopher" Binns make this "mistake"? Why does he eliminate the basic struggle between theory and practice and stress their unity?

He does so because, having eliminated the conflict between theory and practice, he is able to proceed by sleight-of-hand to eliminate the struggle between the revolutionary party and the working class, mis-educating by the bourgeoisie.

This is absolutely clear when he defines what he means by "practice":

"We clearly need a guide to the crucial features of this infinite morass if we are not to get lost, and it is this which is uniquely provided by practice—not just any notion of practice but the specifically Marxist notion of the class practice of the proletariat." (*Radical Philosophy*, No. 4, p. 5) (Emphasis added.)

In other words, "practice" is anything which the working class happens to be doing spontaneously at any point in time, the classical position of Anarchism.

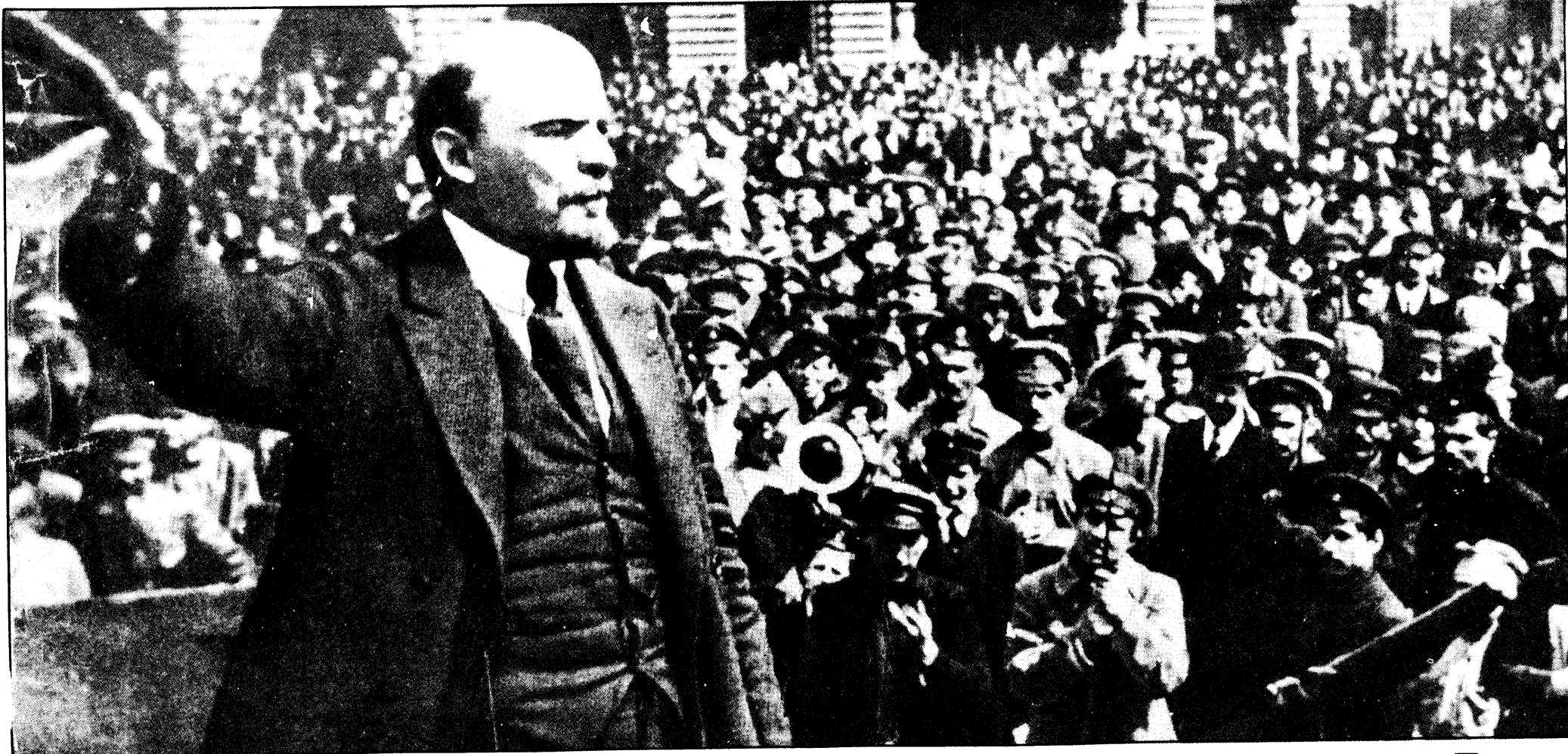
The essence of Marxism, the struggle between theory and practice, is rejected. This being so, then anyone can have their own theory of knowledge, which they "inject" into the working class. The objective, materialist basis of the Marxist theory of knowledge is rejected in favor of subjective idealism.

Binns and Cliff thus share the same idealist theory of knowledge. Just as Binns can have his "own" theory of knowledge, so Cliff (as we shall see) can tamper at will with Lenin's writings, to suit his immediate opportunist needs.

For the idealist Cliff, the history of Bolshevism can be "re-written" as one where rules can be broken, changed and re-established, merely according to the whims or subjective desires of the party leaders, whenever they deem such moves to be "convenient."

In our next articles we shall look at the way in which this method leads Cliff quite deliberately and consciously to distort Lenin to serve the revisionist ends of his group.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE



Revisionist Falsifiers Of Lenin

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practice. The materialist origin of ideas is completely ignored (that is left open). They are to be judged, not according to the accuracy with which they reflect the development of the objective material and social world (the standpoint of dialectical materialism), but merely from the standpoint of the results which they achieve.

Binns, to be more specific, substitutes for a materialist conception of knowledge—which grasps that within each relative part (moment) of a process is contained the absolute (however incompletely and imperfectly)—the most vulgar form of pragmatism. And pragmatism, because it takes "experience" as its basic starting point, is a form of idealism, as against materialism, which starts from the movement of matter as the objective source of all knowledge and ideas.

Secondly, Binns "forgets" that an idea can only become "a material force" through practice. An idea, as an idea, must necessarily be dead and abstract until it is carried into practice by human beings and in the case of Marxist terms by the Party.

Because he wishes always to ignore the conflict between theory and practice, Binns inevitably takes an idealist position in relation to the theory of knowledge. As against Binns we can quote Marx in *The German Ideology* (London 1970 edn):

"In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine or conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and

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LABOR TODAY

Middle Class Protest In The Labor Movement

In the Bay Area, state intervention aimed at destroying the unions is forcing workers to confront the inadequacy of mass picketing, solidarity demonstrations and similar forms of trade union action.

Bay Area trade unionists now find themselves continuously thrown up against the limitations of the 1934 general strike traditions of militancy and solidarity.

Most recently, striking Teamster warehousemen and beer drivers have had to face injunctions, FBI harassment, and the open intervention of the National Labor Relations Board to force new elections in order to decertify the unions.

These political attacks raise in the sharpest fashion the necessity of a fight for power through the construction of a labor party based on the unions.

The Bay Area developed in the 1960s as a center of student power and middle class protest. It was in this period that the middle class radical forces gathered to dominate the political and trade union life of the region.

It is precisely to the methods of student protest that the labor bureaucracy, assisted by the Stalinists and revisionists, seeks to return, in order to derail the movement of the working class.

The big movement of students that began in Berkeley in 1964 reflected the beginning of the breakup of the capitalist boom and the entry into a new period of sharp crisis. The movement of the students anticipated the coming movement of the American working class.

But the sit-ins, confrontations, and mass demonstrations were conducted on the basis of a student power perspective: that students, apart from any turn to the working class, could defend their rights and reform the universities.

In the four month student strike at San Francisco State College in 1969, the logic of student power was carried to its ultimate dead end.

Unlike Berkeley in 1964, this was the period following the May-June events in France characterized by the rapid breakup of world monetary stability and the beginning movement of the American working class.

The San Francisco State strike was initially dominated by an alliance between PL-SDS and a coalition of minority student groups around a series of Black nationalist demands for preferential hiring and the establishment of ethnic studies departments.

Students attempting to turn towards the working class and the youth in the communities were diverted by the reactionary worker-student alliance policies of PL-SDS into support for Black nationalism.

Rather than the fight to develop a revolutionary leadership in the working class through the struggle for Marxism against trade union or reformist consciousness, the worker-student alliance proposed a bloc between the working class and the middle class around a reformist program.

Both PL-SDS and the Socialist Workers Party established community and labor support groups to tie the working class to a student program.

At every point, these organizations played into the hands of the Communist Party assisting its fight for popular front policies to subordinate the working class to the middle class and the liberal sections of the bourgeoisie.

The bitter struggle at San Francisco State resulted in a defeat. Not only were students beaten, arrested, and sentenced to jail, but the administration was able to use the Black nationalists to set up Black Studies Departments to divide the students. Repression was strengthened; racism continued; and conditions deteriorated for the working class youth.

Indeed, the brutal suppression of the strike by the administration and the government was a warning of the methods being prepared for the working class.

Today, both at Berkeley and at San Francisco State the campuses are being ripped to shreds with financial cuts. The very democratic rights students fought to defend are giving way to police state regimes on campus.

Today, the Bay Area labor bureaucracy rather than fight to bring down the tottering Nixon government, reaches out for the bankrupt methods of protest developed on these campuses to stifle the political independence of the working class.

They are eagerly supported by the same Stalinists and revisionists who were the architects of the campus defeats and seek to repeat these betrayals in the labor movement itself.

The struggle against these forces for the development of Marxists in the unions is the decisive preparation for the defeat of the bureaucracy and Nixon.

TO BE CONTINUED

by jeff sebastian



Newly launched Detroit Young Socialists discuss campaign for dance to raise money for Bulletin fund drive.

Contract Talks At Hormel Break Off

BY PERRY IVERSON

AUSTIN, Minn.—Negotiations here over the central questions of wages and piece rates have broken down between the 3500 member Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local P9 and Hormel. A continuing contract with a 90 day strike notice clause has set the official strike date for January 9, 1974.

One Hormel worker told the Bulletin: "We can strike January 9. With a little bit of luck, we might have it closed down sooner. Oklahoma and Atlanta can go out anytime. Some just might come up and set up picket lines here."

Another worker added: "Negotiations broke down on everything. Hormel is the only major packer that has not signed. They do not want to give us half of what the rest got."

"The master contract has a transfer package which requires the company to pay the cost of transferring a worker if the plant closes. They have been

talking of closing for years.

"Every time they get in a bind they talk layoff. Now the government will pay them to close the plant down. But they cannot close this one now. It is their biggest."

"We can butcher 9500 hogs a day. That is why we have to strike now before they get the other plant built."

The central dispute now is over take home pay. Hormel has been constantly cutting piece work rates.

The workers also face a time-study program.

Leaving the plant, Robert told the Bulletin: "Every time you turn around they are wanting to

do a time study.

"You make more than they like and they increase the base line so you do not make any piece work bonus. It is impossible to make schedules."

"You have to be a superman, even for base pay. A man cannot work that hard."

"I am making less money right now than I was three years ago. My hourly wage is more, but I take home about \$1500 less."

"If you count inflation, it is probably 2500 or more, thanks to Nixon. My neighbor has been here five years and he makes less each year."

"By Hormel's earnings over the last three years are more than in their entire history. And that is not enough. They want more. Nixon backs up Hormel all the way."

"There will be a strike here, but to get rid of Nixon it is going to take everybody, not just one union."

It is clear that a big battle is building in Austin. An older worker explained: "They have over 200 grievances about time study and wages that the company simply will not settle. They will not even meet. It is a big stall."

Court Action In USWA

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO, Nov. 6—The US Labor Department today announced that it will file suit in the US District Court in Pittsburgh to void the election last February 13 of Samuel C. Evett as director of the Chicago-Gary District 31 of the United Steel Workers Union.

The suit will seek a new election, charging fraud and misuse of union funds.

The Labor Department action came after a ruling from the USWA headquarters denying the appeal of Edward Sadlowski, who was the first challenger in a District 31 election in 25 years.

He lost representation of the 140,000-member district by just 2350 votes to Evett, hand-picked successor of Joseph Germano who had been director since 1940. Sadlowski is president of Local 65, which organizes 10,000 members who work at Chicago's South Works US Steel plant.

YS Fights Zionist Expulsion Drive

BY A REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Zionist students at the University of Minnesota are calling for the expulsion of the Young Socialists club from the campus.

The attack began with a letter printed in the Minnesota Daily, a student newspaper, after a meeting held by the Young Socialists and Arab American Club in defense of the Arab Revolution. A Zionist who attempted to disrupt the meeting was excluded, and the Zionists are claiming this is a violation of democratic rights.

From the beginning of the war

in the Mideast, the Zionists have attempted to disrupt and harass the activities of the Young Socialists and the Arab students.

Zionist students disrupted a Palestinian literature table last week, until dispersed through the intervention of the Young Socialists.

The vigorous defense by the YS of the Arab and Palestinian students on the University of Minnesota campus has driven the Zionists to this frenzied attack.

The Young Socialists are campaigning for the support of all students for their right to function on campus.

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midwest news

National Guard Scabs On Firemen

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MILWAUKEE, Wisc., Nov. 7—Contempt of court charges were served on the Milwaukee Firefighters Union Local 215 yesterday, the third day of the sickout work stoppage.

Mayor Maier called in the National Guard Sunday morning to scab on the union. Up to 400 National Guardsmen have been reported on duty now in the Milwaukee area.

For all the hysteria over the issue of safety, the city is using National Guardsmen, who are untrained in firefighting and in fact are prohibited from entering burning buildings, to staff the fire houses. At the same time, the City Common Council repealed an ordinance requiring a minimum number of firemen per shift, assuring that an insufficient force would be at work.

These vicious moves to bust the firefighters union come as the city refuses to pay firefighters parity with the police. This would be a raise from \$11,070 to \$12,768. It refuses to institute a 40 hour work week and is demanding a reduction in the firefighters' work force.

The present contract for firefighters expired Saturday at midnight. The next shift began the sickout of 16 members per shift. The union plan was for the

men working to be required to do overtime to ensure an adequate staff. Overtime pay would then cost the city \$10,500 per day. The sick-out has continued solid.

In defiance of the court order, over one-third of the force remains out today. A contingent of firemen's wives demonstrated yesterday and plan to demonstrate again today in front of the District 1 fire station in defense of their husbands' right to strike.

If the city attempts to enforce the contempt of court charges through fines or jailings, the union has pledged to pull the whole force off the job. Already 125 men have been suspended for refusing to work the Sunday night shift.

The city is now preparing mass layoffs and tremendous speedup in one of the most dangerous possible jobs. Firefighters are now finding it impossible to live on the kind of wages they are getting. The whole union must be pulled out until every single demand is met and a guarantee of no reprisals against striking firemen is won.

Oil Drivers Reject Deal To End Overtime Pay

BY BILL ROEMER

CHICAGO—In a stormy meeting last Sunday, oil tank wagon drivers, members of Teamsters Local 705, overwhelmingly rejected a contract that would have imposed an actual pay cut for most workers.

The proposed settlement called for a 65 cent pay increase in the first year, and 45 cents each of the two following years, but would have wiped out overtime pay which drivers presently receive for all work done before 6 am.

Teamster ranks were enraged as Louis Peick, president of the local, tried to railroad through the agreement. Peick tried to disguise the terms of the contract, telling the men that they would receive 50 cents "hazardous pay" for each hour worked before 6 am.

This caused some confusion, since the members had been demanding a bonus payment for all drivers hauling dangerous material.

The meeting blew wide open when a worker asked whether this meant that members would not receive time and a half pay for work done before 6 am, and Peick had to reply that that was true.

One teamster with 17 years experience told the Bulletin: "It was an insult for Peick to think we would take what he was offering. We wanted a raise of at least 61 cents to get even with the freight haulers.

"We wanted an additional 15 cents hazardous pay for drivers

hauling gas, chemicals, or asphalt. What Peick called hazardous pay should not even be called that.

"According to Peick, hazardous pay is half a buck for the hours you work before 6 am. As if it is not hazardous after 6 am."

In the meeting, Peick made it clear that he has no intention of ever challenging Nixon's pay guidelines, when he said that the contract was the best that he could get, and he was not sure if the Cost of Living Council would approve it anyway.

During the meeting, the nature of the leadership offered by an opposition organization also became exposed. Philip Martinez, leader of Teamster Ranks United To Help, got up at the end of discussion to demand that the vote be put off until the membership received a written copy of the contract. Martinez refused to take up the fight the ranks were demanding and expose Peick.

Martinez told Chicago Tribune reporters that he objected to the increased pension and welfare payments Peick was demanding from employers, and he told the Bulletin three days before the meeting that he opposed Peick because Peick sought too high a wage.

"The men say the key word is survival. We have to survive,



Auto workers in Chicago discuss contract settlement outside union hall.

Fitzsimmons Attacks Opposition Local

BY A REPORTER

MADISON—On Friday, November 2, the International leadership of the Teamsters put Local 695 on trusteeship and asked for the resignations of all officers and Business Agents. They also cancelled elections scheduled for December in a move to oust the current leadership which has been conducting a drive to organize in the Madison area.

Local 695 is the largest union local in Madison, with

nearly 5000 members. James Marketti, the only local Business Agent who refused to resign, was fired by the International, and is setting up a group, "Teamsters for Democracy," to fight for reinstatement.

Marketti stated that the International wanted to remove the

local leadership because of Local 695's objection to the "cozy relationship" between Fitzsimmons and Nixon.

"The International doesn't want independent leadership at the local level. They are afraid that this kind of rank and file unionism would rub off on other locals and make the big labor bosses look bad," said Marketti.

Ford Ranks Fight Vicious 70 Hour Work Week

BY A REPORTER

Massive opposition is developing among United Auto Workers skilled trades workers to the negotiated settlement with Ford.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock admits that skilled workers at a number of plants have voted to reject the pact. There is considerable anger that skilled foundry workers will not get new earlier retirement rights.

In addition, Ford would be allowed to bring in unskilled help, part-time workers, or outside contractors when skilled workers declined overtime.

SCAB LABOR

The Bulletin spoke to a UAW representative at Cleveland's Local 1250 who refused to deny that this clause was the opening wedge for bringing in scab labor.

On wages, this contract offers 26 cents the first year and 13 cents the second and third years. Of the 26 cents, 13 cents is money due under the old contract and 8 cents is due under cost of living from last September.

This amounts to an actual real raise of exactly one nickel.

On overtime, a compulsory 10

hour day has been agreed to by the Woodcock bureaucracy. Workers can be forced to come in on Saturdays and Sundays as well with only two Saturdays off a month.

This means in a month of forced overtime, a worker would put in two 60 hour weeks and two 70 hour weeks.

CAPITULATION

This represents a further capitulation by Woodcock to Nixon and the auto bosses. In Chrysler, Woodcock dropped his demand for an end to compulsory overtime by accepting a nine-hour day with every third Saturday off.

Now, the overtime provisions are worse than ever.

In locals around the country, the ranks are bitterly fighting this contract. At the important assembly plant in St. Paul, 39 percent of the workers voted against the contract.

Just two weeks ago, Woodcock called for Nixon's impeachment. But he is determined to prevent a strike by auto workers and a struggle against this government because Woodcock has no intention of taking any action against Nixon.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Speaker: Adele Sinclair,
Editor, **Young Socialist**

DETROIT

FRI., NOV. 9
King Solomon Church
14th & Marquette
7:00 p.m.

CLEVELAND

SAT., NOV. 10
East Cleveland YMCA
4:00 p.m.

NEW YORK

SAT., NOV. 17
YMCA
1121 Bedford Ave.
(cor. Monroe)
4:00 p.m.
Speaker: Lucy St. John,
Editor, **Bulletin**

FILM

by David North

Who Fired The Gun In Dallas?

Ten years ago this month, on November 22, 1963, John F. Kennedy was assassinated as he drove through the streets of Dallas in a motorcade.

Within hours of his death, police had arrested a suspect and claimed to have solved the death. The alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, constantly denied having shot Kennedy and repeatedly shouted to reporters that he was a "patsy."

Absolutely no record was kept of Oswald's interrogations following his arrest. For reasons never explained, what Oswald had to say was neither taken down by a stenographer nor recorded on tape.

Oswald never had a chance to explain what he meant when he called himself a "patsy" because he was gunned down by Jack Ruby in the presence of more than 100 police and in full view of about 60 million television viewers.

The Warren Report had all the characteristics of a whitewash. It could not give a convincing answer to any of the basic questions raised by the assassination: the actual number of bullets fired at the motorcade; the trajectory of the bullets; and even the number of times Kennedy was hit.

Among those who could not believe the findings of the Warren Report was Governor John Connally, wounded in the motorcade, who said that the commission was wrong when it claimed that he was struck by

Shot entirely on location, it is most convincing when it shows how trigger men were stationed at three locations from where they had an open view of Kennedy. Numerous eyewitnesses claimed that they heard shots fired from a grassy knoll in front of the motorcade.

Mark Lane has maintained that Lee Harvey Oswald was not involved in the assassination plot, but merely manipulated by the conspirators who then hung the crime on him before having Oswald finished off.

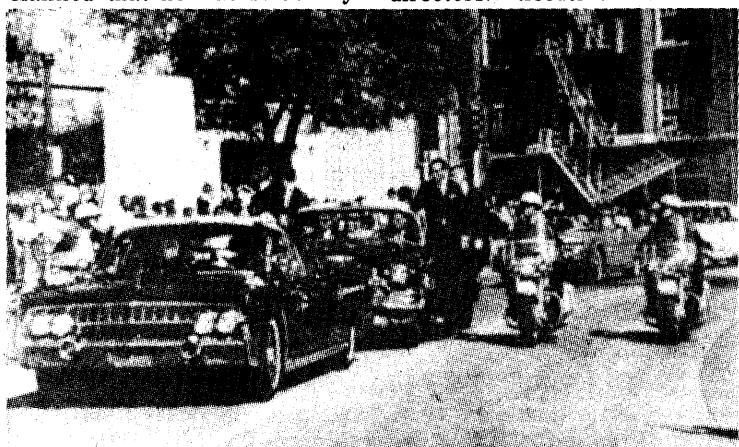
Oswald, Lane asserts, would know what he was talking about in calling himself a "patsy"—the film shows Oswald's links to the CIA and various intelligence outfits. He obtained passports without any trouble even though he gave up his citizenship to become a Soviet citizen.

It is considered routine for the FBI to screen "politically suspect" individuals during a presidential visit to any city. Oswald was supposedly high on their list—especially because he had once written Connally a threatening letter.

But Oswald was not under surveillance on that day. The fact is that Kennedy had a minimum of physical protection.

If Oswald was involved in the assassination plot, it would point to the involvement of organs of state security in the killing.

These issues are concerning an ever increasing number of film directors. Executive Action was



Dallas motorcade just before Kennedy was shot.

the same bullet that passed through Kennedy's neck.

Connally's disagreement had the greatest significance because unless one bullet injured both men, it was physically impossible for Oswald to have been acting alone—if he was involved at all.

Lyndon Johnson told CBS shortly before he died that Kennedy was the victim of a conspiracy.

Executive Action, which opened in New York on Wednesday, is the first film made in this country that claims that Kennedy was the victim of a plot. It is not a documentary like *The Second Gun*, which painstakingly demonstrates that Sirhan Sirhan did not kill Robert Kennedy, but stops short of pointing a finger at someone else.

Instead, Executive Action is a fictional reconstruction of the assassination in Dallas along the lines of the factual investigation made over the past 10 years by Mark Lane. The film claims that Kennedy was killed by right-wing businessmen disgruntled by his reformist policies within the United States and his signing of the nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union.

shot in secret, totally without the resources of a big studio. Actor Donald Sutherland originally brought Mark Lane's script, which he had purchased because of his interest in the material, to producer Edward Lewis in 1971.

And although the film portrays Kennedy as a "humanitarian" president, Lewis and the cast, all of whom were completely convinced about the conclusions of Lane from his research, objectively present us with a film that grapples with the role of the state as policemen for big business.

Kennedy was, of course, the brutal leader of the most reactionary imperialist class in the entire world. He was determined to enslave the Cuban people and was willing to risk nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

However, the Kennedy assassination reflected the beginning of the breakup of the boom and the development of a deep political crisis in the United States. Behind the coverup of the Kennedy assassination was the determination of the ruling class to mask its own crisis and the criminal corruption that exists at every level of industry and government.



San Francisco bus drivers discuss threat of more police on buses. See page 11.

Ranks Challenge Vote On Harvester Contract

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN LEANDRO—Rank and file auto workers are challenging the results of the contract ratification vote Sunday at the International Harvester plant here.

According to the local leadership, United Auto Workers Local 76 voted 365 to 85 to accept the national agreement and end their two week strike.

Many workers charged that no membership checkoff list was used to record the votes. "Nobody knows how many times anybody voted," said one. An official protest of the ballot has been filed.

More than one hundred workers walked out of the meeting even before the vote was taken after the local bureaucrats made it clear that they would refuse to lead any strike against the national settlement and would cooperate with Woodcock in trying to isolate any rebellion.

Only in this way was the leadership able to force through acceptance. One auto worker said: "I voted for it because with Woodcock in control, what can you do? But they did not tell me

about anything that we did not have already."

Tremendous opposition exists to the settlement, particularly the three percent wage increase and forced overtime. International Harvester workers, who have never had forced overtime, will now be required to work at least 13 Saturdays a year.

One young worker told the Bulletin: "Sure I voted against it. If you want my honest opinion, I think we were sold down the river. I think what the union should have done was go all out, not first Chrysler, then John Deere, then us, then Ford.

"When we break the law, we go to jail. But not Nixon. If we do not stand up and fight the system, this system will eat us up."

The massive resistance throughout the UAW to Woodcock's three percent deal with Chrysler, Ford, and International Harvester has become

open rebellion. With Ford locals still to vote on their contract, hundreds of local contracts still unsettled, and the General Motors deadline just weeks away, there is every possibility that the International Harvester sellout can be overturned through a national strike against all the auto companies.

Youth Shot In Oakland

BY REPORTER

OAKLAND—A 15-year-old youth, Tyrone Guyton, was shot in the back, murdered in cold blood by Emeryville police in Oakland Friday night.

While both Emeryville and Oakland police chiefs claim to have no comment on the situation and refuse to suspend the police officers involved, they have begun to construct a case of complete lies and slanders against the youth.

The police claim that Tyrone drove a car without headlights and they proceeded to chase him back into Oakland at 55 miles an hour, at one point ramming the back of the car, causing it to crash into a house.

Police Officer Phillips claims that Tyrone fired shots at him with a small caliber pistol and then he and another officer gunned him down.

Tyrone was killed by a bullet in the back, which lodged in his chest. The officers handcuffed the dying boy and made an on the spot search which failed to turn up any sort of weapon at all. Phillips has been forced to admit that while he "heard" the shots, he saw no gun or muzzle flash at the time.

To date, the Emeryville police refuse to comment pending an Oakland police investigation, and the Oakland police claim they are having nothing to do with it. While the Oakland City Council called for the suspension of the officers involved, nothing is being done.

Racist Accusations In Foster Murder

BY A REPORTER

OAKLAND, Nov. 7—Marcus A. Foster, Superintendent of Oakland schools was shot and murdered last night, along with his assistant who was critically wounded.

The police immediately labeled it an "execution style" murder by three young Black men and cordoned off the entire area for four blocks. They sent 25 police officers to "canvas" the community for information.

The Oakland school board has cancelled all classes, including junior college classes for today.

All of these panic measures by the police and the authorities are open provocations.

Marcus Foster was presiding over a school system which daily

terrorized the youth with threats of police and systematic harassment.

At the same time, they still face the possibility of a teachers strike, as the school board is refusing to negotiate a decent contract for the paraprofessionals and teachers aides.

At the time of the killing in the early evening, the Berkeley School Board was meeting to consider the hiring of armed policemen as part-time counselors on high school campuses.

GRAND OPENING
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Open House from 10 am to 5 pm
Cocktail Party from 8 pm \$1.50

west coast news Cops Arrest UFW Pickets In Boycott

BY ANN LORE

SAN FRANCISCO—Twenty pickets for the United Farm Workers of America were arrested and jailed this week here.

A mass arrest of an entire picket line of 18 members and supporters of the UFW took place Saturday afternoon in front of a liquor store at Twenty-First and Mission Streets where a picket against Gallo was taking place.

All of those involved are angered by what they called a "break with the traditional rights of unions in San Francisco." The farm workers are saying they left the fields because the violence and arrests made it impossible to strike effectively and now the city is no better.

The farm workers have picketed and boycotted in San Francisco for years without harassment by the police. This is a totally new situation into which they are going unprepared by the Chavez leadership.

Earlier in the week, after two pickets were arrested for allegedly disturbing the peace and obstructing traffic, the union sent a delegation to Police Captain Laherty. They were given assurances that the police would be

neutral and would respect the union's rights to picket peacefully.

ARRESTED

The very next day, Saturday, following the Bart Parade down Mission Street where Mayor Alioto was loudly booed by the pickets, the police drove up and arrested the whole line.

The Bulletin spoke with Ralph Villasaiez, a 14-year-old farm worker for Gallo. He was the youngest picket arrested.

"They did not give us any warning. We had a meeting at Dolores Park and then went to Twenty-first and Mission. The police came by and said if they got one more call they would arrest us. Then four police cars came and said gather your people together, you are all under arrest.

"I was let out early because I am a juvenile, but the rest were in jail from 1:30 pm until 10 pm before they got out.

"Nixon should be impeached. He and the Teamsters leadership are mixed up in this together."

DELEGATION

Tuesday, the farm workers held a demonstration inside city hall. The farm workers leadership, having learned nothing from the events of the previous days, came to send another delegation to see the police chief.

The delegation included Jack Crowley, head of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, Jim Herman of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, and Walter Johnson, president of the Retail Clerks striking against Sears.

After the group of 100 demonstrators sang songs on the steps of the city hall, the delegation returned to report that "assurances" were given by the police chief that "he would look into it." Every union leader there said what a fine, cordial meeting it was with the police.

The speakers proposed a solidarity demonstration for this Saturday, one saying: "Solidarity. I know we can win because we will stick with you and you will stick with us."

PILLAGED

Meanwhile, every tradition and right won by the labor movement in San Francisco is being pillaged by the police and courts in every strike taking place. Chavez wants his union to go begging to the police for help, and then to the mayor.

The union leaders want desperately to confine these struggles to trade union militancy and solidarity at a time when Nixon can be brought down by the labor movement.



"Big business in general wants to work people to death," one of the stewardesses striking TWA told the Bulletin.

Stewardesses Halt TWA Flights

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—Trans World Airlines stewardesses are on strike at the San Francisco International Airport as part of the national strike by 6000 cabin attendants.

The strikers, mostly young women, have placed themselves in the forefront of the battle to defend the airlines unions and all the gains won in the last 15 years against a concerted attack by the airline industry.

TWA's demands shocked the stewards and stewardesses, members of the Airline Stewards and Stewardesses Association Local 550 of the Transport Workers Union.

The company is demanding the work load be increased by 20 hours flying time a month and of-

fering a 2 percent raise for domestic stewardesses and none at all for those on international service.

TWA has used the fuel shortage to begin massive layoffs of stewardesses. Already 300 have been laid off nationally and 140 in Los Angeles alone. Another 300 are expected to be laid off December 1.

In addition, the company is demanding the right to use lower paid foreign based stewardesses on flights into the United States. This could possibly cut another 1700 American based jobs.

The stewardesses have won

tremendous support from the other airline unions. Their pickets are being universally respected and TWA has been grounded.

A stewardess at the San Francisco International Airport said that the mechanics at the TWA hanger let out a thundering cheer for the stewardesses when they announced they were going out.

The union leadership is attempting to abide by Nixon's guidelines, asking for a pitiful 6.2 percent in wages and benefits.

From the very beginning, the stewardesses have had to fight the government. Under the provisions of the National Railway Act, they have been prevented from striking and forced to work without a contract since July 1, 1972.

Now they face the possibility of government intervention to break the strike.

One stewardess with four and a half years experience on voluntary picket duty at San Francisco International Airport told the Bulletin:

"This is not just TWA. Nixon says the big words are productivity and utilization of aircraft and personnel. In other words, work the personnel and aircraft to the utmost with no more pay and benefits.

"Big business in general wants to work people to death. Impeach Nixon. I voted for Nixon, but I do not know what he is doing.

"We worked for years for a contract, now they are trying to take it away from us. We will stay out for two years if necessary.

"We are just gung ho because we do not want to go back under their conditions. I think we all feel discriminated against, even though we are in our separate companies.

"I think it would be good to ban together in a labor party."

SF Bus Company Plans Police Patrol Against Youth

BY KIM HARVEY

SAN FRANCISCO—The general manager of San Francisco Municipal Railways, Kenneth Wood, has placed before the board of supervisors and the public utilities commission an initiative to create a transit police force on city bus lines.

According to a Municipal spokesman, the force, both uniformed and plainclothes, would be aimed at muggers, purse snatchers, and other offenders. In reality, these police are intended to be used against the youth first and then against the drivers.

This was absolutely clear from the comments of a Municipal information clerk, who told the Bulletin: "The biggest mistake is letting school children ride all day for only a nickel. Until they stop it, you are always going to

have trouble on the buses."

The same clerk also blamed the drivers for the horribly overcrowded and inefficient service. He said that the company is unable to find qualified drivers to increase the number of buses on crowded routes because the drivers are discourteous to the public.

The role of the leadership of transport workers Local 250 is extremely dangerous. A spokesman for Local 250 said that the union is "working right along with management." He said that the problem is "all these youth, ripping up the seats and rocking the buses."

But as one driver put it: "I can see two sides to it. The drivers could use help. On the other hand, the police on buses will make the youth more tense in the situation. You have got to understand that the youth come out of conditions that offer them nothing.

"I have six teenagers and I can barely feed them, much less give them any more. They need many more facilities and places to go to, and the city just does not give it."

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

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NIXON...

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Furthermore, Nixon's emergency measures are a political attack. He is demanding unprecedented powers to control the movement of vehicles on the highway and people on the sidewalks.

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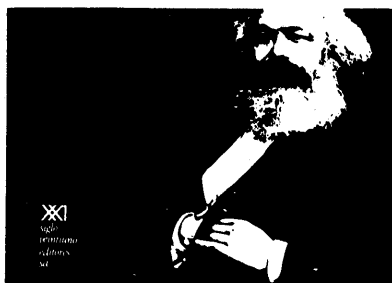
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Elementos
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