

Bulletin

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

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIFTY THREE 328

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1973



C-748

FIFTEEN CENTS

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BY A FOREIGN
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Last week's uprising
(Continued On Page 12)

BY DAVID NORTH

DETROIT, Nov. 26—General Motors' announcement on Friday afternoon that it will suspend production at 16 plants for one week in December is a signal for massive layoffs throughout basic industry and a declaration of war by Richard Nixon and big business on every American worker's right to a job.

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Layoffs have already started and they are not confined to General Motors. Forty workers at the GM Delco Morain plant in Dayton, Ohio, members of UAW Local 696 with less than six months seniority, were laid off on Friday. It is reported that another 600 auto workers in the plant are slated to lose their jobs early in 1974.

Chrysler laid off 200 workers at its plant in Fenton, near St. Louis, last week; sources say that the entire second shift with 1500 workers is to be eliminated.

Spokesmen for Ford report that shortages of propane and butane for heat treating metals and drying paint could soon cause production cutbacks, job losses and plant closures.

A shortage of plastics is already causing auto producers to make cars without dashboards and armrests.

A cutback in overtime is expected in all the auto companies and this will mean a tremendous reduction in take-home pay for workers. The full force of Woodcock's three percent wage deal will be felt by every auto worker.

Auto workers throughout the country were angered and stunned by the sudden announcement of what amounts to a one week lockout.

"I think there is a good chance that they will shut down altogether soon or at least lay off the second shift," a member of UAW Local 216, whose plant in Southgate is among those to close, told the Bulletin.

Another Southgate worker

said: "They picked the Christmas holiday because it's best for them. They are going to shut the door in the face of the new hires and anyone with less than a year because these men lose their holiday pay and will not get any SUB money."

EXPENDABLE

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This move by General Motors, only four days after signing a three year contract with the UAW, will have a devastating impact on production throughout the country because auto is at the heart of basic industry and the bulwark of the postwar economic boom.

The steel industry, in particular, will move toward a sharp curtailment in production. Pacific State Steel in Union City, California, announced that it too plans to suspend production for one week.

Mass unemployment is a direct and immediate threat to millions of American workers.

Nixon and big business are determined to deal with the work-

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Weekend
Edition

•Germany Heading Toward Depression: a feature on the political and economic crisis, by Melody Farrow.

•Second part of the four-part "Draft Resolution on Perspectives" of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Great Britain.

Building The Bulletin

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Los Angeles led the way with 139 subs this week, and Cleveland brought in 82 on Saturday.

We have also gone over our YS goal, with a total of 514 subs.

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Independence Of The Unions and The Corporate State

The moves to jail the leader of the Uniformed Firefighters Association in New York represent a new stage in the government's drive to strangle the trade union movement in the legal machinery of the state.

This is no ordinary jailing arising out of a strike, but an attempt to permanently destroy the union as an

What We Think

organization that can defend the wages and conditions of the firemen and to hand the workers directly over to the city.

The city's Office of Collective Bargaining has intervened in labor negotiations by imposing fact finding and binding arbitration without the

members having any voice in what is decided.

The government is consciously seeking to establish precedents for making free trade union activities illegal and strikers criminals.

The National Labor Relations Board is fining the striking beer drivers on the West Coast thousands of dollars for "illegal activities" and is holding new elections to decertify the Teamsters as their bargaining representative.

Jim Gann, the president of the Dayton-Valley Miami Valley AFL-CIO was put on trial for a "bombing conspiracy" as part of a nationwide witch-hunt by the Internal Revenue Service to subpoena hundreds of trade union officials on their political campaign contributions.

What is developing is not just a return to the condi-

tions of the 1930s, not just attacks on trade union rights, but an attempt to totally assimilate the unions into the state apparatus.

As capitalism goes into crisis and decay, the existence of free trade unions is incompatible with the frenzied drive of the corporations for profits and markets.

It is forced to move toward establishment of a corporate state in which the interests of the working class are ruthlessly subordinated to the good of the "nation," that is, of the private profit system.

The Nixon government is gearing industrial production for the trade war against Europe and Japan, concentrating it into greater monopolies, streamlining production, eliminating unprofitable companies, and forcing workers back to the days of the sweat shop.

Under these conditions, the government seeks to turn the trade unions into instruments of this economic war and the state is openly used as the political weapon to carry this out.

The steps to incorporate the unions into this state are a step in the direction of military rule where any form of trade union organization is abolished.

In Britain, one year after the Tories set up an Industrial Relations Law to impose state control of wages and ban strikes, the government is now training the army in guerrilla warfare and threatens to put the mines, where a strike is imminent, under military occupation.

In Chile, as in Greece, right-wing military dictatorships have taken over and outlawed free trade unions, placing workers under the direct control of the corporations.

American workers now face the same danger here. A

section of the military under General Haig has gained increasing power as Nixon's authority has weakened.

The policies of the reformist trade union leaders and Stalinists which allowed this to happen in Chile and Greece are the same policies advanced here by Woodcock of the United Auto Workers and Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters.

As the crisis deepens, the bureaucracy carries out the logic of this policy by serving as the policemen of the capitalist class within the unions.

This is why trade unionists who want to defend trade union democracy and trade union rights must fight for the removal of this bureaucracy and for a revolutionary leadership.

In his work, *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*, Leon Trotsky wrote:

"In the epoch of imperialist decay, the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."

Trade unionists cannot fight the corporate plans just by organizing committees for democracy or through wildcat strikes.

The main issue facing trade unionists and all workers today is the removal of this government and its replacement with a labor party that will fight for a socialist program. This must be fought for in every struggle over wages and conditions.

Trade unionists must turn to revolutionary politics and build a new leadership that will link all these struggles to the need to build a mass labor party that will create conditions to prepare the working class to take power.

Brezhnev Signs Chemical Deal

The Soviet Union has signed a deal with the Lummus Company in New Jersey to purchase an entire petrochemical complex worth over \$100 million. This is the first such contract in Soviet history.

Lummus, a subsidiary of Combustion Engineering, will contribute \$45 million in technology while the Soviet Union will spend \$60 million for the structure of the plant.

The Export Import Bank is considering a Soviet request for a \$20 million loan and Chase Manhattan Bank is providing another \$20 million.

The Kremlin is considering entering into economic collaboration with the United States in various schemes that would open up the Siberian gas and oil reserves as well as copper and nickel deposits to capitalist exploitation.

Proposals for such enter-

prises as early as 1976 have already been presented to Gosplan, the central planning agency of the Soviet Union.

According to Brezhnev's plan, American capitalists would become partners with Soviet officials in these projects.

Brezhnev has demanded "a new approach to a number of problems of our economic construction with due account to the fact that our country will be drawn into the international division of labor to an ever greater extent."

Soviet workers will come increasingly under the whip of the production demands of foreign capitalists.

Peru - State Of Emergency

The Peruvian military government has declared a state of emergency in the city of Cuzco following the state of emergency announced last week in the south.

A massive demonstration sparked by students swept Cuzco last Friday after the government banned a student meeting. A palace, a public building, a radio station, and a number of commercial establishments were burned.

One student, 22-year-old Jaime Salas was shot dead by police during the fighting.



Peruvian General Velasco

The students are supporting the teachers whose strike led to the imposition of a state of emergency in the south. All rallies by the strikers have been forbidden.

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British miners in confident mood during their strike last year.

British Miners Reject Pay Offer

BY MITCH PATTERSON

The executive committee of the National Union of Mineworkers voted unanimously to reject the revised pay offer from the National Coal Board on November 22.

Miners throughout Britain are prepared now for an all-out confrontation with the Tory government over the basic right to a decent wage.

The miners are standing firm with their demand for a 30 percent increase against the Phase Three restrictions of only 7 percent.

The revised offer would have granted a couple of additional fringe benefits, and juggled some of the money given to the highest paid miners in order to pad the wages of the lowest paid miners.

With inflation now reaching an incredible rate of 25 percent in Britain, these wage proposals by the Coal Board would turn all miners into the lowest paid workers.

The refusal to accept the Coal Board's proposals means that under the stipulations of the national emergency announced by the government last week, the Tories will now use legally sanctioned fines, jailings, and special military detachments for the purpose of breaking the miners.

In his attempts to try and iso-

late the miners from the rest of the labor movement with a vicious campaign in the Tory press, Prime Minister Heath stated last week: "Labor disruptions in the coal mining industry had created the conditions requiring me to declare a national state of energy emergency."

The miners began their offensive with a ban on all overtime last week. This was immediately followed with a similar ban by the electrical power engineers.

The estimated loss in coal production, due to these bans last week, is some 500,000 tons out of a normal weekly output of 2.6 million tons. The miners and the engineers have the strength to virtually paralyze the British economy.

COMMON POLICY

On November 17 French president Pompidou met with Heath to officially discuss "the problem of common policy."

At this meeting, Heath and Pompidou arranged to secretly stockpile huge amounts of coal on the French side of the English Channel. This will be used to undermine the probable full-scale strike of miners.

The stockpiling is already underway under the supervision of the Royal Engineers of England.

The only agreement that really exists between Pompidou and Heath, in fact between all of the ruling classes of the Common Market countries, is that the working class in those countries must be driven down if profits are to be assured.

TORY GOVERNMENT

A strike by the miners now will set the stage for a general strike in Britain that can bring down the hated Tory government.

Crackdown In Pakistan

Ali Bhutto, President of Pakistan, has passed a decree giving his government martial law powers to arrest his opponents and ban opposition organizations.

The decree declares any organization "antinational" which threatens the country's "territorial integrity" or "internal peace."

The decree is especially aimed at quelling separatist movements in the North-West frontier province, Sind province and among the Baluchi tribesmen.

Anyone who supports secession for any national group is also liable to arrest.

Arabs Defy Kissinger On Oil Boycott

BY DAVID NORTH

In a blunt answer to threats made by the United States to take "countermeasures" if the Arab oil boycott continues, Saudi Arabian minister Ahmed Zaki al-Yamani declared Thursday that his government would blow up oil fields in the event of a military intervention.

Sheikh Yamani said that it would be suicidal for the United States to invade the Middle East, and that the imperialists should not attempt any countermeasures "because your whole economy will definitely collapse all of a sudden."

Yamani's remarks were made in response to a press conference given by Henry Kissinger Wednesday in which he arrogantly warned the Arab governments that the United States would not tolerate an indefinite continuation of the oil cutoff.

"However, it is clear that if pressures continue unreasonably and indefinitely," declared Kissinger, "that then the United States will have to consider what countermeasures it may have to take. We would do this with enormous reluctance and we are still hopeful that matters will not reach this point."

The statements made by Yamani show that the Arabs have no intention of calling the boycott off. Defying Kissinger, Yamani stated:

"I think what we have as an oil weapon is far greater (than imperialist countermeasures). What we have done is nothing at all. I think we can cut production down to, let us say, 20 percent. Instead of 25 percent, (the

cut) would be 80 percent."

Saudi Arabian King Faisal said Thursday that the three main objectives of the oil cutoff are a complete withdrawal by Israel from the territory seized in the 1967 war, the granting of the right to self-determination to the Palestinian people, and the reestablishment of an Arab Jerusalem.

The tone of the Arab foreign ministers conference which opened in Algeria on Saturday was that the oil weapon would have to be applied even more in expectation of a deadlock between Israel and Egypt.

Abdelazziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of Algeria declared: "the enemy knows only force" and Egyptian Minister Ismail Fahmy said: "We must preserve all our weapons for combat. This requires an integrated Arab effort and organized Arab military strength."

The oil boycott has aggravated all the divisions existing among the imperialist powers. Kissinger attacked Europe and Japan for not following the policies laid down by the United States in the Middle East.

Japan, which is heavily dependent on Arab oil, has angered both Israel and Kissinger by threatening to break diplomatic relations with the Zionist state if it does not withdraw to the pre-1967 borders.



Egyptian troops in the Sinai. For our exclusive report from Palestine, see page 4.

Real Wages Fall In October Inflation

The Consumer Price Index for October rose 0.8 percent as the worst inflation since the early days of the Korean War continues unchecked.

Prices now stand 7.9 percent higher than they were at this time in 1972; Otto Eckstein, former member of the Council of Economic Advisers under Lyndon Johnson, stated that "in the next three to six months, the consumer price index will be unbelievably bad."

Inflation is the deliberate policy of the Nixon administration, which is attempting to drive down living standards and weaken the working class with wage controls while prices soar.

This is proven by statistics

that show that the real spendable earnings of the average worker has declined 3.3 percent since October 1972. Between September and October of this year, real earnings declined .6 percent—which amounts to an annual average of 7.2 percent.

While food prices were more stable than during every previous month, there was an enormous leap in the price of energy and clothing.

However, the effect of inflation throughout 1973 on food prices is seen most clearly in the drastic rise in the cost of a Thanksgiving dinner.

TURKEY

If you had the traditional turkey dinner on Thursday night, it is likely that you paid about 31 percent more for it than in 1972. Last year, the Thanksgiving meal cost \$4.96. This year, that same meal is up to \$6.50.

In the midst of these wild price increases, the Nixon administration is granting a whole new set of requests for increases to big business.

General Motors, which just signed a contract giving auto workers nothing more than a 3 percent increase, is asking for the right to up by \$150 the prices on its 1974 models. John Dunlop, director of the Cost of Living Council, has expressed his sympathy with the request.

The postal service is asking for a 27 percent increase in rates to take effect in January.

Since last October, food costs have risen 18.9 percent, housing is up 5.9 percent, transportation is up 3.1 percent, and the cost of health and recreation has increased 3.9 percent.

Nixon's chief economic adviser, Herbert Stein, who in the past has predicted a sharp decline in prices during late autumn, said that the new statistics are a "considerable improvement" over earlier price increases. He did not explain what he meant.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, called the October prices "President Nixon's Thanksgiving gift to the nation's workers, consumers, and housewives."

However, Meany is largely responsible for the open wage cutting now being implemented because he supports the Cost of Living Council; and he refuses to mobilize the working class independently of the Democratic Party in a campaign to oust Nixon.

These attacks on the living standards of every worker must now be answered in a massive campaign by the labor movement to throw Nixon out of office through the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

What Makes Vesco Run

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Robert L. Vesco, high flying financier and former Nixon crony is continuing his battle to avoid extradition from the Bahamas to the United States.

Watergate investigators would like to get their hands on the elusive Mr. Vesco whose shady financial operations link him to the entire Nixon family and the highest officials in the Nixon administration.

Vesco fled the United States to avoid prosecution for his part in an illegal \$200,000 payoff to the Nixon reelection committee.

Mr. Vesco, former Attorney General Mitchell, and Commerce Secretary Stans have all been indicted for perjury, obstruction, and conspiracy for their efforts to prevent a Securities and Exchange Commission investigation of Vesco's operations.

The \$200,000 contribution was the price for the services of the administration in putting off the SEC.

Vesco is charged with diverting \$224 million in mutual shares from the now bankrupt Investors Overseas Services to his own use.

He is also charged with embezzling \$50,000 from International Controls, a company which he controlled.

His extradition from the Bahamas is being sought on the second charge, an extraditable offense in the Bahamas under an old treaty with the US.

A nephew of Richard Nixon is currently on the Vesco payroll. Edward Nixon, the president's younger brother was the go-between who arranged the contribution of \$200,000 to the Nixon committee.

F. Donald Nixon, Nixon's older brother, has admitted that Howard F. Cerny, a lawyer who has represented, both of the president's brothers as well as Vesco, helped his son obtain employment with Mr. Vesco.

Vesco continues to have friends in very high places. His mutual fund operations have been transferred to Costa Rica where he has invested \$2,150,000 in a company that just happens to be owned by the president of Costa Rica.

Vesco has also contributed heavily to the political campaigns of Bahamian Premier Landon O. Pindling. The Bahamas Commonwealth Bank in which Mr. Vesco has invested has also lent heavily to Mr. Pindling's family as well as to leading politicians in the Bahamas' main parties.

Just in case his friends are unable to prevent extradition

Vesco is reported to have gone directly to the top in Argentina and received assurances from President Peron of permanent residence status and immunity from extradition.

Now that he is out on \$75,000 bail in the Bahamas, there is increasing speculation that Mr. Vesco is once again preparing to fly the coop.

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O'Hagan Reprisals Against Firemen

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK—Fire Commissioner John O'Hagan declared that "insubordination" and the use of "gutter language" have become a problem in the fire houses since the strike.

He said there is "outright defiance" and firemen "openly criticize" their officers. O'Hagan directly linked this to the strike by saying it resulted from letting down the "barrier of legality" and said: "These people are being given a warning."

This is part of a witch-hunt now taking place in the capitalist press against the firemen. The campaign is being led primarily by the city and federal governments for two reasons.

TAYLOR LAW

One is to whip up as much public support for the vicious union-busting Taylor Law; the other is to demoralize the firemen themselves in order to insure that there will be no opposition to the planned cuts in the already negotiated wage settlement.

Victor Reisel, a fanatical labor hater, was given 10 minutes of time on Channel Five to denounce municipal strikes. He called the firemen's action "blackmail" and urged the city to set up a hard and fast law to ban all strikes.

What faces the firemen is almost the same thing as happened to the New York

hospital workers' struggle a short time ago. Through strike action, the hospital workers won a total of 11 percent increase in

wages and fringe benefits. This settlement was then reduced to 6 percent by the federal Cost of Living Council.

Oust Nixon Demand Panics USWA Leaders

BALTIMORE—At the recent meeting of United Steel Workers of America Local 2610 a resolution was introduced by a young worker demanding that the AFL-CIO call massive demonstrations of workers to force Nixon out now.

The resolution also demanded that together with the UAW and the Teamsters, the AFL convene a Congress of Labor to build a labor party. This, the resolution stated, was the first step toward a workers' government.

The officers of Local 2610 attempted to prevent the resolution from being read, saying that the Executive Board had moved to table it.

HOSPITAL STRIKE

In the fight against the motion to table, the speaker explained

the lessons of the hospital workers strike in New York which showed that the US government seeks to bust the unions and force wages down in this period of tremendous inflation.

UNPREPARED

By refusing to fight to force Nixon out, and by opposing the building of a labor party, the union officials are leaving steel workers unprepared to face these attacks by the government. Nixon's latest announcement of a 10 percent reduction in oil for industrial use will mean tremendous layoffs in steel.

The officers of Local 2610 refused to allow any discussion on the motion before rushing it to a vote. After the vote, with total contempt for democratic procedure, the president of the local allowed one of his cronies to go into a demagogic red-baiting speech to try and consciously divert the trade unionists from political questions.

The fight to build a revolutionary leadership in Local 2610 must now go forward. The interests of steel workers can only go forward through the fight to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

Press Pact Isolates ITU Jobs Fight

NEW YORK—Agreement has been reached on a new two year contract between the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 2 and the Daily News, the New York Times and the New York Post.

The wages agreement which is retroactive to March 30, 1973 provides a day shift increase of \$13.85 a week, well within the federal pay guidelines of 5.5 percent.

The pressmen will be meeting on December 2 to discuss ratification of the proposed pact.

Typographical Union No. 6 which negotiates for the printers has postponed its date for possible strike action until the end of the year.

President of the union Bertram Powers was fined \$250 for permitting a work stoppage earlier and the union faces massive fines if it strikes now.

The leadership of the Pressmen and the Newspaper

Guild not only backed down on a fight to break government pay limits, but have received no guarantees of job security from automation.

An ominous pattern is emerging. The printers face the elimination of hundreds of jobs due to new automated equipment. Virtually the entire trade is threatened with destruction.

The pacts with the Guild and the Pressmen establish precedents that will be used in negotiations with the printers to isolate them in the coming fight.

Printers must win an ironclad guarantee that there will be no elimination of jobs, either by layoffs or attrition.

Palestinian Leader Opposes Deal

FROM JOHN SPENCER IN BEIRUT

Bassam Abu Sharif, editor of Al Hadaf magazine, published in Beirut, is a leading opponent of attendance at the proposed Middle East "peace" conference.

He acts as spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PLFP).

"The ceasefire and the subsequent negotiations are of no concern to the Palestinian movement," he told me.

"We began our armed struggle a long time before 1967 at a time when the Sinai, West Bank, Gaza and Golan were not in Israeli hands.

"The liberation of the rest of our territory from Zionism is in negation with any settlement that would recognize Israel within secure boundaries. We started fighting a long time before 1967 and definitely a long time before October 6.

"The Palestinian revolution depends on the Arab liberation movement, but never on the decision of one regime or the other," he said.

"In 1965 Palestinian commandos returning to Jordan were shot out of hand by Hussein's armies.

"Palestinians returning to Lebanon from operations inside Israel were tortured to death. But this did not stop the struggle from continuing.

"As long as there is injustice and exploitation against the Palestinian people, this movement will continue.

"Though our position might be taken as an extremist one, events will prove that we are the ones offering the real peace.

"No Palestinian, no Arab, can accept the presence of Zionism in the midst of the Arab world.

"The world should not think that even if the Arab regimes sign this agreement the people will accept it.

"Inside Israel itself there are very important political changes. There are very clear indications that many Jews are starting to become conscious of

the endless spiral in which the Zionist movement has placed them.

"In our strategy we consider that progressive Jews and Arabs will fight together against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

"We believe that the Arab liberation movement as a whole is part of the world movement against imperialism, and exploitation and our allies in this wide front are the social forces, the world liberation movements and the working class and its revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries."

Set SSEU Strike Date

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—With less than five weeks left before the expiration of the SSEU-371 contract, the leadership has called a general membership meeting for Wednesday, November 27 to consider contract demands. This meeting must:

1. Vote for a policy of no contract, no work, putting the city on notice that the SSEU will strike for its demands.

2. Halt all reorganization before a contract is signed.

3. Force SSEU President Mary Pinkett to resign and schedule a new election.

4. Mobilize labor support behind the SSEU against Beame and Nixon.

SSEU President Pinkett is now working with Mayor Abraham Beame with whom she will soon serve on the City Council, to betray the SSEU contract struggle.

The SSEU Committee for New Leadership will propose a motion to the Wednesday meeting for a Jan. 1 strike deadline and Pinkett's resignation, mandating SSEU leaders call on District Council 37 and the New York City Central Labor Council to give it full backing in an all-out challenge to Nixon's wage guidelines.

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This letter is from a left activist in Chile who was arrested and tortured by the military junta that overthrew Allende's Popular Unity government on September 11, 1973.

The letter was smuggled out of the country by the Comité Solidario Peru and published in the French newspaper, Lutte Ouvrière, November 6-12, 1973.

We are reprinting it here to show the consequences of the Stalinist policies of a popular front which tied the Chilean workers to the capitalist parties and prepared the way for the fascist repression of the generals.

Five Days Of Torture And Terror In Chile Camps

On the evening of September 11, we were put in the hands of a "carabinier" patrol. These invaded the court of the barracks, shouting and crying, demanding that we should be shot on the spot.

Their brutality made the punishment we had received at the hands of the army fade in comparison.

At the commissariat, the treatment was still worse, because the carabiniers were training in "scientific" beating. There were already hundreds of people, who in the large majority had wounds, bruises and sores or even broken limbs as a result of the tortures.

The following day, we were taken again to the barracks and told we were to be shot at 10 o'clock. We were beaten up again and we had to go to the place chosen for the execution, about 40 meters away, our hands tied behind us.

We were placed on the execution platform. The anguish of those moments was indescribably. Then we were told again, the execution is at 10 o'clock. And someone said, "water for the prisoners."

The captain told us to note the generosity of the Chilean army.

After we had drunk, we were asked our last wishes. No one replied. "The hour of death is at noon," cried the captain. The stay of our execution gave us a timid hope, paler than the little winter sun which came through the windows.

'Chile' Stadium

Two new interrogations followed... We were told that we would be taken to the cemetery to be shot, and that our bodies would be burned.

But in fact, we were finally taken to the "Chile" stadium. This vast arena could hold a maximum of 30,000 people. All the prisoners were kept there for 24 hours.

When we arrived, thousands of prisoners were already grouped in long queues, pressed against each other, trying to avoid the blows dealt out without interruption by the soldiers and carabiniers.

The night fell and in the dark the blows came faster and faster, because the military feared that the mass of prisoners in their despair would hit out at their torturers. The groans of the wounded, the cries of the soldiers, the heartrending moans of the badly beaten up, the shots against prisoners who had gone mad and were being killed made us live Dantesque scenes.

The workers often spoke between each other, telling stories

about their lives, their families; each one gave the other the responsibility of caring for their families, if he had the chance of coming out of this hell. They were men of 20 or 30 years of age who had worked together in the factory, but they no longer felt the warmth of those times, and had lost hope.

Often the conversation was brusquely interrupted: the commander of the concentration camp was visiting the prisoners. He made a speech:

"The Marxist regime has dirtied the Chilean flag. The poor have been allowed to raise it

were above all workers. In their working clothes, one could see they had been arrested while working in the factory. With them were students, peasants, and foreigners. The whole stadium was chock full.

People were trying to protect themselves with thin covers. The food rations were irregular and meager. Between ten and 11 in the morning, a cup of coffee and a bit of bread, or sometimes nothing. Dinner at four or five in the afternoon, consisted of beans or lentils, a small ration, badly cooked and a bit of bread.

Hunger made our suffering



Troops taking students to prison.

over their huts...this was an attack on private property ... other outrages against the flag, when the peasants took possession of expropriated farms... an insult to the flag which was raised over the entrance of industrial monopolies which had been expropriated... the discipline of the workers... liberty... democracy... etc. The glorious Chilean armed forces finally decided to make a military pronouncement, to eliminate 'Marxist totalitarianism.' Thus cried the commandant and forced us to repeat his words.

On Sunday, September 16, they started to move people into the "Nacional" stadium. The prisoners were guarded by strong military contingents. In the second to the last group was Victor Jara, a well-known popular singer, Littré Quiroga, a member of the Popular Unity government, Luis Vitale, and many other workers' leaders.

When we arrived at the Stadium, towards 7 p.m., some of the prisoners told us about the horrible death of Jara and Quiroga. One had broken their hands with rifle butts. Half dead, maddened by the pain of the blows, Jara died singing.

On Monday September 17, the stadium was full of victims of the terror. There were perhaps 12,000 or 15,000... In the central stadium there

even worse.

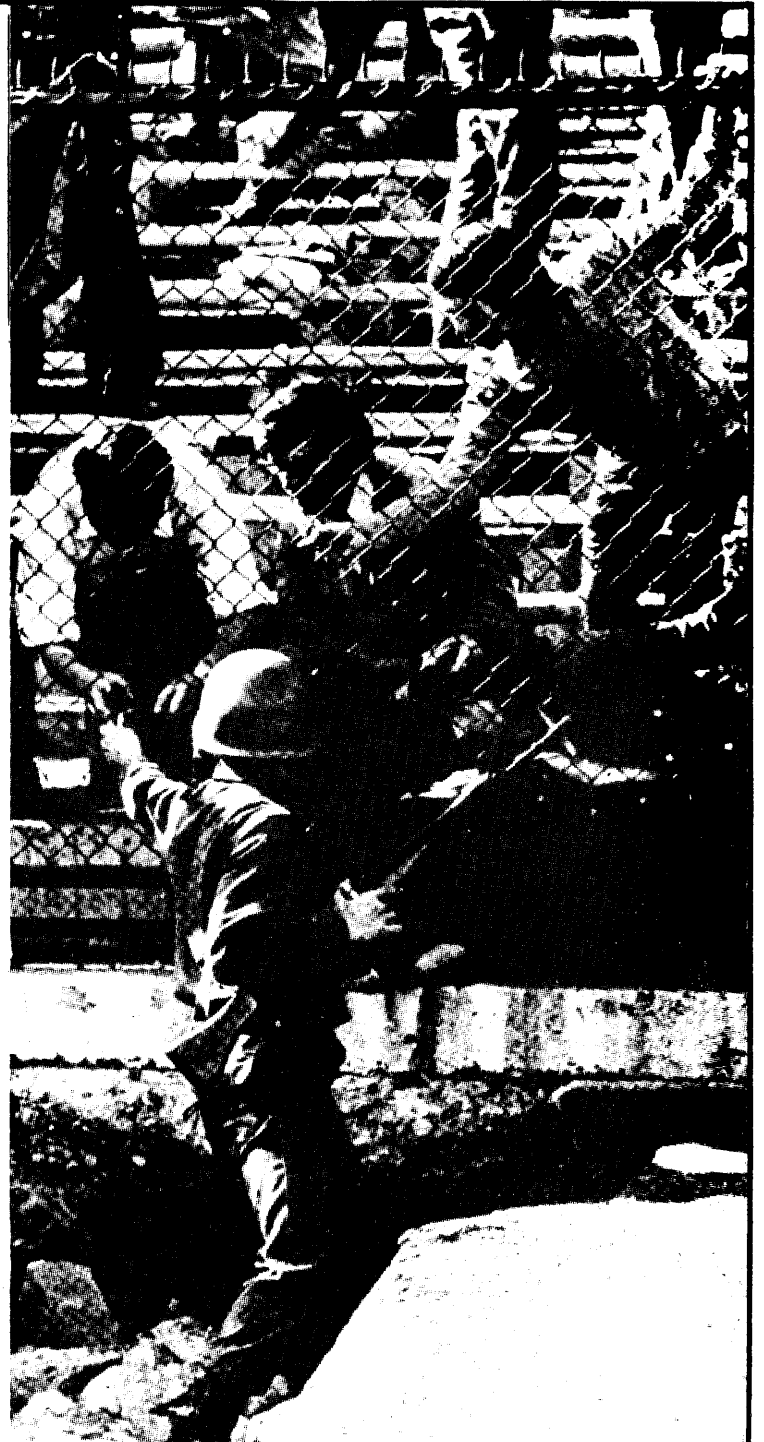
The soldiers sold cigarettes to us at 200, 300 or 400 escudos for a pack (the official price is ten escudos). One, two, up to ten people would smoke the same cigarette.

In the night, one would sleep pressed close to each other for a little warmth. The firing the night meant that workers were being killed. In the middle of the night, soldiers or carabiniers would ask for such and such a worker or political leader.

We would usually say this person was not among us, especially during the night, and when it was carabiniers or air force soldiers who were looking for them, it was certain that people looked for by them would be shot.

The interrogation continued. But more "advanced" methods were used, since the military now had the assistance of the Brazilian, Uruguayan and Bolivian torturers.

The majority of the foreigners were thrown out of the country, with the exception of the Brazilians, Uruguayans and Bolivians and the people of Central America, who were treated without distinction as "Cubans." They were sent before a military tribunal and many of them were assassinated. You entered the stadium in



Soldier selling cigarettes to prisoners in Santiago's football stadium.

file, like animals which are being led to the slaughter. Bent over, our hands on our head, we followed the long corridors. Traces of blood on the steps told us about the corpses of simple workers struck down by the military.

Among the thousands of prisoners, an atmosphere of agony and fear reigned. The number of detained in the stadium was 6000.

The greater part of these were workers from the nationalized factories. They were forced to leave their factories, where they had assembled in the vain hope of receiving orders from the government or a sign of what had to be done from their organization or political parties.

Everywhere, this took place in more or less the same way, in the nationalized factories, in the "Cordons," etc. Men, women, children gathered together, understanding none of this brutality...

Five Days Terror

These were five days of torture, murder, and terror. Two young Argentinians, workers in a nationalized industry, were accused of killing a carabinier officer.

The army, which interrogated them, could not establish their guilt, but on Thursday at two in the morning, the carabiniers came to find them.

They implored them to save their lives. They were beaten until the soldiers grew too tired, their hands were broken on the cement with rifle butts, their faces ran with blood, their ribs were broken, they were taken into the basement of the stadium and killed by being beaten up with rifle butts and kicks.

One prisoner, who was so brutally beaten up that he could

not stand the blows, threw himself head first from the upper seats to the ground; his limbs broken, his head broken, he was finished off with a round from a machine gun.

During the long nights, the cries and moans came from below the stadium where torture was going on and made sleep impossible, and filled us with terror.

Who could say how many people were killed during those days?

We could soon distinguish the cries: a short sharp cry—that was a blow on the arms and feet, the second longer one, more agonizing, that was rifle butts in the belly and the back, then the unending cries until life escaped in a flood of blood.

People suspected of being MIR, PS, PC or MAPU militants, leaders of nationalized factories, unions, political organizations, or activists were the first to undergo torture.

For these candidates of death, the first two or three days of torture, prison, hunger, cold, dampness were made possible because in this narrow part of the stadium they felt surrounded by the warmest working class solidarity.

The fourth day, the fever, the tension, our tortured bodies, forced us to demand food.

We were given a small ration of lentils, full of little stones, which calmed our hunger slightly.

Other unfortunates were still in the torture rooms where they were forced to stay for 36 hours, in a glacial draft, immobile, lying on their stomach, their hands on their head, their arms crossed, their chest crushed on the floor sticky with blood, without being able to drink a drop of water, or satisfy their needs.



Introduction

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Never have the conditions for building this revolutionary leadership been so urgent in Britain. As prices skyrocket at a rate even faster than in the US and as wages are policed by laws imposed by the government, a vast conspiracy against the democratic rights of the working class is being revealed.

Only the WRP has campaigned day in and day out to bring the Tory government down. On November 4, a decisive step forward was taken with the founding conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party. The discussion held throughout Britain around the perspectives document laid the basis for founding the Party which will lead the working class in the struggle against the rotting capitalist system to establish socialism.

Part One

The building of a revolutionary party to prepare for power is now the most urgent task facing the British working class movement. Only through the construction of such a leadership can the working class defend its standard of living and its basic democratic rights.

The alternative is clear. On a world scale the capitalist system has entered a deeper stage of its insoluble crisis. The money markets are in constant convulsion, stock markets are weak and nervous, the commodity markets are achieving record turnovers as speculators prefer to buy cocoa and groundnuts rather than paper money; and gold trebles in price. The burden of the international capitalist anarchy is being foisted on the backs of the working class in the form of enormous increases in the cost of living.

The capitalist great powers are now involved in an international trade war in which every monopoly and bank fights to eliminate its rivals. The working class is to be made to pay for this cut-throat struggle. The weapon of competitive devaluations, without regard to the chaos caused in the world monetary system, is being ruthlessly wielded by the capitalist governments in this trade war.

The Tory government in Britain was well to the fore with the floating of the pound in 1972. It is ruthlessly using the devaluation of sterling deliberately to boost the inflation of import prices and break the living standards of the workers, while reaping the maximum profit on export markets. Every commodity sold at "competitive" prices on world markets as the pound goes down carries with it a slice carved out of the living standards of the working class.

The trade union leaders, through their talks with the Tory government, and the Labour Party leaders, by their complete refusal to challenge the Tories, are being used as the main weapon to impose this strategy on the working class. Without any doubt, the ruling class knows that inflation inescapably prepares the ground for mass

struggle and revolution. It knows that to encourage inflation makes it necessary to prepare on this basis the building of counter-revolutionary and fascist movements.

Only against this background—deliberately engineered inflation, revolution and counterrevolution, treachery of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships—can the tasks facing the working class be understood.

All the great battles building up on wages, rents, jobs, and defense of democratic rights, will take their character from this revolutionary perspective. Equally, the first task in every one of these struggles is the building of revolutionary leadership adequate to the task of the struggle for working class power.

Since the Tory government came to power three years ago the cost of living has risen by almost 40 percent. The annual rate of increase in basic prices is running at over 9 percent. At the same time the government has introduced state dictatorship over wages. The right of free collective bargaining has been outlawed. Only the retreats and class collaboration of the trade union and Labour Party leaders, assisted by the Communist Party, have made it possible for the Tories to carry through this corporatist legislation.

Under Phase Two of the state pay laws wage increases are limited to 1 pound plus 4 percent while the price of foodstuffs and household goods soars to record levels. The result? The wholesale impoverishment of millions of working class families.

The rapid acceleration in the cost of living is only the beginning of the effects of the world economic crisis. It will also bring the collapse of many industrial and financial concerns; millions of house owners—workers and middle class alike—will be faced with impossible payments on mortgages as interest rates increase because of inflationary pressure; the savings of millions of people, and the incomes of pensioners and all fixed-income groups, as well as those of workers whose wages are state

controlled, will decline at a more and more rapid rate.

The government of every capitalist country faces a situation in which only a crushing defeat of its "own" working class will give the capitalist class the slightest chance of economic and political survival.

The policies of the ruling class in Britain must follow the line of preparation for such complete confrontation and defeat. That is why every apparent concession through discussion with the trade union leaders and every promise to "deal with" the effects of price inflation is designed purely to buy time to prepare for the inevitable showdown.

Today British capitalism, like world capitalism, is at the end of all "compromise" solutions to the class struggle. The ruling class senses that it cannot impose new solutions. Having relied until now on the reformist leaders of the working class to sell compromises—to restrict the organized strength of the class purely to the role of "pressure" for small reforms—they must now put an end to reforms and take back what has been won by the working class in centuries of struggle.

So they prepare energetically to defeat the working class in struggle. Every single basic right of the work class is in immediate and extreme danger.

But just as the employing class and the Tories cannot any longer rule in the old way with compromise, reform and the "swing of the electoral pendulum," so the working class cannot go on with the old leadership and the old betrayals.

It is not just a matter of changes over three years of one government, which can be reversed simply by replacing that government at the end of its term. Nor is it even only a matter of the Tories destroying the gains in living standards made by the organized working class movement since World War Two. What is happening is that the whole pattern of social and political relations between the classes in Britain is now forced to change.

The British working class faces the most critical situation and the most momentous decisions in its history. The old forms of political and wages protests—the reformist Labour Party and the trade unions—can no longer defend workers' interests. Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader, and Victor Feather of the TUC, who personify this labor aristocracy, have shown time and again that they will betray the working class: they are not opponents of capitalism, they are creatures of it.

It is not possible to "reform" capitalism. The destruction of any basis for reformism has been bluntly and finally completed by Heath's legal dictatorship over wages and the state control of trade unions embodied

in the Industrial Relations Act.

In the life and death struggle in front, the opportunities and dangers are clear. Either the working class goes forward under revolutionary leadership to smash capitalism and release the productive forces from the fetters of private ownership, or the ruling class intensifies its headlong drive towards corporatism and dictatorship.

The working class urgently needs a program to defend all its basic democratic rights, to unite the whole working class in action to remove the Tory government.

Defense of basic rights today means preparation for revolutionary struggle and working class power. It is the great depth of the crisis of the capitalist system which forces the Tory government to destroy these rights. There can be no going back to the boom, to a type of Tory government which can still tolerate free trade unions and democratic rights.

The same crisis conditions which produce the attack on basic rights also produce the basis for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Reformism is incapable of defending the trade unions and the basic rights of the working class. For this it is essential that a new revolutionary leadership be built in the working class movement.

Facing the clearly revealed threat of losing everything it has gained through its trade unions and its political struggle, the British working class must now find the men and women, the discipline and the fighting capacity to resist this attack, this attempt to turn back the clock of history. That means a new party must be built, a party that can defeat and replace the bankrupt labor and Stalinist leaders and unite the working class around a program to defeat the Tory attack.

Such a task can certainly be accomplished. Throughout the first three years of Heath rule, the working class has shown time and again its ability to fight and its determination to struggle. Despite the cowardly retreats of the trade union leaders, millions of workers have entered the battle not only against their employers but against the Tory government—postmen, council workers, miners, car workers, shipyard workers, building workers, dockers, hospital workers, civil servants and teachers.

These betrayals of leadership culminated in the collaboration of the TUC General Council with the Heath government in tripartite talks on the eve of entry into the Common Market and the TUC's decision to reopen talks on Phase Three of the state pay laws. The trade union leaders, by refusing to lead their members in a political struggle to defeat the Tory government, are left with no middle road; they become open instru-

The Political Struggle

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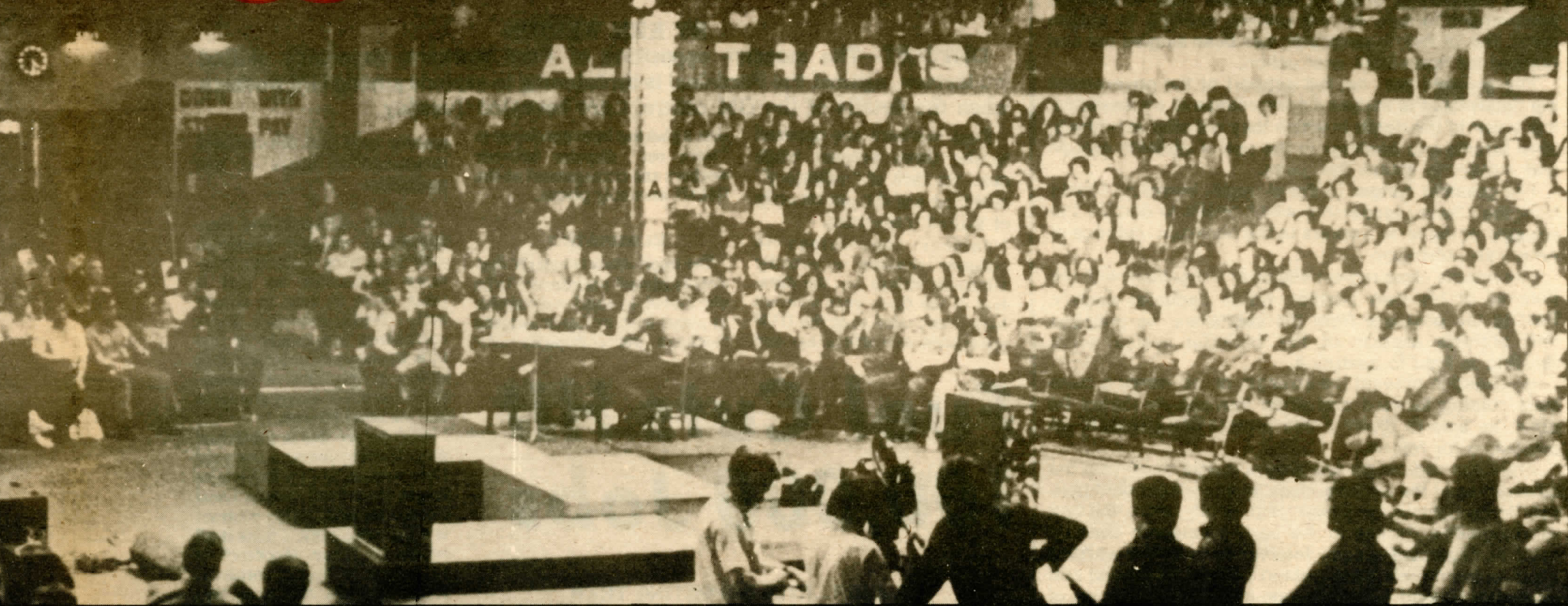
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Struggle Today



ments of government policy.

The trade unions preserve the strength of the working class. But the reformist, class collaborationist politics of the leadership of these unions has now become one of the wheels in the capitalist machine being constructed to destroy that same strength.

The gains of all past struggles are at stake and new ways of struggle must be found. This necessity is not just something asserted or invented by Marxists: it is imposed on the working class by the crisis of world capitalism and the decline of British imperialism. Either a change to revolutionary policies, program and organization, or else the working class will be smashed!

There can be no questioning the fact that the British working class has the strength and capacity to unite behind a revolutionary party and to provide the forces for it. The struggles since 1970 amply prove this. But the working class forces have been going into action separately, one after the other, instead of as a concerted body. They are scattered and divided because of the policies and tactics of the trade union leaders. Unless every socialist and class conscious worker takes up responsibility for the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party, then the situation can only deteriorate rapidly. There can be no standing still.

Millions of working class families are saddled with impossible increases in food prices and rent increases. Millions of trade unionists are suddenly and brutally told that to press their justified wage demands means to break the law. Unemployed workers face a life on the dole queue living off paltry state handouts. Youth and students see their education opportunities whipped away by Tory cuts and they become simply a source of cheap labor and the focus of police harassment.

A socialist program to unite all these sections is the need of the hour. The building of the revolutionary party, far from conflicting with the unity of the working class movement, is the only way to assure that unity. The great obstacle to unity is the present reformist leadership.

The Role Of The State

The great battles immediately ahead—on wages, prices, rents and the defense of democratic rights—can in every case only be understood, and successfully waged, by seizing the central question of preparing for state power.

Every one of these battles is now openly a

battle with the Tory government requiring a struggle to create the industrial and political conditions for the government to resign.

Either the present Tory government and the capitalist state remain and wield the authority of the state machine to impose the will of the ruling class on the working class and its allies in the middle class; or the capitalist state is smashed and replaced by the power of the working class. The banks, land and monopolies must be nationalized without compensation and placed under workers' control, so that the resources of the national economy can be planned to solve the problems of prices, housing, health and education.

The return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is the key to uniting the working class for this aim. Never were the conditions more favorable for building the revolutionary party.

Already millions of working men and women are realizing that their whole existence is threatened. State control of wages, rocketing price and rent increases, loss of democratic rights and legislation to destroy the trade unions—all these attacks are designed to destroy the working class as a class which fights to defend itself and change the social system.

The Tory government aims to reduce every worker to the level of an isolated citizen obeying the authority of the state and the employer. Against this background, the new taxation and income proposals announced by the Tory government have the most sinister meaning. Their aim is to bring into existence a large pool of the lower paid working class directly dependent on state handouts barely sufficient to keep them alive. These benefits can, of course, be withdrawn in any case by the government, for example, during a strike.

In this way the Tories seek to separate a large section of the working class from their trade unions and carefully prepare the ground for recruitment into extreme right-wing and fascist organizations. Once again, in all these developments, the state and government are not neutral, standing above the conflicts, but the direct instrument of the reactionary aims of the ruling class.

The deepening international crisis means that every capitalist government faces the same problem—to defeat the working class decisively and prepare for civil war. The Tory government in Britain has for three years been testing the instruments of civil war repression in Ulster—torture, internment without trial, Special Air Services (SAS), murder squads, provocations, infiltration and spying. It has armed the British police with "man-stopping" new pistols and high velocity, telescopic-sighted rifles irrevocably ending

the image and tradition of the unarmed policeman.

The same Tory government will not shrink from the banning of political organizations and newspapers, along the lines already begun in France, where the Pompidou government has made illegal the Ligue Communiste (a revisionist organization) and arrested its leading members.

Every Labour and trade union leader who acts in any way to prevent the working class from using all its strength to defeat the government now is as historically guilty as were the leaders who betrayed the German workers to Hitler.

On every major issue the Labour and trade union leaders act as a coalition with the Tories—on the Common Market, the so-called Counter-Inflation policy of wage controls, Northern Ireland, the "fair rents" Act and the Industrial Relations Act. The struggle against this reformism, whose bankruptcy threatens the whole future of the working class, is at the center of the fight of the British working class. Only a revolutionary party based on Marxism can carry through this struggle.

The TUC's talks with the government about "controlling inflation" are nothing more than collaboration with the Tories' actual use of inflation as a big stick: to frighten and stampede the middle class and to weaken and divide the working class. The Labour Party leaders who organized no opposition against the "anti-inflation" legislation, even advising compliance with it, are willing assistants in the drive to the police state.

Seventy years of reformist class collaboration, in which the Labour leaders and trade union bureaucrats preferred to share in the profits of Britain's imperialist exploitation rather than fight for socialist policies, have borne their rotten fruit. As the working class prepares to fight for its life against the Tory government and the capitalist state, the Labour leaders are revealed at every turn as nothing more than props of the capitalist system.

Wilson has no intention whatsoever of accepting even the partial nationalization proposals made by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. Meanwhile leading members of the same NEC are directly implicated in the Poulson local government corruption case. One member of the executive, Andrew Cunningham, northern regional officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, is under arrest and facing conspiracy charges. These are the men who claim to represent the working class in Parliament, on local council, in trade unions and at the Labour Party annual conference.

Even as the Tory government is sucked into an enormous political and economic

crisis, the TUC leaders seek every way of continuing their cooperation with Heath. But the working class movement has begun to act against these collaborators.

The Socialist Labour League has fought unceasingly for the ending of trade union talks with the Tory government over its state pay laws. Every other tendency in the labor movement refused to take up this call. The Stalinists and "lefts" covered up for Hugh Scanlon, president of the engineers' union, when he advocated talks with the government in return for a deal on the Industrial Relations Act and the Common Market.

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The British capitalist class has used the trade union bureaucracy to impose this rule for 100 years. Now, in defense of its living standards and basic rights, the working class begins to insist that the union leaders must not serve the capitalist state in its hour of greatest need.

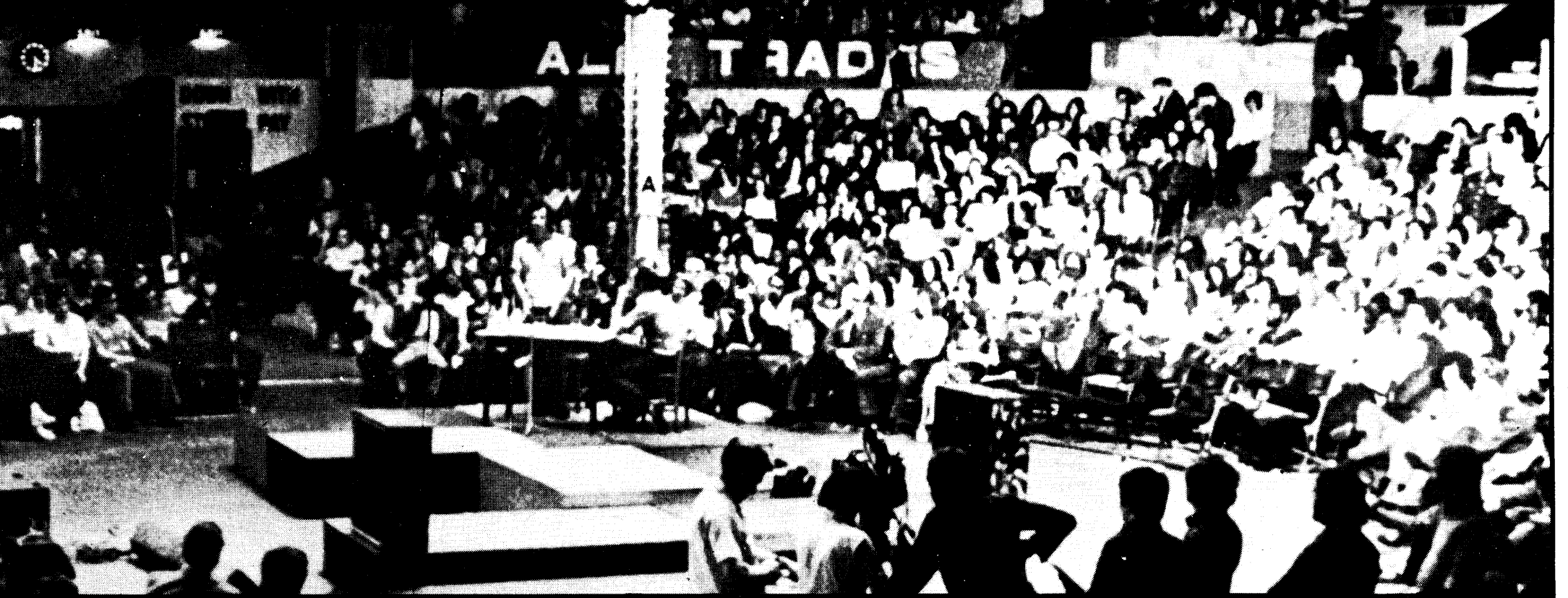
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There can be no question that a turning point in the relationship of class forces has been reached. It would be fatal to be satisfied with breaking up the TUC's talks team with the government and reverting to the pursuance of wages militancy. The class enemy will react and prepare in his own way. Every time the working class makes an advance of this kind the inevitability of a clash for state power is even more sharply posed. In such a clash the decisive question is revolutionary leadership. It is essential the Socialist Labour League is transformed into the revolutionary party to lead this struggle.

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The gains of all past struggles are at stake and new ways of struggle must be found. This necessity is not just something asserted or invented by Marxists: it is imposed on the working class by the crisis of world capitalism and the decline of British imperialism. Either a change to revolutionary policies, program and organization, or else the working class will be smashed!

There can be no questioning the fact that the British working class has the strength and capacity to unite behind a revolutionary party and to provide the forces for it. The struggles since 1970 amply prove this. But the working class forces have been going into action separately, one after the other, instead of as a concerted body. They are scattered and divided because of the policies and tactics of the trade union leaders. Unless every socialist and class conscious worker takes up responsibility for the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party, then the situation can only deteriorate rapidly. There can be no standing still.

Millions of working class families are saddled with impossible increases in food prices and rent increases. Millions of trade unionists are suddenly and brutally told that to press their justified wage demands means to break the law. Unemployed workers face a life on the dole queue living off paltry state handouts. Youth and students see their education opportunities whipped away by Tory cuts and they become simply a source of cheap labor and the focus of police harassment.

A socialist program to unite all these sections is the need of the hour. The building of the revolutionary party, far from conflicting with the unity of the working class movement, is the only way to assure that unity. The great obstacle to unity is the present reformist leadership.

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Either the present Tory government and the capitalist state remain and wield the authority of the state machine to impose the will of the ruling class on the working class and its allies in the middle class; or the capitalist state is smashed and replaced by the power of the working class. The banks, land and monopolies must be nationalized without compensation and placed under workers' control, so that the resources of the national economy can be planned to solve the problems of prices, housing, health and education.

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The Tory government aims to reduce every worker to the level of an isolated citizen obeying the authority of the state and the employer. Against this background, the new taxation and income proposals announced by the Tory government have the most sinister meaning. Their aim is to bring into existence a large pool of the lower paid working class directly dependent on state handouts barely sufficient to keep them alive. These benefits can, of course, be withdrawn in any case by the government, for example, during a strike.

In this way the Tories seek to separate a large section of the working class from their trade unions and carefully prepare the ground for recruitment into extreme right-wing and fascist organizations. Once again, in all these developments, the state and government are not neutral, standing above the conflicts, but the direct instrument of the reactionary aims of the ruling class.

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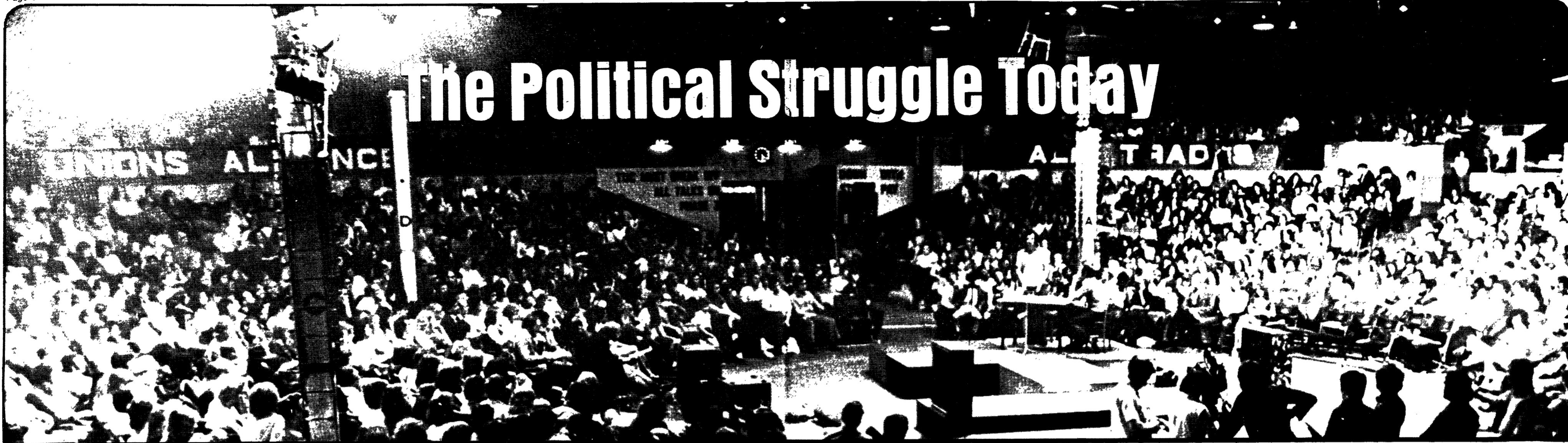
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Part One

The building of a revolutionary party to prepare for power is now the most urgent task facing the British working class movement. Only through the construction of such a leadership can the working class defend its standard of living and its basic democratic rights.

The alternative is clear. On a world scale the capitalist system has entered a deeper stage of its insoluble crisis. The money markets are in constant convulsion, stock markets are weak and nervous, the commodity markets are achieving record turnovers as speculators prefer to buy cocoa and groundnuts rather than paper money; and gold trembles in price. The burden of the international capitalist anarchy is being foisted on the backs of the working class in the form of enormous increases in the cost of living.

The capitalist great powers are now involved in an international trade war in which every monopoly and bank fights to eliminate its rivals. The working class is to be made to pay for this cut-throat struggle. The weapon of competitive devaluations, without regard to the chaos caused in the world monetary system, is being ruthlessly wielded by the capitalist governments in this trade war.

The Tory government in Britain was well to the fore with the floating of the pound in 1972. It is ruthlessly using the devaluation of sterling deliberately to boost the inflation of import prices and break the living standards of the workers, while reaping the maximum profit on export markets. Every commodity sold at "competitive" prices on world markets as the pound goes down carries with it a slice carved out of the living standards of the working class.

The trade union leaders, through their talks with the Tory government, and the Labour Party leaders, by their complete refusal to challenge the Tories, are being used as the main weapon to impose this strategy on the working class. Without any doubt, the ruling class knows that inflation inescapably prepares the ground for mass

struggle and revolution. It knows that to encourage inflation makes it necessary to prepare on this basis the building of counter-revolutionary and fascist movements.

Only against this background—deliberately engineered inflation, revolution and counterrevolution, treachery of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships—can the tasks facing the working class be understood.

All the great battles building up on wages, rents, jobs, and defense of democratic rights will take their character from this revolutionary perspective. Equally, the first task in every one of these struggles is the building of revolutionary leadership adequate to the task of the struggle for working class power.

Since the Tory government came to power three years ago the cost of living has risen by almost 40 percent. The annual rate of increase in basic prices is running at over 9 percent. At the same time the government has introduced state dictatorship over wages. The right of free collective bargaining has been outlawed. Only the retreats and class collaboration of the trade union and Labour Party leaders, assisted by the Communist Party, have made it possible for the Tories to carry through this corporatist legislation.

Under Phase Two of the state pay laws wage increases are limited to 1 pound plus 4 percent while the price of foodstuffs and household goods soars to record levels. The result? The wholesale impoverishment of millions of working class families.

The rapid acceleration in the cost of living is only the beginning of the effects of the world economic crisis. It will also bring the collapse of many industrial and financial concerns; millions of house owners—workers and middle class alike—will be faced with impossible payments on mortgages as interest rates increase because of inflationary pressure; the savings of millions of people, and the incomes of pensioners and all fixed-income groups, as well as those of workers whose wages are state

controlled, will decline at a more and more rapid rate.

The government of every capitalist country faces a situation in which only a crushing defeat of its "own" working class will give the capitalist class the slightest chance of economic and political survival.

The policies of the ruling class in Britain must follow the line of preparation for such complete confrontation and defeat. That is why every apparent concession through discussion with the trade union leaders and every promise to "deal with" the effects of price inflation is designed purely to buy time to prepare for the inevitable showdown.

Today British capitalism, like world capitalism, is at the end of all "compromise" solutions to the class struggle. The ruling class senses that it cannot impose new solutions. Having relied until now on the reformist leaders of the working class to sell compromises—to restrict the organized strength of the class purely to the role of "pressure" for small reforms—they must now put an end to reforms and take back what has been won by the working class in centuries of struggle.

So they prepare energetically to defeat the working class in struggle. Every single basic right of the work class is in immediate and extreme danger. But just as the employing class and the Tories cannot any longer rule in the old way with compromise, reform and the "swing of the electoral pendulum," so the working class cannot go on with the old leadership and the old betrayals.

It is not just a matter of changes over three years of one government, which can be reversed simply by replacing that government at the end of its term. Nor is it even only a matter of the Tories destroying the gains in living standards made by the organized working class movement since World War Two. What is happening is that the whole pattern of social and political relations between the classes in Britain is now forced to change.

The British working class faces the most critical situation and the most momentous decisions in its history. The old forms of political and wages protests—the reformist Labour Party and the trade unions—can no longer defend workers' interests. Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader, and Victor Feather of the TUC, who personify this labor aristocracy, have shown time and again that they will betray the working class: they are not opponents of capitalism, they are creatures of it.

It is not possible to "reform" capitalism. The destruction of any basis for reformism has been bluntly and finally completed by Heath's legal dictatorship over wages and the state control of trade unions embodied

in the Industrial Relations Act.

In the life and death struggle in front, the opportunities and dangers are clear. Either the working class goes forward under revolutionary leadership to smash capitalism and release the productive forces from the fetters of private ownership, or the ruling class intensifies its headlong drive towards corporatism and dictatorship.

The working class urgently needs a program to defend all its basic democratic rights, to unite the whole working class in action to remove the Tory government.

Defense of basic rights today means preparation for revolutionary struggle and working class power. It is the great depth of the crisis of the capitalist system which forces the Tory government to destroy these rights. There can be no going back to the boom, to a type of Tory government which can still tolerate free trade unions and democratic rights.

The same crisis conditions which produce the attack on basic rights also produce the basis for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Reformism is incapable of defending the trade unions and the basic rights of the working class. For this it is essential that a new revolutionary leadership be built in the working class movement.

Facing the clearly revealed threat of losing everything it has gained through its trade unions and its political struggle, the British working class must now find the men and women, the discipline and the fighting capacity to resist this attack... this attempt to turn back the clock of history. That means a new party must be built, a party that can defeat and replace the bankrupt labor and Stalinist leaders and unite the working class around a program to defeat the Tory attack.

Such a task can certainly be accomplished. Throughout the first three years of Heath rule, the working class has shown time and again its ability to fight and its determination to struggle. Despite the cowardly retreats of the trade union leaders, millions of workers have entered the battle not only against their employers but against the Tory government—postmen, council workers, miners, car workers, shipyard workers, building workers, dockers, hospital workers, civil servants and teachers.

These betrayals of leadership culminated in the collaboration of the TUC General Council with the Heath government in tripartite talks on the eve of entry into the Common Market and the TUC's decision to reopen talks on Phase Three of the state pay laws. The trade union leaders, by refusing to lead their members in a political struggle to defeat the Tory government, are left with no middle road; they become open instru-

ments of government policy.

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So they prepare energetically to defeat the working class in struggle. Every single basic right of the work class is in immediate and extreme danger.

But just as the employing class and the Tories cannot any longer rule in the old way with compromise, reform and the "swing of the electoral pendulum," so the working class cannot go on with the old leadership and the old betrayals.

It is not just a matter of changes over three years of one government, which can be reversed simply by replacing that government at the end of its term. Nor is it even only a matter of the Tories destroying the gains in living standards made by the organized working class movement since World War Two. What is happening is that the whole pattern of social and political relations between the classes in Britain is now forced to change.

The British working class faces the most critical situation and the most momentous decisions in its history. The old forms of political and wages protests—the reformist Labour Party and the trade unions—can no longer defend workers' interests. Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader, and Victor Feather of the TUC, who personify this labor aristocracy, have shown time and again that they will betray the working class: they are not opponents of capitalism, they are creatures of it.

It is not possible to "reform" capitalism. The destruction of any basis for reformism has been bluntly and finally completed by Heath's legal dictatorship over wages and the state control of trade unions embodied

in the Industrial Relations Act.

In the life and death struggle in front, the opportunities and dangers are clear. Either the working class goes forward under revolutionary leadership to smash capitalism and release the productive forces from the fetters of private ownership, or the ruling class intensifies its headlong drive towards corporatism and dictatorship.

The working class urgently needs a program to defend all its basic democratic rights, to unite the whole working class in action to remove the Tory government.

Defense of basic rights today means preparation for revolutionary struggle and working class power. It is the great depth of the crisis of the capitalist system which forces the Tory government to destroy these rights. There can be no going back to the boom, to a type of Tory government which can still tolerate free trade unions and democratic rights.

The same crisis conditions which produce the attack on basic rights also produce the basis for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Reformism is incapable of defending the trade unions and the basic rights of the working class. For this it is essential that a new revolutionary leadership be built in the working class movement.

Facing the clearly revealed threat of losing everything it has gained through its trade unions and its political struggle, the British working class must now find the men and women, the discipline and the fighting capacity to resist this attack, this attempt to turn back the clock of history. That means a new party must be built, a party that can defeat and replace the bankrupt labor and Stalinist leaders and unite the working class around a program to defeat the Tory attack.

Such a task can certainly be accomplished. Throughout the first three years of Heath rule, the working class has shown time and again its ability to fight and its determination to struggle. Despite the cowardly retreats of the trade union leaders, millions of workers have entered the battle not only against their employers but against the Tory government—postmen, council workers, miners, car workers, shipyard workers, building workers, dockers, hospital workers, civil servants and teachers.

These betrayals of leadership culminated in the collaboration of the TUC General Council with the Heath government in tripartite talks on the eve of entry into the Common Market and the TUC's decision to reopen talks on Phase Three of the state pay laws. The trade union leaders, by refusing to lead their members in a political struggle to defeat the Tory government, are left with no middle road; they become open instru-

ments of government policy.

The trade unions preserve the strength of the working class. But the reformist, class collaborationist politics of the leadership of these unions has now become one of the wheels in the capitalist machine being constructed to destroy that same strength.

The gains of all past struggles are at stake and new ways of struggle must be found. This necessity is not just something asserted or invented by Marxists: it is imposed on the working class by the crisis of world capitalism and the decline of British imperialism. Either a change to revolutionary policies, program and organization, or else the working class will be smashed!

There can be no questioning the fact that the British working class has the strength and capacity to unite behind a revolutionary party and to provide the forces for it. The struggles since 1970 amply prove this. But the working class forces have been going into action separately, one after the other, instead of as a concerted body. They are scattered and divided because of the policies and tactics of the trade union leaders. Unless every socialist and class conscious worker takes up responsibility for the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party, then the situation can only deteriorate rapidly. There can be no standing still.

Millions of working class families are saddled with impossible increases in food prices and rent increases. Millions of trade unionists are suddenly and brutally told that to press their justified wage demands means to break the law. Unemployed workers face a life on the dole queue living off paltry state handouts. Youth and students see their education opportunities whipped away by Tory cuts and they become simply a source of cheap labor and the focus of police harassment.

A socialist program to unite all these sections is the need of the hour. The building of the revolutionary party, far from conflicting with the unity of the working class movement, is the only way to assure that unity. The great obstacle to unity is the present reformist leadership.

The Role Of The State

The great battles immediately ahead—on wages, prices, rents and the defense of democratic rights—can in every case only be understood, and successfully waged, by seizing the central question of preparing for state power.

Every one of these battles is now openly a

battle with the Tory government requiring a struggle to create the industrial and political conditions for the government to resign.

Either the present Tory government and the capitalist state remain and wield the authority of the state machine to impose the will of the ruling class on the working class and its allies in the middle class; or the capitalist state is smashed and replaced by the power of the working class. The banks, land and monopolies must be nationalized without compensation and placed under workers' control, so that the resources of the national economy can be planned to solve the problems of prices, housing, health and education.

The return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is the key to uniting the working class for this aim. Never were the conditions more favorable for building the revolutionary party.

Already millions of working men and women are realizing that their whole existence is threatened. State control of wages, rocketing price and rent increases, loss of democratic rights and legislation to destroy the trade unions—all these attacks are designed to destroy the working class as a class which fights to defend itself and change the social system.

The Tory government aims to reduce every worker to the level of an isolated citizen obeying the authority of the state and the employer. Against this background, the new taxation and income proposals announced by the Tory government have the most sinister meaning. Their aim is to bring into existence a large pool of the lower paid working class directly dependent on state handouts barely sufficient to keep them alive. These benefits can, of course, be withdrawn in any case by the government, for example, during a strike.

In this way the Tories seek to separate a large section of the working class from their trade unions and carefully prepare the ground for recruitment into extreme right-wing and fascist organizations. Once again, in all these developments, the state and government are not neutral, standing above the conflicts, but the direct instrument of the reactionary aims of the ruling class.

The deepening international crisis means that every capitalist government faces the same problem—to defeat the working class decisively and prepare for civil war. The Tory government in Britain has for three years been testing the instruments of civil war repression in Ulster—torture, internment without trial, Special Air Services (SAS), murder squads, provocations, infiltration and spying. It has armed the British police with "man-stopping" new pistols and high velocity, telescopic-sighted rifles irrevocably ending

the image and tradition of the unarmed policeman.

The same Tory government will not shrink from the banning of political organizations and newspapers, along the lines already begun in France, where the Pompidou government has made illegal the Ligue Communiste (a revisionist organization) and arrested its leading members.

Every Labour and trade union leader who acts in any way to prevent the working class from using all its strength to defeat the government now is as historically guilty as were the leaders who betrayed the German workers to Hitler.

On every major issue the Labour and trade union leaders act as a coalition with the Tories—on the Common Market, the so-called Counter-Inflation policy of wage controls, Northern Ireland, the "fair rents" Act and the Industrial Relations Act. The struggle against this reformism, whose bankruptcy threatens the whole future of the working class, is at the center of the fight of the British working class. Only a revolutionary party based on Marxism can carry through this struggle.

The TUC's talks with the government about "controlling inflation" are nothing more than collaboration with the Tories' actual use of inflation as a big stick: to frighten and stampede the middle class and to weaken and divide the working class.

The Labour Party leaders who organized no opposition against the "anti-inflation" legislation, even advising compliance with it, are willing assistants in the drive to the police state.

Seventy years of reformist class collaboration, in which the Labour leaders and trade union bureaucrats preferred to share in the profits of Britain's imperialist exploitation rather than fight for socialist policies, have borne their rotten fruit. As the working class prepares to fight for its life against the Tory government and the capitalist state, the Labour leaders are revealed at every turn as nothing more than props of the capitalist system.

Wilson has no intention whatsoever of accepting even the partial nationalization proposals made by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. Meanwhile leading members of the same NEC are directly implicated in the Poulson local government corruption case. One member of the executive, Andrew Cunningham, northern regional officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, is under arrest and facing conspiracy charges. These are the men who claim to represent the working class in Parliament, on local council, in trade unions and at the Labour Party annual conference.

Even as the Tory government is sucked into an enormous political and economic

crisis, the TUC leaders seek every way of continuing their cooperation with Heath. But the working class movement has begun to act against these collaborators.

The Socialist Labour League has fought unceasingly for the ending of trade union talks with the Tory government over its state pay laws. Every other tendency in the labor movement refused to take up this call. The Stalinists and "lefts" covered up for Hugh Scanlon, president of the engineers' union, when he advocated talks with the government in return for a deal on the Industrial Relations Act and the Common Market.

Now the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers National Committee and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, representing three million workers, have instructed Scanlon to withdraw from the talks at 10 Downing Street.

This is a great blow against the right wing and their fake "left" allies in the trade union bureaucracy, as well as against the strategy of the Tory government. Most important of all, however, is that this decision is a step by the working class to question the whole mechanism by which the ruling class rests its power on the working class.

The British capitalist class has used the trade union bureaucracy to impose this rule for 100 years. Now, in defense of its living standards and basic rights, the working class begins to insist that the union leaders must not serve the capitalist state in its hour of greatest need.

This is a change in the consciousness of the working class brought about by the state pay control laws. It is also reflected in the recent successful resistance of the Chrysler and Perkins Engines workers to the attacks by international monopolies.

While immediately they give the ruling class greater power, the state pay laws bring the working class face to face with the central political problem it must resolve—to defeat reformism, build the alternative revolutionary leadership and take state power.

There can be no question that a turning point in the relationship of class forces has been reached. It would be fatal to be satisfied with breaking up the TUC's talks team with the government and reverting to the pursuance of wages militancy. The class enemy will react and prepare in his own way. Every time the working class makes an advance of this kind the inevitability of a clash for state power is even more sharply posed. In such a clash the decisive question is revolutionary leadership. It is essential the Socialist Labour League is transformed into the revolutionary party to lead this struggle.

(CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE)

LABOR TODAY

Boycott: A Reactionary Diversion

The United Farm Workers Union has reached the most critical point in its entire history.

The deepening crisis of capitalism now forces the government to turn on the unions, seeking to smash them. The UFWU, in particular, has been singled out and marked for immediate destruction.

The growers with the full support of the government are determined to make no compromise or concessions. It is a war to the death in which they will stop at nothing, from arrests and beatings to the use of vigilante groups and murder to smash the union.

The greatest danger to the struggle, however, comes from the Chavez leadership which seeks to confine the struggle of the farm workers to the bankrupt methods of American radicalism.

The middle class radical begins at every point with the defense of his own position within capitalist society. Feeling the pressure from the capitalists, he criticizes and protests aspects of the capitalist system while refusing to fight to destroy it.

He seeks to prevent the strength of the working class from coming forward and when this can no longer be done, he acts to divert it into protest and pressure on capitalism for reform.

American radicalism has always fought to prevent the emergence of the working class as an independent political force fighting for power. Historically, since the first Workingmen's Parties in the early nineteenth century, radicals have continuously intervened to tie the working class to the middle class behind policies of protest and ultimately to lead every struggle into the strait jacket of the Democratic Party.

Cesar Chavez continues this treacherous tradition with his policies of pacifism, protest, and boycotts.

The heart of this perspective centers on the boycott, always conceived of by the leadership as a means of creating a disturbance, generating publicity, and putting pressure on the capitalist state particularly through the Democratic Party to intervene and force the growers to grant union recognition and a few concessions to the farm workers.

The boycott has been used consciously by the Chavez leadership to prevent the real strength of farm workers from being mobilized through strike action in the fields.

The boycott has never really hurt the growers. The few gains made in the early period were won on the basis of the strength of the fight to organize the fields and the support of the labor movement.

The harsh truth is that the UFWU has won nothing since the early struggles in Delano. Out of 160 contracts negotiated in 1970, only a dozen are left today.

Negotiations and "peace pacts" with the Teamsters have resulted in one loss after another. Fitzsimmons working at all times with Nixon has used every weakness of the Chavez leadership to push the UFWU out of the Salinas lettuce fields.

This is the result of years of protest rallies and boycott activities that involved thousands of supporters across the country.

Today, no reforms are possible. The economic and political crisis deepens by the hour. The boycott and every fight for democratic rights is met with the violence of the capitalist state. Injunctions against pickets and mass roundups of boycotters are taking place all over the Southwest.

Under the new conditions of crisis, the boycott is absolutely reactionary because it disarms the union at the very moment that the conditions are on hand to win big victories.

Virtually every Spanish speaking worker, every trade unionist, and every youth in the country stands with the union.

At the same time, the entire labor movement in defense of its wages and conditions is moving into a political confrontation with the Nixon government. Millions must now act to force this government out and replace it with a workers government through the construction of a labor party.

These are the conditions that forced George Meany to provide huge financial aid to the UFWU in hopes of maintaining some control over this explosive situation.

Strike action by the UFWU can win support on a scale inconceivable a few years ago. Farm workers must strike the fields and fight for the labor movement to refuse to touch scab produce, to raise funds, to defend picket lines against attack, and to rally its millions to defeat the growers and the government.

It is in this struggle that farm workers must continually press to go beyond strike action to a political fight for power, raising the demand for the convening of a Congress of Labor pledged to the construction of a labor party based on the unions.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

by marty moran

UAW Hints At No Strike Deal

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—The massive opposition of Ford workers, especially skilled tradesmen, against the Ford deal is threatening to explode among GM workers when the details of the GM contract are revealed Tuesday.

Ford workers are opposed to the three percent wage deal, the lack of "voluntary" overtime and the job security of skilled tradesmen.

Serious concessions to company pressure to virtually eliminate strikes for the duration of the three year contract have been hinted at by the UAW spokesmen. One official has said

that a plan has been developed to "work out" disputes between workers and management at the GMAD assembly plants.

ELIMINATED

The implication is clearly that strikes against speedup are to be eliminated as much as possible at plants such as Lordstown and Norwood where disputes over

speedup have cost the company thousands of hours of lost production.

At Ford, stewards and committeemen charged Woodcock with tampering with the grievance procedures, so that it takes twice as long to simply write a formal grievance. These concessions are totally in line with Woodcock's statement that strikes at this time of "uncertainty" in the economy are not in the "national interest."

Workers see this in a different way. Michael Jones, a five year Ford worker, told the Bulletin he fought for a "no" vote at Local 600 and he said: "This contract is a big conspiracy. I think it all relates to Nixon. Woodcock is 100 percent in Nixon's corner. It seems like the rich have laid down the orders to Nixon, and he is passing them down to the lower level."

No Talks In Harlan

HARLAN COUNTY, Ky.—Eastover Mining Company has renewed its efforts to break the four month strike of miners fighting for union recognition by attempting to send scabs through the picket lines.

Miners successfully resisted the last attempt to reopen the mines Wednesday morning.

The new strikebreaking activities by Eastover occur following a decision by the parent company, Duke Power, to renege on its pledge to resume negotiations with the United Mine Workers.

UMW President Arnold Miller met with Carl Horn, president of Duke Power, in New York on November 8; they announced that both sides would meet for bargaining.

Duke Power had agreed to start negotiations in Harlan this week, but the management of the Eastover Mining Company declared several days ago that it will not meet with union representatives.

The UMW has been unable to reach Carl Horn, and Duke Power is refusing to reply to the union's demands for an explanation.

"We expect this to continue as a long, hard strike," a spokesman for the miners told the Bulletin.

Fuel Cuts Hit 100,000 Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MINNEAPOLIS—Nearly 100,000 workers face layoffs here due to lack of fuel.

Schools are now planning shorter terms and every person faces the cutting off of heating fuel to their homes and workplaces.

In the construction trades alone, as many as 50,000 to 70,000 workers may be laid off because of the shortage of propane gas, used to cure cement and to heat working space.

In the words of Lawrence Knutson, secretary of the Carpenters District Council: "A person who is not working will not be able to heat his home."

MONEY

"Even if he could get the fuel, he needs the money to buy it." The carpenters have no guarantee as to work hours.

The construction trades also will be slowed down through lack of building materials, the production of which needs enormous amounts of fuel. At North Star Steel in St. Paul, they are planning to lay off 400 out of a work force of 600. They have already threatened to shut the 10-year-old operation down completely.

CUT BACK

One young machinist told the Bulletin: "Where I work—a factory that uses a large amount of oil—the government is now giving orders to cut back. This means a possibility of 25 percent layoffs."

"I tell you, the workers out at the plant know Nixon is to blame. To a man, they want him out."

Business has made it clear who will pay for this situation. In a feature story in the Minneapolis Tribune, Harvey Daniels, vice-president and economist of the First National Bank of Minneapolis, says:

CONSUMER'S HIDE

"At the outset, we are going to try to take it out of the consumer's hide, in a sense, to avoid, if possible, a slowdown in the industrial process."

Daniels's point is emphasized by the proposals made by the St. Paul School Board yesterday. They proposed a four day week, closing four out of the eight high schools, running double shifts at the remaining four, and having

school in session on Saturday, whenever that day happens to be mild. School districts throughout the state are planning to lengthen Christmas vacation and make up the days at the end of the school year. There is talk of the legislature shortening the number of school days per year required in the state in order to receive state monies.

TEACHER

In response to this attack on the teachers and on education itself, Ray, a math teacher with the St. Paul schools, said:

"Minnesota is a rotten place to be in winter without fuel or without jobs. If they cut back to a four day week, or if they cut a month out of school, am I getting paid for that? I have a family to support! I am not really a fighter, but if there is a guy ready to take something from me and I have worked hard for it, I will try not to give it up."

REVOLT

"And if it means the food out of your children's mouths, or the shelter over their heads—well, sooner or later, they will have to stop, because sooner or later, the people will rise up in revolt."

Another teacher, Ivory, added: "If they try to make the teachers work summers without pay—well, when it is a question of your family eating, you are going to put your family first."

"If they try to throw the teachers' contracts out, they are going to have a lot of teachers stopping work—all of them, overnight!"

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midwest news

IBT Local Denounces Fitzsimmons

BY A LOCAL 695 MEMBER

MADISON—At a stormy general membership meeting of Teamsters Local 695 Tuesday night, appointed bureaucrats from Milwaukee Local 200 took strongarm control of the local and suspended the membership's democratic rights. They arrogantly clamped a trusteeship on the local by the International and cancelled December elections.

In his opening statement, a leading official from Local 200 said: "We're going to have no profanity here, and an orderly meeting. If we can't do that, we'll just adjourn." The Teamster officials were so afraid of the reaction of the rank and file, they had their goons lined up around the room in case of trouble.

The meeting was handed over to Jim Dershinsky, secretary-treasurer of Local 200, who was appointed by Fitzsimmons to run the local.

He repeated the same trumped up charges as the reason for trusteeship: supposed mis-handling of strike benefits and the conduct of strikes, a division in the executive board, adverse publicity for the local, and concluded: "It is unlikely a fair and free election could be held in December."

BITTER

These charges stem from a series of bitter strikes which were successful in building the local, particularly in the liquor industry in recent months. Teamster Local 695 is the fastest growing local in Wisconsin, with over 1000 recruited under the suspended leadership.

The division in the executive board occurred because the right wing was opposed to the organizing drive. The adverse publicity comes from the capitalist press.

Dershinsky also announced that a Teamster panel hearing was to be held next Tuesday to decide whether the trusteeship would be temporary or run the full eighteen months. The officials planned it this way to keep the members out, but were forced to okay the right of anyone to take off work for union

activities.

This action, coming directly from Fitzsimmons, is taken just when it became obvious the conservative Fosdal faction of the local would not win in the December elections.

Angry drivers demanded at the meeting: "What's the emergency now? Couldn't your boys win the election?"

"Who's had any more adverse publicity than the International Teamsters in the last few years?"

One militant who was fired after a settled contract at General Beverage charged that an official would not let him pay his union dues that morning, wanted him to sign a withdrawal card, and tried to keep him out of the meeting.

The meeting exploded when the call for a vote on the trusteeship erupted from the floor, and another militant shouted: "I bet if we had a vote, you guys would go right out the door."

Marketti, the business agent, has been at the center of the internal fight and has played a leading role in the organizing campaign. Both he and Don Eaton, former secretary-treasurer, faced a possible grand jury indictment, fines, and jailings in the bitter four month General Beverage strike last winter.

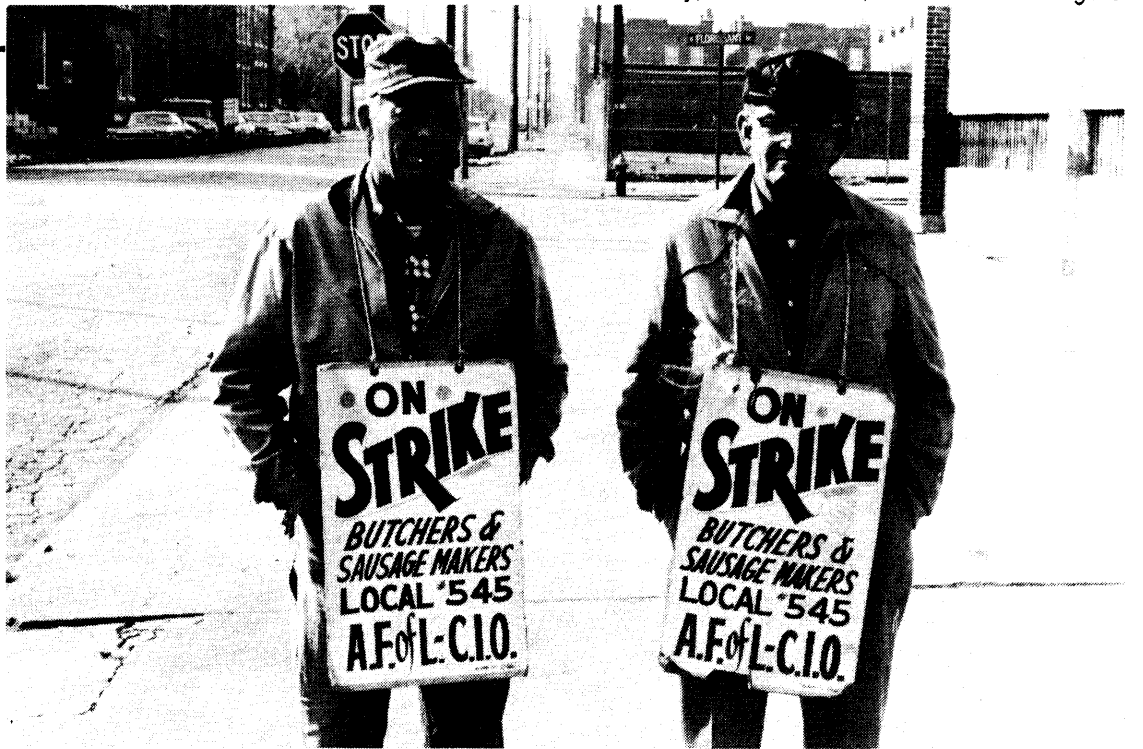
IUE Pulls Back From GM Strike

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON, Ohio—Thirty-four thousand members of the International Union of Electrical Workers in five General Motors plants have been informed that the mini-strike strategy will be implemented.

William Pierce, IUE's chief negotiator, stated: "We have reluctantly decided to terminate the contract because General Motors has not responded to our proposal in a number of areas. These areas include pensions, insurance benefits, skilled trades, transfer of operations, promotion methods, and insurance administration." Pierce said nothing about wages.

IUE Local 801 President Arnold Thompson in a signed leaflet to members has outlined IUE's ministrike strategy: "We will continue to meet over the weekend and hope the remainder of our problems will be



Butchers on strike against Krey Company in St. Louis.

Nixon Role In Chicago 7 Trial

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—New information has revealed that the Nixon administration decided to launch a new attack on democratic rights by carrying forward the contempt of court trial against the Chicago 7 and their lawyers.

US Attorney James R. Thompson has revealed under subpoena that former Attorney General Elliott Richardson and his deputy, William Rucklehaus had almost decided not to try the case just days before it began.

The trial involves dozens of charges of contempt leveled against the defendants and their lawyers during the stormy four month "conspiracy" trial that followed violent clashes between antiwar demonstrators and police during the Democratic Convention in August, 1968.

Their convictions on charges of crossing state lines for the purpose of inciting a riot, and the contempt citations were reversed by the US District Court

of Appeals.

From the start, this second trial, four years later, has been aimed at securing convictions against defense lawyers.

John M. O'Brien, formerly an agent with the 113th Military Intelligence group in Evanston testified a crew of three to seven agents were all over the defense headquarters during the trial, spying on the defendants and their supporters and lawyers and "just harassing."

The Bulletin spoke with Chicago lawyer Ronald Clark about the developments in the case, and Nixon's attacks on the constitution.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT

"I would predict that the political prospects for the next period include a fairly active movement against the president.

"If he can get away with it, there will be quite a bit of repression. Lawyers will be more and more the focus of this.

"His problem now is to mobilize the Justice Department for his campaign. Bork is with him on this.

"There will be many more political trials. And I expect there will be no more light sentences. They will have to bend and twist, use new laws, use old laws in new ways.

UNIONS

"There will be new moves against the unions, they are already starting. There are moves by this administration to end the traditional exemption of unions from the Sherman and other antitrust laws.

"That would put us back, oh, into the 1800s, with charges of conspiracy, illegal combinations, coercion.

"He is now preparing new emergency powers every day. Look at his relation with Haig, with the military. Former Attorney General Mitchell has now stated that there were plans well underway to transform the US Marshall's office into a military organization, an executive police force."

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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THURS. DEC. 13
YWCA
3135 Euclid Ave.
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Brown Room
7:30 p.m.
Dance following

DETROIT
FRI. DEC. 14
Veterans Memorial Building
151 West Jefferson
Room 814
7:00 p.m.



Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

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Caterpillar Settlement
The United Auto Workers Union has reached an agreement with the Caterpillar Tractor Company and has ordered 33,000 workers in five states to end their two week strike.
While full details of the pact are being withheld, Caterpillar said the wage settlement follows the 3 percent pattern of the auto industry and the Deere Company.
Pat Greathouse, UAW vice-president, announced that the union will recommend acceptance at the upcoming ratification meetings.

books

Early Struggles Against Radicalism

by Tim Wohlforth

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN MARXISM, From the Transcendentalists to De Leon, by David Herreshoff. Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, New York, 1973.

The republication of this book, originally appearing in 1967, by Pathfinder, the publishing house associated with the Socialist Workers Party, must be seen as a political act for which the SWP must take responsibility.

This is a book written by a political degenerate and cynic. It is a 200 page attempt to prove, quite unsuccessfully, that the subject matter of the book itself is unworthy of interest.

Herreshoff sees the struggle for Marxism in America as one big failure and he approaches the future with complete skepticism. It seems the future will let us know whether Thomas Jefferson, a leading spokesman of the slave owning section of the American bourgeoisie, or Karl Marx, was right about the working class.

"Jefferson thought that the class of wage workers created by capitalism would prove politically and morally impotent, but Marx had faith that the victims of modern society would free themselves. The scales of prophecy are still balanced." So ends the book published by Pathfinder.

Cochran

It is necessary to understand something of Herreshoff's own political past to properly understand the meaning of this book. Herreshoff was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, in fact the Minneapolis Branch, who in the 1950s supported the Cochran faction.

It was during the period of the Cochran struggle within the SWP that much of the work was originally done on this book. The book is thus in many ways the political platform of the Cochran group, though presented in an academic and historical garb.

The Cochran group had its main support in the SWP in a conservative layer of workers who had not been developed as Marxists. Under conditions of the boom and McCarthyism, this layer lined up with the supporters of Michel Pablo seeking to break up the SWP, to abandon the struggle to construct a Trotskyist party in America.

All sections of this minority stood together with Pablo on the essential point—in this new period it was no longer necessary to construct Trotskyist parties. Revolution, if it took place, would take place under another leadership and through other class forces.

Liquidating

David Herreshoff's role in this formation now takes on a special importance. He was closest to the Cochran wing of the opposition. He was, as is obvious from the book, not the least interested in liquidating into the Stalinist movement. His main concern was the abandonment of the party itself. As an intellectual, he expressed the middle class radical outlook and philosophical method which dominated the working class cadres who followed Cochran out of the SWP and out of politics.

Herreshoff wrote this book in order to write himself out of the Marxist movement. He assesses American history in an attempt to justify his own course, to try to prove it cannot be done, the working class cannot come to power, to excuse his own personal turn away from the party and into an academic career.

Roots

At the same time, he expresses so clearly the middle class radicalism which today dominates the SWP as a whole because it failed to draw the lessons from the split with Cochran and Pablo in 1953 and fight through the theoretical issues to their roots.

Herreshoff begins his book by attempting to amalgamate Marx and Emerson, Marxism and transcendental idealism. On the one hand, we are told, the two men had certain points in agreement, while on the other hand they had certain points of difference. Thus the theme of the book is established—the confluence and conflict between indigenous American "radicalism" and European Marxism.

Emerson was a theoretical spokesman for the rising American capitalist class. He believed in individualism and hard work. He adapted the reactionary metaphysical philosophy of the decaying feudal classes of Europe, idealism, to the conditions and needs of American capitalism in the form of transcendental idealism.

This philosophical outlook—a forerunner of pragmatism—denied the existence of a material world, seeing everything that exists as manifestations of God. This God is to be understood individually through the labor of the individual. Even money making was thus seen as a sort of divine communication with God.

Individualism

Emerson was also a "radical" in the sense that he resisted the very logic of individualism and hard work under a capitalist system, that is, growth of monopoly and a leisure class. Therefore, he participated in various utopian schemes like Hope Farm whose aim it was to preserve the virtues of individualism from the impact of the necessary growth of capital.

Emerson thus shows the class connection between American radicalism and American monopoly capital. It is this question of class and contradiction which Herreshoff very consciously avoids in his book.

Herreshoff thus misses the main point of the history of the early American Marxists. Their contribution to the later development of the Marxist movement in America, to our work today, lies precisely in their conflict with American radicalism.

The high point of this conflict was the work of the First International in America, particularly the work of F.A. Sorge.

The strength of this book lies in the fact that at least a certain amount of information on this period is presented. But even here, the book is limited for there is virtually nothing reported on the very effective work done by the International in the labor upsurge following the 1873 depression.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE



Cooks in Los Angeles striking the restaurant chain "NORMS." Restaurant refuses to recognize contract.

Fuel Shortage Brings Shutdown

BY TED BAKER

PITTSBURG, Cal.—At the US Steel plant here, 35 men in the wire galvanizing section of the plant were laid off for four days last week.

The layoffs took place as the result of a 24 hour cutoff of natural gas supplies to the 278 largest factories in Northern California.

Other plants were able to continue production through the use of scarce reserve fuel, but future cutoffs will force these plants to halt production as well.

Workers at US Steel in Pittsburgh expressed tremendous anger at the layoffs and at the whole energy crisis.

One of the men in the

galvanizing section of the plant told the *Bulletin*: "Do you know what it means to lose four days of work, just before Thanksgiving?"

"I cannot even keep up when I am working forty or fifty hours. How do they expect me to buy groceries or pay the rent without working?"

PROFITS

"I think the whole energy crisis is a phony move. Last year gas profits were the highest ever, this year they will double,

and at my expense."

Union officials in Contra Costa County, where the largest cuts have occurred, are completely paralyzed by the energy cuts.

Dan Herrera, president of Steel Workers Local 1440, told the *Bulletin*: "About all we know is what the company tells us. Pacific Gas and Electric is curtailing gas and there are lots of cutbacks in operations."

"US Steel has already closed several plants back East. But there is not much we can do about it."

NLRB Intervenes In Sears Battle

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The National Labor Relations Board has stepped into the center of Sears's attack on the Retail Clerks Union.

An NLRB-sponsored election at the store in Santa Rosa, fifty miles north of here, resulted in a vote of 104 to 102 to decertify the union local with 12 votes challenged.

Clerks are organized at only five stores nationally, four in the Bay Area. The company is openly trying to wipe out this union foothold.

Sears has been systematically hiring new people pledged to vote against the union for several months at the Santa Rosa store where the union is only two years old.

Because the vote was so close, the challenged ballots will decide the result. A final ruling on the outcome will be made by the NLRB tops in Washington, which may take several months.

The NLRB has been spearheading a union-busting campaign throughout the Bay Area. If it rules against the local, the union would be legally barred for one year from any organizing activities at the Santa Rosa Store.

The strike at Sears other three organized Bay Area stores continued into its fourteenth week. Teamster warehousemen were ordered by their leadership to return to work at the stores.

This is direct assistance to Sears, which was having great difficulty finding scabs and had to cut back store hours.

Sears has not tried to hold a decertification vote in San Fran-

cisco because of the explosion it would provoke in the labor movement. Instead, they are relying on this kind of collaboration by the labor leadership.

Clerks must demand that

union leader Walter Johnson respond to this betrayal by organizing effective mass picketing to close the stores and prepare a political fight against any NLRB or police reaction.

Opposition To TV Contract

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—A three week strike by television studio stagehands has officially ended, but an opposition group led by Jim Fox has charged that the strike settlement is illegal and many have not returned to their jobs.

Fox, a member of the executive board of International Alliance of Theatrical State Employees Local 33 told the *Bulletin* that the contract was pushed through in violation of the union's constitution and bylaws.

COMPLAINT

"Although we have disagreements with the contract, our main complaint is that the voting procedure violated the rights of union members. I have no intention of going back to work under this contract."

Fox told the *Bulletin* that the membership was given only three days notice of the vote instead of ten, and no absentee ballots were sent out.

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west coast news

Sacramento Carpenters Join Wildcat

BY TIM NELSON

Carpenters in Sacramento are now supporting the wildcat of over 3000 carpenters against the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. Carpenters on the gigantic AAA building in San Francisco joined the wildcat on Thursday.

For the past 10 days the Carpenters for a Stronger Union, a coalition set up to lead the strike, has met every morning before 7 am at Local 22 in San Francisco. Caravans from these meetings have gone to new sites to call out the carpenters.

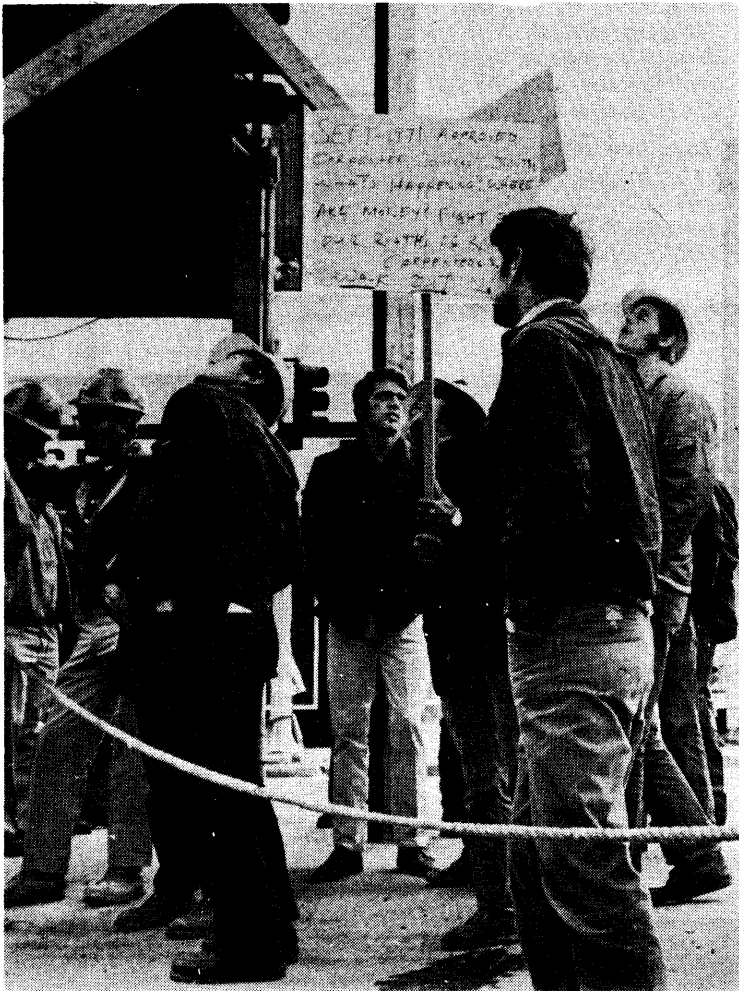
In the face of a \$50,000 fine and court injunction which could mean the jailing of militants, the Bay Area District Council of Carpenters refused to even raise the motion for strike sanction at

Burke continued a court hearing set for today until November 30, calling for government representatives on the CISC to be brought into the case.

Attorney Victor Van Bourg, speaking for the union leadership at the hearing, offered no defense, calling the strike unauthorized rank and file action.

FUMING

Still fuming at being held back from an all-out fight to break the CISC. Bob Clark told the



Support grows for San Francisco carpenters' wildcat against Nixon's CISC as Sacramento carpenters join picket line.

a meeting attended by 100 strikers.

One striker broke off Secretary Watt's report demanding: "Let's talk about what is going on. As of Monday morning, every job in the city is going to be shut down."

Amid cheers from the ranks he called: "We want a strike."

SANCTION

Joseph O'Sullivan, president of the council, has taken the position that refusing a sanction protects the union. This is deliberate betrayal, inviting the courts to take action against the union as well as individual members.

Bob Mounce, for the Associated General Contractors, told the Bulletin last week that the AGC will go through with the suit no matter what.

US District Judge Lloyd H.

Bulletin: "I think it is time the working man ran this government."

"How did this situation come about that a fraction of 1 percent of the country is causing so much hardship for 99 percent of the population, which is us?"

"We need a third party," said another carpenter. "But before we do, we have got to get a leadership. The likes of Meany have made it so that it is a one party system in this country."

Strikers meeting Monday morning must go forward with the fight for a sanctioned strike of all Northern California construction.

Any attempt to enforce the injunction must be met with a general strike of Bay Area labor coupled with massive demonstrations demanding Nixon's resignation and the formation of a labor party.



Pickets at PSA discuss company's vicious attempt to pin sabotage of two planes on airline employees.

PSA Blames Union For Sabotage

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Pacific Southwest Airlines and the press are seeking to implicate striking employees in over a million dollars worth of damage to two PSA planes.

The FBI has been called in to investigate.

At 4:15 am Wednesday morning, a fire broke out in one of PSA's jetliners.

Over two hours later, a security official found a neighboring plane vandalized. Instrument panels had been smashed and cabin seats had been stained with fruit juice.

A striker told the Bulletin: "This company is so vicious that I think they are going to try to pin the blame on us, the union."

The evening edition of The Los

Angeles Times had a two inch front page headline: "Two jets Sabotaged At LA Airport—Possibility Of Union Role Investigated."

MYSTERIOUS

The vandalism caused to the second plane is very mysterious. Even company officials admit that both planes were locked and it would take someone with a special key wrench and a knowledge of the 727 to unlock the door.

The strike by 1500 airline employees is in the second week. Flights have been cut by 65 percent. The main issues in the strike are wages and job security.

The curtailed flight schedule is being maintained by pilots,

stewardesses, and supervisory personnel.

PSA has offered only a 3.3 percent wage hike. The strikers want at least 75 cents to a dollar an hour more to bring them up to the pay scale of maintenance workers from other airlines.

Also at issue is a dispute over an aircraft maintenance program for the new L1011 jets that PSA was to receive next year.

The company is planning to subcontract the work when the aircraft are delivered, which would eliminate jobs for union workers.

On the first day of the strike, a PSA vice-president claimed the company was having financial difficulties and flatly said: "They can stay out forever."

editorial

Labor Leaders Police Unions

The National Labor Relations Board has launched the most fundamental attacks to date on the basic rights of striking Teamster beer drivers and the entire trade union movement.

In the face of this, the Teamster and AFL-CIO bureaucrats have completely capitulated to the government.

The NLRB has taken the beer drivers to court to impose tens of thousands of dollars in fines to stop mass picketing at stores selling scab beer.

But the NLRB has gone ever further. This government board is demanding the total suspension of all picketing by beer drivers at retail stores for 90 days.

Even the San Francisco Chronicle stated that the right to picket has always been considered inviolate under the First Amendment.

At the hearing before the US District Court, the NLRB claimed an exception had to be made because the beer drivers were using the picketing to "launch illegal activities."

These "illegal activities" were nothing more than the traditional methods of trade union struggle, picketing to shut down the distributors and stop the flow of scab beer.

The very existence of beer drivers Local 888 is at stake. The distributors, led by Coors, have refused to negotiate and the NLRB has held elections to decertify the union at every struck warehouse in the East Bay.

In order to try to avoid this conflict, the bureaucrats are now acting as the police agents of the government against militants who have been leading the strike and defying the courts.

At the hearing, Victor Van Bourg, the lawyer

for the Alameda Central Labor Council, did not voice a word of opposition to the fines against the Teamsters and the proposed ban on picketing. He only argued that the AFL-CIO was not involved in violating the injunction, thus absolutely refusing to come to the defense of the Teamsters.

The lawyer for the Teamsters, meanwhile, only spoke to question the beginning date from which the fine is to be paid.

Throughout the hearing, witnesses for the distributors and the NLRB singled out leading militants who led the attempt two weeks ago to shut down the city of Alameda.

There is a very great possibility that these men are being set up by the bureaucrats and scapegoats, with the danger of fines and injunctions being brought against them by the government.

The attacks on the beer drivers are part of a blueprint for an offensive against every union in the country. The government is counting on the spineless leadership of the unions to get away with this.

Only a new leadership which fights for the political independence of the working class through a labor party can defend the basic rights of trade unionists.

The beer drivers must immediately turn to the entire Bay Area labor movement for support to stop the imposition of the fines and the 90 day ban on picketing.

A mass demonstration of labor must be called to demand the convening of a Congress of Labor to force Nixon out and build a labor party.

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

Boycot Desarma Obreros

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La agudización de la crisis capitalista fuerza al gobierno a lanzarse en contra de las uniones y tratar de destruirlas. La UFWU, en particular, ha sido señalada para su inmediata destrucción.

Los grandes cosechadores con el pleno apoyo del gobierno están determinados a no hacer ningún compromiso o dar concesiones. Es una guerra a muerte que no se detendrá frente a nada, desde arrestos y ataques físicos hasta el uso de grupos de vigilantes y asesinatos para destruir la unión.

Los campesinos están resistiendo estos ataques y luchando con gran heroísmo han logrado atraer un apoyo enorme de los trabajadores unionados y la juventud quienes ven más y más esta lucha como propia.

El mayor peligro en esta lucha es sin embargo, el liderato de Chávez quien trata de limitar la lucha de los campesinos a métodos de bancarrota del radicalismo norteamericano.

El radicalismo de clase media comienza en todo momento con la defensa de sus propias posiciones dentro de los márgenes de la sociedad capitalista. Sintiendo las presiones de los capitalistas él critica y protesta los aspectos del sistema capitalista mientras que a la misma vez rehusa luchar para destruirlos.

El radicalismo norteamericano siempre ha luchado para prevenir la independencia política de la clase obrera en su lucha por el poder. Históricamente, desde los primeros partidos de los trabajadores a principio del siglo diecinueve, los radicales continuamente han intervenido para mantener atada a la clase obrera a la clase media basados en las políticas de protestas y últimamente de contener cualquier lucha en los confines del Partido Demócrata.

César Chávez continúa esta tradición traicionera con las políticas de pacifismo, protestas, y boycotts dependiendo del apoyo de los demócratas liberales, la Iglesia, y la clase media para que lo ayude.

El boycott se ha utilizado conscientemente por el liderato de Chávez para prevenir que la gran fortaleza de los campesinos sea movilizada a través de acción huelgaria en los campos combinada esta con una gran campaña para envolver a todo el movimiento obrero en apoyo a los campesinos.

El boycott realmente nunca ha afectado a los grandes cosecheros. Las pocas conquistas en el período anterior fueron ganadas en base a la fortaleza de la lucha por organizar los campos y por el apoyo del movimiento obrero.

El balance de estas políticas tienen que ser asimiladas. La dura verdad es que la UFWU no ha ganado nada desde sus primeras luchas en Delano. De 160 contratos negociados en el 1970, hoy solo conserva una docena.

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Este es el resultado de años de protestas y boycotts los cuales envuelven a miles de simpatizantes a través del país.

Hoy, no hay campo para reformas. La crisis tanto política como económica se agudiza a cada segundo. El boycott y toda lucha por los derechos democráticos se enfrentan a la violencia del estado capitalista. Interdictos en contra de las líneas de piquetes y los masivos arrestos de los que se hayan boicoteando son llevado a cabo a través de todo el suroeste.

Frente a estas nuevas condiciones de crisis, el boycott es completamente reaccionario porque desarma a la unión al mismo momento que las condiciones están presentes para obtener grandes victorias.

La UFWU tiene ahora como nunca antes en su historia un gran apoyo masivo. Todo trabajador hispano, todo trabajador unionado, y todo joven en el país están con la unión.

Al mismo tiempo, todo el movimiento laboral en defensa de sus salarios y condiciones de vida se enfrenta a una confrontación política con el gobierno de Nixon. Millones de trabajadores ahora tienen que actuar para sacar a este gobierno y reemplazarlo con un gobierno de trabajadores a través de la construcción de un partido obrero.

Estas son las condiciones que han forzado a George Meany a proveer vasta ayuda financiera a la UFWU con la esperanza de mantener algún control sobre esta situación explosiva.

Una huelga por la UFWU puede ganar el apoyo en una escala inconcebible comparado a años anteriores. Los campesinos deben declarar una huelga en los campos y luchar dentro del movimiento obrero para que rehusen tocar cualquier producto de los rompe-huelgas. Levantar fondos, defender las líneas de piquetes en contra de cualquier ataque, y atraer a millones de trabajadores que puedan derrotar a los cosechadores y al gobierno.

Es en esta lucha que los campesinos deben continuamente sobrepasar las acciones huelgarias y llevarlas al plano político en la lucha por el poder, levantando la demanda por que se lleve a cabo un congreso de trabajadores comprometido a la construcción de un partido obrero basado en las uniones.

Nixon's Energy Program Threatens More Job Cuts

BY MELODY FARROW

The cutbacks in gasoline use and heating oil announced by Nixon Sunday night are an attack on the rights of every American worker.

Nixon is pushing the entire burden of the uncontrollable economic crisis of capitalism on the backs of the working people.

Gas stations will be closed from 9 pm Saturday to midnight on Sunday; heating oil will be slashed 15 percent to homes and 25 percent to stores; jet fuel will be reduced 25 percent and gasoline production 15 percent.

This means that workers will be denied the right to use their cars the only time they have a chance to, on weekends.

In smaller cities where only minimal mass transit is available on weekends, it will mean additional hardships for people who must get to work on Sunday.

Countless small storeowners and gasoline attendants will be affected and many will lose their jobs.

All workers are threatened

with a total cutoff in heat unless they turn down their temperatures to 68 degrees.

EXCUSE

Boston warned that it might run out of heating oil to the city's housing projects. It will be a convenient excuse for landlords not to provide any heat.

Nixon deliberately seeks to create a "crisis" atmosphere to gain support and to justify military intervention against the Arab countries.

Nixon's claim that these cutbacks are necessary because of the Middle East oil embargo and an overall energy shortage is a complete lie.

Most of the country's oil is extracted from oil fields in the US. The big oil companies refuse to extract and sell it because they fear that the devaluation of the dollar and the currency crisis will wipe out their wealth.

American workers cannot accept further attacks on their living conditions from a government that is out to destroy democratic rights and which desperately seeks to cover up a mounting record of corruption.

ERASED

Nixon announced that 18 minutes of one of the key Watergate tapes, a discussion with Haldeman on June 20, had been erased.

Now, White House officials claim that the 18 minute segment was "inadvertently" erased by Nixon's secretary Rose Mary Woods.

The trade union movement must reject Nixon's attempt to whip up a crisis situation in order to salvage his government and fight now for the mobilization of all workers to throw him out of office.

GM...

(Continued From Page 1)

sening economic crisis—expressed so sharply in the energy shortage, the decline in sales and profits, the stagnation of the Gross National Product, and the uncontrollable inflation—by destroying thousands of jobs in every industry and driving the working class back to the conditions of the 1930s.

The fight against these attacks on jobs and living standards requires the mobilization of the entire labor movement in a political struggle to bring down this government.

Workers must demand in their locals that the AFL-CIO, UAW, United Mine Workers and Teamsters organize massive demonstrations for Nixon's ouster and new elections and the immediate calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies to replace Nixon.

Auto workers must take the lead in this fight by rejecting the GM and Ford contracts and launching strike action to unite all workers against this government.

The labor bureaucracy will not carry out this fight. It was the GM contract signed several days ago by UAW President Leonard Woodcock that opened the door for these layoffs.

The issues now posed to the working class in the light of General Motors' announcement cannot be solved through protests and compromise.

General Motors is not simply

planning to halt production for one week and then return to business as usual.

There is every indication that GM plans to drastically reduce its work force shortly after New Years when the plants are scheduled to reopen.

According to reliable sources, the GMAD plant in Fremont—which is to shut down on December 17—is to lose its Pontiac model line. Workers in the plant fear that GM plans to lay off the entire second shift sometime in January.

DECLINE

GM is not the only company hit hard by the decline in sales. Chrysler reports an 87-day supply and Ford says that it has an incredible 119-day buildup in 1974 models.

What is involved here is the breakdown of all attempts to cover up the crisis in production through the wild and prolonged inflation of paper currency and credit.

Because the auto industry was very much the product of the inflationary boom, it is among the first to be hit by its breakup.

With Nixon's decision to end convertibility of the dollar into gold on August 15, 1971, the entire mass of paper dollars used to finance industries like auto no longer have any value. This has destroyed the incentive of the big auto companies to produce, bringing massive shut-downs.

This development reveals

sharply that the oil crisis has only aggravated the more fundamental crisis: the inability of the capitalist class to expand the productive forces on the basis of private profit.

It is no mere coincidence that General Motors' decision to cut production came on the very day that Treasury Secretary George Shultz flew to Paris for secret talks with European and Japanese finance ministers on the disintegration of the international monetary system.

The enormity of the economic crisis has revealed the utter bankruptcy of the UAW bureaucracy.

The refusal of the trade union leadership to defend the rights and living standards of American workers now makes the building of a new leadership in the working class the most important task today.

We urge every worker and youth, every reader of the Bulletin to join the Workers League in order to take forward the fight for a labor party.

GREECE...

(Continued From Page 1)

convinced the military that Papadopoulos was losing his grip. The members of the new junta were also opposed to Papadopoulos's plans for some sort of election that he had promised in order to stabilize his tottering regime.

The coup which occurred over the weekend is a desperate attempt by Nixon and the Greek military to shore up a dictatorship that is clearly on its last legs. Greece remains on the verge of civil war.

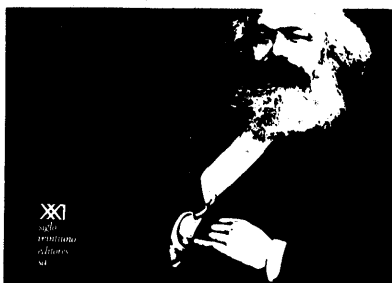
The fact that Nixon apparently considered the bloody Papadopoulos regime to be inadequate for the task of suppressing the movement of the Greek working class is a warning to every American worker.

The hand of the Nixon administration is to be found operating in every counterrevolutionary development in the world today and is preparing for similar measures in the United States.

The developments in Greece show the explosive situation in capitalist countries all over the world, and makes clear the urgency of building the Workers League and sections of the Fourth International in every country.

Karl Marx
Elementos
fundamentales para la
crítica de la economía
política
(borrador) 1857-1858
1

La teoría marxista del capitalismo, desde sus orígenes hasta el derrocamiento, presentados por primera vez en su integridad. Los Grundrisse — aunque oscuros y fragmentarios — constituyen la única obra de economía política verdaderamente completa escrita por Marx.



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lucha obrera

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Gas stations will be closed from 9 pm Saturday to midnight on Sunday; heating oil will be slashed 15 percent to homes and 25 percent to stores; jet fuel will be reduced 25 percent and gasoline production 15 percent.

This means that workers will be denied the right to use their cars the only time they have a chance to, on weekends.

In smaller cities where only minimal mass transit is available on weekends, it will mean additional hardships for people who must get to work on Sunday.

Countless small storeowners and gasoline attendants will be affected and many will lose their jobs.

All workers are threatened

with a total cutoff in heat unless they turn down their temperatures to 68 degrees.

EXCUSE

Boston warned that it might run out of heating oil to the city's housing projects. It will be a convenient excuse for landlords not to provide any heat.

Nixon deliberately seeks to create a "crisis" atmosphere to gain support and to justify military intervention against the Arab countries.

Nixon's claim that these cutbacks are necessary because of the Middle East oil embargo and an overall energy shortage is a complete lie.

Most of the country's oil is extracted from oil fields in the US. The big oil companies refuse to extract and sell it because they fear that the devaluation of the dollar and the currency crisis will wipe out their wealth.

American workers cannot accept further attacks on their living conditions from a government that is out to destroy democratic rights and which desperately seeks to cover up a mounting record of corruption.

ERASED

Nixon announced that 18 minutes of one of the key Watergate tapes, a discussion with Haldeman on June 20, had been erased.

Now, White House officials claim that the 18 minute segment was "inadvertently" erased by Nixon's secretary Rose Mary Woods.

The trade union movement must reject Nixon's attempt to whip up a crisis situation in order to salvage his government and fight now for the mobilization of all workers to throw him out of office.

GM...

(Continued From Page 1)

sening economic crisis—expressed so sharply in the energy shortage, the decline in sales and profits, the stagnation of the Gross National Product, and the uncontrollable inflation—by destroying thousands of jobs in every industry and driving the working class back to the conditions of the 1930s.

The fight against these attacks on jobs and living standards requires the mobilization of the entire labor movement in a political struggle to bring down this government.

Workers must demand in their locals that the AFL-CIO, UAW, United Mine Workers and Teamsters organize massive demonstrations for Nixon's ouster and new elections and the immediate calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies to replace Nixon.

Auto workers must take the lead in this fight by rejecting the GM and Ford contracts and launching strike action to unite all workers against this government.

The labor bureaucracy will not carry out this fight. It was the GM contract signed several days ago by UAW President Leonard Woodcock that opened the door for these layoffs.

The issues now posed to the working class in the light of General Motors' announcement cannot be solved through protests and compromise.

General Motors is not simply

planning to halt production for one week and then return to business as usual.

There is every indication that GM plans to drastically reduce its work force shortly after New Years when the plants are scheduled to reopen.

According to reliable sources, the GMAD plant in Fremont—which is to shut down on December 17—is to lose its Pontiac model line. Workers in the plant fear that GM plans to lay off the entire second shift sometime in January.

DECLINE

GM is not the only company hit hard by the decline in sales. Chrysler reports an 87-day supply and Ford says that it has an incredible 119-day buildup in 1974 models.

What is involved here is the breakdown of all attempts to cover up the crisis in production through the wild and prolonged inflation of paper currency and credit.

Because the auto industry was very much the product of the inflationary boom, it is among the first to be hit by its breakup.

With Nixon's decision to end convertibility of the dollar into gold on August 15, 1971, the entire mass of paper dollars used to finance industries like auto no longer have any value. This has destroyed the incentive of the big auto companies to produce, bringing massive shut-downs.

This development reveals

sharply that the oil crisis has only aggravated the more fundamental crisis: the inability of the capitalist class to expand the productive forces on the basis of private profit.

It is no mere coincidence that General Motors' decision to cut production came on the very day that Treasury Secretary George Shultz flew to Paris for secret talks with European and Japanese finance ministers on the disintegration of the international monetary system.

The enormity of the economic crisis has revealed the utter bankruptcy of the UAW bureaucracy.

The refusal of the trade union leadership to defend the rights and living standards of American workers now makes the building of a new leadership in the working class the most important task today.

We urge every worker and youth, every reader of the Bulletin to join the Workers League in order to take forward the fight for a labor party.

GREECE...

(Continued From Page 1)

convinced the military that Papadapoulos was losing his grip. The members of the new junta were also opposed to Papadapoulos's plans for some sort of election that he had promised in order to stabilize his tottering regime.

The coup which occurred over the weekend is a desperate attempt by Nixon and the Greek military to shore up a dictatorship that is clearly on its last legs. Greece remains on the verge of civil war.

The fact that Nixon apparently considered the bloody Papadapoulos regime to be inadequate for the task of suppressing the movement of the Greek working class is a warning to every American worker.

The hand of the Nixon administration is to be found operating in every counterrevolutionary development in the world today and is preparing for similar measures in the United States.

The developments in Greece show the explosive situation in capitalist countries all over the world, and makes clear the urgency of building the Workers League and sections of the Fourth International in every country.

Karl Marx
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