

JUL 29 1976
INSTITUTION

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WEEK!



Meat Cutters' Leader Demands NATIONALIZE OIL INDUSTRY

BY THE EDITORS
CHICAGO—Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America,

called Friday for Congress to take over and operate the energy industries beginning with the major oil companies.

Speaking on behalf of the

union's 550,000 members, he said: "The energy crisis is a hoax perpetrated by profit hungry corporations in an effort to manipulate the American people to their will."

Gorman's call for the

nationalization of the oil industry is the first demand for socialist policies to deal with the energy crisis.

The necessity of such policies is shown by the fact that the crisis is produced not by a shortage of natural resources, but by the deliberate policies of the oil

monopolies as they seek to preserve their profits under conditions of capitalist crisis.

•The oil companies have refused to make the necessary investments in refineries to transform crude oil into sufficient quantities of usable oil.

•The monopolies have actually withheld oil and driven up its price to realize fantastic profits.

•These monopolies, controlled by a handful of men like the Rockefellers, are driving thousands of workers out of their jobs. They are using their control of the precious resources of oil to weaken and split the working class with unemployment.

TUALP Calls Auto Conference Against Unemployment In March



Detroit auto workers recently laid off gather at an unemployment center.

The Central Committee of the Workers League voted unanimously to build a Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party conference on auto and to prepare in the coming year for the publication of the daily Bulletin.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will hold a national auto conference in March open to all auto workers to launch a fight against the mass layoffs and the Woodcock bureaucracy.

The necessity for such a conference can be seen in the situa-

tion now facing auto workers.

Nixon and the big corporations have consciously decided to create unemployment to break

the strength of the working class.

The real decline in production has been deliberately deepened

Building The Bulletin

We have begun the first week of the January twice-weekly Bulletin subscription drive for a grand total of 5000 subs: 4000 from the branches and 1000 from the Youngstown-Akron-Canton trailblazers, leaving January 17.

In the first week of this drive, 462 subs have been sold. Two branches are off to a good start: Detroit, 68 and Cleveland, 67.

The January drive for 500 Young Socialist subscriptions has begun, with 32 subs coming in.

These figures are for only the four days in January, including the New Years holiday when no sub work was really done.

to slash thousands of jobs. The auto manufacturers are willing to cut their own production to create conditions where they whip the workers into line and weaken the unions.

The auto corporations have no intention of cutting into their profits. The remaining work force will be ruthlessly driven to produce more, at greater and greater speeds.

The issue facing all auto workers is a new leadership and a policy to fight back. Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto

(Continued On Page 12)

MAN-MADE

Gorman is absolutely right when he says that there is a man-made "refinery-gap," not a shortage of crude oil.

"Millions face unemployment because of corporate greed in the energy industry. Millions more face a reduced standard of living...The government can do no less than take over and operate the oil industry on behalf of our people rather than on behalf of the profits of greedy industrialists and bankers."

Nationalization of the oil industry cannot be carried out by this government. Nixon, who received five million dollars from the oil companies, is carrying out his ruthless attacks on the labor movement in the interest of these monopolies. In these policies, he is supported by both the Democrats and Republicans, who are all controlled by the oil lobby in Washington.

Nationalization of the oil industry, which is now required

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Weekend
Edition

•"Lenin's Last Struggle": Part Two of The 50th Anniversary of the Left Opposition, by David North.

Bulletin

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

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VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWO 338

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FIFTEEN CENTS

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Nixon's Defiance An Act Of Desperation

The decision of Nixon to defy a subpoena of the Senate Watergate Committee for 500 tapes and other documents is an act of desperation.

Nixon's defiance proves that his involvement in a wide range of criminal and illegal activity is so enormous, that the slightest concession on the tapes would immediately expose his guilt.

Every attempt by Nixon to bury the Watergate issue, to create a new image in "Operation Candor" and to

What We Think

rally public support by turning the oil shortage into a "national emergency," have been a fiasco.

Nixon is now forced into another constitutional confrontation with the courts and Congress. By Nixon's own admission, he will not go to

the Supreme Court because they would rule against him.

Every move by Nixon has been a desperate attempt to gain time.

His present defiance of the courts confirms that he has not changed his course towards establishing dictatorial powers.

When Nixon defied an order of the Court of Appeals last October to turn over key tapes, disbanded the Watergate Committee, and fired special prosecutor Archibald Cox, we warned that Nixon was acting to destroy 200 years of democratic rights won by the working class only through bitter struggle.

By declaring absolute powers of "executive privilege," Nixon was and is now setting himself up as a

presidential dictator.

In the period between October 23 and now, Nixon has built up a tight circle of advisors in which a section of the military, led by General Haig, has been brought directly into the government.

We warned that Nixon's reversal in October to hand over the tapes was only a temporary retreat, which would not remove the danger of this fundamental drift towards dictatorship.

Nixon is determined to stay in office and to demonstrate to big business that he is capable of taking ruthless measures to push the burden of the economic crisis on the backs of the working class.

In just the last few months, the corporations have been given the green light for mass unemployment, while inflation is reaching unprecedented levels and every aspect of living standards are under attack.

But Nixon is not in a strong position to carry out these attacks or to maintain his defiance of the courts.

Nixon in fact has never been weaker or more despised by the vast majority of workers in this country. Watergate has become a long drawn out crisis that cries out for a resolution.

What every worker must conclude from the past two months is that the Democrats and the labor leadership stand together to prevent Nixon's defeat.

Two months ago, the AFL-CIO passed a resolution calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment and circulated a fact sheet on his crimes all over the country.

Today they are completely silent. When the AFL-CIO bureaucracy of George Meany saw that the Democrats in Congress had no intention of impeaching Nixon, they dropped the fight.

Democrats in Congress and Senate have done everything possible to push Watergate under the rug and

offer Nixon a graceful way out.

Nixon can be forced out but it can only be done through the independent struggle of the working class. This means a fight within the unions against the existing leadership, to unify the strength of the working class to politically challenge Nixon.

The working class must act to impose its own solution before the capitalist class decides to resolve the political crisis in its own way.

On January 3, the New York Times wrote:

"How much longer can America afford to allow public affairs to drift largely unattended, while its President looks first to his own legal safety?...The need for a decision on the fate of the President grows daily more imperative."

This editorial reveals the desperation of a section of the capitalist class. The dilemma they face is that they must move ahead with brutal attacks on the jobs and wages of a very powerful working class, with a President who is weak and discredited.

Nixon only remains in power through the inaction of the trade union bureaucracy, on the one hand, and on the other, by the support of a sinister group of military leaders whose models of government are the bloody dictatorships of Greece and Chile.

Only the working class itself has the power and the will to force Nixon out of office. Every trade unionist must open up a fight within the unions to demand that the labor leaders break their criminal silence and launch a campaign to force him to resign. This is now the only way to defend all workers from a future of permanent unemployment.

This campaign means that a Labor Party must be built now to take power and establish a government based on socialist principles to meet the crisis.

Tories Mobilize Troops Around London Airport

BY MELODY FARROW

London's Heathrow Airport was encircled over the weekend with Scorpion tanks, Saracen armored personnel carriers and 200 soldiers as the Tory government intensified its campaign to whip up an atmosphere of panic in preparation for a frontal assault on the British working class.

The establishment of a full-scale alert on Saturday and the use of the military against alleged "terrorists" is an attempt by Prime Minister Heath to test public reaction to the implementation in England of the civil war tactics developed in Ulster.

The Tories have imposed a three day work week and are blaming an overtime ban of the miners for the unemployment in order to force the miners into complete surrender.

But the miners are standing firm, despite Prime Minister Heath's blackmail and are determined to resist every attempt to smash them.

The failure of the talks places immediate pressure on NUM leader Joe Gormley to call a nationwide strike which could lead to a general strike.

EVADE

Gormley is trying to evade the political confrontation with Heath by discussing the issue of "waiting time," the amount of time needed to begin and end a workers shift.

The rejection by William

Whitelaw, Heath's Employment Secretary, of the NUM offer is the clearest proof that the Tories are prepared to risk everything in order to defeat the miners and the entire working class.

The Minister of Industry threatened to cut the three day work week to two days.

The Oxford branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, representing 7000 auto workers at British Leyland, has taken the lead for the whole working class. A resolution was passed by the branch calling on the workers to occupy the plant to prevent layoffs or closure. The resolution states in part:

"This crisis is not the fault of workers in this industry. It is caused by the decisions of governments—including the Heath government in Britain—which are hostile to the working class. The oil crisis is the product of the inflationary crisis and is insoluble without fundamental change.

"We must stress that work places must not be abandoned or dismantled. Workers have no power once they are on the dole. They have power whilst they

hold the plant."

The resolution called for the resignation of the Heath government and for election of a Labour Party that would be mandated to establish a planned socialist economy as the only solution to the crisis.

The struggle British miners and all workers are facing in Britain is no longer just a matter of wages.

If the miners were to give in and accept a pay cut or even a compromise, it would solve nothing.

Inflation would immediately eat up any wage gain and the government would still go ahead with its policy of unemployment.

More important, any settlement would encourage the government to move ahead with plans to prepare an election to smash the unions and establish a dictatorial coalition government.

This is a fight in which all workers must now unite together and defend their wages and jobs through the struggle to force Heath out and bring a workers government to power.

General Strike In Bombay

Bombay, and every major city in the state of Maharashtra, India was crippled on January 2 by a 24 hour general strike supported by workers in every industry. Markets, factories, transportation, and even restaurants were closed down tight.

India is one of the most economically impoverished countries in the world. In 1973 there was one wave of hunger marches, strikes, and protests after another.

The trade unions called the strike as part of a protest against the astronomical increase in prices over the past year.

In Wani, a city 350 miles northeast of Bombay, violence broke out when a group of demonstrators attempted to burn a government building. Six people were killed when policemen opened fire on the crowd.

In Nagpur, 400 miles from Bombay, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi attempted to speak at a public rally. Before she could get a few words out, workers threw shoes at her and jeered her off the platform.

The Gandhi government has turned more and more to the right. It has openly formed a coalition with a right-wing group called Shiv Sena and stepped up its attacks on the living standards of the Indian workers.



Cliff Slaughter of the WRP addresses Left Opposition meeting.

1000 Commemorate Left Opposition

BY A REPORTER

One thousand workers and youth packed into Acton town hall in London on December 24 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union. The meeting was called by the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The meeting was addressed by the general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party, Gerry Healy:

"The Left Opposition was founded by Trotsky in order to struggle against the growth of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

"Drawing on the lessons of the 1917 revolution, the coming social revolution in the capitalist countries will need to be prepared far more carefully and thoroughly than that in 1917. What is on the agenda is not something relating to wages and living conditions, but civil war and revolution on a scale never seen in history.

"We see the task facing the capitalist class as that of defeating the working class. We say, therefore, that the working

class faces the necessity of taking the revolutionary road. We have no other choice.

"In the struggle for Marxist principles against Stalinism and counterrevolutionary bureaucracy in the trade unions and the Labour Party, the Workers Revolutionary Party had to renew all the work set in motion by the Left Opposition.

"The old class relations are crumbling. 1970 was the last of the old type of general elections. Coalition government, a facade for military dictatorship, is now being planned."

Cliff Slaughter, member of the central committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party, told the meeting:

"Trotskyism is not confined to opposition, to the exposure of betrayals. The Left Opposition took up the leadership in the struggle against Stalinism.

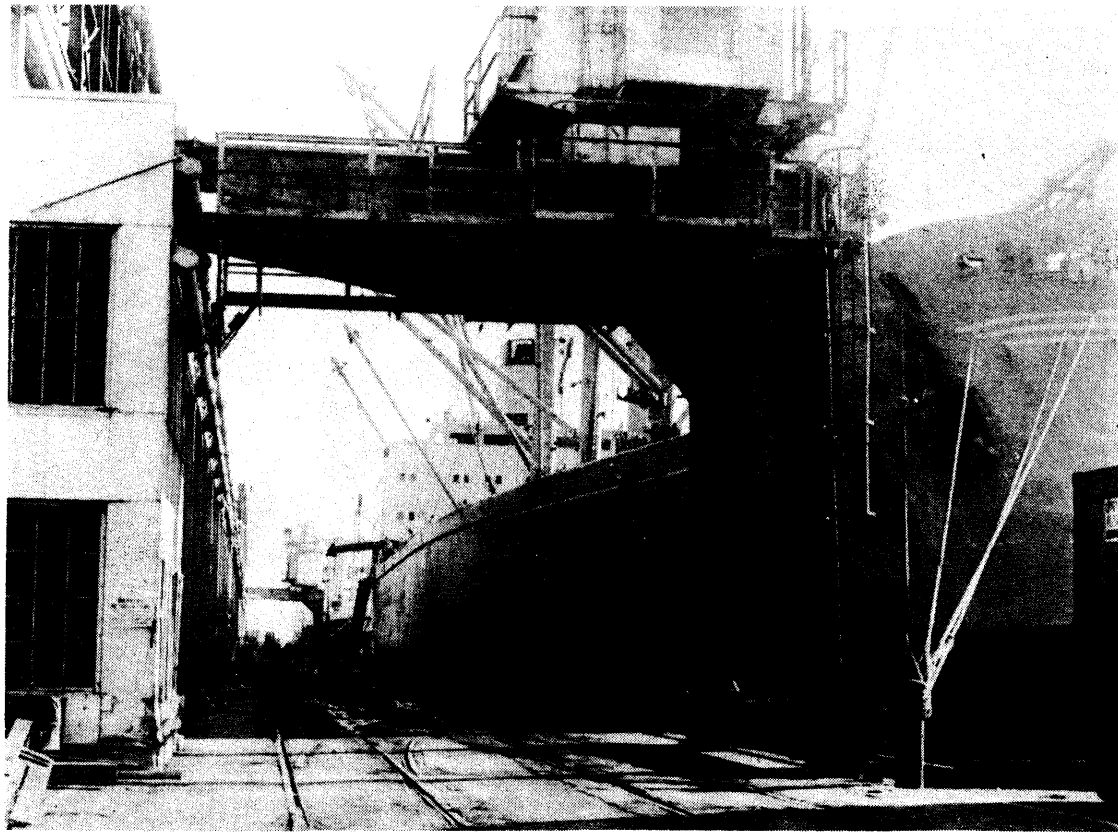
"The 1920s and 1930s were years of defeats for the working class. Conditions were extremely unfavorable for fighting for Marxist principles.

"In the 1970s, the conditions are not the same. Generations are moving into struggle because of the enormous breaks in world capitalism."

The people attending the meeting responded by donating \$800 to the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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Baltimore docks, where containerization will mean mass unemployment. See the Weekend Edition for a full report.

Oil Barons Add 11¢ To Gas Price

BY DAVID NORTH
Federal energy administrator William E. Simon announced Thursday that the average price of a gallon of gasoline will be up 11 cents by March 1.

This increase, which amounts to about a 20 percent hike, is among the many actions taken by Nixon and the big corporations this week to place the full weight of the energy crisis on the backs of American workers while millions of dollars in profits are made.

The highway speed limit is now legally only 55 miles per hour. This means that thousands of truckers will be hit by substantial pay cuts.

Both American Airlines and TWA have used the fuel shortage as an excuse to go ahead with further cutbacks in service. American is grounding 10 of its 16 Boeing 747 jumbo jets this week and TWA is grounding two out of 19.

The airlines are taking this action even though the government has rescinded its earlier 10 percent cutback in fuel allocations to the industry.

Simon stated that major oil corporations will instruct their dealers to limit the sale of gas to 10 gallons a customer. This means that millions of workers who need their car to drive to their plants will have to spend

hours several times each week looking for a service station to tank up.

Price increases have already been announced by Gulf Oil, Mobil, Standard, American, Sun, and Shell.

HOUNDING

While these increases have been quickly approved by Nixon, the government has been relentlessly hounding small businessmen who have been forced to up their rates because of the higher prices charged by the oil monopolies.

The Internal Revenue Service is busy tracking down the "price gougers" in the small neighborhood service stations in a fraudulent campaign to divert public attention from the oil tycoons who created the oil crisis by refusing to make the necessary investments in refineries and drilling and who are now making millions.

More than \$5 million was given by the oil corporations to the 1972 reelection campaign of Nixon. Gulf Oil donated \$1,176,500, Phillips and Ashland gave \$100,000 each, Getty contributed \$179,292, and Standard Oil of California came up with \$166,000.

A personal donation of \$1,003,000 was made by Richard Scaife, heir to the Gulf-Mellon fortune. The Rockefeller family also gave a sizable gift.

The Nixon administration is using the energy crisis as a weapon to drive down the living standards of the working class through inflation and unemployment.

Fighting Rages Along Suez Canal

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Fighting continues on all major cease-fire lines in the Sinai and Golan Heights despite claims by negotiators that an "important stage" has been reached in the Geneva talks.

Israeli preparations for a renewal of the war have been stepped up during the past week.

In a clear violation of the November 11 cease-fire agreement, Israeli troops obstructed the delivery of nonmilitary supplies to the Egyptian Third Army stationed on the east bank of the Suez Canal. Military authorities in Tel Aviv said that the blockade, which began

Thursday, may continue indefinitely.

This action was taken just as Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan arrived in the United States to arrange with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger the massive resupply of the Zionist armed forces.

Furthermore, the conditions put forward by the Israelis at the Geneva talks precludes any settlement. The Zionists are demanding the withdrawal of Egyptian troops from their established positions on the east bank of the Suez in exchange for a 30-mile pullback of Israeli troops from the Canal.

This amounts to a demand that Egypt surrender the gains of the October War. The Egyptian military command has already denounced this proposal, and War Minister Gen. Ahmed Ismail said that he is prepared to drive Israel back if the Geneva talks break down.

SHAKEN

The Meir government, shaken by the results of last week's election, is now negotiating with the right-wing National Religious Party to secure its eleven votes for the ruling coalition.

A condition for this alliance would be the annexation of the occupied territory of Jordan, home of one million Palestinians, which the Religious Party considers guaranteed to Israel by the Bible.

The real situation in the Middle East is revealed by the uninterrupted fighting.

Seventy-two major incidents were reported on the Sinai front last Sunday and another 41 occurred Monday. Egyptian troops

advanced a short distance in the Sinai.

In the Golan Heights, three Israeli soldiers were killed last week in a mortar attack.

SETTLEMENT

Under these conditions, the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union is the principal force behind the Geneva talks, attempting to impose a negotiated settlement on the Arabs.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad revealed that he has been under heavy pressure from the Soviet Union to end his boycott of the talks.

Moreover, Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezhnev is reportedly urging Nixon to visit the Soviet Union later this year.

Oil Prices Bankrupt Poor Nations

BY A REPORTER

The recent doubling in price of crude oil and the big shortages developing in petrochemicals is having a catastrophic impact on the economies of the undeveloped countries.

Many of these countries are so squeezed financially that not only are their growth rates threatened, but the ability to import anything but petroleum products is now in question.

With only limited exports to pay for the oil imports, these countries face at the minimum a doubling of their oil import bill from the 1973 total of \$5.2 billion.

The World Bank recently approved a large loan to India to convert rail operations from coal to diesel fuel. But this fuel

is now beyond India's capacity to buy.

India's new five year plan for development is based on 1972-73 oil prices. The new developments mean that virtually India's entire export earnings will have to be diverted to pay for oil.

In Ghana, these developments endanger transportation and cotton production, and in Kenya and Tanzania even the tourist trade, an important source of foreign exchange, will be hit.

Many Asian countries which depend on Japan for petrochemical products face chaos because of the oil shortages.

Synthetic fibers for South Korea, plastics for Hong Kong, and electronic components for Taiwan have been cut back because of shortages in petrochemicals used for their

manufacture.

Chemical fertilizers exported to China, India, and Indonesia are being held up as well, endangering critical rice production.

CRUCIAL

Japan is the largest single exporter to Southeast Asian countries except Vietnam and Cambodia, in many cases providing their economies with the crucial intermediate materials they turn into finished products for export.

Already, a number of conferences are in preparation to organize the producers of these commodities for coordinated efforts to win higher prices along the lines of the policies of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Thieu Fears Elections

An official South Vietnamese document reveals that dictator Nguyen Van Thieu has decided that elections will not be organized in Vietnam.

This decision exposes the complete farce of the Paris peace treaty signed one year ago which stipulated that democratic elections would be held.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has insisted on a ceasefire and formation of a National Council of Reconciliation before elections are held, as the Paris accord provided.

A Hanoi newspaper accused Thieu of calling off elections "on the orders of the United States."



workers league young socialists public meeting

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IRS Probes Nixon's Tax Record

BY DAVID NORTH

Just as Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski is preparing to announce indictments of major White House officials, the Internal Revenue Service has taken the unusual step of revealing that it is reexamining the tax returns of Richard Nixon.

The IRS cannot take this action unless there is evidence of "fraud, malfeasance, collusion, concealment or misrepresentation"; or if an error was made in the initial review of the returns.

A reexamination may also be ordered if the IRS failed to observe its own rules when the first audit was made.

A Congressional committee has joined the IRS in this reexamination, and has begun hearings to investigate Nixon's massive write-offs and his failure to pay capital gains tax on his various real estate deals.

Nixon's accountant, Arthur Blech, appeared before the Committee last week and revealed that a "full-scale" audit is underway. "There was a full-scale debate on every issue," he said.

SATISFIED

The committee is apparently not satisfied with Nixon's claims that he made no capital gains on the sale of 23 acres of San Clemente land to Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp in 1970.

According to the New York accounting firm of Coopers and Lybrand, the taxable capital gains on that sale ranges anywhere from between \$117,000 to \$230,000.

Questions are also being asked about the way in which Nixon split the profits from a purchase and later sale of Fishers Island with his daughter Tricia.

Nixon paid the minimum possible tax on the fortune he accumulated during the years 1970.

Court Rescues Mitchell

BY A REPORTER

The trial of former Attorney General John Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans for obstructing the investigation of financier Robert Vesco has been postponed indefinitely.

Sources say that the reason for delaying the trial, originally scheduled to begin September 11, is that their defense lawyers will be tied up in another case.

Judge Lee P. Gagliardi has ordered the delays, and this time has not set a new date for the trial to reconvene.

The first postponement was granted in order to give the defense more time to prepare the case.

The second postponement was granted to provide time to obtain a tape recording from White House officials that applies to the case.

1971, and 1972.

Another scandal has erupted over the revelations of civil servant Richard Hathaway regarding the upkeep of the San Clemente estate.

He has reported that officials who approved all administration requests for so-called security expenditures received rapid promotions.

A minor official in the General Services Administration, John F. Galuardi, rose to the position of Deputy Commissioner of Public Buildings Service in the course of approving expenditures on San Clemente totalling \$703,367.

This included \$11,561 for a redwood fence, \$13,55 for an electrical heating system, \$5000 for 13 brass lanterns, and more than \$100,000 for shrubbery, flowers, and general landscaping.

New Frameup Trial Of Chesimard Begins

BY MITCH PATTERSON

The trial of Joanne Chesimard for the alleged murder of state trooper Werner Foerster in a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike last May began on January 2.

She is being tried along with Clark Squire, supposedly in the car with Chesimard on the evening of the shootout.

Chesimard was acquitted last week by a federal jury in New York on a charge of bank robbery. The defense attorney in that case proved that Chesimard has absolutely nothing to do with the robbery, and that the witnesses for the prosecution submitted false evidence to frame Chesimard.

JURORS

The selection of jurors in the New Jersey trial began under heavy police guard with approximately 12 state troopers and plainclothesmen to enforce stringent security measures.

The case originally went to

Now the third delay has been granted because the defense lawyers decided to work on a case involving the Four Seasons Nursing Homes in Oklahoma.

These delays allowed by Gagliardi demonstrate clearly that the courts are the tools of Nixon and the large corporations. In the case of Joanne Chesimard and Fred Hilton at which Gagliardi presided, he denied every request by the defense for additional trial time to prepare their case. Evelyn Williams, Chesimard's lawyer in her first trial, has just received 10 days on a contempt charge ordered by Gagliardi.

Mitchell and Stans are charged with obstructing the investigation of fugitive financier Robert L. Vesco in return for the \$200,000 that Vesco donated to Nixon's election campaign in 1972.



The Lehigh Valley, one of the biggest industrial centers in Pennsylvania, is being hard hit with layoffs in the textile industry. Workers at the Bethlehem Steel mill, above, also face unemployment.

Layoffs Threaten Textile Workers

BY ED BELLINO

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — The shortage of fuel is threatening thousands of jobs in the

textile and garment industry in the Lehigh Valley.

In Allentown, layoffs have already begun at Sondra Knits and the Lehigh Knitting Mills, with over 100 workers affected.

Fuel oil is vital for the operation of knitting machinery, and the closing of these factories not only means layoffs in textile, but threatens layoffs in clothing mills like Phoenix that use knitted material.

Dave, one of 24 ILGWU workers laid off at Sondra, told the Bulletin that since the summer, there has been less work due to the shortage of cotton and polyester and that there had been several partial

layoffs.

On the Friday before Christmas, without warning, Dave learned that his factory, one of two owned by Sondra, was closing down. When he spoke to his union agent, the agent replied: "You better look for another job, because work is getting scarce."

LEADERSHIP

The leadership of the ILGWU is in no way prepared to defend the jobs of garment workers. Marvin, a worker at Fab-Knit, is worried about layoffs, but disgusted with the union leadership. "The union leaders put it off to the side. As long as they get their money, they don't care."

Revere Sugar Refinery Announces Shutdown

CHARLESTOWN, Mass., Jan. 4—Employees at the Revere Sugar Refinery received notice yesterday that the company will close down at the beginning of this March.

All 503 production workers, members of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 400, will lose their jobs.

The company, a subsidiary of United Brand, claims that the rise in the cost of raw sugar and the decline in the market for refined sugar has made the operation unprofitable.

Workers at the plant told the Bulletin that the union had to fight the closure. Older workers

said the company may withhold pensions. One said: "I have spent 26 years in this place and now they want to throw us out with nothing. This is a raw deal. We have got to fight."

Charlestown was the scene last year of the closure of the US Navy Yards, the city's major employer. The state's congressional delegation made an unsuccessful attempt to get the government to change its decision.

One worker at the refinery wanted to know why the state had done nothing to save their jobs. But as another man said: "Nixon is forcing us out of here. We have got to get him out."

FRAME-UP

The trial is a frame-up from beginning to end. The state trooper claims that he had stopped Chesimard's car because it had one unlighted headlight and that the occupants simply opened fire.

The police are alleging that Chesimard and her companions are members of the "Black Liberation Army," but lawyers close to the case have told the Bulletin that this organization has been invented to justify the murder of Black youth and militants.

These frame-ups expose the fear of the government of the growing movement of the youth against the conditions they face and against the government. Their aim in these trials is to try to terrorize and intimidate all those who want to fight back and create a precedent to attack the right of any organization which opposes Nixon to exist.



Essential Reading

Struggle For Marxism in the United States

The only existing history of American Trotskyism. \$2.45

In Defense of Trotskyism: An Answer to Those Who Vilify Our History

The struggle for Marxist principles against revisionism. .50

Towards A History of the Fourth International

Introductory history of Trotsky's fight to build the international movement, with particular attention to the SWP. .50

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Recession Hits Germany

BY A CORRESPONDENT
Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt's warnings of recession in Germany are a grave threat to workers and their living standards.

Germany has undergone a major transformation in the past few weeks. Its prosperity and growth since the war, the so-called "economic miracle," has come to an abrupt end. The press talks of the end of the "affluent society."

Contrary to what Brandt says, the oil embargo, dealing a major blow to Germany's two main growth industries, automobiles and chemicals, is only partly responsible for this economic crisis.

In fact the oil crisis has put the finishing touches to an economic situation already beset with problems and speeded up the process of decline.

German capitalism was rebuilt after the war with huge dollar handouts from the United States. It has been tied to the fortunes of American imperialism ever since—both for an export market and for military aid in maintaining the existence of West Germany as a bastard state against the Stalinist bloc.

Neither the economic prosperity Germany achieved nor its apparent independence could immunize it against the crisis of American imperialism and world capitalism.

Indeed its apparent economic strength was shown to be a distinct weakness during the run on the dollar last spring. At the time there was a rush by big financial institutions to exchange their dollar reserves for a stronger currency, the German mark. The Bundesbank was forced twice to buy up billions of unwanted dollars in a vain attempt to save the mark from revaluation.

This left the German export industry with the prospect of losing its international markets to cheaper products. By the autumn the effects of the almost 40 percent revaluation of the mark against the dollar were beginning to affect car export orders.

Inflation was another capitalist disease which since 1971 threatened to erode profits and stability in Germany. It put an end to years of industrial peace based on the capitalists' ability to meet workers' wage demands. It threw the social-democratic movement into crisis.

Willy Brandt's social-democratic government was returned to power last November by a bigger majority than ever

before, with a clear mandate from the working class to defend living standards and jobs. But as soon as the election was over, the right-wing launched an attack on workers' wage demands using their Liberal coalition partners as an excuse.

A fierce battle took place inside the social-democratic party between Brandt and his associates and the leftist "Jusos" (Young Socialists). The same battle was fought in the trade union movement. More and more workers found themselves in open conflict with the union

would reach 500,000 by January. Thousands of engineering workers were on short time, while a major slump in the textile and clothing industry had put 31,000 out of work and a further 50,000 on short time.

Throughout this period there was a general deterioration of relationships between West Germany and the United States. Nixon's threat to introduce import tariffs on all goods entering the US continued the shift in American foreign policy which began in August 1971 with the removal of gold backing for the dollar.

political union as a means of collectively defeating the resistance of the working class and meeting the threat of competition.

The recent conflict over US use of Germany as a base for transporting tanks bound for Israel was another sharp reminder that all is not well between the two countries.

The oil embargo has given the final spurt to these developments and thrown German capitalism into a crisis far worse than that of the 1920s.

Already the mark is no longer the most wanted currency. Its

The picture for the working class is a grim one. The crisis of world capitalism is rapidly transforming all Germany's prosperity into its opposite—recession. It is also destroying the basis for the reformist policies of the social-democratic government and trade union leaders.

The working class is strong and determined to defend the gains of the boom period and prevent another Weimar. But it still places its confidence in social-democracy. This was demonstrated by the recent unofficial strike of miners in Saarland where the workers occupied the local ministry, demanding that the government show support for their demands.

But Willy Brandt has chosen another path, showing as little sympathy for the miners as he did for all the other workers' wages demands this year.

His cabinet has been responsible for the most extensive preparations to meet the strength of the working class. Police have been supplied with chemical weapons. Special units are being trained to put down strikes and mass demonstrations. In some states militant workers are being spied on.

The decision to ban further entry of foreign workers to Germany feeds the employers' use of racism to split the working class and undermine its strength.

The bankruptcy of social-democracy is again shown by the refusal of the trade union leadership even to recognize the economic crisis and warn workers of the dangers. The only reason they give for their verbal support of wage claims is that employers have made record profits this year and should be able to afford wage increases.

The reformists' bankruptcy can only lead workers into defeat and resignation. And this is precisely what the employers and their party want.

Aided by Brandt's liberal coalition partners, the capitalist press has launched a campaign to discredit the social-democrats, aimed at winning over the middle class and bringing the government down.

The onus now lies on the German section of the Fourth International to build an alternative to social democracy which can lead the working class to power.

Just as the German ruling class prepares for a confrontation, drawing on all the experience of the class struggles in the 1920s and 1930s, so the working class needs a leadership which draws on the lessons of Weimar in its preparations for revolution. The strength of the German working class today will be the basis on which this must be done.



German Social-Democratic Party leaders Wehner, Brandt, and Schmidt. Recession is now destroying the basis for reformism and Brandt's government is rapidly moving to the right. Above is the Autobahn—now deserted.

leadership, whose willingness to do a deal with the employers over wages left workers effectively with their pay frozen or cut.

STRIKES

A wave of unofficial strikes for cost of living increases started in February and continued through the summer and autumn. Lacking the support of the union leadership, they often ended in mass sackings and violent clashes with the police and right-wing provocateurs.

The government's stability program, designed to kill the inflationary trade boom, caused further rifts between the reformists and the working class.

High interest rates, cuts in public spending on schools, hospitals and housing and higher taxes on investments were all passed on to the working class in higher prices. Small businesses were squeezed and between June and September over 150 building firms were bankrupted, leading to mass layoffs.

By October it was clear that unemployment in Germany

A huge balance of payments deficit, built up over the years, a weakening currency and the prospect of an energy shortage posed the danger of recession in America—a recession which could only be averted at Europe's expense.

So Nixon began to reverse America's policy towards Europe, going from assistance to competition. By effectively forcing a mark revaluation, Nixon was able to place German goods at a disadvantage against American products. He cut military aid to Germany and began to withdraw US troops which had been stationed there since the end of the war.

This shift in US policy, caused by the crisis of capitalism, served to stress Germany's dependence on its big brother.

The capitalist crisis worsens the relations between capitalist nations as each one struggles to maintain its share of the world market. The growing antagonism is reflected in Germany's turn to Europe, where it has become one of the strongest advocates of monetary and

value has declined since July, forcing up the cost of imports. The chemical and car industries, on which the economic boom was based, have been hit the hardest and the price of their shares has fallen dramatically.

The chemical giants BASF and Hoechst rely on oil supplies for four-fifths of their production. Since the beginning of the embargo Bayer has spent an extra 50 million marks on petrochemical raw materials. Redundancies have already started, and Hoechst has announced plans to lay off 8000 workers in the next couple of months.

The effects on the car industry with over 3.5 million workers are even worse. In November orders dropped by half. 30,000 unsold cars are lying around at Opel and Ford. Car experts predict that every factory will be on short-time by January.

And as a large part of German industry is dependent on orders from car and chemical firms, mass redundancies and short-time work can be expected here too. Tire manufacturers and paint producers are already feeling the pinch.

Principles

The International Committee of the Fourth International celebrates today the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition.

Under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, it began during the closing months of 1923 a struggle against an increasingly powerful bureaucratic strata in the Soviet state and against its political representatives within the Bolshevik Party, particularly Josef Stalin.

In taking up this fight, urged upon him by the dying Lenin, Trotsky had to defend all the fundamental principles of Marxism and confront the theoretical and practical problems of training Marxist cadres to fight the methods and policies of the Stalinists.

This fight is carried forward today only by the International Committee, which is the product of 50 years of continuous struggle on



Lenin

the basis of the principles for which Trotsky fought from 1923 until his assassination by a Stalinist agent 17 years later.

The growth of the Fourth International in this period, which finds its highest expression in the founding of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain last November, is the greatest vindication of Trotskyism. The Fifth World Conference of the International Committee will be held this spring on the basis of all the lessons drawn from the history of the Trotskyist movement.

The work of Trotsky and the Left Opposition is now shown to have been the preparation for the victory of the coming social revolution.

The principles defended and enriched by Trotsky under the most difficult conditions live today and are developed in the daily work of constructing the party. At every stage of the struggle, the party posits each new feature of the political and economic crisis on the vast body of knowledge acquired in the struggle against Stalinism that began 50 years ago when Trotsky pointed to the dangers of degeneration then facing the Bolshevik Party and called for the implementation of "The New Course."

All the slanders hurled by the Stalinists against our movement cannot eradicate the fact that it was Trotsky who emerged after the death of Lenin as the leading representative of revolutionary Marxism.

The real history of the Bolshevik Party shows that the Left Opposition fought for the continuity of Leninism, not only in the sense that it stood with Lenin on every concrete political issue raised in the decisive period of 1923 to 1924; but also in that the Left Opposition upheld these positions in the course of a struggle for dialectical materialism as the methodological foundation of the party.

Trotsky saw the danger of degeneration rooted in the abandonment of the Marxist method by a section of the Bolshevik party leadership. He warned that those who called themselves "Old Bolsheviks"—who adapted to Lenin while he was alive without ever seeking to apply and develop the Marxist method, and who were therefore dominated in their thinking by ready-made formulas and conservative routine—were the ones most susceptible to the influence of reactionary social forces still within the Soviet Union and strengthened by the extremely unfavorable objective conditions confronting the Russian working class five years after it had conquered power.

The struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition for "The New Course" was, in essence, a battle to rearm the Bolshevik Party to meet the demands of the new historical period. Only through a conflict of

opposites within the party itself could its leadership be tempered and a new generation be trained as Marxist revolutionaries. Through this struggle, the party would defend the gains of October 1917 and prepare, as the leading section of the Third International, for the victory of the coming social revolution in the advanced countries.

Therefore, when the struggle within the party broke out in 1923, Trotsky and the Left Opposition acted under the direct influence of Lenin not only in that they defended his principled positions on the questions of bureaucracy, party regime, and internationalism, but also in that they made their stand on the basis of the great historical experience of Lenin to construct a Marxist party from 1903 until his death.

For Lenin, the struggle within the party was the highest point in the struggle for consciousness within the working class. He saw consciousness as developing through the conflict of opposites, in which the party, as part of the working class, comes into conflict with the spontaneous level of thinking within the working class.

But Marxism does not develop spontaneously within the party. There must be a continuous conflict over theory in a conflict against thinking within the party which reflects the spontaneous, that is, bourgeois, consciousness of the working class.

The party at every point posits the new and living features of the capitalist crisis against all its past experience and previously developed theory for a development of new knowledge in the actual practice of building a mass revolutionary party, in which the thinking of workers is changed.

Lenin, on the basis of his earlier experience as a revolutionary and the great changes in the objective conditions, fought at the 1903 Congress of Russian Social Democracy for a centralized party as the vehicle for the conscious conflict between theory and practice. As the Bolshevik Party brought each new experience from the class struggle into conflict with its theoretical foundations, Lenin continually conflicted with sections of his own party whose thinking remained dominated by the past.

"Old Bolsheviks"

The high point of the struggle within the Bolshevik Party was 1917. Between February and October, the party had to be transformed and steeled as a combat party prepared to take power. In this short period of time, Lenin had to come into conflict with thinking as it had previously developed both within the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party.

The preparation for the "leap" of October required that Lenin come into collision with virtually every "Old Bolshevik" who repeated the slogans and formulas of the past period rather than grapple consciously with the living contradictions of the revolution as it unfolded.

Throughout the period from February to October 1917, Lenin fought in the Central Committee of his party in order to overcome the opposition of conservative layers to the decisive turns required in the interests of the revolution.

Upon returning to Russia in April, Lenin opposed the leadership of the Bolshevik Party which, under the old slogan of "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," had given support to the bourgeois Provisional Government and the imperialist war.

Answering those party leaders who defended this slogan as a time-honored tradition of Bolshevism, Lenin declared:

"The Bolshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have worked out differently; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected.

"To ignore or overlook this fact would mean taking after those 'old Bolsheviks' who more than once already have played so regrettable a role in this history of our Party by reiterating formulas senselessly learned by rote instead of studying the specific features of the new and living reality." (Vol. 24, p. 44)

Lenin insisted that a Bolshevik whose thinking remained rooted in the past "has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' prerevolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'old Bolsheviks')..."

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50th Anniversary of the

the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of reality, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only comes near to embracing life in all its complexity." (Vol. 24, p. 45)

Three months later, Lenin again warned: "Too often has it happened that, when history has taken a sharp turn, even progressive parties have for some time been unable to adapt themselves to the new situation and have repeated slogans which had formerly been correct but had now lost all meaning—lost it as 'suddenly' as the sharp turn in history was 'sudden.'" (Vol. 25, p. 183)

The fight against the "Old Bolsheviks" involved fundamental questions of the Marxist method. The "Old Bolsheviks" were the formal, abstract thinkers who took the dead past of conservative tradition as their starting point. They did not begin with the new, living contradictions of the real world.

Whereas Lenin had explained the path of cognition in his *Philosophical Notebooks* "from living perception to abstract thought and from this to practice," the "Old Bolsheviks" began with abstract thought and were thus dominated by the old thinking, old routine and, under the conditions of 1917, reactionary policies.

Trotsky later assessed the struggle in 1917 from the standpoint of the conflict of opposites and the struggle against formal and conservative thinking.

"It is clear that," Trotsky wrote in *The New Course*, "as a conservative element, as

the automatic pressure of yesterday upon today, tradition represents an extremely important force at the service of the conservative parties and deeply inimical to the revolutionary party..."

"Marxism is a method of historical analysis, of political orientation, and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance. Leninism is the application of this method in the conditions of an exceptional historical epoch.

"It is precisely this union of the peculiarities of the epoch and the method that determines that courageous, self-assured policy of brusque turns of which Lenin gave us the finest models and which he illumined theoretically and generalized on more than one occasion."

Lessons Of October

Marxism could be carried into the practice of the working class by the Bolshevik Party only as it was theoretically rearmed by the fight against "Old Bolsheviks" like Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin. The important point here, however, is not to be found in drawing a line between the role played by a particular party member in 1917 and then



The Founding of the Left Opposition

by David North

later in 1923 to 1924.

The critical issue is that only through the sharpest conflict of opposites within the party could Bolshevism remain a revolutionary tendency in 1917, consciously reflecting the material interests of the working class as it came into conflict with its spontaneous level of thinking, and through this conflict bring forward the movement of the Russian proletariat to power in October.

It was to this central "Lesson of October" that Trotsky drew the attention of the party several years later as he struggled against the bureaucracy and the inner corrosion of the party's theoretical life.

Trotsky consciously returned to the experiences of the Bolshevik Party in 1917 in order to combat the conservative thinking within the leadership which, reflecting the pressures of objective difficulties, became the spokesman of reactionary social forces rather than of the class interests of the Russian workers.

"A revolutionary party," wrote Trotsky in *Lessons of October*, "is subjected to the pressure of other political forces. At every given stage of its development, the party elaborates its own methods of counteracting and resisting this pressure. During a tactical turn and the resulting internal regroupments and frictions, the party's power of resistance becomes weakened. From this the possibility always arises that the internal groupings in the party, which originate from the necessity of a turn in tactics, may develop far beyond the original controversial points of departure and serve

as a support for various class tendencies. To put the case more plainly: the party which does not keep in step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes."



Stalin

It is precisely this danger that was posed to the Russian Communist Party in 1923 when Trotsky and the Left Opposition began the fight for "The New Course." Just as the Bolshevik Party would have rapidly degenerated in 1917 had it not made a great theoretical development, the party faced the same danger in 1923 because objective conditions had strengthened reactionary social forces within Russia which necessarily found their expression within the party.

The chief internal dangers to the Russian working class were represented by an increasingly powerful class of wealthy peasants (known as Kulaks) whose natural inclinations were towards a restoration of capitalism and a growing bureaucracy that exerted an ever-greater amount of influence over the direction of the party.

It is necessary to understand that the objective basis for the emergence of the bureaucracy lay in the political isolation and economic backwardness of the Soviet Union upon the victorious conclusion of the Civil War in 1921. It was surrounded by hostile imperialist powers who were determined to destroy the proletarian state at the first opportunity.

Because of the betrayals of Social Democracy and the lack of revolutionary leadership, European capitalism had been able to survive the upheavals that came fast on the heels of World War One.

Within Russia, millions still faced the threat of starvation. The most politically advanced elements of the working class had been drained from the factories either by the White Terror, death on the battlefield and the recurring epidemics of typhus, or by the necessary recruiting of Bolshevik-workers into the state apparatus.

In order to spark the revival of industry and agricultural production, Lenin and Trotsky initiated in 1921 the New Economic Policy (NEP). This policy allowed for the growth of small capitalist enterprises in the peasant sector of the economy.

Although the NEP was necessary for the survival of the Soviet Union and proved to be successful for providing a framework for

economic development, both Lenin and Trotsky recognized the dangers involved in this policy.

Even though the small capitalist enterprises were strictly regulated by the party, the NEP could not but encourage the anti-Soviet tendencies of the substantial middle class represented by the wealthier peasants.

At the same time, the dangers to the Soviet state were augmented by the influx of a whole strata of middle class elements—such as managerial personnel from the pre-1917 era—into a bureaucracy that grew precisely out of the need of a vast apparatus to administer supplies, transport, rationing, etc., in backward Russia.

Lenin was acutely aware of the hostile class forces set into motion by the NEP. It is for this reason that during his final year of political activity he was extremely sensitive toward every expression of hostile class pressures within the Bolshevik Party.

These tendencies manifested themselves particularly among those sections of the party leadership least interested in theoretical issues.

Confronted by the enormous objective problems of the period after the Civil War, they did not consciously seek to conflict with the difficulties, educate new layers of party workers and youth, struggle against bureaucratic tendencies reflected in the party, and bring forward a movement of the working class as a whole against bureaucratism.

Where the situation demanded a development of Marxist thinking, individuals like Stalin reflected the pressures of backward Russia upon the working class, which, in this case, meant the pressures of the middle class, imperialist encirclement, and the bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy

But while the relation of the middle class to the Russian proletariat was one of contradiction in which the deep hostility of the working class to the bureaucracy could be developed consciously by Marxists to overcome bureaucracy, Stalin reflected these pressures as a formal thinker.

In other words, he did not conflict with these pressures, but rather adapted to them. While faithfully repeating the formulas of the past and reminding one and all of their "Old Bolshevik" origins, Stalin and others steadily took on the coloration of the bureaucracy in their practice and their political positions.

Becoming increasingly estranged from the actual life of the masses by dint of their new positions, Stalin and others approached political issues in an increasingly bureaucratic manner.

They were arrogant toward the youth seeking to participate in the life of constructing the Soviet Union. They sought to solve difficulties in a pragmatic fashion, by giving orders rather than developing policies through the conscious theoretical struggle in the party.

The mounting influence of hostile class forces, assisted by the theoretical backsliding of "Old Bolsheviks," had developed by 1922 to such an extent that Lenin—partially removed from the day-to-day scene of politics by serious illness—was able to identify an open bureaucratic tendency within the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. Furthermore, he recognized Stalin as the leader of this tendency.

Though severely handicapped by the illness that would eventually kill him at the young age of 53, Lenin began the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucracy on fundamental questions of Marxist principle and Soviet policy that would serve as the foundation of the fight taken up by Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

The party reflects the interests of the working class, but not in a formal mechanical way through which it could only reflect the spontaneous thinking of the working class as the product of pressures exerted by the bourgeoisie.

Rather, the party, as part of the working class, conflicts with this spontaneous thinking and reflects consciously through the struggle of opposites the interests of the proletariat as it brings it forward against the bureaucracy as part of an international class.

It is this that Lenin sought to do in the final months of his life in the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucracy, and it is this fight that Trotsky carried forward.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

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The real history of the Bolshevik Party shows that the Left Opposition fought for the continuity of Leninism, not only in the sense that it stood with Lenin on every concrete political issue raised in the decisive period of 1923 to 1924; but also in that the Left Opposition upheld these positions in the course of a struggle for dialectical materialism as the methodological foundation of the party.

Trotsky saw the danger of degeneration rooted in the abandonment of the Marxist method by a section of the Bolshevik party leadership. He warned that those who called themselves "Old Bolsheviks"—who adapted to Lenin while he was alive without ever seeking to apply and develop the Marxist method, and who were therefore dominated in their thinking by ready-made formulas and conservative routine—were the ones most susceptible to the influence of reactionary social forces still within the Soviet Union and strengthened by the extremely unfavorable objective conditions confronting the Russian working class five years after it had conquered power.

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opposites within the party itself could its leadership be tempered and a new generation be trained as Marxist revolutionaries. Through this struggle, the party would defend the gains of October 1917 and prepare, as the leading section of the Third International, for the victory of the coming social revolution in the advanced countries.

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as a support for various class tendencies. To put the case more plainly: the party which does not keep in step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes."



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It is precisely this danger that was posed to the Russian Communist Party in 1923 when Trotsky and the Left Opposition began the fight for "The New Course." Just as the Bolshevik Party would have rapidly degenerated in 1917 had it not made a great theoretical development, the party faced the same danger in 1923 because objective conditions had strengthened reactionary social forces within Russia which necessarily found their expression within the party.

The chief internal dangers to the Russian working class were represented by an increasingly powerful class of wealthy peasants (known as Kulaks) whose natural inclinations were towards a restoration of capitalism and a growing bureaucracy that exerted an ever-greater amount of influence over the direction of the party.

It is necessary to understand that the objective basis for the emergence of the bureaucracy lay in the political isolation and economic backwardness of the Soviet Union upon the victorious conclusion of the Civil War in 1921. It was surrounded by hostile imperialist powers who were determined to destroy the proletarian state at the first opportunity.

Because of the betrayals of Social Democracy and the lack of revolutionary leadership, European capitalism had been able to survive the upheavals that came fast on the heels of World War One.

Within Russia, millions still faced the threat of starvation. The most politically advanced elements of the working class had been drained from the factories either by the White Terror, death on the battlefield and the recurring epidemics of typhus, or by the necessary recruiting of Bolshevik workers into the state apparatus.

In order to spark the revival of industry and agricultural production, Lenin and Trotsky initiated in 1921 the New Economic Policy (NEP). This policy allowed for the growth of small capitalist enterprises in the peasant sector of the economy.

Although the NEP was necessary for the survival of the Soviet Union and proved to be successful for providing a framework for

economic development, both Lenin and Trotsky recognized the dangers involved in this policy.

Even though the small capitalist enterprises were strictly regulated by the party, the NEP could not but encourage the anti-Soviet tendencies of the substantial middle class represented by the wealthier peasants.

At the same time, the dangers to the Soviet state were augmented by the influx of a whole strata of middle class elements—such as managerial personnel from the pre-1917 era—into a bureaucracy that grew precisely out of the need of a vast apparatus to administer supplies, transport, rationing, etc., in backward Russia.

Lenin was acutely aware of the hostile class forces set into motion by the NEP. It is for this reason that during his final year of political activity he was extremely sensitive toward every expression of hostile class pressures within the Bolshevik Party.

These tendencies manifested themselves particularly among those sections of the party leadership least interested in theoretical issues.

Confronted by the enormous objective problems of the period after the Civil War, they did not consciously seek to conflict with the difficulties, educate new layers of party workers and youth, struggle against bureaucratic tendencies reflected in the party, and bring forward a movement of the working class as a whole against bureaucracy.

Where the situation demanded a development of Marxist thinking, individuals like Stalin reflected the pressures of backward Russia upon the working class, which, in this case, meant the pressures of the middle class, imperialist encirclement, and the bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy

But while the relation of the middle class to the Russian proletariat was one of contradiction in which the deep hostility of the working class to the bureaucracy could be developed consciously by Marxists to overcome bureaucracy, Stalin reflected these pressures as a formal thinker.

In other words, he did not conflict with these pressures, but rather adapted to them. While faithfully repeating the formulas of the past and reminding one and all of their "Old Bolshevik" origins, Stalin and others steadily took on the coloration of the bureaucracy in their practice and their political positions.

Becoming increasingly estranged from the actual life of the masses by dint of their new positions, Stalin and others approached political issues in an increasingly bureaucratic manner.

They were arrogant toward the youth seeking to participate in the life of constructing the Soviet Union. They sought to solve difficulties in a pragmatic fashion, by giving orders rather than developing policies through the conscious theoretical struggle in the party.

The mounting influence of hostile class forces, assisted by the theoretical backsliding of "Old Bolsheviks," had developed by 1922 to such an extent that Lenin—partially removed from the day-to-day scene of politics by serious illness—was able to identify an open bureaucratic tendency within the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. Furthermore, he recognized Stalin as the leader of this tendency.

Though severely handicapped by the illness that would eventually kill him at the young age of 53, Lenin began the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucracy on fundamental questions of Marxist principle and Soviet policy that would serve as the foundation of the fight taken up by Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

The party reflects the interests of the working class, but not in a formal mechanical way through which it could only reflect the spontaneous thinking of the working class as the product of pressures exerted by the bourgeoisie.

Rather, the party, as part of the working class, conflicts with this spontaneous thinking and reflects consciously through the struggle of opposites the interests of the proletariat as it brings it forward against the bureaucracy as part of an international class.

It is this that Lenin sought to do in the final months of his life in the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucracy, and it is this fight that Trotsky carried forward.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

Principles

The International Committee of the Fourth International celebrates today the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition.

Under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, it began during the closing months of 1923 a struggle against an increasingly powerful bureaucratic strata in the Soviet state and against its political representatives within the Bolshevik Party, particularly Josef Stalin.

In taking up this fight, urged upon him by the dying Lenin, Trotsky had to defend all the fundamental principles of Marxism and confront the theoretical and practical problems of training Marxist cadres to fight the methods and policies of the Stalinists.

This fight is carried forward today only by the International Committee, which is the product of 50 years of continuous struggle on



Lenin

the basis of the principles for which Trotsky fought from 1923 until his assassination by a Stalinist agent 17 years later.

The growth of the Fourth International in this period, which finds its highest expression in the founding of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain last November, is the greatest vindication of Trotskyism. The Fifth World Conference of the International Committee will be held this spring on the basis of all the lessons drawn from the history of the Trotskyist movement.

The work of Trotsky and the Left Opposition is now shown to have been the preparation for the victory of the coming social revolution.

The principles defended and enriched by Trotsky under the most difficult conditions live today and are developed in the daily work of constructing the party. At every stage of the struggle, the party posits each new feature of the political and economic crisis on the vast body of knowledge acquired in the struggle against Stalinism that began 50 years ago when Trotsky pointed to the dangers of degeneration then facing the Bolshevik Party and called for the implementation of "The New Course."

All the slanders hurled by the Stalinists against our movement cannot eradicate the fact that it was Trotsky who emerged after the death of Lenin as the leading representative of revolutionary Marxism.

The real history of the Bolshevik Party shows that the Left Opposition fought for the continuity of Leninism, not only in the sense that it stood with Lenin on every concrete political issue raised in the decisive period of 1923 to 1924; but also in that the Left Opposition upheld these positions in the course of a struggle for dialectical materialism as the methodological foundation of the party.

Trotsky saw the danger of degeneration rooted in the abandonment of the Marxist method by a section of the Bolshevik party leadership. He warned that those who called themselves "Old Bolsheviks"—who adapted to Lenin while he was alive without ever seeking to apply and develop the Marxist method, and who were therefore dominated in their thinking by ready-made formulas and conservative routine—were the ones most susceptible to the influence of reactionary social forces still within the Soviet Union and strengthened by the extremely unfavorable objective conditions confronting the Russian working class five years after it had conquered power.

The struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition for "The New Course" was, in essence, a battle to rearm the Bolshevik Party to meet the demands of the new historical period. Only through a conflict of

opposites within the party itself could its leadership be tempered and a new generation be trained as Marxist revolutionaries. Through this struggle, the party would defend the gains of October 1917 and prepare, as the leading section of the Third International, for the victory of the coming social revolution in the advanced countries.

Therefore, when the struggle within the party broke out in 1923, Trotsky and the Left Opposition acted under the direct influence of Lenin not only in that they defended his principled positions on the questions of bureaucracy, party regime, and internationalism, but also in that they made their stand on the basis of the great historical experience of Lenin to construct a Marxist party from 1903 until his death.

For Lenin, the struggle within the party was the highest point in the struggle for consciousness within the working class. He saw consciousness as developing through the conflict of opposites, in which the party, as part of the working class, comes into conflict with the spontaneous level of thinking within the working class.

But Marxism does not develop spontaneously within the party. There must be a continuous conflict over theory in a conflict against thinking within the party which reflects the spontaneous, that is, bourgeois, consciousness of the working class.

The party at every point posits the new and living features of the capitalist crisis against all its past experience and previously developed theory for a development of new knowledge in the actual practice of building a mass revolutionary party, in which the thinking of workers is changed.

Lenin, on the basis of his earlier experience as a revolutionary and the great changes in the objective conditions, fought at the 1903 Congress of Russian Social Democracy for a centralized party as the vehicle for the conscious conflict between theory and practice. As the Bolshevik Party brought each new experience from the class struggle into conflict with its theoretical foundations, Lenin continually conflicted with sections of his own party whose thinking remained dominated by the past.

"Old Bolsheviks"

The high point of the struggle within the Bolshevik Party was 1917. Between February and October, the party had to be transformed and steered as a combat party prepared to take power. In this short period of time, Lenin had to come into conflict with thinking as it had previously developed both within the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party.

The preparation for the "leap" of October required that Lenin come into collision with virtually every "Old Bolshevik" who repeated the slogans and formulas of the past period rather than grapple consciously with the living contradictions of the revolution as it unfolded.

Throughout the period from February to October 1917, Lenin fought in the Central Committee of his party in order to overcome the opposition of conservative layers to the decisive turns required in the interests of the revolution.

Upon returning to Russia in April, Lenin opposed the leadership of the Bolshevik Party which, under the old slogan of "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," had given support to the bourgeois Provisional Government and the imperialist war.

Answering those party leaders who defended this slogan as a time-honored tradition of Bolshevism, Lenin declared: "The Bolshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have worked out differently; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected."

"To ignore or overlook this fact would mean taking after those 'old Bolsheviks' who more than once already have played so regrettable a role in this history of our Party by reiterating formulas senselessly learned by rote instead of studying the specific features of the new and living reality." (Vol. 24, p. 44)

Lenin insisted that a Bolshevik whose thinking remained rooted in the past "has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' prerevolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'old Bolsheviks')..."

"...For the present, it is essential to grasp

Part One: Principles Of Bolshevism



50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Left Opposition

by David North

the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of reality, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only comes near to embracing life in all its complexity." (Vol. 24, p. 45)

Three months later, Lenin again warned: "Too often has it happened that, when history has taken a sharp turn, even progressive parties have for some time been unable to adapt themselves to the new situation and have repeated slogans which had formerly been correct but had now lost all meaning—lost it as 'suddenly' as the sharp turn in history was 'sudden.'" (Vol. 25, p. 183)

The fight against the "Old Bolsheviks" involved fundamental questions of the Marxist method. The "Old Bolsheviks" were the formal, abstract thinkers who took the dead past of conservative tradition as their starting point. They did not begin with the new, living contradictions of the real world.

Whereas Lenin had explained the path of cognition in his *Philosophical Notebooks* "from living perception to abstract thought and from this to practice," the "Old Bolsheviks" began with abstract thought and were thus dominated by the old thinking, old routine and, under the conditions of 1917, reactionary policies.

Trotsky later assessed the struggle in 1917 from the standpoint of the conflict of opposites and the struggle against formal and conservative thinking.

"It is clear that," Trotsky wrote in *The New Course*, "as a conservative element, as

the automatic pressure of yesterday upon today, tradition represents an extremely important force at the service of the conservative parties and deeply inimical to the revolutionary party..."

"Marxism is a method of historical analysis, of political orientation, and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance. Leninism is the application of this method in the conditions of an exceptional historical epoch."

"It is precisely this union of the peculiarities of the epoch and the method that determines that courageous, self-assured policy of brusque turns of which Lenin gave us the finest models and which he illumined theoretically and generalized on more than one occasion."

Lessons Of October

Marxism could be carried into the practice of the working class by the Bolshevik Party only as it was theoretically rearmed by the fight against "Old Bolsheviks" like Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin. The important point here, however, is not to be found in drawing a line between the role played by a particular party member in 1917 and then

later in 1923 to 1924.

The critical issue is that only through the sharpest conflict of opposites within the party could Bolshevism remain a revolutionary tendency in 1917, consciously reflecting the material interests of the working class as it came into conflict with its spontaneous level of thinking, and through this conflict bring forward the movement of the Russian proletariat to power in October.

It was to this central "Lesson of October" that Trotsky drew the attention of the party several years later as he struggled against the bureaucracy and the inner corrosion of the party's theoretical life.

Trotsky consciously returned to the experiences of the Bolshevik Party in 1917 in order to combat the conservative thinking within the leadership which, reflecting the pressures of objective difficulties, became the spokesman of reactionary social forces rather than of the class interests of the Russian workers.

"A revolutionary party," wrote Trotsky in *Lessons of October*, "is subjected to the pressure of other political forces. At every given stage of its development, the party elaborates its own methods of counteracting and resisting this pressure. During a tactical turn and the resulting internal regroupments and frictions, the party's power of resistance becomes weakened. From this the possibility always arises that the internal groupings in the party, which originate from the necessity of a turn in tactics, may develop far beyond the original controversial points of departure and serve

as a support for various class tendencies. To put the case more plainly: the party which does not keep in step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes."



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CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE



A Fundamental Crisis

Every capitalist publication is currently treating its readers to a barrage of speculation on the economic crisis.

All are agreed a worldwide recession is now on the agenda. The disagreements rage over whether it will be a simple downturn or a major slump and how long it will last.

Thus **Business Week**, which is fairly typical, sees 1974 as a year of "worldwide slowdown," with a strengthening "of an already strengthened US dollar."

At the same time, they see new moves toward protectionism, a flow of investment money to the US from Europe, "upward pressures on prices of commodities and gold, and heavy spending on energy exploration.

The revisionists and the Stalinists use the same empirical method. Certain formal Marxist criticisms of capitalism are used to hide the seriousness of the situation for the working class and to spread complacency about the need for a fighting policy.

According to the January 11 **Militant**, the multi-national corporations will simply deduct higher costs from their US taxes and "in the long run higher energy costs will benefit the US against rival imperialist nations."

For the SWP, the world economic crisis is the product of "the profit gouging policies of the energy monopolists."

The Stalinist Communist Party agrees, but for them, the economic crisis and the danger of mass unemployment are used to argue not for a preparation for a struggle for power by the working class, but for pressure to maintain a policy of detente with the Soviet Union and an expansion of trade with the workers states.

But the oil crisis, inflation, and danger of depression and mass unemployment are the product of the breakdown of the capitalist system of production itself.

The energy crisis is not a matter of an actual shortage of oil or of the greed of certain large oil companies, but expresses the inability of capitalism, as a system of social relations in which the means of production are privately owned and production is for profit, to develop the forces of production which man needs to survive in his struggle against nature.

Capitalism is a system based on anarchy. Under capitalism, production and exchange of commodities, no matter how much they are needed by man, is conducted only to the extent that they can be converted into money which represents the social labor contained in the products of men.

The decision of Nixon on August 15, 1971 to remove the gold backing from the dollar and the most recent decision to end the two tier gold system makes the production and exchange of goods on the basis of value absolutely impossible.

Vast hoards of paper dollars and even greater quantities of credit based on promises to pay in the future are now of completely indeterminate value. This has brought on a **collapse** in confidence in the very ability of the system to continue to produce and sell commodities.

Thus the large oil companies refuse to invest in new wells or refining capacity because they have no confidence in the money that will return to them at the end of the process.

Huge collapses on the stock market wiping out over \$100 billion in several months reflect the lack of any financial confidence of the capitalists in their own system.

Now a whole new monetary crisis is well under way. The so-called strengthening of the US dollar is rapidly pushing Japan and Germany to prepare for devaluations of their currency. This will mean a whole new stage of the trade war between the major capitalist powers.

Under these conditions, each capitalist must seek to avoid bankruptcy by sweating every ounce of value possible out of the working class.

A policy of soaring inflation to slash living standards and mass unemployment to beat back and weaken the powerful labor movement become the major weapons of capitalism in crisis.

The solution for the ruling class is the same as that imposed in Chile. Preparations for dictatorship that will attack every basic right and living standard of the working class.

The rocketing inflation and millions of layoffs can only be fought politically in a struggle for power.

1974 must be the year to build the revolutionary party, prepare the launching of the daily **Bulletin**, and take the fight for the construction of a labor party throughout the trade union movement.



Young Arab refugees face unemployment, witch-hunts, and discrimination in Dearborn Michigan's "South End."

Layoffs Hit St. Louis Chemical Industry

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—The shortage of oil supplies has cut off the production of byproducts essential as raw materials for the chemical and plastics industries here.

The production of essential nutrients like B-vitamins and

vitamin C has been cut drastically.

In the past, the chemical synthesis of these vitamins allowed them to be added to foods like breakfast cereals, bread, and artificial fruit drinks as the only nutritional content of these foods.

The present price rises will place these vitamins out of the reach of the working class. Vitamin C, the most widely used, has doubled in price since last January. The price of Vitamin B-6, used in smaller amounts, has jumped from \$11 a kilogram to from \$35 to \$85 a kilogram in the last year.

A salesman of both vitamins for the Merk Company reported to the **Bulletin**:

"Last week five salesmen were laid off. I know I must be next. We cannot get any supplies of vitamins to sell.

"The oil corporations have control over so much of our lives and now to protect their profits they are destroying our lives.

Miller Isolates Harlan County Miners

BY A REPORTER

HARLAN, Ky.—The leadership of the United Mine Workers has taken no action to meet the threat of police intervention against the striking miners expected here sometime this week.

UMW President Arnold Miller is making a futile appeal to the Governor of Kentucky to call off the decision of Letcher County Judge Byrd Hogg to appoint the state police as officers of the court.

This decision means that the court has now assumed direct control of union-busting operations in eastern Kentucky. Hogg reportedly told local union officers last week that the "fun and games are over" in the six month strike against the East-over Mining Company, a subsidiary of Duke Power Corporation.

The judge warned that miners arrested on the picket line while attempting to stop scabs would not receive suspended sentences this time, but would be thrown directly into jail.

Last October, Hogg ordered the incarceration of 16 miners, their wives and children, but they were released within two days.

"We know for sure that East-over has decided to try to run the mines with scabs this week," UMW organizer Houston Elmore told the **Bulletin**. "We expect that the police will come in as soon as the first miner stops the first scab."

The decision to launch an all-out attack on the miners comes in the midst of the energy crisis, which has made coal once again a fantastic source of profits.

As part of his policy of avoiding a confrontation with the Nixon government, which he elaborated at the recent UMW convention, Miller has confined all support for the miners in Harlan to the level of protest.

He has, for example, recruited students from South Carolina

campuses to set up informational pickets outside the headquarters of Duke Power Corporation.

He has refused, however, to rally the full strength of the UMW behind the Harlan strikers through a shutdown of all Kentucky coal mines.

Above all else, Miller refuses to break with the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties who support Nixon, and he has refused to mount a campaign among miners and the rest of the labor movement to force Nixon out.

Real Estate King Goes Bankrupt

CHICAGO—Walter Kassuba, who calls himself the biggest landlord in the Chicago area, filed preliminary bankruptcy papers in Federal District Court last week.

Kassuba is asking the judge to help him in a desperate attempt to hold off the creditors on his \$555 million empire while he reorganizes financially. In the next days, Kassuba's 37 companies are scheduled to pay \$1.2 million in debts due and meet an \$800,000 payroll.

Kassuba's companies, controlled by himself and his wife, grew from a small Milwaukee real estate office he inherited in 1960, at the age of 22. He built his "empire" in 14 years, concentrating on apartment buildings and "Kassuba Terraces"—huge suburban apartment complexes designed for singles and young couples.

His 119 developments nationwide now control 42,000 apartment units, 18,000 of them in Illinois.

The entire empire was based on a breakneck expansion, resting entirely on the easy cred-

NATIONALIZATION

"I think the answer to this crisis has to be government control, like nationalization, of the oil companies."

At the Lever Brothers plant in St. Louis, washing powders and liquid detergents are produced. Almost one-third of the work force of 700 have been laid off because of shortages of sulphates and phosphates as well as paper shortages for packaging.

of the 1960s. By the end of 1972, Kassuba was forced to admit that he owed three dollars for every dollar he had in hand.

Today, he is unable to meet these debts because he cannot obtain new credit.

A spokesman for the company said: "The impact of the current financial conditions relating to real estate have resulted in a temporary imbalance preventing the company from meeting all debts and obligations currently maturing."

In the petition to the court, Kassuba called himself "a victim of the severe impact of tight money" policies.

Kassuba's petition is designed to buy him time, in the hopes that he can "ride out" the crisis and restabilize his empire. His creditors clearly do not share his faith: attorneys for the builders and contractors immediately jammed the office at the Federal Building to examine the petition and assess their client's chances for repayment.

Kassuba's bankruptcy could force the shutdown of many of these creditors, throwing thousands of building workers and others off the job.

midwest news

Dayton Auto Plants Start Mass Layoffs

BY JIM LAWRENCE

DAYTON—The unemployment rate here continues to skyrocket, with layoffs at the Inland, Delco-Moraine, Frigidaire and the Chrysler auto plants.

The layoffs threaten to bring Dayton industry to a halt because Dayton has the largest concentration of GM plants outside of Detroit in the country.

The Inland plant, which produces rubber and plastic parts for autos, has laid off hundreds of workers, going back to four years in seniority, and Chrysler Corporation auto workers with six years seniority have been thrown into the street.

At Frigidaire, where a rotten union leadership forced a wage cut down the throats of workers in 1970, preparations are being made to lay off workers with up to five years seniority. This could mean up to 4000 workers.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party has reported that Delco-Moraine will lay off 200

this week and 1400 over the next three months, going back five years in seniority. Union leaders have refused to release exact figures for Dayton area layoffs.

Elmo Parrish, president of Local 696 of the UAW, which represents Delco-Moraine workers, has told the capitalist press that he does not know what is going on yet. This is a lie. For the past year, he has fought members of the TUALP caucus and knowingly collaborated with Woodcock and General Motors to sell out and police the workers.

Last year, when proposals were being submitted for the UAW contract, TUALP members called for provisions against layoffs. They called for a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay and a full cost of living allowance with a 20 percent wage increase.

The TUALP demands could have protected many of the workers and its demand for a labor party is the only way to defend the living standards and democratic rights of all workers in this country.

The Dayton section of the TUALP calls on all Dayton area workers to join TUALP now.



The Bulletin discusses the fight for a labor party in Detroit with auto workers who were recently laid off.

Nixon Rail Bill Bails Out Banks

A rail reorganization bill to bail out the Penn Central and six other bankrupt Northeastern railroads, has just been signed into law by President Nixon.

The bill establishes a United States Railway Association with \$2 billion in government financing to restructure the seven roads into one private corporation.

An eleven member board of directors will be dominated by rail management, big shippers, and bankers who are owed millions of dollars by railroads.

The USRA will be empowered to move quickly to shut down 10,000 miles of track, eliminate unprofitable runs, modernize tracks and stations, purchase new freight cars, and eliminate as many as 30,000 railway jobs.

Nineteen out of 41 US Chrysler plants are served by Northeast railroads. The Big Three auto companies ship 13,500 rail cars a week on these lines. Approximately 80 percent of the steel production in the US is dependent in some form on Northeast rail.

The lobbying for the new railroad bill was conducted by an alliance of ten of the largest corporations in the country, including Ford, GM, General Electric, Allied Chemical, and Bethlehem Steel.

From the outset, these corporations were opposed to nationalization of the rails and argued for a new profit making corporation, financed with federal funds.

Under the new legislation the government will take over whatever assets it needs for the new streamlined operation and pay the bankrupt lines for these facilities and equipment in bonds.

This means that railroad workers will still be expected to finance the profits of the stockholders of these bankrupt operations through massive speedup and unemployment.

On The Unemployment Line

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

At the Detroit unemployment center this week, the Bulletin interviewed auto workers who were recently laid off.

Sam Nettles, 22, was a press operator at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant:

"They laid off about 20 guys in my department. They say they can't do anything about the

layoffs.

"But I think Nixon definitely has to go. I think if we don't watch it, he's going to become another Hitler. A lot of people don't suspect this, but it's happening.

"They tell me this is a permanent layoff. They never find you a job at the unemployment center."

Ronnie Ingram, 45, an assembly line worker for 17 years at Ford's River Rouge plant, said:

"I'm up in the L.T.D. department—the big car, not the Mustang. We get only a 15 minute break. They told me we won't get work until the fuel crisis is

over.

"The union is choking us. Woodcock supports Nixon. The union has gone with Nixon. They give a 15 cent raise and we fall 12 percent behind the prices."

William Miles, a former foundry worker at River Rouge with 20 years seniority, said he was supposed to be laid off for six to nine months but "nothing is guaranteed."

"The union hasn't done anything. This is the first time I have been laid off. All of a sudden, the crisis is here. This country is by all means moving to a dictatorship. Gerald Ford is antiunion and he is also a racist."

Chrysler Dropping 10,700

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—New announcements of massive plant layoffs were made last week by the Ford Motor Company and Chrysler Corporation.

Ford announced last Friday that it will "indefinitely furlough" 4900 workers, 1500 of which will be Michigan workers.

Under the cover of the energy crisis, these Ford workers, largely from the River Rouge plant, will join 63,000 other Michigan auto workers facing similar layoffs.

Michigan auto workers are facing the full force of the international capitalist crisis. The 63,000 layoff figure represents roughly half of the 148,000 layoffs projected nationwide in the coming months.

Chrysler has announced 10,700 permanent layoffs, 6300 of which will take place in Michigan plants. The UAW leadership

after selling out the contract fight has adopted a complacent wait and see attitude toward these layoffs.

In a telephone interview, Tony Kiburis, a member of the Executive Board of Cadillac Local 22, told the Bulletin: "The Executive Board held a 2-day meeting but it only discussed recreational stuff and other micky-mouse stuff. The layoffs were not discussed.

"500 people were laid off temporarily. After they come back then the permanent layoffs will start.

"Right now people are confused, everything is quiet. The United National Caucus is quiet. But I think people will start moving when the permanent layoffs hit in a couple of weeks.

"People with 10, 15 years seniority will be moved to jobs they don't like. This guy Woodcock doesn't have anything. People should get wise to him

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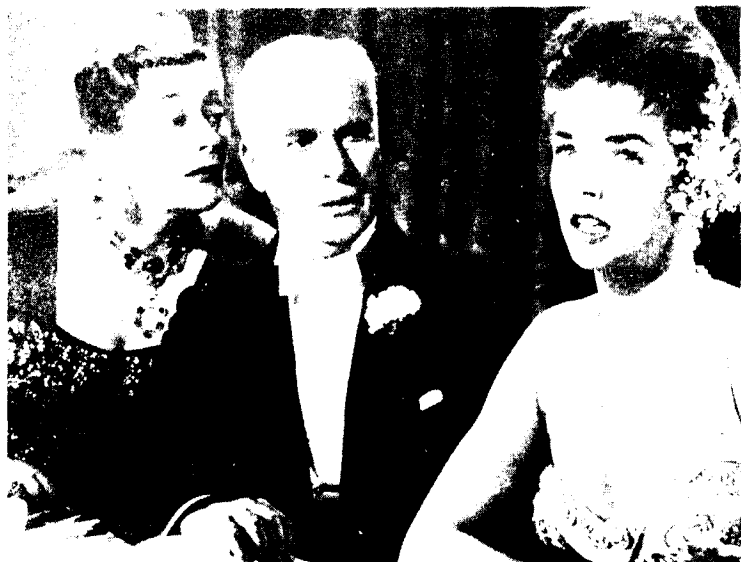
"A King In New York"

Previously banned for its anti-American and procommunist sympathies, *A King in New York*, the last movie made by Charlie Chaplin in 1957, has just been released for the first time in the US.

For entertainment, it is filled with the special laughs Chaplin produces, but compared to his earlier classics, *A King in New York*, simply falls flat.

Absent from the film is the pain and joy Chaplin's mastery evoked in *The Tramp*. From his autobiography, it seems clear the film was made specifically to backhand the United States, which made it impossible, because of the McCarthy hysteria surrounding foreigners, for Chaplin to continue to work in this country.

The film mimics the 1950s of America through the eyes of a dethroned monarch, King Shadov (Chaplin), an exile whose prime minister has absconded with all the funds the King himself stole from his country and entrusted to his minister.



A scene from Chaplin's *A King in New York*.

Virtually penniless, though living in the Ritz, King Shadov quickly loses his royal pride and succumbs to the vulgarity of the advertising world, promoting everything from whiskey (fit for a king) to hormones.

In order to do a before and after ad, the king even undergoes plastic surgery, giving the audience a good round of laughs at what was then a booming fad.

Freedoms

Invited to visit a progressive boys school, King Shadov meets an obnoxious 10-year-old, Rupert (Michael Chaplin), the editor of the school's newspaper. Rupert goes into a 10 minute monologue concerning the denial of man's freedoms as concerns the concept of passports, a thorough denunciation of the atom bomb, and a firm declaration of what is apparently Chaplin's political position: that all governments are instruments of oppression of the people.

King Shadov, representing the powers that be, is so flustered he can find no answers but to stubbornly insist that "someone must rule."

Surviving the tour of the progressive school through a barrage of spitballs, rowdy brats whose "creativity and individuality" is fawningly encouraged, King Shadov later finds Rupert wandering the streets of New York, cold and

wet.

Taking pity on the boy, Shadov takes him up to his suite where he learns the boy has run away from school. His parents have been arrested as members of the Communist Party and detectives from the House Un-American Activities Committee had tried to question Rupert about their activities.

Shadov turns on the television and sees Rupert's parents being sentenced for contempt of court for refusing to give information about other members of the CP. Detectives trace Rupert to Shadov's hotel and take the boy away, which results in King Shadov being summoned to appear at the HUAC hearings.

Through a series of impossible circumstances, he ends up spraying the entire courtroom with a hose in which he had gotten his finger stuck. Acquitted, he returns to Europe to sit out, as he explains, the passing insanity.

Certainly, in 1957, *A King in New York* may have been considered highly scandalous. In

1974, Chaplin's antics serve only as a mild put down, a mild exposé, through comedy, of the 1950s.

The film lacks the simplicity and starkness of photography, of acting, of emotional reaction that characterized Chaplin's previous work. His use of comedy as a means of revealing what is is dulled, for the film is made for spite and does not contain, as did *The Great Dictator*, brilliant political caricatures.

A King in New York is a superficial look at America in the sense that it deals purely with impressions, mimicking and exaggerating them for the effect of comedy, but coming to no conclusions.

Idealism

The Great Dictator, in contrast, ended with a utopian speech which, despite its idealism, was a more serious assessment than this film which shrugs off the 1950s as a "passing insanity."

It makes no attempt to use the method of farce to construct a clearer picture or come to a political conclusion, which is demanded by the very nature of the period Chaplin chose to deal with.

Even minus the battered derby, baggy pants and mustache, however, Chaplin is still Chaplin, offering some wonderful moments of an art that is his own.

Settlement In Food Strike

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—A tentative agreement has been reached after a five week strike-lockout of the southern California food industry.

The strike, which began December 3, was the first time the 22,000 members of the Teamsters, meat cutters, machinists, and operating engineers joined together in a common strike. The first week, massive support was won from the Bakers and Confectionary Workers Union who walked out and mass picketed at the wholesale markets.

The terms of the tentative agreement are being kept secret until the ratification meetings this weekend.

A meat cutter at Lucky's said: "I do not know what we can get now that northern California settled. We will never get what they got. They are much stronger. I think they should have stayed out until our demands were settled."

Contrary to the situation during the northern California strike, the majority of super-

markets were kept open here. Not only newly hired scabs and supervisors, but retail clerks crossed the picket lines after leaders of Local 770 backed down from their pledge of 100 percent support. Thousands of clerks began crossing lines after the second week of the strike.

From the beginning, the leadership of the four unions mounted only a partial campaign by striking only four grocery chains and much later spreading the strike to Boys, Hughs, and Von's.

The Food Employers Council locked out all union members in the rest of the chains, which includes over 60 chains.

The employers obtained injunctions to drastically limit the numbers of pickets, and because of this, many stores have been reopened.

One striking Teamster said: "It is not right that there is no more mass picketing. We do not have the forces to stop the scabs delivering food."

Many strikers feel that this possible agreement runs parallel to the Mayfair Arden pact which was signed a few weeks ago. It was totally inadequate, allowing for only a 5.5 percent wage hike.

From the beginning of the strike, the LA leaders of the four

unions involved and the head of the retail clerks have conspired to limit the strike to pressuring the Food Employers Council.

The "high point" of this strategy was revealed when the head of the LA County Federation of Labor, Sigmund Arywitz, said we will "commit the entire force of organized labor to strike," and then turned these words into an idle threat.

Meanwhile, the Food Employers Council has initiated layoffs of retail clerks. Using the energy crisis as an excuse, the work week in some chains has been slashed in half, such as Ralphs, which has reduced its hours from 24 a day to 12.

A stock boy, a member of the clerks union who was laid off from Lucky's, explained: "They are doing this during the strike to create animosity between the clerks and the strikers, claiming that the strike is the cause of the layoffs. This puts us in bad shape when our contract is up in April."

Unless all demands are met, the tentative agreement must be rejected and all union members must demand that a full-scale campaign be mounted to shut down all the supermarkets.

In this way the conditions can be created to break the government's pay guidelines.

Sears Clerks Reject Offer

BY A REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 5—Negotiators for striking Sears clerks rejected a company offer today. Retail Clerks Local 1100 President Walter Johnson told the *Bulletin*: "The rank and file negotiating committee rejected this because it represented a step backwards rather than any progress."

The proposal was Sears' first written proposal after 20 weeks of striking and eighteen months without a contract. The company has continued operating its two San Francisco stores on a reduced scale with scab labor.

The negotiating committee will present a counter proposal on Monday.

FBI Aides Scotland Yard

BY A REPORTER
FAIRFIELD, Jan. 5—FBI special agents arrested Theodore Dean Brown at Travis Air Force Base today and charged him with helping smuggle arms and ammunition to Great Britain.

The FBI is trying to link Brown to two Americans and two Arabs arrested by British police in London and now being framed up on gun-running charges.

Brown, 31, is a five-year Navy veteran petty officer, medically discharged in 1966 and now living in Santa Barbara. He was waiting at Travis to catch a military flight east.

TWO YEARS
Brown is being held at Solano County jail on \$25,000 bail. He will be arraigned Monday in federal district court in Sacramento, on charges of violating the neutrality act and the fire-arms control assistance act. If convicted, he could face a sentence of \$25,000 fine and two years in prison.

More arrests in California are possible as the FBI is cooperating with Scotland Yard to create a witch-hunt atmosphere against left wing and labor movements in the US as well as in Britain.

No Sniper In Copter Crash

BY SUSAN FREDERICKS
OAKLAND—The National Transportation Safety Board's (NTSB) final report on the crash of the Oakland police helicopter on October 2, 1973 states that it was due to mechanical failure.

The board ruled out the claims by Oakland police that the helicopter was shot down. The crash, which killed two policemen, has been the subject of a murder witch-hunt for three months. The police, the press, and Governor Reagan offered a \$20,000 reward for the capture of a "sniper." The ruling of the NTSB exposes the allegations by the Oakland police to be a conscious fabrication.

After exhaustive metallurgical testing, the board has proven the crash was caused by the failure of the main rotor-gear drive shaft.

PRESSURE
The coroner had insisted at the start that it was not murder. Only after tremendous pressure from the police department did he reverse his decision ten days later and announce there was a bullet in the head of one of the dead pilots, Wendell Troyer. Other investigations said Troyer's own gun had just fired three bullets and was found right next to the head of his body.

The police have been using this so-called police killing as an excuse for attacks on the working class youth of Oakland. Virtually every week another

youth has been shot down in the street and no evidence has ever been found that they attacked the police.

Now the new Oakland police chief, George T. Hart, said that they are "still operating on the assumption that it was murder. We accept the evidence of the safety board, but the possibility that the pilot was shot by a sniper still exists."

This statement makes clear they have every intention of pressing on with the terror campaign against Oakland youth and workers. Just as it has been exposed on every other level of government, the police have no regard for the truth and in fact will create provocations to justify their attacks.

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west coast news

Carpenters Oppose Deal

BY TIM NELSON
SAN FRANCISCO—After the treacherous enforcement of a back to work order Wednesday morning, the eight week wildcat of carpenters ended.

There was opposition to this betrayal at the meeting of the Bay Counties District Council of Carpenters Wednesday night and

tion. O'Sullivan, long-time chairman of the five Bay counties Council of Carpenters, has opposed the fight against the government necessary to win from the beginning.

The chairman of Wednesday's district council meeting adjourned it in an uproar in order to cut off a TUALP supporter who then had the floor.

This member was then slugged and kicked by supporters of the betrayal of the strike. In the fray that followed, carpenters defended the TUALP member.

Party did not lift a finger to defend the basic principles at stake in this fight. They have agreed with O'Sullivan throughout the strike that carpenters must not lead a fight to defeat the CISC.

SPLIT

After Neal Kirk, organizer of the San Francisco Strike Committee split the committee by walking out of a meeting Monday, radical organizers of the Carpenters for a Stronger Union (CSU) launched a campaign by telephone to tell the men that they would be arrested if they picketed and that everyone was going back to work, instead of rallying men to a mass meeting for a vote on united action against the back to work order and the split.

Their course could only have been intended to insure the strike was broken. At critical points in the strike, CSU organizers collaborated with Kirk to lead carpenters into the blind alley of "rank and file power" protests.

Now they are claiming victory. Their leaflet at the district council meeting states: "The recent action of the Carpenters for a Stronger Union in defense of their contract signals a new direction for the labor movement."

CLAIMED

After saying for two months that carpenters were too weak to fight, the O'Sullivan leadership also claimed victory at the meeting.

Wednesday morning when 40 men returned to work at the key Levi Strauss building, only 28 out of an original 69 were offered their jobs back. Among those victimized were Neal Kirk and a number of militants. An immediate official picket line dispelled the myth that the strike could not have been sanctioned.

Frightened of extending the picketing, the leadership has signed a deal guaranteeing only 50-some jobs and two hours show-up pay for the men who are to be laid off. There are further reports of victimization. But it is doubtful that the union leadership will spread the sanctioned picket line to insure every man gets back to work.

REJECT

Carpenters continue to reject this cowardly position. One told a supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party after the district council meeting: "Of course we have got to fight the government.

"If we do not, they will take everything we have. I will fight with you."

Court hearings for Jack Melton, business agent for the piledrivers, and a number of pickets, continued Friday.

Carpenters must take up the fight to defend every union member and join TUALP to fight for the following demands: No victimization, immediate sanction for the full 65 cents.

Call a mass demonstration of labor to defend the carpenters and fight for a national congress of all unions to launch a labor party.



Pickets at Lucky's supermarket in Los Angeles.

Militant Carpenter Faces Union Trial

The following is a statement by John Stinson, a member of Carpenters Local 483 and the Carpenters for a Stronger Union.

Stinson helped lead one of the first decisive walkouts at Fort Miley VA Hospital on November 12, which touched off the eight week wildcat strike by northern California carpenters against the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee.

Stinson now stands on trial on constitutional charges within the union. He could be fined an unlimited amount and expelled from the union. This shows how the union officials will attempt to break the ranks as they move forward to fight.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is pledged to lead the fight to defend Stinson and the rights of every member who is attacked and victimized by this bureaucracy.

"I think the main reason for the charges is intra-union politics. I am the only one who has opposed the officials in the local. Within the past eighteen months, I have opposed two of them in an election.

"It is tough to speak under harassment. That happens to me nearly every meeting. They do not want to listen to what you have to say.

"June 25, 1973 I ran against Pool, the financial secretary and

assistant business agent. Prior to that, I had no problem at the meetings.

KICKED OUT

"He thinks he can put phony charges against me and get me kicked out of the union. Then he will not have any opposition any more.

"In my platform was a four day work week, increase in accident benefits, abolish the special pension funds the union officials set up for themselves, freeze union dues for five years, job security, increase pensions for retired carpenters, elimination of piecework, fair hiring, and democratic elections and union meetings.

"They accused me of causing dissension within the union, reflecting upon the honesty and integrity of elected officials.

"Militants have always been victimized. Did you read that San Francisco Examiner last night? It was on the front page, wasn't it? (A few carpenters were not at work. Sources blamed the resistance on a small radical group.) If anyone carries a picket sign, they say, 'that is part of the small radical group we were talking about. Go and arrest them.'

"I was active in the strike for the full eight weeks. I was fighting for the full contract from the very first day until we got sold out."

One stopped a would-be attacker by saying: "He fought with us. If you go for him, I will go for you."

Earlier outside the hall, there was a high-spirited lobby of 20 Young Socialists and members of the TUALP and the Workers League demanding immediate sanction and a fight for a labor party.

A delegate from Redwood City, Tony, told the lobby:

"They said on Saturday that we settled. But I have not settled anything. What they have done to us is terrible.

KNEES

"We had the AGC on their knees. Then Joe O'Sullivan made this deal.

"I have been in the union since 1946 and every time we have gone out, we have been sold out. We have to be organized at the union meetings to get rid of these people, to get rid of Joe O'Sullivan."

Supporters of the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party and the revisionist Socialist Workers

demands for immediate sanction to go all-out to beat the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee.

At the moment, most carpenters have returned to work. They are working for the original 15 cents proposed by the CISC last June, to replace a scheduled 65 cents raise in a negotiated contract.

The union leadership signed a joint letter with the contractors last Friday night appealing to the Cost of Living Council for another 10 cents. They are waiting on another ruling of the CISC which could provoke reopening the fight.

At the meeting, John Watts, secretary of the carpenters 46 county Conference Board, was forced to admit: "There were still pickets in some areas."

He went on to say that federal marshalls had been sent to serve them with injunctions.

SANCTION

The CISC broke this contract in June. Joe O'Sullivan's leadership has yet to issue strike sanc-

Layoffs Ahead In Electronics

BY FRED CARTER

PALO ALTO—Approximately 10,000 jobs will be eliminated from Bay Area electronics firms which produce semiconductors when Nixon's proposed energy cutbacks become mandatory.

Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) has already called upon all customers to reduce power consumption voluntarily to 10 percent less than last year's level.

This will have a drastic effect on the semiconductors production which is the backbone of the huge electronics industry in Santa Clara County.

Firms such as Fairchild, Intel, and National Semiconductor provide jobs to tens of thousands of Santa Clara Valley residents, and are central to related industries which employ hundreds of thousands more.

Santa Clara County puts out 36 percent of the nation's semiconductors.

Chuck Signor, Public Relations Director of National Semiconductor Corporation in Santa Clara, told the Bulletin:

"It is a paradoxical situation for us to be in. The demand for semiconductors is at an unprecedented high. Everybody is setting records in sales and production. We have approximately doubled in size since last year alone, being obviously caught in super growth.

"Yet at the same time, they are telling us to go back to a year ago. That would be virtually impossible."

REDUCTIONS

David Guceman of Intel Corporation in Santa Clara said that such reductions would cause layoffs of perhaps 25,000 workers in the Bay Area, because computer, communications and other industries are completely dependent on the present level of semiconductor production.

The one false hope that each company spokesman entertains is that two bills before the legis-

lature might decide that neither the Public Utilities Commission, PG&E, nor any other existing body has authority to order such catastrophic reductions in electric usage.

Each company vainly expects favored treatment, but a spokesman told the Wall Street Journal: "The interdependence of every segment of our society is apparent. How can you give them more favorable treatment than any other segment of commerce."

On top of the cutbacks, the threat of rolling blackouts promises even greater disaster. If the electrical furnaces used to produce semiconductors lose power for thirty minutes or more, their special quartz linings are destroyed.

ELIMINATE

Two such blackouts would eliminate all semiconductor production. But the policy of rolling blackouts has not been ruled out.

These firms are all nonunion. They make their superprofits by paying starvation wages, hiring largely minority and immigrant labor, and young workers.

An indication of what they have in store is the statement of Advanced Micro Services, Inc. in Sunnyvale that they may transfer some production to a plant in Malaysia.

Robert Noyce, president of Intel Corp., says that 30 percent of Intel's power consumption in the summer is for air conditioning and only half of that amount is needed to cool machines. The rest is for employee comfort.

"It is conceivable to work in a plant that is 100 degrees," he said.

A young worker at Fairchild, Mike, said: "They will not tell us anything, just lay us all off, and everybody else will be working three days a week, just like over there in Britain.

"There is no way we will be able to keep going with all those cutbacks. This system is simply going to hell."

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: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Libertad Para José Carlos Ballón

José Carlos Ballón, líder de la organización trotskista, Liga Comunista ha sido apresado por la Junta Militar de Juan Velazco Alvarado, el pasado mes de diciembre.

Velazco Alvarado que llegó al poder tras un golpe de estado el tres de octubre de 1968, destituyendo al gobierno Acción Popular de Belaunde, comenzó de inmediato a expropiar varias compañías extranjeras. Reconoció diplomáticamente a la Unión Soviética y a otros países stalinistas.

Los partidos comunistas catalogaron la dictadura militar de "revolucionaria" y en particular el Partido Comunista Peruano ha colaborado con el régimen ayudando a este en su afán de incorporar las uniones al estado, destruyendo así a las organizaciones obreras.

El gobierno cubano ha apoyado a la junta desde su comienzo tanto políticamente como en tratos económicos. Durante las huelgas en Puno y las de los mineros ha declarado su apoyo a la junta en reprimir estos movimientos obreros.

La Liga Comunista esta en solidaridad política con el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional y desde su fundación año y medio atrás ha llevado una determinada lucha en contra de las políticas del régimen militar y sus compinches, los stalinistas.

Esta es la segunda vez que el régimen se lanza en forma abierta en contra del liderato de la Liga Comunista. El 8 de mayo del año pasado Sergio Barrios y José Carlos Ballón fueron detenidos y torturados hasta mediados del mes de junio. La prensa donde publicaban su periódico semanal, para aquel entonces, fue destruida por el régimen.

Jovenes, miembros de la Juventud Socialista (brazo juvenil de la Liga Comunista) fueron a la misma vez encarcelados y torturados. Luego cerca de las cuatro de la mañana conducidos a la celdas donde se hallaban detenidos los miembros de la Liga Comunista para que estos jovenes señalaran a aquellos que pertenecían a la Liga.

El segundo día, los camaradas de la Liga relatan, "La segunda noche del arresto, y luego de una interrogación seguida y violenta, uno de nosotros—Sergio Barrio—que tenía sus manos esposadas en la espalda, fue guindado con sogas alrededor de sus manos a un poste que provenía del techo. Esta tortura es conocida como "el asado de la gallina".

"Su cabeza fue cubierta con una mascara negra para que no pudiese reconocer a sus torturadores. José Carlos Ballón tuvo la fortuna de desmayarse luego de las torturas consecutivas que sufrió."

"Con todas estas torturas y amenazas a nuestros familiares para que se mantuvieran 'calmados' (de lo contrario serian asesinados) nos obligaron a firmar 'confesiones'. Desde el principio nunca ocultamos nuestras ideas políticas, denunciando las violaciones de la dictadura militar en contra de los derechos democráticos y los derechos basicos de los trabajadores y campesinos."

A pesar de que fueron dejados en libertad a mediados de junio, aún tenían que comparecer para ser juzgados por las cortes militares.

Ni la represión en contra de los miembros de la Liga ni la destrucción de su prensa, los ha detenido su en lucha en contra de la dictadura militar. La publicación en su periódico bisemanal "COMUNISMO" ha sido posible por esta lucha desenmascarando las medidas corporatistas de Velazco Alvarado.

Dentro de la Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos (CGTP), controlada por el Partido Comunista, la Alianza Sindical (brazo sindical de la Liga Comunista) ha llevado una lucha en defensa de la propia existencia de Confederación en oposición a los planes de los stalinistas.

En la reunión de la Confederación en la que los stalinistas habian propuesto de que la CGTP ingresara a la SINAMOS (organismo estatal para la corporación de los sindicatos) fue mayoritariamente rechazado. Este fue un triunfo para la clase obrera peruana y para la Alianza Sindical que era la única oposición contra los intentos de los stalinistas.

Con las repercusiones de la crisis capitalista en la economía peruana, el gobierno militar se ha lanzado en abierto ataque en contra de la clase obrera y los campesinos. La Liga Comunista es la única alternativa en contra de estos ataques.

"Nosotros condenados y lucharemos sin ningún miramiento frente a los ataques militares-corporatistas en contra de los trabajadores y los campesinos, lucharemos para construir el liderato alternativo en la clase obrera, defenderemos al Partido Comunista como una organización obrera independiente, defenderemos la unidad y la fortaleza de la Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos".

La Liga Obrera demanda la libertad inmediata de José Carlos Ballón al igual que la de otros revolucionarios peruanos por entender que es una violación a sus derechos democráticos y la preparación por parte de la junta militar de destruir todos los derechos basicos de la clase obrera peruana y los campesinos.



General Motors plant in Linden, NJ.

Linden GM Shift Cut Out

BY MITCH PATTERSON
LINDEN, NJ—4500 workers will be laid off from the General Motors plant in Linden, New Jersey this month. 2500 of them will be out of work for two weeks; but the other 2000, the entire second shift, will be furloughed "indefinitely." These layoffs will begin on Monday when the entire plant shuts down for two weeks.

The layoffs at Linden are part of the total 86,000 GM workers that are being laid off from plants around the country.

The Linden plant was hit extremely hard because only the Cadillac and the larger Oldsmobile in produced here. The initial affect on car production will be a 60 percent reduction. Many workers at the plant felt that it was this reduction that would eventually force GM to close the Linden plant permanently.

"INDEFINITE"
Everyone hired at the plant after February 28, 1968 is on the "indefinite" layoff list. The workers with less than one year seniority in the plant will not be entitled to the supplementary unemployment benefit pay. This will amount to a large percentage of those being laid off.

Bob, a worker at the plant who is now laid off indefinitely, told the Bulletin: "You get Nixon out. Then we will be able to keep our jobs. I do not think that the problem is the energy crisis, like they keep telling us. It is the way



Bob, from Linden plant.

the government is being run. The whole system is in a shambles. "I blame Woodcock. He is a pigeon for the government. He does not care about the men in the rank and file. The only way we can beat this thing is if the men that are still working in all the GM plants go on strike."

NATIONALIZATION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
to defend the jobs of millions of workers, can be carried out only by the working class itself through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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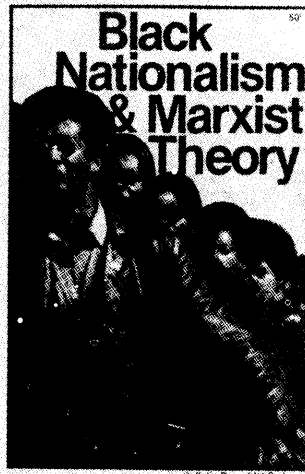
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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications,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

lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Libertad Para José Carlos Ballón

José Carlos Ballón, líder de la organización trotskista, Liga Comunista ha sido apresado por la Junta Militar de Juan Velazco Alvarado, el pasado mes de diciembre.

Velazco Alvarado que llegó al poder tras un golpe de estado el tres de octubre de 1968, destituyendo al gobierno Acción Popular de Belaunde, comenzó de inmediato a expropiar varias compañías extranjeras. Reconoció diplomáticamente a la Unión Soviética y a otros países stalinistas.

Los partidos comunistas catalogaron la dictadura militar de "revolucionaria" y en particular el Partido Comunista Peruano ha colaborado con el régimen ayudando a este en su afán de incorporar las uniones al estado, destruyendo así a las organizaciones obreras.

El gobierno cubano ha apoyado a la junta desde su comienzo tanto políticamente como en tratos económicos. Durante las huelgas en Puno y las de los mineros ha declarado su apoyo a la junta en reprimir estos movimientos obreros.

La Liga Comunista esta en solidaridad política con el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional y desde su fundación año y medio atrás ha llevado una determinada lucha en contra de las políticas del régimen militar y sus compinches, los stalinistas.

Esta es la segunda vez que el régimen se lanza en forma abierta en contra del liderato de la Liga Comunista. El 8 de mayo del año pasado Sergio Barrios y José Carlos Ballón fueron detenidos y torturados hasta mediados del mes de junio. La prensa donde publicaban su periódico semanal, para aquel entonces, fue destruida por el régimen.

Jovenes, miembros de la Juventud Socialista (brazo juvenil de la Liga Comunista) fueron a la misma vez encarcelados y torturados. Luego cerca de las cuatro de la mañana conducidos a la celdas donde se hallaban detenidos los miembros de la Liga Comunista para que estos jovenes señalaran a aquellos que pertenecían a la Liga.

El segundo día, los camaradas de la Liga relatan, "La segunda noche del arresto, y luego de una interrogación seguida y violenta, uno de nosotros—Sergio Barrio—que tenía sus manos esposadas en la espalda, fue guindado con sogas alrededor de sus manos a un poste que provenía del techo. Esta tortura es conocida como "el asado de la gallina".

"Su cabeza fue cubierta con una máscara negra para que no pudiese reconocer a sus torturadores. José Carlos Ballón tuvo la fortuna de desmayarse luego de las torturas consecutivas que sufrió."

"Con todas estas torturas y amenazas a nuestros familiares para que se mantuvieran 'calmados' (de lo contrario serían asesinados) nos obligaron a firmar 'confesiones'. Desde el principio nunca ocultamos nuestras ideas políticas, denunciando las violaciones de la dictadura militar en contra de los derechos democráticos y los derechos basicos de los trabajadores y campesinos."

A pesar de que fueron dejados en libertad a mediados de junio, aún tenían que comparecer para ser juzgados por las cortes militares.

Ni la represión en contra de los miembros de la Liga ni la destrucción de su prensa, los ha detenido su en lucha en contra de la dictadura militar. La publicación en su periódico bisemanal "COMUNISMO" ha sido posible por esta lucha desenmascarando las medidas corporatistas de Velazco Alvarado.

Dentro de la Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos (CGTP), controlada por el Partido Comunista, la Alianza Sindical (brazo sindical de la Liga Comunista) ha llevado una lucha en defensa de la propia existencia de Confederación en oposición a los planes de los stalinistas.

En la reunión de la Confederación en la que los stalinistas habían propuesto de que la CGTP ingresara a la SINAMOS (organismo estatal para la corporación de los sindicatos) fue mayoritariamente rechazado. Este fue un triunfo para la clase obrera peruana y para la Alianza Sindical que era la única oposición contra los intentos de los stalinistas.

Con las repercusiones de la crisis capitalista en la economía peruana, el gobierno militar se ha lanzado en abierto ataque en contra de la clase obrera y los campesinos. La Liga Comunista es la única alternativa en contra de estos ataques.

"Nosotros condenados y lucharemos sin ningún miramiento frente a los ataques militares-corporatistas en contra de los trabajadores y los campesinos, lucharemos para construir el liderato alternativo en la clase obrera, defenderemos al Partido Comunista como una organización obrera independiente, defenderemos la unidad y la fortaleza de la Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos".

La Liga Obrera demanda la libertad inmediata de José Carlos Ballón al igual que la de otros revolucionarios peruanos por entender que es una violación a sus derechos democráticos y la preparación por parte de la junta militar de destruir todos los derechos basicos de la clase obrera peruana y los campesinos.



General Motors plant in Linden, NJ.

Linden GM Shift Cut Out

BY MITCH PATTERSON
LINDEN, NJ—4500 workers will be laid off from the General Motors plant in Linden, New Jersey this month. 2500 of them will be out of work for two weeks; but the other 2000, the entire second shift, will be furloughed "indefinitely." These layoffs will begin on Monday when the entire plant shuts down for two weeks.

The layoffs at Linden are part of the total 86,000 GM workers that are being laid off from plants around the country.

The Linden plant was hit extremely hard because only the Cadillac and the larger Oldsmobile in produced here. The initial affect on car production will be a 60 percent reduction. Many workers at the plant felt that it was this reduction that would eventually force GM to close the Linden plant permanently.

"INDEFINITE"
Everyone hired at the plant after February 28, 1968 is on the "indefinite" layoff list. The workers with less than one year seniority in the plant will not be entitled to the supplementary unemployment benefit pay. This will amount to a large percentage of those being laid off.

Bob, a worker at the plant who is now laid off indefinitely, told the Bulletin: "You get Nixon out. Then we will be able to keep our jobs. I do not think that the problem is the energy crisis, like they keep telling us. It is the way



Bob, from Linden plant.

the government is being run. The whole system is in a shambles.

"I blame Woodcock. He is a pigeon for the government. He does not care about the men in the rank and file. The only way we can beat this thing is if the men that are still working in all the GM plants go on strike."

NATIONALIZATION . . .

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