

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWENTY SEVEN 302

JULY 9, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

FIFTEEN CENTS



One of the many New York City unemployment centers for youth with the sign "No Summer Jobs." The Young Socialists are calling rallies nationwide to demand that the trade unions call an emergency Congress of Labor to defend the right to jobs. New York City demonstration: Wednesday, July 11 at Foley Square, Manhattan, 4 p.m.

POSTAL WORKERS SAY 'NO' TO NIXON

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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urged the other postal unions to vote "no" and walk out July 16 if no better settlement has been reached.

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Pompidou Declares Ban On Ligue Communiste

BY THE EDITORS

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BY DAVID NORTH

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Khmer Rouge On Offensive In Cambodia

BY A CORRESPONDENT

As the liberation forces of the Khmer Rouge launched an offensive against the provincial capital of Kompong Speu—the most important Cambodian city after Phnom Penh—former Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk denied that he is engaged in negotiations with the Lon Nol puppet regime.

However, in an interview with the *New York Times*, Sihanouk directly suggested that the revolution was being threatened by the decisions of Moscow and Peking to compromise with the United States.

Sihanouk said that the Kremlin's desire for a "Condominium" over the world based on compromises was creating serious pressure for a political settlement in Cambodia. Referring to the sudden settlement in Laos, he declared: "Who could foresee that they (the Pathet Lao) would stop before us. And suddenly you see Kissinger smile and Le Duc Tho smile at Kissinger, they shake hands, they go arm and arm and leave us alone."

PREVENT

The remarks by Sihanouk confirm that the Stalinist bureaucracies of Moscow and Peking are consciously seeking to prevent the victory of the revolutionary forces in Indochina. Arms shipments from China have been suspended since January, and Sihanouk revealed that he is awaiting a reply concerning the Khmer Rouge's urgent request for a resumption of shipments.

"If we don't get the arms we need, we shall be obliged to wage elastic war, that is, interminable war," he said.

The success of the latest Khmer Rouge offensive and the expectations of a cease-fire deal with the Stalinists within the next six weeks lay behind the decision of the Democrats to abandon their own legislation that would have required an immediate cut-off of funds for the bombing of Cambodia

Sihanouk's comments on the role of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies' collaboration with American imperialism were made just as Nixon was giving further proof of his determination to continue the genocidal war against the Cambodian workers and peasants.

A bill passed by both houses of Congress to end the bombing of Cambodia was ruthlessly overridden by Nixon's veto. In blatant contempt of the Constitution, which allows only the Congress to decide whether a war can be waged, Nixon used the veto to override the majority.

OVERRIDE

This action brought about a complete capitulation by the leadership of the Democratic Party to Nixon, which said that it could not muster a two-thirds majority to override Nixon and accepted his proposal to end bombing by August 15. By then, Nixon hopes to be able to carry out new attacks against liberation forces throughout Indochina.

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TREACHERY

In spite of the treachery of the Stalinists, the Khmer Rouge are in a position to capture Kompong Speu, which Lon Nol has always considered a stronghold. It is only 29 miles from the capital city, and a government officer admitted that "This is the worst attack we've ever had to deal with."



Auto workers knock down brick wall during strike at Ford's Broadmeadow plant in Australia. In pressing demand for a 45 percent wage increase, Ford workers have been met with mounted police.

Eurofloat Falls Apart

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The 5.5 percent upward revaluation of the West German mark on June 29 represented a complete breakdown of the six nation Eurofloat and the Common Market itself as the national limitations of capitalism increasingly become the dominant force in international relationships.

Massive flows of paper dollars and dollar credit into Germany—which amounted to two billion marks on June 28 alone—were bringing inflationary pressures within Germany to the boiling point. German capital had to act to save itself, regardless of the consequences to European "economic cooperation."

While the German government chose to revalue rather than float the mark independently—clinging to the illusion that a European solution to the monetary crisis and a "European Economic Community" are possible—this revaluation must now be followed by others until even the illusions are shattered.

DOLLAR

This has been unmistakably revealed in the aftermath of the revaluation, in which the bottom has completely dropped out of the dollar, while the new float arrangement has already broken

down. The Norwegian crown has risen to the upper float limit, threatening to burst that limit, while the Austrian schilling has been revalued upward against other European currencies by 4.8 percent, and Italy has been selling gold on the open market in violation of international monetary agreements.

The dollar's drop has been spectacular, with only the briefest recoveries for profit taking. European bankers see no end to the fall, which is threatening to wipe out the Eurodollar market which has become vital to European capital financing. International exchange is be-

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Uruguay Workers Continue General Strike Against Coup

BY DIANNE ISAACS

A decree dissolving Parliament and instituting virtual military rule in Uruguay June 27 sparked a general strike led by the one-half million member National Workers Convention which has plunged this country into complete paralysis. Troops patrolling Montevideo began arresting trade union leaders June 30.

The military may well have created a situation too explosive to control as workers occupied factories and were joined by students boycotting classes. When gasoline and food began to run short, President Juan Maria

Bordaberry convened the National Security Council—established after the Uruguayan military staged a bloodless rebellion in February—on June 29 to seek an end to the strike.

PRESSURE

Bordaberry, under intense pressure from the military, dissolved Congress, imposed press censorship, ordered schools closed until late July and put the navy and air force on alert. The reason given was the Parliament's refusal to lift the immunity of Enrique Erro, a left-wing Senator accused of having links with the Tupamaros. The military ordered his arrest immediately after the dissolution of Parliament. Not since the worldwide depression of 1933 has this country been ruled by the military.

A Council of State was established to oversee Bordaberry and take over the work of the Congress.

In a June 27 broadcast the President indicated plans for a massive crackdown on the "left-wing subversives." But this time the military will have to contend with the entire working class of Uruguay.



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EAST COAST: \$50

MIDDLE WEST: \$60

WEST COAST: \$75

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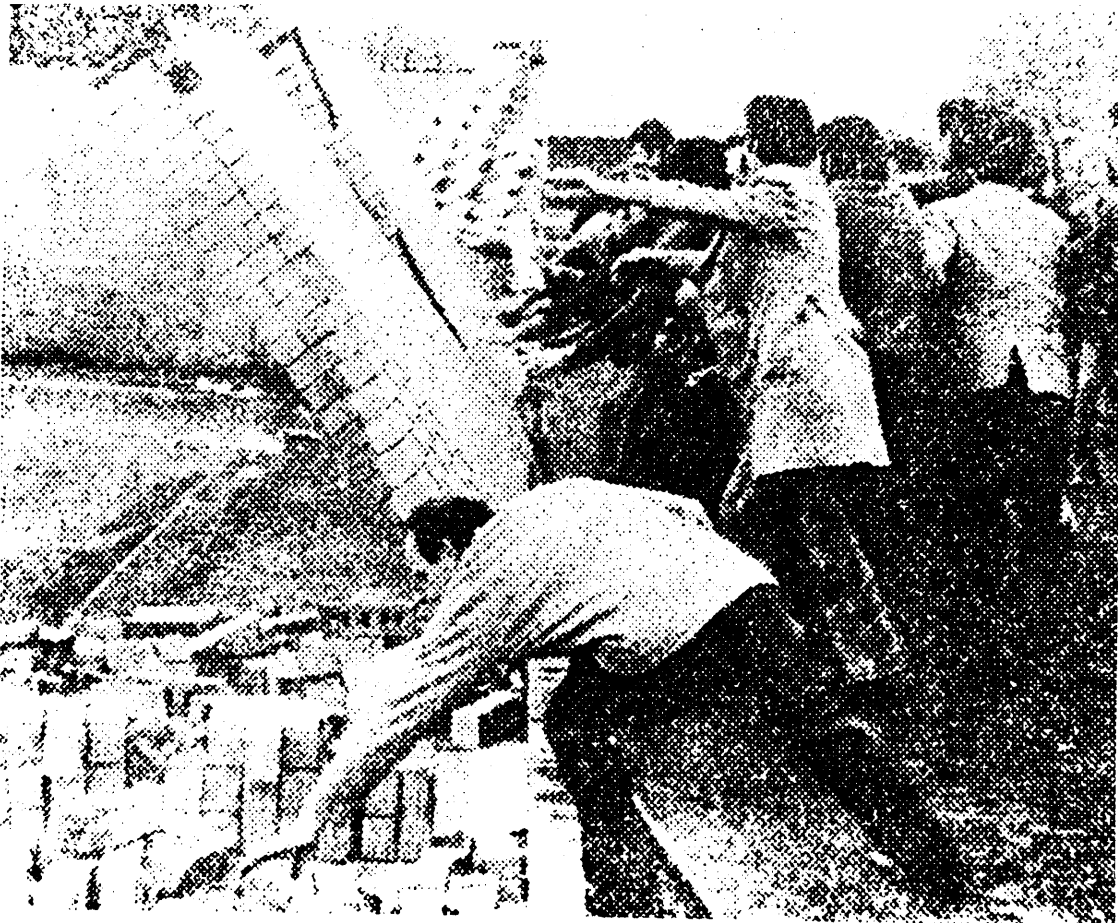
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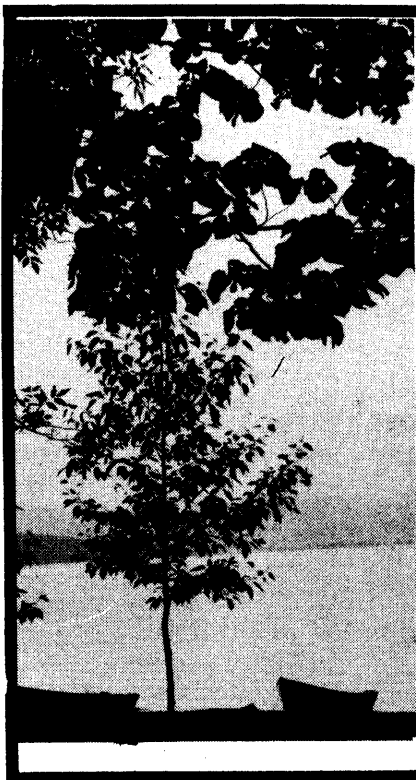
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Nixon Cover Up Backfires

BY BRUCE MCKAY

Despite a desperate campaign to discredit former White House counsel John Dean III, his week long appearance before the Senate Watergate committee has seriously shaken the Nixon government and created a Constitutional crisis unparalleled in American history.

Nixon has now been so thoroughly discredited before the American working class that his Democratic opponent in 1968, Senator Hubert Humphrey, called upon him to appear before the Senate committee or the federal grand jury investigating the Watergate burglary and cover up to dispel the charges made by Dean.

At the same time, faced with Nixon's growing inability to confront the international economic crisis, the Wall Street bankers and big industrialists who control the Republican Party would like Nixon to go. Nixon, however, is determined to stay in office at all costs, and no suitable alternative has been found to replace him.

This has been apparent in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, where Nixon has come under increasing attack, while at the same time the editors advocate "caution" and become increasingly pessimistic about the economy as they see no alternative to Nixon.



"By and large, the mass of detail and the lack of obvious inconsistencies weave Mr. Dean's story into a believable whole," the *Journal* editorially commented, adding that "if the White House fails to produce its own solid account, that in itself will go far toward corroborating Mr. Dean."

Every effort so far by the White House to discredit Dean or "produce its own solid account" has fallen flat on its face. Nixon is guilty of masterminding the Watergate conspiracy in the eyes of millions of workers.

The attempt, for example, by Florida Senator Edward Gurney—Nixon's man on the Watergate committee—to dismiss Dean's testimony and discredit Dean himself by raising the issue of the money Dean borrowed from Republican campaign funds backfired when the *Miami Herald* revealed that Gurney's own 1974 campaign chest has been subsidized by Nixon's two closest associates.

According to the *Herald*, both Bebe Rebozo and Nixon's closest political adviser, Murray Chotiner, contributed to Gurney's campaign in May, following Gurney's appointment

to the committee.

And the *Los Angeles Times* has disclosed an investigation by the government's special Watergate prosecutor, Archibald Cox, into Nixon's land deals and his relationship with the corrupt Teamsters bureaucracy, which reportedly donated a million dollars to his campaign.

The attempts by H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Mitchell and Charles Colson to cover up for Nixon—as well as deny their own role in the conspiracy—have also backfired as each of Nixon's former associates contradicts the accounts of the others.

HOSTILE

Confronted by Dean's testimony, as well as the growing opposition from within the ruling class, Nixon has become increasingly hostile and arrogant toward Congress and other institutions of capitalist democracy, creating a serious crisis within the government by his continuing defiance of Congressional decisions.

Through White House Press Secretary Ron Ziegler, Nixon has told the Senate committee he will refuse to appear for questioning even if subpoenaed. He also defied pressure to give his own account of what happened, announcing he will make absolutely no statement about Watergate until after the Senate hearings are finished.

The Constitutional crisis which has developed was sharply expressed in Nixon's veto of a major appropriations bill because it would have cut off funds for the continued bombing of Cambodia. Nixon made it clear he would veto every bill containing such a provision, even if it meant shutting down the government, and Congress was forced to retreat, accepting a compromise cutoff date Nixon has no intentions of honoring.

Nixon's own silence on Watergate is matched only by the silence of the labor bureaucracy, which is doing everything possible to keep Nixon in office and to hold back the movement of millions of workers against the government's viciously anti-working class economic policies and its attacks on the basic democratic rights won by workers since 1776, the Civil War and the great battles to construct the unions.

A new leadership in the trade unions is now an urgent necessity in order to mobilize workers in a Congress of Labor to force Nixon to resign and to construct an alternative to Nixon—a labor party which can fight for socialist policies in new elections against all the politicians of the Republican and Democratic Parties.



Strikers, members of Service Employees Union Local 144, at Wyckoff Heights Hospital in New York, remain on the picket lines despite state law and a court order to win back wages. Story, page 4.

International Committee Statement Down With The Junta!

On June 1 the Greek military regime declared the monarchy had been deposed. The archdictator Papadopoulos, who had until then been the Regent, declared himself president of the . . . democracy.

The colonels' gesture follows the abortive coup by Royalist naval officers, unyielding struggles by students and the beginning of undeclared strikes by the workers.

It takes place under conditions of an unprecedented inflationary crisis which is convulsing Greek society from top to bottom.

This crisis is not confined to Greece, but has an international character. It came sharply to the surface after US President Nixon's measures on the dollar in August 1971.

The crisis violently overthrows all the old political relations, not merely those between the main capitalist nations, but also within the ruling classes.

It creates splits and intense disputes between sections of capitalists and within the state machine in every country.

Constantine's dethronement was not simply a demagogic move by the junta. Like the movement in the navy which preceded it, this action expresses the deepening crisis and division of the Greek ruling class.

The change has not improved the positions of the Greek working people. They continue to be deprived of elementary democratic rights. The colonels cannot now hope to win support for their regime.

The anti-monarchist feeling of the masses is deep. But their problem is not to choose between a dictatorship, with or without a king. They fight to get rid of the present oppressive regime, whether it governs in the name of the crown or not.

In fact the abolition of the monarchy will not be disputed by the working masses when they overthrow the dictatorship. It is the only action by the colonels which coincides with the will of the great majority of Greek people.

The explosive contradictions brought to the surface in the ruling class, also expose the com-

plete bankruptcy of the Greek Communist Party.

The Stalinists play down the importance of what has happened. They characterized Constantine's dethronement as simply a "maneuver."

They avoid taking a firm stand against the monarchy. On the contrary they show indirectly that they consider the dethronement invalid, supposedly because the Greek people have no opportunity to express their will under conditions of political freedom.

This is what they meant by such phrases as: "When freed from the dictatorship, the people will arrange their future according to their will," and "the victory must be a victory of the people"—which occur in the politburo resolution of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party dated June 2, 1973.

Certainly conditions which ensure the free expression of the will of the masses is the main question. But the Stalinists use this merely to avoid taking a stand against monarchist reaction, with which they are ready to collaborate.

In the same resolution, they classify the naval officers among the antidictatorial forces and call "all the patriots, of whatever political coloring, all the parties and organizations, to (form) a common front for the overthrow of the junta and the securing of the free expression of the people's will."

But the monarchy, the naval officers and the bourgeois politicians like Karamanlis who are allied to it, are opposed to the junta because of their own interests. They represent a section of the Greek bourgeoisie as well as the European imperialists, particularly the British, who are competing with the Americans in Greek territory. They are not interested in the democratic freedoms of the masses.

It is now known that the monarchy and all the belated "op-

ponents" of the dictatorship around it were preparing their own coup, a "generals' coup," before the colonels snatched the power with the backing of the CIA.

The opposition of all these people to the junta has nothing in common with the movement of the oppressed masses and the class struggle of the working class.

That is why their moves are met with deep suspicion by the masses and the rank and file sailors and soldiers. The working class does not ally itself with one section of the local bourgeoisie and the imperialists against another, but struggles to overthrow the whole capitalist reaction.

The Greek Communist Party refuses to take up this independent struggle by breaking off all relations with the bourgeoisie.

Recent events have completely uncovered the rottenness of the dictatorial regime and the fact that it remains in power only because of the lack of a real alternative solution. This solution is an objective reality. But the Greek Communist Party opposes and diverts the independent struggle of the working class which alone can solve today's impasse by the conquest of power.

Recent events emphasize, above all, the lack of revolutionary leadership. The Communist Party has split. The key to the situation is in the continuing struggle for building a new revolutionary party of the working class which will overthrow the junta and establish a workers' and farmers' government.

The International Committee of the Fourth International pledges full support to its Greek section—Workers Internationalist League—in the struggle to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership and carry through the socialist revolution in Greece.

June 16, 1973.

1199 Forces Kingsbrook To Retreat

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

BROOKLYN, July 2—The workers at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center won an important victory on Saturday, June 30, after a three day struggle demanding the immediate resignation of the director of Safety and Security, who had harassed and abused union members.

Mrs. E. Ballantine had a notorious reputation for intimidating and mistreating workers at the hospital. On many occasions workers were fired on the spot for the smallest violations.

During a security check of packages, she attempted to block the path of one worker, Mrs. Walcott. When she struck this worker, a group of union members who had witnessed the incident intervened to inform Mrs. Walcott of her rights.

Local 1199 then demanded the immediate dismissal of Ballantine. After the hospital delayed and refused to say whether or when Ballantine's resignation would be accepted, a work stoppage began at 4 p.m. on June 27.

From the very beginning of this incident, the members and delegates of Local 1199 at Kingsbrook had demanded the strongest action necessary to show they would not take this abuse. Behind the explosion over being pushed

around and harassed by administrators is the anger over waiting nearly one full year for the back pay and increase which was due July 1, 1972.

The workers have only just gotten the increase and many will not receive the back pay until pay day on July 5. The strike was won just one day before the 1973 increase of 7.5 percent is due to go into effect, and the workers know that the hospitals do not intend to pay one penny of that either, until and if it is approved in Washington.

At a mass meeting at Kingsbrook, a worker said: "Some workers who have been afraid to speak up to now against harassment by supervisors will now realize they have nothing to fear. The bosses are afraid of this power of the rank and file."

Delegate Curtis Meeks summed up the feelings of many: "If this administration cared about the patients as they say they do, they would not have allowed this to happen for one day. They wouldn't have allowed this woman to stay here all this time we have had to put up with her. I've been caring for the patients for 20 years. She never did a thing for the patients except to abuse the workers who take care of them. Is that helping the patients?"

The explosion at Kingsbrook reflected the anger of the ranks over the attacks on the wage increases that have been continuously postponed by the government. The ranks must now demand that Leon Davis prepare for city-wide strike action to win the increase.

shop steward that the contract will be negotiated and signed by the stewards alone. He said, "How can the shop stewards sign the contract when the men don't know anything about it?"

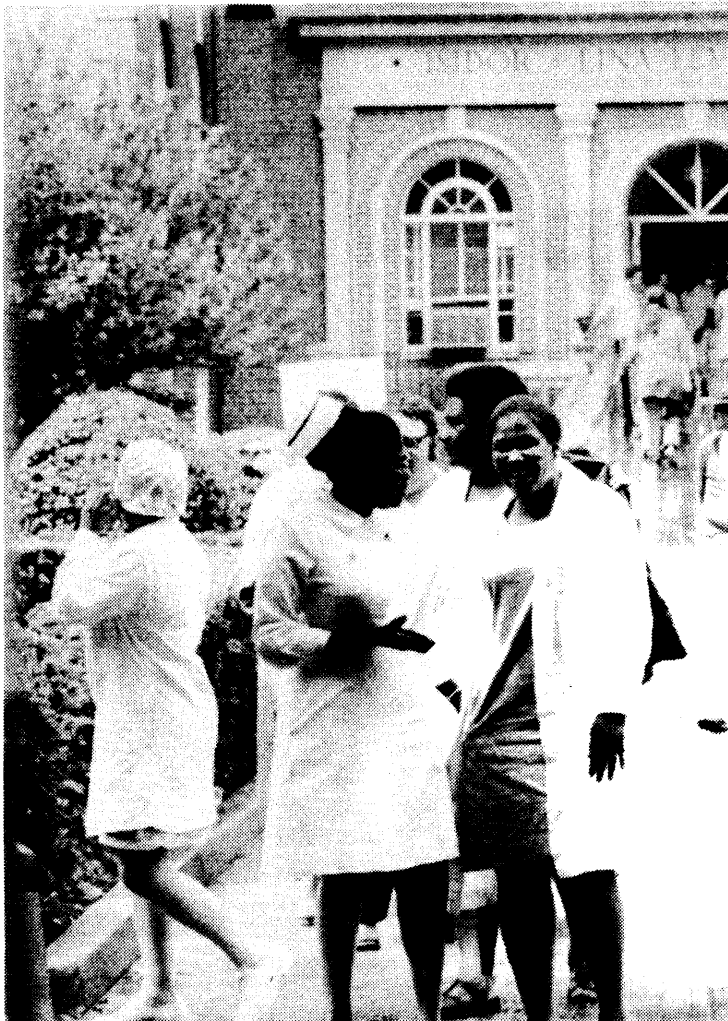
Earlier this year, when some workers were told to choose between a pay cut or a layoff, the union officials did nothing about it.

EMERGENCY MEETING

Holland Steel and several other plants have contracts expiring at the same time as Williamsburg. The ranks must demand an emergency union meeting at which they can put forward their demands.

Any settlement must be ratified by the rank and file, and a policy of no contract, no work should be reaffirmed. Coordinated strike action with full support from the carpenters' international is needed in order to deal with Nixon's Phase Four attack, which will be announced in August.

The demands outlined at the steel and basic industry workshop of the founding conference of the Trade Union



Hospital workers gathering at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center in New York during a three day walkout won their demand for the resignation of an administrator who had mistreated union members.

Pay Board Danger To Guild Pay Hike

BY A REPORTER

BALTIMORE—Less than two weeks after the Sunpapers unit of the Newspaper Guild's Local 35 ratified a two year contract, Nixon's Office of Wage Stabilization has stepped in to review the meager first year 6.15 percent wage increase.

This action coincides with a strike threat by the pressmen's local, which represents all Baltimore dailies—The Sun, The Evening Sun and The News American.

The government intervention can only be understood as direct support to the publishers, who stand behind Nixon, his "new economic policy," his Phase Three and his preparations for Phase Four.

The guild's refusal to fight for a decent contract has left the

other six unions at the Sunpapers in a dangerous position. With all the contracts expiring between January and July, the craft locals had been looking to the guild, with its recent record of militancy, to lead a fight against management. Repeatedly, during the course of guild negotiations, the union leadership exposed the company's tactics of using Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guideline to justify making no serious wage proposals. It pointed out in membership bulletins that management saw the contract in political terms.

STALLING

The pressmen's leadership, which has been stalling since the contract expired last January, has shown that it has no perspective of winning anything above the guild's settlement, either. Each union here will be picked off—and broken—if no clear political perspective is fought for. The danger of the situation is being exposed daily by Watergate—Nixon's real aims—to smash all the democratic rights won by the working class. This danger shows the urgency of labor building its own party to reject Nixon's wage controls and attempts to smash the unions.

The perspective fought for by Guild Members for a Labor Party called on the guild to take the lead in the plant and win craft support for a common contract expiration date, a 20 percent wage increase with a cost of living escalator and area labor support. This is the only perspective for the crafts, who alone can now expose management's treachery and the bankruptcy of the present leadership.

Wyckoff Strikers Defy Court

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, July 3—The leaders of Service Employees Union Local 144 face jail terms as a strike by Local 144 members against Wyckoff Heights Hospital continues in defiance of state law and a court order.

The workers are demanding that the hospital pay part of a wage increase won last year which was taken away by Nixon's Pay Board and later reinstated. Each worker is now owed over \$500 in back wages, but the hospital has so far refused to release the money.

"We're going to stay out until we get what we want," union representative Sammy Williams told the Bulletin. "We might have to go to jail. But nobody's going to go back until we get out of jail. They can close down the hospital, if that's what it means."

The strike began as a sit-down job action last week, whereupon the hospital administration forced the workers out of the building and started a lockout.

The hospital is now operating by using volunteers. Only emergency cases are being accepted, and union sources said a complete shutdown in being planned by management, with some patients already having been transferred to other facilities.

LOWEST PAID

Service workers at Wyckoff are among the lowest paid in the city. The highest weekly wage is \$136, and the average is well below \$130.

"The workers are very dedicated people. They've been very patient," one worker said. "What got me more than the money was that they treat you like children here."

As in the city-wide cemetery strike, the strike at Wyckoff is a sharp expression of the government's attacks on the basic rights of the American working class. In both cases, the state legislature has passed laws taking away the right to strike.

The Wyckoff strikers have shown the determination of American workers to fight back against these attacks, as well as to defend the standard of living which is now being destroyed by runaway inflation.



1199 Kingsbrook worker discussing walkout.

Williamsburg Steel Pact A Secret

BY FRED MUELLER

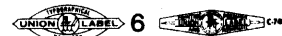
BROOKLYN, July 2—With the contract at the Williamsburg Steel Company due to expire on July 31, it has been reported that the company has offered a 14 cent an hour increase and the union officials are ready to accept it.

With the average wage now at about four dollars an hour, this would be a 3.5 percent increase. Even a 25 cent an hour raise like that negotiated in the last contract would be hopelessly inadequate today.

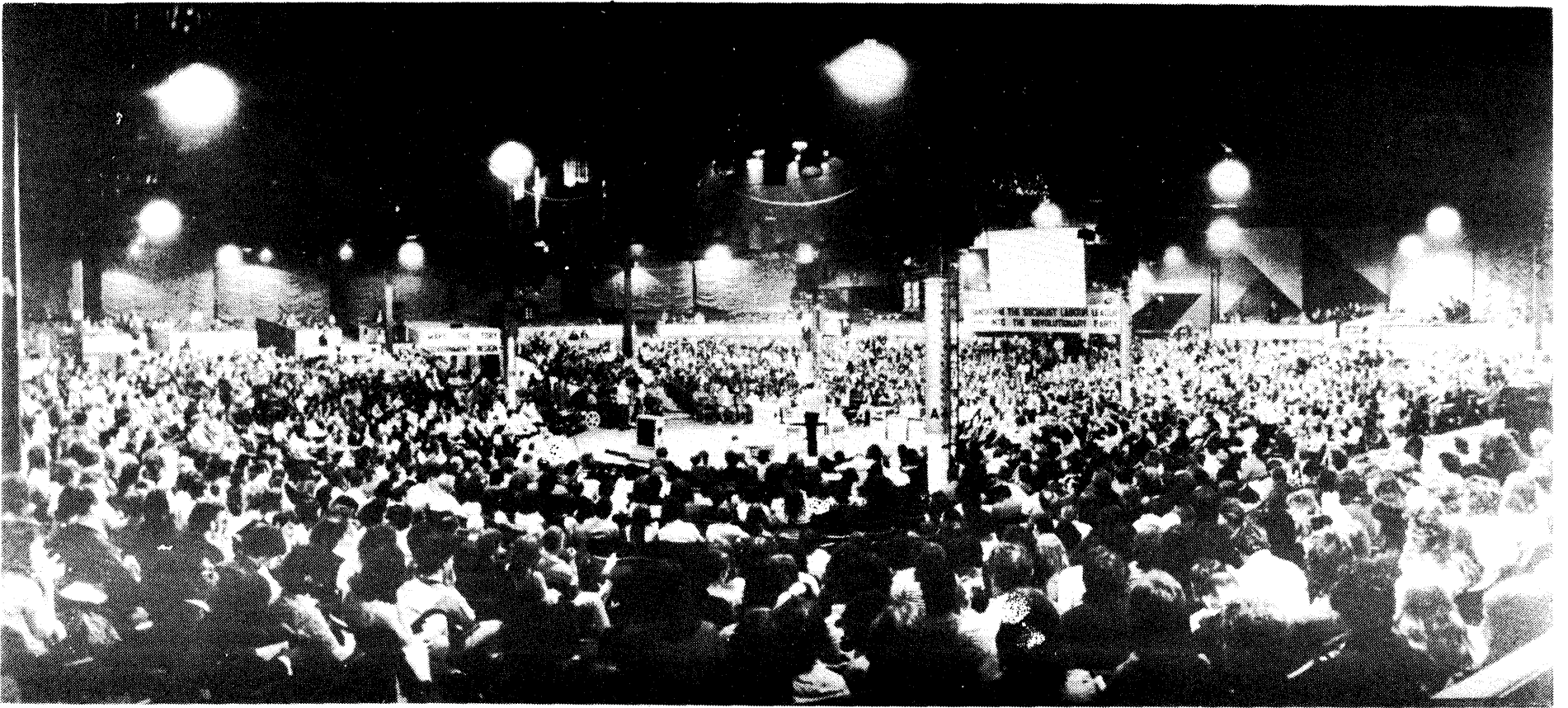
The company is preparing for a strike. Many men laid off earlier this year have been called back. Production is heavy. At the same time men have been asked to work during the first two weeks of August, during the period when the plant would normally be shut down for vacation or closed by a strike.

The bosses are trying to convince the workers that everything is settled, that there will be no strike and they had better take whatever is offered.

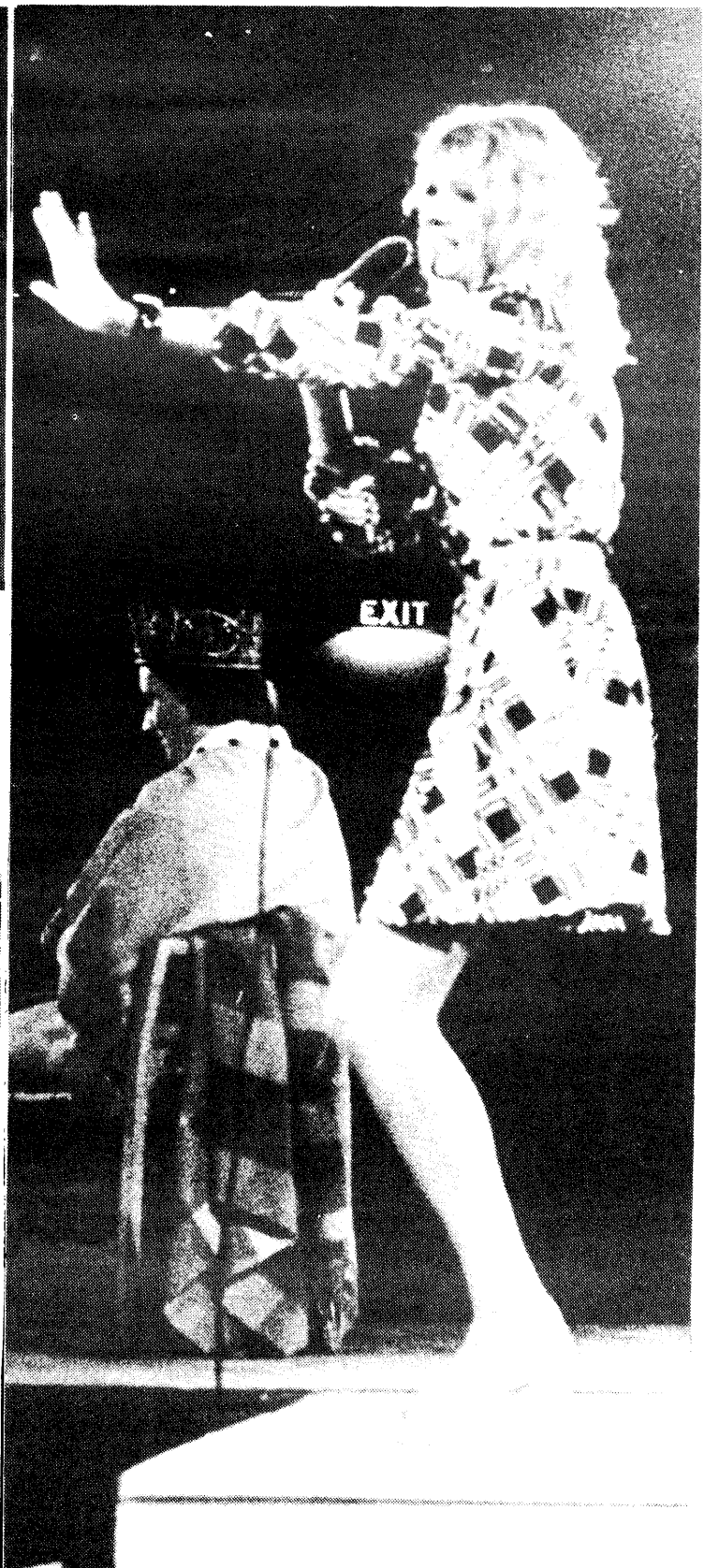
One worker was told by his



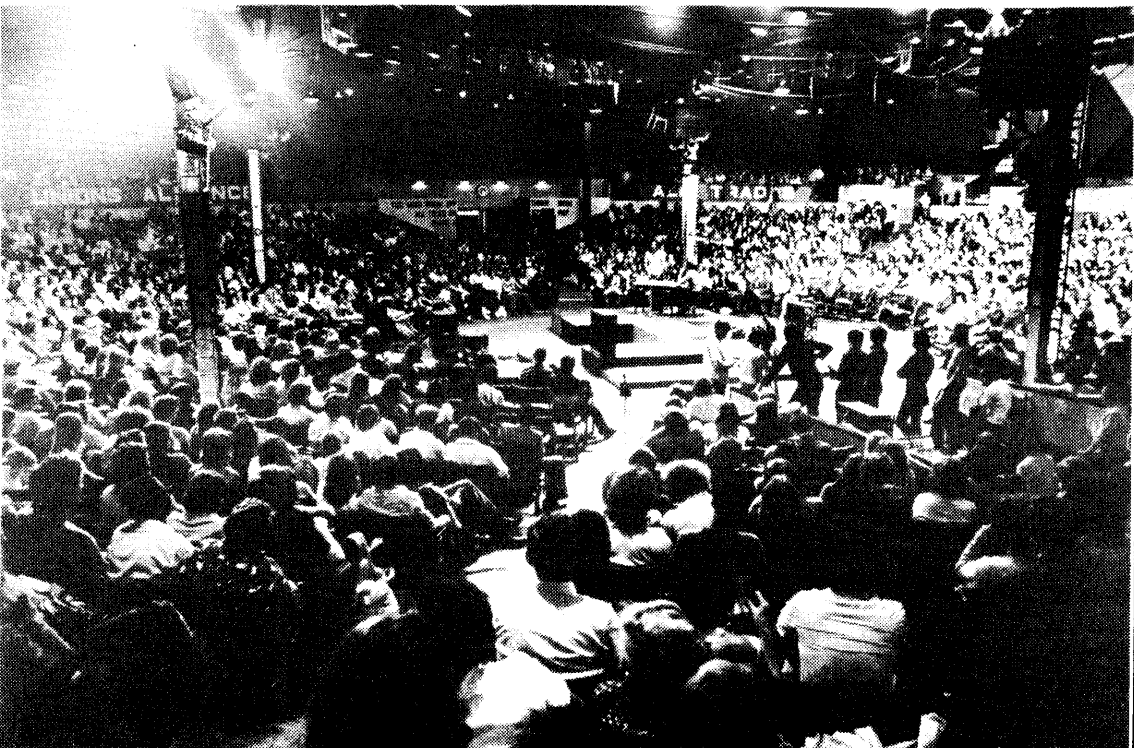
EDITOR: Lucy St. John
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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



Anti-Tory Rally Draws 4000 Trade Unionists



Over 4000 trade unionists attended the historic conference of the All Trades Union Alliance—trade union arm of the Socialist Labour League—in Belle Vue in Manchester in the largest anti-Tory rally ever held in northern England. The delegates voted unanimously to transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party in the fall and take forward the fight to make the Tories resign in light of the new political conditions created by the withdrawal of trade union leader Hugh Scanlon from talks with the Tories. After a film showing of the SLL's "Pageant of History," a presentation from SLL National Secretary Gerry Healy (above), and discussion, the rally ended with a specially written satirical Cabaret—focusing on the Tory scandals and Watergate—performed by Tom Kempinski, Corin Redgrave, Kika Markham, Matthew Robertson, Vanessa Redgrave (right) and others. A full report will follow in next week's Bulletin.



Midwest News



Pickets at the Borg-Warner plant in Wright City, Missouri, where members of International Association of Machinists District 9 walked out June 15 after rejecting management's contract offer.

Chicago U. Plans Layoffs

BY HECTOR DIAZ

CHICAGO—Library workers at the University of Chicago are faced with one of the most vicious attacks launched on the library unions, Local 103A (professional librarians) and Local 103B (clerical) of the Distributive Workers of America, since the recognition drive began in February of 1971.

The University of Chicago has been hit with cutbacks in funds from the government and private foundations. Most severely hit has been the library which has lost its entire federal funding of \$224,000. In addition less than half the funds available in fiscal year 1972-1973 are being provided to the library for next year, which amounts to \$75,000.

A report issued by the Board of Library clearly outlines the measures it plans to take to set-

tle these cutbacks on the library workers. It states arrogantly that "cost of living increases for the staff can be provided only by further reductions in staff size."

CHILLING

The most chilling part of the report assures the long time union hating university administration that the "most promising approach to controlling library staffing costs is . . . to implement in the fall of 1974 a computerized system for storage and access to acquisition, cataloging, and circulation records."

Subject to increasing speedup with further staff cutbacks, the clerical workers in the library now face no future at all with the plans of the administration to replace them entirely with computers.

The response of the union leadership to these attacks have been to center on the legality of the dismissals of the six li-

brarians, four of whom were members of the organizing committee of Local 103A. They totally avoid the origin of these attacks which is the Nixon Administration and his slashing to ribbons all federally funded programs.

MILITANCY

The militancy of the ranks in opposition to these attacks was expressed when over 75 percent of the staff, union and non-union, voted in favor of the one day strike proposed by the leadership.

The Chicago Young Socialists have been circulating a petition calling on the library unions to support the Jobs Rally being held here July 11. The YS has been struggling for this support on the basis of the union taking up the political fight against Nixon by calling for a Congress of Labor to force Nixon out and to build a labor party for a new election.

After Secret Wage Deal AFSCME Ranks Call For Leaders' Ouster

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The determination of workers all over the country to get rid of a union leadership that will not fight for a decent wage increase is being demonstrated in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union.

The Bulletin reported in December, 1972 that the leadership of Council 6 rammed through a sellout package agree-

ment with the state. With no publicity, and no warning, the negotiating committee and the bureaucracy of Council 6 called an emergency state-wide delegates assembly and pushed through acceptance of Governor Anderson's wage package proposal.

Water Goes On Sale In Duluth

BY JEAN BRUST

DULUTH, Minnesota—Already hit by heavy layoffs in steel and on the docks as well as by skyrocketing inflation, Duluth workers received a new and staggering blow in the past weeks. Dire warnings to immediately stop drinking all city water came as a complete shock to residents, since the purity of Lake Superior had long been a source of pride.

But taconite tailings dumped in the lake at Silver Bay, 60 miles northeast of Duluth over the past 10 years have so poisoned the water that concentration of deadly asbestos fibres reach nearly 100 billion per quart of water.

Workers and their families, acknowledging that they have been drinking these poisons so long that stopping will do no good, are forced to buy drinking water for their children in an effort to stop the cancer-causing agent.

Just as Watergate shows all the rotten corruption of the capitalist political system, so this crisis exposes the necessity for the capitalist class to now use every possible weapon in its drive for profits. Even such a basic need as water, from the earliest settlement of the country accepted as a free good to be supplied communally, now turns into a source of profits. The dairies now sell water at 24 cents a gallon.

Meanwhile, Mayor Boo tries to placate the working class by seeking a grant to help a few of the poorest buy water.

Rank and file state workers never saw the package and many delegates did not know what the proposal was even while the voting was taking place. Opposition to the pay plan surfaced among angry delegates during the meeting.

This opposition continues today in a serious movement to get rid of the entire Council 6 leadership. In February, members of Local 1011, highway workers, with the help of local executive board members sent a letter to Joe Ames, AFSCME International Judicial Panel Chairman, demanding the dismissal of the executive board of Local 1011, the executive board of Council 6, and the executive director of Council 6, Joe Robison. They are demanding their resignations because it was illegal under the union constitution to ratify a state-wide wages contract without allowing the full membership a vote.

OPPOSITION

This same opposition—including delegates from locals throughout the state—developed at a recent Council 6 meeting into a movement to get rid of the negotiating committee. A resolution was presented to insure that anyone in the negotiating committee be part of a certified bargaining unit.

Nearly five months have passed since this letter was sent and Joe Ames has refused to answer. Council 6 members must have no illusions that the Jerry Wurf International bureaucracy will come to the aid of rank and file workers, even though Joe Robison has resigned for another post. Wurf is clearly shaken by this movement and wants to replace Robison with someone he thinks will be able to contain the growing opposition in Minnesota.

Only through the construction of a state-wide caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party that demands a political break with Anderson and the Democrats through the construction of a labor party can this opposition become a leadership that will fight for what state workers need.

That is why Joe Robison and Jim Muske, President of Council 6, have from the beginning supported the witch-hunt and expulsions of Perry and Liz Tillerias from AFSCME 1164. As Paul Goldberg, Assistant Director for the Council stated, "I agree that the charges aren't fair, but there is also the other side, the political side."

Members of Local 1011 have agreed to support the Tillerias in their appeal to Council 6. As one member said, "If they can get away with expelling them, then they can do it to us too."

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State Police Attack *Midwest News* Kalkaska Labor

BY KEN WESTON

KALKASKA, Mich—"You might say we are running this place like a military installation," a Delta Engineering official told reporters here last February at the heavily guarded site of Shell Oil's 20 million dollar gas processing plant which is being built with non-union workers.

Shell Oil's contracting out of the site to the Texas-based and open shop Delta Engineering Company has brought building tradesmen from all around Michigan to this small isolated mid-state town. This site has been the scene of often violent confrontations between unionists and scab workers since last winter.

Last week Governor Milliken, who lives in nearby Traverse City, reinforced the company's 24 hour Pinkerton guards and dogs with 500 state troopers, one quarter of the state's forces. Building tradesmen who at that point were keeping scabs out of the site with mass picketing, now angrily refer to the state troopers as "Milliken's scab herders."

MASS ARRESTS

Last week mass arrests rounded up 80 unionists off the picket line. In the past few months as many as 1000 unionists have massed the Kalkaska area to protest the operation of this scab site by Shell Oil.

Threats by Milliken that he would end "all guerrilla warfare" with police action have been answered by a business agent for the Michigan Building and Construction Trades Council who said the Council would flood Kalkaska with 10,000 unionists and stage a statewide shutdown of construction.

Michigan tradesmen understand that the Shell site, which employs some 300 non-union workers, most of them from out of state, is part of a determined effort by the right to work Associated Building Contractors to break down the closed shop on Michigan and bring in what it calls the "merit shop."

BREAK

At this point the ABC claims 4000 workers are employed by it in Michigan. These 4000 are being used to break down the working conditions of Michigan's 100,000 tradesmen.

Since the ABC first came to Michigan it has run into the terrific determination of union tradesmen not to allow their working conditions to be destroyed. With construction starts falling off very sharply in Michigan, the construction unions are the workers' only protection.

Although reporters are not permitted on the site by the company, an aerial survey has revealed that virtually all construction has been stopped by the mass pickets and by the refusal of the Teamsters to cross the picket line to make deliveries of vital cement. Many Delta workers hired from the Michigan area have quit and those who continue to report to the site are herded in every morning by state police in riot gear as police helicopters hover over the pickets.

Eugene Talot, business agent for the MBCTC told reporters,

"In effect, we shut the job down. And even though the scabs still get in, nobody's crossing our line to make deliveries and nobody will till we go and we're not going to go."

Despite the success of the pickets in halting construction at the site, a critical point has been reached with the threat of more police intervention, a situation which is aggravated by the refusal of Stan Arnold, head of the MBCTC, to actually call out all of Michigan's 100,000 tradesmen.

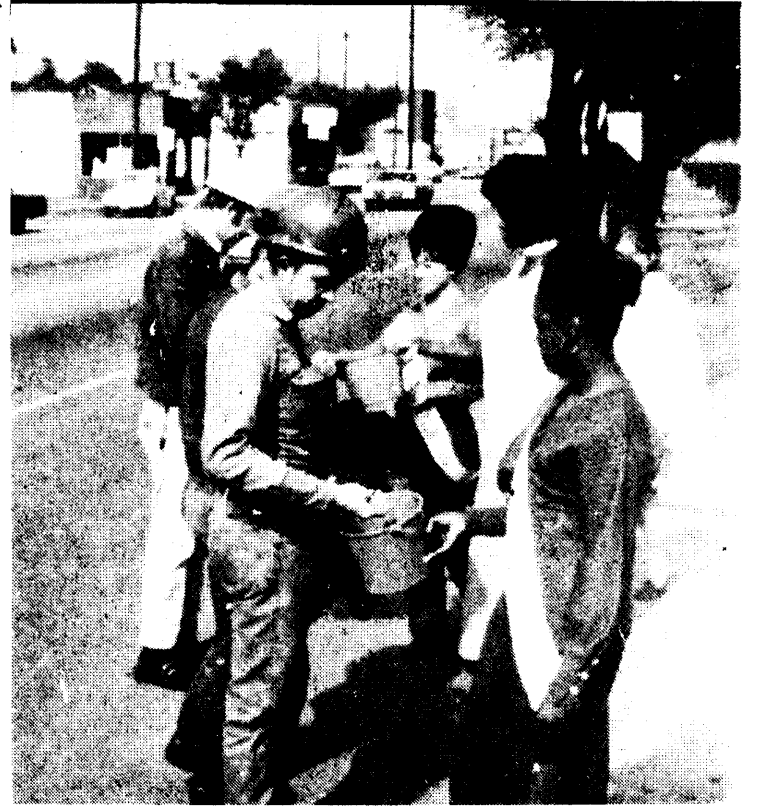
After a long week of mass arrests, Arnold told the unionists at Kalkaska to restrain their protests until a meeting with Delta could be held. The company responded by breaking off the planned talks and is now going ahead to take the dispute before the National Labor Relations Board to obtain an injunction.

In February Arnold told Detroit Free Press reporters that with the inroads of the anti-union ABC into Michigan, tradesmen would have to start giving contractors what he called "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay." Arnold elaborated, "We're telling our people that some of the work practices developed down through the years—long coffee breaks and early quits are out from now on."

Unionists are now acting to throw all their strength against ABC and their allies in the government. This demands that all Michigan tradesmen be called out against any government action in Kalkaska.

The Michigan AFL-CIO, which held its convention in Lansing last week, must call for a Congress of Labor to plan out strike action against such union-busting attacks and to construct a labor party to fight against the anti-labor Republican and Democratic parties.

As one bitter unionist at Kalkaska said, referring to the use of state troops, "One of these days those guys will need our votes—100,000 building tradesmen. And this won't be forgotten!"



Members of United Steel Workers of America at the Georgetown Steel plant in South Carolina contribute to the Oenita strikers—after their own seven month strike for a first union contract.

Workers Shut Foundry Over Violations

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON, Ohio, June 29—The 60 workers in the iron pourers department at GH&R Foundry stopped work for two hours last week when the company tried to take away a 15 minute break and was keeping the lids off the vats of molten iron, adding to the excessive heat and in violation of safety regulations.

Although these moves by the company are a clear violation of the contract and the national safety act, 10 of the men who participated in the walkout have received written reprimands.

A worker in the finishing department told the Bulletin of the rotten working conditions and substandard wages throughout the plant. "We're 10 years behind in wages. Laborers make only \$2.90 an hour and classified workers, even inspectors, make only \$3.92 an hour. These wages are way behind the auto workers."

"Then they don't pay any attention to seniority or classifications. They can use you as a laborer, then put you on inspection and still pay you laborer's rate. Seniority doesn't make a difference. Some of the men have

worked here 20 or 30 years but you're still treated like a dog."

He gave as an example the hot belt line where the hot iron comes through for cast assortment. "The gloves you wear have thick padding but the iron is so hot it melts the padding. If you refuse to work the hot iron, they send you home and put on someone who will."

The heat in the foundry reaches as high as 150 degrees, but only fans are used for ventilation; there is no air cooling system. Dust and fumes remain a health hazard. The company has been forced to put in only minimum measures to get rid of some of the dust.

GH&R makes the castings for General Motors plants. When a walkout of the entire plant took place last November, Frigidaire and other basic industry plants in the area were threatened with closure. The workers are organized into Local 765, United Electrical Workers (UE). UE has a no-strike contract with the company.

Elections at the local are to be held in July. An opposition slate to the present leadership has entered the elections on a program of "working for a better contract" and "enforcing the present contract."

At a time when the capitalist class is driving to speed up production, cut costs with violations of health and safety provisions, and impose wage freezes, the fight to "enforce and improve contracts" has to be a political fight for workers control and for a labor party with a socialist program.

Oil Monopolies Plot Rationing Scheme

BY A REPORTER

Nationwide gasoline rationing will probably be implemented within the next year, two Ohio oil company officials predicted Monday. One official said he had information that ration books had already been printed up by federal officials.

D. Walcutt, executive vice president of the Certified Oil Company, one of the state's largest independent gasoline dealers, predicted rationing was "quite possible" this year, while John Ross, senior vice president in charge of natural resources for Standard Oil Company of Ohio, saw fuel rationing more likely next year.

"If we don't cut down on gasoline usage, there is no way short of rationing to cure the shortage," said Walcutt. "I don't advocate rationing, but knowing the present federal administration, that is the way it will end up."

"I know ration books have already been printed and are ready to distribute," Walcutt stated that this information came from a Senator he declined to identify, except to say it was not an Ohio senator.

Senator Robert Taft, Repub-

lican of Ohio, admitted that he had heard "rumors" of the printing of gasoline rationing books, but was unable to confirm the reports.

"Present plans, at least, don't call for rationing to individual consumers," said Taft.

The so-called gas shortage is a direct product of the economic crisis. Because of the chaotic monetary and credit situation, giant oil companies have refused to make the necessary investment of new production facilities. They have utilized the resultant "crisis" to drive hundreds of independent refineries and gas stations out of business.

Now with the aid of Nixon the oil barons will blame the shortages produced by themselves on the "consumer," the working and middle class. Meanwhile they will tie up a 100 percent monopoly of the fuel supply with the assistance of Nixon.

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Teamster Ranks Must Reject Deal With Nixon

The rank and file of the Teamsters now have the opportunity to turn the tables on Nixon's drive to destroy the unions and the standard of living of American workers. In 1970 it was the opposition by the Chicago local of the Teamsters to the settlement reached by the International that opened the wage offensive for the entire trade union movement.

Ever since this explosion which undermined all attempts by the capitalists to contain their economic crisis at the expense of the working class, the Nixon Administration has worked to corrupt this leadership. Fitzsimmons himself is up to his neck with Nixon in the Watergate conspiracy. Fitzsimmons is now under investigation for the contributions given the Nixon campaign by the union, which were reportedly offered in exchange for Hofa's parole. It was Charles Colson, one of the main figures in Watergate, who together with Peter Brennan helped arrange the deals between Fitzsimmons and Nixon. At the same time, Harold Gibbons, a vice president of the Teamsters and Fitzsimmons' biggest opponent, was put on the top of Nixon's "enemy list." Fitzsimmons had Gibbons expelled from his job only months ago.

The agreement signed by Fitzsimmons with the trucking industry is the product of the open and criminal collaboration of this leadership with the Nixon Administration. As requested by Nixon, the contract was initialed long in advance of the strike deadline. The pact holds the Teamsters' wage increase below even the guidelines of 5.5 percent, providing a 5.8 percent raise in the first year of the contract, a 4.7 percent raise in the second and a 4.5 percent increase in the third year. This would mean a slash in the standard of living for the members of the Teamsters union as inflation soars to over 25 percent a year.

Fitzsimmons now has to take this settlement to the ranks who have nothing but hatred for this leadership. So fearful is Fitzsimmons of a rebellion that he has informed all locals that any strike action for more wages would be disavowed by the International.

Contrary to the statements by leading capitalist spokesmen that this settlement is now the pattern for all future contracts, a new offensive by the working class is now undermining the "labor peace" worked out through the collaboration of the labor bureaucracy with Nixon. This is the meaning of the vote of the two New York postal workers locals to reject the settlement negotiated by their International and to strike in open defiance of this leadership and the Nixon government.

The Teamster ranks must reject this settlement and open strike action now against the Nixon government, and initiate the immediate call for a Congress of Labor. This Congress must take up the task of mobilizing the entire labor movement to force Nixon to resign, and to construct a political alternative to the Democrats and Republicans for a new election.

As long as this government remains in office, there can be no defense of the unions and democratic rights. If Nixon is allowed to remain in office he will implement his Phase Four for new attacks on the working class. The conditions are now ripe for removing Nixon's main prop—the collaboration of the trade union leaders—and constructing the alternative, a labor party.



What we think The CP-Woodcock Alliance

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on auto workers to demand that the UAW immediately prepare for strike action to smash Nixon's wage controls and defeat the bosses' drive for speedups and layoffs.

This requires a fight against Leonard Woodcock, who stands as an obstacle to defending the union and the living standards and basic rights of its members, in the struggle to build a new leadership in the UAW.

But the fight against Woodcock requires a struggle against the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, who defend Woodcock's betrayals and state publicly that the ranks must accept his leadership.

Writing on "The Coming Negotiations in Auto," the June issue of Political Affairs—the CP's main theoretical journal—Thomas Dennis denounces rank and file militants and even supporters of the CP who are fighting to clean the entire Woodcock bureaucracy out of the union.

Never mentioning Woodcock by name, Political Affairs argues that nothing more than "rank and file" pressure on the UAW bureaucracy is needed to prevent "one of the most colossal sellouts of the workers' basic interests in the history of the labor movement."

At a time when the hatred of thousands of auto workers against the Woodcock bureaucracy is expressing itself through wildcats in Detroit and Lordstown—where the local leadership is so distrusted that it is not even informed in advance of such actions—and the upset of the Woodcock slate in the important Fremont plant, the CP moves openly to divert this explosive movement against Woodcock.

"The structure of the UAW is more democratic than that of any major union in this country," claims Dennis. "There exist many avenues through which the rank and file, if it is organized, can express itself and have an impact on the policies and practices of the local union and international."

In other words, the CP is telling workers that they should seek nothing more than an "impact" on the policies of Woodcock—who is to remain the president of the UAW at any rate. And while "rank and file pressure" is to be exerted on Woodcock, they are to place their faith in the so-

called democratic processes of the UAW, of which there have been so many examples during the past year: the seven month isolation of the Norwood strikers, the Special Bargaining Convention of the UAW at which Woodcock refused to spell out the exact demands of the union, the witch-hunting of the TUALP in Dayton, the present interference of the International in the Fremont election, and—above all—the participation of Woodcock on Nixon's wage freeze "advisory board" without the approval of the membership.

Further in the article, Dennis comes right out and demands an immediate halt to criticism of Woodcock:

"There are numerous 'Left' groups that have been active for some time, issuing their propaganda to the workers and trying to organize them. The pattern which runs through all their literature is one of attacking the union leadership as such, of attacking the union and/or exposing bad conditions in the plant in order to attack the union for doing nothing about the situation. None of these groups are in the business of treating the company as the enemy or organizing the workers to fight against the company for better conditions.

"Some of our own comrades have the same hangup. They say that the main obstacle to taking on the company is the union leadership and that until you get rid of the leadership you can't fight the company. The trouble with this approach is that with no struggle against the company no rank and file leaders emerge in whom the workers have any confidence. The workers don't consider that you have done something just because you have called the leadership a lot of dirty names."

This is a vicious and cynical slap in the face to every auto worker who knows that the Woodcock bureaucracy has for three years sabotaged every attempt of the ranks to defend their union and living conditions.

What type of struggle can there be against GM, Ford and Chrysler without the ranks sweeping out a leadership that collaborates with Nixon in maintaining the present guidelines and preparing the Phase Four wage freeze, which has refused to call a national strike against the brutal speedups throughout GMAD and Ford, and which has refused to say one word on

Watergate because Woodcock is adamantly opposed to forcing Nixon out of office and developing a political alternative to this government of criminals through the calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

This question is not raised in Political Affairs because the Communist Party is determined to cover the central role which Woodcock now plays in keeping Nixon in office. That the CP can tell its own supporters within the UAW that the fight against Woodcock is a "hangup" shows how committed it really is to the defense of the trade union bureaucracy against the movement of the rank and file.

It is important to note that this article by Thomas Dennis appears in the very same issue of Political Affairs that carried the American Communist Party's official welcome to the leader of world Stalinism, Leonid Brezhnev, when he arrived for his talks with Richard Nixon. This issue also carried CP General Secretary Gus Hall's article on Watergate which—as we pointed out in the same space last week—argued against the impeachment of Richard Nixon and called instead for constitutional reforms.

In this light, the meaning of the CP's open embrace of Leonard Woodcock becomes very clear. While the CP has always labelled Woodcock a "progressive" due to his support for trade with the Soviet Union and "peaceful coexistence," the American Stalinists now see in Woodcock a central prop of the Nixon Administration.

The CP therefore is trying to keep Nixon in office, in spite of the crisis that is paralyzing this Administration, by refusing to demand that Woodcock speak out on Watergate, end all collaboration with the preparations for Phase Four by getting off the Cost of Living Advisory Board, and by demanding that Woodcock prepare the UAW for strike action in September in defiance of any wage controls.

Carrying forward this fight requires the building of a leadership in the UAW against Woodcock, to prepare for strike action and rally the entire working class in this struggle against the Government through the calling of a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party as the alternative to Nixon.

TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM



Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the specter of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries in the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labor movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun a campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the world-wide revolution of the working class. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 published *Against Trotskyism*, a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. In this series reprinted from the Workers Press MICHAEL BANDA replies to this book.

The publication in English of the book *'Against Trotskyism'* (Progress Publishers, Moscow) testifies to the Soviet leaders' fear of the growth of the Fourth International.

The more openly the bureaucracy capitulates to imperialism and collaborates with it against the world revolution, the more it must slander and attack Trotskyism.

This book is an exceptionally crude attempt to blacken Trotsky's name by bringing together in one volume all the unfavourable references to him extracted from Lenin's writings.

These are accompanied by a vitriolic commentary which obscures and distorts all the issues with which it deals in order to misrepresent them and confuse the reader.

The extracts from Lenin are juxtaposed quite arbitrarily with resolutions passed after his death by Stalinist-dominated Communist Party and trade union organizations.

The book ends abruptly in August 1927, thus freeing the editors of any obligation to defend the wave of purges and repressions against the Old Bolsheviks in the 1930s.

These massacres of revolutionists which culminated in the Moscow Trials and the cowardly assassination of Trotsky himself in Mexico in August 1940 were all part and parcel of the 'struggle against Trotskyism' which this book exalts.

And by covering up for the crimes of the past and systematically distorting the history of Bolshevism its authors—B. S. Vlasov, I. P. Genenko and A. A. Solovyov of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow—are laying the founda-

tions for a new counter-revolutionary attack.

They have surpassed even the usual standards of lying and distortion for which the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Stalinism) is well known.

Their shoddy anthology is presumably intended to serve the hacks of the various western Communist Parties with anti-Trotskyist 'ammunition'.

It falls into three parts: the first deals with the differences between Trotsky and Lenin in the period before the February 1917 revolution; the second with the period when they were both leaders of the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party; and the third with the period after Lenin's death until Trotsky's expulsion from the Stalinized party in 1927.

Facts speak louder than lies and the facts about the close alliance between Trotsky and Lenin during and after the conquest of power in 1917 not only transcend the episodic differences of the pre-revolutionary period, but also completely unmask the Byzantine lies and impudent distortions of this book on the post-1917 period.

In his famous letter to the Bureau of Party History (Istpart), written when the campaign against him led by Stalin was at its height, Trotsky anticipates these allegations and refutes them decisively.

In this important letter

Trotsky revealed how the bureaucracy was carrying out a 'conscious and spiteful distortion of the past, which is now organized on an enormous scale, sustained by the authority of all kinds of public institutions and even carried into the textbooks'.

There is no greater tribute to the superiority of the Marxist method over the crude metaphysics of the Stalinist 'Institute of Marxism-Leninism' than to contrast Trotsky's analysis of the Stalinist lie campaign with the sterile rubbish of the Moscow hacks.

Listen to Trotsky: 'The lie in politics as in daily life, serves a function of the class structure of society. The oppressors erect the lie into a system of befuddling the masses in order to maintain their rule.'

'On the part of the oppressed the lie is a defensive weapon of weakness. Revolution explodes the social lie. Revolution speaks the truth. Revolution begins by giving things and social relationships their real names . . .'

'But revolution is neither a single nor a harmonious process. Revolution is full of contradictions. It unfolds only by taking one step back after taking two steps forward.'

'Revolution in its own turn sweeps into power a new ruling stratum which strives to secure its privileged position and is apt to view itself, not as the temporary historical vehicle of revolution, but rather

Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Soviet government, in a 1920 photograph.

its completion and its crowning work.

'The epochs of ideological reaction which, more than once in history, have run parallel with economic success, engender the need for revising revolutionary ideas and methods; and create their own conventional lie.'

The creation of such conventional lies, for all their apparent subjective arbitrariness, are rooted in social and material reality.

Trotsky's imperishable contribution to Marxism consists not only in his factual exposure of the bureaucracy's lies and his courageous defiance of their Stalinist authors, but above all in his scrupulously scientific and materialist analysis of the social origins of these lies.

In this way he helped to train a new generation of fighters of the Marxist method who understood not only the methodology of the Stalinist counterfeiters but also the contradictions which determined the campaign against Trotskyism.

Trotsky exposed these contradictions succinctly in the foreword to his book *'The Stalin School of Falsification'*.

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exposes the contradictions which determine the Stalinist campaign against Trotskyism.

'Members of the American bourgeoisie,' he said, 'many of whom are descendants of British convicts, having acquired the requisite number of millions, feel the urge to equip themselves with a respectable geneology, drawn preferably from the Kings of Scotland.'

'The Soviet bureaucracy, likewise, after raising itself above the revolutionary class, could not help experiencing the need, in proportion as it entrenched its independent positions, for such an ideology as would justify its exceptional positions and insure it against dissatisfaction from below.'

'It is for this reason that such colossal success has been attained by the alteration, perversion and right counterfeiting of the revolutionary past, still so recent.'

'However, the contradictions of the economic process and of the world situation do not allow the bureaucracy to rest peacefully on the laurels of national socialism.'

'The convulsions of the official policy obstruct the erection of a new theory as well as a new tradition. With every major historical zigzag they are compelled to revamp history all over again.'

He added: 'Consequently the official history of the party and of the revolution represents, at the present time, a scroll on which various scribes have written as the spirit moved them—each scribe very much unconcerned with what another has written or, in part, one and the same scribe very little concerned with his writings of yesterday.'

These words exactly characterize the book under review. It is not a history in the generally-accepted sense, but a **rewriting** of history through the careful and one-sided selection of documents to 'prove' the reverse of what actually happened.

Quotations torn out of context are brought together with the hack outpourings of the bureaucrats under Stalin. At the same time all quotations which reflect favourably on Trotsky are rigorously excluded.

The differences between Lenin and Trotsky prior to 1917 turned on two key questions. The first was

Trotsky's attitude towards a centralized disciplined party and his attempts to 'conciliate' between the Bolshevik and Menshevik wings of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

This brought him sharply into conflict with Lenin, who correctly criticized him for obstructing the exposure of Menshevism and failing to recognize that there could be no conciliation with opportunism.

The Stalinists, in their eagerness to magnify Lenin's polemics against Trotsky during this period, however, have omitted to mention how Lenin himself characterized Trotsky's position **immediately after the seizure of power in 1917.**

At the November 1, 1917, conference of the Petrograd Bolshevik committee, Lenin came into bitter conflict with the right wing of the Bolshevik Party which wanted to compromise and share the power with the opportunists.

He attacked them in the following words:

'As for a compromise—I cannot even speak about that seriously. **Trotsky said long ago that unification is impossible. Trotsky understood this and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik!**'

In other words, Lenin regarded Trotsky's previous difference with Bolshevism as a past episode, without in the least minimizing its importance. Trotsky freely admitted that on the question of the party he had been mistaken and Lenin had been right.

When Stalin and his supporters were trying to hound him from the party after Lenin's death, his position between 1903 and 1917 was brought up against him by means of selected quotations and falsifications.

Zinoviev and Kamenev who had entered into an unprincipled alliance with Stalin against Trotsky in this period later revealed that the 'legend of Trotskyism' had been deliberately created in this completely cynical manner.

Their campaign was conducted with extreme virulence, playing on the most backward sections of Soviet society in order to swamp the opposition with sheer weight of numbers and sheer tonnage of lies.

Rebutting these lies, Trotsky pointed out in his letter to the Bureau of Party History that although he had voted with the future Mensheviks at the second RSDLP congress, he had broken politically and organizationally from Menshevism in 1904.

The main reason, he wrote, was 'my irreconcilable conflict with Menshevism upon the questions of bourgeois liberalism and the perspectives of the revolution itself.'

In the same letter he pointed out the defects of using the biographical method in reaching decisions about political principles.

He gave the example of Franz Mehring who became a Marxist only in his maturity but remained one until his death, while Eduard Bernstein, Engels' literary executor, and Karl Kautsky, long the leading theoretician of the German movement, both went over to reformism.

Challenging Stalin and his supporters, Trotsky went on: 'During the time when I stood outside the Bolshevik Party during that period when my differences with Bolshevism reached their highest point, the distance separating me from the views of Lenin was never as great as the distance which separates the present position of Stalin-Bukharin from the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism.'

In their campaign against Trotskyism, Stalin and the group around him made great play of Trotsky's political record before 1917. All this material is dutifully regurgitated by the hacks of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism.

They concentrate much of their virulence against the theory of the permanent revolution, slandered in the preface as a theory which 'questioned the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and denied the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat.'

This description of the theory is an outright and thoroughgoing lie. The Stalinists did not dare attack this theory during the period between the October revolution and Lenin's death.

They 'discovered' Trotsky's 'scepticism' about the revolutionary role of the working class and his 'denial' of the revolutionary potential of the peasants only after Lenin had died.

Prior to this, as Trotsky tartly pointed out in his 'History of the Russian Revolution', his theory was officially referred to as 'the original and now especially famous theory of Permanent Revolution, asserting that the bourgeois revolution of 1905



would go directly over into a socialist revolution and prove the first of a series of national revolutions'. (Quotation is from the note to the 'Complete Works of Lenin', published during his life.)

The Institute for Marxism-Leninism's attempts to prove Trotsky wrong by quoting Lenin's articles against the theory of permanent revolution written in 1905 are sufficient evidence of the political bankruptcy of the Moscow leadership.

Here is the extract from Lenin's article, 'Social Democracy and the Provisional Government,' written against Parvus (collaborator with Trotsky in formulating the theory of permanent revolution):

Equally incorrect, for the same reason, are Parvus's statements that 'the revolutionary provisional government in Russia will be a government of working-class democracy', that 'if the Social-Democrats are at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat, this government will be a Social-Democratic government', that the Social-Democratic provisional government 'will be an integral government with a Social-Democratic majority'. This is

impossible, unless we speak of fortuitous, transient episodes, and not of a revolutionary dictatorship that will be at all durable and capable of leaving its mark in history. This is impossible, because only a revolutionary dictatorship supported by the vast majority of the people can be at all durable (not absolutely, of course, but relatively).

The Russian proletariat, however, is at present a minority of the population in Russia. It can become the great, overwhelming majority only if it combines with the mass of semi-proletarians, semi-proprietors, i.e., with the mass of the petty-bourgeois urban and rural poor. Such a composition of the social basis of the possible and desirable revolu-

“...since that time there has been no better Bolshevik”

Lenin writing of Trotsky in 1917

Trotsky arriving in St. Petersburg.



1789-1793, not 1848-1850, and to surpass those years, it must rouse the vast masses to active life, to heroic efforts, to 'fundamental historic creativeness'; it must raise them out of frightful ignorance, unparalleled oppression, incredible backwardness, and abysmal dullness.

The revolution is already raising them and will raise them completely; the government itself is facilitating the process by its desperate resistance. But, of course, there can be no question of a mature political consciousness of a Social-Democratic consciousness of these masses or their numerous 'native' popular leaders or even 'muzhik' leaders. They cannot become Social-Democrats at once without first passing a number of revolutionary tests, not only because of their ignorance (revolution, we repeat, enlightens with marvellous speed), but because their class position is not proletarian, because the objective logic of historical development confronts them at the present time with the tasks, not of a socialist, but of a democratic revolution.

In this revolution, the revolutionary proletariat will participate with the utmost energy, sweeping aside the miserable tail-ism of some and the revolutionary phrases of others. It will bring class definiteness and consciousness into the dizzying whirlwind of events, and march on intrepidly and unswervingly, not fearing, but fervently desiring, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, fighting for the republic and for complete republican liberties, fighting for substantial economic reforms, in order to create for itself a truly large arena, an arena worthy of the 20th century, in which to carry on the struggle for socialism.

In another article in 1909 which the book reproduces, Lenin criticizes Trotsky's theory and advances the argument, central to Lenin's thesis on the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, that the peasantry was capable of creating a party independent of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Both in the First and Second Dumas—in spite of the fact that the counter-revolution had wiped out the first contingents of advanced peasants—the peasantry, now for the first time acting on a nation-wide scale in the all-Russia general elections, immediately laid the foundations of the Trudovik group, which was undoubtedly the embryo of a distinct peasant party.

In these embryos and rudiments there was much that was unstable, vague and vacillating; that is beyond doubt. But if political groups like this could spring up at the beginning of the revolution, there cannot be the slightest doubt that a revolution carried to such a 'conclusion', or rather, to such a high stage of development as a revolutionary dicta-

torship, will produce a more definitely constituted and stronger revolutionary peasant party. To think otherwise would be like supposing that some vital organs of an adult retain the size, shape and development of infancy.

Here Lenin explicitly states the possibility of the peasantry playing an independent role in the Russian Revolution. History, however, proved otherwise. The failure to realize the democratic dictatorship in Russia and, conversely, the success of the proletarian dictatorship, is irrefutable proof of the correctness of Trotsky's theory and the political impotency of the peasantry.

Lenin, however, and unlike the editors of this book was no dogmatist. At the April 1917 conference he realized the inadequacy of his formulation and revised his prognosis of the revolution. Lenin never looked back on his previous and mistaken conception. The proof of this is contained in an article he wrote in May 1919 called the 'Deception of the people by slogans of freedom and equality'.

The whole of political economy, if anybody has learned anything from it, the whole history of revolution, the whole history of political development throughout the 19th century, teaches us that the peasant follows the worker or the bourgeois... If you do not know why, I would say to such citizens... consider the development of any of the great revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, the political history of any country in the 19th century. It will tell you why. The economic structure of capitalist society is such that the ruling forces in it can only be capital or the proletariat which overthrows it. There are no other forces in the economic structure of that society.

(Lenin 'Collected Works', 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 29, p. 338. Lawrence and Wishart.)

Quoting this passage in 1930, Trotsky wrote in 'The Permanent Revolution':

It is not a matter here of modern England or Germany. On the basis of the lessons of any one of the great revolutions of the 18th or the 19th centuries, that is, of the bourgeois revolutions in the backward countries, Lenin comes to the conclusion that only the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. There cannot be a 'democratic', that is, an intermediate dictatorship.

('Permanent Revolution', p. 128. New Park Publications, 1971.)

Trotsky's formulation of the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry in the coming revolution proved more accurate than that of Lenin, who advocated until April 1917 the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'.

Trotsky clearly saw even in 1905 that the Russian bourgeoisie would be unable to undertake even the most basic democratic tasks. The peasantry, he correctly anticipated, could play no independent political role.

The only way in which the democratic tasks could be fulfilled was under the leadership of the proletarian state.

Here is a selection of the key passages from the book 'Results and Prospects' published by Trotsky and Parvus (who later renounced the theory) in 1905:

When we speak of a workers' government we have in view a government in which the working-class representatives dominate and lead. The proletariat, in order to consolidate its power, cannot but widen the base of the revolution. Many sections of the working masses, particularly in the countryside, will be drawn into the revolution and become politically organized only after the advance-guard of the revolution, the urban proletariat, stands at the helm of state. Revolutionary agitation and organization will then be conducted with the help of state resources. The legislative power itself will become a powerful instrument for revolutionizing the masses. The nature of our social-historical relations, which lays the whole burden of the bourgeois revolution upon the shoulders of the proletariat, will not only create tremendous difficulties for the workers' government but, in the first period of its existence at any rate, will also give it invaluable advantages. This will affect the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry.

The Russian revolution does not, and for a long time will not, permit the establishment of any kind of bourgeois-constitutional order that might solve the most elementary problems of democracy. All the 'enlightened' efforts of reformer-bureaucrats like Witte and Stolypin are nullified by their own struggle for existence. Consequently, the fate of the most elementary revolutionary interests of the peasantry—even the peasantry as a whole, as an estate, is bound up with the fate of entire revolution, i.e., with the fate of the proletariat.

The proletariat in power will stand before the peasants as the class which has emancipated it. The domination of the proletariat will mean not only democratic equality, free self-government, the transference of the whole burden of taxation to the rich classes, the dissolution of the standing army in the armed people and the abolition of compulsory church imposts, but also recognition of all revolutionary changes (expropriations) in land relationships carried out

by the peasants. The proletariat will make these changes the starting-point for further state measures in agriculture.

Under such conditions the Russian peasantry in the first and most difficult period of the revolution will be interested in the maintenance of a proletarian regime (workers' democracy) at all events not less than was the French peasantry in the maintenance of the military regime of Napoleon Bonaparte, which guaranteed to the new property-owners, by the force of its bayonets, the inviolability of their holdings. And this means that the representative body of the nation, convened under the leadership of the proletariat, which has secured the support of the peasantry, will be nothing else than a democratic dress for the rule of the proletariat.

But is it not possible that the peasantry may push the proletariat aside and take its place? This is impossible. All historical experience protests against this assumption. Historical experience shows that the peasantry are absolutely incapable of taking up an independent political role...

The Russian bourgeoisie will surrender the entire revolutionary position to the proletariat. It will also have to surrender the revolutionary hegemony over the peasants. In such a situation, created by the transference of power to the proletariat, nothing remains for the peasantry to do but to rally to the regime of workers' democracy. It will not matter much even if the peasantry does this with a degree of consciousness not larger than that with which it usually rallies to the bourgeois regime. But while every bourgeois party commanding the votes of the peasantry hastens to use its power in order to swindle and deceive the peasants and then, if the worst comes to the worst, gives place to another capitalist party, the proletariat, relying on the peasantry, will bring all forces into play in order to raise the cultural level of the countryside and develop the political consciousness of the peasantry. From what we have said above, it will be clear how we regard the idea of a 'proletarian and peasant dictatorship'. It is not really a matter of whether we regard it as admissible in principle, whether 'we do or do not desire' such a form of political co-operation. We simply think that it is unrealizable—at least in a direct immediate sense.

('Permanent Revolution', pp. 202-205. New Park Publications Ltd, 1971.)

Instead of 'questioning the hegemony of the proletariat', as the editors of this volume lyingly maintain, it is quite clear and evident even from these brief quotations that Trotsky did exactly the opposite.

The unique feature of the theory of permanent revolution is precisely that it first demonstrated and correctly unveiled

tionary-democratic dictatorship will, of course, affect the composition of the revolutionary government and inevitably lead to the participation, or even predominance, within it of the most heterogeneous representatives of revolutionary democracy. It would be extremely harmful to entertain any illusions on this score. If that windbag Trotsky now writes (unfortunately, side by side with Parvus) that 'a Father Gapon could appear only once', that 'there is no room for a second Gapon', he does so simply because he is a windbag. If there were no room in Russia for a second Gapon, there would be no room for a truly 'great', consummated democratic revolution. To become great, to evoke

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Lenin himself broke with the idea of the 'democratic dictatorship' in April 1917 on his return from exile in Switzerland. He recognized that this formula had become outdated and dangerous because it was providing wide circles in the Bolshevik leadership with the excuse to conciliate the newly formed Provisional Government.

Prominent among these conciliators was Stalin, then a member of the 'Pravda' editorial board. The position of the Old Bolsheviks, Stalin among them, was mercilessly attacked by Lenin in his 'April Theses' when he battled to break the Bolshevik party from the petty-bourgeois democracy and turn it towards the working class and the conquest of power.

In May 1917 Lenin attended the conference of the Mezhrayontsi (inter-regional) group based on St Petersburg and made up of former members of both major factions of the Russian socialist movement.

Lenin moved a resolution for the fusion of the Mezhrayontsi with the Bolsheviks on the grounds that the main differences between the two organizations had been removed.

This fusion, referred to disparagingly by the authors of this book, was a result of a recognition by both Trotsky and Lenin that the basis existed for complete merger of their respective organizations.

The editors claim that Trotsky's 'break with opportunism' (which is how these arch-opportunists describe his joining the Bolshevik Party) was 'only a formality'.

This is certainly not how Lenin viewed the matter: In July 1917, writing to the Central Committee on the slate of Bolshevik candidates for the Constituent Assembly, Lenin attacked the presence on the slate of 'such an immoderate number of candidates from people who have hardly been tested and who have just recently joined the party'.

He went on: 'It goes without saying [sic!] that nobody would oppose such a nomination, for example, as that of L. D. Trotsky, for, in the first place Trotsky immediately upon his arrival took the position of an internationalist; in the second place, he fought among the Mezhrayontsi for fusion with the Bolsheviks; and finally during the onerous July days he proved himself both equal to the task and a devoted adherent of the party of the revolutionary proletariat. Obviously that cannot be said for a majority of the recent members of the party who appear on the slate.' ('The Stalin School of Falsification', p. 11. Pioneer Publishers, 1962.)

But then Lenin did not have to consult an Institute for Marxism-Leninism staffed by time-served liars and hacks in order to arrive at a judgement of Trotsky's politics and his capacity of leadership. And if he was in any doubt about these after penning the words quoted above, the doubts were certainly removed by Trotsky's leadership of the October uprising.

There is no doubt that the most distressing and anxious moments in a Soviet 'historian's' career are those when he is called upon to distort or explain away Trotsky's role in the October Revolution.

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Trotsky's role in the October Revolution has been too well and too widely documented in the world's Press and literature to be obscured today even by the most prodigious literary gymnastics of these Stalinist scribblers.

To this day, let it be recalled, no Stalinist has dared to deny the authenticity of John Reed's 'Ten Days That Shook the World', a book which unequivocally immortalizes the role of Trotsky in October.

Although unable to deny the authenticity of the book the Stalinists in Britain did everything in their power to prevent its publication.

Using their monopoly of the copyright of Reed's book the Stalinists maliciously suppressed its publication for over two decades from 1936 to 1956.

It was only after Nikita Khrushchev's sensational 'secret' speech at the 20th Party Congress that an embarrassed King Street permitted its unabridged reappearance.

The bureaucracy, in its remorseless quest to destroy every vestige of Trotskyism has felt impelled to distort and misrepresent Trotsky's role in the revolution for about half a century. Its attempts have been as ignominious as they have been frequent.

The first major attempt to excise Trotsky from the annals of the revolution came, of course, from Stalin's pen.

In his book 'Trotskyism or Leninism', written in the mid-1920s, Stalin dismissed Trotsky's contribution thus:

'I have to say that Comrade Trotsky played no particular role in the October insurrection and could not do so; that, being chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, he merely fulfilled the will of the corresponding party authority which guided his every step'.

'Comrade Trotsky played no particular role in the Party or the October insurrection and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to our party in the October period.' (page 68.)

Stalin's unfortunate essay into the realm of political fiction, however, was rudely interrupted when Trotsky republished Stalin's contradictory and semi-lyrical description of him—Trotsky—in October, called 'The Role of the Most Eminent Party Leaders' (sic). This was an article commemorating the First Anniversary of the October Revolution in 1918.

Here is Stalin's evaluation: 'All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the Party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky.' ('Pravda', No 241. See 'Stalin School of Falsification' pp 12-13 Pioneer Publishers ed.)

There is neither originality, truth nor honesty in 'Against Trotskyism'. The authors of this egregious compilation merely retail, with astonishing inconsistency, many of the bureaucratic fabrications of 50 years ago.

'At the most crucial moment', remarks Vlasov, Gavenko and Solovyov, 'of the development of the socialist revolution—the period of preparation and the actual accomplishing of the October armed uprising in Petrograd—Lenin and the Bolshevik Party found they had once more to come to grips with Trotsky's totally untenable, harmful and

dangerous views. Trotsky insisted that the uprisings should be postponed until the Second Congress of Soviets. In practice this meant wrecking the uprising, because the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks could put off the date for the congress, thus giving the Provisional Government the possibility of massing its forces by that date and suppressing the uprising. Had it been accepted, this piece of adventurism might have been fatal. Lenin opportunely exposed Trotsky's demagogic stand, which was calculated for effect, and proved that the Provisional Government had to be overthrown before the Congress of Soviets opened.'

This hoary old concoction is borrowed not from Stalin, but from another anti-Trotskyist virtuoso of the 1920s—Yakovlev.

Trotsky refuted this fabrication decisively in his appendix I to Volume III of his 'History of the Russian Revolution'. We cannot do more justice to it than reproduce Trotsky's own remarks.

Whenever the official investigators run into an unpleasant document they change its address. Thus Yakovlev writes: 'The Bolsheviks did not surrender to "constitutional illusions", but rejected the proposal of Trotsky to accommodate the insurrection necessarily to the Second Congress of Soviets, and seized the power before the opening of the Congress of Soviets.' Just what proposal of Trotsky is here spoken of,

where and when it was considered, what Bolsheviks rejected it—of this the author has nothing to say, and not accidentally. We should search in vain among the minutes, or among any memoirs whatever, for any indication of a proposal of Trotsky to 'accommodate the insurrection necessarily to the Second Congress of Soviets.' The ground of this assertion of Yakovlev is a slightly conventionalized misunderstanding long ago explained away by no other than Lenin himself.

As is evident from memoirs published long ago, Trotsky had more than once since the beginning of September pointed out to those opposed to insurrection that appointing the date for the Congress of Soviets was for the Bolsheviks equivalent to appointing the insurrection. This did not mean, of course, that the uprising must not occur except upon the decision of the Congress of Soviets—there could be no talk of such childish formalism. It was a question of the outside date, of the impossibility of deferring it to an indefinite time after the congress. Through whom and in what form these disputes in the Central Committee reached Lenin, is not clear from the documents. An interview with Trotsky, who was too much in view of the enemy, would have been too great a risk for Lenin. In his attitude of caution at that time he may therefore have feared that Trotsky would place his emphasis upon the Congress and not upon the insurrection, or in any case that he would not

put up the necessary resistance to the 'constitutional illusions' of Zinoviev and Kamenev. Lenin may have been anxious also about the new members of the Central Committee little known to him, the former Mezhrayontsi (or fusionists), Joffé and Uritzky. There is direct evidence of this in a speech of Lenin at a session of the Petrograd committee on November 1 after the victory. 'The question was raised at the session (of October 10) about an offensive. I had fears of opportunism from the side of the internationalist-fusionists, but these were dissipated; in our party, however, (certain old) members (of the Central Committee) did not agree. This grieved me deeply.' According to his own words, Lenin became convinced on the 10th that not only Trotsky, but also Joffé and Uritzky, who were under Trotsky's immediate influence, were decisively in favour of insurrection. The question of dates in general was raised for the first time at that session.

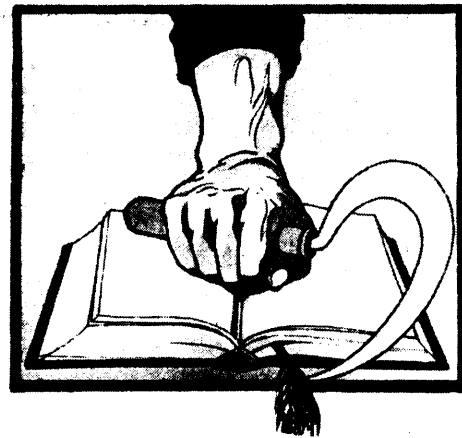
('History of the Russian Revolution' Vol. III pp 352-353 Victor Gollancz Ltd 1933.)

It is clear from Trotsky's remarks that he has nothing to answer for and that the charge of 'constitutionalism' is completely misplaced. Trotsky did not deny that there were disagreements with Lenin, but these were of an episodic nature which related to the organization of the insurrection.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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Dianne Isaacs films

O LUCKY MAN. Starring Malcolm McDowell. Produced and directed by Lindsay Anderson. Screenplay by David Sherwin.

Coffee salesman trainee Mick Travis one day suddenly finds himself elevated to the status of Imperial Coffee's regional salesman in charge of Northeast England and thus begins a latter day cinematic *Candide*.

Mick Travis is someone who wants merely to become a millionaire and through a series of episodes, each of which fails and thus impels Mick to try something else, we get a glimpse of virtually every aspect of life.

David Sherwin's screenplay is perfectly suited to Malcolm McDowell, the sad-eyed blond star of *If and Clockwork Orange*, as Travis. As he proceeds through each episode, Mick discovers more and more about the methods of capitalism, beginning with the coffee business and touching just about every side of the way the ruling class carries out its business from the secret service to stag films attended by everyone from the Lord Mayor and the tax auditor on up.

O Lucky Man not only exposes the corruption and hypocrisy of the ruling class, but also probes the stagnation and decay

of the very ability of man to develop science and technology. While hitch-hiking to London, Travis is offered a chance to make an extra hundred pounds for donating the use of his body for one week to Millar Research. As his entire body is being wired up for tests—reminiscences of *Clockwork Orange*—Dr. Millar explains to him that his dream is to be able to make man "just like the strongest animal to have walked the earth—the dinosaur."

SHADY CHARACTERS

O Lucky Man has a go at everything from liberal do-gooders to one Sir James, a millionaire busy concluding deals with some rather shady characters from Africa when Travis becomes his assistant. The whole incident is not far off the target from one of a series of scandals—the Lonhro affair—involving the Tory government.

Mick Travis begins his career as a coffee salesman with complete naivete and remains that way throughout the film in complete accordance with Alan Price's lyrics: "Smile while you're making it, laugh while you're taking it. Even if you're faking it, nobody's gonna know." Travis continuously bumps up against the realities of slick sales executives, prostitutes in the upper echelons of society, factory closures which make it impossible for him to sell his coffee, and perverted judges. McDowell plays the perfect "everyman."

Director Lindsay Anderson, who also directed *If*, handles superbly the very dif-



Mick Travis under the scrutiny of Millar Research.

ficult task of linking each episode, successful primarily because of the lyrics of Alan Price which unite the film around a song of the same name.

O Lucky Man is the world through the eyes of the cynic and while it has real strength—musically, intellectually, and visually, through the photography of Miroslav Ondricek, the Czech cinematographer who did *If*—McDowell's odyssey is also one of those very "in" films made by a "small circle of friends." In a certain sense this makes the film: top actors such as Ralph Richardson, Arthur

Lowe, Dandy Nichols, Rachel Roberts and Helen Mirren appear two and three times in various roles.

AMUSEMENT

But in another sense, one gets the feeling of cliqueishness, of the actors, director and cameraman out for their own amusement. This is indeed the way the film ends when McDowell lands a job as an actor hired by Lindsay Anderson playing himself and the entire cast reappears as themselves dancing in the rehearsal studio. But so it goes for lucky men.

Joanna DeMarco films

DIRTY LITTLE BILLY. Starring Michael Pollard, Richard Evans, Lee Purcell and Charles Aidman. Columbia Pictures.

Billy the Kid was a great highwayman and outlaw. Dead at the age of 21, his memory is revived today in movies like *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid*, which portrays Billy as a "rebel" against society, a hero against all odds.

There is no doubt that today's audience is thirsty for any struggle against society; thus in all the recent Westerns we see these figures from the past idolized in fast-paced action scenes. *Dirty Little Billy* is a slap in the face to these romantic movies. As its title indicates, it presents Billy's early life and what actually went into the making of *Billy the Kid*. Here all the legends of the kid who stole from the rich to give to the poor are put in question, but there is no doubt that his short life was full of gory bloodletting.

Dirty Little Billy describes life in the new West for the settlers who came to get a new start in life. Already the big oil men, cattlemen and railroad magnates had established themselves, and the West was full of small men who had visions of following in their footsteps.

Billy's family, (himself, mother and stepfather) arrived in one of the countless Western towns, population about 40, which had advertised for new settlers. Mr. Ben Antrim, played brilliantly by Charles Aidman, owns most of the town and brings hired laborers in and out to work on his various projects. But most of all he wants the town to expand, to increase in population to get a "third class city" status, to get the privileges the state and federal government would confer. He himself wants to be Mayor, Sheriff, banker and judge, all at the same time, in a "real" town.

Billy's family arrived on a train along

with hired laborers: the laborers ride up on top, but Billy and his family ride inside in their Sunday best because they are prospective settlers. At their heels is the New York City police, who want Billy for some misdemeanor. Mr. Antrim takes them through a muddy, dirty rainstorm to their ramshackle new house.

AWKWARD

Here we get our first glimpse of Billy, an awkward, foot shuffling youth with his hat on crooked and his jacket too big. His stepfather, who likes the mother but not the son, has a habit of grabbing him by the collar and telling him to be grateful they even have a place to come to.

The town itself, is ramshackle, with buildings tilted, doors unhinged, and dirt everywhere. The people themselves are so dirty that it's a wonder they can stand each other. At a feverish town meeting called to welcome the new family, Mr. Antrim reveals that an epidemic might have broken out in the next town, which would mean that settlers would be driven into this town. The settlers are agitated, seeing a possibility of building the town and lessening their workload. Sweat runs down their faces and over their work clothes, and they pray for an epidemic to expand their town.

The town's settlers, poor families whose lives hang in the balance, are farmers who know nothing about farming, church-goers without a church. This is a town where a six-gun does not shoot, and where a man's best friend is worth more dead because of the boots on his feet.

The few youths in town are isolated, each working on his own farm. Billy is the New York roughneck among them, bragging about his knowledge of drinking and gambling—and leaving them unimpressed.

Billy is in town for only a few days, muttering "What a dump!", until his hands are worked raw on the farm. His mother had taken up with the stepfather for security, to get Billy out of New York City. Now Billy, who cannot tolerate the hours of farm labor, is forced out of the house by the stepfather and told to leave the town altogether.

He has nowhere to go, and is caught in

a brawl between Mr. Antrim's hired hands and the town rebel, Goldie. Goldie has "liberated" the town saloon and is held up in there. He is the son of former settlers who died working their farm and passed the proceeds on to Mr. Antrim. Goldie is determined not to live the life of his parents. He holds Mr. Antrim at bay with his six-shooter, but in reality he is cornered inside that saloon with three compatriots. Berle, the young girl he rescued when she was orphaned, supports the four by prostituting herself in the saloon's back bedroom. Chuck the bartender stays out of sight and assures them tiredly that it's all "all right." And old Ben, a drunk, once grew up with a man who now was a big cattle thief, and could give Goldie a letter of introduction to the man. Goldie pins his hopes on Ben's shakily drawn maps leading to the outlaw's hideout.

Billy is used to shuttle between the saloon and those inside, with messages. In the process he gets cuffed, pushed and shoved on both sides. But finally he's allowed to take up residence in the little world inside the saloon. He fears Goldie and the brutality inside the saloon, where Goldie forces Berle to "make more money" to get a stake out of town. But as Billy says, the problem is that no one's "ever liked him," and now he has a friend in Goldie.

Here begins Billy's introduction to the life he'd have later as *Billy the Kid*. In a card game that turned into a shootout, Billy winds up with the gun and finally shoots to save Goldie. Berle fights another woman with a knife for Goldie, and the three become a trio, fighting for each other and in their own little world. Old Ben gets killed in the interplay, and with him goes most of Goldie's hopes.

Billy's stepfather dies of overwork not long after his arrival in town, and Billy goes out to the funeral and looks out over the farm. Mr. Antrim hopes to get him out of the saloon, and makes a proposition to Goldie: a stake out of town for himself and Berle, with a horse and provisions; they would be allowed to leave peacefully.

At this time Mr. Antrim was involved in large projects for the expansion of the town. The epidemic had finally struck the neighboring town and driven the settlers

A Second Look At Billy The Kid

here. He had applied for town status, was building a new hotel to house the new people, opened a bank and pinned a sheriff's badge on himself. He had also developed an interest in Billy's mother, who was again looking to protect Billy.

Billy is forced to stay in the saloon as Goldie and Berle leave. When they get halfway through the town, Goldie on his horse and Berle walking alongside, Mr. Antrim's hired men open fire on Goldie. Berle manages to get a shotgun and comes running to protect him, and is mowed down. Goldie is wounded but manages to escape, and Billy joins him in the escape. When they finally find the cattle outlaw, he examines their boots and overlooks the fact that they knew old Ben. Finally in an orgy of blood they kill the bandits, clean out their pockets and start out again. This is the start of *Billy the Kid*.

This scene focuses on Billy. Faced with the convicts, Billy finally pretends to be an idiot, deaf and dumb. The grin on his face is the one he wears throughout the film, whether he's being beaten, ostracized, or praised.

Billy the Kid started out covered in blood and grieving over Berle's death. For him it was never "right" that she should prostitute herself if she didn't want to, and it wasn't right that she was dead in the street while they continued. But Goldie, more pragmatic and more settled in the turbulent life they led, reminds him that they can't turn back now.

This is the second release for *Dirty Little Billy*. When it first appeared it flopped and the producers had to pull it back. Today the producers hope they might have more of a market.

The film is slow moving and oppressive, because the story it has to tell leaves no room for glamorizing Billy. It sees the settlers, hard working and intent on making a better life, but it focuses on the obstacles and difficulties in their path.

It's point is that Billy did not start his career for any great moral purpose, nor did he have an especially great love of adventure. He is dominated and moved by all the events around him, and is hardly one to make great decisions. Above all is the hopelessness and dreariness of his adventures.



Workers demonstrate in support of President Salvador Allende Gossens in Santiago. The sign at left reads: "If I was born a thousand times, a thousand times I would be a socialist."

Allende Faces Class Warfare

BY BRUCE MCKAY

JULY 2—Chilean President Salvador Allende Gossens narrowly survived a right-wing coup attempt Friday led by an Army tank regiment, but the working class in Chile is still faced with the threat of civil war.

The dissident regiment's attack on the Presidential Palace was beaten back by other Army units which, for the present, support Allende's government.

Instead of mobilizing the Chilean workers, who poured out in the streets of Santiago by the tens of thousands to demonstrate their support for the government following Friday's coup attempt, the reaction of Allende and the leaderships of the Socialist and Communist parties to the growing threat of civil war has been to seek an alliance with the military, which is now turning toward the right.

Allende, supported in particular by the Communist Party, has called upon high-ranking officers to join the Cabinet, just as they did last fall following the nationwide bosses' lockout and strike by shopkeepers and middle class professionals.

FASCISM

The threat from the right is clear. Runaway inflation is destroying the standard of living of the middle class, and with the refusal of Allende and his supporters and the Communist Party-dominated trade union leadership to mobilize the working class to take power, the conditions have been created for the rapid growth of fascism.

The fascist forces have been moving more and more on the offensive around the Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom) group, encouraged by the leaders of the National Party. In a speech last week, National Party leader Onofre Jarpa virtually called for Friday's Army uprising by declaring: "Allende has ceased to be the Constitutional President of Chile. No one is obliged to obey a government which is not legitimate."

The present crisis erupted over a strike by 13,000 miners at the El Teniente copper mine. The miners were demanding the payment of a 41 percent cost of living increase taken away by the government last fall. When all workers were given a 100 percent wage "adjustment," the El

Teniente miners' sliding scale of wages—won years before when the mine was owned by Kennecott—was taken away.

The crisis in the economy and the threat of civil war is now erupting, nearly three years after Allende proclaimed his election in October 1970 as a victory for the "peaceful road to socialism."

Allende was elected on the basis of a Popular Unity coalition dominated by Allende's Socialist Party and the Communist Party, which has consistently towed the Stalinist line of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. From the very beginning, Allende and his supporters were committed to working within the framework of Chilean capitalist democracy and "legality," working with a Congress completely controlled by the conservative opposition Christian Democratic Party and the ultra-rightist National Party.

Allende and his followers absolutely refused to mobilize the Chilean working class to take power, completely expropriate the bosses and form a workers' government. This led to the brink of civil war as well as the underlying economic crisis.

Instead, as the crisis has deepened, the Popular Unity government—and especially the Communist Party—has become increasingly hostile to the movement of workers. At every point, these "socialists" sought to compromise with the Chilean capitalist bosses and with imperialism itself.

Allende and his supporters tried to brand the El Teniente strikers as rightists and traitors, blaming them and other workers struggling for higher wages for the country's worsening economic crisis.

El Teniente is the largest underground copper mine in the world. The closure, which lasted 74 days, seriously cut into Chile's supply of copper for export, from which foreign exchange is received.

Allende singled out the miners' union and El Teniente in particular because miners had elected a new Christian Democratic leadership following national-

ization and the government's attempts to increase productivity at the expense of the miners. El Teniente was supposedly a center of this revolt, although most of the miners, supporters of the Popular Unity, demonstrated their hostility toward the right by calling off their strike following Friday's attempted Army takeover.

The right was quick to take advantage of the government's hostility toward the miners to promote a split in the working class by cynically calling for "solidarity with the miners" and organizing demonstrations in support of the strike.

Allende continually reinforced the rightist campaign. Special police units and the army were sent in to patrol nearby Rancagua and bloody clashes have taken place as the government tried to send in strikebreakers. Allende threatened to replace all the strikers if necessary with conscripts. Troops and tanks were sent to break up a recent march on the capital of Santiago by 4000 miners.

When a thousand of the miners swarmed into the capital and vowed to stay, according to the French newspaper *Le Monde*: "On the street corners, women in furs and young girls in mini-skirts collect for the strikers. The opposition politicians have allowed the women to use the great hall of the National Congress as a dormitory while the adjoining gardens are used as a soup kitchen . . ."

Although the Popular Unity government tried to portray the El Teniente strike as the result of right wing agitation, it actually reflected growing opposition to the reformist policies put forward by the Socialist and Communist parties.

At the heart of this opposition was the economic chaos caused by Allende's collaboration with the capitalist class and his refusal to establish a real workers government to nationalize the entire economy under workers' control. Far from cooperating with the government as Allende had hoped, the Chilean capitalists and American imperialism conducted a campaign to systematically sabotage the economy, causing widespread shortages of food and vital industrial materials, a serious drain on foreign reserves and runaway inflation.

The inflation in particular has hurt the working class—as well as creating the conditions for the growth of fascism by

destroying the standard of living of the middle class. During 1972, inflation proceeded at the rate of 240 percent. This year prices are expected to rise 300 to 400 percent—in May alone they soared 25 percent. The government's 100 percent adjustment last fall was therefore hardly adequate and the miners' demand for the restoration of their 41 percent cost of living raise understandable.

The El Teniente strike is not isolated. In April, 30,000 public works employees struck in Santiago for higher wages, occupying the offices of the Public Works Ministry and blocking major highways. As in the El Teniente strike, Allende accused the workers of being inspired by the right.

Far from being inspired by the opposition, the public works employees, as well as the miners, reflected in a distorted way the growing movement among Chilean workers to break out of the class collaborationist policies of the Popular Unity coalition.

This determination to go forward against capitalism can be most clearly seen in the formation of workers councils in the industrial zones (cordones industriales) of Santiago and other major cities and workers and peasants councils (comandos comunales) in the rural areas, as well as in the spontaneous nationalizations which Allende has opposed.

The government has called these bodies and expropriations "illegal" and "unconstitutional" and the Communist Party has called for the liquidation of the councils into the Central Workers Union and the return of "illegally" seized factories to their previous owners.

According to Hugo Blanco writing in *Intercontinental Press*, the president of the Cerrillos Cordon reported last month that: "The perspective of civil war is being constantly posed, and the only way to avoid it is to prepare for it, not to go around collecting signatures (referring to the Communist Party). Preparations for civil war must be made."

The crisis now threatening the Chilean working class cannot be resolved outside of the fight for power and the creation of a workers government and the construction of parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International in every country.



Monetary agreements decided upon at Bretton Woods, 1944: conditions for boom in the 1950s, slump today.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

This is the third of a series of articles on Spartacist's reaction to the recent Workers League Class Series "Twenty Years of the International Committee."

It is now necessary to turn to Spartacist's discussion of economic perspectives. We proceed on this question as Marxists. We insist that the revolutionary party must battle to understand the capitalist economy in its actual development. Under capitalism the relation between things, commodities, is the expression of and determinant of the relationship between people—more precisely between classes. This economic process acts quite independently of the will of the individual and in turn effects the thinking of individuals and their actual relationships with each other.

It is therefore absolutely essential to study these changed relationships and their roots in the economic system if we are to be able to construct a conscious leadership in the working class dedicated to the destruction of the capitalist system and the construction of a socialist society. To turn away from a continuous study of political economy, from the perspective of the construction of the party, is to transform the construction of the party into an idealist task—the self-refinement of thought and its propagation to an external world which is not understood.

Spartacist has never seriously tackled the question of political economy. Its brief polemical writings on the question today are only aimed at denying its importance, freeing the Spartacist group from the requirements posed by changes in the class relations.

POSITION

It is the position of Spartacist that there has existed a capitalist crisis at least since 1914. There are, of course, ups and downs within this framework but these are secondary matters. From this point of view, we are attacked first of all for insisting that a boom existed in the 1950s, and secondly for insisting that today we are entering a period different from the 1950s, a period of renewed capitalist crisis, of what they characterize as a "final crisis." They write:

"In contrast with the SL, which sees recurring cycles of booms and crises, in a world capitalist system that has been decaying at least since 1914, Wohlforth proudly proclaims that his tendency has recognized the imminence of The Crisis 'since 1962.' The absurdity of this stance is obvious: even if the world capitalist economy were to collapse tomorrow into the worst depression of all time, to take credit for prescience on the grounds that one has spent the last eleven years pre-

dicting its imminent arrival is akin to crying all week that Monday is coming and then patting oneself on the back when it finally arrives! Periodic crises are inevitable for the bourgeois order, and at some point the WL's crisis-mongering will undoubtedly intersect reality."

DENY

Spartacist reiterates a general truth abstractly in order to deny it concretely. It is, of course, true that capitalism has been in crisis, and not just an ordinary crisis but one of decline and decay, since 1914. All fluctuations in the cyclical development of capitalism must be seen within this framework. But it is through these fluctuations that the capitalist crisis is realized, is actually expressed, affecting the relations between the classes. To assert that this crisis has existed since 1914 but to refuse to analyze the actual fluctuations in the economy is to deny the crisis in the concrete.

Thus, Spartacist can blithely talk about a "worst depression of all time" which may occur tomorrow or may not. It makes no attempt at a scientific study of capitalism to determine if such a depression will occur tomorrow and if not what changes in capitalist relations will take place in order to forestall it for a period. Spartacist literally does not have the foggiest notion of what will happen next in the world, being content to occasionally assess what it thinks has been happening. Can a leadership prepare itself for the future this way? Can it prepare the working class for what lies ahead?

Spartacist's refusal to recognize the boom period of the 1950s is as falacious as its refusal to recognize the changes now taking place with the breakup of that boom. To deny the boom of the 1950s is simply a way to assert that today is the same as the 1950s, that it requires no more of the revolutionary than was possible to do in the 1950s.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

What the International Committee has done is assess how capitalism was able to stabilize itself temporarily after World War Two, and pass through a period of actual real economic growth. It was able to do so first of all because of the failure of leadership in the workers' movement, in particular the betrayals of world Stalinism. Despite its economic accomplishments, capitalism still suffered from periods of recession within the boom, faced an expanded workers state, a sector of the world largely off limits to its investment, and revolutionary movements in the colonial areas.

However, the economic development was nonetheless real and it affected the relations between classes in the advanced countries. This economic development allowed for a degree of compromise and collaboration between classes while a privileged bureaucracy strengthened its corrupt grip on the trade union movement. Reformist thinking predominated in the workers movement and the revolu-

What Is Spartacist Today?

The Crisis

As An

Abstraction

Part Three

tionary movement was unable to overcome its relative isolation from the working class.

These were the political realities of the 1950s and they cannot be denied. They would not have been possible without a certain economic development of capitalism which in turn allowed workers to make gains in their real standard of living while, of course, immense profits were made by the capitalists.

What the International Committee did was scientifically assess this period explaining that political and social equilibrium between classes was made possible only through fantastic economic disequilibrium. The Bretton Woods agreement, which allowed dollars to circulate as gold to back up all other currencies, created an inflationary development. This in turn, together with a general extension of credit, allowed for a tremendous growth in capital despite the continuing decline in the rate of profit. In fact this process actually facilitated that decline.

PROCESS

It is this process which created new conditions of crisis beginning in the 1960s. The crisis, shaped by the past boom period of inflation and fictitious capital, took the form of continuing monetary and liquidity crises. These crises in turn are insoluble on the level of monetary relationships, forcing the capitalists to strive to solve them at the point of production, through growing attacks on the actual standard of living and working conditions of the mass of workers.

So today the iron necessity of economic equilibrium creates tremendous political disequilibrium. Political questions are pushed to the fore. The question of political power becomes the central economic question—trade union question—in the sense that the only defense of the working class from attacks, necessitated now by economic capitalist law, is the overthrow of capitalism itself.

We are not interested in discussions of "final crises." This depends on the action of the working class. Thus, our role is central. However, it is not a matter of another "up" or "down." Capitalism can be salvaged only by the most violent means, that is by fascism. Thus, we fight for leadership within the working class with great urgency.

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

This discussion of the capitalist crisis of necessity raises the question of the relationship of the Transitional Program to our economic assessment. Spartacist claims that our discussion of a boom in the 1950s means we felt there was no basis for the Transitional Program in that period and our discussion of crisis today means it can also be dispensed with. "And now, with the 'final crisis' at hand, transitional demands are likewise unnecessary, since wage demands are revolutionary according to the WL."

That is not our opinion. We felt transitional demands were central in the 1950s

and we insist upon their centrality today. But we insist that the actual development of the program requires an understanding of the changing class relations and these are essentially affected by changes in the economy.

LIMITS

In the 1950s the fight for the Transitional Program was largely a matter of education and propaganda. It was possible and necessary in the trade union struggle which persisted and in the course of that participation to battle reformism and the labor bureaucracy. Some workers could be and were educated in this process but the movement could not break out of the limits of the period, which were reformist limits.

Today, the fight for the Transitional Program proceeds differently. Precisely because the changes in the capitalist economy require the capitalist class to break with compromises with the working class, political issues are forced into the center of the struggle. The wages fight assumes political meaning under conditions of wage restraints, freezes, inflation and unemployment. This is far from an automatic process.

What is required is the conscious role of the revolutionary within the unions fighting for the labor party in the course of battles over wages and working conditions. In this fashion, the Transitional Program can be brought into the unions in a way that can mobilize masses in struggle—not simply as propaganda.

BETRAYED

Because Spartacist recognizes no difference between the 1950s and today, it proposes no changes in how it functions. The Transitional Program is then developed abstractly to fit the general and abstract characterization of the epoch. This means in the concrete, in practice, it is actually betrayed!

This is why Spartacist has replaced the demand of the Trotskyist movement in the United States for "a labor party based on the trade unions" with the more general and abstract demand "for a workers party." This is not a terminological difference but a matter of method, which leads to a turn against the actual struggle to break the American working class from the capitalist parties so critical to the real struggle to build a revolutionary party in the United States.

Once again we find Spartacist acting in concert with the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP has all but dropped the demand for a labor party even from its electoral activity, where it is subordinated to the trade union section of its program, and replaced in the main section with generalities about mass independent political action and specific proposals for bourgeois Black and Chicano parties. At the critical moment when the labor party is so central and its construction so possible both the SWP in one way and Spartacist in another way turn away from this fight.

TO BE CONTINUED

POSTAL . . . LIGUE COMMUNISTE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

who are already fed up with soaring prices."

The ranks must demand that Biller prepare immediately for city-wide strike action and that Filbey and Rademacher initiate national strike action to shut the entire system down.

OFFENSIVE

The action of the postal workers must now be the signal for the launching of an offensive by the entire labor movement against the wage controls of this labor-hating government. All sections of the trade union movement must be rallied in support of the postal workers through the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare united action by the working class to force Nixon out of office and construct a labor party as the political alternative to this government.

(Continued From Page 1)

Pompidou takes these measures at a time when the entire world capitalist system is plunged into an irreversible economic and political crisis. In every European country, England, France, Italy and Germany, the working class has gone on the offensive against the attempts of the capitalists to make them pay for the crisis with unemployment, inflation and anti-union laws.

The declaration by Nixon of trade war against Europe, the failure of Nixon and Pompidou to reach any agreement on trade and monetary policy, have placed the French ruling class in a desperate position.

This now forces Pompidou to take the road of civil war against the working class and to lay the basis, through the latest series of nuclear tests and a growth of

militarism and nationalist propaganda, for World War Three.

This is why Pompidou in the past months has been preparing for the imposition of military rule and dictatorship by threatening the docile National Assembly and opposition political parties and by building up special paramilitary squads of police trained in civil war techniques against workers and youth.

These are the measures that are being readied in every country to drive back the working class to slave labor conditions and destroy its rights. In the United States, Watergate has exposed Nixon's plans for a police state and repression.

The conditions of unemployment and crisis have fed the growth of fascist movements throughout Europe. The fascists, in the service of big business, seek to push the blame for unem-

ployment on the exploited immigrant workers and incite the middle class against the unions.

The refusal of the French Communist Party to launch a political and industrial offensive against Pompidou since the election has not prevented the working class from taking action in defiance of the Stalinists. Strikes by auto, metal and steel workers have swept the country and in many cases have led to occupations of the factories.

FEAR

Pompidou fears the power of the working class and another General Strike like the one in 1968 that toppled DeGaulle and nearly brought down French capitalism.

Despite our deep political differences with the Ligue Communiste and the Unified Secretariat of Ernest Mandel and

Pierre Frank, we will fight to defend their rights against the reactionary Pompidou regime, and urge all socialist and working class organizations to begin a campaign to reverse the ban.

By protesting the arrest of Krivine, the French Communist Party recognizes that they may be next on Pompidou's list. Had the French CP fought the ban on the Trotskyist movement in 1968, Pompidou would not have been able to prepare the legislation and other measures that now threaten the entire working class movement.

In light of the Watergate revelations which threaten the rights of every American worker, we urge all youth and trade unionists to send telegrams of protest to the French embassy and to sponsor resolutions in their locals against the attack on the Ligue Communiste.

EUROFLOAT . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

coming impossible as relationships among all currencies begin to break down.

The extent of the dollar's collapse and the realignment among currencies which already has taken place can be seen in the 25 percent devaluation of the dollar in relationship to the mark since February alone. Since September 1969, this devaluation has amounted to 55 percent.

The revaluation of the mark and other currencies and the continued fall of the dollar on world currency markets is also escalating the inflationary pressures which are now reaching uncontrollable limits within the American economy.

The inflationary pressures increase with the rise in American exports as they become more competitive with successive devaluations and bring into the US economy a rising tide of paper currency—especially dollars held abroad.

It is thus the breakdown in the

international monetary system and the tremendous expansion of credit which is expressed in Nixon's curbs on soybeans, cottonseed and scrap metal exports.

Investors and speculators have been pouring enormous quantities of paper dollars and credit into commodities in recent months, sending key food commodities soaring in price—farm prices now stand 38 percent above a year ago.

These commodities have not only been a source of quick profits for speculators as prices skyrocket, but they are becoming a substitute for gold as a store of real exchange value and are being hoarded as the bottom falls out of the dollar and gold becomes more and more expensive and scarce.

By placing restrictions on commodity exports and on trading on the commodity exchanges, Nixon is being forced to rip away every last shred of value from the dollar. This was sharply express-

ed by the *Wall Street Journal* in an editorial completely denouncing Nixon's economic policies:

"All those overseas holders of dollars can no longer use them to buy two valuable products; thus, the dollar is less convertible for something of value than it was Wednesday, before the embargo; accordingly, it was hammered down to new lows in world currency markets Thursday; it follows that the dollar will buy less and less in world markets, which in turn adds to those very inflation pressures the administration is trying to contain."

The price freeze and export restrictions are thus having the very opposite of the intended effects, causing new shortages and the threat of uncontrollable price rises. They reveal the development of the American trade war against Europe and Japan and how every blow against European and Japanese capital—which is based on the US dollar—must now rebound

against American capitalism itself.

The restriction on soybean exports—now with Nixon's new modifications designed to produce cutbacks in current contracts of 50 percent instead of a complete stoppage—is an especially severe blow to Japan, which imports 90 percent of its soybeans from the US, and where soybeans are a vital food commodity.

Faced with impossibly high production costs—especially prices of livestock feeds in which soya meal is a major component—farmers are making plans to sharply curtail harvests and the production of poultry, eggs and livestock for the market.

CUTBACKS

Food processors have already begun to cut back on production and even close plants. Instead of increasing domestic soybean supplies, Nixon's export curbs are causing sharp cutbacks in

planting and processing.

According to the American Soybean Association (ASA), planting is behind schedule and will now be largely halted, especially in the South. At least one large midwestern soya processing plant, with annual sales of \$160 million, has shut down production.

According to ASA President Harold Kuehn, the original embargo eliminated 55 percent of the industry's markets. "It is similar to ordering General Motors to eliminate 55 percent of their customers; quite naturally they would also reduce production."

Nixon's restrictions on commodities exports and trading reflects the beginning of a breakdown in production for the world market. This breakdown must take place with the collapse of the international exchange relations and credit system which make it possible for capitalists to realize the value of commodities in international trade.

GIBBONS BLASTS AFL-CIO . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

which includes a number of its leaders.

FEAR

The list exposes Nixon's tremendous fear of the working class as well as his plot against the democratic rights of American workers.

Among those on the list are UAW President Leonard Woodcock, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, AFSCME President Jerry Wurf, and United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel.

Alexander Barkan, the director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), is described in the list as "the most powerful political force against us in 1968."

Other trade union leaders on the list who could be reached and were willing to comment passed it off as a joke and denied that there was sufficient evidence to warrant Nixon's impeachment.

Opposition to Nixon's impeachment was voiced by Karl Feller, President of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, who is on the list but said that he wants Nixon to remain in office. "If Nixon were impeached there'd be international repercussions," he declared, "and I wouldn't want to see him impeached when we're in so much trouble

domestically."

Another labor leader who is on the list, Frederick O'Neal, president of Actors and Artists of America, said that the White House dossier "sounds like something out of Gilbert and Sullivan." He stated that Watergate should not cause alarm in the labor movement.

"Any threats to the labor movement are meaningless as far as we're concerned," declared O'Neal, "because in the first place you can't make a man work. It's just that simple. You can't put all the workers in jail. That's why I say the list is meaningless as far as we're concerned."

COMPLACENT

O'Neal underscored his complacent attitude by saying that he still did not favor Nixon's impeachment, pointing out that it would be wrong "to jump to conclusions."

ABC news commentator Lem Tucker, who is on the list because of his criticism of Nixon's nominations to the Supreme Court, told the *Bulletin* that he has "the feeling that most people are not taking the list as seriously as it should be. Maybe it's because a lot of us think that we've called a halt to it. The implications of the list are that we are one step closer to a sort of fascist mentality. But the basic

mentality that operated in Wahington during that whole period is still there and it looks like it's still going to be there."

The extent of the conspiracy against democratic rights can be gauged by the fact that the list also included the names of liberal journalists and entertainers.

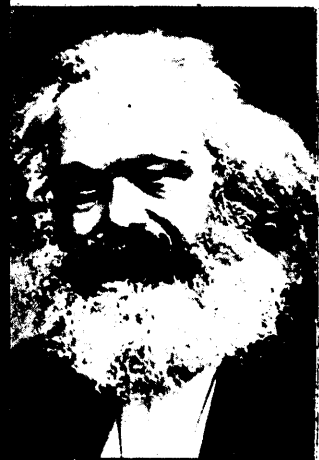
In plotting his conspiracy to overthrow the two party system as it has traditionally existed in this country, the list included even businessmen who had contributed to the McGovern campaign.

The refusal of the labor leadership to demand Nixon's impeachment and to prepare an alternative to this criminal government is a complete betrayal of the working class. Even after it has been revealed that the labor bureaucracy is on Nixon's political death list, it continues to support this Administration, collaborating with Nixon on the preparation of Phase Four.

Trade unionists must take up the fight in their locals for an immediate campaign to force Nixon out of office by demanding that the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters call a Congress of Labor to demand new elections and construct a labor party as the political alternative of the working class to this government.

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BY DAVID NORTH

The role played by the Stalinists in collaborating with the trade union bureaucracy has been vividly exposed by the recent settlements with General Electric and Westinghouse. In this year's critical contract battle, the United Electrical Workers (UE)—expelled from the CIO in 1949 during the right-wing purge of Stalinist-dominated unions—collaborated with the leadership of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE)—the rump union which emerged from that split—in imposing a settlement upon over 150,000 electrical workers that rigidly adheres to Nixon's Phase Three guidelines.

While the Daily World trumpets the "moderate advantages" achieved through the unity of the UE and IUE, the fact of the matter is that the leadership of the UE served as a cover for the right-wingers in the IUE. Though the IUE held most of the weight in the bargaining, it was the leaders of the UE—particularly James J. Matles—who sought to give the impression that they would fight for major gains.

But when the IUE agreed to negotiate on a day to day basis with GE without a strike after the May 26 deadline, the UE followed suit. And when the IUE negotiating committee accepted a 3.7 percent wage increase along with work rule changes that threaten speedups and unemployment, the UE took the same settlement back to its members.

When the contract was put to a vote, workers across the country expressed their disgust by virtually boycotting the membership meetings or leaving the union hall while the leadership read the terms of the settlement.

REUNIFICATION

It is now reported that the reunification of the UE and IUE is being prepared. While this development would strengthen the electrical workers against the employers and is to be supported, it does not represent—as the Stalinists claim—a victory for any "progressive" section of the trade union bureaucracy. In no way does it make any less urgent the building of a new leadership in a united electrical workers' union to throw out the right-wingers like Paul Jennings of the IUE, the progressives like Albert Fitzgerald and Matles of the UE, and the Stalinists who back them all.

The urgency of this fight for a Marxist leadership is made clear by the history of the electrical workers' unions, which provides a particularly important case history of Stalinism in the trade unions. It was the betrayals of the Stalinists in the UE which contributed mightily to the success of the right-wingers who split the union and introduced rabid anti-communism into the trade union movement, which held back the political development of American workers for a whole period.

Established as a CIO union in 1937, the UE was led by a coalition of Stalinists and non-Stalinists whose principal conflicts were caused by shifts in the foreign policy of the Kremlin. As long as Stalinist diplomacy did not require any opposition to Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, let alone militant trade union struggles, both factions could coexist in relative harmony.

STALIN-HITLER PACT

It was not until the Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 1939 that the

Lewis, CIO elders like Sidney Hillman intervened to call a truce in the UE. Carey was removed from the presidency and replaced by Albert Fitzgerald, who was not a member of the Communist Party but quite willing to work with the Stalinists, now in control of the union. Carey did not have to worry about going hungry; he became CIO secretary-treasurer.

With 450,000 members, the UE could have rallied the militant ranks of the CIO in opposition to the war which was to devastate

Taking the lead in opposition to a general wage increase that was being demanded by workers who saw their wages ripped apart by inflation, the UE explained its position on the upcoming negotiations with the companies in a statement published January 16, 1943:

PROBLEMS

"Labor's attitude toward present day wage problems is based upon win the war considerations. This union is aware, as it has always been, that the major responsibility for production

ist policy of ensuring the submission of the working class to the needs of the Kremlin's alliance with Churchill and Roosevelt. The UE News of May 16 attacked miners who follow "the lead of John L. Lewis in treating labor's no strike policy as if it were a lousy bargain with our country..."

When Lewis called out the miners for the second time in 1943, Julius Emspak sent a telegram to Roosevelt which began: "Urge you to direct John L. Lewis to call off coal strike at once, and that if he refuses you act immediately to make it impossible for him and his henchmen to continue to organize disruption of coal production." So, the Stalinists wanted nothing less than the destruction of the UMW.

STRIKE WAVE

By 1944, there were signs that the "no-strike" pledge was on the verge of disintegrating as a strike wave began, particularly that of Montgomery Ward workers which won broad support—though condemned by the Stalinists. The CIO leadership did not want to break with Roosevelt but the open strike-breaking of the Administration made it impossible for CIO President Philip Murray to come out with an early endorsement of a fourth term.

But the Stalinists went ahead with an endorsement. With the growing disillusionment with Roosevelt creating the conditions for a movement toward the establishment of a labor party, the Stalinists acted quickly to affirm their support for the Democratic Party. As early as September 1943, the first business of the UE Convention was to call for a fourth term for Roosevelt.

The UE Convention rendered an invaluable service to the CIO leadership which did not know how to broach the subject of the fourth term. But the signal for further collaboration with Roosevelt—who at that time was threatening to draft strikers into the army and who felt that the infamous Smith-Connolly anti-union law was not strong enough—was the UE Convention. Philip Murray was invited to attend a rally of 15,000 on the first night of the Convention to hear Fitzgerald praise Roosevelt. Upon beginning his own speech, Murray turned to Fitzgerald and Matles (who now sported a military uniform) and extended his "personal confidence to the officers of this mighty organization."

Greetings were also sent by Roosevelt, who acknowledged the sterling services of the UE to the war effort; so great was the government's confidence in the Stalinists that it welcomed the organization of thousands of armament workers into the UE.

Together with the Murrays, the Hillmans and the Careys, the Stalinists did everything they could to tie the working class to the needs of big business and the capitalist war parties. But as the war's end approached, the Stalinists had already earned the hatred of many workers—not because of anti-communism but because of the accumulated betrayals.

Their own actions in unions like UE facilitated the witch-hunt that began after the war when the trade union bureaucrats and Stalinists could no longer collaborate as American capitalism turned the tables on Stalin and prepared an offensive against the Soviet Union and international working class.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

UE: Case History Of Stalinism



Julius Emspak, left, and UE President Albert Fitzgerald accepting a right-wing propaganda newspaper outside the Cleveland convention hall.

factions went to war with each other. The Stalinists suddenly adopted a position of opposition to Roosevelt's preparation for entrance into the war which led them to line up with John L. Lewis and more militant sections of the CIO leadership. UE President James B. Carey, a virulent anti-communist, pressed for the expulsion of the Stalinists. As the August 1941 CIO convention approached, it appeared that an all-out struggle between the factions was inevitable.

The position of the UE leadership on maintaining neutrality during the war between Hitler and Churchill was identical to that of the CP's Daily Worker, which quoted its Secretary, Earl Browder, on June 4, 1941:

"What reason is there to believe that an allied victory will bring anything better to the world than a German victory...They display nothing but an abyss of incapacity, ineptitude and corruption...There is nothing to choose between the imperialist camps, for any support given to either means surrender of the whole struggle for peace and a better world."

FEROCIOUS

Less than three weeks later, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and the Stalinists became the most ferocious advocates of Roosevelt's pro-war policy. Needing the Stalinists to discipline the working class for war and to diminish the influence of

the living conditions of American workers and cost thousands their lives. Instead, the Stalinists turned the UE into the trade union most subservient to the dictates of Roosevelt and the capitalist class. It is impossible to read the UE News of the period without feeling revulsion over the crimes committed by the Stalinists against the American working class.

Roosevelt's wage freeze received rabid support of the UE leadership which also was the most ardent sponsor of the "no-strike" pledge. Fitzgerald, Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak, and Organizing Director James Matles insisted that all wage increases be strictly regulated by the big business agencies set up by Roosevelt. Reveling in the martial spirit of the imperialist war, they boasted of the "patriotic sacrifices" which the UE accepted for its members. An official union statement of the UE declared on February 7, 1942:

"We are consequently requesting wage increases which, although they will neither raise workers' standards nor give workers a fair share of the results of their own labor, will nevertheless help keep their living standards from falling to levels at which our productive efficiency and morale is seriously impaired."

In other words, the policy of the Stalinist UE was: work them to the bone but don't let them drop!

rests upon labor's shoulders, and that labor programs and policies, to be successful, must be those that will contribute the most to the national production effort.

"This union also knows that the general standard of labor cannot be raised during a period of all-out war, but it must inevitably suffer from shortages in consumer goods."

The statement was signed by Fitzgerald, Matles and Emspak.

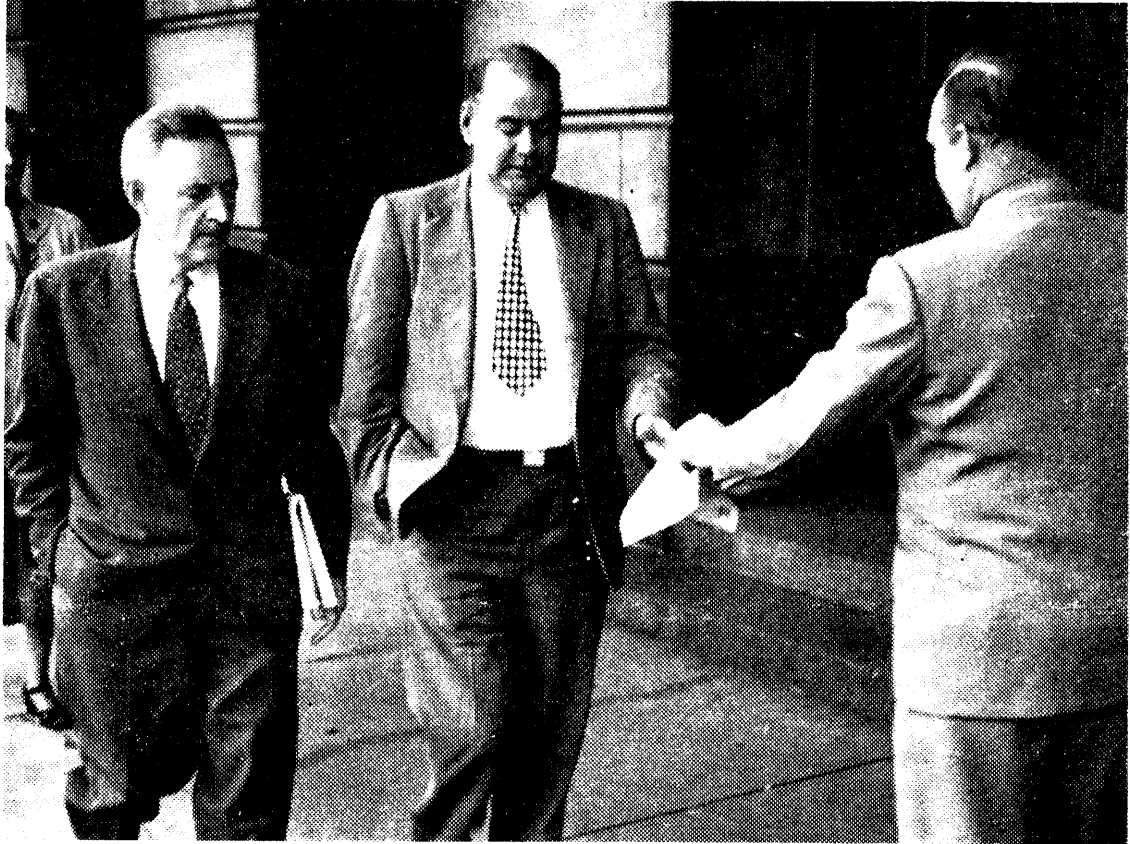
It must be said that virtually entire trade union bureaucracies, with the notable exception of Lewis, took positions no different than that of Fitzgerald and Matles. This fact does not lessen the magnitude of the Stalinists' betrayal, but it exposes the hypocrisy of the right-wing leaders of the CIO who led the anti-communist witch-hunt five years later on the phony pretense of defending the independence of the trade unions.

UNITED MINE WORKERS

Guided by the Communist Party, the UE went on the warpath against the United Mine Workers when Lewis defied the "no-strike" pledge and called 500,000 miners out in 1943. Branding Lewis a "traitor" and "Quisling," the UE declared on May 8: "The miners cannot solve their problems by striking, nor by seeking to dodge the government agencies in whose power lies the solution."

The denunciations of Lewis grew more vituperative each day as the UE carried out the Stalin-

UE: Case History Of Stalinism



Julius Emspak, left, and UE President Albert Fitzgerald accepting a right-wing propaganda newspaper outside the Cleveland convention hall.

BY BARRY GREY

The second trial of Ruchell Magee for aggravated kidnapping stemming from the Marin County Courthouse shootout of August 7, 1970 is scheduled to begin on June 29 in the very courtroom in San Jose where Angela Davis was tried and acquitted just over one year ago.

It has now been revealed in the pre-trial hearings that this second trial is completely illegal. Magee's defense has introduced affidavits signed by jurors in the first trial which maintain that Magee was in fact acquitted of the aggravated kidnapping charge (kidnapping for the purpose of extortion), as well as of the first degree murder charge. The prosecution has stated that they intend to drop the murder charge in the present trial.

The jury in the first trial, however, ended up deadlocked 11 to one in favor of acquittal for manslaughter, and 11 to one in favor of conviction for simple kidnapping.

Judge Morton R. Colvin, who presided over the first trial, suppressed the acquittals and prevented the jury from registering their full verdict, since they could come to no decision on the lesser charges.

This means that Magee is now standing trial for charges of which he has already been acquitted. But Magee's case from the beginning has been dominated by the most flagrant violation of democratic rights. The present judge, William Ingram, has been assigned the job of avenging the government for the sharp defeat it suffered on April 3 when the jurors refused to convict Magee.

Already in the pre-trial hearings, Ingram has denied Magee his right to serve as his own lawyer.

Ever since that day in August of 1970, when Jonathan Jackson, the younger brother of Soledad Brother George Jackson, pulled a gun on Judge Arthur Haley and sought to free San Quentin convicts who were on trial for assaulting a prison guard, Magee has been in a battle to gain his freedom against the most vicious attempts by the government to silence him.

Magee was indicted for first degree murder and aggravated kidnapping. Subsequently Angela Davis, a Communist Party member and professor at UCLA, who was active in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee, was indicted for the same charges on the grounds that she conspired with Jonathan Jackson and supplied him with the guns used in the escape attempt.

The attempt by the government to frame up Angela Davis and whip up an anti-communist hysteria around her case was defeated in June of last year when Davis was acquitted of all charges. The determined opposition of workers and youth all across the country to Nixon's anti-labor policies and fundamental challenge to the democratic and trade union rights won in decades of struggle was behind this victory.

The trial was held in the midst of the 1972 election campaign, which was characterized above all by the turn away from the bankrupt Democratic Party by large sections of the working class, looking for a political alternative with which to fight Nixon.

What was posed with the utmost urgency to the working class and the youth was the necessity for a complete break with the Democrats and the construction of a labor party as the only way to defend the rights of the working class. This had to be placed at the very center of the fight to free Angela and Ruchell Magee.

Instead of the Communist Party, in line with the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy of "detente" with Nixon, used Davis' case to block any movement for a labor party and to reinforce illusions in the government.

The political substance of the Stalinists' defense for Davis was to tie the working class to its reformist leadership and prevent the independent political mobilization of the working class against Nixon

The Second Trial Of Ruchell Magee



Magee forced his attorneys Robert Bell (left) and Robert Carrow (right) to withdraw in March 1971 so that he could act as his own counsel. Carrow returned as the court-appointed attorney, and the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The depths of this treachery is now revealed with the Watergate revelations. At the very time when the Stalinists were limiting the defense of Angela Davis to pressure on the courts for a "fair trial," Nixon was organizing his illegal secret police apparatus to destroy the rights of the working class.

OBSTACLE

Ruchell Magee was originally a co-defendant with Angela Davis. But from the beginning of the case, the Stalinists looked upon Magee as an obstacle to the liberal defense they wished to pursue for Davis. Throughout the pre-trial hearings, in their defense campaign, they sought to distinguish between the two defendants. Davis was made palatable to the liberal middle class.

Magee fought continuously for the right to present his own defense. Throughout this period he was brought into court bound and often gagged. He was saddled with court-appointed lawyers who sought to avoid all of the political questions in the trial.

In March of 1971 Magee succeeded in forcing Superior Court Judge McMurray to withdraw from the case. This angered Davis' lawyers. Finally in July of 1971, the Stalinists had Davis' case severed from Magee's. The Stalinists simply abandoned Magee and left him virtually isolated.

Testifying in his own defense in the first trial, Magee stated: "Something kept telling me that someone was trying to kill me, someone in a judge's uniform, slinging racist insults at my manhood. I began to think that the only way I could get out of jail was to break out."

Magee's entire adult life has been spent in jail. Like thousands of poor and minority youth, he was railroaded to prison by a combination of vicious judges and court-appointed lawyers—in a word, by the system of capitalist "justice."

Magee was born in Louisiana, near Bogalusa, in 1939. At the age of 16, an all white male jury convicted him of "attempted aggravated rape" of a white woman with whom he had been living for six months.

After serving six years and eight months of a 12 year sentence, he was paroled on the condition that he leave Louisiana. He moved to Los Angeles, but less than six months later he was arrested along with his cousin, Leroy Steward, for allegedly forcing their way into a man's car and stealing 10 dollars from him. Magee was beaten so badly by the arresting officers that he was hospitalized for five days.

Magee maintained that the whole charge was a frame-up by the police, who were out to get a conviction to prevent him from suing them for the beating. Magee's court-appointed lawyer, however, refused to produce the hospital records of the beating as part of his defense. Magee was convicted of robbery and kidnapping with intent to rob, and given a life sentence.

While in prison, Magee, like thousands of other prisoners in this period, was politicized by the movements among the students and Black youth in the 1960s.

He was testifying in behalf of James McClain, who was charged with assaulting a San Quentin prison guard, on August 7, 1970, when the escape attempt occurred.

At this time, Nixon was in the deepest crisis. This was the summer of the student strike against the Cambodian invasion, the summer of Kent State and Jackson State, and, most significantly, this summer saw the first major movements of American workers, with the postal strike, the General Electric strike, and the Teamsters wildcats in the Midwest.

The deepening of the economic crisis was forcing big business into a confrontation with the labor movement.

It was precisely at this time that Nixon began setting up his secret police apparatus and set in motion the frame-ups, wiretaps, burglaries and the entire operation to crush political movements in the working class which have since been revealed in the Watergate scandal.

The trials of Magee and Davis were part of this whole conspiracy on the part of the ruling class.

A \$15,000 bullet proof window was installed in the courtroom. A small army of tactical police armed with clubs and automatic weapons searched every observer and reporter who entered the chambers.

Magee was not only denied the right to represent himself by Judge Colvin, but he was also forbidden to speak to his lawyer, Robert Carrow. Time and again Magee was thrown out of the courtroom by the police on the orders of the judge, when he attempted to intervene in the proceedings.

Above all, the state wanted Magee kept silent, and Carrow was one of their means to this end. Throughout most of the trial, the Stalinists gave absolutely no support to Magee. Their West Coast paper, the *People's World*, did not even report on the case for weeks on end. When they did, they refused to take an unequivocal stand for Magee's freedom.

When Ramsey Clark, Attorney General under President Johnson, was brought onto the defense team, the Stalinists gave

him their complete support. They portrayed this man, who oversaw the prosecution of the Chicago Seven, as the man who would save Magee.

What was to prove decisive in the trial was taking place outside of the courtroom. Nixon's re-election had brought with it the most savage budget cuts in social programs for youth and workers since the 1930s. At the same time, inflation slashed the standard of living of workers.

FRAUD

Magee's testimony was, in effect, an indictment of capitalist "justice." At one point Magee stated: "I am going to show you and prove to you that the entire state of California judicial system...don't care nothing about the little man's rights; their only concern is to commit crime after crime, commit fraud to hide fraud...It's not just Magee but any Black man that they feel they can get away with, sneak and hide and convict him through fraud and thereafter place fraud records upon him. Then, when he attempts to overcome this, he is overpowered with all types of racist restraints, falsely accused...you will find you have hundreds of thousands of people illegally held in slavery, in jails, locked up like a dog from your lip service..."

Despite the most blatant strong-arm attempts by Judge Colvin to force a conviction (the jurors reported five times they were hopelessly deadlocked, but were repeatedly sent back by the judge who kept them deliberating for eight days) the case ended with a hung verdict.

Moses Shepherd, a Black postal clerk, was the only juror who refused to vote for conviction on the simple kidnapping charge. He later told a reporter: "If Magee wasn't going to get his victory, then he wasn't going to get a defeat."

The decision of the State of California to retry his case is clear enough proof of the determination of the American ruling class to smash any opposition as it seeks to solve its economic and political crisis on the backs of the working class.

This trial takes place in the midst of the Watergate crisis, which shows that the attacks by the government on militants such as Magee, Davis and Juan Farinas, are part of a conspiracy directed against the living standards and the basic rights of every worker and youth in the United States.

The opportunity has never been greater for forcing this hated Nixon regime out of office by calling a Congress of Labor to demand new elections and build a party of labor to replace this criminal government with a workers government.

West Coast News

Statement To The UAW Force Strike In September

The following is a statement by Rudy Sulenta, Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party member of Local 216 Southgate United Auto Workers. He recently ran for president of his local, receiving wide support from the ranks. This will begin a discussion on the policy statement for auto presented in the last issue of the Bulletin.

On June 20, 1973, speaking before the Michigan State AFL-CIO Convention, UAW Vice President Douglas Fraser said, "The UAW will not be bound by any arbitrarily set ceilings imposed by the Nixon Administration during upcoming contracts with the auto companies. We are not going to be denied our equity. We won't be frustrated by the Administration."

I am sure that all auto workers are in agreement with that statement. But, they have learned over many years of bitter experience not to put much credence in "militant" statements made by UAW leaders just before contract time.

Prior to each contract negotiation, the UAW leadership makes many such militant statements hoping to convince the rank and file that it has not lost any of its "fighting spirit." But as each auto worker knows, what is said before contract negotiations and what is finally negotiated is as different as night and day. Let me cite just one example.

Prior to the 1967 contract, time and time again, Reuther made the statement that the auto companies were not going to mess with the cost of living clause that the auto worker had fought so hard to obtain. After a heroic 48 day strike by the Ford workers, Reuther capitulated to the "Big Three" and signed a contract that ripped the guts out of our cost of living clause. Because of this betrayal, each auto worker lost approximately \$1000 in wage increases over a three year period.

Woodcock still supports Nixon's policies and programs by continuing on the "Super Pay Board." He remains silent on the Watergate scandal even after

John Dean implicated Nixon; and while he was on the "enemies of the White House list," Woodcock says nothing against the Democrats, who are screaming for tougher wage controls. He says nothing of Nixon's headlong rush toward dictatorship. He remains silent on the bombing of Cambodia. He has no program to halt inflation that is robbing auto workers of large chunks of their pay checks. In short, the UAW leadership is bankrupt.

With a little less than three months before September 14, we can no longer depend on this leadership to lead the membership in the battle that lies ahead. The following steps must be taken immediately, to prepare the rank and file for September 14. Every UAW local should:

- Pass a resolution demanding that Woodcock leave Nixon's Pay Board.

- Prepare to take a strike vote as soon as possible after changeover.

- Pass a resolution instructing the International Union to inform the "Big Three" that auto workers will not work over eight hours per day, after they come back from model changeover. This way the "Big Three" can not stockpile new models.

- Instruct the International Union to prepare plans to strike the entire auto industry on September 14.

- Instruct the International to call on the entire labor movement to join us on September 14 in a general strike against Nixon's Pay Board and his Phase Four.

- The most important step for each local would be to pass a resolution instructing the UAW leadership to call for the convening of a Congress of Labor in order to build a labor party.



Workers League and Young Socialists held a meeting of 40 in Los Angeles on the subject "Watergate and the Defense of Basic Rights." Over \$100 was raised for the summer camp. Forty more attended a similar meeting in Pomona.

Not A Peep From IBT 'Mavericks'

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Members of Teamsters Local 70, confronted with a new master freight agreement written to Nixon's specifications, had their right to vote on the contract taken away at Saturday's ratification meeting.

Local leaders called the meeting on one day's notice after Thursday's announcement of the tentative agreement. Local President James Muniz reported on the contract but made no recommendation.

Muniz and Executive Secretary Chuck Mack refused to hold a vote at the meeting on the grounds that a vote against the contract by Local 70 would be swamped by yes votes from the Midwest and the East Coast.

The action by Mack and Muniz to keep Local 70 neutral in the contract vote in fact throws the weight of the huge local behind Fitzsimmons' rotten deal with Nixon. The agreement, worked out in secret meetings between the Fitzsimmons leadership and the nationwide trucking associations, is completely in line with the 5.5 percent wage guidelines.

Mack and Muniz have prepared this support for Fitzsimmons since the last contract. During the last contract fight, Local 70 voted down the national Teamster agreement, but was

forced by a court decision to follow the agreement or leave the Teamsters union.

Since that point Mack has been campaigning for Bay Area truck drivers to have the right to negotiate a separate contract from the Master Freight Agreement, but stay in the Teamsters union. Early this year, Fitzsimmons vetoed Mack's scheme.

Now Mack has used this as an excuse to avoid a fight to overturn the new Master Freight Agreement. A Local 70 member told the Bulletin, "There wasn't anything interesting in what they were saying to make anyone come. They got the wages we were asking for. The problem is we weren't asking for

enough—not near enough. A lot of guys left the meeting early because it just made them sick to listen to it, most guys didn't even come."

The support given to Fitzsimmons' deal by Mack and the Local 70 leadership, known for their militancy and often called "mavericks" in the Teamsters leadership, clearly exposes the bankruptcy of such "opposition" trade union leaders. Mack's capitulation to Fitzsimmons shows that local autonomy and militancy is no substitute for the struggle to build a labor party to defeat the political attacks now being made with the use of the wage controls.

Bitter Drivers Go Back In L.A.

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—After a tremendous fight against local and international union officials, Teamster van and storage drivers were forced to end their 11 week strike, the first in their 40 year history.

The settlement came after Teamsters had previously reaffirmed their fight for a 40 percent pay increase by turning down the moving industry's offers four times in recent weeks.

A few weeks ago, International Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons unsuccessfully intervened to force a settlement. Leaders of the seven striking Southern California locals aided Fitzsimmons' drive for a settlement by signing "me too" contracts with

the large companies in cities outside Los Angeles, which eventually sent all but the Los Angeles local back to work.

Although the smaller moving companies agreed to meet the strikers demand of \$6.40 an hour, instead of the present \$4.60, they will roll back the wages to \$5.50 an hour according to the terms of the new contract.

The big issue in the strike was parity with the San Francisco Teamsters. The new contract meets that only half way, with 88 cents the first year and a 40 cent increase the next two. Local 389 (Los Angeles) union official James Casom, while admitting that the increase does not measure up to the skyrocketing prices, told the Bulletin that: "After 11 weeks, I'm glad it's

over. It's the best contract in our history." He said only a "handful" of members wanted the \$6.40.

Union officials have only to look out the windows of their offices to see the real reaction of the membership. Posted on palm trees and telephone poles are Local 389 picket signs with "UNFAIR" written across them.

The final ratification was opposed by 40 percent of the membership; it was exactly the same offer that was rejected one week before by 19 votes.

Although Fitzsimmons was behind the push for a quick settlement, Teamster members of Local 389 have petitioned him to place the local under receivership. They have charged

local leaders with breaking up the strike by pitting one local against another.

Although the seven Southern California locals went on strike together, according to Local 389 picket captain Ray Falk, "They tore us apart. Local 389 picket is the biggest and strongest. They got San Diego to go back to work for \$5.20, Santa Ana for \$5.40 and Long Beach for \$5.50. Every time a local got a few more pennies the others did too." He said these "me too" contracts were against the union constitution.

Falk told the Bulletin that like hundreds of others he is bitter about the contract. "The men were committed to this fight, but our leadership wasn't pressing anything; they were just sitting back and letting us starve."

POSTAL . . .

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macher will say no to a strike and go back to the bargaining table."

Instead of a strike, he held out the prospect of more bargaining followed by a better contract, without changing the present leadership or challenging the Postal Service speedup drive.

But it is clear that the Postal Service can only be defeated by determined strike action, which must be led by the big locals like New York and San Francisco in defiance of the no-strike laws and if necessary the national union leadership.

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Postal Leaders Afraid To Face Angry Ranks

BY A POSTAL WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO—National officials of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) were afraid even to attend a meeting of Local 214 here to present their case for the postal contract agreed on last week.

National Business Agent Al May and bargaining committee member Howard Quackenbush were scheduled to appear to defend the sell-out. Instead, 150 letter carriers cheered approval as local President Don Hackett and New York City Local 36 President Vince Sambrotto urged a no vote on the mail ballot referendum.

Sambrotto voted against the settlement on the bargaining committee and is touring the big locals to oppose it. Stating that there were 130,000 fewer postal workers now than in 1968 despite the no-layoff clause, he said, "It was our job to take out all the things in the 1971 contract that were used against us, but not a thing was taken out."

The tentative agreement with four postal unions calls for an eight percent wage increase this year, and six percent the next two years. It opens postal workers up to huge attacks on their working conditions.

RULE BOOK

There is no protection against changes in the rule book, which will be made arbitrarily after "discussion" with the union.

Sambrotto warned that management was preparing to impose standards for carriers' street time and would remove the limits on street spying activities by supervisors in order to back this up.

On the critical question of job security, Sambrotto revealed that the Postal Service's demand to remove the no-layoff clause had been a smokescreen to give the national President Rademacher a token victory to help sell the contract.

He claimed the Postal Service already has all the authority it needed under the management's rights and technological change clauses to introduce machinery and destroy thousands more jobs. The unions will be informed 90 days ahead of time and allowed to discuss proposed changes.

STRIKE

Several workers put Sambrotto on the spot about a strike. He admitted that his own local was likely to "lynch me" if he said anything good about the contract, but "the chances to strike are not there. If the contract is rejected, the bargaining committee will vote not to strike, or the executive committee will vote not to strike, or Rade-

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Labor Must Act For UFWU Victory

BY MARTY MORAN

COACHELLA—In a direct stab in the back to striking grape pickers, United Farm Workers Union leader Cesar Chavez ordered most picket lines called off because of the "threat of violence."

The pacifist union leader claimed that farm workers were unable to defend themselves from Teamster goon squads and that state police were not doing their job. This comes in the wake of a full scale battle which left dozens injured on both sides last weekend.

With more than 1100 farm workers pickets facing 350 Teamster "guards" in the melee, Chavez is afraid that his membership will go on the offensive.

HARVEST

The calling off of picket lines comes at the very height of the grape harvest in Coachella. The growers have had great difficulty in recruiting scabs. Union sources estimate 2500 were working as opposed to the 4000 normally required at harvest.

Chavez' retreat was answered a day later when 30 Teamster goons attacked a UFW picket line at the Kovacevich grape ranch near Bakersfield. Four UFW members were hospitalized, one a 60 year old man with a skull fracture.

Gallo wines, the largest grower of wine grapes, has announced it will begin negotiations with the Teamsters. The growers and Teamsters will carry all the methods used in Coachella to every grape ranch in the state.

Farm workers in Coachella and throughout the state must organize defense guards to support their picket lines.

Already a sizeable number of grapes have reached the market from Coachella. The California labor movement must immediately ban all cooperation with the processing, shipping, or sale of these grapes.

Salinas Firestone Axes Pact

BY BARRY GREY

SALINAS—United Rubber Workers Local 726 at the Firestone plant here joined three other locals across the country in overwhelmingly rejecting the sellout contract signed by the national leadership.

The vote was 284 against and four in favor of the tentative agreement, which tops Nixon's wage guidelines of 5.5 percent, in line with the settlements already signed with Goodyear, Goodrich, and Uniroyal.

Salinas joins Des Moines, Iowa; Bloomington, Illinois; and Decatur, Illinois in rejecting the contract.

MAJORITY

As of this writing, results from all 13 locals in the tire section are not in. A majority of the membership overall is required to send the negotiators back.

Local 726 called off the picketing of the Salinas plant, which employs 875, three days after the strike began on June 19, when the tentative agreement was reached.

Local Vice President Norman Bolcao recommended to the ranks to reject the agreement, but he told the Bulletin he will not lead a wildcat if the contract is ratified nationally.

SPEEDUP

Bolcao told of a speedup drive being instituted by Firestone at the Des Moines plant. Using a "reasonable effort" clause in the contract, the company is demanding impossible output from the workers. This is the central issue behind the no vote, by a four to one margin, at the Des Moines plant.

Bolcao told the Bulletin that the national strategy of settling separately with each company, instead of picking a target company for the whole industry as in the past, was designed to weaken the union and prevent a strike.

"PREMATURE"

On the central question of a political fight against Nixon through the convening of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, he says this is "premature."

The ranks of Local 726 must defy the leadership with a wildcat if necessary, calling upon all opposition locals to join them and fight for a national strike.

Editorial

Labor Must Stop Nixon

Every day the enormity of the Watergate plot to destroy the basic democratic rights of the American working class is further exposed.

Not only has John Dean's testimony now directly implicated Nixon but the publication of the "enemies of the White House" list reveals that a whole section of the labor bureaucracy that had supported McGovern was marked down for destruction.

These are the preparations of a government that knows that it can only carry on in the present crisis with policies of speedup, wage freezing and the introduction of mass unemployment.

Under these conditions the labor leadership continues its treacherous policies of propping up the very government that seeks to destroy it.

Every contract now being negotiated demands that the unions break off every cooperation with the government, mobilize to smash the guidelines and fight for a movement of the working class that can throw Nixon out.

The limits of trade unionism and militancy are more and more being exposed. ILWU and Teamster warehousemen are now being handed a three year contract by their leadership that will mean a catastrophic decline in real wages in the next period.

Bay Area Teamsters have seen their "militant" leadership knuckle under to Fitzsimmons because of its refusal to fight for a political perspective to take on the government.

The sharpest expression of what is being prepared for the entire labor movement is the battle being fought out in the grapefields of Coachella where the very existence of the farm workers is at stake.

Reagan has warned that he will not hesitate to use troops if he thinks it necessary to stop the violence.

Every minute that Nixon is allowed to stay in office through the criminal capitulation of the labor bureaucracy is more time handed over to the employers to carry out these attacks.

The fight must be taken into every union local to force the labor leadership off Nixon's pay board, to declare an all-out war against wage freezing and guidelines and to carry the fight forward with a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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