

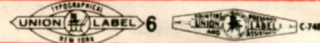
Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FORTY THREE 318

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

WE WILL NOT ACCEPT DICTATORSHIP!

Political Committee Statement

By defying the courts and disbanding the Watergate investigation, Richard Nixon has moved to establish a one-man dictatorship in the United States.

The full power of the labor movement must now be mobilized and action taken immediately to force Nixon out of office and to defeat his clear attempt to impose a dictatorship.

The AFL-CIO has passed a resolution calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment; this must now be taken forward with massive demonstrations by the labor movement in every city demanding that Nixon be thrown out. The UAW and Teamsters must organize similar actions.

Workers in every trade union must demand that an emer-

gency Congress of Labor be summoned now to launch a massive campaign to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to Nixon's dictatorship.

Nixon stands in complete defiance of the courts and the constitution.

By refusing to submit to the Court of Appeal's order that he hand over the secret Watergate tapes, and then refusing to appeal to the Supreme Court, Nixon, for the first time in American history, has declared that the president has absolute power to do anything he wants.

The firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus, coupled with the forced resignation of Attorney General Elliot Richardson, is a carefully calculated move by Nixon to eliminate the last vestige of independent legal control over his actions.

Declaring that he will not be

paralyzed by Watergate, Nixon has acted to break up the bourgeois democratic government as it has existed under the constitution for nearly 200 years and to destroy the constitution itself.

•What once was the Executive branch of government has been eliminated over the weekend and replaced by Nixon acting as dictator. Nixon's dismissal of Cox and Richardson had all the characteristics of a palace coup. On Saturday evening Nixon assumed personal control of the FBI and ordered this special police force to seize the files of the Justice Department. He then had Richardson, Cox, and Ruckelshaus physically barred from their offices, files, and even personal papers.

•Nixon stands in contempt of court, openly declaring that he is above the law and will not submit to its decisions.

•Nixon has already defied Congress for a long period of time, not only by refusing to cooperate with its independent investigation of Watergate, but by vetoing its legislation and impounding its appropriations.

Having in practice abolished the three branches of government, Nixon maintains relations only with the military, whose representative, General Alexander Haig, is the leading adviser in the White House and the man responsible for carrying out Nixon's orders.

It was Haig who personally fired Cox, stating that he was acting on orders from the "Commander-in-Chief."

This is particularly threatening because Nixon invoked the specter of emergency powers and martial law when he declared upon dismissing Cox that he could not tolerate the

Watergate investigation "at a time of serious world crisis."

This shows that Nixon's defiance of the constitution and his moves toward dictatorship are a preparation for military intervention with the marines in the Middle East in order to save the imperialist Zionist regime against the offensive of Arab workers and peasants.

Nixon's moves toward dictatorship have been assisted by the Democratic Party leaders, particularly those racist labor-hating senators from the South who are rallying to Nixon as he declares war on the basic rights of the working class.

South Carolina Senator Sam Ervin, chairman of the Watergate Committee and so-called authority on the constitution, originally accepted Nixon's refusal to hand over the tapes and was willing to settle for a summary of an edited version of the tapes prepared by Nixon himself.

Mississippi Senator John Stennis, the staunchest advocate of segregation and the open shop for the past 25 years, agreed to "authenticate" Nixon's summary of the edited tapes.

Stennis was chosen for this role after having repeatedly urged Nixon to ignore the Watergate Committee and remain in office.

Stennis is also chairman of the Armed Services Committee, further exposing that Nixon's dictatorial measures are being carried out in collusion with the military.

The calls for impeachment that have emerged over the weekend among a number of congressmen reflect the tremendous political crisis and fear now

gripping the ruling class under conditions of the breakup of the economy and the movement of the working class.

But petitions for the impeachment of Nixon and appeals to the Democratic Party liberals will not force Nixon out.

The Democrats and all the big business politicians are with Nixon. They are all agreed that the living standards of the working class must be driven down. They all know that this cannot be done unless its basic democratic rights are destroyed.

All those like the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who want to answer Nixon's moves to dictatorship with feeble protests are trying to betray the working class and lead it to defeat.

Only independent action by American workers and the construction of their own political party—the labor party—can defeat Nixon.

Faced with this situation, we intend to rally new forces with the twice-weekly Bulletin and we will prepare the leadership in the working class that will defeat Nixon.

We will not be intimidated. The American working class will not accept dictatorship.

FORWARD WITH THE TWICE-WEEKLY BULLETIN! BUILD THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

In The Weekend
Edition

•Perspectives for the American Revolution, documents passed at the Workers League Fifth National Conference.

Mideast War Rages Despite Cease-fire Deal

BY MELODY FARROW

Fighting has intensified on all fronts of the Middle East War as Egyptian President Anwar Sadat agreed to accept the cease-fire resolution voted in the United Nations.

This resolution will be massively opposed by the Arab masses who have won tremendous victories on the battle field.

The joint resolution sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union for a cease-fire in place in the Middle East is a cover to launch a new war against the Arab countries.

(Continued On Page 12)

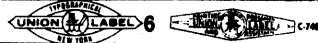
Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FORTY THREE 318

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

WE WILL NOT ACCEPT DICTATORSHIP!

Political Committee Statement

By defying the courts and disbanding the Watergate investigation, Richard Nixon has moved to establish a one-man dictatorship in the United States.

The full power of the labor movement must now be mobilized and action taken immediately to force Nixon out of office and to defeat his clear attempt to impose a dictatorship.

The AFL-CIO has passed a resolution calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment; this must now be taken forward with massive demonstrations by the labor movement in every city demanding that Nixon be thrown out. The UAW and Teamsters must organize similar actions.

Workers in every trade union must demand that an emer-

gency Congress of Labor be summoned now to launch a massive campaign to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to Nixon's dictatorship.

Nixon stands in complete defiance of the courts and the constitution.

By refusing to submit to the Court of Appeal's order that he hand over the secret Watergate tapes, and then refusing to appeal to the Supreme Court, Nixon, for the first time in American history, has declared that the president has absolute power to do anything he wants.

The firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus, coupled with the forced resignation of Attorney General Elliot Richardson, is a carefully calculated move by Nixon to eliminate the last vestige of independent legal control over his actions.

Declaring that he will not be

paralyzed by Watergate, Nixon has acted to break up the bourgeois democratic government as it has existed under the constitution for nearly 200 years and to destroy the constitution itself.

•What once was the Executive branch of government has been eliminated over the weekend and replaced by Nixon acting as dictator. Nixon's dismissal of Cox and Richardson had all the characteristics of a palace coup. On Saturday evening Nixon assumed personal control of the FBI and ordered this special police force to seize the files of the Justice Department. He then had Richardson, Cox, and Ruckelshaus physically barred from their offices, files, and even personal papers.

•Nixon stands in contempt of court, openly declaring that he is above the law and will not submit to its decisions.

•Nixon has already defied Congress for a long period of time, not only by refusing to cooperate with its independent investigation of Watergate, but by vetoing its legislation and impounding its appropriations.

Having in practice abolished the three branches of government, Nixon maintains relations only with the military, whose representative, General Alexander Haig, is the leading adviser in the White House and the man responsible for carrying out Nixon's orders.

It was Haig who personally fired Cox, stating that he was acting on orders from the "Commander-in-Chief."

This is particularly threatening because Nixon invoked the specter of emergency powers and martial law when he declared upon dismissing Cox that he could not tolerate the

Watergate investigation "at a time of serious world crisis."

This shows that Nixon's defiance of the constitution and his moves toward dictatorship are a preparation for military intervention with the marines in the Middle East in order to save the imperialist Zionist regime against the offensive of Arab workers and peasants.

Nixon's moves toward dictatorship have been assisted by the Democratic Party leaders, particularly those racist labor-hating senators from the South who are rallying to Nixon as he declares war on the basic rights of the working class.

South Carolina Senator Sam Ervin, chairman of the Watergate Committee and so-called authority on the constitution, originally accepted Nixon's refusal to hand over the tapes and was willing to settle for a summary of an edited version of the tapes prepared by Nixon himself.

Mississippi Senator John Stennis, the staunchest advocate of segregation and the open shop for the past 25 years, agreed to "authenticate" Nixon's summary of the edited tapes.

Stennis was chosen for this role after having repeatedly urged Nixon to ignore the Watergate Committee and remain in office.

Stennis is also chairman of the Armed Services Committee, further exposing that Nixon's dictatorial measures are being carried out in collusion with the military.

The calls for impeachment that have emerged over the weekend among a number of congressmen reflect the tremendous political crisis and fear now

gripping the ruling class under conditions of the breakup of the economy and the movement of the working class.

But petitions for the impeachment of Nixon and appeals to the Democratic Party liberals will not force Nixon out.

The Democrats and all the big business politicians are with Nixon. They are all agreed that the living standards of the working class must be driven down. They all know that this cannot be done unless its basic democratic rights are destroyed.

All those like the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who will answer Nixon's moves to dictatorship with feeble protests are trying to betray the working class and lead it to defeat.

Only independent action by America's workers and the construction of their own political party—the labor party—can defeat Nixon.

Faced with this situation, we intend to ally new forces with the twice-weekly Bulletin and we will prepare the leadership in the working class that will defeat Nixon.

We will not be intimidated. The American working class will not accept dictatorship.

**FORWARD WITH THE
TWICE-WEEKLY BULLETIN!
BUILD THE WORKERS
LEAGUE!**

In The Weekend
Edition

•Perspectives for the American Revolution, documents passed at the Workers League Fifth National Conference.

Mideast War Rages Despite Cease-fire Deal

BY MELODY FARROW

Fighting has intensified on all fronts of the Middle East War as Egyptian President Anwar Sadat agreed to accept the cease-fire resolution voted in the United Nations.

This resolution will be massively opposed by the Arab masses who have won tremendous victories on the battle field.

The joint resolution sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union for a cease-fire in place in the Middle East is a cover to launch a new war against the Arab countries.

(Continued On Page 12)

Gus Hall And The Right To Self-Determination In The Mideast

Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, said last Monday night in his speech at the Stalinist memorial for Allende:

"The bumper stickers say 'Israel must live.' Yes, Israel must live, but not by predatorily annexing its neighbors' oil fields." (Emphasis added.)

Shortly after Gus Hall delivered that speech, Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin suddenly flew to Cairo in order to pressure the Egyptian government to call off the war and work out a diplomatic settlement with Israel.

**What
We
Think**

The Communist Party, following the lead of its Kremlin masters, has turned its back on the struggle of the Palestinians for their national rights. For if Israel must live, there can be no future for the two million native Palestinians who have been made home-

less by the Zionist agents of imperialism.

Just as the revolutionary movement and military victories of the Arab masses open the way for the destruction of the puppet Zionist state, the Communist Party is telling the Palestinians that they must remain homeless.

At the same time, the CP is telling Arab workers and peasants that they must not fight for the destruction of Israel, but must instead simply attempt to implement the 1967 United Nations resolution which calls for an Israeli pullback from the territories conquered in the last war.

The Daily World wrote on October 10: "Peace in the Middle East demands that the Arab nations recover the land occupied by Israel in the 1967 war."

"Promptly putting the Security Council's resolution into effect will ensure peace and stability for all peoples of the Mideast."

This position is in complete opposition to the absolutely correct view of millions of Palestinians and Arabs who know that Israel was set up by the imperialists with stolen land and therefore has no right to exist at all.

Furthermore, by accepting Israel's 1967 borders as legitimate and joining the "Israel must live" chorus of the imperialists, the Communist Party carries out a policy that could only lead to the destruction of the entire Arab people.

By claiming that the 1967 border would ensure "peace and stability," the Stalinists are really proposing that the Arab masses peacefully coexist with the Zionist imperialists.

In this way, they consciously assist the war preparations of the Americans and Israeli ruling class, just as they did in Chile where the Stalinists disarmed the workers with the policy of peaceful coexistence with the fascist generals.

Furthermore, by supporting the worthless resolution of the UN Security Council, the Communist Party seeks to tie the Arab workers to the bankrupt regime of the Egyptian bourgeois leader Anwar Sadat, who fears the masses in his own country far more than he does the Zionists.

Sadat has already taken great pains to show that he desires only to implement the decisions of the UN rather than to drive the imperialists out of the Middle East through the destruction of Israel.

The survival of the Arab working class depends upon the destruction of the Zionist state. The dangerous talk of peaceful coexistence on the basis of the 1967 borders ignores completely why Israel invaded Arab lands six years ago—or, to go further back, why the Zionist state was established in the first place.

Israel is the police force of imperialism in the Middle East. It stands guard over the interests of the American oil monopolists and maintains the most intimate ties with the CIA and Pentagon.

Whenever the interests of imperialism are threatened, as in 1956 when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, the Israelis are ready for an invasion.

Stalinism, which now openly defends Israel's so-called "right to exist," played a key role in establishing the Zionist state in 1948 as part of an international deal with American imperialism after World War Two. Among the first acts of the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia was the sending of arms to Zionist armies under Ben Gurion.

The Stalinists today give decisive support to the Zionists in yet another way. Through its reactionary persecution of Soviet Jews, the Kremlin strengthens the influence of Zionism among Jewish workers and provides Israel with fresh recruits from the USSR who can be used as cannon-fodder for General Dayan.

The Jewish worker in Israel is oppressed by the Zionist class enemy. His trade unions are tied to the state apparatus and his wages are driven down through rampant inflation. And he is the victim of the militarists who are ready to throw away the lives of thousands of Jewish workers in one imperialist war after another.

Only through the destruction of the Zionist state and the unification of the Jewish and Arab people into a Socialist United States of the Middle East can the survival of the Jewish people be ensured.

The Communist Party moves so openly against the Arab masses because this betrayal is required in the interests of the detente between the Kremlin bureaucracy and American imperialism. Even the most basic democratic demands of the working class are incompatible with "peaceful coexistence."

This is why the Kremlin Stalinists, in the days before the outbreak of the war, attempted to sabotage this struggle by removing their military advisers.

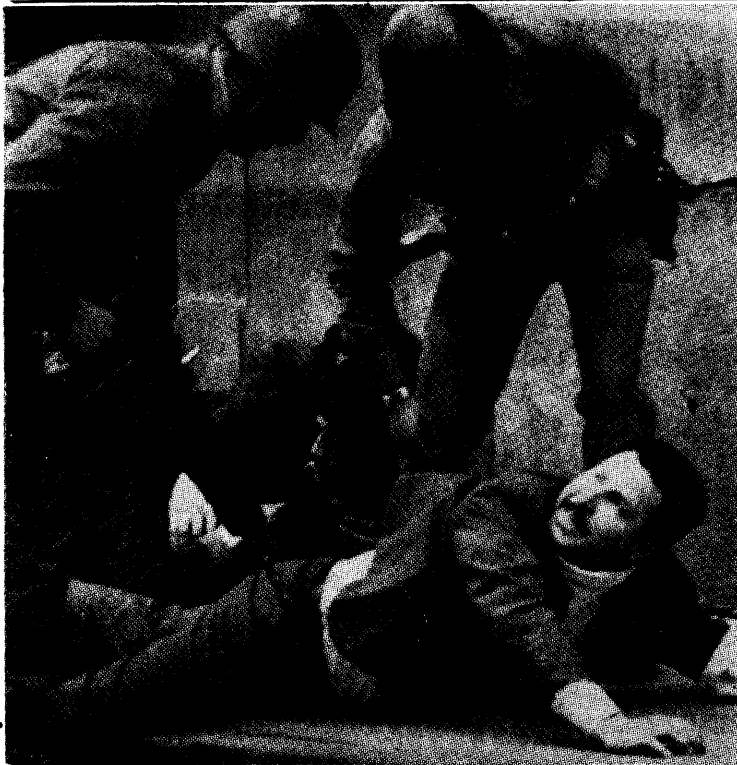
While the CP betrays the Arab masses, it opposes any mobilization of the American working class in support of the Arab people through its conscious sabotage of the political struggle against Nixon.

In the interests of Brezhnev's detente, the CP wants to keep Nixon in office and is against the building of a labor party in this country to throw Nixon out.

Stalinism represents the greatest danger to the Arab revolution. The Communist Party supported the policies which led to the defeat of the Chilean workers and is now determined to beat back the Arab masses and deprive them of victory.

The defense of the Arab masses is inseparable from the struggle to expose Stalinism and destroy its influence in the working class here. This fight must be carried forward through the fight to build a labor party and train a Marxist leadership in the working class.

Only the twice-weekly Bulletin is carrying out this struggle in the United States.



Soldiers search civilians as reign of terror continues in Chile.

Chile: 'Kill Them Like The Nazis'

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

"We must not make Marxists what they made out of the Christians: martyrs. We must kill them like the Nazis in Germany, show them that their system was bad so nobody will dare to defend them anymore."

These are the words of Chilean General Carrasco, who is in charge of the industrial city of Concepcion where resistance to the fascist coup was especially strong.

Carrasco boasts that his training at the American Fort-Gulick school in Panama "was very useful to me."

Despite the ouster of Swedish, French, and Italian correspondents, and a new decree by General Pinochet banning any news that is not "official," news reports are still coming out about the continuing reign of terror.

The secretary general of the International Movement of

Catholic Jurists accompanied by two French lawyers spent 12 days in Chile and spoke to victims and eyewitnesses of the unparalleled brutality and tortures.

One professor had his tongue cut out, others are wired for electric shocks. Girls are raped as a matter of course.

The jurists saw many people with cigarette burns over their whole body.

Homes are systematically sacked by soldiers who take anything they find.

The jurists also spoke to the Archbishop of Santiago, leader of Chile's Catholic Church, who told them:

"What is happening here is very sad, but it is a lesser evil."

The junta who blamed the Allende regime for the inflation have pushed food prices beyond the reach of Chilean workers and poor farmers. Bread has gone up from 4 cents to 14 cents for one kilo, cooking oil from 15 cents to 85 cents a quart, and sugar from 8 cents to 40 cents a kilogram.

This has created windfall profits for the big landowners. In the farming area of Santa Cruz, Victor Garcia Garzena, a senator from the fascist National

Party declared:

"Sure this is a dictatorship—and we need it. We will need it until people learn that the farmers must produce, that they have to work eight hours a day, that we cannot have three-month school vacations and families with ten children."

From newspaper interviews with rank and file workers in Chile, details on how the Chilean Communist Party completely laid workers open to defeat have come out.

CONFUSION

Not only did the CP order its members not to resist when the troops moved in on September 11, but last June after the first coup attempt was foiled, the CP opposed the move by the Socialist Party to establish armed brigades in the factories. This led to tremendous confusion of the workers.

After September 11, the Communist Party again proposed setting up a "Democratic Front" to unite left-wing parties with sections of the Christian Democrats, the very party that conspired with the army to bring Allende's government down.

German Auto Workers On Strike

BY A REPORTER

Over 57,000 auto workers in West Germany are on strike after the management of Daimler Benz and Bosch called off negotiations on a new contract.

The employers, backed by the government of Willy Brandt, have provoked this showdown in an attempt to

break the powerful IG Metall union and have threatened a lockout of all auto workers.

The strike, concentrated at three plants in Baden Wurttemberg, may idle another 40,000 workers.

Even before negotiations were called off, 2200 to 5000 workers were on strike every day. The workers are fighting for a 10 percent wage increase and better working conditions.

The present strike is the continuation of a struggle last

August when auto workers at Opel wildcatted against the orders of the IG Metall union bureaucracy and demanded a cost of living bonus to make up for the soaring rate of inflation.

Brandt has openly lined up with the employers by declaring that the demand for a 10 percent increase was "detrimental to stability."

Auto workers are spearheading a new upsurge of the West German labor movement which for the first time is defying the contracts approved by the union leadership.

Brandt, a Social Democrat who came to power with labor support, has been exposed as a firm backer of the capitalist monopolies.

These struggles have brought German workers together with thousands of Spanish, Turkish and other immigrant workers in common struggle.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John; Labor Editor: David North

Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

THE BULLETIN, Twice-weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Seventh Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published twice-weekly except the last week of December and the last week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$6.00, 6 months: \$3.00, 2 months: \$1.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS...All subscribers with the number 9 or 10 after their name must immediately renew so they don't miss an issue in November.

Building The Bulletin

The trailblazing teams are receiving a tremendous response in Detroit and Cleveland. In Detroit, 110 subs were gotten in one day. Next week we will have a full report.

We have 1911 Bulletin subs towards our goal of 3000 by November 1. This week, 510 were gotten. Branches have to

go over this figure, to 550 subs per week so we can make our goal.

We are beginning monthly Young Socialist drives to get 900 subs per month. We got 225 subs nationally this past week. Washington did excellently with 34 YS subs.

Branches must start mass Young Socialist drives.

AFL-CIO Calls For Nixon's Impeachment

BY BRUCE McKAY

BAL HARBOUR, Fla., Oct. 22—A resolution calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment was passed unanimously by the AFL-CIO Convention this morning.

The resolution was presented to the full convention by the Executive Committee, which had met earlier in emergency session and voted unanimously for Nixon's ouster.

Delegates greeted the resolution with a standing ovation.

Referring to Nixon's defiance of the courts and his illegal actions in Watergate, the resolution stated:

"We believe that the American people have had enough. More than enough. We therefore call upon Richard Nixon, President of the United States, to resign..."

"If Mr. Nixon does not resign, we call upon the House of Representatives forthwith to initiate impeachment proceedings against him.

"We also call upon the Congress to hold up further consideration of the president's vice-president designate, Mr. Ford.

"Clearly, a president who has placed himself on the brink of impeachment should not be allowed to name his successor until the charges against him have been disposed of satisfactorily."

The resolution, however, made no call for action by the labor movement to force Nixon out. It called only for a lobbying of Congress to build support for impeachment.

Delegates here were stunned by Nixon's defiance of the courts, and many are speaking openly of the danger of a military coup.

The explosive developments have shaken the delegates, who only last Thursday complacently listened to George Meany's welcoming speech in which he refused to call for any action against Nixon.

Following a demagogic attack on Nixon's economic policies and commenting that "never in history has a great nation been governed so corruptly," Meany told the convention:

"In criticizing the policies of the present administration, we do not aim to give any encouragement to those at home or abroad who would tear America down."

He completely defended the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's decision in 1971 to join Nixon's Pay Board.

Meany's invitation to Defense Secretary James Schlesinger to head the list of guest speakers told the real story. Meany is supporting Nixon, despite his "disagreements."

Not all of the delegates supported Meany's decision to invite Schlesinger, and many did not attend the speech.

The convention's speaker list was stacked with big name Democrats. Senator Edward Kennedy told the convention:

"It is always good to know that a Democratic Senator is welcome at an AFL-CIO National Convention."

Senator Henry Jackson told the convention: "There are some people who criticize labor for being too involved in the Democratic Party. I criticize it for not being involved enough.

"I am proud of my association with the labor movement going back to the earliest days of my political career. I have been greatly gratified and encouraged by the fact that our views on the great and fundamental issues of the day have coincided—not just on domestic policies, but on foreign policies and national defense."

Some of the delegates told the *Bulletin* they had hoped the convention would take some action against Nixon, such as calling for his impeachment.

Robert Morgan, a Colorado AFT delegate, said: "The recent attacks on the teachers like the strike and the one million dollar fine against the Detroit Federation of Teachers show that the unions need a political party today.

"I have felt for a long time that the labor movement needs a new political party. The question I have is how do we go about doing it," he said.

"A lot of labor people are going to continue alignment with the Democratic Party, but supposing the Democratic Party is elected next time.

DIFFERENCE

"The only thing I see coming out of it is an educational process of showing that there is really no substantial difference between the two parties."

The inability of this convention to break from Meany's policies and take even one step toward a break with the two-party system and the formation of a labor party poses the greatest danger to the American working class.

The real situation facing workers throughout the world today was brought home by one of the fraternal delegates from Britain, National Union of Mine Workers Branch Secretary R. Rigby, who told the delegates that the unions are headed for a decisive clash in Britain with the Tory government.

"I forecast that in the next few months you will see an industrial conflict such as you have never seen before in the British trade union movement," he said.

CONFLICTS

American workers face these same irreconcilable conflicts with the American government, which is moving to attack the trade unions in order to drive down workers' living standards and destroy their basic rights.



International Typographical Union Local 6 faces a challenge to its very existence. The NY Times is training non-union forces on automated equipment while government courts attack the union's right to negotiate a contract.

ITU President Refuses OK For NY Times Local To Strike

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK—Local 6 President Bertram Powers has called on John Pilch, president of the International Typographical Union, to personally negotiate a new contract with the New York Times if he will not grant strike authorization to the local.

"I'm willing to let Pilch take my place in the negotiations," Powers told the *Bulletin*. "I sent him a telegram and told him to come to New York to settle this thing."

The Local 6 printers are bitter over Pilch's refusal to release them from a contract that expired six months ago.

"What I think of Pilch you can't even print," one worker told the *Bulletin* outside the Times building. "He's lining up with management against us."

The old contract remains in

effect under a clause which requires Local 6 to obtain strike authorization from the International. Pilch has withheld this without giving an explanation.

"None of us can understand what Pilch is doing," said another printer. "He's put us in a bind. There is an injunction that stops us from striking or even stopping work. In the meantime, the Times is moving new automated equipment on to the eleventh floor that might do away with our jobs. No one has been able to see this equipment."

It is reported that the Times is installing "I.B.M. selector key-

boards" and training personnel to use them.

This reporter went to the eleventh floor to check these reports but was stopped by security guards and a special alarm system.

The Times has threatened massive fines in the event of another work stoppage by printers. "We all are beginning to feel a lot of animosity for the Times," an ITU member told the *Bulletin*. "They even deducted pay for every hour that we missed because of the chapter meetings."

Another printer described the Times building as "a tinder box."

Penn State YS, Arab League Hit Nixon-Zionist Alliance

BY A REPORTER

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—More than 100 students attended a rally on the Middle East held jointly by the Penn State Young Socialists and the Penn State Arab Club, despite a bomb threat and other provocations aimed at breaking up the meeting.

The Young Socialists is the only organization on the campus that has gone on the offensive against the Zionists and the rabid pro-Israel propaganda being poured out by the campus and college newspapers.

The success of this meeting attended by American and Arab students alike, shows that youth of all nationalities see behind the vicious campaign being whipped up against the Arab people and want to know the truth about the Middle East war.

Jim Cory, speaking for the YS, told the rally: "Conditions for war and revolution are created not only in the colonial countries, but within the imperialist powers as well.

"This is the real meaning of

Watergate and the resignation of Agnew. The American government and the capitalist class which it represents are now preparing to deal death blows not only to the Arab people, but to the American working class as well."

Riyad Ajamie, representing the Arab Club, said:

"Golda Meir has said that there is no such thing as the Palestinian people, that they do not exist. Two million Palestinian people have been deprived of their land.

"It is imperialism which stands behind Zionism."

JOIN

Ronnen Roy, a member of the Young Socialists National Committee, called on the youth at the rally to join the Young Socialists:

"The Young Socialists calls for the construction of Trotskyist parties throughout the Mideast countries that can take forward Arab and Jewish workers to the victory of socialism internationally."

The bomb threat was called in

to the Student Union Building at 6:30 p.m. and was supposed to go off at 8:00 p.m., one half hour after the rally was scheduled to begin. No bomb was found.

POLICE

YS and Arab Club members prevented police from using this as a pretext to station cops inside the meeting by placing themselves at the entrance.

During the discussion, photographers from three capitalist newspapers and Zionist thugs tried to bust into the meeting, despite an agreement beforehand that no pictures were to be taken. This was requested by the Arab Club to protect the Arab students from persecution in their own countries.

The Young Socialist Alliance tried to aid the attempts at disruption by demanding a vote on the expulsion of the reporters.

The photographers were thrown out of the meeting and a lively discussion proceeded. The rally ended with a film, "Revolution Until Victory."

Pinkett Aids City Attack On SSEU

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—Despite the complete chaos in the reorganization of the New York City Welfare Department, Union President Mary Pinkett arrogantly closed down last Wednesday's Delegates Assembly meeting, refusing even to take questions from the delegates.

Pinkett has consistently refused to put forward a contract strategy and now one month behind schedule for negotiations, she is lashing out more and more against the membership.

It was revealed at the meeting that the city is beginning to contract services out to private agencies.

Human Resource Districts, part of the new services program, have not been set up as promised. There are no job definitions and policies are arbitrarily set from day to day.

The whole services program is being exposed for the fraud that it always was and civil service itself is being threatened with obliteration.

Case aides in the new Human Resources districts who complained about working conditions were told that if they did not like the conditions, they could be transferred to police stations.

BLOW

The latest blow is the union's agreement that the city can transfer workers to any areas they want, thus getting around the staffing shortage and reorganization agreement.

Pinkett's complicity with the city's drive to destroy the jobs in the department flows directly from her collaboration with the Democratic Party. She is running on the Beame ticket for City Councilwoman, going the

same route as Peter Brennan.

Pinkett thus stands to the right of any of the other civil service union presidents. She must bear full responsibility for the attacks that the Democrats together with the Republicans are launching against trade union rights.

The Committee for New Leadership calls on all SSEU members to attend the membership meeting scheduled for early November and support the only policies which can win a decent contract:

POLICY

- A 20 percent wage increase and full cost of living escalator clause.
- A freeze on all further cooperation with reorganization until it is negotiated.
- Force Pinkett to resign. Only with her resignation can the union go forward.
- Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party and force Nixon out now.

Nobel Prize: A Tribute To Stalinism

By awarding the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize to Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese leader Le Duc Tho, the Nobel Committee is paying tribute to the counterrevolutionary alliance of Stalinism and imperialism.

Kissinger, the man who together with Nixon ordered the terror bombing of North Vietnam and who today threatens the Soviet Union with war in the Middle East, the man who is the foremost spokesman for imperialist brutality and arrogance, is hailed as a leader of peace.

While the pompous officials in Sweden make their speeches, in Vietnam the war goes on and intensifies, covered up by the capitalist press.

Innocent villagers are massacred by the puppet dictatorship of Thieu, while his troops launch invasions of territory controlled by the liberation forces.

This is the "peace" of imperialism which Le Duc Tho and the Soviet bureaucracy have been instrumental in imposing on the workers and peasants in Vietnam.

Nominees like Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet scientist, who having developed the H bomb today fights against nuclear war and against the repression of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and others who even in a limited way fight against capitalist oppression



Members of the Professional and Administrative Staff Association man their picket line outside the Museum of Modern Art in the third week of their strike for a living wage. Attendance at the Museum has declined drastically and the striking workers have been buoyed by the decision of New York Philharmonic musicians—who are also on strike—to perform a benefit concert in their support this Thursday at 8 p.m. in Paula Cooper Hall.

1199 Bureaucrats Try To Oust Opposition

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—A witch-hunting attack has been launched on two hospital laboratory delegates, supporters of the Workers League and the Bulletin, of Local 1199 at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center in Brooklyn.

A motion to remove these delegates from their positions, spearheaded by the Davis leadership of 1199, is to be discussed and voted upon at a

special union meeting on Thursday, October 25.

On the very same day, Nixon's Cost of Living Council will be meeting in Washington to deter-

mine whether to cut the 7.5 percent wage increase and other benefits that hospital workers have been waiting for since July 1.

The two delegates under attack, Fred Mazelis and Nat Hershon, have been in the forefront of the fight against these attacks and have exposed Davis's refusal to fight the Board and defend the hospital workers' jobs.

Three or four hospitals have already threatened to close their doors and others are close to declaring bankruptcy. While the government holds up wages, the hospitals blame the workers for the deteriorating conditions.

Davis is attempting to whip up right-wing opposition to these delegates to cover his own capitulation to the government. Just last week, Davis canceled the strike deadline of October 18, urging the delegates to wait for the decision of the Council.

Davis is desperately afraid of the rank and file who will not accept Nixon's wage cuts and are fed up with Davis's stalling.

The recall move was begun by a handful of members who demanded that these delegates make a motion at the last delegates meeting to support Israel in the Middle East war. Mazelis and Gershon refused, explaining their position against Zionism and for the unity of Arab and Jewish workers for socialism.

The leadership of 1199, who call themselves "progressives," have united in this recall petition with right-wing, anti-communist elements and with the hospital administration itself.

These delegates have fought within the union for the building of a labor party and the unity of the trade union movement against Nixon to launch a campaign to force him out of office.

The real issue in the Kingsbrook fight is the need for a new leadership that will fight for these policies and defend the gains of 1199 members.



A parent boycott of all Lower East Side, N.Y., schools, sparked by the suspension of Luis Fuentes, superintendent of Community School District 1, is continuing despite the order of a Federal Judge to reinstate him to his position.

The parents association is demanding the removal of the school board, which has sought to whip up an atmosphere of racial fear and prejudice in the community. Fuentes has used the support of the United Federation of Teachers to this board to attack all teachers and the union. The real issue in this dispute is the destruction of educational conditions which the Board is implementing and Fuentes has no program to fight.

were rejected for the prize.

This should not be surprising since the man who founded the Nobel prize tradition, at his death in 1896, Alfred Nobel, was himself a millionaire manufacturer of munitions.

Is it not fitting that Kissinger whose entire policy is based on imperialist war should win money that Nobel made from the sale of dynamite?

This prize is the imperialists'

cynical fashion of thanking Stalinism for their services in propping up the capitalist system.

GLOAT

But the Stalinists should not gloat too much on their newly acquired status. The working class is on the move in every country in its millions and by its revolutionary struggle will smash this alliance.

IT IS TIME TO RENEW

if the number 8,9, or 10 is after your name on your address label.

ACT NOW AND YOU WILL NOT MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE NEW TWICE-WEEKLY.

twice-weekly BULLETIN

\$3.00 for 6 months

\$6.00 for 1 year

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

135 West 14 Street, 7th floor, New York, NY 10011

Basic questions of principle for the revolutionary movement and the working class of the whole world are raised by the Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East. Marxists cannot be neutral in this war: they must stand firmly on the side of the Arab revolution against the Israeli war-machine, which is directly supplied and maintained by imperialism.

Nothing could more clearly indicate the real relations between imperialism and Zionism than President Nixon's decision to rush arms to Israel to replace what has been lost in the battle.

Zionism, from its very beginnings in the 19th century, was consciously aimed against the revolutionary movement of the working class in Europe and above all against the participation in this movement of the Jewish workers themselves.

The basis of Zionist ideology is that instead of fighting alongside the rest of the working class to overthrow capitalism, Jewish workers can achieve emancipation by colonizing Palestine.

THEODORE HERZL

Theodore Herzl, one of the founders of Zionism, complains in his work *The Jewish State*—a tract specifically addressed to the great banking family of Rothschilds—that the poor Jews become “a revolutionary proletariat, the corporals of every revolutionary party.”

He added: “We continue to produce an abundance of mediocre intellectuals who find no outlet, and this endangers our social position as much as does our increasing wealth. Educated Jews without means are rapidly becoming socialists...”

Herzl's whole activity was directed towards winning the support of one or another imperialist power to gain backing for the subjugation of the Arab inhabitants of the proposed colony in Palestine.

Zionism always placed itself at the service of the imperialists and was directed against the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine, who were engaged in bitter struggle first against the Turks and later against the British colonial powers.

THE ESTABLISHMENT

The Israeli state could never have been established except on the basis of the enormous defeats of the working class in Europe in the 1930s, the rise of fascism and the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The imperialist powers, who refused to lift a finger to save the Jews from the gas chambers under Hitler, used the desperate and distraught survivors to spearhead the attack on the awakening Arab national movement against imperialism.

The establishment of the Israeli state was of vital importance to protect the interests of the great oil monopolies in the Middle East. They saw the subjugation and destruction of Palestine as a blow struck in their interests against the Arab people as a whole.

To establish the state of Israel the majority of the existing inhabitants of Palestine were forcibly driven from their homes and their lands, stripped of their possessions and forced to live on charitable handouts in squalid desert refugee camps.

To realize the reactionary Zionist dream of a Jewish “homeland” the Palestinians were deprived of their homeland. They now have no country, no rights and no land. Those who remained in Israel are victims of continuous racist

(We reprint below a statement published in the Workers Press, organ of the Socialist Labour League in Britain, on October 15 with which we are in complete agreement.)

Statement Of Principles



Israeli artillery, supplied by the US, fires into Syria.

and religious discrimination, enshrined in the basic laws of the Israeli state.

No nation which oppresses another can itself be free. This basic principle applies with the greatest force to Israel, which came into existence as an oppressor nation from the very start.

The only consistent fighters for the position of the Jewish workers are those who campaign for the downfall of the Zionist state. The only revolutionary position is Lenin's policy of defeatism directed against the Zionist regime.

The existence of a Hebrew nation in the Middle East is now an accomplished fact, however reactionary may be its origins. This nation has a right to exist and to have its own state. But this right does not extend to conducting a continuous struggle against the national aspirations of others.

The existing Israeli state is an imperialist excrescence in the Middle East and its continuation in its present form is an inseparable barrier to the realization by the Palestinians of their rights.

STALINISM

Stalinism was the midwives of the Israeli state. Through their anti-Semitic policy in the USSR the Communist Party bureaucrats have directly sided with the Zionists by supplying them with fresh recruits. The Soviet government today wants a settlement based not on any principled resolution of the problems of the Arab and Jewish working masses, but on the diplomatic requirements of detente with imperialism.

The Zionist leaders have built up a huge military-bureaucratic machine to preserve their hegemony. They will never voluntarily hand over their power. The destruction of their state machine is the prerequisite of any just solution to the national question in the Middle East.

That is why the war aims of the Arab bourgeois leaders are completely inadequate. The Arab leaders are incapable of carrying out the revolutionary task of overthrowing Zionism because to do so they must mobilize the masses and undermine their own position as exploiters of the Arab workers and peasants.

The Zionists have never made even the slightest gesture of reconciliation or recompense towards the Palestinians. They have from the beginning adopted the arrogant attitude of a conquering race to a subjugated, supposedly inferior people.

For the Zionists to say that the Arab states should take responsibility for the dispossessed Palestinians is the height of hypocrisy: the Zionists simply want the Palestinians to renounce their legitimate rights in Palestine by abandoning the hope of ever returning to their own land.

The Israeli state is unique: it is the only state in the world founded completely on the expropriation of the native people. So long as this state based on the denial of all national rights to the Palestinians continues to exist in the Middle East there can be no peace.

Israel is a bastard state. The Arab armies have as much right

to smash that state as the Indian army had to destroy the state of East Pakistan in the Bangladesh war.

It is the height of reactionary metaphysics to equate Israel and the Arab states and adopt a neutral stance on the grounds that both sides are bourgeois. Those who adopt this position turn their backs on the struggles of colonial peoples and the imperialists to keep them enslaved.

Lenin described this attitude of indifference to national movements as “ludicrous and downright reactionary.” Answering Rosa Luxemburg, who claimed that national wars are no longer possible under imperialism, Lenin wrote:

“National wars against the imperialist powers are not only possible and probable; they are inevitable, progressive and revolutionary...”

Here there is no neutrality and no attempt to cover over the contradictions with the aid of bald statements about the bourgeois character of the national movement.

Trotsky adopted the same position:

“In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the struggle for an independent national state and consequently the ‘defense of the fatherland’ is different in principle from that of the imperialist countries.

“The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world gives unconditional support to the struggle of China or India for national independence, for this struggle, ‘by tearing the backward people out of the Asiatic system, participation and foreign bondage,’ strikes powerful blows at imperialism.”

Marxists have never equated the struggle of oppressed nations against their oppressors with the struggle between imperialist powers. In the Arab states this war is already giving rise to an enormous popular resurgence bringing the masses on to the political scene as a direct result of the Arab victories.

IN ISRAEL

In Israel the Zionists are desperately trying to dupe the working class with outright lies about the course of the war. General Moshe Dayan's bombastic boasts are aimed at covering up the losses suffered by Israel and persuading the Jewish workers to continue acting as cannon-fodder for imperialism.

Socialists in the Arab countries and in Israel must work for the defeat of the Israeli army and the victory of the Arabs. Unlike the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad and the Israel Palestine Socialist Action groups, whose statement is published in both *Red Weekly* and *Socialist Worker*, we do not adopt a pacifist position of refusing to take up arms for Zionism.

The real character of this declaration is shown by the postscript, which in their usual opportunist manner neither revisionist paper published. The postscript specifically opposes the “destruction of the Israeli state by nation-states, such as Egypt and Syria, who have no interest in establishing a democratic society for either Palestinians or Jews.”

In opposition to this chauvinist position, Israeli socialists must work within the armed forces and struggle to politically convince the deluded workers in uniform that their future lies with an Arab victory. However courageous, refusal to serve in the armed forces can only be an individual gesture of defiance, not a class policy.

JEWISH WORKERS

Jewish workers in Britain should ask themselves what they have in common with the Israel Sieffs and the Lord Rothschilds who dominate the Zionist movement and who support the Tories to a man.

The reality is that the Jewish bourgeoisie is the mortal enemy of the Jewish workers and no amount of Zionist mysticism can conceal the fundamental conflict between their class interests.

The Arab Jewish workers must unite to overthrow capitalism in Israel and the national bourgeoisie in the Arab countries. The national questions cannot be resolved under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. They can be resolved only by the unity of the working class in common struggle for a Socialist United States of the Middle East in which all the rights of all nationalities will be recognized.

The war in the Middle East opens up a new chapter of the struggle for this objective. It demands the building of independent revolutionary parties of the working class, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, on both sides of the battle lines to fight for a socialist solution—the only solution to the situation facing the workers of Israel and the Arab states.

Long live the Arab revolution!

Smash Zionism and Imperialism!

Down with Stalinism!

Build the International Committee of the Fourth International!

The following article is Part Three of a series of three articles on American history and the development of the labor movement. It is based on a talk given to trade unionists around the country.

History Lives In Today's Struggles

The American working class faces a situation, because of the crisis of capitalism, where everything that it has fought for is now threatened: its living conditions are being driven down by inflation, the government is preparing the most brutal attacks on all democratic rights.

A tremendous struggle is in preparation in the United States. As the working class moves in this new situation, it will move very much conditioned by its own history. The way it thinks is very much determined by this history, and how it will act will be very much shaped by it.

We turn to the history of the American working class and the lessons to be learned from that history, not just to understand things that happened in the past, but because that past will now live, shaping the way people act today.

Many people do not realize the way the American working class began its struggles. It began to struggle in the United States politically.

Twenty years before the Communist Manifesto was written by Marx in Europe, the American working class was already beginning to organize itself politically and independently. The American working class organized its own political parties in this period when there were only a handful of unions, when it was still a small force in the cities of the Northeast.

It organized the Workingmen's Party in the 1820s and launched its own newspaper, the most famous being the Workingmen's Advocate which was published in New York City.

These political parties were organized in all the major cities at the time. They were the reaction of the American working class to the first development of capitalism: developing industry, a boom in commerce. Some 64 such parties and newspapers were organized in the 1820s.

These parties resisted what they saw as a new aristocracy. They saw the American Revolution as a struggle against the aristocracy of Europe which sought to determine life in America.

They saw that this new aristocracy controlled the government. They knew that they could not expect these forces of money to represent them.

Therefore, they had to organize their own political parties and political movement.

They organized the Workingmen's Parties very very successfully. In cities like New York, they rapidly approached becoming the majority party.

This created great fear among the commercial and manufacturing classes of the time. There was great difficulty at this point.

This early development of the American working class took place in a country which could still grow and develop. It was a country with vast resources where most people were small farmers; perhaps 80 to 90 percent of the people lived in the countryside.

In the cities, a powerful commercial class existed which was able to milk the wealth and resources of the small farmers and become wealthy. This commercial class ruled the country together with the slave owners of the South, who ruled over thousands of slaves who produced agricultural goods being sold to Europe.

Under these conditions, the American working class first emerged. In the South, there was no working class as such. There was a slave empire, and free workers could not compete against the slaves.

In the North, the workers in the city were but a small minority in a mass of agricultural workers and farmers.

Under these conditions, the worker was constantly finding himself becoming absorbed, dominated politically by the farmers and the middle classes, by their thinking and movement. The struggle within capitalism between the small capitalist farmers and the large capitalists of the cities tended to dominate and absorb the early political

movement of the working class.

The struggles in that period were against the logic of capitalism itself. In capitalism, through competition of various institutions, individuals buy and sell, set up factories or farms which leads to larger and larger concentrations of capital.

The small capitalist, the small store owner, the small manufacturer, the small farmer were continuously being ruined and driven out of business, and large wealthy forces developed.

Under those conditions, the small farmer, the small capitalist, the little man, sought to resist the power of the monopolies.

They found themselves being chewed up by competition, by conflict, by contradiction, and they sought somehow to see if they could only remove themselves from the competition and conflict.

They sought to create some kind of world separate from this conflict. They wished that each individual could develop in this beautiful new prosperous land without being driven down by being forced to compete with every other individual on the market.

Out of this grew a tendency towards reformism, radicalism, and utopianism—the idea that perhaps you could somehow escape competition, pull yourself out of the logic of capitalism, and recreate an ideal society. They wanted to stay separate from the conflict, not to get into the struggle and fight it out against capitalists. They tried to withdraw and make the world as they wanted it.

America became swept by utopianism. Small socialist and communist communities were set up all over the country. Thousands of these developed in the nineteenth century, largely made up of small farmers, small businessmen, people from the little towns.

So the tendency was really to avoid struggle to get out of it, to recreate the world in one's head the way one would like it, rather than to get into the struggle and fight it through.

The early Workingmen's Parties became dominated by utopianism, by people from the middle class who told workers not to fight it out because they would recreate a utopian society. The greatest utopian of the day was Robert Owen, one of the founders of American utopianism. Marx discusses him in the Communist Manifesto.

His son came to America and was one of the early leaders of the Workingmen's Party in New York. When strikes broke out in New York City, the Workingmen's Party under this utopian leadership, this middle class leadership, wanted not to bother with these struggles, to abstain from them because they were trying to reform things. They tried to get a free educational system, to resettle themselves and get some land in the West, to escape the logic of capitalism rather than fight it through within capitalism for the working class to build its strength, build its organizations, and go forward into the next period.

Swept Back to the Democrats

They were swept back into the Democratic Party, and thus the Workingmen's Party of New York became the basis for Tammany Hall which ruled New York politics from then to the present.

After the Civil War, a new movement swept the American working class, called the National Labor Union led by William Sylvis who sought to bring all the trades and all the industries of the country together in one union.

He received, of course, a tremendous response. Hundreds of thousands of workers joined this National Labor Union.

Sylvis had fought in the American Civil War and had gotten up a whole company of workers to join with the North in the fight to free the slaves. Nearly a decade after the American Civil War, this entire union movement found itself once again being absorbed behind the movement of the middle classes and the farmers.

The farmer felt the best way to pay off debts is with money that is not worth any-

Three Lectures On American History by Tim Wohlforth

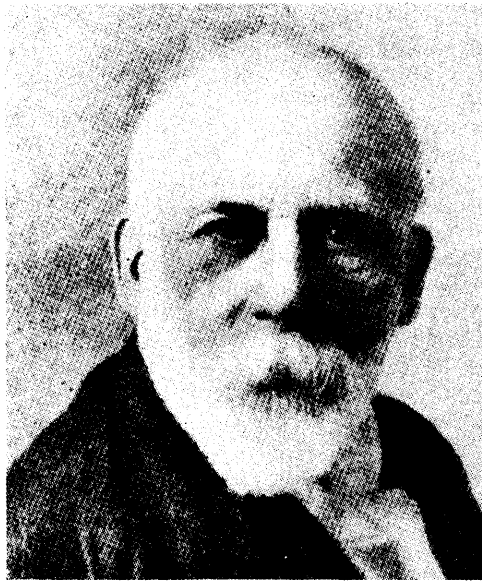


William Sylvis



Samuel Gompers

Politics & The Development Of The American Working Class



Daniel DeLeon



Big Bill Haywood



James P. Cannon



William Z. Foster

thing. One borrows money that is worth something and pays the debt back with money that is worth less. To fight for this, they formed the Greenback Party to do away with the Gold Standard, and to print dollar bills to break the stranglehold of the banks.

The union movement found itself dominated by this political movement of the middle class.

The American Civil War, which destroyed the power of slavery, laid the basis for a tremendous industrial development in America. From the end of the Civil War until 1900, there was an industrial revolution in America that accomplished in 25 years what happened in England in 200 years.

The robber barons grew up. All the great families of the American capitalist class, the Rockefellers and the Carnegies, developed their wealth in those years between the Civil War and the turn of the century.

A huge immigration came from Central Europe, then Eastern Europe. There were Italians, Hungarians, Czechs, Russians, pouring into the country by the millions. In certain years, 7 to 10 million per year came.

All the poor of Europe came into the country and they were paid almost nothing. This way, American industry developed vast profits.

Under these conditions, the American working class began to emerge and organize itself nationally once again, into unions and political movements. In 1886 in New York City, Henry George ran for governor on a labor party slate; a labor party began arising once again in America.

There was the Haymarket Affair in Chicago, where working class leaders in the McCormick strike were framed up by the police.

There was the eight-hour day movement, and strike waves all over the country out of which May Day developed.

There was the development of the Knights of Labor which was the first really powerful national union of the American working class. It had a membership of hundreds of thousands, at one point perhaps over a million, putting all trades together into one big union.

The Knights of Labor also found themselves dominated by the movement of the middle class and the farmers. A movement developed among the farmers called the Populists which talked about fighting the monopolies, cheap money, breaking the control of the railroads. The rest of the working class became absorbed behind this movement of the middle class, and the Knights of Labor collapsed.

Frederick Engels discussed these developments after the collapse of the Knights of Labor. Writing in 1892, Engels, who was Marx's closest collaborator, watched developments in America very closely.

"There is no place yet in America for a third party, I believe. The divergence of interests even in the same class group is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different groups and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality; and almost each particular section of the possessing class has its representatives in each of the two parties to a very large degree.

"The apparent haphazardness of this jumbling together is what provides the splendid soil for the corruption and the plundering of the government that flourish there so beautifully.

"Only when the land—the public lands—is completely in the hands of the speculators, and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or falls victim to gouging—only then, I think, will the time come; with peaceful development, for a third party.

"Land is the basis of speculation, and the American speculative mania and speculative opportunity are the chief levers that hold the native-born worker in bondage to the bourgeoisie.

"Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that cannot expect anything from speculation any more, will we have a solid foothold in America. But, of course, who can count on peaceful development in America."

Engels was pointing out that in nineteenth century America, there still was a very large farming middle class. The country was constantly expanding. With the settlement of the West and with the wild speculation and land prices that swept the urban classes of the East, the American

worker was constantly becoming absorbed in the wild speculation and hope that somehow he would make it too. Thus the workers could not coalesce politically as a class. It fell behind the leadership of the middle class. The middle class, while rebelling, would always be sold out because they were not fighting for a basic change, for socialism.

In the period following World War One, two powerful and very important trade unions developed.

The first was the American Federation of Labor, which goes back to Samuel Gompers.

Samuel Gompers started out as a cigar maker. In those days, cigar makers, as they do today for expensive cigars, rolled their own cigars, by hand, on big tables. Hundreds of men worked together rolling cigars.

The rolling of the cigar makes virtually no noise. So the workers would all chip in together to pay the salary of one of the workers who then sat up on a high table in the middle of the cigar factory and read to them.

When Samuel Gompers was working in a cigar factory as a young man, 13 or 14 years



The 1930s and 1940s witnessed a massive movement of labor against the two capitalist parties. The Communist Party held back this development by its support to the Democratic Party.

old, they used to read in German the three volumes of *Das Kapital*, Marx's basic economic volume.

Gompers gathered from Marx certain ideas, particularly Marx's idea that "labor has separate interests from capital, and that labor must organize itself separately."

Gompers understood that and he went out and became an organizer and leader of the Cigar Makers Union and later of the AFL.

But he stopped at that point. He just picked empirically from Marx the practical task of organizing the working class into unions. He turned away from the political understanding of Marx—that the two classes must fight it out, that the exploitation of the working class comes from capitalism as a system which requires a struggle of workers against that system for socialism.

Politics: Pro and Con

He organized only the very skilled workers of America into the AFL which survives to this day. He represented a tendency which wanted to keep out of politics, that thought being in politics would lead to domination by the middle class.

The same idea also developed among revolutionary workers; alongside of the development of the AFL came the development of the Industrial Workers of the World.

They put in the preamble of their constitution the overthrow of capitalism. They refused to sign contracts with the bosses, saying that was class collaboration.

They fought civil war type struggles in strikes, for instance, in Colorado, against the bosses. The IWW was thus the mirror opposite of the AFL. But both thought they could keep out of politics, that they could just organize all workers into unions.

The IWW saw unions that would call a general strike, smash capitalism, and establish a socialist society.

But they both turned away from politics and the construction of a political party.

Under these conditions, there developed within the IWW a fundamental political struggle that was a struggle over the issues which continued to wrack the American labor movement.

On one side was the political faction, centered largely in the East.

On the other side was the antipolitical faction of syndicalists and anarchists. They were centered largely in the West, their main strength coming from the Northwest lumbering areas and the agricultural workers who rumbled from town to town following the harvest.

This antipolitical tendency developed as part of a pioneer life style of individualism.

The political tendency within the IWW was very much like the early utopians of 1826 in the Workingmen's Party, linked too with the method and thinking of the middle class. It was led by Daniel De Leon.

De Leon believed it was necessary to organize unions on the basis of industry, with these unions being led politically by a socialist party to prevent corruption. This was correct.

But he thought that he could establish industrial unions and establish the leadership of a political party by simply pro-

America was an expanding country in a boom, in 1929 this turned into its opposite.

America became the country of death and stagnation. One-third of the American working class was thrown out of work. The great industries of America stopped—millions starved. This created new conditions for struggle in America.

In the US at this time, a new movement developed in the American working class—the CIO. After a century of struggle of the American working class from 1826 to 1920, there developed in two years unions which organized industrial workers. The CIO was a leap, created through sit-down strikes and struggles in every major city in the country.

Negation of the Negation

This created conditions for a new development in America—it was the negation of the negation.

The American worker had begun with his own political parties even before he developed much of a union movement, and with his own press. This was then negated and for a whole period of time the American worker found his political life dominated by the middle class, and he turned his back on politics.

In the 1930s, there was the negation of the negation. New conditions existed which could not be handled just by unions. The American worker needed politics. He needed to organize himself into a political party capable of taking over and constructing a new society, because the capitalism of the birth and growth of America had become the capitalism of decay and collapse.

All the conditions were present for the development of a mass party in the American working class except one.

There was no conscious political party which could fight within the working class to build such a party.

Instead, there was the Communist Party which was now dominated by the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party in America emerged with tremendous strength in that period, with over 100,000 members and perhaps several million supporters, with control of at least one-third of the CIO.

The Communist Party used its influence to prevent the political development of the working class from developing further.

It sought to subordinate the workers to the Democratic Party, using the union apparatus to do this. In doing so, it reached back to all that was wrong and reactionary in the American past. It rested on all the backwardness in America, on all the antipolitical traditions and experiences of the American working class, and sought in that way to prevent development.

Today, this is a new period where a political party of the American working class can be built. It is different from the 1930s—the CP no longer has that stranglehold in the labor movement.

Our movement now is in a position and a struggle against these views to take forward what will be a new movement of the American working class toward political development.

There is nothing in the American labor movement today that can be solved without politics. There is nothing.

To go on strike for a wage gain is against the law. Even if workers get the wage increase, because of government policies, it is taken away with inflation.

There cannot be any fight back against that except through the construction of a political party of the working class. The need for a labor party comes out of the crisis itself. It is demanded by the objective conditions which are not the conditions of expansion and development of the past, which allowed the working class to be dominated by middle class movements.

But the American working class will develop itself politically only to the extent that the political development is fought for consciously against those who seek to divert it, to impose on the working class their own thinking in an abstract way like the old utopians and formalists.

That is the role of the twice-weekly Bulletin and of the Workers League. We must develop that movement within the working class in a conscious struggle against every force that seeks to hold it back, to develop what is objectively necessary now—a leap in the history of the American working class, the negation of the negation, through the building of a political movement of the American working class.

LABOR TODAY

The State And George Meany

"In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms.

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."—Leon Trotsky on Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay.

MIAMI BEACH—Hours before the AFL-CIO Convention opened, the Executive Council met and announced the appointment of WJ Usery as director of the Department of Organization and Field Services, the second most powerful position in the AFL-CIO.

Many here are now speculating that Usery is now in a position to take Meany's place as president of the AFL-CIO. What makes this development more than the usual power politics in the trade union bureaucracy is the fact that William Usery is a leading adviser to Richard Nixon and plans to remain in the administration until January.

At the very time when Richard Nixon is preparing the most brutal attacks on the trade unions and is seeking to drive down wages and destroy democratic rights, the labor bureaucrats appoint a top administration official to one of the highest positions in the AFL-CIO.

This appointment reveals the tremendous dangers facing the working class. Because Meany and the entire labor bureaucracy will not lead a political fight against Nixon through the building of a labor party, they move openly to tie the working class and its trade union organizations directly to the government.

Meany's collaboration with Nixon is no longer simply a question of the old compromise and sellout. The labor bureaucracy is now heading in the direction of the corporate state, actually attempting to transform the trade unions into organs of the government.

This is what is behind the appointment of Usery, a man with absolutely no roots in the working class or the labor movement. He is a Nixon functionary who has been elevated into the leadership of the AFL-CIO by the bureaucracy.

The early proceedings of the AFL-CIO Convention illustrate what Trotsky meant when he wrote that the trade union bureaucracy seeks to preserve its own interests by transforming the organizations of the working class into "secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism..."

Circulating at this convention is Meany's ferocious demand for American intervention in the Middle East, in which he wired Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: "In so critical a moment, no nation must be allowed to doubt, even for a second, where the United States stands."

Meany is openly attempting to place the trade union movement at the service of Nixon's preparations to crush the revolutionary movement of Arab workers in preparation for destroying the rights of workers in this country.

Defense Secretary and former CIA head James Schlesinger has addressed the convention. This is the man who played a central role in preparing the fascist coup in Chile that has led to the destruction of every trade union in that country and to the deaths of thousands of workers and youth.

Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy are leading the labor movement down the road of Chile. In these policies, they are supported by the Communist Party which, for all its criticisms of Meany, agree with him on the central issue of the political independence of the working class.

The CP opposes the building of a labor party. The CP agrees with Meany that the trade unions must function within the limits set by the big business politicians of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

While Meany invites to the AFL-CIO Convention the representatives of Nixon and the leaders of the military and the CIA, the Stalinists of the CP supported Allende when he invited the military and the secret police into the Chilean government.

The independence of the trade unions and the democratic rights of its members can be fought for only by those who will lead a political struggle against Nixon and the capitalist system which today must drive the working class back into defeat in order to survive.

It is for this reason that workers must turn toward Marxism and construct a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions around the fight for a mass labor party.

bruce mckay

International Harvester

'This Strike Is About Slavery'

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO—"Everything we get, we are going to have to fight for. They might as well get used to it because it might be a long, long, strike."

This was the sentiment all along the picket line as the UAW members of International Harvester walked out on Thursday. The walkout idled 40,500 nationwide and closed the huge tractor works, a parts plant, parts depots, and even an engineering center in Harvester's headquarters in Chicago.

The workers face a vicious drive by Harvester to take away key contract provisions as the agricultural equipment giant prepares for a period of serious production to get maximum profits during the world-wide agricultural crisis.

Bulletin reporters spoke to United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists pickets at the Pullman Works Parts Plant in Chicago's South Side, as they built a fire to prepare for a night

of picketing in the 40-degree cold.

One worker explained that Harvester's attempt to destroy the stewards system was of crucial importance.

"They want the stewards out so they can do what they want. It is the steward who calls the zone man in from the union when you have a grievance and he explains what happened.

"How is he going to tell what happened if they have him working? The foreman wants the steward working because the foreman can tell the zone man anything, or even buy him a cup of coffee and tell him to forget about it."

OVERTIME

This worker who has 27 years of experience in the Chicago area Harvester plant also was angered by Harvester's attempt to impose compulsory overtime, patterned on the Chrysler

plan.

"The old-timers, they cannot be working 12 hours; they will drop dead. And that is just what they want. Then they can pay the family \$10,000 and just cross him off the list. It is one less pension to pay—that is what it means to them."

Another worker said: "This strike is about slavery, and we fought that one out a long time ago. We had a meeting with our officials this morning and we told them what we want.

"First make sure we keep our freedom and our stewards, then get us some money and you better not try to fool with the cost of living. It is not going to be short like at Chrysler. Come on out here on Christmas Eve and we will all sing songs together."

A younger worker said: "We are working on the contract for Russia, and there is a lot less to do. With the strike, we will be behind so they want to make sure they can force us to work over when we go back.

"Harvester has a lot of plants overseas. There is cheap labor there and the benefits are not like the ones we have here.

"That is what they would like to see; they would like to knock us back. But I cannot see going backwards; that is not progress.

"Harvester is stubborn, but we are too."

Many of the men spoke about the strike deadline at Ford a week away. One said: "Woodcock would like to clear this up and get back to Detroit.

"But if Chrysler can push the UAW around and Harvester gets away with it too, no auto worker will have anything left."

Later, reporters spoke to a young Ford worker at the Torrence Avenue Ford plant about three miles from the Pullman works.

"I was thinking about them while I was working tonight. If they hang in there through the whole week, we might just run a picket line clear from here to there next Friday night."

St. Louis Chrysler Ranks

Vote Down National Deal

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Chrysler auto workers at the Fenton Truck plant near St. Louis announced a strike deadline for 9 am Thursday, October 25 to settle the local agreement.

The 3500 truckline workers, members of United Auto Workers Local 110, rejected the Woodcock sellout of the national contract by over 60 percent. The major issues remaining to be settled involved the thousands of unresolved grievances, seniority rights, and the intolerable disregard for safety. One worker reported: "There are thousands of grievances and nothing ever happens."

At the same time as the wildcat strikes break out at numerous Chrysler plants across the country, the national strike deadline for Ford plants here is tentatively set for Friday, October 26. In St. Louis the 3000

members of UAW Local 325 would be involved.

One Ford worker reported: "I think the contract Chrysler got was lousy. Woodcock has said he is not going to demand more than the Chrysler wage settlement. The best thing that could happen would be for the whole UAW to walk out Friday and shake the government up. Then they would be forced to drop the 5.5 percent."

A national auto strike can scrap Woodcock's three percent wage settlement and fight for a contract to keep up with the rising cost of living. The fight must be taken into all UAW locals now.

Wildcat Threat At Ford Plant

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT, Oct. 19—Threats of wildcat by Ford workers against dangerous working conditions at the new Flat Rock Casting Center has thrown new snags into the UAW International leadership's plans for a quick settlement at Ford, and prepares the way for a national strike by Ford workers October 26.

These rebellions in the UAW are not only a blow against the plans of the company to increase productivity through forced overtime and dangerous productivity techniques, but are a blow against Woodcock's Chrysler contract.

A special meeting was held

Friday between UAW officials and Ford management to avert a strike at Flat Rock. John Nixon, a 20-year old Flat Rock worker who was recently hospitalized for two and one half weeks for third degree facial burns received at the casting center, told reporters of the frequent furnace explosions—called "flame-outs"—which caused his injuries.

Waving his badly scarred hand Nixon said: "The place is unsafe."

The new computer controlled Flat Rock plant which produces engine blocks and casting has six giant electric arc furnaces which replace the old foundry at the River Rouge complex. Seventy-five workers in the past year were burned at the new facility and over 100 flame-outs have occurred in the past six months.

MOLTEN METAL

Flame-outs occur when metal builds up on the sides and the ceiling of the furnaces collapse

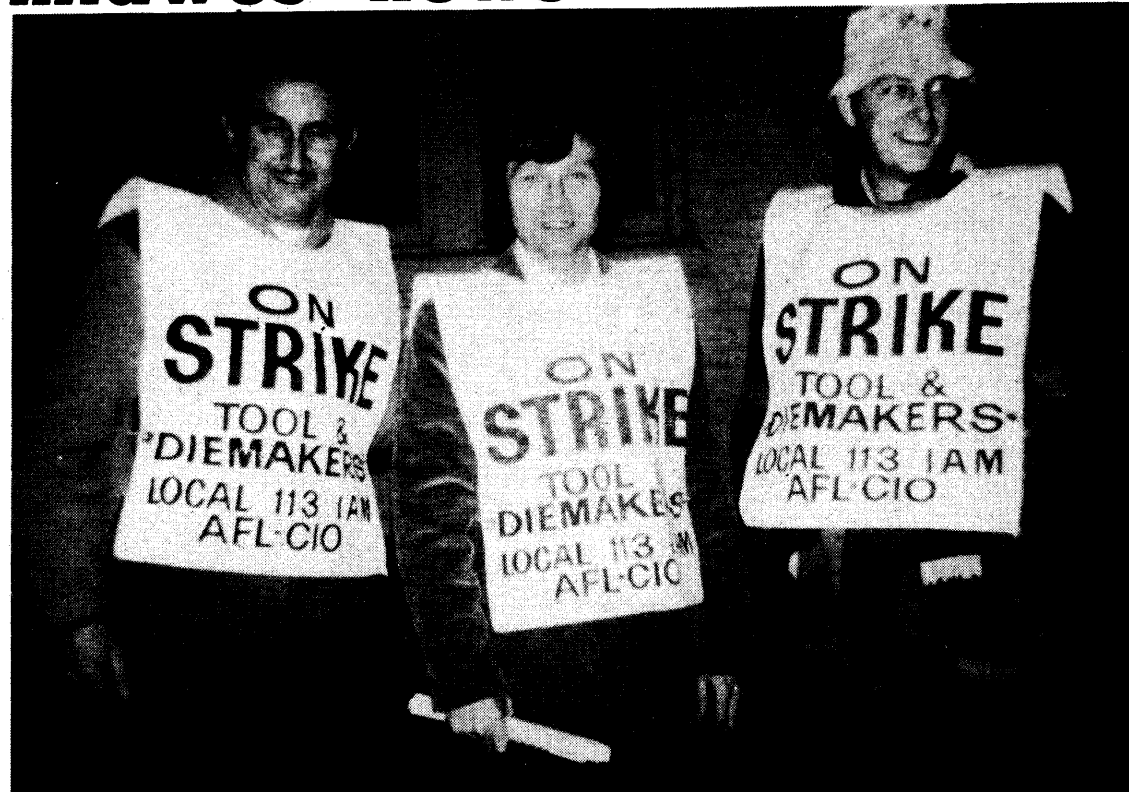
into molten metal at the furnace bottom, sending molten metal and 50 foot flames out of the furnace door.

Workers who must take samples from the furnaces are often caught by the explosive blast. Casting workers are demanding modifications in the new techniques or a return to the old foundry production. David Mundy, president of the Michigan Casting unit of UAW Local 600, said at the press briefing that the men have often come close to "taking matters into their own hands."

CRIPPLE

A strike at Flat Rock will cripple Ford production. The new productivity drive behind the attacks on casting workers is part and parcel of the drive by the corporations to push workers back through wage freezes, speedup and open attacks on the union. Every struggle of workers today is a struggle against this concerted attack by the government.

midwest news



UAW workers from International Harvester received support from IAM, tool and die makers Lodge 113.

Ohio Teachers Fined \$71,200

BY A REPORTER

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Teachers and other school employees here have been hit with fines totaling \$71,200 after refusing to obey two injunctions ordering an end to their 22-day strike last month.

The 1000 member Youngstown Education Association (YEA) was fined \$50,000, Local 1143 of the Public School Employees Union was fined \$15,000, PSEU Local 1143-A was fined \$5000, and five craft unions supporting the strike will have to pay a total of \$1200.

"The school board tried to divide us to break us, and now they are trying to break us financially," Local 1143 President George Phillips said.

Mahoning County Common Pleas Judge Clyde W. Osborne deliberately used the fines as a punishment for the strike, saying in court he would "find each individual who stayed away from the classroom guilty" if he could, and telling the YEA it should raise the money by assessing each member \$50.

"The judge made the fine \$50,000 because he knew they could not possibly come up with the money and would have to take it out of the teachers' pay-

checks. The law said he could not fine every one of them and he wanted to find some way to punish them," a source close to Osborne told the Bulletin.

CLASSES IN MARXISM

MARXISM IN AMERICA

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

CLEVELAND

SAT. OCT. 27
East Cleveland YMCA
1831 Lee Blvd. (cor. Lee Blvd. & Euclid Ave.)
4:00 p.m.

DAYTON

FRI. OCT. 26
Downtown YMCA
Triangle Room
117 W. Monument
7:30 p.m.

CHICAGO

TUES. OCT. 23
Midland Hotel
Oak Room
172 W. Adams
7:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS

WED. OCT. 24
Peacock Alley
Community Center
75 N. Ewing
7:30 p.m.

DETROIT

THURS. OCT. 25
King Solomon Church
14th and Marquette
7:00 p.m.

CLASSES ON MARXISM

In New York City for trade unionists
•Historical Materialism
•Dialectical Materialism —Marxist Theory of Knowledge
•Theory & Practice of Marxism
•Role of the Revolutionary Party
THURSDAYS
7:30 p.m.

BRONX: 1025 Gerard Ave. Apt. 3J
BROOKLYN: 631 Ashford St.

CLASES DE MARXISMO

Nueva York
•1era—Materialismo Histórico
•2nda—Estrategia Revolucionaria
las clases comenzarán 23 de Octubre
7 p.m.
135 Oeste de la calle 14. (7mo piso)

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

Rubber Workers Jailed For Picketing

BY A REPORTER

BARBERTOWN, Ohio—Twenty rubber workers were arrested Thursday morning and forced to spend a night in jail for defying a court injunction that limits picketing outside the Seiberling Rubber and Tire plant here.

On strike since September 30, workers set up a massive picket line outside the plant and then padlocked the main gate to prevent the company from moving loaded trucks out.

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

When the police arrived to cut through the chains and padlocks, hundreds of workers formed a human chain to stop the company's trucks. They

The workers also refused to let

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

When the police arrived to cut through the chains and padlocks, hundreds of workers formed a human chain to stop the company's trucks. They

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

When the police arrived to cut through the chains and padlocks, hundreds of workers formed a human chain to stop the company's trucks. They

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

GM 'Sabotage' Charge Aimed At Militants

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS—Just weeks before contract negotiations are to take place between the United Automobile Workers and General Motors, officials at the GMAD plant here have announced their plans to bring down indictments on workers for alleged incidences of fire bombings and sabotage.

The St. Louis Circuit Attorney has been called in to investigate the reported criminal acts.

One worker told the Bulletin that he felt that this action by GM was an attempt to get rid of workers who might give them trouble during contract talks. Another reported that he thought it was just a scare tactic on the part of the company.

During September, numerous cases of arson took place in the plant. Fires were started in waste baskets. The worst took place in the cushion room and caused \$40,000 worth of damage and caused workers on the car line to be sent home early.

The UAW Local 25 leadership, which has been silent on doing anything about the conditions at the plant, has said nothing about the investigations and possibility of indictments.

In spite of the local taking four strike votes during the past year, the International UAW leadership has never sanctioned a strike. In fact, Irving Bluestone, UAW vice-president GMAD division, came to St. Louis last month at company expense to speak at a special meeting of auto workers on the second shift warning them not to start fires or commit acts of sabotage. The workers were paid overtime by the company to attend.

GM has been using "sabotage" to attack the workers for over a year. For most of last winter, the second shift at this plant, which employs over 9000 workers, worked less than 20 hours a week because they were sent home early without sub pay for would-be acts of sabotage.

Many of the things that GM calls sabotage, such as ripped seats, are nothing more than accidents that occur when the workers are faced with more jobs than they can handle.

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

When the police arrived to cut through the chains and padlocks, hundreds of workers formed a human chain to stop the company's trucks. They

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

When the police arrived to cut through the chains and padlocks, hundreds of workers formed a human chain to stop the company's trucks. They

several management personnel walk through their picket line to leave the plant.

IBEW Drops Fight At Western Electric

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO—One hundred and fifty workers at Western Electric's Hawthorne Works here were forced back into the shop last week, after the company threatened to fire them, and IBEW Local 1859 officials refused to defend their six-day strike action.

The workers, cable twisters from all three shifts, first walked out on Monday, October 8 to protest new productivity rates.

They returned to work at the union's urging, but walked out again on Wednesday, demanding that rates of production be returned to their original level.

According to one of the strikers: "We have the same machines, but now the company wants more production with less operators. The operators that were working in our department were transferred to other departments."

The strikers also demanded better medical facilities because

of the high accident rate in the department which twists cables for telephone lines and winds them onto huge spools.

The United Workers at Western Electric, which led the strike action, returned to the plant after it became clear that the union would not take any action to defend the 150 jobs. The strikers had widespread support in the plant, even though some 1100 workers were laid off because of the lack of cable production.

As one worker told the Bulletin: "The whole plant is unsafe, and we are all working harder. The union knew we all were willing to go out and back up these men."

Wildcat Hits Lordstown

LORDSTOWN, Oct. 18—Workers on the Vega production line at General Motors Corporation here walked off the job today in an unauthorized strike, the company said.

The walkout of 2800 first shift production workers came shortly after four hooded pickets were arrested at the plant gate.

Sources said the pickets were protesting 30-day suspensions handed down to several UAW committeemen.

books

Footnotes Against Trotsky

by Tim Wohlforth

The publication of the Trotsky Writings series by Pathfinder, the publishing house associated with the Socialist Workers Party, has been a major literary contribution to the Trotskyist movement.

Despite our well-known political differences with the backers of Pathfinder, we wish to express our appreciation for their efforts in this regard. The series is generally very well edited and documented and particularly recently has included much very rare material originally translated by the Pathfinder staff.

However, we must launch a protest for a tendency, expressed particularly in the recent volumes, to introduce in the form of footnotes distortions and what amounts to political polemics against Trotsky. After all, the Trotskyist movement has had to suffer with Stalinist footnotes in Lenin's works published by Moscow publishing houses too long to look at such matters lightly.

In some of the articles, originally written for internal discussion bulletins, found in Writings (1932-33) and in Writings (1932), Trotsky expressed his disagreements with the leadership of the American section, particularly James P. Cannon.

What was involved was Trotsky's intervention in two internal disputes in that period. The first involved Max Shachtman and the second involved B.J. Field.

Middle Class

In both cases, the same question was involved—the relationship of Cannon to middle class and intellectual sections of his party. It is clear from Trotsky's interventions that he felt Cannon tended to act factionally and impatiently, thus avoiding the necessary struggle to seek to change such elements and in the course of this struggle, theoretically develop the party as a whole.

In a criticism of both the Cannon faction and Shachtman faction in a dispute which broke out in 1932, Trotsky wrote:

"In the impatient organizational maneuvers which in a disruptive fashion are agitating the entire League by bringing prejudices to bear upon each group separately, it is impossible not to see the harmful influence of the methods and the procedure of the epigone Comintern, which has accustomed an entire generation to seek a way out of all sorts of difficulties through apparatus combinations at the expense of the whole organization."

Then, in a later article Trotsky specifically took up Cannon:

"It also seemed to me that the majority, as the leading faction in the central committee, showed a certain impatience and attempted to apply organizational measures which, without giving permanent results, could not help but sharpen the conflict."

A footnote then adds additional information on Trotsky's criticisms of Cannon supplied by B.J. Field. But it then goes further to quote from Cannon on the issue from his lectures in 1942 on American Trotskyism. Cannon stated that the faction fights of that period:

"...Were not fully compre-

hensible to the membership because the great political issues which were implicit in them had not yet broke through.

"However, they were not mere personal quarrels, as they so often appeared to be, but, as is now quite clear to all, the premature rehearsal of the great, definitive struggle of 1939-40 between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois tendencies without our movement."

Comprehensible

It is clear from Trotsky that the "great political issues" were not fully comprehensible to Cannon as well as the membership. The truth is that in 1942, Cannon falsified this important early chapter in the history of the American Trotskyist movement because he was already in a retreat from what the 1940 fight posed.

To Cannon, the 1940 fight was simply a fight between working class members of the party and petty-bourgeois members of the party. He projected this outlook back in the history of the Trotskyist movement seeing two distinct class tendencies from the very origins of the movement.

He concluded that as long as a sufficient number of comrades in the party were involved in the unions, the split with the petty-bourgeois wing of the party would be "definitive." But in 1953, it was primarily from the proletarian strata of the party that a liquidationist tendency arose.

Trotsky in *In Defense of Marxism* traces the roots of the Shachtman tendency only to 1937. Of course, there is a connection between the Shachtman faction of 1932 and that of 1939. But it is not simply a linear connection of a permanent petty-bourgeois faction.

The dispute broke out in 1932 because of the inability of Cannon to break down the divisions within the party, to train trade unionists as Marxists, as well as to break middle class sections from the middle class. Trotsky's intervention at the time broke down the factional lines and allowed for a period of common collaboration within the leadership.

Qualitative

However, the new factional struggle in 1939 showed that this period, allowing for important party work to proceed, did not change anything fundamental in the qualitative development of the party's cadre.

This is why in 1940 Trotsky raised the level of the discussion beyond a mere labeling of the minority opposition as petty-bourgeois to an explanation of its method as pragmatic.

Then, after the 1940 fight, in a series of discussions with the Cannon leadership, he began to probe its pragmatism in its trade union work.

The new split in 1953 showed that the lessons were not learned and the reunification in 1963 with the petty-bourgeois Pabloite tendency shows that nothing was learned from 1953.

Our concern with this matter of footnotes should now be clear. When we are dealing with party history, even the smallest distortion is of the greatest importance.

To Be Continued

Local 10 Dockers Vote Action On Guarantee

BY A REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A motion was passed at the Thursday night meeting of International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 to hold the next meeting as a stop-work meeting, closing the port for 24 hours.

For the first time since the 1971 to 1972 strike, the bulk of the local's more than 2000 members will meet to decide how to fight the Pacific Maritime Association and the National Labor Relations Board.

The Local 10 leadership claims that the widespread failure to pay the guarantee is due to "misinterpretation" by the employers, and that the union must pressure them to reprogram their computers to get the guarantee payments.

CHILEAN CARGO

No motion to ban Chilean cargo was introduced at the meeting.

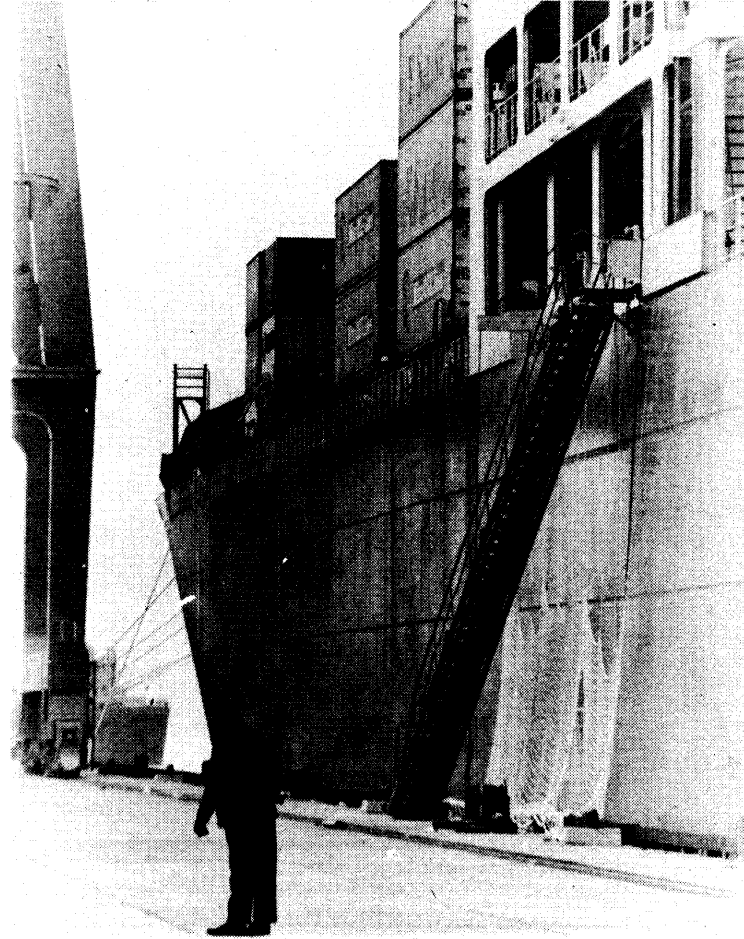
ILWU Legislative Coordinator Dave Jenkins, who earlier had announced he would make the proposal, did not attend.

Jenkins told the Bulletin Thursday afternoon that he would make the resolution. Local officials made no explanation for his not appearing.

Communist Party members at the meeting made no attempt to introduce the proposal or even to begin a discussion on Chile.

The turnout of 200 longshoremen was far short of the 500 quorum, although the leadership had claimed the meeting would be decisive in getting out "the bugs in the pay guarantee."

One young docker told the Bulletin: "There is no confidence in the leadership. That is why there is no quorum. Nobody



Dockers' pay guarantee, to compensate for unemployment caused by container ships (above) is being withheld by employers.

trusts anybody. We feel like we cannot do anything."

One older longshoreman said about the Chilean resolution: "I fought two years in Spain. I would tie Chile in 60 knots if I could, but we will never do it

with that phony we have got on top selling us down the river."

The motion to ban Chilean cargo must be taken up at the next meeting as part of the political fight against the Nixon government.

editorial Alliance Against Chile Workers

A resolution scheduled to be placed before the membership of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union at the October 18 meeting calling for the ILWU to ban all goods to the junta was never put forward.

The sponsor, Dave Jenkins, legislative coordinator of the ILWU, failed to show at the meeting.

The burying of this resolution was not just the work of Bridges and the ILWU bureaucracy. The Stalinists not only did not raise it at the meeting, they helped to squelch it.

The October 13 issue of the People's World, West Coast organ of the Communist Party, did not even print Jenkins's statement, given out at a press conference, that such a resolution was forthcoming.

Instead, it had Jenkins merely speculating that action might be taken if a ship from Chile were to dock in the Bay Area.

Archie Brown, a long-time CP supporter and a trustee of Local 10, when asked if he would propose a motion to ban Chilean goods, replied: "You have got to get the labor movement to back this thing, and then we will lead it."

The Local 10 bulletin, which was distributed for the meeting and which Brown edits, made no mention of Jenkins's resolution.

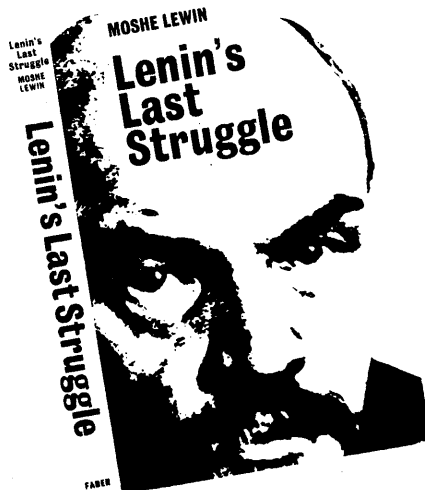
The American Stalinists have come rushing to the aid of the junta by sabotaging the direct threat to its rule on the part of American workers.

Just as the Stalinists sabotaged the struggle of the Chilean workers for power, so in the United States they oppose any independent mobilization of the working class.

The Communist Party is the most conscious opponent of the independence of the working class, which must be achieved now through the construction of a labor party.

Out of Print-Limited Stock

Available!



Lenin's Last Struggle by Moshe Lewin \$4.25

From the end of 1922 to March 1923 Lenin—paralyzed and confined to his room—began the struggle against the growing Soviet bureaucracy. This book based on material released in the Soviet Union in the last decade completely documents Lenin's fight against Stalin and his turn to Trotsky for support in the struggle. A devastating exposure of the Stalinist falsifications of this period.

Order from: Labor Publications, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011

west coast news

Court To Jail Sears Strikers

BY ANN LORE

BURLINGAME, Calif.—A Bay Area meeting of over 150 striking Teamsters, retail clerks, and machinists from Sears was held to discuss further action in the eight-week old strike.

This strike has been met with a continuous barrage of attacks by the courts and police. It was reported at the meeting by Jack Goldberger, president of the Joint Council of Teamsters for the Bay Area, that the "San Francisco Grand Jury has had its length extended from 18 to 24 months for the purpose of jailing striking union leaders who violate injunctions against picketing in Bay Area strikes."

A tactical squad is now present at the Sears warehouse in Santa Clara and some Sears strikers have begun to be picked up by the police around the Bay Area.

These political attacks and the movement of the ranks to fight for the union have produced deep splits in the bureaucracy.

Einar Mohn, president of the Western Conference of Teamsters, came under heavy attack at the meeting. One Teamster reported that non-striking Teamsters had been told to cross the picket line by their local leadership and 10 of them kicked down Mohn's door to find out why. His response was that the Sears strike was stupid and that the unions could not win it.

Goldberger joined in the denouncement of Mohn. But Goldberger and other bureaucrats posing as lefts by attacking Mohn refuse to shut down the city and take on Nixon.

In response to Mohn's open treachery, they are proposing a long series of protests to dissipate the militancy of the ranks. Already this week, 13 drivers and 6 helpers of Local 287 decided to go back to work in Santa Clara. Now, only further protests are being planned.

Walter Johnson, Secretary of Local 1100 of the retail clerks, announced that on Wednesday at 3:00 at the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union clerks hall a major protest would be put forward by the Ad Hoc Labor Committee.

Such a demonstration should be called, but the ranks must insist that it not be another in an endless round of protests which can only disarm the workers and help Nixon in his attempt to break the unions.

This demonstration must be the opening of a Bay Area strike of all Teamsters to shut down all trucking in the Bay Area and the first step in the calling of a Congress of Labor.

Oregon Governor Asks School Closure

BY A PORTLAND TEACHER

PORTLAND—The closing down of all Oregon grade and high schools for one month has been asked by Governor Tom McCall in response to the Northwest power crisis.

McCall has suggested that the lost school days could be made up by eliminating the spring vacation, forcing teachers and students to go six months without any vacation. He also proposed that the school year be extended into the summer.

Portland teachers who were interviewed by the Bulletin oppose this scheme.

A high school teacher said: "It is hard enough to get hired for a job when you can work only 3 months. If teachers only had two months to work in the summer, it would make it impossible."

Other teachers said they were worried about an extended year preventing them from attending necessary college courses.

The teacher organizations in the state have refused to initiate any defense of teachers and students against the school closure proposal.

A spokesman from the Portland Federation of Teachers told the Bulletin: "Further study is needed. Alternatives should be

investigated. Why not close all schools, not just elementary and secondary schools? Why pick on just schools? What about industries closing?"

A Portland Association of Teachers spokesman suggested they close down all state offices instead of the schools. He refused to say whether the PAT leadership would fight the proposed shutdown.

While the present teacher contract with the Portland school board provides 190 paid work days and specifies the summer closing date, McCall insists that these contracts should be renegotiated.

When the PFT spokesman was asked about teachers not being paid if the schools were shut down one month, he said: "There is that possibility."

The last two school years in the Portland district were cut short because of budget shortages. Portland teachers must insist that the PAT and PFT stand firm against any school closure.



Rudy Sulenta, UAW Local 216 in Southgate, speaks at meeting in Los Angeles to greet the twice-weekly Bulletin. Over 75 workers and youth attended. Full report on West Coast meetings in weekend issue.

Harvester Men Reject Chrysler-Style Pact

BY TED BAKER

SAN LEANDRO—Hundreds of men at the San Leandro International Harvester plant walked off the job Thursday along with thousands at International Harvester plants across the country.

International Harvester, one of the world's largest producers of farm machinery and trucks, is continuing the offensive against the United Auto Workers begun by Chrysler.

The strike was forced by International Harvester, despite the willingness of the UAW leadership to accept a contract along the lines of the Chrysler settlement. The president, vice-president, and leading committeemen of Local 76 in San Leandro all expressed their support of the Woodcock sellout deal with Chrysler.

Leaders of Local 76 refused to comment on the state of negotiations with International Harvester.

Local 76 members who spoke to the Bulletin were all opposed to the Chrysler deal becoming the pattern for the rest of the UAW.

One young member of Local 76 described the situation: "Alvin Edwards (president of the local) and the others are telling us that all that matters is International Harvester. But if the UAW accepted three percent in Chrysler, it will try to do the same here."

"Most of the other men think that because we are out we are going to get what we want. But Edwards and our executive will not even tell us exactly what the negotiators are trying to get."

"Everyone is mad about the overtime, and they tell us we are going to get rid of compulsory overtime, that it is the main thing. But no one has said a word on how much money we are going to get."

The Local 76 leadership, supporting Woodcock down the

line, is doing everything to keep the International Harvester strike isolated from the rest of the UAW, and to prevent a

nationwide strike of the UAW to break out of the Chrysler pattern and take on the government pay controls.

Milpitas Ford Stockpiles In Preparation For Strike

BY BARRY GREY

MILPITAS—At the Ford plant in Milpitas, both the company and the Local 560 membership are gearing for a strike.

Since last Monday, the men have been working 10-hour shifts.

Although the local leadership denies the company is stockpiling in preparation for a strike, one Local 560 member told the Bulletin: "We have never worked 10 hours. We are just building cars now for storage, there are some 23,000 units al-

ready." Mat Mora, president of Local 560, told the Bulletin that the Ford ranks must accept the three percent wage pattern set by Chrysler, a huge cut in real wages in the face of soaring prices.

Mora said: "If the government says you can only get so much that is all they are going to give you."

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

Bulletin

NEW RATES! \$1.00 for 2 months
 \$3.00 for 6 months
 \$6.00 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011

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 —

Alternativa En Latinoamérica

La rápida agudización de la crisis capitalista mundial les presenta a la clase obrera internacional la preparación para la toma del poder. Vivimos en una época de guerras y revoluciones. Chile y el Medio Oriente son claro ejemplo de ello.

La lucha por un liderato revolucionario en el movimiento obrero es la tarea principal del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional. Esta es la lucha que sólo hoy la Liga Comunista en el Perú lleva a cabo en América Latina.

La lucha que llevarán dentro del seno del Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR) en contra del centrismo y capitulación de este frente al espontaneísmo de las masas tiene su culminación con la creación de la Liga Comunista en julio del 1972.

Desde su fundación la Liga Comunista empezó la publicación de su semanario **Comunismo**. A través de su periódico, ellos han expuesto los planes gorilas de la Junta Militar encabezada por Velasco. Esto le ha ganado el odio acérrimo de la burguesía la cual en mayo de este año ha desatado una campaña de represión en contra de nuestros camaradas, arrestando al liderato y destruyendo su prensa.

Hoy, luego de cuatro meses de la destrucción de su prensa y la encarcelación de sus líderes, **Comunismo** es un periódico bisemanal. Esto ha sido posible por el apoyo que la clase obrera peruana a prestado al único partido que defiende sus derechos. En estos momentos nuestros camaradas se encuentran bajo fianza, en espera de un juicio militar.

La lucha que se desarrolló en el seno del Comité Internacional, a raíz de los sucesos en Bolivia, en contra de la posición antidialéctica y oportunista de la sección francesa, Organización Internacional Comunista (OCI), trajo como secuela la preparación de los cuadros que luego formarían la Liga Comunista.

El Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (SWP) con su capitulación al pablismo hace una década atrás, liquidó en Latinoamérica, en particular en la Argentina y Chile, cualquier liderato marxista.

Ha sido la lucha por los principios marxistas que ha llevado a cabo el Comité Internacional basado en la época de crisis del capitalismo, la que ha preparado en América Latina un liderato marxista que sea capaz de llevar a la clase obrera al poder.

La Liga Comunista se desarrolla en un período de honda crisis capitalista y cuando la clase obrera internacional se halla a la ofensiva en contra los ataques del capitalismo. Velasco llega al poder a través de un golpe de estado militar en el 1968, un año antes de las elecciones generales en el país. Una coalición "Unidad de Izquierdas" liderada por el Partido Comunista se perfilaba como el seguro triunfador en el 1969.

El Partido Comunista señala en su manifiesto del cuatro de octubre, bajo el título "El pueblo rechaza el golpe militar" donde dice: "Aunque por las circunstancias en que se produce (el golpe militar) aparece orientado a frustrar las pretensiones electorales del Apra, su principal objetivo está enfocado a cerrar el paso a las fuerzas democráticas y nacionalistas del país en el pleno ascenso y con perspectivas de victoria para el 1969."

El golpe militar se convierte de la noche a la mañana en una revolución de acuerdo con el PC, luego de la demagógica toma de los yacimientos petrolíferos de Talara por los militares el 9 de octubre. Este es el principio de la capitulación de los stalinistas frente a los militares.

El hecho de que los stalinistas entregaron su apoyo entusiasta al gobierno, sólo se explica por su política internacional de colaboración con la burguesía. La clase obrera peruana, después de la descomposición de la Confederación de Trabajadores del Perú, bajo el liderato del aprismo (socialdemócratas) se lanza en busca de una nueva alternativa y crea a mediados de los sesentas la Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos (CGTP) influenciada por el Partido Comunista.

Es a este avance de los trabajadores a quien los stalinistas le teme. Buscará cualquier oportunidad para detenerlo; Velasco le ofrece esa oportunidad.

Esta clara bancarrota del stalinismo les abre las puertas a Velasco para instrumentar medidas represivas en contra de los sindicatos y los campesinos. A través de la "Comunidades Industriales" el gobierno trata de corporar los sindicatos bajo el control del estado.

Esta medida tiene por fin la destrucción de la democracia sindical y trae el desempleo masivo, la baja en los salarios y mina los sindicatos. En el último congreso de la CGTP, los stalinistas trataron de pasar la moción de que la CGTP cooperase con el gobierno en implementar esta medida de corporación. Fue abiertamente derrotada por los miembros. Esto fue posible por la campaña de la Liga Comunista en contra de la política de colaboración de los stalinistas.

La corporación de los sindicatos y la participación de estos en la gestión de las empresas, es lo que en Chile, Pinochet (la cabeza de la junta fascista) ha propuesto como programa de gobierno.

Lo que preparan los stalinistas en Perú es otro Chile, a través de su colaboración con los militares. La Liga Comunista lleva una lucha sin cuartel en contra de estos traidores y prepara a través de esta lucha a la clase obrera en la toma del poder.

Continuará en la edición del jueves.

Watergate Report Blasts Nixon Plot

BY BRUCE MCKAY
BAL HARBOUR,
Fla.—A special report on Watergate prepared by the AFL-CIO and released at its convention reveals just what sort of administration working people now face:

"...When the people who head the government systematically break the law they are supposed to administer, there can be no democracy," the report said.

"In the final analysis, all of the rights of citizens are dependent upon one right: the right to choose and dismiss their government. That is their ultimate defense against the government that seeks to diminish their liberties.

"To the degree that right is tampered with, to that degree are all the other rights placed in jeopardy and to that degree we have begun a long, dark journey into another kind of America, in which the President, bypassing Constitutional safeguards and the other branches of government, transforms the television tube into a modern functional equivalent of Mussolini's balconies."

The report itself made no recommendations for action and instead reaffirmed the faith of the labor bureaucracy in capitalist democracy; their "confidence in the democratic fabric of our society."

But at the same time, the report details Nixon's plot against the democratic rights of American workers, from the creation of the "plumbers" unit to Watergate to the coverup, and it documents how Nixon's campaign was illegally bankrolled by big business.

The document quotes Chicago



George Meany at the AFL-CIO Convention.

insurance tycoon W. Clement Stone, who has given 4.8 million dollars to Nixon's campaign since 1968, as telling a television interviewer:

"Everything is relative. With a family worth these days better than \$450 million, what's a million or two, particularly when you can change the course of history to principles for which you stand."

The solution put forward by the report and by an introduction by AFL-CIO President George Meany is "campaign spending reform," and continued support to the Democratic Party, which is also in the pockets of many of the big corporations that so lavishly financed Nixon's campaign.

While completely refusing to draw the necessary conclusion,

the report directly observes "that the present crisis is profoundly political..."

"It is not a crisis that can be confined to courts of law or left to specialists in constitutional interpretation to resolve. For the essence of the crisis is not the relationship of one passage of the Constitution to another, but the utter loss of public confidence, not merely in the policy, but in the integrity of the President of the United States. To put it bluntly, most Americans believe the President to be guilty of criminal conduct."

The present crisis is "profoundly political." It demands that the labor movement take immediate action to put forward a political solution. Its own solution, based on a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

MIDDLE EAST . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The Stalinist bureaucracies of both Moscow and Peking are rushing to Nixon's side to save imperialism from defeat.

Israel supports the cease-fire because its armies now face total annihilation on the battlefield.

The UN resolution is only aimed at granting Nixon a short breathing space to enable the US to rearm Israel and prepare a full-scale invasion of the Arab

countries and the seizure of the oil fields.

The Israeli forces on the west bank who are now completely surrounded by Egyptian troops would be used to launch this attack.

The stationing of the Sixth Fleet with thousands of marines and helicopter carriers in the Mediterranean and the establishing of an American air base at El Arish on the Sinai means that this attack could come at any moment.

Iraq has declared its opposition to the cease-fire. The Arab governments of Saudi Arabia, Libya and all oil producing countries have been forced to halt all oil shipments to the US because of the determination of the Arab workers and peasants to win all their land back.

The Arab workers and peasants of the Middle East who are now in a position to defeat Zionism after 25 years of oppression and exploitation will not give up now.

Nixon's moves towards dictatorship here go hand in hand with preparation for world war to impose dictatorship on the people of the colonial countries.

Defense of the Arab people means a fight to throw Nixon out now and build a Labor Party.

A resolution calling for the resignation of Nixon was unanimously approved Saturday by delegates of the 90,000 member District Council 7 of the International Union of Electricians, Radio, and Machine Workers.

The Council cited "sordid horrors of the Nixon administration" and urged appropriate steps to provide new nominations and a new election.

PROGRAMA DE TRANSICION



La Agonía del
Capitalismo Y Las
Tareas De La
Cuarta
Internacional
Leon Trotsky
\$0.50

El programa de transición fue escrito en el 1938 y es el documento sobre la cual la Cuarta Internacional se funda. Abarca toda la experiencia de organización del Partido Bolchevique.

Escriba hoy mismo por su catálogo gratis a:

Editorial Cuarta Internacional
Labor Publications- Editorial Obrera, 135 W. 14 St., N.Y. 10011

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

lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —

Alternativa En Latinoamérica

La rápida agudización de la crisis capitalista mundial les presenta a la clase obrera internacional la preparación para la toma del poder. Vivimos en una época de guerras y revoluciones. Chile y el Medio Oriente son claro ejemplo de ello.

La lucha por un liderato revolucionario en el movimiento obrero es la tarea principal del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional. Esta es la lucha que sólo hoy la Liga Comunista en el Perú lleva a cabo en América Latina.

La lucha que llevan dentro del seno del Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR) en contra del centrismo y capitulación de este frente al espontaneísmo de las masas tiene su culminación con la creación de la Liga Comunista en julio del 1972.

Desde su fundación la Liga Comunista empezó la publicación de su semanario **Comunismo**. A través de su periódico, ellos han expuesto los planes gorilas de la Junta Militar encabezada por Velasco. Esto le ha ganado el odio acérrimo de la burguesía la cual en mayo de este año ha desatado una campaña de represión en contra de nuestros camaradas, arrestando al liderato y destruyendo su prensa.

Hoy, luego de cuatro meses de la destrucción de su prensa y la encarcelación de sus líderes, **Comunismo** es un periódico bisemanal. Esto ha sido posible por el apoyo que la clase obrera peruana a prestado al único partido que defiende sus derechos. En estos momentos nuestros camaradas se encuentran bajo fianza, en espera de un juicio militar.

La lucha que se desarrolló en el seno del Comité Internacional, a raíz de los sucesos en Bolivia, en contra de la posición antidialéctica y oportunista de la sección francesa, Organización Internacional Comunista (OCI), trajo como secuela la preparación de los cuadros que luego formarían la Liga Comunista.

El Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (SWP) con su capitulación al pablismo hace una década atrás, liquidó en Latinoamérica, en particular en la Argentina y Chile, cualquier liderato marxista.

Ha sido la lucha por los principios marxistas que ha llevado a cabo el Comité Internacional basado en la época de crisis del capitalismo, la que ha preparado en América Latina un liderato marxista que sea capaz de llevar a la clase obrera al poder.

La Liga Comunista se desarrolla en un período de honda crisis capitalista y cuando la clase obrera internacional se halla a la ofensiva en contra los ataques del capitalismo. Velasco llega al poder a través de un golpe de estado militar en el 1968, un año antes de las elecciones generales en el país. Una coalición "Unidad de Izquierdas" liderada por el Partido Comunista se perfilaba como el seguro triunfador en el 1969.

El Partido Comunista señala en su manifiesto del cuatro de octubre, bajo el título "El pueblo rechaza el golpe militar" donde dice: "Aunque por las circunstancias en que se produce (el golpe militar) aparece orientado a frustrar las pretensiones electorales del Apra, su principal objetivo está enfocado a cerrar el paso a las fuerzas democráticas y nacionalistas del país en el pleno ascenso y con perspectivas de victoria para el 1969."

El golpe militar se convierte de la noche a la mañana en una revolución de acuerdo con el PC, luego de la demagógica toma de los yacimientos petrolíferos de Talara por los militares el 9 de octubre. Este es el principio de la capitulación de los stalinistas frente a los militares.

El hecho de que los stalinistas entregaron su apoyo entusiasta al gobierno, sólo se explica por su política internacional de colaboración con la burguesía. La clase obrera peruana, después de la descomposición de la Confederación de Trabajadores del Perú, bajo el liderato del aprismo (socialdemócratas) se lanza en busca de una nueva alternativa y crea a mediados de los sesentas la Confederación General de Trabajadores Peruanos (CGTP) influenciada por el Partido Comunista.

Es a este avance de los trabajadores a quien los stalinistas le teme. Buscará cualquier oportunidad para detenerlo; Velasco le ofrece esa oportunidad.

Esta clara bancarrota del stalinismo les abre las puertas a Velasco para instrumentar medidas represivas en contra de los sindicatos y los campesinos. A través de la "Comunidades Industriales" el gobierno trata de corporar los sindicatos bajo el control del estado.

Esta medida tiene por fin la destrucción de la democracia sindical y trae el desempleo masivo, la baja en los salarios y mina los sindicatos. En el último congreso de la CGTP, los stalinistas trataron de pasar la moción de que la CGTP cooperase con el gobierno en implementar esta medida de corporación. Fue abiertamente derrotada por los miembros. Esto fue posible por la campaña de la Liga Comunista en contra de la política de colaboración de los stalinistas.

La corporación de los sindicatos y la participación de estos en la gestión de las empresas, es lo que en Chile, Pinochet (la cabeza de la junta fascista) ha propuesto como programa de gobierno.

Lo que preparan los stalinistas en Perú es otro Chile, a través de su colaboración con los militares. La Liga Comunista lleva una lucha sin cuartel en contra de estos traidores y prepara a través de esta lucha a la clase obrera en la toma del poder.

Continuará en la edición del jueves.

Watergate Report Blasts Nixon Plot

BY BRUCE MCKAY
BAL HARBOUR,
Fla.—A special report on Watergate prepared by the AFL-CIO and released at its convention reveals just what sort of administration working people now face:

"...When the people who head the government systematically break the law they are supposed to administer, there can be no democracy," the report said. "In the final analysis, all of the rights of citizens are dependent upon one right: the right to choose and dismiss their government. That is their ultimate defense against the government that seeks to diminish their liberties.

"To the degree that right is tampered with, to that degree are all the other rights placed in jeopardy and to that degree we have begun a long, dark journey into another kind of America, in which the President, bypassing Constitutional safeguards and the other branches of government, transforms the television tube into a modern functional equivalent of Mussolini's balconies."

The report itself made no recommendations for action and instead reaffirmed the faith of the labor bureaucracy in capitalist democracy; their "confidence in the democratic fabric of our society."

But at the same time, the report details Nixon's plot against the democratic rights of American workers, from the creation of the "plumbers" unit to Watergate to the coverup, and it documents how Nixon's campaign was illegally bankrolled by big business.

The document quotes Chicago



George Meany at the AFL-CIO Convention.

insurance tycoon W. Clement Stone, who has given 4.8 million dollars to Nixon's campaign since 1968, as telling a television interviewer:

"Everything is relative. With a family worth these days better than \$450 million, what's a million or two, particularly when you can change the course of history to principles for which you stand."

The solution put forward by the report and by an introduction by AFL-CIO President George Meany is "campaign spending reform," and continued support to the Democratic Party, which is also in the pockets of many of the big corporations that so lavishly financed Nixon's campaign.

While completely refusing to draw the necessary conclusion,

the report directly observes "that the present crisis is profoundly political..."

"It is not a crisis that can be confined to courts of law or left to specialists in constitutional interpretation to resolve. For the essence of the crisis is not the relationship of one passage of the Constitution to another, but the utter loss of public confidence, not merely in the policy, but in the integrity of the President of the United States. To put it bluntly, most Americans believe the President to be guilty of criminal conduct."

The present crisis is "profoundly political." It demands that the labor movement take immediate action to put forward a political solution. Its own solution, based on a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

MIDDLE EAST . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The Stalinist bureaucracies of both Moscow and Peking are rushing to Nixon's side to save imperialism from defeat.

Israel supports the cease-fire because its armies now face total annihilation on the battlefield.

The UN resolution is only aimed at granting Nixon a short breathing space to enable the US to rearm Israel and prepare a full-scale invasion of the Arab

countries and the seizure of the oil fields.

The Israeli forces on the west bank who are now completely surrounded by Egyptian troops would be used to launch this attack.

The stationing of the Sixth Fleet with thousands of marines and helicopter carriers in the Mediterranean and the establishing of an American air base at El Arish on the Sinai means that this attack could come at any moment.

Iraq has declared its opposition to the cease-fire. The Arab governments of Saudi Arabia, Libya and all oil producing countries have been forced to halt all oil shipments to the US because of the determination of the Arab workers and peasants to win all their land back.

The Arab workers and peasants of the Middle East who are now in a position to defeat Zionism after 25 years of oppression and exploitation will not give up now.

Nixon's moves towards dictatorship here go hand in hand with preparation for world war to impose dictatorship on the people of the colonial countries.

Defense of the Arab people means a fight to throw Nixon out now and build a Labor Party.

A resolution calling for the resignation of Nixon was unanimously approved Saturday by delegates of the 90,000 member District Council 7 of the International Union of Electricians, Radio, and Machine Workers.

The Council cited "sordid horrors of the Nixon administration" and urged appropriate steps to provide new nominations and a new election.

PROGRAMA DE TRANSICION



La Agonía del
Capitalismo Y Las
Tareas De La
Cuarta
Internacional

Leon Trotsky
\$0.50

El programa de transición fue escrito en el 1938 y es el documento sobre la cual la Cuarta Internacional se funda. Abarca toda la experiencia de organización del Partido Bolchevique.

Escriba hoy mismo por su catálogo gratis a:

Labor Publications - Editorial Obrera, 135 W. 14 St., N.Y. 10011