

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER NINETEEN 294

MAY 14, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

RECOVER  
JUL 30 1976  
INSTITUTION

# AFL-CIO REFUSES TO ACT ON NIXON

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Weekly  
A Burning  
Necessity**

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Watergate exposes not only the weaknesses of the Nixon government but also its activity for over a long period aimed against the basic democratic rights and institutions of the American people. These basic rights, won in a war of independence against Britain in 1776 and extended in the bloody Civil War in 1861, are the product of and can only be defended by the American working class in struggle.

What Nixon did to the Democratic Party and to Daniel Ellsberg is only a foretaste of what he plans for American workers, the trade unions and militants in the next period. It is now against the law to strike for wages in excess of the figure set by the government.

Trade unions will be forced to defy this unjust law of an unrepresentative and corrupt government if the unions are to survive. At that, union leaders, union members, and socialists who fight for the labor movement will face far greater repression, frame-ups, conspiracies and physical attacks than Nixon has so far perpetrated.

Faced with this grave danger, everyone runs to cover up for Nixon. George Meany and the labor leadership refuse to campaign for his removal. The Democrats like Proxmire openly attack the press for what it has exposed already. This press, itself big business, reveals only a small portion of what it knows because it, too, fears the situation will get out of hand and that the

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Although the pact passed in Goodyear in spite of the Local 2 vote, Goodrich rubber workers, according to Local 5 Vice President Sanford Miller, "would never have accepted the same contract."

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BY BRUCE MCKAY

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With this opportunity to use the power of the organized working class to bring down Nixon's government and defeat his attacks on the unions, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy refused to seriously discuss Watergate at its Executive Council meeting last week. It simply proposed another investigation, this time conducted by a "citizens committee." Meanwhile, more evidence linking Nixon to the conspiracy comes to light every day.

It appears that former White House counsel John Dean III will be granted limited immunity from prosecution in order to enable him to testify before Senator Sam Ervin's special investigative committee.

Dean's accusation that Nixon personally knew about and approved of the massive cover up operation which followed the arrest of the seven Watergate burglars and which Dean himself supervised has deepened the already explosive political crisis gripping the White House. The question which journalists here are asking is: How long can Nixon hold out?

Politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties, as well as the corporate and banking magnates they serve, have been thrown into panic and confusion by the swelling tide of revelations. Every new disclosure reveals a broader and broader political conspiracy of which Watergate was only a part.

### ASSAULT

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# Civil War Shatters Truce In Lebanon

BY MELODY FARROW

Martial law was declared in Lebanon May 7 as full scale civil war broke out between the Palestine guerrillas and the Lebanese government of Suleiman Franjeh. The Lebanese Army steadily bombarded the main refugee camps near Beirut airport and many civilians have reportedly been killed.

On May 2, the Lebanese Army used tanks to shell the heavily populated Sabra district in Beirut, killing hundreds of civilians and destroying the homes of the Palestine refugees. Jet planes, cannons and machine gun attacks were launched against the Dbayeh, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps where thousands of refugees live.

Heavy fighting has been reported in South Lebanon where a force of 5000 guerrillas attempted to cross from Syria to aid the embattled Lebanese guerrillas.

The Lebanese regime is following in the footsteps of Jordan's King Hussein who, in September 1970, sought to liquidate the Palestine resistance movement in the bloody "Black September" massacres.

## PROVOKED

The Lebanese government, which has been seeking to prevent guerrilla attacks against Israel, from Lebanese soil, provoked the present war by arresting three guerrillas at the Beirut airport for carrying explosives.

The subsequent kidnapping by the guerrillas of three Army officers was used as a pretext to launch all-out war with the aim of crushing the resistance movement. This can only mean the massacre of thousands of refugees who support the guerrillas.

The hostages have since been turned over to Parliamentary Deputy Kamal Jimblatt, a big landowner, who has called for a general strike of the trade unions in support of the guerrillas.

Franjeh has denounced the Palestine liberation movement as an "occupation army" and has justified the attacks on the refugee camps because they harbor "illegal arms and subversive groups." He told representatives

from Egypt, Syria and Iraq that the guerrillas would not be allowed to function independently of the Lebanese Army.

## WARNING

The right-wing militia of the anti-communist Christian Falange Party issued a warning statement to the government saying: "We are armed and if the Army will not put an end to this, we will."

There have been reports that Israeli and Jordanian intelligence agents are acting as a Fifth Column in the current fighting and are firing on both the guerrillas and the Army in order to encourage a complete crackdown on the guerrillas.

## COLLABORATION

Following the open refusal of the Lebanese Army to attack Israeli commandos who killed three leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization in April, Franjeh is now making an open bid for collaboration and peace with Israel and the United States. All the Arab capitalist governments are seeking to formally end any struggle to regain the Palestinian land taken by Zionism.

The civil war in Lebanon involves not only the guerrillas but expresses the growing class struggles of the workers and peasants in strikes and other movements against the Arab regimes.

The struggle to regain Palestinian land and destroy the Zionist regime in Israel cannot advance today without a struggle against these Arab regimes and their Stalinist supporters. This means that the revolutionary elements in the resistance movement must fight to build a revolutionary party that links the Palestinian struggle with the basic demands of the Arab masses and can fight to unite the Arab and Jewish workers in a common struggle against capitalism.



"Tories Out!" was the message from well over 1000 young people and trade unionists on the demonstration organized by the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists in London on May Day. Rallies and meetings were held in seven other areas with the same theme: to force the Tories to resign through general strike action and to transform the Socialist Labour League into the mass revolutionary party.

## German Interest Rates Up

BY A CORRESPONDENT

A new round of attacks on the German working class was signaled last Thursday with the announcement that the Bundesbank is raising its interest rates on 90 day loans from five to six percent.

Dr. Karl Klasen, the bank's president, admitted that the Brandt coalition government will come under increasing pressure from industry to impose wage controls if these tighter credit policies fail to lower the rate of inflation that has become a major problem for the German economy.

With the annual rate of inflation expected to reach eight percent in the coming months, interest rates for loans on a short term basis have been set as high as 14 percent. While many economists doubt that this will be sufficient to lower inflation, it is believed that tight credit will lead to a major downturn in business.

Already, German industry has been hard hit by the recent series of revaluations and upward floats resulting from the international monetary crisis. In the critical machine tool industry, there has been a marked decline in exports and German manufacturers now report that their price position vis-a-vis their American rivals is 30 percent less competitive.

## DETERIORATION

There is no way that German bankers can bring the inflation

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## Martial Law In Argentina

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The military government of General Alejandro Lanusse in Argentina has declared martial law in all five major cities after the assassination of Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada by the Peoples Revolutionary Army, a guerrilla organization.

Regional military commanders have assumed total authority and all so-called ordinary justice has been suspended. Special military courts have been set up and can give the death sentence with no appeal to guerrillas or to anyone found with firearms of any kind.

The assassination of Quijada, the man who was behind the murder of sixteen guerrillas at the Trelew prison last year, is being used by Lanusse to take control of the newly elected "civilian" government of Hector Campora. The crisis following the assassination made immediately clear who was really running Argentina.

Campora quickly returned to Argentina from Spain at the demand of Lanusse and vowed to "isolate and crush" the guerrillas. The Army is demanding complete control of internal security after Campora formally takes over on May 25.

In fact, the decision to run Campora as President and return

a civilian government was a carefully worked out deal between Juan Peron, former dictator, and the military to give their regime a "democratic" cover. This deal has sparked a crisis within Peron's own youth movement whose leader, Rodolfo Calimberti, has been forced to resign for calling for a "popular militia."

## REVOLT

Right-wing young naval officers have revolted against Lanusse and publicly insulted him at Quijada's funeral. Sections of the Army are now pressing for stronger repression and a complete takeover by the military.

If Campora indeed keeps the country under martial law after he assumes office, the situation could rapidly develop into civil war. The Peronists are choosing their side as the crisis deepens, which poses to the Argentine working class the construction of a Trotskyist leadership.

## Young Socialists 1st National Conference

New York May 26/27

Hunter College Playhouse  
68th St. & Lexington Ave.

\$2.50 Registration

Dance Top Name Latin & Soul Bands  
First American Showing:

"The Road To Workers Power" Full color  
50 minute feature of the Socialist Labour  
League Pageant of 300 years of labor history



For People Transportation Costs



Newspaper Guild picket in Alexandria, Va., defying scab cars. Strike enters its second month after 10 months of negotiations with the Gazette broke down.

# Guild Strikers Fight Scab, Police Attacks

BY BRUCE MCKAY

ALEXANDRIA, Va., May 5—Seven newspaper Guild members here are fighting for the very existence of the union as their strike against the Alexandria Gazette enters its second month.

The Gazette, which calls itself "America's Oldest Daily Newspaper," has been publishing as a scab operation since the first day of the strike, with the courts and police consciously mobilized behind the union-busting drive.

The strike began over the issue of the substandard wages at the Gazette—which are half those at the two Washington dailies and less than those on area weeklies—after management offered less than a third of what the union was asking in over ten months of negotiations.

Type was set for a week at the government subsidized Army Times Publishing Company for a week when the International Typographical Union—the only other organized shop in the plant—walked out in support of the strike.

throw him onto the street.

When Stack went to the local justice of the peace to swear out a warrant, he was refused but the scab brought charges against him 24 hours later, using a plant security guard as a witness.

"The justice of the peace told me, 'If you didn't stand in front of automobiles, you wouldn't get hit,'" said Stack.

Two other pickets have also been hit by scab cars, and one was threatened by a scab wielding a golf club—and later charged with blocking the driveway.

"In any given morning, we can have three squad cars, probably four, the police wagon with the dogs and the paddy wagon in the front and the back of the Gazette," local Guild unit chairman Nancy Caine told the Bulletin.

"The first few days of the strike, we had the paddy wagon, four squad cars full of police and the lieutenant's car, all of which were at some time using the Gazette parking lot to sit in. During this time, one Gazette photographer sat in one of the police cars and shot pictures of us," she said.

In the face of these attacks, the leadership of Washington-Baltimore Guild Local 35 as well as International President Charles Perlik have failed to take up any real fight to win the strike and mobilize forces for mass picketing to defend the strikers against the police and scab attacks and try to shut down the paper.

## ARRESTS

Until it expired on April 16, a court order limited the number of pickets at each of the plant's two entrances to five, and police have been brought out in great numbers not only to harass and intimidate pickets but to make actual arrests. Pickets have faced physical attacks by scabs, who later brought the police in to arrest their victims.

Striking Guild member Dave Stack told the Bulletin that he was carried on the hood of a scab's car for several blocks while the strikebreaker—a part-time sports writer—tried to maneuver the car around to

# Teamsters Sign Away Schaefer Ranks Pay

BY A REPORTER

BROOKLYN, May 3—All of the dangers which confront workers in this period are sharply expressed in the contract signed by two Teamsters locals here this week with the Schaefer Brewing Company.

At a time when the cost of living is soaring, the new three year contract provides no wage increases at all in any of the three years. Moreover, it calls for increasing the work week from 35 hours to 40 hours and for speedup.

This contract is a sharp warning of where Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons is leading the union with his collaboration with Nixon and what Teamsters members will face when the Master Freight Contract comes up for negotiation later this year.

The company has forced this outrageous sellout on the men, with the aid of the union leadership, by claiming it is losing money and threatening to shut down like most of the other area breweries have already done. The contract covers 1650 drivers, helpers and warehousemen represented by Locals 3 and 46 of the Teamsters and goes into effect on May 14.

Inside men who had previously worked a few hours overtime each week at overtime rates will now work five additional hours at straight time. In addition, drivers will have to deliver more cases of beer and make more

route stops at the same pay.

Most workers interviewed by the Bulletin said the threat that the company might close down and their own union leadership's refusal to pose any alternative left them with little choice but to accept the contract.

"The company said this was necessary. They threatened us with going out of business like all the rest of the breweries in New York City," said one driver. "Schaefer and Rheingold are the only ones left now. What were we supposed to do? We had no alternative."

"I know it's bad," he said. "We (Continued On Page 16)

# "Wiretapping Is Old Stuff For Nixon!"

BY DAVID NORTH

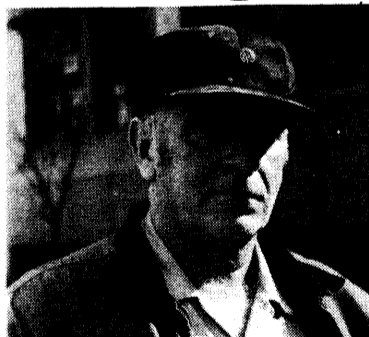
In the powerful industrial centers of Northern Ohio—that part of the country which Nixon, in his happier days, absurdly referred to as "Middle America"—it is very hard to find a worker who is not convinced that Richard Nixon is up to his neck in Watergate.

Many recall his tear-jerking "Checkers" speech of 1952, when he answered charges about an \$18,000 slush fund with a 30 minute sob story about his childhood. Nixon's performance on television last Monday night is correctly being seen as "Tricky Dick's" attempt to repeat the earlier success.

"Sure Nixon knew all about Watergate," said a rubber worker in Akron. "What else could you expect from him and that bunch he has in Washington."

During the past week the union leadership has ratified a contract that sticks them with Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines. But 10,000 Goodrich workers have rejected the contract and are now out on strike.

"It's a funny thing," said



rubber worker W.R. Moyers. "I know that quite a few guys in the plant voted for Nixon last November, but I'll give you ten dollars if you can find one who'll admit it today."

At the shift change in the late afternoon, many workers who saw the Bulletin's headline—"Labor Must Force Nixon-Out"—stopped to discuss Watergate.

"I just heard that four more of those big dogs were thrown out," said a retired rubber worker referring to the resignation of Nixon's aides Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Kleindienst and Dean. "Now they should throw the top dog himself out."

Conley Landreth, who has been a steel worker for 30 years, said he did not believe one word Nixon

had in his speech. "That skunk is trying to tell me he didn't know what was going on in the White House. He sounded just like a preacher."

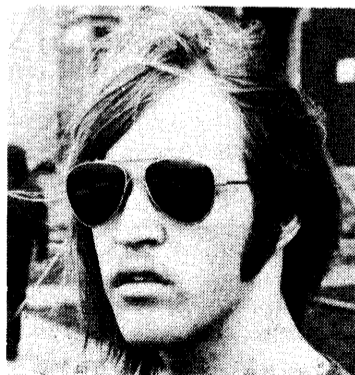
## PUNISHED

Another worker said that the Watergate conspiracy is being talked about quite a bit in the plant. "But the men are getting tired of just hearing about it. It's about time someone was really punished."

Further north in Lorain, where steel workers recently voted down I.W. Abel's "no strike" deal with US Steel, the feeling against Nixon was even stronger.

"Wiretapping is old stuff for

Nixon," said Local 1104 member Marty Trelka. "I don't believe Nixon one bit. I saw the man on television last night—look at the way he shifts his eyes. You just



you in the ground. And he's strictly for the rich man."

## RESPONSIBLE

Some steel workers, like Virgil McCoy, have no doubt that Nixon engineered the wiretapping but hold the Democrats equally responsible. "I voted Democrat last election," he said. "But I suspect that all the politicians do the same thing. That's what politics is all about."

This is politics in the United States, where the working class does not have its own labor party

to fight back against the notorious gangsters in both the Democrats and Republicans. But the corrupt politics of the Democrats and Republicans is aimed against the working class and shows the urgency of political action by the trade union movement through the construction of a labor party.

Mike Mayhew, a 21 year old steel worker in the dangerous coke plant of National Tube, admitted that he felt disgusted with all the politicians.

"The two party system is no good. You and I know that the Democrats and Republicans bug each other. In Watergate, it was the Republicans who got caught."

"I've known all along that the government is crooked. The Mafia runs it. Even here in Lorain they do. I agree that a labor party would be good, but we'd have to make sure that it wouldn't be run by the same old politicians."

"I think that a labor party would have a better chance than ever in the next election because people know that the Democrats are just as bad. In the next election, people are going to be a lot more leery about who they put in."



# Production Drive Fuels Walkouts At GE

BY WILLIAM VANN

PITTSFIELD, Mass.—There is a strong sentiment among the rank and file members of the International Union of Electrical Workers at the General Electric plant here for a strike against the company with the expiration of their contract at the end of this month.

## Local 1199 Wins 7.5% Increase

BY

AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—After a long 10 month wait, hospital workers finally won the 7.5 percent wage increase that was awarded Local 1199 in the union's July 1972 contract negotiations.

After the decision of the 1199 leadership to accept a 15 percent increase over two years, Nixon's Pay Board cut this to 10 percent last January. The union applied for an appeal hearing on the cutback but for months the government simply ignored these efforts.

The decision to restore the first year increase to 7.5 percent is a result of the determination of the membership to go on strike unless they won the full amount. Members and delegates were increasingly insisting at union meetings that President Leon Davis take action to win the increase.

It was not until Davis, under pressure of the rank and file, called together the negotiating committee where a vote was taken to put strike action to the membership, that suddenly a favorable decision was made by the Pay Board.

Amid the relief that the long overdue retroactive checks would be coming, the feeling among hospital workers was that the amount would barely match the inflation and that the fight for the second part of the raise would be a much tougher battle.

### STRIKE ACTION

At the May 3 Guild Delegates Assembly, Rank and File Committee members urged that the policy statement of the negotiating committee for strike action go into effect for the second part of the raise, due July 1.

The motion also urged 1199 to fight for a Congress of Labor in order to work out a strategy to defeat Nixon's Phase Three. These motions were tabled until June.

A delegate from Albert Einstein Hospital told the meeting that the members would not wait another 10 months to get their money again.

The men are bitter over the recent changeover from an incentive system to a uniform day rate throughout the plant. Workers who had been under the incentive plan before the shift received up to a 40 dollar a week pay cut.

One older worker with 25 years in the plant who received a disciplinary layoff shortly after the change to day rate told the Bulletin how he had been rehired with a 100 dollar a week loss in pay.

Along with the loss of the incentive rate came a sharp attack on job classifications and seniority rights. As one IUE member put it, "They've tried to change things around so that they can get the most highly skilled worker with the most years in the plant out there sweeping the floors."

There have been walkouts by at least two departments against the change in job rates. These walkouts were greeted by sections of the plant going out with them in sympathy.

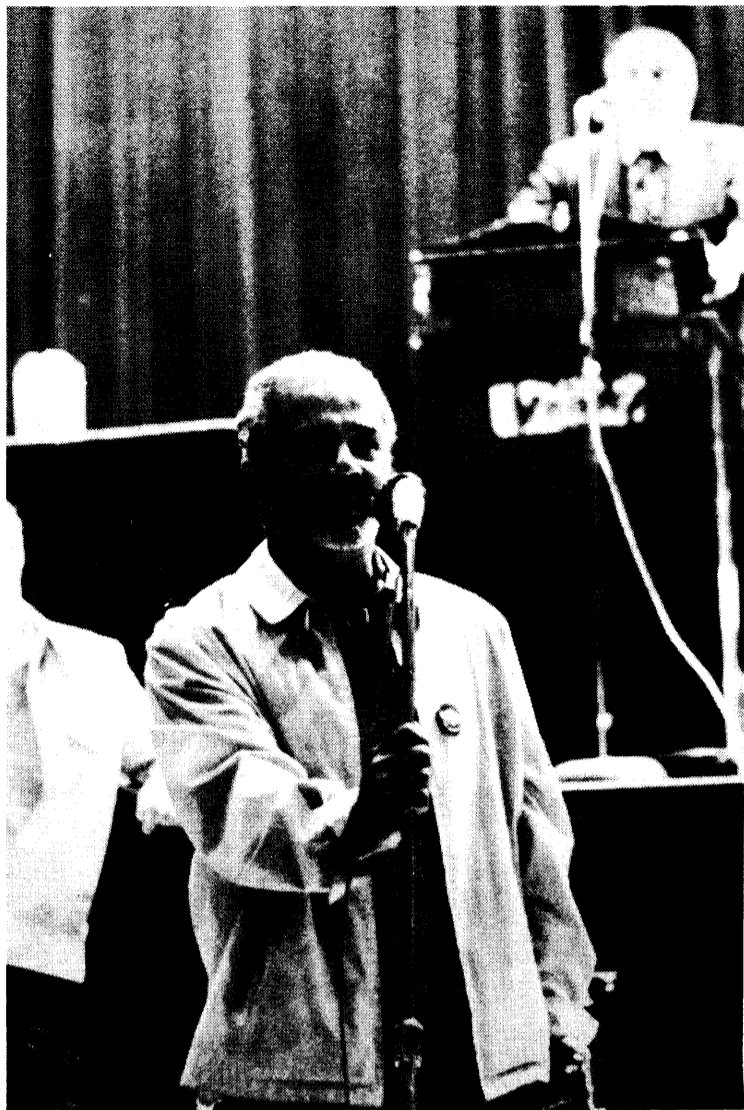
Concerning the present negotiations, some of the GE workers said that the company was driving for an increase in the productivity gains made with the change from incentive rate with the elimination of any shift differential for the third shift, which is now 10 percent, and the cutting out of overtime pay for Saturday and Sunday work.

### SUPPORT

The support for strike action by both younger and older workers at Pittsfield comes from a refusal to accept the conditions which the company is trying to impose and the wage controls of the Nixon government.

Workers with some years in the plant noted the harsh change in working conditions which GE has already accomplished. "Where before a man knew what he needed to produce in a day to make the rate, now there is a constant push for production." At the same time, however, many of the workers felt that the leadership of the local was not willing to wage the kind of fight which the situation demanded and was ready to accept the government's pay guidelines. Most blamed the leadership for the loss of the incentive rate.

During the vote on acceptance of the end to the incentive the leadership actively sought to divide the day rate workers from the incentive workers and through maneuvering were able to push the vote through.



Member of District 65 speaks at a mass membership meeting in New York. Union has just called an end to the recent strike and returned the men to work.

## Father Blasts Glover's Killing

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

JAMAICA, N.Y.—Thousands of workers and youth attended the funeral of Clifford Glover to mourn the slaying of the 10 year old boy by a New York policeman last week.

The ceremony was in effect a statement against the police, as hundreds of Black youths and workers raised their fists demanding the avenging of the death.

That demonstration is reflected even more sharply in the rebellion which has broken out since the shooting death. The streets of this community have been turned into a battleground as scores of youth continue to clash with police.

Hundreds of police have been mobilized to the area while large segments of the police department have been put on the alert to move in.

### OPENED FIRE

Clifford Glover was shot in cold blood by a plainclothes cop while walking his stepfather, Add Armstead, to work. Mr. Armstead said that Patrolman Thomas Shea jumped out of the car without identifying himself and opened fire on Clifford and himself.

Mr. Armstead in an interview with the Bulletin said:

"My kid was murdered, cold-blooded murdered, shot in the back. I left my house to go to work as I have always done. I'm a citizen, I've been on my job for 26 years, working every day, even sometimes on Sunday.

"As I got to 111 Street, I saw a car run through a church fence. This white car drives up and a white fellow got out with a gun and said, 'You Black son of a bitch' and fired.

"I ran to my right and heard another shot. I tripped and fell, got up and ran a few more feet to an alley and hailed down a police

car, thinking that it was a hold-up.

"As I had been running away, I heard the car's wheels spinning. I thought I would be shot."

The police are desperately trying to cover up this murder. Story after story has been exposed as complete fabrication.

The entire police force has defended this murderous act which exposes the true role of the police: to brutalize and murder workers and youth.

It has now been revealed that on at least two reported occasions, Patrolman Shea was charged with pistol whipping a 14 year old boy and shooting another 23 year old youth who was unarmed in the past year.

It is these forces the Nixon government uses to defend the interests of the capitalist class, while workers like Mr. Armstead are forced to live in the worst poverty conditions.

New York Boulevard in Jamaica, Queens, where Clifford Glover lives, is characterized by run-down housing and high unemployment among minority youth. This ghetto, predominantly Black, has been faced with continual police harassment.

Mr. Armstead said that he was in fear of his life after hearing that his son was kicked several times by Shea while bleeding from bullet wounds.

The fight against police repression cannot be won through rioting but by building a political movement of the working class. This murder exposes what this government is prepared to unleash against not just the minorities or youth, but against all working people

## Naval Cuts Threaten Newport

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWPORT—"This town's been Navy since the 1700s and now they're pulling out. What are we supposed to do?"

With the virtual shutdown of the massive Newport Naval Base and the nearby Quonset Point Naval Air Station, Dave, a young maintenance worker at the base, along with thousands of others will be thrown out of a job and will face little hope of finding a new one in the town in which he has lived all his life.

With the cutbacks announced last month by the Defense Department, 25,000 jobs, including those of naval personnel transferred to other stations, will be directly eliminated. As a young worker described, however, this is only the beginning.

"Car dealerships, restaurants, motels, cleaners; they all depend on business from the Navy. With the pull out they'll be closing down right and left."

The only other major industries in the town are Raytheon and General Electric, both of which depend almost entirely upon Navy contracts. With the cutbacks it is anticipated that both will institute drastic layoffs.

Unemployment in Newport already is the highest in the state of Rhode Island and greatly exceeds the national average. Leon, an unemployed youth, described the line at the unemployment office as often, "...going down the hall out the door and around the corner." Now, however, the jobless rate is expected to exceed 15 percent and may reach as high as 25 percent.

### "TOURISM"

Local officials and Chamber of Commerce functionaries have assured the Newport workers that the town can be rebuilt on the basis of tourism. Others have held out prospects of employment at the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics in New London, Connecticut. Both of these schemes have been met with derision by the workers who have depended on the naval base in Newport for their livelihood.

An older woman, who has worked at the base for many years, told the Bulletin: "I've lived in Newport all of my life. I wouldn't leave for New London even if I could, which I couldn't. I've always felt secure in that I have three sons who can take care of me when I couldn't work. But now Nixon's taken my job and with the budget cuts my sons can't get any kind of work. This Nixon is denying us the right to survive."



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# FORCED LABOR ON MISSISSIPPI

BY DAVID  
NORTH

ST. LOUIS, April 27—As thousands are being made homeless by the massive floodwaters spilling over the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, the primary concern of the businessmen and politicians is to make sure that as little as possible is done to help the workers and farmers whose small property has been devastated.

Having refused year after year to support appropriations for the construction of elevated embankments and floodgates to at least limit the damage done by the periodic floods, the businessmen—who today are shedding crocodile tears over this latest "act of God"—are directly responsible for the scope of the suffering.

Although forewarned of a record rise in the Mississippi River water level, precious days were lost for emergency precaution while businessmen awaited assurances that a handsome profit awaited the delivery of supplies and machinery.

As they fled their homes, residents looked on helplessly as the floodwaters rose above the levee, which could not be strengthened because of a critical shortage of sandbags. To add to their difficulties, less than 2000 sandwiches were made available for the more than 10,000 individuals suddenly made homeless.

Along the banks of South St. Louis, where the flooding hit particularly heavy, conditions of virtual slave labor have been revived.

Hundreds of young workers have been called out of their homes and plants, put in National Guard uniforms, and sent to work on 12 hour shifts without any food, and then sent back into the barracks for another 12 hours—for a total wage of \$14 per day.

Or, as one recruit computed the sum for the *Bulletin*, about 57 cents an hour.

## ANGER

Not satisfied with the fantastic rate of exploitation of these young workers—who in most cases are in the National Guard only because they did not want to be drafted into service in Vietnam—the St. Louis press have savagely denounced them for complaining.

"If those businessmen think they can do better than us," one recruit told me, "let them get their asses out here all night for \$14."

The same anger against the officers and politicians that caused the virtual disintegration of whole sections of the US Army in Vietnam was expressed by many of the young trade unionists



pressed into service to stop the Mississippi floodwaters.

"This whole thing is a lousy farce," said one member of the 138th Unit. "Not one of us were trained for this type of work."

Pointing to the water seeping beneath the sandbags, he added, "You can't deal with the flood using exhausted men. They should be getting well paid men on union scale wages who know what they're doing."

Tim Mahaney, a member of Retail Clerks Local 55 and now with the 220th Unit, described his experiences:

"Just like all the other men, I don't like being out here. The officers get on our backs whenever we take a break. This is the second time I've been hauled out on this type of work and I haven't even been paid for the first time."

"If you complain about conditions, the officers simply tell you that you should have known what was coming before you signed up."

"And they treat you just like the army anywhere. They tell you to button up your coat and stuff like that."

Another recruit said he was losing a week of school at the most critical time of the semester.

## LOSSES

Almost all the soldiers were suffering tremendous losses in pay. One teamster, who usually earns about \$250 a week as an over the road driver, said, "If I ask my boss for compensation, he'll laugh right in my face."

He continued, "These politicians have a hell of a lot of gall. I heard that the governor called the unit and asked if we'd accept half the pay they're giving now in order to help the state."

"In the meantime, they don't even give us food. The last time I worked in a flood I got nothing to eat but cold cuts."

While we were discussing the situation, the police assisted the officers in attempting to maintain a steady level of work among the recruits. One private noted:

"The police are something else. They come down here with

their fancy uniforms, polished shoes and drive around on their motorbikes without doing a stitch of work."

"The businessmen who come down here are only interested to see if something they own is affected. Otherwise, they wouldn't even show up."

Referring to the articles in the press about their complaints, Mahaney said "If we were making a decent wage and working a normal eight hour shift, we'd all be glad to help out."

Conditions in the barracks are no better. "If you want to get some sleep," said a member of the 138th Unit, you have to rip off a cot because there aren't enough to go around. Quite a few guys wind up on the floor."

## NIXON

Among the recruits, there was a tremendous interest in the Watergate affair. Jim Effinger, who had spent most of the night piling one sandbag on top of another, said "I think that Nixon's involved in the whole thing. Actually, all the politicians were involved but Nixon's men have gotten caught. These are the guys who get down on young people if they smoke some grass, but no one is supposed to say anything if the higher ups get out of hand."

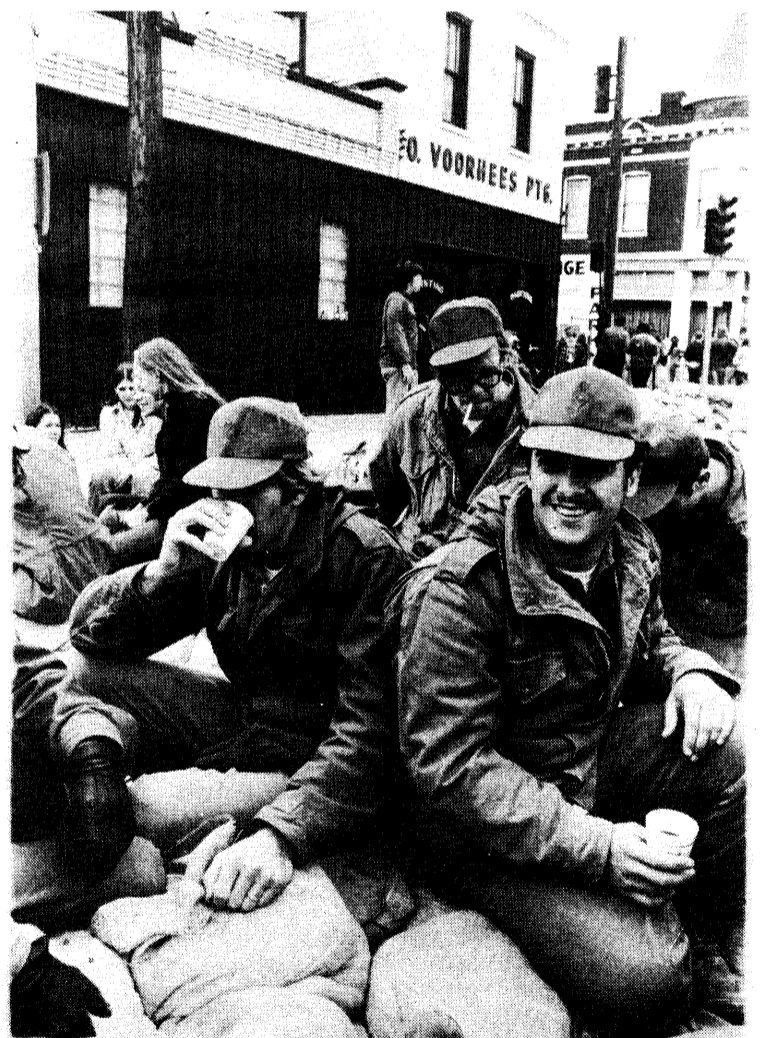
"Let me put it this way," said a member of the furniture workers union, "none of us have any financial interest that concerns the politicians. But if I owned South St. Louis, it would be different. I wouldn't be out here right now."

Our discussion of the conditions was suddenly interrupted by one Major Banvakis, whose face was very red.

"You have no business asking provocative questions," he told me, threatening to call the police.

"If you want to stop us from talking," one of the recruits shouted back, "you'd better call up Washington and have them declare martial law." Banvakis glared and left.

In addition to losing money, some of the soldiers said that the companies they work for will



For the National Guard, 57 cents an hour for 12 hours' work per day, and the businessmen are still complaining.

count their time with the National Guard as vacation.

## DAMAGE

Further south, the damage done to the working class and middle class homeowners will cost each of them thousands of dollars.

One retired worker said that the repairs on his house will cost at least \$1500, "and none of us can get flood insurance from this state. There's some law which says that the companies don't have to insure you for damage caused by rising floodwaters. Sure, they'll give you a policy for water that causes damage 'from above' like rain coming through the roof. But a lot that does if you live near the Mississippi."

None of the families receive compensation from the federal government. If Nixon declares a national emergency in the area, only the businessmen will receive benefits because most of the funds go to recovering their losses. The most workers and farmers can hope for are bar loans at exorbitant rates.

The protection of business establishments in the affected areas has been organized much more thoroughly than flood control.

As the local authorities obviously do not feel they can count on the angry privates of the National Guard, military police armed with M-16s stand guard around all of the areas to protect the businesses from "looters."

# Midwest News

## Editorial

### Anti-Communism In The Unions

The defense of the unions and every basic democratic right that workers have won requires today a political fight by the unions to build their own party against the Democrats and Republicans. The Watergate conspiracy has shown this clearly enough. It has revealed the lengths to which Nixon and his government will go against his rivals in the Democratic Party. No scruples will prevent the use of more drastic measures against the labor movement.

At the same time Watergate has created a tremendous crisis in the Nixon government, creating the conditions to force him out and build a political alternative, a labor party.

It is under these conditions that an anti-communist campaign has been whipped up recently in the labor movement. Sections of the trade union bureaucracy are attempting to use this to "keep politics out of the union." Now, at a time when the defense of every worker's standard of living, job and rights requires a different kind of struggle based on the independent politics of the working class, the trade union leaders try to prevent the Marxists, the communists, from presenting these politics in the union.

In Minneapolis, this has taken the form of an attempt by a right-wing element together with a supporter of the Progressive Labor Party to expel supporters of the Workers League in the Caucus for a Decent Contract from AFSCME Local 1164. Behind this attack on basic democratic rights is the determination of these bureaucrats and their agents to keep the unions tied to capitalist politics and prevent a real struggle against Nixon.

McCarthyism and its vicious red-baiting did incalculable harm to the working class, leaving divided and destroyed unions in its wake. To this day, some plants such as OWEN's in Minneapolis are unorganized because their union was destroyed by the red-baiting. Whole sections, like the electrical workers, are divided between two unions. But the McCarthy witch-hunt took place in a period of the boom when the union movement could and did make gains for the workers.

The present anti-communist drive is launched in a different period, in a period of the deepest economic crisis and the intervention of the government for the employers to make the workers pay for this crisis. That is why today the danger to the unions, which weakens the unions, is keeping politics out of the unions.

Confronting this central political task of defense of workers' rights now requires an open debate of all tendencies and opinions within the labor movement, a debate in which the strategy of the working class is hammered out.

We condemn the attacks of the National Caucus of Labor Committees on the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League and call for their defense.

We condemn all instances of red-baiting in the union movement.

Above all, we call upon the Progressive Labor Party to repudiate one of their supporters in AFSCME 1164 who has blocked with a red-baiter in an open attempt to expel two supporters of the Workers League for their political beliefs.

We call on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to condemn this attack and to instruct their supporters in 1164 to take the stand in defense of the two Caucus for a Decent Contract members. Their attempt to justify the Nyberg charges while condemning Grosscup's will not do. It is actually Nyberg who leads the witch-hunting drive.

We call upon the CP to reverse their position of non-commitment. They must openly condemn this attack and urge the Executive Board of 1164 to dismiss the case.

Above all, we urge every worker, and especially every AFSCME worker, throughout the country to respond to this danger by writing to the Executive Board of AFSCME 1164 demanding that this attack on democratic rights be dropped, and to have their unions officially send similar demands.

The time is short. This new red-baiting drive in the labor movement must and can be stopped now!

Send letters and resolutions to:

Fanny Richardson, Secretary, AFSCME Local 1164  
3945 Oakland Avenue So.  
Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55407



Jean Brust speaking on behalf of the Workers League at a Chicago May Day meeting where over \$63 was raised in a collection for the Bulletin fund drive.

## Minnesota U. Ranks Call For Strike Vote

BY AN 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—The breaking off of contract negotiations by the University of Minnesota administration with AFSCME 1164 was answered at the local's May membership meeting with a near unanimous call for a special strike authorization meeting May 15. Informational bannering has begun this week at the University Hospitals.

The call for a strike vote proposed by the Caucus for a Decent Contract reflects the great impatience among the ranks with the dragged out negotiations. The call also came into direct collision with the Council 6 of the State Employees Union staff recommendation that the local adopt a wait and see attitude to "see what the university's posture is toward negotiations."

One local member said, "With the Administration breaking off negotiations that have dragged on for more than a year with practically nothing settled, what is it we're waiting to see?"

Plans were laid for mobilizing the support of all local labor bodies and the Council 6 Executive Board for any action necessary to secure a contract. Leaflets outlining the serious situation facing Local 1164 and asking for support will be distributed to workers at university construction sites.

#### SPLIT

The question of whether or not to call for strike authorization split the PL-SDS supporters within the local wide open. Faced with the arrogance of the university administration and the growing unrest among the ranks toward the inactivity of the local leadership and the movement for a strike brought forward by the Caucus for a Decent Contract, they were unable to mount a solid vote among their supporters against the CDC's proposal for mobilization for strike action as they had done in the past. Therefore, after first a tie vote and then more discussion, the final vote saw their supporters splitting, thus enabling the vote to carry.

This strike movement is a critically important step for 1164. But all this stands in jeopardy, as charges have been filed for the expulsion of two of the leading members of the CDC, Perry and Liz Tilleras. A supporter of PL-

SDS has joined hands with a right-winger who is filing anti-communist charges against these supporters of the policies of the Workers League.

#### WITCH-HUNTING

An all-out campaign to defend the right of workers to fight on a political perspective within the trade union movement has been launched. Leading trade unionists have pledged to send letters to the trial body condemning this witch-hunting. Letters to local branches of the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and PLP-SDS have been sent enlisting their support and to instruct their supporters within 1164 to testify on behalf of the Tillerases.

A statement from a Young Socialist Alliance member submitted to the hearing body states:

"I...totally support the right of Brother Eric Nyberg to bring charges of violating the democratic decisions of the membership of our union by members Liz and Perry Tilleras. I intend to listen and evaluate these charges on the basis of their merit.

"However, I ask that the charges brought by Tom Grosscup against Liz and Perry Tilleras be totally dismissed. Those charges revolve around the rights of members of our union to also be members of a political organization and to circulate and discuss the views of their organization within the membership of Local 1164. Our union is an economic organization for the protection of its members against the employers.

"Those parts of Grosscup's charges which refer to the rights of members to belong to and to circulate the views of a political organization have no place in our union. Any credence given to these charges sets dangerous precedent that can be used to victimize union members for their political beliefs.

"I ask this meeting to totally dismiss Brother Grosscup's charges on this basis."

This statement is a deliberate equivocation, written with full understanding that Nyberg and Grosscup's charges are totally linked, were prepared together and can in no way be separated. The SWP and YSA supporters in 1164 must take a clear stand in total opposition to these anti-communist charges, be it the blatant ones of Grosscup or the sophisticated charges of Nyberg.

One Local 1164 member told the Bulletin: "If they are going to expel people from the union for their political beliefs, then they'd better expel me, because I don't support the Republican or Democratic Party either!"

## NCLC Attacks YSA

BY ED SMITH

DETROIT—The Detroit Young Socialist Alliance Educational Conference was assaulted by supporters of the National Caucus of Labor Committees Saturday in Labor Committee's continuing anti-communist campaign of violent assault on working class organizations.

Fifteen to twenty Labor Committee supporters wielding clubs, chains, hammers and crowbars assaulted the meeting but were driven off by defense guards. Two YSA supporters and a number of Labor Committee attackers were injured.

The meeting continued as scheduled but a number of people were turned away by police called by the university Building Superintendent.

A meeting has been called to discuss common action to defend working class organizations in Detroit against these attacks.

# National Auto Caucus Wins 21% In Dayton

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party National Auto Caucus of the Delco Moraine United Auto Workers Local 696 scored a major breakthrough against the Woodcock bureaucracy in elections held last week.

Running on a program which had as its first demand the immediate call for a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party to fight Nixon, Jim Lawrence piled up 557 votes—21 percent—in his race for First Vice President.

In a direct challenge to Local 696 President Elmo Parrish, TUALP member John Austin received 373 votes. Other TUALP candidates won strong support: William Brock, 250 votes; Jesse Moore, 133; Morton Hunt, 80; William Pollard, 124.

Every vote for the TUALP slate shows the enormous support developing among auto workers for a political fight against Nixon's attacks on the trade unions. The program of the National Auto Caucus rejected any collaboration with Nixon's Phase Three guidelines and put forward specific demands for the upcoming 1973 contract, starting with a 20 percent wage increase with a full cost of living escalator.

Furthermore, the National Auto Caucus captured this large vote in spite of the most vicious red-baiting campaign seen in the UAW over the past 20 years.

## ANTI-COMMUNIST

With the guidance of the International leadership, the local bureaucracy flooded the plant with anti-communist leaflets designed to cover up the sellout policies of Woodcock which Elmo Parrish supports.

The Communist Party might well contemplate the pure anti-communist smear campaign Woodcock's "Public Relations Department" fed the local leadership in Dayton, particularly since Woodcock is the CP's favorite bureaucrat.

President Elmo Parrish passed out a leaflet in big bold type which described the *Bulletin* as: "The UAW Public Relations Department tells us that this is a Trotskyite-Marxist rag that spouts the Communist line in several cities of the US. In a recent issue, distributed in Dayton, one full page was devoted to an interview of two of the TUALPs

(Austin and Lawrence) complete with pictures of each. In this same issue it was advertised that for a price, you could purchase a book on Leon Trotsky (one of the early Communists) relating how he attempted to establish a Marxist society in Spain. Karl Marx was probably the father of Communism."

The leaflet further restates what Elmo Parrish earlier insinuated: "At our last membership meeting these TUALPs 'were put on notice' that we know who they are and what they represent."

It should be noted that these bureaucrats do not store the ballot box in the union hall and have it witnessed by representatives of all candidates. Rather, it is stored overnight in the police headquarters of Dayton—the so-called "Safety" Building.

## PURGE

Dayton labor in the 1950s had a massive purge of Stalinist and left trade unionists. One of the right-wing trade union leaders of the purge, William Snoots, graduated to police chief at Brookville soon after. Possibly Elmo Parrish would like to follow his path.

A year ago, the Dayton police dutifully carried out their traditional strikebreaking role of escorting scabs to work in the last telephone strike. The bureaucrats' use of the police headquarters for election purposes is a gross breach of trade union principles. Also, an amazing loss of 200 votes for the TUALP slate was recorded from the unofficial count to the official count.

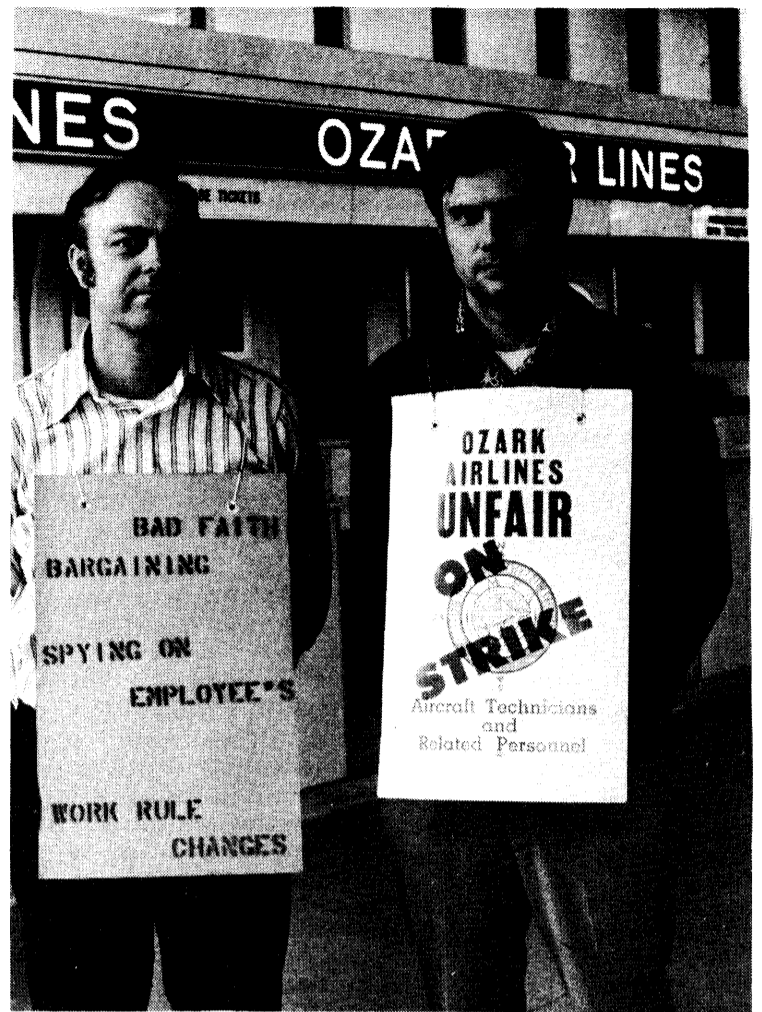
The strong vote for the TUALP slate shows the tremendous strength of the TUALP program. Five leaflets were distributed carrying the TUALP auto program and met a strong response. The bureaucrats, shaken by this response, carried their red-baiting to ridiculous levels. Their leaflet stated: "There is great concern that these might be Red TUALPs (Communists). We need your help—if you have never voted in a local union election, we urge you to vote against the TUALPs. On

Election Day, our group will be wearing a real tulip as a constant reminder that we must vote against the TUALPs."

## HYSTERIA

The bureaucrats did appear at the polls wearing red tulips. There is no doubt that some workers were confused and intimidated by this red-baiting hysteria. Rather than vote for the sellout leaders though, many workers did not vote, rejecting the bureaucrats' direct orders.

The TUALP caucus answered the bureaucrats at every point and pointed to their total bankruptcy and Woodcock's historic sellout. The fight continues to build the TUALP Auto Caucus at Local 696 and a solid base among the workers has been established as this vote attests to. This is important preparation for the UAW's upcoming contract struggle.



"The company's main objective is busting the union" declared a member of Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association Local 24. The 560 members of the St. Louis local are on strike against Ozark Airlines, which refuses to discuss anything but its 2.7 percent wage offer.

# GMAD Plans Layoff Of 2,000 In St. Louis

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS—Since Local 25 of the United Auto Workers here voted for a mini-strike at the April union meeting, the International has been in St. Louis every weekend. The *Bulletin* has learned that on May 11 General Motors Auto Division plans to lay off and eliminate the entire second shift on the passenger line, affecting 2000 jobs.

Since January 2, the second shift on the passenger line has worked only two 40 hour weeks. As many as 3000 workers have been working only on the average of nine hours a week on both the day and night shift for the past several months.

Already many workers have been laid off and grievances have been piling up over speedup, safety conditions and harassment by supervisory personnel. Besides laying off the second shift, GM is now going to increase the line speed.

Anyone missing a job, even a screw, will be subject to disciplinary layoff in violation of shop rule Number 27 according to the new directive passed last Thursday.

One worker said: "They say if a man's job is overloaded then he is not doing the job right. They have a time-study man checking each individual. I'm supposed to repair cars that need repairing but I can't do 40 in one hour."

Already 27 workers have received DLO's and of them, three of them have been fired because they have points against them already.

Three union representatives

have been fired for challenging the company's "right" to speed the line up as in Paragraph Eight.

Despite the April strike vote, no action has taken place. The *Bulletin* has learned that in a meeting of the presidents and chairmen of the 18 GMAD local union plants held in Phoenix, Arizona on April 3 and 4, Chairman Jack Douglas presented a directive by Local 25 which was overwhelmingly supported by all 18 locals calling for a nationwide strike.

After the vote, Woodcock called each of the representatives of the 17 other locals in to a private conference where he discouraged strike action and all but three locals: Atlanta, Georgia, Mansfield, Ohio and Janesville, Wisconsin changed their votes.

St. Louis Local 25 is the only local union which has not accepted a GMAD contract. Since the April strike vote, the local leadership has done absolutely nothing to fight Woodcock's betrayals and continues to allow the rank and file to be shackled by the International UAW leadership.

Although Woodcock has not said no to UAW Local 25 going out on strike, he has refused to back any strike with money or call for support from other unions.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on UAW Local 25 to initiate strike action against the vicious attacks of GMAD.

TUALP calls for discussion to be opened up on the 1973 contract.

# Attack On TUALP Ducks Fight At Armour

BY B. WILLS

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn.—In the face of growing support to the program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party within the Armour Meat Packing plant here, the officers of Local P4, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, under the presidency of John Dettwiler, revealed their utter panic and issued a leaflet about Trotskyism on May 2.

Heading their article "Trotsky, Big Lie," this is how they began their crude attempt aimed at keeping the workers from seriously examining the issues that directly affect their jobs and living conditions in this grave period and the political ques-

tions that now must be taken up to construct a labor party. Their leaflet said:

"As of late, leaflets have constantly been passed out on Armour Avenue, and elsewhere, attacking one of your Board Members, who happens to be the President of Local P4. The vast majority of what is printed, is nothing but lies."

## TIRADE

The leaflet then launches into a red-baiting tirade:

"A Trotsky and a Stalinite are both commies, and who can believe or trust them?... Unions were formed to protect the Union Members, and not for the purpose of selling out their own country, for the purpose of a phony group who believe in some other country where there is no true Union. What's the matter??

Are the Trotsky's (sic) afraid of the rest of their once commie buddies??

"The day will come when all Organized Labor will be as one big Union. That, we are sure, is the answer. The true Union leaders will see to this, not the Trotsky's (sic) who are still playing the game of falsehoods, and furthermore, living on lies, and don't even know what the truth is."

One of the Armour workers with many years of seniority told the *Bulletin*: "Dettwiler looks upon us as if we were stupid, ignorant children and are ready to believe anything that comes out of his mouth."

"He is doing Nixon's dirty work right in the plant. Every union member knows that John has openly sided with the company in every important case of speedup

and has kept us back from using our power to stop Armour's shenanigans."

Dettwiler is using these attacks to cover the fact that the local and international officers of the AMC & BW have no policy to stop the systematic and wholesale closings of major departments and entire plants, with the result that thousands of workers are now in the streets.

The TUALP will not be silent about the criminal refusal of the international and local officials to spell out what the current contract demands on the packing trust are and to mobilize the ranks for a serious fight at the end of August when the present contract expires. Packinghouse workers' wages have been cruelly frozen during the terrible inflation of Phases One, Two and Three.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Labor Bureaucrats Rush To Nixon's Aid

Just as the American working class has the greatest opportunity to force this labor-hating administration out of office and smash Phase Three, 27 members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council are meeting in Washington, D.C., trying their best to save Richard Nixon's political neck. After refusing for weeks to say anything at all about Watergate, the AFL-CIO has issued a statement which makes it clear that the labor bureaucrats are hoping that Richard Nixon will weather the mounting crisis and remain in office.

Far from proposing action by the working class that could finish Nixon for once and for all, the Executive Council statement does not even refer to the President by name and expresses "grave concern" over "any grave injury...to the prestige of the Presidency." Citing Calvin Coolidge's investigation of the Tea Pot Dome scandal as a precedent, the statement simply proposes the appointment of "a prominent Democrat and a prominent Republican" to clear up the Watergate conspiracy as soon as possible.

In a press conference which followed the first session of the Executive Council on Tuesday, George Meany flatly refused to say anything more on Watergate than had been written in the statement. Under pressure from reporters, Meany chose to defend Nixon by declaring: "I think the statement stands for itself, and I still believe in the principle of justice in this country that nobody is guilty of anything—no one is guilty of anything."

The treachery of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is not confined to trying to defend Nixon on Watergate. The Executive Council has given every indication that it will support the 5.5 percent wage guidelines during the entire 1973 schedule of contract negotiations which affect five million workers.

For the first time, the AFL-CIO has issued a statement on Nixon's economic policies which does not call for an end to wage controls. When a reporter asked why the AFL-CIO did not demand the end of Phase Three, Meany cynically replied: "Did we forget that? Maybe we've said that so often, we got tired of saying it."

Meeting on the eve of the most important wage battles since the end of World War Two, Meany and the entire AFL-CIO leadership have virtually surrendered to Nixon the right of the trade unions to bargain for a decent wage without the interference of the government.

The AFL-CIO will not speak out on Watergate or mobilize the working class against Phase Three because both the criminal corruption of Nixon and the defense of living conditions and basic democratic rights of American workers requires a break with the parties of big business and the construction of a labor party. Last November Nixon was re-elected only because the AFL-CIO refused to construct a labor party that would have given millions of workers an alternative to Nixon's criminal administration.

Today the same refusal of the AFL-CIO is the most important factor in allowing Nixon to remain in office as evidence of corruption continues to pile up.

Every trade unionist must now fight for resolutions in every local in the country to demand that the AFL-CIO, the UAW and the Teamsters convene a Congress of Labor, of all trade unions, to defeat Nixon now.



## What we think

### Brezhnev Bails Out Nixon

Gus Hall, head of the American Communist Party, said in his May Day speech: "There is a strange silence around this eruption (Watergate), this volcanic eruption in Washington, especially from certain quarters." The real question is why those who Hall supports, the leaders of the Soviet Union themselves have kept such a "strange silence around this eruption."

Every correspondent in Moscow has remarked about this. A development like Watergate which would, in the past, have been the subject of news and editorials has not had a single headline in the papers. Hedrick Smith, correspondent for the New York Times, reports in the May 4 issue: "This is the one big capital where a Nixon Administration official can escape the nightmare of Watergate."

Smith goes on: "Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, has staked much of his personal authority on improving relations with the West, especially with the United States and with President Nixon personally. To let the Soviet press devote space to adverse publicity about the Nixon White House might prompt some embarrassing questions at home about whether Mr. Brezhnev should be preparing to visit such a leader late in June."

But it is not just what the correspondents are saying in Moscow. Leonid Brezhnev took the opportunity of May Day—the day traditionally devoted to the international solidarity of the working class against capitalism—to solidarize the Stalinist bureaucracy with the capitalists in the US and Europe. For the first time the traditional parade by the Red Army was omitted in deference to imperialism. The theme of his speech was that, especially since the leaders of the Soviet Union established such warm relations with Nixon, a new era of "peaceful coexistence" has opened up. This new era is hailed at a time when workers in every country are under attack.

A few days later Brezhnev welcomed Henry Kissinger to Moscow for private talks in preparation for Brezhnev's visit to Nixon in June. These talks, together with Brezhnev's praise for Nixon and his silence on Watergate, are conscious attempts to salvage Nixon's future. They are designed to cover up for an administration that has been exposed before the eyes of millions of workers.

The Daily World prints uncritically an article in the May 5 issue on Kissinger's visit to Moscow and the visits of Mayors Alioto and Lindsay. It also reports with enthusiasm the visits of "a number of US



Brezhnev, center, with Grechko, left and Kosygin, right.

businessmen," and quotes at length from an article by Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum, which has recently signed a deal with the Soviet bureaucracy.

Through deals like the one with Occidental, the bureaucracy is opening up the natural resources of the workers state to exploitation by the capitalists. These now represent a direct threat to the nationalized and planned economy, the monopoly of foreign trade and mean the exploitation not only of Soviet resources but of the Soviet working class.

Instead of mobilizing the working class to defend the Soviet Union, they turn to more open collaboration with the enemies of the working class. This turn is accompanied by a change in the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. The new men involve not only Gromyko, who has had such cordial relations with the American rulers, but Andropov, head of the secret police, the man responsible for repression of the working class and oppositionists within the Soviet Union. Also involved in this change is Andrei Grechko who was in charge of the Soviet intervention against the workers' uprising against the bureaucracy in Germany in 1953 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The bureaucracy's rejection of the revolutionary struggles of the working class for "peaceful coexistence" is carried into every Communist Party. The American CP is giving a big boost to the bureaucracy's deals. In an article on Springfield, Vermont, the Daily World says: "Peaceful coexistence is more than a political phrase in this classically beautiful industrial town. It's bread and butter. Jobs."

The CP combines this with an editorial quoting none other than the Chemical Bank of New York and their advertisement for investment in the Soviet countries. According to the Daily World, "Chemical Bank is interested in the profits it can make from financing such trade."

This editorial not only defends the

rights of the banks to make profits at the expense of the workers states but puts forward the position that the problem of unemployment can be solved not through a struggle to mobilize the unions in a fight against Nixon's attacks and the building of a labor party, but through supporting the Soviet bureaucracy's deals with Nixon.

The Stalinist leaders in Moscow, with the help of the CP, are giving vital assistance to Nixon at his time of greatest weakness because they fear not only that their economic deals will be threatened, but that their alliance with the US government against the movement of the working class will be undermined.

The CP refuses to mobilize a real struggle by the working class to throw Nixon out because it would jeopardize the relations between Nixon and the Stalinist bureaucracy. This would mean fighting not only to force Nixon to resign but to construct a political alternative, a labor party, to the Democrats and Republicans. This is what the CP refuses to do.

The CP poses the issues not in terms of the dangers to the working class but as a "day of degradation and peril for the nation." The CP calls for the building of a "popular-democratic coalition," a coalition with sections of the capitalist class which can put pressure on Nixon. This was the role of the CP in the 1972 elections which used its own campaign and support to McGovern to pressure Nixon and divert a fight for a labor party.

It is because of their capitulation to Nixon and their refusal to build this alternative that the labor bureaucracy today remains silent on Watergate, complaining with Meany that it damages the "prestige" of the President. But while the CP demagogically denounces Meany, it is silent on the role of Brezhnev who today together with the trade union bureaucracy in the US becomes the main prop for Nixon. The ranks of the CP must demand that Brezhnev speak out on this question.

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The American Communist Party today stands as the main impediment in the labor movement in the struggle to oust the reformist trade union leadership and build a political party of the working class. It has refused to put forward any perspective for a fight against Nixon's attacks. At the same time it has supported every reactionary deal worked out against the international working class between Nixon and the Soviet bureaucracy.

Never have the conditions been so ripe for the American working class to break the stranglehold of capitalist politics and construct their own party, a labor party, which will fight in their interests. Never has this break been so necessary as the capitalist class pursues its trade war threatening a new world war and seeks to destroy the standard of living of American workers.

It is this question of a political alternative for the working class which is the most fundamental task facing all workers as the conditions are now here for forcing the Nixon government to resign. It is solely because of the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy and the American Communist Party that the working class today does not have this alternative. In the 1930s and the 1940s, when the movement for a labor party arose in the trade unions, these forces united to prevent its development and tied the labor movement to the Democratic Party.

In the 1972 elections, as Nixon was making his plans against the American working class clear, and as the breakup of the old relationship of compromise which held the working class to a section of the ruling class in the Democratic Party precipitated a collision between the labor movement and this party, the labor bureaucracy refused to do what had to be done—construct the alternative. Meany declared his neutrality, refusing to pose an alternative. Woodcock and the so-called progressive wing of the labor bureaucracy threw their forces in with McGovern.

Following the election and Nixon's announced new attacks on the working class, the labor leadership, both Meany and Woodcock, capitulated completely, offering their collaboration in Phase Three. Today as the Watergate conspiracy rocks the Nixon regime and the government moves into a head-on collision with the trade unions, these leaders are silent. They serve, at this point, as the prop that holds up this corrupt and crisis ridden government.

But the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy and their ability to hold back the construction of a labor party have only been possible because of the role both historically and today of the American Communist Party. This was the role the CP played in the 1972 election. In a cynical attempt to defend its policies and contain the growing dissent within its own ranks, the CP has published a pamphlet entitled *A Lame Duck In Turbulent Waters*. This pamphlet contains the report made by CP head Gus Hall to the Central Committee meeting of the CP following the 1972 presidential election. Hall in his report deals with the "weaknesses" of the CP's election campaign and its low vote, which was below that of the Socialist Workers Party, by carefully trying to obscure the real political causes of the problems.

Hall's report is an expression of the extreme crisis of Stalinism today as the preservation of the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union it seeks to defend comes into open collision with the



## THE GUS HALL STORY: LAME EXCUSES FOR STALINISM

movement of the working class against capitalism. The source of this crisis is the crisis of imperialism itself and the growing conflict between the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, its Communist Parties, and the aspirations of the working class.

The American Communist Party of all the Stalinist parties internationally has been the most subservient to the bureaucracy, following every twist and turn in its maneuvers with world imperialism against the working class. Today its job within the center of world imperialism, and the world crisis of capitalism, is to facilitate the bureaucracy's counter-revolutionary deals with US imperialism and to disarm and divert the American working class from a confrontation with the government.

This is, of course, what lay behind the election campaign of the Communist Party in 1972. In the 1972 elections, the forces of the capitalist class rallied around Richard Nixon to consolidate their rule in preparation for their war on their European and Japanese rivals and the international working class. Vital to Nixon's election was the much advertised prospect of imminent peace in Vietnam. It was behind this fraud that the Soviet bureaucracy was instrumental in aiding Nixon's re-election. Their support for his campaign was every bit as valuable to Nixon as the millionaires that pumped over \$10 million into his campaign fund.

### WARM RELATIONS

Soviet President Podgorny told Russell Train, chairman of Nixon's Council on Environmental Quality, in October that "he looked forward to working with President Nixon for several more years." The Soviet leaders, by their warm relations and

praise for Nixon and their criminal sellout of the Vietnamese revolution, actively worked to give Nixon a second term. This is the price the bureaucracy was quite willing to pay for its long term deal and trade relations with US imperialism.

The Communist Party used its campaign for two purposes. One was to mobilize support for McGovern and the second was to divert the struggle away from a real alternative for the working class—the building of a labor party. At every point, the CP saw its support for McGovern and its own campaign as a way of pressuring Nixon, particularly for a deal in Vietnam.

### REPORT

In his report Hall states:

"My guess is that 30 percent, maybe 40 percent, of Communists did not vote for the Communist presidential ticket. In some areas it may be even higher. Let us face a still more serious problem. There are members of this body (Central Committee) who did not vote for the Communist ticket."

What Hall tries to pass off as an excess attributable to the failure and "ideological confusion" of the CP members themselves is, in fact, the logical expression of the overall policy of the CP and Stalinism. It is clear that the CP is having great difficulty concealing its class collaborationism and liquidationism into the Democratic Party from the working class and from its own supporters.

Hall seeks to cover this by using the Stalinists' old device of blaming the working class for what is the CP's own conscious refusal to stand up and give a political lead and by trying to throw the

burden of the liquidationism in the CP onto the members. He writes:

"The main factor that keeps our vote down is the influence of the lesser evil pattern in voting. It is a bigger problem for the Party because the people who support us are people in mass movements. And that is where the lesser evil concept is the strongest."

Hall attributes to the masses the "concept" which the CP itself, together with the trade union bureaucracy, has perpetrated. It is precisely this concept which the CP utilized to support Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson before. In this election in particular, masses of workers simply did not vote at all precisely because of their disillusionment with the "lesser evil"—the Democratic Party—and because they did not see an alternative. Hall, in his report, denounces Meany's neutrality but is absolutely silent about the role of labor leaders like Leonard Woodcock who were campaigning for the "lesser evil" of George McGovern. Hall reserves his most biting attacks for the trade union members of the CP whom he upbraids for having supported McGovern:

"Let us consider a comrade who is generally known or considered a Communist by his other shopmates. He takes the initiative to organize a Committee for McGovern, speaks and passes out McGovern literature. What is the reaction of workers, of shopmates to such a comrade? Most likely they would not say much, but they would think about it and draw some conclusions. They would conclude that either the Communists are not running seriously, that they don't want votes or that the comrade is not honest, either with

the workers or with the Party. Or they would say it is an opportunist position."

LIQUIDATIONISM

Despite the obviously widespread liquidationism within the CP, Hall refuses to take any responsibility for it, claiming that the CP did not put forward the lesser of two evils line:

"To take a forthright stand, to educate the masses against the concept of the lesser of two evils does not mean that when there is no other choice, we cannot take a stand. But that is the exception, not the rule. We took note of the differences between Nixon and McGovern but we did it without plugging for the lesser of two evils. In the Party, we must pose the question on a much higher level, for a Communist not to vote for a Communist candidate violates the most elementary understanding of a class approach to struggle. It shows a total lack of class consciousness, of socialist consciousness. It is tailism. It is liquidationism, it is pure raw opportunism."

But this is not the exception for the CP but the rule. Even when Hall is trying to extricate himself from the policies which led to such liquidationism, he cannot get around it and take a clear stand against it. This is what makes so cynical his attacks on one of the CP editors who wrote: "If you did not lose the last spark of human feeling, it is clear you must vote for McGovern." Hall remarks to this: "What is the logic which led to this. Such poetic feeling! Comrade Tyner and I resent such indecent remarks."

But the logic which led to such a statement is the logic of the policies formulated by Hall himself, his predecessors and the Soviet bureaucracy. It was not just this statement by one member of the CP in the election period but the whole perspective of the CP. How many workers and youth, especially how many Communist Party members can accept Hall's report and his statements that he has no responsibility for what transpired?

Contrary to what Hall contends, there was nothing at all confusing about what the CP said in its articles and editorials. From the very beginning of the election campaign it "unofficially" backed McGovern, seeing its own campaign as a means "to keep McGovern honest" and exert pressure on Nixon.

This policy was implemented in order to keep the working class in this most critical election bound to the Democratic Party and to prevent the development of a labor party in the United States. Hall's contentions that the CP did not plug for the lesser of two evils is disputed by its daily statements in its own press.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR ACTION AND DEMOCRACY

At the July 1 conference of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, the trade union arm of the CP, the CP supporters there openly opposed the fight launched, by supporters of the Workers League, for labor to construct a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans, and thus prepare the working class for the kind of crisis we are now entering. Fred Gaboury, head of the TUAD, said that labor's task was to back McGovern and keep him honest. Both Gaboury and Ernie DeMaio from the United Electrical Workers, who has long been a supporter of the policies of the Communist Party, said that the labor party had been tried in the past and had failed and it would be futile to try it now. This was one of the CP's most cynical arguments for supporting the Democrats since it was only through the Stalinists' efforts that the movement for a labor party in the past was derailed. Never once did any of the CP's representatives raise the necessity even for trade unionists to endorse the CP's candidates.

It is, in fact, in the labor movement that the CP went all-out for McGovern. This is no accident because it is here that the building of a class alternative to the capitalist parties must be based and it is here that the labor bureaucracy seeks to hold this movement back. The aid the Stalinists give to the labor bureaucracy by providing it with a left cover is critical. Their only opposition to the trade union bureaucracy during the campaign was

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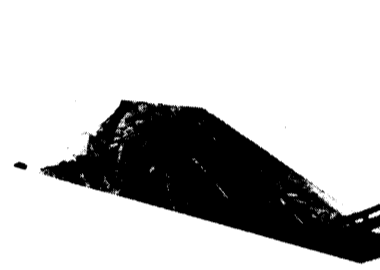
LABOR RANK & FILE TO MCGOVERN VICTORY

Page 2 DAILY WORLD Thursday, August 24, 1972

International News Swedish protests sent to GOP

Jersey labor sets up a McGovern committee

NEWARK, N.J., Aug. 23 - More than 100 delegates representing 25 international unions met here today to set up a McGovern committee in New Jersey.



California unions form McGovern committee

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 29 - The California AFL-CIO convention last week broke with AFL-CIO president George Meany's opposition to McGovern, but it did give birth to a pro-McGovern committee.

Page 2 DAILY WORLD Saturday, October 14, 1972

The Communist Party in the 1970s



Nashville steps up McGovern support

By RANDY SHANNON NASHVILLE, Tenn. (DWP) - The Communist Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 5th District of Tennessee recently stepped up his campaign with a speech at a political forum at the Church Memorial Methodist Church here.

Hall calls McG peace plan a 'step forward'

By RICK NAGIN MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 13 - Gus Hall, Communist Party national chairman, said yesterday that the peace plan proposed by McGovern is a "great step forward."

against Meany—not for not calling for an independent alternative to Nixon and McGovern but for not supporting McGovern. The day after McGovern was nominated for the presidency at the Democratic Party Convention, the CP headed its paper with "Labor Rank & File Key to McGovern Victory." In this article, the Daily World quoted every "pro-McGovern" labor leader they could find who shared their enthusiasm. In the same issue of the Daily World, George Morris, labor specialist for the CP, combined his elation for McGovern's nomination with a vicious attack on the Workers League, although not mentioned specifically, and the fight for a labor party. Morris, in this article, claimed that the:

"New Democratic Party under the leadership of McGovern was now being transformed into an instrument for independent political action.

"Historically, of course, the Democratic Party has served as one of the parties of the capitalist two party system. The majority of workers have long been politically locked into this system. But it is precisely because the working class and its allies have been so long prisoners within this two-party framework that the peoples' influence is exploding with tremendous force out of one of the parties

like steam out of an overheated pressure cooker."

"There are, of course, sectarians and 'r-r-revolutionary' phrasemongers who are blind to the realities taking place. They shout for an abortive 'labor party now' and denounce the pro-McGovern movement seeing nothing new in it. But true Marxists and constructive progressive who work actively within the great new political stream are concerned far more with the millions in it than with those who lead it."

The next day, July 14, the Daily World carried the most disgusting praise of McGovern: "On the last day of the convention, Democratic Party presidential candidate George S. McGovern is going to tell the delegates and his election workers he owes everything to them. He will be right. That is not a belittling of the contribution McGovern has made to the change of the Democratic Party, his forceful leadership and his realization of the currents sweeping the United States today."

From the Democratic Party Convention onward to election day, the pages of the Daily World welcomed the "anti-Meany revolt" in the unions, the support voted to McGovern by other sections of the labor bureaucracy. The formation of the "Labor for McGovern Committee" was praised. Fred Gaboury, head of the TUAD, and

Page 4 DAILY WORLD Wednesday, August 16, 1972

Auto workers heavily

LOS ANGELES - Unions appear to be overwhelming McGovern for president.

The meeting of 33 UAW members last Saturday was one of a series being held across the country and left little doubt about where the membership stood on this issue. Among those present were those elected as delegates to the last UAW national convention.

Local officers, bargaining committee members, political action committee members and national representatives and international delegates were scheduled to meet in Detroit.

Only one rank-and-file speaker against endorsing McGovern was Mike Cynamon from North America. Local 886 argued that the Democratic nominee had an aerospace appointment which affected the industry.

Page 4 DAILY WORLD Tuesday, August 22, 1972

National News Florida labor right to en

Special to the Daily World MIAMI BEACH, Aug. 21 - Organized labor in Florida has organized a banner of revolt against the policy of election "neutrality" set by AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Timing its statement for the eve of the Republican National Convention opening here today, the Florida AFL-CIO organization has warned Meany that his "no endorsement" policy in the presidential election will shatter labor unity and help anti-union Republicans capture congressional and state legislative seats.

U.S. Jews looted the bill Paul Zuckerman of Detroit, Mich., general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, said in Tel Aviv Monday that the UJA raised \$270 million in the past year alone to finance the entire program.

George Morris wrote statements in their behalf. The August 26 issue of the Daily World in its lead article on the "anti-Meany revolt" said:

"The support for McGovern is thus in many ways the expression of the deep-seated demand for a militant, progressive, democratic united trade union movement.

"There is no other way to explain the dimensions and character of the revolt. Today in Washington scores of labor leaders are meeting to hammer out plans for the National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver. The committee intends to raise money, register voters and build rank and file support for the Democratic ticket. Like the Labor For Peace organization, it represents a new center of power in the labor movement."

All of the CP's enthusiasm for the McGovern campaign and labor's support to it was designed to perpetuate the illusion that the working class can fight and defend its unions by supporting the Democratic Party. Is there any wonder why trade union members in the CP distributed and campaigned for McGovern?

At every point, the CP played up McGovern, denouncing the AFL-CIO for issuing a White Paper revealing his anti-labor record. Nixon was pictured as the reactionary and McGovern as the lesser evil and in many cases the enthusiasm for

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# THE KEY FACTORY

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## Workers seen leaning to McGovern ticket

By SAM KUSHNER  
United Auto Workers Union local leaders from 15 western states strongly behind the top union leadership's endorsement of Sen. George McGovern.

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## Labor demands endorse McG

The Colorado State Labor Council, defying a threat of... McGovern, the Demo... Florida, Colorado... as and Maine state federations... known to be opposing the... Florida legislature and pass anti-union bills such as right-to-work... We urge an immediate meeting of the Executive Council to... to take a hands-off endorsement... American political history." Hal



Headlines of the Daily World during 1972 election campaign, left, completely expose Hall's claim that it was not the CP leadership but the ranks who "mistakenly" voted for McGovern. Above, Workers League supporter speaks in favor of a labor party at TUAD conference where CP supporters did not even endorse their own presidential candidates.



McGovern went even beyond this. This was the real heart of the CP's "Dump Nixon" campaign, pleading with McGovern not to show his anti-working class face. The fraudulent character of the CP's own campaign, which was used as a safety valve to cover their open collaboration with the Democratic Party, is expressed even in the editorials of the Daily World. On September 1, the CP wrote quite openly:

"We support Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner for President and Vice President. But we share with millions of trade unionists, with Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano voters, with millions of first voters, the conviction that the focal point of the election campaign is to rout Richard Nixon and all he stands for." (My emphasis—L.S.J.)

One has only to listen to Gus Hall himself who now seeks to put the blame for the opportunism and liquidationism on the working class and the party rank and file. In the September 19 issue of the Daily World, Gus Hall is reported as saying the following at a rally in Philadelphia: "As for Democratic Party candidate George McGovern, Hall said he did not mind saying that 'anybody would be better than Nixon.'"

On October 14, a lead article on the CP's campaign is headlined: "Hall calls McG peace plan a 'step forward.'" According

to the report:

"He (Hall) ridiculed the 'empty rhetoric' of Trotskyite candidate Andrew Pulley, running for Vice President, who was quoted here as saying that both Nixon and McGovern are 'fascists' and 'choosing between them is like choosing between Hitler and Mussolini.'"

"Nixon and McGovern, Hall said, are both capitalist politicians and defend corporate profits, but Nixon is extremely reactionary, racist, anti-labor and opposed to ending the Vietnam war, while McGovern represents the liberal side of capitalist politics and is progressive in some areas and backward in others."

### BRAG

Hall during the campaign even went so far as to brag that he and the CP campaign had won more votes for McGovern than Shriver. On September 23 the CP Daily World reported:

"Addressing a meeting of 35 northern New Jersey Communist Party campaign workers here, Hall said that he was doing more to win votes away from Nixon than were Democratic candidates George McGovern and Sargent Shriver.

"'We are convinced,' Hall added, 'we won people away from Nixon. We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did.'"

Can there be any doubt why over 30 per-

cent of the CP's membership and a section of the Central Committee voted for McGovern? With the elections over, the McGovern forces and the Democratic Party in a state of collapse, and above all the CP's policies exposed, Hall seeks to cover it all up. It is a sign of the agonizing crisis convulsing Stalinism whose previous political credibility and its ability to divert and manipulate sections of the working class was based to a large extent on the temporary stability of capitalism. The severe economic crisis and the growing impossibility of compromise between two classes now begins to play havoc with the reformist policies of Stalinism.

Obviously facing tremendous opposition from within the CP, particularly from the youth and sections of trade unionists, Hall has to try to find a rationalization without confronting the real history of the CP, Stalinism and its relation to the Soviet bureaucracy. Hall, in confronting the "lesser evil" politics which dominate the CP, distorts the real history of the working class and the role of Stalinism. This is what Hall terms the "deeper roots of our weakness." He says:

"Our electoral policy has for some 25 years been expressed in the phrase 'the three legs of a stool' or 'the three prongs of a fork.' We have tried to interpret it on many occasions, including the last convention as well as the last meeting of the

Central Committee. But it never quite made political sense. In the course of this election, I have come to the conclusion that it is a wrong concept, a wrong basis for our Party's electoral policy. It is based on a wrong concept of the role of the Party and a wrong concept of what has to be the base of our mass electoral policy. It is an obstacle to the policies for which we have fought for some time.

"The stool was constructed at a time when the Party was under sharp attack. There was a need for flexibility. The three-legged stool concept was a reflection of the Party's response to the difficulties. The flexibility was contained in the idea that no one leg of the stool was the main leg. Depending on the pressures, one could choose a particular leg or legs. In fact, the concept was built on the idea that when the other two legs, namely, the Communist Party and the forces of political independence, get strong enough, then and only then would the stool sit on three legs. But until that day comes the one operating leg would be the liberal wing of the Democratic Party...

"It has been a stool of tailism. It was built from old blueprints that already had a basic flaw. They had come down from a previous period. Though we tried, the flaw in them was never fully corrected. In earlier periods, the blueprints called for the united front and the people's front policies also to be carried out through the Democratic Party."

Hall at no point discusses what the "old blueprints" were, what their "basic flaw" was, or from what "previous period" they were handed down. To do so, of course, would bring up the whole history of Stalinism. This history is the most dangerous threat to the Stalinists, for it exposes their whole counterrevolutionary position as well as their role today. The "three legged stool" was not formulated 25 years ago, nor was it just developed by the American CP. The "blueprint" was drawn up by Stalin and the Third International under his leadership. It was based on the "theory" developed by Stalin that it was possible to construct "socialism in one country" through "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. This theory represented a complete break from Lenin's policies, rejecting the perspective for world revolution and the struggle for power by the working class in every country. It was an expression of the needs not of the working class, but of the bureaucracy and its privileges at the expense of the working class. The independent struggle of the working class was thus subordinated by the bureaucracy and the Communist Parties to deals with imperialism.

### DIMITROV

The blueprint in the form of the people's front was enunciated in fact by Dimitrov, whom the CP continuously eulogizes, at the Seventh Congress of the CI in 1935. It had absolutely nothing to do with the United Front developed in the early years of the Third International. The United Front as Lenin and Trotsky saw it was a tactic for the unity in action of working class tendencies in which the communist parties maintained their independence and through it sought to win the masses away from the social democratic leadership. It was not, as Dimitrov posed it, an alliance with progressive forces of the capitalist class. The "people's front" was no "mistake" but, like the ultra leftism of the Third Period, was a product of the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the overall Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country."

The "basic flaw" in this policy was exposed by Trotsky:

"The essence of Bolshevism was the class policy of the proletariat, which alone could bring about the conquest of power in October. In the course of its entire history, Bolshevism came out irreconcilably against the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Precisely in this consisted the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevism and Menshevism. Still more the struggle within the labor movement which preceded the rise of Bolshevism: Menshevism, always in the last analysis revolved around the central question, central alternative: either collaboration with the bourgeoisie or irreconcilable class struggle. The policy of "People's Fronts" does not include an iota of novelty, if we discount the solemn and ess

the workers or with the Party. Or they would say it is an opportunist position."

LIQUIDATIONISM

Despite the obviously widespread liquidationism within the CP, Hall refuses to take any responsibility for it, claiming that the CP did not put forward the lesser of two evils line:

"To take a forthright stand, to educate the masses against the concept of the lesser of two evils does not mean that when there is no other choice, we cannot take a stand. But that is the exception, not the rule. We took note of the differences between Nixon and McGovern but we did it without plugging for the lesser of two evils. In the Party, we must pose the question on a much higher level, for a Communist not to vote for a Communist candidate violates the most elementary understanding of a class approach to struggle. It shows a total lack of class consciousness, of socialist consciousness. It is tailism. It is liquidationism, it is pure raw opportunism."

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Contrary to what Hall contends, there was nothing at all confusing about what the CP said in its articles and editorials. From the very beginning of the election campaign it "unofficially" backed McGovern, seeing its own campaign as a means "to keep McGovern honest" and exert pressure on Nixon.

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# LABOR RANK & FILE KEY TO MCGOVERN VICTORY

Page 2 DAILY WORLD Thursday, August 24, 1972

## International News

### Swedish protests sent to GOP

Stockholm, Sweden (AP)—The Swedish Communist Party has sent a letter to the Republican National Committee protesting the party's support of President Nixon.



Page 2 DAILY WORLD Saturday, October 14, 1972

## The Communist Party in the 1970s

New Haven, Conn. (AP)—The Communist Party in the United States is facing a major crisis as it prepares for the 1972 election. The party's leadership is divided over whether to support McGovern or to push for a labor party.



MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 13 (AP)—The Communist Party in Minnesota is holding a meeting to discuss its strategy for the 1972 election. Party members are debating whether to support McGovern or to push for a labor party.

## Hall calls McG peace plan a 'step forward'

By RICK NAGIN  
Gus Hall, Communist Party national chairman, said yesterday that the peace plan proposed by McGovern is a "step forward" in the fight against the Vietnam war.

Against Meany—not for not calling for an independent alternative to Nixon and McGovern but for not supporting McGovern. The day after McGovern was nominated for the presidency at the Democratic Party Convention, the CP headed its paper with "Labor Rank & File Key to McGovern Victory." In this article, the Daily World quoted every "pro-McGovern" labor leader they could find who shared their enthusiasm. In the same issue of the Daily World, George Morris, labor specialist for the CP, combined his elation for McGovern's nomination with a vicious attack on the Workers League, although not mentioned specifically, and the fight for a labor party. Morris, in this article, claimed that the:

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## Jersey labor sets up a McGovern committee

By SAM KUSNER  
NEWARK, N.J., Aug. 23—More than 100 delegates representing 25 international unions met here today to set up a McGovern committee for the 1972 election.

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## Nashville steps up

By RANDY SHAW  
NASHVILLE, Tenn. (AP)—The Communist Party in Tennessee is stepping up its campaign for McGovern in the 1972 election. Party members are holding meetings and distributing literature.

## Hall calls McG peace plan a 'step forward'

By RICK NAGIN  
Gus Hall, Communist Party national chairman, said yesterday that the peace plan proposed by McGovern is a "step forward" in the fight against the Vietnam war.

## Spent war funds for U.S. victims

By SAM KUSNER  
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## Auto workers seen leaning heavily to McGovern ticket

By SAM KUSNER  
LOS ANGELES—United Auto Workers Union local leaders from 15 western states appear to be overwhelmingly behind the top union leadership's endorsement of Sen. George McGovern for president.

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 29—The California AFL-CIO convention last week broke with AFL-CIO president George Meany's opposition to McGovern, but it did give birth to a pro-McGovern committee.

## Florida labor demands McG right to endorse

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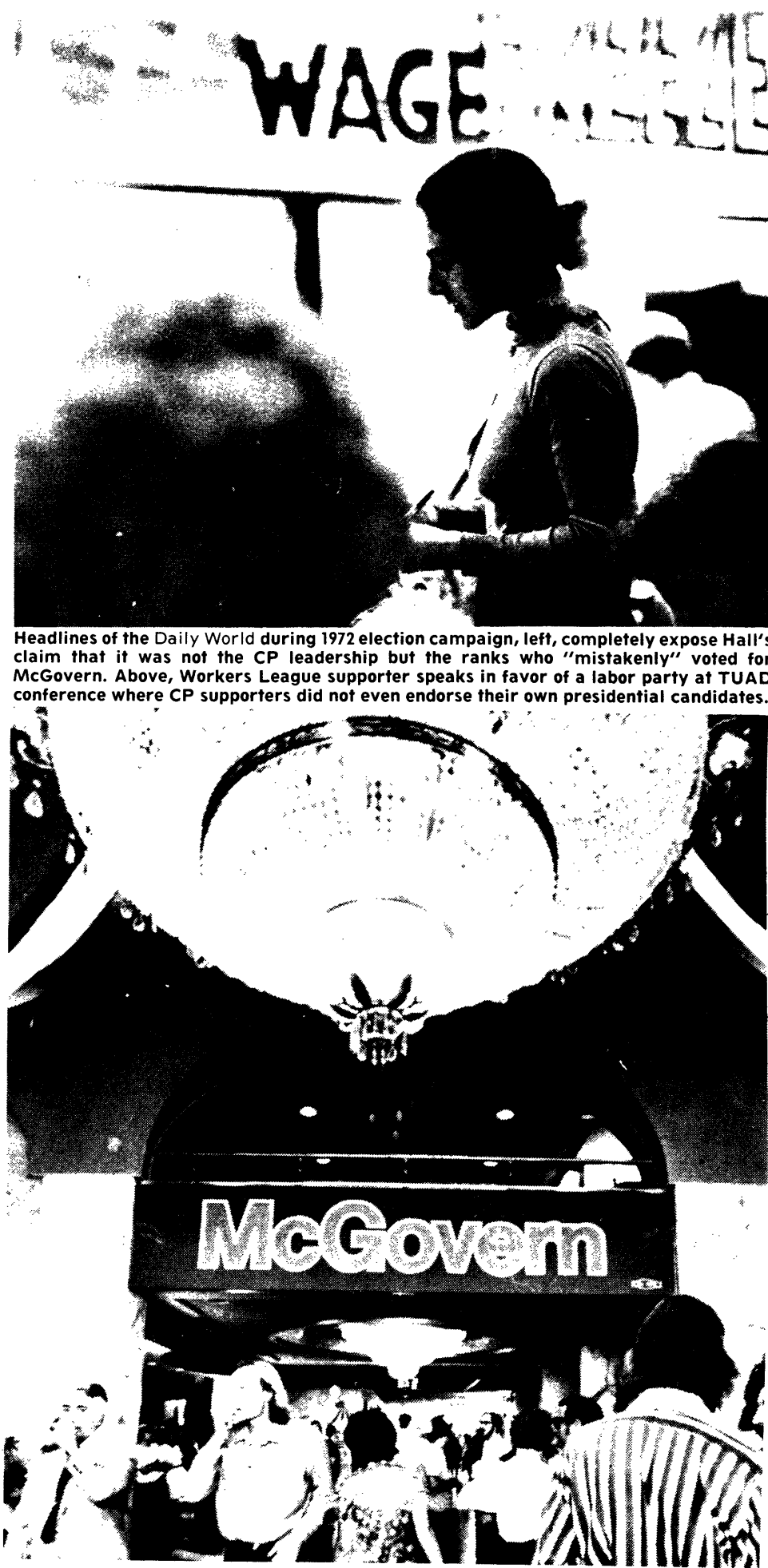
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Headlines of the Daily World during 1972 election campaign, left, completely expose Hall's claim that it was not the CP leadership but the ranks who "mistakenly" voted for McGovern. Above, Workers League supporter speaks in favor of a labor party at TUAD conference where CP supporters did not even endorse their own presidential candidates.

Central Committee. But it never quite made political sense. In the course of this election, I have come to the conclusion that it is a wrong concept, a wrong basis for our Party's electoral policy. It is based on a wrong concept of the role of the Party and a wrong concept of what has to be the base of our mass electoral policy. It is an obstacle to the policies for which we have fought for some time.

"The stool was constructed at a time when the Party was under sharp attack. There was a need for flexibility. The three-legged stool concept was a reflection of the Party's response to the difficulties. The flexibility was contained in the idea that no one leg of the stool was the main leg. Depending on the pressures, one could choose a particular leg or legs. In fact, the concept was built on the idea that when the other two legs, namely, the Communist Party and the forces of political independence, get strong enough, then and only then would the stool sit on three legs. But until that day comes the one operating leg would be the liberal wing of the Democratic Party...

"It has been a stool of tailism. It was built from old blueprints that already had a basic flaw. They had come down from a previous period. Though we tried, the flaw in them was never fully corrected. In earlier periods, the blueprints called for the united front and the people's front policies also to be carried out through the Democratic Party."

Hall at no point discusses what the "old blueprints" were, what their "basic flaw" was, or from what "previous period" they were handed down. To do so, of course, would bring up the whole history of Stalinism. This history is the most dangerous threat to the Stalinists, for it exposes their whole counterrevolutionary position as well as their role today. The "three legged stool" was not formulated 25 years ago, nor was it just developed by the American CP. The "blueprint" was drawn up by Stalin and the Third International under his leadership. It was based on the "theory" developed by Stalin that it was possible to construct "socialism in one country" through "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. This theory represented a complete break from Lenin's policies, rejecting the perspective for world revolution and the struggle for power by the working class in every country. It was an expression of the needs not of the working class, but of the bureaucracy and its privileges at the expense of the working class. The independent struggle of the working class was thus subordinated by the bureaucracy and the Communist Parties to deals with imperialism.

## DIMITROV

The blueprint in the form of the people's front was enunciated in fact by Dimitroff, whom the CP continuously eulogizes, at the Seventh Congress of the CI in 1935. It had absolutely nothing to do with the United Front developed in the early years of the Third International. The United Front as Lenin and Trotsky saw it was a tactic for the unity in action of working class tendencies in which the communist parties maintained their independence and through it sought to win the masses away from the social democratic leadership. It was not, as Dimitroff posed it, an alliance with progressive forces of the capitalist class. The "people's front" was no "mistake" but, like the ultra leftism of the Third Period, was a product of the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the overall Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country."

The "basic flaw" in this policy was exposed by Trotsky:

"The essence of Bolshevism was the class policy of the proletariat, which alone could bring about the conquest of power in October. In the course of its entire history Bolshevism came out irreconcilable against the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Precisely in this consists the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevism and Menshevism. Still more the struggle within the labor movement which preceded the rise of Bolshevism: Menshevism, always in the last analysis, revolved around the central question, central alternative: either collaborate with the bourgeoisie or irreconcilable class struggle. The policy of "People's Fronts" does not include an iota of this, if we discount the solemn and es-

cent of the CP's membership and a section of the Central Committee voted for McGovern? With the elections over, the McGovern forces and the Democratic Party in a state of collapse, and above all the CP's policies exposed, Hall seeks to cover it all up. It is a sign of the agonizing crisis convulsing Stalinism whose previous political credibility and its ability to divert and manipulate sections of the working class was based to a large extent on the temporary stability of capitalism. The severe economic crisis and the growing impossibility of compromise between two classes now begins to play havoc with the reformist policies of Stalinism.

Obviously facing tremendous opposition from within the CP, particularly from the youth and sections of trade unionists, Hall has to try to find a rationalization without confronting the real history of the CP, Stalinism and its relation to the Soviet bureaucracy. Hall, in confronting the "lesser evil" politics which dominate the CP, distorts the real history of the working class and the role of Stalinism. This is what Hall terms the "deeper roots of our weakness." He says:

"Our electoral policy has for some 25 years been expressed in the phrase 'the three legs of a stool' or 'the three prongs of a fork.' We have tried to interpret it on many occasions, including the last convention as well as the last meeting of the

to the report: "He (Hall) ridiculed the 'empty rhetoric' of Trotskyite candidate Andrew Pulley, running for Vice President, who was quoted here as saying that both Nixon and McGovern are 'fascists' and 'choosing between them is like choosing between Hitler and Mussolini.'

"Nixon and McGovern, Hall said, are both capitalist politicians and defend corporate profits, but Nixon is extremely reactionary, racist, anti-labor and opposed to ending the Vietnam war, while McGovern represents the liberal side of capitalist politics and is progressive in some areas and backward in others."

BRAG  
Hall during the campaign even went so far as to brag that he and the CP campaign had won more votes for McGovern than Shriver. On September 23 the CP Daily World reported:

"Addressing a meeting of 35 northern New Jersey Communist Party campaign workers here, Hall said that he was doing more to win votes away from Nixon than were Democratic candidates George McGovern and Sargent Shriver.

"We are convinced," Hall added, "we won people away from Nixon. We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did."

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tially charlatan name. The matter at issue in all cases concerns the political subordination of the proletariat to the left wing of the exploiters, regardless of whether this practice bears the name of coalition or left bloc (as in France) or 'People's Front' in the language of the Comintern."

In the 1930s the "People's Front" was used by the CP to tie the working class to Roosevelt and prevent the development of a labor party. It reflected the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy as it joined with the so-called democratic imperialists, refusing to independently mobilize the working class. In the 1936 elections the CP ran its own candidate, Browder, but at the same time carried out an unofficial campaign for Roosevelt, declaring that the CP was "fully prepared to continue and develop our united front relations with those who support Roosevelt."

At the same time the CP said that "without qualification the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street ticket is the chief enemy of the liberties, peace and prosperity of the American people..."

Working quite openly against the formation of a labor party, the CP later, after Roosevelt's victory, said:

"We can see now that the People's Front will not immediately and in a pure form express itself in a Farmer Labor Party. It will develop in the form of progressive movements inside and around the Democratic Party, and at the same time affect progressive sections of the Republican Party."

#### "PROGRESSIVE"

This is not very far removed from George Morris' talk about the "progressive" movements bursting through the Democratic Party under the leadership of McGovern.

In the 1930s the CP worked with the trade union bureaucracy to turn the American Labor Party in New York not into an independent party of the working class but into a vehicle for support to Roosevelt and an amalgam of the trade unions with representatives of the capitalist class like LaGuardia. Under the leadership of the Stalinists the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota was liquidated into the Democratic Party. Hall is even forced to raise this in his report with the very low vote the CP got in Minnesota, Hall's home state.

"Our party is related to a policy of liquidating that independent base. And masses of people know that. We did it openly and publicly. We didn't support it. We fought for it. I don't want to say so for certain, but maybe we were the main force for liquidating the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. Therefore we have acquired the image of pushing for the merging of the independent base into the Democratic Party."

Hall cynically claims this was a "mistake," that the general line of the People's Front is correct but "has not always led to correct practice and tactics." In this way Hall avoids the fundamental questions. Hall also tries to drag up once again the panacea for all the "mistakes" of the CP-Browderism. The policies followed by the CP were no more exceptional in Minnesota than they were in the United States. They were carried out in every country and were responsible for the bitter defeats the working class suffered in this period. They were far from "mistakes" or excesses. They were conscious policies which required the liquidation campaign against the original Bolshevik Party and the Trotskyists in the Moscow Trials.

They did not stop with Browder either. In 1948 following the postwar upsurge in the working class and a movement in the trade unions for a labor party, the CP worked to derail this movement by channelling it into the campaign of Henry Wallace. Wallace prided himself, as he put it, in being an "American capitalist." Programmatically and in its leadership Wallace's party was a third capitalist party.

In 1953 the CP at its National Committee meeting following the elections, and eight years after Browder had been removed, indulged in a "self criticism" session which ended with the conclusion that the CP had adhered too rigidly to a "third party line" and failed to take advantage of "Coalition approaches on issues and in

congressional and senatorial races." Thus, the CP turned this time back to the days of Roosevelt and the open support to the Democratic Party, but for the same purpose as they had supported Wallace in 1948.

Hall claims that the CP broke with the "three leg stool" in 1972 but the liquidationism in the CP not to mention its whole perspective during the election exposes Hall's attempts to cover up.

#### OPPORTUNISM

No matter how much Hall tries to find excuses for the class collaborationist policies of the CP, he cannot get away from them. Throughout his report he reassures the Central Committee that the CP has not completely given up on the Democratic Party. With the crassest kind of opportunism and pragmatism Hall contends that the "liberals can be helpful if there is a movement based on the working class." In other words liberals can be helpful in containing the working class in the framework of capitalist politics. This is why Hall has so much praise for the Black Caucus in the Democratic Party which he says is "an important force for political independence." At the same time Hall attacks the Socialist Workers Party campaign for "picking election campaigns such as those of Stokes, Abzug and others."

When Hall and the CP talk about "independent political action" they are talking about a coalition between the working class and the liberals on the program of reformism, of putting pressure on the existing government. Hall consciously in his report tries to confuse the question of a "class party" with a "people's party," just as he tried to confuse the question of the united front with the people's front. This is to perpetuate the illusion in the working class that there is a way out without a fight against capitalism. This is what dominates its perspective whether it is in the form of open support to Democrats or a new capitalist third party in the form of the "anti-monopoly coalition" or "people's party."

The CP's own campaigns are an attempt to serve up this threadbare reformist objective once again in an attempt to head off the development of a real alternative, a labor party. At a time when the very existence of the unions and the ability of the working class to defend its gains under conditions of the capitalist crisis, the CP's campaigns seek to introduce confusion and sidetrack sections of workers from their central task. This takes place at a time when the capitalist class has never been weaker and when the dangers posed by the economic crisis and the determination of the capitalist class to make the working class pay are great.

#### SUBORDINATION

The thread which runs throughout the zig and zags of the CP's policies is the subordination of the interests and independence of the working class to the Soviet bureaucracy and its "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. From the time Nixon took his measures on the dollar on August 15, 1971 the crisis of capitalism passed to a higher stage. The treachery of Stalinism has escalated to the same degree. Today they are propping up Nixon at the time of his greatest crisis. Following Nixon's election victory the head of the Soviet Communist Party welcomed it as showing support for "a peace-loving, realistic foreign policy." This is echoed by Hall, who claims that imperialism and its leader Nixon is moving to the left in international relations.

"In the field of foreign policy, monopoly capital moves toward more realistic policies, while in domestic affairs it now supports more reactionary policies. These trends are all reflections of the contradictions and the complexities of the moment..."

"The 1972 elections stand as dramatic evidence of the change in world relationships and in the mood of the masses on foreign policy matters. In a sense it is ironical that the old cold warrior Nixon won his re-election retreating from positions on which he had built his lifetime reactionary career..."

Hall mentions in particular Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow which were instrumental in preparing the sell-out of

the Vietnamese revolution as well as the "European security treaty." At a time when Nixon is using the collaboration of the Stalinist bureaucracy to prepare for war against the workers' states in order to try to resolve the crisis capitalism faces, Hall welcomes these moves as "realistic." He paints Nixon as a man who has changed his colors.

Hall welcomes the participation of the bureaucracy in the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of the European Security Council. The Stalinist bureaucracy is not only participating in this but was the greatest supporter of the participation by fascists and military dictatorships such as in Spain and Greece.

It is precisely through these methods that the Soviet bureaucracy is ganging up with imperialism against the working class and threatening the gains of the October Revolution.

The contradiction which Hall and the Stalinists try to erase is the fundamental contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class internationally. How is it that Nixon, the chief spokesman for this class, can be the friend of the Soviet Union and the working class abroad and something different at home? This absurd argument by the leadership of the American Communist Party is the preparation for going over to support and


open collaboration with his policies at home.

This is the other side of the work of the CP during the elections which boosted Nixon with their "Sign Now" campaign just as he was getting ready to unleash mass murder in North Vietnam and used it to push the deal between Nixon and the Stalinist bureaucracies to betray the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

It is precisely the deepening conflict between the two classes which deepens the crisis of Stalinism as it seeks to gain strength against the working class through its deals with imperialism. It fears the tremendous movement of the working class more than it does imperialism. As the bureaucracy moves further and further to the right the Stalinists are exposed in the eyes of millions of workers. No amount of "self criticism" as Hall calls his report can stop this. Hall's report is a cynical attempt to brush aside the over 20 years of betrayals in preparation for new betrayals today. Hall is a man well suited for this as we will examine next week.

Members of the CP, and particularly the youth, must demand a real accounting with their leadership and turn now to the history of Stalinism and the fight of Trotskyism against it.

TO BE CONTINUED



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### POINT COUNTER-POINT. By Aldous Huxley.

Aldous Huxley's semi-autobiographical novel of London bourgeois society in the 1920s, *Point Counter-Point*, has been dramatized by the BBC in a five part series of Masterpiece Theater and is being presented on WNET Channel 13. In all technical aspects it is an excellent production, well worth seeing as a first rate piece of theater, and it follows the novel faithfully. It must, however, be viewed critically, keeping in mind the underlying purpose of this presentation and the role that art can so often play in undermining historical development.

There is a significant absence of a definite plot. The backdrop for the discussions, which constitute the main part of the "action" is a London festering in the decadence of the ruling class and the murmuring fear of workers' revolts. The representation of prevalent forms of thought (mysticism, intellectualism, fascism, religion, and "communism") is the role of the individual characters; the most pernicious being that of Frank Illydge—the "communist"—who, of course, is not a revolutionary but a demoralized idealist.

#### WEAK WILLED BIOLOGIST

"Our little Bolshevik," as Alistair Cooke, the show's narrator so paternally calls him, is a weak willed biologist whose sense of political ineffectuality is preyed upon by a bourgeois scoundrel, who, for his own mystical purposes, leads Illydge to commit the "political" murder of a rising fascist leader. Illydge becomes nauseous and falls apart once the murder is done, thus attempting to prove the corruptibility and weakness of so-called revolutionaries. Then fate, God's next door neighbor, plays its hand and the fascist organization triples its membership on the basis of the assassination. The viewers are left with the sickening impression that Illydge's conscience will plague him the rest of his days.

But "communism"—as Huxley slanderously characterizes it—is not the only philosophy that reaches this useless and disastrous end. Each character is presented as being doomed by their egotism and escapism. Every method of thought (with one important exception) reaches the qualitatively same end as "communism." All forms of philosophy are proved incapable of dealing with the world as one after another blow of reality intrudes and the characters refuse to assess their crisis and escape even deeper into their blatantly egotistical affairs.

#### RELIGION

Religion, however, fares differently. Even though the characters representing it are shown to be just as hopeless and disgusting as everybody else, the show closes with the two religious hypocrites taking a bath together. This is Huxley's point. Every philosophy is doomed and incapable of dealing with the world. But religion, since it doesn't deal with this world, though it is perverse and hypocritical, is never penetrated and affected by reality. Thus religion is the only way to get along in this world, as the counter-point to religion is endless frustration through philosophical doubts. (A biographical note to this is interesting as Huxley's defeatist attitude led him in later years into mysticism and he became an advocate of the spiritual qualities of LSD).

Huxley presents the contradictions of society and philosophy in the narrow



Scene from the 1926 British General Strike, which threatened to topple the government. Huxley chose to ignore that "counter-point."

framework of only bourgeois characters, thus his "points" and "counter-points" are static, lifeless, as they contain no interaction or movement. There is no conflict between the fundamental opposite (or counter-point) of the bourgeoisie—the working class. They are sneered at occasionally, but essentially ignored. Because Huxley's separated contradictions do not begin with and conflict with the basic contradiction of class society, there is no definite plot, for a plot demands

resolutions of the contradictions, and Huxley's empiricism and defeatism can see no solution.

#### DEMORALIZING

But what is the point of the television broadcast? It is no accident that at a time in England when the Socialist Labour League can rally 10,000 people with the understanding of the urgency of Marxist perspectives, that the BBC produces this anti-

theoretical and demoralizing show. And it is no accident that WNET presents in prime time a show which will primarily appeal to middle class intellectuals and students. The clear purpose of this production is to encourage desperation and ensuing defeatism.

The viewers of *Point Counter-Point* have been subjected to a commercial-free brainwashing designed to produce resignation and acceptance of the world crisis of capitalism.

## Film Lou Belkin

**CRIES AND WHISPERS. Directed and written by I. Bergman. Photography by S. Nyquist. Starring M. Anderson, L. Ullmann, I. Thulin, B. Bjork.**

Perhaps the most classic example of the highly contradictory character of the so-called "art cinema" is the work of Ingmar Bergman. In 20 years Bergman's films have combined the most advanced scientific techniques in all of cinema with the most extreme subjective idealism and pessimism. What was at one period illuminating—*The Seventh Seal*—has degenerated into hopelessness and despair.

Beginning with *Persona*, made in 1965, Bergman departs entirely from relating characters not only to each other, but to the world itself. His techniques flow from his religious preoccupations and idealism.

His latest movie is *Cries and Whispers*, not surprisingly adored by every philistine movie critic and art gallery patron. The subject is three sisters, one of whom is on the verge of dying. The film expresses Bergman's removal from the world and a complete pessimism about the ability of human beings to not only function, but to change the world.

The story revolves around the final months in the life of Anna, the middle sister; the younger sister, Maria, who is naive, flirtatious and miserable; and Karen, aging, cynical, emotionless and expressionless. The sisters join the invalid at the family's ancestral estate—a magnificent hundred-acre affair in the Swedish countryside. With them is the faithful servant, strong, full of life, deeply religious and terribly abused.

For about 95 minutes we are treated to confessions, secret desires, subjective revelations, and excruciating moments of anguish—which we have seen not only in all of Bergman's previous films, but in the gory stuff churned out by Hollywood and Tokyo. Only the character of Anna really lives insofar as she depicts death itself and in her struggle to live seeks to bring about some sort of optimism, some sort of joy about life.

Bergman intermittently treats us to half-lit close-ups of each sister as though he is incapable of bringing them into the film in any other way. In presenting the "darker" sides of their "inner" lives, he goes over to a dualist position because he completely negates any connection between their thinking and the world.

In fact by studying only their recollections, their "inner thoughts," he isolates each character from the present. He must end up apologizing for God and for the lowliness of all human beings. He must rip his characters out of any connection with each other and with the world.

In one sequence the maid, beautifully played by Brigitte Bjork, clasps the photograph of her child who died and

utters: "I accept your death, my child, for that is what God willed." And so it is for everything and everyone else. The characters are predetermined by some unknown quality, exert free will to the extent that they act on their own decisions, but cannot really resolve anything. Bergman's refusal to actually confront what is going on in the world can only force him to retreat into subjective glimpses. His conceptions are therefore very reactionary and dangerous because they are diversions.

The artist who begins entirely with himself and his relationship to "a more powerful force" cannot develop any vitality in his work or his characters. If thoughts proceed entirely from individuals and have no real connection with the world we must assume that one is ultimately responsible for what one does, but that one cannot do very much anyway. This is but another justification for faith.

#### SKEPTICISM

In *The Seventh Seal*, Bergman approached the question of the skepticism about God from the point of view of the breakup of feudal relations and the emergence of the bourgeoisie. With *Cries and Whispers* Bergman retreats from the world and more and more into skepticism and subjectivity. Not even superb performances and magnificent low-key, static photography can change that; rather the pictorials provide the vehicle through which Bergman peddles his idealism and hostility to people themselves. And his contempt for the working class is clearly expressed in his characterization of the maid as brutish but emotional.

## Three Sisters

## 20 YEARS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

On Sunday, over 130 workers and youth attended the fourth session of a six part series of lectures being given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, on "Twenty Years of the International Committee."

This week the scheduled topic "Vietnam: The SWP's Decade of Betrayal," was given following a two week discussion which probed the split with the Socialist Workers Party from the fundamental questions of the Marxist method and international perspectives for the construction of a Marxist leadership in the working class.

Opening the lecture, Wohlforth stated that all the issues being dealt with in this lecture series have been critical to the development and continuity of the Fourth International. He stressed that the perspectives on the fight against the Vietnam War have been central to the development of the world Trotskyist movement and that the war itself has been central to all international developments in the preceding years.

Wohlforth insisted that, in order to understand the evolution of the Vietnam conflict from 1954 to the present, it must be placed within the framework of the changing international developments. The history of the struggle in Vietnam cannot be understood in isolation but must be viewed in light of the deepening international capitalist crisis and the sharpening of the struggle of opposites, that is, of the working class and the capitalist class, because of this crisis.

Wohlforth noted that the history of the Vietnam War was one of the evolution from the uneven development of world revolution that characterized the 1950s to that of the combined movement of the masses in the colonial countries and the proletariat in the metropolitan countries. The period of the 1950s was marked by an artificial boom created by the capitalists in an attempt to hold off the development of the economic crisis.

This boom was based on inflationary policies in the advanced capitalist countries and on the complete draining of the resources of the colonial countries. Thus, while the living conditions of the working class improved in the advanced countries and for a thin strata of the industrial proletariat in the backward countries, conditions for the masses in the colonial countries deteriorated.

#### UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

It was this uneven development of the struggle between the relative stability of Europe and America on the one hand and the massive, national colonial uprisings on the other that led to the impressionistic theories of those who revised Marxism by claiming that the working class in the advanced countries was conservative and so one had to turn to other "sectors" to build the revolutionary movement.

Now, as the development of the crisis in the colonial countries is heightened and directed squarely at the working class and not simply at the peasantry at the same time as workers in the advanced countries are moving to fight back against the attacks on their basic rights and living standards, these theories of the revisionists are exploding. It is this change in the class relations which is now creating a crisis within the revisionist and Stalinist movements and lays the basis for the development of mass revolutionary parties in every country of the world.

Wohlforth traced the development of the present Vietnam War which, he noted, began as a continuation of the previous struggle of the Vietnamese against the French. He said that it grew out of the "deal" made by France in the Geneva Accords which was supposed to have settled France's involvement in the war. He con-



tinued:

"Actually, the US pushed France out of Vietnam. The US intervention into Southeast Asia marked the decisive breakup of Europe's strength in relation to the US. The present war began in the South in a battle against US intervention there and quite independently of the Stalinists in Hanoi. However, because of their strength, the Stalinists came to dominate the movement and the National Liberation Front emerged."

The Vietnam War began under the hard line of American imperialism and the equally hard line of the workers and peasants to resist imperialism. Thus, under these objective conditions, the Hanoi Stalinists were forced to conduct a struggle. Wohlforth declared:

"In this situation, we have seen the determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants as they have fought some of the most heroic battles that the working class has led in hundreds of years of history. In fact, we consider the Tet offensive to be one of the most heroic battles of the oppressed masses in the thousands of years of struggle of man."

#### STALINISM

Wohlforth emphasized that the struggle in Vietnam has had a decisive impact on Stalinism internationally, which bases itself on collaboration with capitalism. Its role has always been to seek to head off revolutionary developments and yet, in Vietnam, it was forced into a fight with imperialism under conditions where there can be no compromise. He said:

"It is this inability to compromise the movement of workers and peasants together with the movement of workers and youth here which has created the objective conditions for the deepening of the crisis within the Stalinist movement. Stalinism, which bases itself on the defeats of the working class, is objectively weakened by the movement of workers."

However, he noted, these objective conditions only set the stage for the breakup and defeat of Stalinism. But, no movement automatically dissolves. They can always

pick up the pieces and cover themselves as long as the Trotskyist movement does not build and deepen its roots in the working class. Thus, the most decisive factor in the struggle against Stalinism is the development of Trotskyist parties in every country of the world.

The International Committee understood that Stalinism would be extremely weakened by the Vietnam situation and that there could be no compromise of the issues involved. At the same time, it placed its perspectives on Vietnam within the framework of the developing international situation. Thus Wohlforth said, our perspectives recognized that while:

"The Vietnam War began as a colonial struggle, it was extended into a period when the capitalist crisis moved into the metropolitan countries as well. The political development of workers and youth in the US was beginning and coming together with the growing and deepening movement of colonial peoples.

"We understood that the issues posed in Vietnam couldn't be settled in Vietnam. What would be decisive would be the movement of the working class in the US not only against Vietnam in isolation but against all the attacks being waged on them as well."

#### PERSPECTIVES

It was within this framework that the Workers League, in political sympathy with the International Committee, thrashed out its perspectives for the fight against the war. These revolved around two main axes. First, we held that the war in Vietnam was a class war waged against workers and peasants there in the interests of American big business here.

Therefore, from the beginning of the antiwar movement, we fought for the unconditional victory of the NLF against American troops. We were for their victory, Wohlforth explained, in spite of their leadership just as Trotsky was for the victory of the colonial masses under the leadership of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia.

However, Wohlforth insisted that it is not enough simply to be for the victory of

the NLF. In contrast to those who saw Vietnam in simply a radical way, such as the "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Min brigades" and the Young against War and Fascism, we saw that this victory could only be guaranteed if we brought forward the American working class in a struggle against capitalism.

Thus, the second axis of our perspective revolved around the development of a strategy to bring workers forward in strikes and political action in order to make it impossible for American imperialism to continue in Vietnam. It was in this situation, Wohlforth explained, that:

"We had to develop perspectives not just on how we could stop the Vietnam War but on how we can stop the next war as well. That is, we had to proceed from how we can actually stop capitalism."

#### SWP

On the other hand, the SWP—who had refused to develop any perspective for bringing forward the American working class with their unprincipled reunification with the Pabloites—developed a policy for the US antiwar movement which represents the most pernicious betrayal of the SWP to date. They confronted the question of Vietnam in isolation—outside of international developments and a perspective for struggle here.

Wohlforth said:

"At the beginning, the SWP said that they had to take a stand on victory for the NLF. However, six months later, they completely dropped that position and simply called for the withdrawal of American troops. This completely opportunist move was carried out in order to attract the middle class youth and liberals who were entering the peace movement. Just as in the Cuban situation, this opportunist adaptation was covered over in the name of 'party building.'"

In 1970, the SWP developed its new theoretical position to justify its adaptation to what is—to the existing surface movement. Thus, Jack Barnes, National Organization Secretary, in discussing the antiwar movement, declared:

"What is decisive is whether you are absorbing the new experiences, while you're trying to understand what is happening, and while you're applying class struggle principles to unanticipated forms of struggle, you act as revolutionists."

"You don't know exactly where you're going when a radicalization first begins. You can't know exactly where you're going until the radicalization becomes more concrete and you can absorb the new forms of struggle and analyze them thoroughly."

#### EMPIRICISM

In this speech of Barnes, the position of Joe Hansen that dialectics is nothing more than empiricism systematically carried out was taken to its logical conclusion. Thus, Wohlforth explained, the method of empiricism led the SWP to begin with what was immediately around it.

He said:

"They looked for a point of support within what is in order to influence the direction of this movement or, if that is impossible, to at least build the party."

Because of their complete adaptation to the given situation, the SWP has provided the central cover for the Stalinist American Communist Party for the past 10 years. The CP has always maintained a consistent position concerning Vietnam. Their perspective is one of pressuring the government for a sellout treaty, not one of fighting for the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

They began their pressure campaign inside SANE, which contained an amalgam of liberals, Democratic politicians, Dr. Spock and ministers. They joined with SANE even though at that very time, that organization was involved in an anti-communist witch-hunt against the Stalinist within their ranks. Since that time, the CP has joined together with any liberal group which has been willing to limit the struggle against the war to one of



# Decade Of Betrayal



mere protest and pressure politics.

The SWP, by refusing to begin with what needed to be done and what could guarantee victory in Vietnam, ended up in open collaboration with Stalinism. Wohlforth insisted that:

"As centrists, they could not find any middle ground between Stalinism and Trotskyism. They could only adapt to Stalinism at every point, in spite of the empirical breaks they would be forced to make at certain points when they were being denounced by the CP. All tendencies which break from Marxism always end up covering for Stalinism."

## ASSESSMENT

Wohlforth concluded his lecture with an assessment of the present situation in Vietnam. He said that we must understand the condition that imperialism is faced with now. The American working class have moved against the war. "This movement, perhaps, has not been in the way we would have liked to see it, that is, through political strike action and a labor party," he declared. Nevertheless, workers have moved in massive demonstrations and, although they were led by the trade union bureaucracy, the strength of these demonstrations is an indication of what can be expected in the future as the working class matures politically.

At the same time, the American worker has fought the war in this sense: the Army was faced with a massive rebellion of its ranks, made up of soldiers from the working class. The US was only able to prevent an outright mutiny by withdrawing the troops.

Thus, Nixon was unable to transfer all of Southeast Asia into a South Korea and to use this as a base to attack China. His inability to do this was only because of the intervention of American workers, even though the intervention marked only the beginning elementary movement of workers as a class.

"However, the Vietnam War is not over," Wohlforth continued. He said that the deal Nixon made in Vietnam with the treacherous aid of the Stalinists in Hanoi, China and Moscow, was, in fact, no deal at all. The deal took place precisely at a point when the Thieu regime was about to

Despite their Stalinist leadership, the National Liberation Front has waged some of the most heroic battles ever fought against American imperialism. Above, the Workers League has consistently campaigned for victory to the NLF, while the SWP has limited their campaign to "Out Now" and ended up with the Stalinists on the question of Vietnam.



topple and thus served to give that reactionary government some breathing space to recoup its forces. The responsibility for this lies squarely on the Soviet, Chinese and Hanoi bureaucracies.

"However, because of the strength and determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the Hanoi Stalinists have been forced, at various times, to denounce Moscow and Peking."

Thus, we see Vietnam as a revolution of armed masses—not of bureaucrats—although it is led by the bureaucracy. It is this objective situation that creates the contradiction and as Wohlforth noted:

"It is in this movement of masses, against the bankruptcy of Stalinism, to insure the only solution to the situation in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—that is victory—that creates the conditions for the breakup and defeat of Stalinism. It is ONLY the movement of masses, not the passive criticism of individuals, that can guarantee the defeat of Stalinism once and

for all."

Essential, therefore, to this fight against both Stalinism and imperialism is the construction of parties of the Fourth International. We stand against all those who take the passive position in regard to the Vietnamese Revolution, that is characterized by the Spartacist League, who see the struggle to defend the Vietnamese workers and peasants as simply a matter of having a few correct points and vehemently denouncing the Hanoi leadership. Wohlforth emphasized:

"We take sides. We are partisans of the Vietnamese Revolution. But we stand against the leadership and fight to build a new leadership in the actual struggles of workers and peasants. In the battle to construct that new leadership, we always fight as partisans. Therefore, we took sides in Bangla Desh in favor of the intervention of the Indian Army against the genocide being carried out by Pakistan. We are for an independent Bangla Desh

even though it is led by the bourgeoisie just as Trotsky was for aid to Chiang Kai-Chek in the struggle against Japan."

He concluded:

"If you can't take a stand against colonial oppression, on the side of the colonial revolution, you can't fight your own ruling class. You are simply a passive observer adapting ultra-left positions solely for the sake of having a position."

## DISCUSSION

In the discussion that followed Wohlforth's presentation, the Spartacist League again revealed their complete idealism and their fundamental agreement with Pabloism. They sought to isolate the discussion of Vietnam from the questions of the capitalist crisis and perspectives for the struggle against the American capitalist class.

Because, as American radicals, they refuse to confront the necessity to develop a perspective to bring the working class forward in an actual struggle against this government, they pose no defense of the Vietnamese Revolution. Rather, their speakers proceeded to list one point after another about the nature of the Hanoi bureaucracy.

In their speeches, it was clearly revealed that the SL begins at all points with the power of the bureaucratic apparatus and not at all with the strength of the working class and the movement of the masses.

In this, they line up with Pablo, who, beginning from the strength of Stalinism, saw that the future would be marked by centuries of deformed workers states.

Therefore, they do not defend the struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism but simply sit outside and comment upon it. Furthermore, they completely deny all crisis within capitalism and claim that capitalism today is the same as it was in 1914. Thus, they throw out the Marxist method, the heart of which is contradiction and change.

By denying the continuous changes within capitalism—and probing these changes so as to develop a perspective to bring the working class forward—they absolve themselves of the urgent responsibility for building a revolutionary party to take the working class to power.

In his summary of the discussion, Wohlforth noted that the central questions which are posed today before the working class, as far as its understanding and the development of its leadership are concerned, are perspectives and the Marxist method.

To develop perspectives, a detailed assessment of the changes occurring within capitalism is required. Only in this way can we equip ourselves as a serious movement to lead the working class. He declared:

"Spartacist stands completely naked on the essential questions. They don't understand anything about the nature of capitalism. They can't even see that there was a boom in the 1950s. Their method is idealist and denies material reality.

"It is the changes within capitalism that determine your tactics each day and a revolutionary party must daily assess these changes in order to understand how to intervene in the struggles of workers and construct a mass revolutionary leadership."

Returning to a discussion of the Marxist method, Wohlforth emphasized that the heart of dialectics is contradiction. The heart of contradiction is the unity of opposites inherent in everything. These opposites are absolute opposites in unity and it is out of this that all development comes. Thus, he said:

"Today, the objective crisis within capitalism does not automatically create a revolutionary movement and a new leadership. But, within the working class, there is a contradiction between the masses and their present leadership. If you ignore this and don't fight within it, you become id... passive and radical. Only by struggling to bring workers up against their present leadership will a new leadership be forged and a revolutionary movement built."

## GERMANY . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

under control because the deterioration of the mark is the product—first of all—of the massive paper dollar holdings of the German central bank.

The events of the past three months underscore the inability of the German capitalists to find a solution to the problems caused by the international monetary crisis.

Last February, the German central bank printed billions of marks to cover its purchase of dollars flooding the country and thereby prevent a disastrous revaluation of the national currency.

### CRISIS

In order to counteract the inflationary impact of the purchase of dollars, the Bundesbank tightened its credit policies. However, the credit policies were once again eased when a mounting liquidity crisis threatened a major downturn in business.

But with inflation out of control, the Bundesbank has once

again reimposed high credit rates.

The crisis in the German economy is of international significance not only because the rise in its credit rates could provoke another round of speculation against the dollar, but also because it reveals the desperate situation facing every capitalist country in Europe.

While the foreign exchange markets have been relatively quiet since the February-March crisis, the lull has been marked by reckless policies which are setting the stage for a spectacular collapse of the European economy in the very near future.

### BOOMS

In order to maintain production, European capitalists—particularly in Britain—have undertaken measures to start reflationary booms. A great deal of the financing for the boomlets is coming from the Eurodollar market which is the very source

of inflation in Europe.

The use of this essentially valueless capital must have disastrous results without any system of fixed exchange rates. The next big movement away from paper currency and into gold will cause dramatic bankruptcies for many banks and corporations resting on the bloated credit arrangements.

In Germany, any attempt to impose wage controls will meet great resistance from the powerful trade union movement. During the past six months, metal workers have continued to fight for increases above the eight and one-half percent negotiated in the autumn by the trade union bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy is meeting the growing crisis not by mobilizing the ranks of German labor but by urging closer "cooperation." The social-democrats made the theme of "partnership" between the working class and big business the central slogan of May Day.

## WATERGATE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

which broke into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and eventually directed the bugging of the Democratic Party's Watergate offices.

This group, located right next to the White House in Room 16 in the basement of the Executive Office Building, became nothing less than the nucleus of a secret political police force which would ultimately be used against the working class and its trade union and political organizations.

### MEANY

AFL-CIO President George Meany, for example, revealed last week that Charles Colson, a special counsel to Nixon who was intimately involved with the Liddy-Hunt group and the political spying and sabotage campaign directed against the Democrats, organized a force of 40 agents provocateur to disrupt the 1971 AFL-CIO Convention.

The first assignment given Liddy and Hunt apparently was to conduct a secret investigation for Nixon of Daniel Ellsberg and the publication of the Pentagon Papers. This was expanded to include other leaks of classified government documents and other information to newsmen and eventually to include the political espionage operation which led to Watergate.

Liddy and Hunt worked under the direction of the White House, according to Hunt's testimony before a federal grand jury. They were directed by John Ehrlichman, Nixon's top domestic affairs adviser; Ehrlichman's chief deputy, Egil Krogh; and another White House assistant, David Young.

Liddy and Hunt flew to Los Angeles on August 25, 1971, and took a room at the Beverly Hilton Hotel. According to Hunt, they had been authorized by Krogh "to make a preliminary vulnerability and feasibility study"—to case the psychiatrist's office. They were supplied with a special camera, disguises and false identification by the CIA.

### THOROUGH

"We did a rather thorough, I think, professional study of the objective," Hunt told the grand jury. "We took photographs out-

side the building of the area itself, and then we returned to Washington and wrote up our findings."

### CIA CONTACTS

As a result of this study, it was decided to burglarize the office to steal Ellsberg's psychiatric records. For this purpose, Hunt recruited some "of my old CIA contacts" in Miami's Cuban exile community—including Watergate defendant Bernard Barker.

The decision to steal Ellsberg's records was made after a psychological profile of Ellsberg made by the CIA proved inadequate.

"Inasmuch as the government was contemplating at that time a major prosecution which in fact has evolved, it was felt... (it would be desirable) if some way could be found whereby a judgment could be made on Ellsberg in regard to the prosecutability," Hunt said.

Liddy and Hunt not only continued their investigation of Ellsberg; they also did their dirty work in pursuit of other leaks such as the secret documents on the India-Pakistani war used by columnist Jack Anderson.

### CREEP

Eventually, their work was directed toward disrupting the Democratic presidential campaign to assure Nixon's reelection, and they were incorporated into the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP).

At the time this decision reportedly was made, polls showed Nixon's popularity on the ebb and Republican leaders feared Kennedy might be chosen as the Democratic Party's nominee. So they embarked on a campaign to make sure that the weakest contender—George McGovern—was chosen by sabotaging the campaigns of everyone else.

There is also evidence that CREEP, under the leadership of first Jeb Magruder and later Attorney General John Mitchell, developed other contingency plans in the event that Nixon's re-election became doubtful.

One of these reportedly was a plan to use agents provocateur disguised as radicals and McGovern supporters to disrupt the Democratic Convention in Miami Beach. For this purpose,

Barker tried to obtain a floor plan of the Miami Beach Convention Center.

### WHITEWASH

Nixon did not abandon these conspiratorial methods after the arrest of Liddy, Hunt, Barker and the other Watergate defendants. Instead, he launched a massive whitewash job in order to cover up his plans for dictatorial rule, as well as all the corruption which had begun to surface in 1971 with the ITT scandal.

Based on as yet unconfirmed information, the *Bulletin* has learned this cover up effort may have even led to the death of Hunt's wife in a plane crash in December. Mrs. Hunt reportedly was ready to talk, not only about Watergate, but about Mitchell. She supposedly had documents which proved he had accepted a bribe in the anti-trust case against the El Paso Natural Gas Company.

Watergate threatens to topple Nixon at a point when the American ruling class must have a strong government to gear up for attacks on Europe and Japan and the American working class itself. There is now a growing fear on Capitol Hill among political leaders in both capitalist parties that unless Nixon can stabilize his government and disassociate himself from the stench of Watergate, he will have to be impeached or forced to resign. They are desperately trying to avoid that dangerous alternative.

This is the meaning of Nixon's appointment of Major General Alexander Haig, the vice chief of staff of the Army, to replace Haldeman as his White House chief of staff. Nixon must now bring the military directly into his Bonapartist "super cabinet" in a last-ditch attempt to regain the confidence of the ruling class and save his regime.

US News & World Report quotes "one close Nixon associate" as saying: "If we permit weakness to develop because of Watergate in our dealings with Congress or with the bureaucracy or with foreign countries, then we have had it. We might as well pack up and go home. All the goals we are striving for must be sought just as earnestly as before Watergate."

## TWICE-WEEKLY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

whole conspiracy against the American people will be revealed.

Above all, Democrats, union bureaucrats and the capitalist press refuse to pose the alternative to Nixon, the need for labor to build its own party.

### OWN PRESS

The working class must have its own press. This is the first, number one, basic requirement for the defense of the working class in this period. Nothing else can be trusted, for everything else directly or indirectly is committed to the system which requires the repression of the working class for its own preservation.

This is the importance of the *Bulletin*. Only the *Bulletin* warned in 1972, when Watergate first was revealed, of the dangers to democratic rights posed in these revelations. Only the *Bulletin* crusaded throughout the 1972 elections for labor to build its own party as the only real alternative to Nixon. Only the *Bulletin* has insisted that the fight today for wages is the only way to defend the gains of the working class against inflation and that this fight requires a new leadership in the unions and a new political party based on the unions.

The *Bulletin* must now be built as a twice-weekly. This twice-weekly must be developed into a daily in the quickest possible time. Every effort must now be devoted to this task.

We have so far accomplished much. We have installed our new four-unit web offset press in our own premises. We have printed on this press five issues of the *Bulletin*, two issues of the new *Young Socialist*, and now a series of pamphlets. We have a 100 percent union shop organized by International Typographical Union Local 6 and the Pressmen's Union Local 51.

We are in the last stages of completing the installation of mailing equipment to speed delivery of the *Bulletin*. New phototypesetting equipment is on order which sets type at 150 lines per minute and which gives us back-up so that no matter what,

the twice-weekly will come out on schedule.

Now we enter the last month of our \$50,000 Spring *Bulletin* Expansion Drive and of our 12,000 Spring Subscription Drive. These drives must be completed and exceeded to insure the gains we have already made and to make possible the next stage of actually launching the twice-weekly this coming October 1.

### FUND DRIVE

This last week we received \$2,694.04, bringing our grand total over the two-third mark to \$35,598.86. We must now receive \$3,500 for the next four weeks to complete this drive in full and on time. We are sure our supporters, our readers, the members of the Workers League and Young Socialist branches will see to it that this is done.

This last week we received a very fine total of 864 subscriptions to give us a grand total of 8,964 toward our goal of 12,000. Particularly noteworthy were the two New York area mobilizations on Saturday. The Brooklyn branches received a tremendous response in the Ozone Park section of Queens, getting 217 subs, while the Manhattan branches got 130 subs in Jersey City. Comrades report children nine and ten years of age discussing political questions around the Watergate affair and a real thirst for information, for a workers' paper, among young and old.

### 800 SUBS

We must now receive 800 subs each week. This can be done if each area holds all day mobilizations each weekend in addition to regular sub work and if these mobilizations are directed with an understanding of Watergate, the weakness of Nixon, and the dangers we face if we do not construct a labor party.

Never before has the building of a workers' press been so needed nor the basis for it in the turn of workers toward politics so pronounced. Now is the time to push through all the way for the twice-weekly *Bulletin*!

## SCHAEFER . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

have prices going up every day now, and we're not getting an increase. This makes it very difficult. We haven't gotten a raise now in the last five or six years, and look at the way the cost of living has gone up."

The younger, lower paid workers with little seniority, especially the inside men, will be the hardest hit, one worker told the *Bulletin*.

He said that although workers hope to gain some job security through the new contract at the sacrifice of wages, the real situation is that younger workers will face layoffs.

"Sure, with the company trying to cut costs, there will probably be layoffs coming," he said. "I imagine the inside men will be the hardest hit. You see, they're going to be getting longer hours and more work out of us, so they won't need as many. The inside men are the worst off, especially the young guys who haven't worked here long, what with the extra hours and all."

It is from these young workers that most of the opposition to the new agreement has come. One

young helper told the *Bulletin*:

"It isn't any good at all. We won't get any increase, none at all. What it amounts to is that we'll have to move more cases for the same pay."

"With the prices going up like they are, we just can't make it. Here we are, going to get the same money for the next three years. Now, how are we supposed to keep up on that? It should have been a one year contract so we could have opened it up next year to catch up with the cost of living."

The leadership of the two locals has worked with the company all the way. They called the new contract "viable and reasonable under present economic circumstances," and in return, Company President R.J. Schaefer III praised union negotiators for having worked "for the common good."

These closings can be fought now with all workers taking up a fight for a Congress of Labor which can unite the trade unions behind a program to fight Nixon, who is spearheading the attacks of the corporations, and to construct a labor party.

BY BRUCE McKAY

Out of the inflationary expansion of credit and the financial wheeling and dealing which characterized capitalism after World War Two grew a vast international pool of paper currency, bonds and other forms of credit completely outside the control of any individual country.

This international currency and credit market concentrates all of the instability of the capitalist financial structure and within it are to be found the most striking expressions of the international economic crisis which the bankers and big corporations now face.

The "Euro-currency market," centered in London, accounts for about a third of this international market. Numerous expert estimates have placed the volume of paper trade on the Euro-currency market in the neighborhood of \$90 billion—about one and a half times the combined monetary reserves of the nine Common Market countries.

The US Tariff Commission estimates that the total volume of short term funds—"hot" money—available in private hands for international exchange at the end of 1971 was at least \$268 billion. Today it must be considerably greater, having been fueled by the enormous US trade deficit and outpouring of capital last year.

#### RESERVOIR

It is this gigantic reservoir of paper currencies and credit—primarily expressed in dollars—which forms the basis of the attacks on the dollar and which continues to defy the wishes of capitalist finance ministers for monetary stability. Its very size places it outside the domain of individual government.

According to the tariff commission report, the market in 1971 equalled the combined money stocks of Britain, France, West Germany and Belgium; was more than three times the volume of foreign exchange reserves held by the industrialized nations; and was well over twice the volume of foreign exchange reserves held by all central banks combined.

As the commission pointed out, these "are very large numbers. They should lay to rest any doubts that the organizations involved are capable of generating flows that could disrupt normal payment relationships among countries...a movement of a mere one percent or \$2.7 billion, in response to an exchange rate weakness or strength, is quite sufficient to produce a first-class international crisis."

This was precisely what happened when on March 1 a movement of almost this very sum of dollars into German marks forced the closure of the world's foreign exchange markets for two weeks, threatening to bring down the whole edifice of international credit, and led to the "dirty float" of European currencies against the dollar.

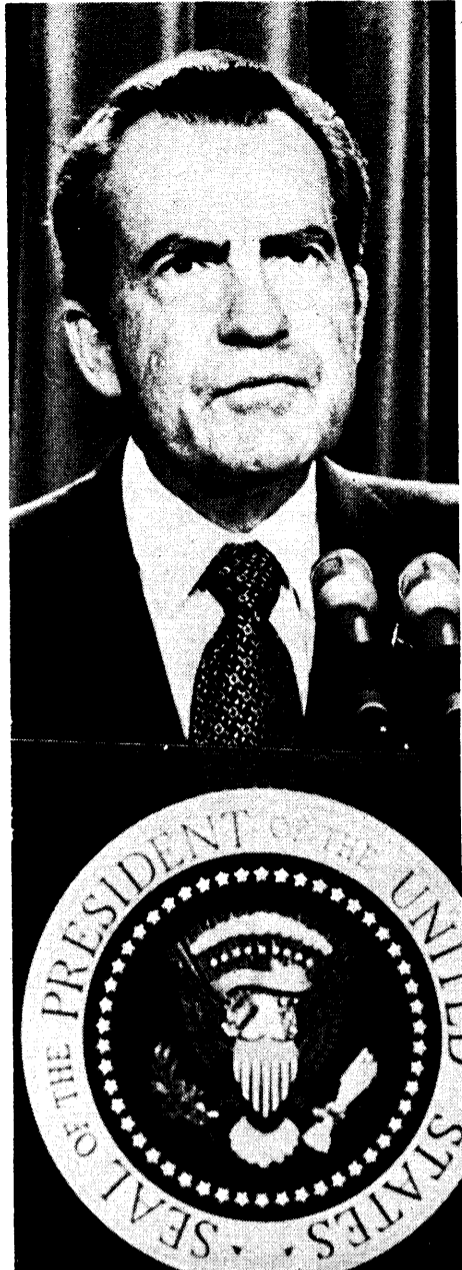
Euro-dollars are nothing more than dollar deposits held in European banks—often branches of big US banks—by non-citizens, the banks themselves and multinational corporations. In similar fashion, Euro-marks, Euro-francs and so forth are created.

The advantage created by this market for currency traders and speculators lies in the fact that while most countries have stringent controls over foreign exchange transactions involving their own currencies, there are few restrictions on transactions involving other currencies.

#### SOVIET UNION

The Euro-currency market began in the mid-1950s. The first Euro-dollars were in reality the dollar deposits kept in European banks by the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries to protect them from a hostile American government.

Since this small beginning—in 1959 the market had a volume of only one billion dollars—the international currency market has mushroomed in response to the continual outward flow of dollars created by the permanent deficit in the US



Bretton Woods, 1944: Keynes, right, helped initiate a world-wide system of inflation to give capitalism one more chance. Today these very measures are the source of the threatened collapse of currency internationally.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CREDIT MARKET

# Sitting On A Powder Keg

balance of payments.

It became a central instrument of the inflationary policies begun at Bretton Woods in 1944 and remains an essential mechanism of world trade, for which it provides a substantial slice of total foreign exchange reserves.

But the basis for this system has completely evaporated. The dollars which entered the international currency market represented claims on the US Treasury, which was pledged to redeem them for gold at \$35 to the fine ounce. Thus, an ever-expanding pyramid of credit and paper money was supported by a very small base of gold, of real exchange value.

#### ATTACKS

Even this small base no longer exists. In March 1968, the US responded to growing attacks on the dollar and the floating of the British pound by announcing it would no longer sell gold to private dollar holders. This process of cutting the dollar's ties to gold and burying the Bretton Woods agreement was completed on August 15, 1971, when Nixon announced that dollars held by foreign central banks could also no longer be exchanged for US gold reserves at the "official" price.

By 1971 the inflationary policies flowing from Bretton Woods had reduced the gold base to such an extent that only one-third of all international trade payments were made in gold or backed by gold. Today, world trade is based entirely on paper, while gold is hoarded.

But the international currency market—especially the Euro-market—con-

tinues to be the main props of the international economy by providing the primary source of international liquidity—ready cash—and the primary outlet for the outward flow of dollars and other paper currencies.

Once they have entered the international market, these dollars and other "hot" currencies are loaned in various forms at high interest rates, exchanged for other currencies or gold, or enter the Euro-bond market or other securities and commodities markets.

Because the Euro-currency market transcends the bounds of national economies and even the Common Market, the big banks have formed multinational banking groups to cope with the special requirements of such an extended market. Almost every major capitalist bank is now involved in such a group.

#### RISK

These international banking consortia, led by the big American banks like the Bank of America and the Chase Manhattan, have greatly facilitated the growth of the market and the expansion of international credit—at the very same time enormously concentrating the risk of failure and creating the danger that one failure will be transmitted throughout the entire system, leading to its violent collapse.

This possibility was sharply expressed with the collapse of the Equity Funding bubble, for Equity Funding has a \$23 million Euro-bond issue outstanding which must be repaid next February. News of the scandal sent the bond price plunging

by 50 percent.

This was the second major blow to the Euro-bond market last month. US Financial missed its April 1 dividend payments on \$11 million in Euro-bonds by 30 days. Little trading in dollar-dominated bonds has taken place for over a month, and after the placing of a \$25 million issue of municipal bonds in mid-April for Coventry, England, the market came to a virtual standstill.

The second major danger sign was revealed in the latest Bank of England reports on the Euro-currency market which revealed a growing tendency for long term loans to be made on the basis on funds the lending institution has borrowed on a short term basis.

This is also a growing tendency within the US domestic economy and is reflected in the explosive increase in bank borrowing from the Federal Reserve. The Federal Reserve—the "lender of last resort"—discounts a bank's long term assets, lending it money to repay its long term obligations when other cash is unavailable.

On the international market, however, there is no "lender of last resort." The international banking groups are being caught up in the explosive and independent development of credit and are following the classic road to failure. They continually run the risk of being unable to find the ready cash to pay their short term debts, and the realization of their growing predicament is sending shivers down the backs of many a corporate president and international financier.

# UFW Fights For Life At Coachella

BY IRVING HALL

**COACHELLA**—This small farming community, 150 miles southeast of Los Angeles, has become the center of a new stage in the battle of California farmworkers to defend the United Farm Workers Union and the gains they have made in their eight year struggle to organize.

Three years ago the UFW signed its first major contract. A year later the UFW made an informal agreement with the Teamsters, under which field hands would belong to the UFW and workers in the packing sheds and more mechanized jobs would belong to the Teamsters.

The UFW contract expired midnight April 14 and the second agreement was broken abruptly the next day when the Western Conference of Teamsters in Los Angeles announced sweetheart contracts with a majority of the valley's 32 growers who produce 85 percent of Coachella's table grapes.

The four year contract is the Teamsters' first in the valley and was announced only a short time after the termination of five days' negotiations between the growers and the UFW. The UFW announced the renegotiation of its contract with the largest grower in the area, a prominent liberal, Lionel Steinberg, who was the first to sign up three years ago. The UFW contract covers approximately 15 percent of the Coachella crop. Chavez announced a strike against all non-UFW vineyards in the valley. Fully 80 percent of the country's grapes during the months of May through July come from this desert area.

At stake is the union label on three million boxes of grapes, the representation of 5500 farm workers in the valley during the harvest season in late June...and the very existence of the UFW.

As dozens of Teamster "organizers" stand behind sheriff lines, hundreds of farmworkers of all ages, carrying the banners of the UFW, march along the edge of the field as their bullhorns blare the message of the "true union" to workers a considerable distance back who have been brought 60 miles from Brawley to thin the quickly ripening grapes in the scorching sun.

## SUPPORT

There can be little question that the UFW commands the support of the Coachella Valley farmworkers, most of whom are Chicanos. A meeting the week before the strike of more than 1000 in Coachella's aging high school auditorium gave Chavez unanimous authorization to proceed with the UFW's efforts to drive the Teamsters out of the

valley's fields. At some 40 vineyards picketed the first day, only two crews refused to walk off and join the UFW.

The Teamster organizer, Al Droubie, is the cousin of Coachella grower Dave Valdera. While UFW "strategy sessions" include 600 workers, the Teamsters meet with the growers in secret meetings which brought into the valley powerful growers from other parts of California. They will neither reveal with whom agreements have been reached nor release copies of the contract. While national Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons "welcomes a national investigation," the union will not accept the UFW challenge to hold open elections in the fields.

Teamsters have driven workers back into the fields when they attempted to walk off in support of the pickets. The UFW introduced 23 affidavits into court alleging harassment and intimidation with "guns, knives, clubs, baseball bats, grape stakes and other dangerous instruments."

## BRIBES

The UFW charged that the 1970 Teamster organizing drive in the Salinas lettuce fields was prompted by two \$1500 bribes to Teamster officials. Although local Teamsters remain uninvolved, rank and file Teamsters are brought in from Los Angeles at \$67.50 a day to protect the scabs against the UFW. The Teamsters spend considerable time in their campers, well supplied with beer which, in the words of one farmworker, "makes them drunk so they will fight against us." This reporter found the Teamsters receptive to criticism of Fitzsimmons' support for Nixon, but very defensive about their role, which they pass off as "defending Teamster workers in Teamster fields."

The Teamsters imply the issue is simply a jurisdictional one; the UFW a simple question of "Mafiosa bribery"; neither are correct. It is no accident that the latest Teamster decision—to increase organizing efforts in Coachella was made in December, shortly after the Nixon Administration began to map out its strategy to phase out the decades' old farm subsidy program so that the US's highly efficient agricultural sector could become the spearhead of its coming trade war with industrially more efficient Japan



Farmworkers picket for UFW in Coachella.

and the Common Market countries in order to reduce its \$6.8 billion trade deficit.

Accelerating food production in the US will simply increase the rate of mechanization in agriculture at the same time field workers' wages will have to be driven down along with those of other workers—through inflation and the wage freeze. The Teamsters are preparing to channel the few field workers who will receive more mechanized jobs into Fitzsimmons' support for Nixon's trade war.

## UNEMPLOYED

The tens of thousands of present field workers thrown into the expanding pool of rural unemployed will be left by the Teamsters to the UFW if it survives the current Teamster attack. Fitzsimmons' strategy, outlined above, suits Nixon's plans: he would prefer to have farmworkers in a highly bureaucratized union under a Fitzsimmons or Hoffa rather than in the more democratic and populist-oriented UFW within which the rank and file will soon press for more farsighted policies than those now pursued by Chavez.

Chavez's consistent strategy of tying the courageous and persistent struggle of American farmworkers to the Democratic Party and middle class protest is responsible for the very slow gains made by America's agricultural poor through nearly a decade of militant struggle.

While Fitzsimmons attempts to disorient workers with his direct support for Nixon, Chavez's support for Congressional liberals, who daily demonstrate their utter incapacity to stand up to Nixon over the wage freeze, impoundment or Watergate, disarms the farmworkers at a time when their struggle against the growers will become increasingly a confrontation with the Nixon administration's need to represent the interests of American capital as a

whole—locked in mortal combat with its counterparts abroad and having to discipline the American labor movement, also as a whole, accordingly.

## STALINISTS

Since the Stalinist Communist Party has always supported uncritically especially this aspect of Chavez' strategy, it is not surprising to find that the People's World regarded the most "significant" feature of a recent survey in the Coachella vineyards, which overwhelmingly favored the UFW, to be the three Democratic Congressmen who participated in the poll-taking.

Chavez's Coachella strategy coincides with that of George Meany who, after a decade of belated, begrudged and nigardly support for the farmworkers' lonely battle, was driven by the latest Teamster push to send to Coachella a dozen national organizers, including Bill Kircher, Director of Organization, from Washington, D.C.

In a Washington press conference Tuesday, Chavez, Kircher and Democratic Congressman Edward Roybal jointly called for a Senate investigation of Teamster moves, to which the Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare has graciously responded. A Coachella field representative of the International Laborers' and Hodcarriers' Union frankly assessed Kircher's role in the coming battles in the valley's fields and the corresponding AFL-CIO lack of strategy:

## REAL PEOPLE

"He even looks like he just bopped out of his air conditioned office, ripped off his tie, forgot his big per diem expense account and feels he's with the real people on the line of fire. All the AFL-CIO has to do is place a few strategic phone calls to all the local affiliates, and we'd close the whole thing down in support

of the farmworkers."

While the "liberal" grower Steinberg prepares to add to the spiralling rise in the cost of food and blame it on the farmworkers, whose contract Monday "substantially increases the farmers' costs," Chavez calls for a resumption of the grape boycott which the federal government countered, in far less perilous times, with massive purchases for the U.S. Armed Services in the late '60s.

Typical of its own drifting orientation to the middle class, last week's *Militant*, organ of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, attributes the UFW 1970 contracts exclusively to the liberal boycott effort, "which forced the growers to sign," rather than to the strike efforts of the farmworkers themselves.

## SOLUTION

Neither the Teamster nor UFW contract drive in Coachella offers any solution to the farmworkers caught in the tightening vice between rampant inflation and the lowest wages in the economy. The Teamsters contract supposedly will bring a four year increase to \$2.70 from the current \$2.30 per hour—along with the hated labor contractor system. The UFW introduced the welcomed hiring hall, \$2.40 an hour and 25¢ a box, up from the \$2.00 in the last contract. These wages are little more than Nixon's proposals for a national minimum wage and completely inadequate today to support a farmworker and his family.

Farmworkers and Teamsters must join together against their current union leadership to fight to build a national political organization, which alone can provide the framework to prepare themselves for the historical tasks ahead—their own Labor Party. Despite his strategy to bust the UFW, Fitzsimmons cannot escape the growing discontent in his own ranks over his wage agreement with Nixon in January.

# MAY DAY MEETINGS: Labor Must Bring Down Nixon

## Los Angeles

BY MITCH PATTERSON

LOS ANGELES—On the evening of May 4, over 50 trade unionists representing the United Auto Workers, construction, rubber, city, county, postal, and meatcutters, as well as youth, attended a May Day meeting to discuss, to listen and to be entertained.

Speakers from the Young Socialists, the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party: Ernie Lewis, Tim Wohlforth and Rudy Sulenta were all enthusiastically received.

The focus of the meeting was on the historic struggles of the working class in light of what is required today to meet and answer Nixon's attacks.

### YOUTH

Ernie Lewis spoke about Nixon's budget cuts and what they will mean for some 25,000 youth in Watts this summer. He posed that with the closure of the job programs and the slashes in funding for education, the youth would have to take up a political fight, that they would have to turn to the strength of the labor movement and force older workers to act in the interests of all by building their own political party. He said that this could only be done by joining and building the Young Socialists.

Rudy Sulenta, twenty-five year member of UAW Local 216, spoke on behalf of the TUALP. After a few brief remarks on "El Cinco de Mayo" and the historic struggles of workers in Mexico, he announced his candidacy for president of Local 216. "Auto workers will have to face up to what has to be done today.

Central to the coming contract in September will be wages and there will be a big fight over this. We must see this fight politically and build an alternative to Woodcock—a labor party."

After Rudy Sulenta spoke, musicians with guitars led the audience in three union songs.

### REBELLION

The keynote speaker was Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. "You could say two things about Los Angeles. This is the city of the Watts rebellion. You could say that the rebellion of our time started here, but also all the crooks in the White House, including Nixon were educated here."

Wohlforth drove home the need for workers today to build the political alternative to Nixon and the Democrats and to join the Workers League in the fight for a Labor Party.

### DISCUSSION

A lively, informal discussion followed the meeting over beer and cakes baked by the YS to raise money for the first National YS Conference.

After the film, "Three Years of the Workers Press" was shown, an appeal to build the *Bulletin* as the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the US was put forward and generously responded to.

## GE . . .

(Continued From Page 20)  
time on Sundays for workers whose five day shift covers the weekend.

- New plants organized by the IUE or the UE will no longer come under the national agreement.

- The elimination of the right to strike by separate departments within the plant.

- A cut in the ten percent pay differential for the night shift.

- Weakening of seniority rights. Chown said: "We're headed for a confrontation." He said the union was considering taking strike votes at all locations this week.

### STOCKPILE

The president of IUE Local 1507 at the GE motors plant in San Jose told the *Bulletin* that the company has been hiring furiously over the last several weeks in order to stockpile for a strike. He said the company has been hiring a large number of parolees over this period. There can be no doubt that the government has referred these men to the San Jose plant, which is an open shop, in order to provide a ready scab force in the event of a strike.

GE is relying on the government to deliver a severe blow to the electrical workers and thus break the offensive against Phase Three that is developing this Spring and Summer as five million workers come up for contracts.

But GE's strategy is on the point of backfiring, as the Nixon administration hangs on a thread in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

The IUE and the UE have a tremendous opportunity to defeat GE and force Nixon out of office by striking for a 20 percent wage increase to break the wage controls.

The electrical unions must, in order to accomplish this, mobilize the entire labor movement in a Congress of Labor to carry out a general strike and to launch a labor party to replace Nixon.

This perspective must be fought for in every local with the demand that the leadership either carry it out . . . or make room for those who will.



Left: National Secretary of the Workers League, Tim Wohlforth, addresses May Day celebration in S.F. Right: Rudy Sulenta, member of Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, speaks at Los Angeles May Day meeting. Sulenta announced his intention to run for president of UAW Local 216 in Southgate.

## San Francisco

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Over seventy workers and youth attended the Workers League May Day celebration held here on May 5.

Speaking for the Young Socialists, Peter White spoke on the urgency of preparing for the founding conference of the Young Socialists. He stressed the preparation of the YS to lead the struggles of youth as expressed in the pre-conference publication of the draft program and the campaign to reach broad layers of youth and involve them in discussion on the draft. He emphasized the enormous opportunities for building the youth movement by turning to the strength of the labor movement in a political fight under the conditions of crisis now revealed by the Watergate developments.

Jeff Sebastian, West Coast organizer of the Workers League, reported on the just concluded ILWU convention, warning of the dangers of posing simple trade union militancy and strike action while avoiding the central question of political power now posed with absolute urgency to the labor movement.

Tim Wohlforth began by stressing that while May Day is an international holiday of solidarity and celebration for workers, it is also a time to make an assessment. This May Day was the most important since 1886.

### STRENGTH

The Watergate crisis revealed what Nixon would like to do. The exposure of Watergate shows what was going on and makes it impossible for Nixon to get away with it.

This shows the real crisis in the country. In the course of a few months the government has become unstuck. Nixon is not a

fixture.

Nixon wants to deepen the Phase Three attacks to place the unions under government dictatorship, to renew the Vietnam War and to launch trade war, declaring this the "Year of Europe." But Nixon is now paralyzed.

The working class must see its strength and Nixon's weakness. Nixon was trying to destroy all the democratic rights and traditions of this country.

Wohlforth stressed that the crisis is now leading to the point that Nixon may very well be forced to resign. The question facing millions now is with what is he to be replaced?

### LABOR PARTY

The decisive question is the construction of a labor party through the convening of a Congress of Labor to provide a political alternative. That such a party does not exist today is en-

tirely the responsibility of the Stalinist Communist Party which led the CIO into the arms of the Democratic Party in the 1930s.

This task now is the responsibility of Trotskyism. We are the indispensable ingredient. We take up the fight to build the labor party and construct the revolutionary leadership under conditions in which millions of American workers will be learning from the big revolutionary struggles in Europe.

The real dedication of May Day is the decision to persist in the fight to build the Marxist leadership.

Ann Lore spoke on the fight to construct the daily *Bulletin* as a mass organizer in giving leadership to the coming struggles. A magnificent collection of \$327 was raised to carry out this work.

A musical presentation of union songs and the film "Three Years of Workers Press" were enthusiastically received.

## A Spartacist Provocation

The San Francisco May Day meeting of the Workers League was held at the Holiday Inn.

A contingent of Spartacists distributing leaflets in the Hotel were asked by the management to go outside.

They were not prevented from distributing their material to those coming in to the meeting.

At that point they proceeded to hold a demonstration with red flags denouncing the Workers League at the

door of the hotel.

The only purpose of this demonstration in a business district was to provide the basis for police intervention to create conditions which make it difficult or impossible for socialist groups to rent facilities in commercial hotels.

With every action the Spartacist demonstrates that it is interested in constructing a revolutionary movement but in rabid provocations against the Workers League.

# West Coast News

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## ILWU Convention Dodges Politics

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The 20th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union ended here last week with the Bridges leadership making it clear that it had no intention of challenging the wage controls even while the Watergate scandal has brought the Nixon administration to the brink of collapse.

With the warehouse contract coming up in a few weeks and the longshore contract due to expire at the end

of June the union will soon be at the very center of the Phase Three political attacks on the labor movement.

The central task facing this convention was to confront the fact that the defense of union conditions, wages, and jobs, requires an all out political confrontation with the government that poses to the labor movement the fight for political power.

## Big GE Confrontation, UE Leader Says

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—With the contract deadline less than three weeks away, General Electric continues to demand that the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the United Electrical Workers submit to the destruction of many of the basic conditions won by the unions in the past.

GE's arrogant bargaining position is setting the stage

for a national strike and the first major test of Nixon's Phase Three wage controls.

According to Paul Chown, International Representative of the UE for Local 1412 in Oakland, there has been absolutely no progress on any question in the bargaining so far. GE will not even discuss the question of wages or any of the unions' demands until the unions agree to the following:

•The elimination of time-and-a-half on Saturdays and double

(Continued On Page 19)



Harry Bridges, ILWU President, at 20th biennial union convention.

## Fremont Auto Rebellion Grows

BY A

BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT—The tremendous hatred of the ranks of Local 1364 in Fremont for the corrupt Herrera leadership has resulted in a massive turn to the Brotherhood Caucus.

The most militant workers at the Fremont plant are looking to the Brotherhood Caucus to sweep Herrera and his clique out of office in the local elections in June.

What underlies this revolt at Fremont is the determination of the UAW ranks to smash the sellout policies of the entire Woodcock leadership and put in a leadership that will fight General Motors and Nixon in the upcoming contract struggle.

The Committee for a Decent Contract of Local 1364, which is part of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, is in complete agreement with the Brotherhood that Herrera, who has supported Woodcock right down the line and for years blocked the membership from even holding monthly meetings, must be ousted.

There is every possibility that the Brotherhood Caucus will be brought into office in the June elections.

### CRITICAL

These elections will take place on the eve of the most critical contract struggle since the early struggles that built the UAW. The basic rights and conditions of auto workers are under unprecedented attack by the corporations and the government.

The question that every Brotherhood supporter must demand of the Brotherhood leadership is how they will defeat GM and Nixon and win a decent contract this fall. If the Local 1364 ranks succeed in dumping Herrera in June, what policies

will the Brotherhood fight for as an alternative?

The Committee for a Decent Contract has campaigned in Local 1364 for a policy to win. At the March membership meeting, the ranks unanimously endorsed the CDC's program for the auto contract.

### PROGRAM

This program calls for:

- Repudiate Woodcock's sellout bargaining program.
- A national strike to shut down the entire industry.
- A 20 percent wage increase the first year.
- 100 percent cost of living escalator with no strings.
- No layoffs.
- No speedup.
- Thirty for Forty.

The Committee for a Decent Contract insists that these demands cannot be separated from a political fight by the UAW to smash Nixon's Phase Three.

We therefore call for a Congress of Labor to carry out a general strike to break the wage freeze. This Congress must construct a party of labor to drive out the utterly corrupt Watergate government of Nixon and the equally corrupt Democratic Party.

The Committee for a Decent Contract calls on all Brotherhood supporters to demand that their leadership adopt this program, or explain why not and what it proposes as an alternative.

We will fight on this basis with all militants in 1364 to drive out Herrera. We will fight for a full and open discussion within the Brotherhood on these life and death questions.

## Editorial

### Trade War Nationalism Feeds Racist Poison

A series of racist attacks on Japanese-Americans exposes the dangers to the working class in the labor bureaucrats' collaboration with Nixon's trade war plans.

Recently several Japanese shops have been vandalized or firebombed in the Bay Area. In one case, the attacker left a note announcing "I hate Japan." An Arizona car dealer is running full-page newspaper ads urging readers to "Remember Pearl Harbor." Japanese tourists have been attacked in the East.

These incidents are a prelude to the kind of crude nationalism that will be whipped up to justify Nixon's attacks on the Japanese and European working class on the grounds of defending the "national interest."

The West Coast and the Bay Area in particular have a long history of anti-Oriental campaigns from the Exclusion Acts of the 1890s which walled off Chinese workers in Chinatown to the laws banning immigration from the Far East to the concentration camps of World War II where 100,000 Japanese-Americans were imprisoned.

The launching of trade war policies with a return to the economic nationalism of the 1930s will bring big attacks on the conditions of American workers as well. This kind of racial hysteria, to line workers up behind Nixon and the big companies, is poison to the labor movement.

The labor leadership is playing a completely criminal role in its "Buy America" campaign and its support to the Burke-Hartke trade war bill. They wrap themselves in the flag in order to divert away from Nixon the justifiable anger of workers at unemployment and inflation. They pander to the same nationalist policies which in World War II led to a total ban on strikes, a wage freeze under conditions of soaring prices, and the legal abolition of trade union rights.

The Japanese working class has responded to the first measures of Nixon's trade war with a tremendous offensive against their government, culminating in a three day general strike.

The main enemy of American workers is at home. The labor movement must mobilize the working class politically through a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to unite all workers through socialist policies.

### SHUT DOWN

But for Goldblatt the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party meant that nothing could be expected from politics and the unions should prepare for general strike action some time far in the future. At the same time, Harry Bridges said "the only weapon the working class has is the shut-down—the laying down of tools." He outlined a perspective of short term contracts with strikes eventually.

### SYNDICALIST

Both Bridges and Goldblatt wrapped themselves in the militant traditions of the San Francisco General Strike and put forward an essentially syndicalist policy claiming that labor militancy and unity would be enough to deal with attacks that are political.

It is because the ILWU leadership seeks to turn workers away from politics that the Stalinist Peoples' World hails this convention for setting a "fighting course." The Stalinists are bitterly opposed to a labor party and like Bridges may in response to growing militancy raise the question of strikes, and even general strikes, so long as they can prevent workers from confronting the need for a labor alternative to the strikebreaking government.

### PREPARATION

Longshoremen, facing a staggering decline in membership from automation, must demand not a promise of strikes someday, but the preparation for a strike this summer, combined with an all out fight to rally labor in a Congress to launch a labor party that will replace the Democrats and Republicans with a government committed to socialist policies.

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With the warehouse contract coming up in a few weeks and the longshore contract due to expire at the end

of June the union will soon be at the very center of the Phase Three political attacks on the labor movement.

The central task facing this convention was to confront the fact that the defense of union conditions, wages, and jobs, requires an all out political confrontation with the government that poses to the labor movement the fight for political power.

### GOLDBLATT

Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer, outlined in detail the government preparations for a corporate state, detailing how all the rights of the unions were being absorbed by the government through Phase Three. He quite correctly exposed the fraud of the Democrats' proposals for tinkering with controls, demanding that they be completely smashed.

### SHUT DOWN

But for Goldblatt the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party meant that nothing could be expected from politics and the unions should prepare for general strike action some time far in the future. At the same time, Harry Bridges said "the only weapon the working class has is the shut-down—the laying down of tools." He outlined a perspective of short term contracts with strikes eventually.

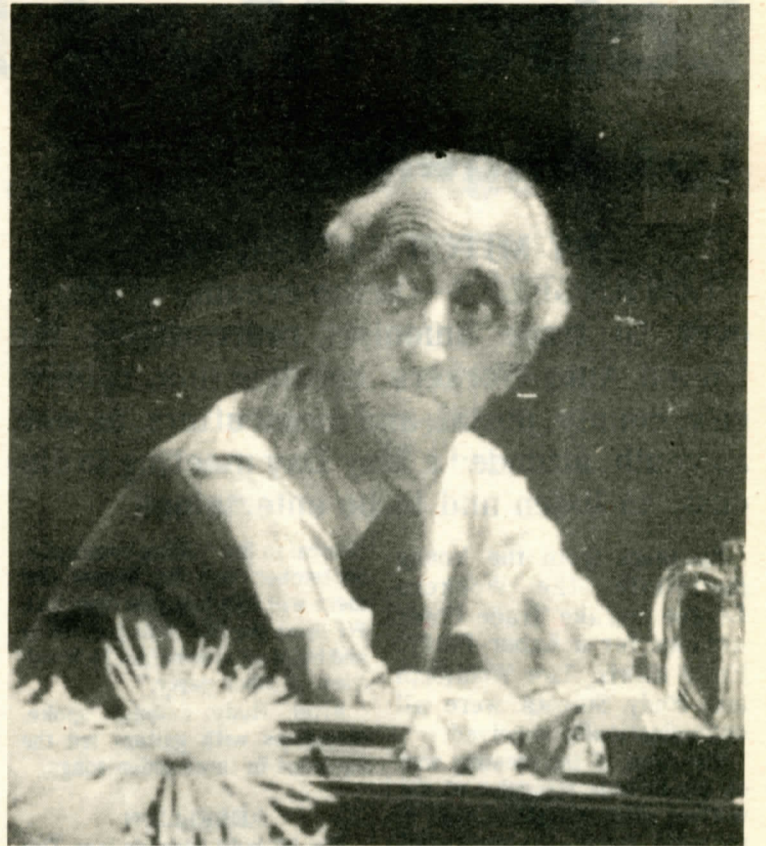
### SYNDICALIST

Both Bridges and Goldblatt wrapped themselves in the militant traditions of the San Francisco General Strike and put forward an essentially syndicalist policy claiming that labor militancy and unity would be enough to deal with attacks that are political.

It is because the ILWU leadership seeks to turn workers away from politics that the Stalinist Peoples' World hails this convention for setting a "fighting course." The Stalinists are bitterly opposed to a labor party and like Bridges may in response to growing militancy raise the question of strikes, and even general strikes, so long as they can prevent workers from confronting the need for a labor alternative to the strikebreaking government.

### PREPARATION

Longshoremen, facing a staggering decline in membership from automation, must demand not a promise of strikes someday, but the preparation for a strike this summer, combined with an all out fight to rally labor in a Congress to launch a labor party that will replace the Democrats and Republicans with a government committed to socialist policies.



Harry Bridges, ILWU President, at 20th biennial union convention.

## Big GE Confrontation, UE Leader Says

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—With the contract deadline less than three weeks away, General Electric continues to demand that the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the United Electrical Workers submit to the destruction of many of the basic conditions won by the unions in the past.

GE's arrogant bargaining position is setting the stage

for a national strike and the first major test of Nixon's Phase Three wage controls.

According to Paul Chown, International Representative of the UE for Local 1412 in Oakland, there has been absolutely no progress on any question in the bargaining so far. GE will not even discuss the question of wages or any of the unions' demands until the unions agree to the following:

•The elimination of time-and-a-half on Saturdays and double

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## Editorial

### Trade War Nationalism Feeds Racist Poison

A series of racist attacks on Japanese-Americans exposes the dangers to the working class in the labor bureaucrats' collaboration with Nixon's trade war plans.

Recently several Japanese shops have been vandalized or firebombed in the Bay Area. In one case, the attacker left a note announcing "I hate Japan." An Arizona car dealer is running full-page newspaper ads urging readers to "Remember Pearl Harbor." Japanese tourists have been attacked in the East.

These incidents are a prelude to the kind of crude nationalism that will be whipped up to justify Nixon's attacks on the Japanese and European working class on the grounds of defending the "national interest."

The West Coast and the Bay Area in particular have a long history of anti-Oriental campaigns from the Exclusion Acts of the 1890s which walled off Chinese workers in Chinatown to the laws banning immigration from the Far East to the concentration camps of World War II where 100,000 Japanese-Americans were imprisoned.

The launching of trade war policies with a return to the economic nationalism of the 1930s will bring big attacks on the conditions of American workers as well. This kind of racial hysteria, to line workers up behind Nixon and the big companies, is poison to the labor movement.

The labor leadership is playing a completely criminal role in its "Buy America" campaign and its support to the Burke-Hartke trade war bill. They wrap themselves in the flag in order to divert away from Nixon the justifiable anger of workers at unemployment and inflation. They pander to the same nationalist policies which in World War II led to a total ban on strikes, a wage freeze under conditions of soaring prices, and the legal abolition of trade union rights.

The Japanese working class has responded to the first measures of Nixon's trade war with a tremendous offensive against their government, culminating in a three day general strike.

The main enemy of American workers is at home. The labor movement must mobilize the working class politically through a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to unite all workers through socialist policies.

## Fremont Auto Rebellion Grows

BY A

BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT—The tremendous hatred of the ranks of Local 1364 in Fremont for the corrupt Herrera leadership has resulted in a massive turn to the Brotherhood Caucus.

The most militant workers at the Fremont plant are looking to the Brotherhood Caucus to sweep Herrera and his clique out of office in the local elections in June.

What underlies this revolt at Fremont is the determination of the UAW ranks to smash the sellout policies of the entire Woodcock leadership and put in a leadership that will fight General Motors and Nixon in the upcoming contract struggle.

The Committee for a Decent Contract of Local 1364, which is part of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, is in complete agreement with the Brotherhood that Herrera, who has supported Woodcock right down the line and for years blocked the membership from even holding monthly meetings, must be ousted.

There is every possibility that the Brotherhood Caucus will be brought into office in the June elections.

### CRITICAL

These elections will take place on the eve of the most critical contract struggle since the early struggles that built the UAW. The basic rights and conditions of auto workers are under unprecedented attack by the corporations and the government.

The question that every Brotherhood supporter must demand of the Brotherhood leadership is how they will defeat GM and Nixon and win a decent contract this fall. If the Local 1364 ranks succeed in dumping Herrera in June, what policies

will the Brotherhood fight for as an alternative?

The Committee for a Decent Contract has campaigned in Local 1364 for a policy to win. At the March membership meeting, the ranks unanimously endorsed the CDC's program for the auto contract.

### PROGRAM

This program calls for:  
•Repudiate Woodcock's sellout bargaining program.  
•A national strike to shut down the entire industry.  
•A 20 percent wage increase the first year.  
•100 percent cost of living escalator with no strings.  
•No layoffs.  
•No speedup.  
•Thirty for Forty.

The Committee for a Decent Contract insists that these demands cannot be separated from a political fight by the UAW to smash Nixon's Phase Three.

We therefore call for a Congress of Labor to carry out a general strike to break the wage freeze. This Congress must construct a party of labor to drive out the utterly corrupt Watergate government of Nixon and the equally corrupt Democratic Party.

The Committee for a Decent Contract calls on all Brotherhood supporters to demand that their leadership adopt this program, or explain why not and what it proposes as an alternative.

We will fight on this basis with all militants in 1364 to drive out Herrera. We will fight for a full and open discussion within the Brotherhood on these life and

death questions.