

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER TEN 285

MARCH 12, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## UNIONS, NIXON CLASH ON WAGES

BY DAVID NORTH

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But on Monday White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler reaffirmed Nixon's determination to maintain his 5.5 percent lid on wage demands. As reported in the New York Times, Ziegler "rejected suggestions that the Administration was soft-peddling on its 5.5 percent wage guidelines as a concession to labor."

This shows that a collision over wages must now take place between the trade unions and the government as nearly five million workers are up for new contracts in the coming months.

But absent from any of the remarks on the coming contract battles was a proposal by the AFL-CIO to mobilize the working class to smash Phase Three and a strategy to win the big wage increases which are required to defend its standard of living.

Rather, all the statements had this in common: that they were based on an acceptance of Nixon's right to determine the wages of American workers.

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### Statement Of The International Committee The Vietnam War Goes On

The International Committee of the Fourth International salutes the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in their 26th year of revolutionary struggle.

Faced with the most barbarous repression of imperialism and the joint betrayals of Chinese and Soviet Stalinism, who have deprived them of the necessary weaponry and political help, the Hanoi and National Liberation Front regimes have been forced to a compromise.

This is the meaning of the ceasefire agreement signed on January 27.

While US imperialism is determined to impose a "peace" which threatens all previous conquests of the Indo-Chinese people, nevertheless the terms of the Paris agreement show that none of the major problems facing the US occupiers and their Saigon

lackeys have been solved.

The Paris agreement has not ended the war, but has changed the form which the civil war will take. If US imperialism is too weak to regain control of the south, the NLF and Hanoi conversely have been deprived of the modern armaments necessary to conquer and decisively defeat the Saigon armies and the US air force.

In defining this relation of forces the agreement reveals the insoluble contradictions of the present situation in Vietnam and makes the continuation of civil war inevitable.

On the one hand the agreement implicitly recognizes the existence of 140,000 North Vietnamese troops and does not make their withdrawal a pre-condition for a ceasefire.

It explicitly underwrites the decision of the US government to withdraw its troops.

But these decisions are qualified and virtually annulled by contradicting clauses which make the operation of a "cease

fire" an impossible task.

Article Three, for example, states that the "modalities" for the withdrawal of US and allied troops shall be determined by the four-party joint military commission—but this commission, the Agreement stipulates "shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity." Moreover, the commission is hopefully expected to complete its job in 60 days.

Article Three (b) stipulates that a two-party joint military commission of the "two South Vietnamese parties shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing."

Far from the commission being able to achieve even a minimum of agreement it has instead broken down because of continuous fighting by the NLF for control of the countryside.

The US imperialists are cynically hoping to woo, if not split, the Hanoi leaders with prospects of economic aid to rebuild the

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Minnesota oil workers of Local 6-662, in the tenth week of a bitter strike, had support this week from other unions as the Koch Refining Comp. and the city used armed scabs against them. See story p. 6.

Bulletin  
Expansion  
Drive

YS Activities  
Aid Fund

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Over the past weekend, two very successful events held by the Chelsea and the Columbia University Young Socialists helped the fund drive. The Columbia "Ribs and Brew" party raised \$104.73.

The Drive is off to a slow start and must be turned around this week by the efforts of the Workers League and Young Socialists branches and the contributions of our readers. We must receive \$3500 a week if we are to make our goal by June 1.

The urgency of the political situation demands that we make a big push now on this fund drive as Nixon goes ahead with his plans to attack the unions.

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# French Labor Vote Shakes Pompidou

BY MELODY FARROW

The workers of France have cast their votes overwhelmingly for the candidates of the Communist and Socialist Parties in the first ballot of the legislative elections March 4. The candidates of the Left Union (the CP-SP coalition) won a combined total of 43 percent of the vote while the Gaullists were behind with 38 percent.

This is the first time the workers' parties in France have outpolled the Gaullists since 1936 when the Popular Front was formed.

The victory of the Left Union has laid bare the real question facing the French working class, which was raised but not resolved in the 1968 General Strike—who is to hold power and run the country, Pompidou and his big business backers or the working class itself?

The results of the first round in this election clearly shows the power and determination of French workers to defend their living standards. It is a prelude to new revolutionary struggles in France that will shake all of Europe.

On March 11 the Left Union will unite behind the candidate who won the most votes in the first round while the center parties, the Reformers and the Radicals, will ally with the Gaullists. Pompidou will seek to use the narrowness of the Left Union majority to maintain control of the government.

## SHOWDOWN

The question of power will not be solved simply by the election. Next week's run off election will mark the beginning of an inevitable showdown between the Pompidou regime and the workers. The workers must now prepare to fight any attempt by the Left coalition to accept Pompidou as President and to take general strike action against the

Gaullists.

Just prior to the vote, Prime Minister Pierre Messmer reaffirmed Pompidou's stand that even if the Left wins a majority, he will nominate a Gaullist Prime Minister and will form a minority government. Pompidou has stated that he would rather plash a coup than carry out the policies of the Left Union.

## BONAPARTIST

In other words, no matter how workers vote Messmer is telling them the government will do as it pleases anyway. Messmer has simply stripped away the parliamentary veil of DeGaulle's Fifth Republic, exposing it for what it has always been—a Bonapartist state that relies on its army to defend capitalism.

## PROPAGANDA

We do not share the view of the revisionists, like the Ligue Communiste in France, that the elections are a "farce" and that independent socialist candidates should run to "expose" the "electoral illusions" of the working class. This ultra-left propaganda is just the other side of the revisionists' adaptation to the Stalinists.

## REVISIONISTS

What the revisionists reject is that the struggle for power is now on the agenda in France as a practical task. They fail to see the enormity of the crisis facing the capitalists and the dangers this poses to the working class.

The illusions of the workers can only be exposed by first electing the Left Union in the second round and by fighting to expose the Stalinists by demanding they fight for a socialist program and mobilize the forces to defeat Pompidou's coup d'etat.

# Rightists Lose In Chile

BY BILL VAN

The Chilean rightists suffered a big setback last week, failing to obtain the two-thirds majority in the congressional elections which they required in order to oust President Allende's coalition government.

Late reports indicate that Allende's coalition actually increased its total over the last election by two percent. The results reflect the strength of the undefeated working class, which saved Allende even though his conciliatory policies toward the capitalists are primarily responsible for the weakening of his government.

Although the failure of the rightists to succeed in their election coup places Allende in a position to carry out socialist policies with the support of

millions of workers, he is likely to use the results as an excuse for further compromise.

## RIGHTWARD

The election campaign waged by the Popular Unity clearly indicated a sharp rightward move toward the abandonment of any pretense of a socialist program. The senatorial campaign of Volodia Teitelboim, a leading member of the Chilean Communist Party, most clearly expresses this move. In his campaign, he reiterated a deep commitment "to defeat those who want a civil war."

To achieve this difficult task, Teitelboim proposed a plan for "severe readjustments in economic planning, self-financing, quality of production and salary demands. State owned industries must justify themselves economically and not weigh down on the government."



New layers of workers enter struggle against Tory government. Seen here, picket line at Queen Mary's Hospital, Roehampton, London.

# British Trade Unions Call General Strike

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

British railroad workers walked off their jobs Wednesday, 24 hours in advance of the official strike deadline set by their union leadership.

This action reflects the powerful movement of the working class since the emergency meeting Monday of the Trades Union Congress, which approved a one day general strike in principle but refused to set a date for such action.

However, the attempts of the reformist labor bureaucracy to hold back the mass movement against the Tory government are in collision with the determination of the working class to defend

itself.

Not only must a definite date for a general strike be set immediately, but it cannot be confined to a one day protest. The purpose of a general strike now must be to force the resignation of the Tories and its replacement by the Labour Party pledged to socialist policies.

This Sunday's pageant of working class history prepared by the Socialist Labour League will be the greatest anti-Tory rally ever held and will prove decisive in transforming the League into the revolutionary party to lead the working class in the upcoming struggles.

The critical political situation facing workers is made clear by the revelation that the Tories have coordinated plans for the use of special military authorities and police to smash a general strike.

The rank and file of the unions continues to demonstrate its eagerness to take on the Tories. While the capitalist press howls about the inconvenience to the public, 222,000 hospital workers go out on strike action. Two hundred fifty thousand civil servants went out on 24 hour strike which marked the very first industrial action by that union. Thousands of gas workers, teachers, railwaymen, and auto workers have also taken strike action in the past few days.

With a clear lead from the TUC, this could quickly become general strike action of millions, with the enthusiastic support of the entire working class and large sections of the middle class. It is the middle class that the Tories seek to whip up

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**'Malignant Neglect'**

# Nixon Uses Dollar Crisis Against Europe

BY DAVID NORTH

International economic activity approached a state of virtual paralysis as all foreign exchanges remained closed in Europe while its finance ministers searched desperately for a temporary solution to the continuing dollar crisis.

Although it appears that European countries are preparing to undertake a joint float of their currencies against the dollar, discussions are bogged down by sharp disagreements between Germany, France and England.

As there were mounting indications that confidence in any form of paper currency is rapidly evaporating, the US has agreed with reluctance to attend an emergency meeting of European finance ministers Friday.

However, there is little chance that the US will come to an agreement with Europe because Nixon's policies continue to be based on using the massively inflated dollar as a battering ram against its trade competitors.

**REVALUE**

Fearful of the effects of a sharp restriction of the money supply and other anti-inflationary measures on the functioning of the domestic economy, Nixon is insisting that Europe revalue its currencies in order to absorb the outpouring dollars.

Bitter European bankers described Nixon's refusal to stop the flood of dollars as "malignant neglect" and one Swiss banker was quoted as saying "The men in charge in Washington have a totally distorted view of what their major political and economic power standing is right now."

The move toward a joint float represents a desperate attempt by Europe to form a power block against the dollar. But this action must lead immediately to a further deterioration of the economic situation. Floating is an admission that no currency has a stable value. The *Journal of Commerce* compared floating to a lottery run on a day to day basis.

Because of the decay of European capitalism, there is no currency that can replace the dollar as a basic reserve. Fixed exchange rates were possible between 1944 and 1971 only because the dollar—convertible into gold—guaranteed international liquidity. But since Nixon was forced to end this system in August of 1971, the conditions for the present breakdown of all currencies have been quickly maturing.

This week's shutdown of the money markets is a prelude to the outbreak of a world recession of historic dimensions. Without a stable currency, the basic conditions for production and commerce do not exist.

Therefore, workers in the US

as well as in Europe now are threatened with the most brutal attacks on their living conditions through wage cuts, speedups and the layoffs of millions and millions.



Picket on the line as teachers' strike receives call for general strike from New Haven Labor Council.

## Labor: 'Free Farinas'

Local 1650 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, representing over 200 workers at the University of California Medical Center, has unanimously endorsed the call for the freeing of Juan Farinas.

In addition, the union in its telegram to the Parole Board tied the jailing of Juan with the recent mass arrests of over 800 Philadelphia teachers. The telegram was signed by Irene Edwards, newly-elected president of the local.

In addition, petitions were also received from members of the United Auto Workers Local 216 at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Southgate and from the ranks of UAW Local 696 and the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 801 in Dayton.

Letters were sent from Sam Bottone, executive secretary of the University Council of the American Federation of Teachers and from Margaret Wilkinson, president of the University Non-Academic Employees, AFSCME Local 1695.

## Teachers Shut New Haven Schools

BY RUTH NELSON

NEW HAVEN, March 7—As the court issued an injunction against striking teachers here, Ron O'Brien, head of the New Haven Federation of Teachers told a meeting:

"If any teachers are put in jail, Sirabella (president of the New Haven Central Labor Council) has promised to pull out every stop to call all the unions in New Haven out in a

full blown general strike."

Two weeks after a strike authorization vote, New Haven teachers voted 563 to 130 to strike against the Board's latest offer and for the policy of "no contract, no work."

While the Board is offering 0.9 percent above earned increments for 1973-1974, the New Haven Federation of Teachers is asking for 4.5 percent above earned increments and for a total of about 7 percent.

Expressing the general disgust

## CNL Wins 33% In SSEU Election

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The Social Services Employees Union Local 371 Committee for a New Leadership obtained 533 votes to 1142 for the Active Chapter slate, supported by the Cohen leadership in the March 2 caseworker chapter elections. The CNL carried 13 centers, some almost unanimously.

This strong showing of over one-third of all votes cast followed a bitterly fought election campaign in which the union leadership threw all its weight behind the Active Chapter slate in a desperate attempt to prevent the CNL from taking over the chapter. The leadership was in such a defensive position in these elections that it was not able to openly run its own slate.

Instead, a group of leadership supporters, using a few centrists and ex-oppositionists as a cover, formed a slate claiming to be independent from the leadership. This slate had absolutely no program for the membership, and refused to openly oppose the program of the CNL.

At a debate at the Queens Social Service Center, Karen Finkel, speaking for the CNL, demanded of Fred Casden, representative for the Active Chapter Group, that he explain to the membership why he supported Union President Bart Cohen's blueprint on the future of the jobs in the department.

**PUSHED**

She pointed out that Cohen pushed through a referendum of funding for service programs,

and which offered no protection to workers in the event of a state takeover of the Department of Income Maintenance.

Casden had no answer for the question, and could do nothing but mouth a few platitudes about the need for a united and militant chapter. At one point in the debate, Casden was reduced to red-baiting, stating that the CNL would "bring its ideology" into the caseworker chapter and impose it on the members.

Queens Center workers answered Casden however, by soundly defeating his slate in the election.

This election took place only two weeks after the referendum on Cohen's blueprint for social service jobs. It was the CNL which initiated the fight for the blueprint, and was the only force which opposed Cohen's railroad vote. Despite the union leadership's attempts to create a strike scare hysteria in order to push through a "yes" vote on the referendum, a full one-third of the membership opposed his plan.

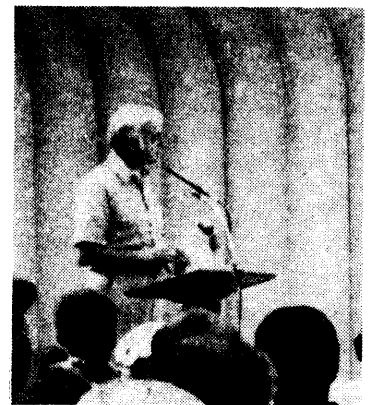
Thus Cohen entered the caseworker chapter elections fully aware of the support the CNL had gained for its policies, and desperate for the aid of a few phony

militants, centrists and Stalinists who could prop him up against this threat.

It is here, that the role of the Coalition, a loose amalgam of Stalinists, centrists, Maoists and syndicalists, is critical to understand. Because they are held together on the basis of no principled agreement or program, they were completely paralyzed in the face of a showdown with the Cohen leadership.

The Committee for a New Leadership has now emerged as a serious threat to the union leadership. This one-third vote can easily be turned into a majority in the struggles to come in the next few months.

The CNL will continue to press forward with a policy of non-cooperation with movement of staff until the city's plans are fully negotiated and voted on by the members. Further, the CNL intends to insist that the fight against the Pay Board be taken into the District Council with the demand for council-wide strike action unless all monies owed members are paid and for the SSEU-371 to demand that DC 37 fight for a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Phase Three and to construct a labor party.



Vincent Sirabella

with the salary, which starts as low as \$8000 a year, one teacher said: "The Board's offer and the union's demands aren't that far apart."

The danger now is that Ron O'Brien, president of the NHFT, is holding the strike "on a day to day basis while negotiations continue."

Vincent Sirabella, president of the New Haven Central Labor Council, gave his support to the teachers at yesterday's meeting.

But there must now be an all-out effort to win real support from city and state labor as the Philadelphia teachers mobilized support for general strike action recently. This must be carried through and joined with a national strategy against Phase Three.



Philadelphia teachers during the vote to ratify a new contract.

## Pickets Hurt In Battle At Scab Building Site

BY JIM COLBY

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—On February 28 at 6:45 a.m. 50 pickets from the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Laborers Local 824, closed down a formerly union, now non-union building site on the outskirts of State College.

The contractor, Whitey Haines, had only days before dissolved his corporation, which had contracted the union men, and set up a non-union Associated Building Contractors affiliated corporation. The men then immediately threw up pickets around the scab site, the Woodbine Apartments.

At 7:30 a.m. scabs rushed the picket line in several pickup trucks and a Volkswagon, knocking over four union men and sending one to the local hospital with a broken leg. According to one of the pickets interviewed by the *Bulletin*: "That Volkswagon was going so fast, it rolled over before it hit the line."

Within hours, carloads of Pennsylvania State Police descended on the site to maintain order. Nonetheless, by noon the pickets had succeeded in stopping virtually all construction at the site.

### SCAB

Jack Baer, Business Agent for Local 66 of the Operating Engineers, told the *Bulletin*: "The majority of the construction in Centre County is handled by scab contractors. This is just the start of our campaign to put a stop to this."

Another union official told the *Bulletin*: "We're out to fight the A.B.C. building trades. The policies of the A.B.C. and the policies of the AFL-CIO building trades are directly opposed. The A.B.C. is an association formed to bust unions, and the right-to-work is colored up to mislead the public and break the unions."

The following day, dozens of pickets representing Centre County Building Trades shut down construction of a K-Mart department store financed by Glenn O. Hawbaker, a local building tycoon who employs exclusively non-union labor. Within hours, an injunction demanding a restraining order to limit picketing to three men per site had been certified by the notoriously anti-labor Judge Campbell.

Gigantic profits are reaped by Centre County contractors building the shoddiest sort of apartment complexes for

students attending Pennsylvania State University. Safety violations are deliberately overlooked and the non-union workers—mostly formerly unemployed youth desperate for a job—are paid next to nothing by the contractors. Many of these non-union apartment buildings are already falling apart.

Laborers Local 824 has launched a drive to organize the non-union men as part of the fight to defeat the scab contractors of A.B.C. However, the A.B.C. is backed up by all the cops and courts on the East Coast, and thus the Building Trades must fight to build a labor party to defend the rights of the unions.

## IUE Calls 5.5% Guideline 'Suicide'

BY SANDY MEREDITH

LESTER, Pa.—The 14 unions whose contracts expire with Westinghouse and General Electric in May and June will be some of the first major unions to confront Nixon's Phase Three.

IUE President Paul Jennings stated last week that the union would not accept Nixon's 5.5 percent guideline, terming it "suicide." He declared that inflation has already eaten at least 15 percent out of the ranks' paycheck, and that the union intended to win that back.

The unions, which include the United Electrical Workers, International Union of Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the International Association of Machinists representing 100,000 workers at GE and 60,000 at Westinghouse, have formed a Coordinated Bargaining Committee. The CBC's bargaining goals, which were released this week, include demands for a "substantial wage," an end to the eight percent cap on the cost of living, as well as demands for pensions, vacations, and protection against subcontracting.

At this point, the leadership is purposely evading a position on a specific demand for wages and is attempting to spread the dangerous illusion that Nixon has lifted the controls.

As inflation threatens to soar this year well over 10 percent, the ranks must insist that the leadership fight for a substantial wage increase of 25 percent the first year with a full cost of living escalator.

The UE Local 107 leadership at the Westinghouse plant here is even hinting that a strike will not be necessary this year. When the *Bulletin* asked Richard Dilucia, UE 107 president, what kind of fight he was planning to take against Phase Three, he replied: "I don't know. It's too early to say yet."

Dilucia also remained tight-lipped on the question of layoffs. It has been rumored at Lester for

over a year that the new Austin, Texas mass turbine plant is on the verge of taking over the operations of the vast turbine division at Lester. Such a move would mean at the very least the elimination of some 1200 men here. Dilucia said:

"We prefer not to even think about it. If it happens, we'll go on relief and food stamps and live better than we're living now."

## Philly Teachers Denounce Sell-Out

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA—Teachers here returned to work last week, following their bitter eight week strike, despite mass arrests, numbering almost 1000, massive fines and the jailing of their leadership.

Philadelphia teachers showed the kind of determination that millions of workers will now bring forward in struggle against the government.

After the ratification meeting, angry teachers walked the aisle and the main floor of the civic center with placards urging a "no" vote. Teachers who had crossed the picket line were barred from the meeting.

Although the official vote was 4171 to 696 to accept, these figures belie the actual massive opposition to the contract terms.

### DISGUST

Since about 800 teachers attended the ratification meeting, it is clear that many teachers did not vote out of disgust with the contract. In the voice vote which preceded the balloting, a good 25 percent voted "no."

During debate over the contract, dozens of teachers took the floor to denounce the contract terms and the union leadership.

Most of the speakers were bitter that those items relating to improving education will not take effect until 1974-1975.

The contract provides for the reduction of maximum class size from 35 to 33 in September 1975 and 225 minutes of preparation time for elementary teachers, slated to begin September 1974.

Several teachers denounced the four year length and the meager size of the four percent wage increase. One teacher was cheered when he called for a "no" vote on the re-election of the union officials in the May election.

The leadership arrogantly sat silent throughout most of the membership meeting, refusing to answer any charges the teachers raised from the floor. When chief negotiator Ryan finally spoke, he viciously attacked the teachers saying that nothing more could be won by continuing the strike and that Philadelphia teachers "now have one of the best contracts in the country."

Under Curran's leadership, jobs for seamen have been slashed drastically. Eighteen thousand men now compete for 9000 deepsea jobs. Nixon's new budget contains sharp cuts in manning scale subsidies. NMU wages are among the lowest in the industry. The last contract provided for a 5 percent increase.

The main opposition to Curran's slate in the election is James Morrissey and his Committee for NMU Democracy. Morrissey is running on a program to pressure Nixon to tax runaway foreign flag ships and use the money to fund pensions. The Committee's program also calls for wage and manning equality with the West Coast maritime unions.

Morrissey throughout his whole history of opposition in the NMU has refused to mobilize the ranks against Curran around a program to defend jobs and wages. He has refused to raise the political issues that confront the union with Nixon's attacks and the necessity to construct a labor party. Instead Morrissey has called on the government, like Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, to intervene in union affairs. In the 1966 elections he called in the government to void the elections and got the NLRB to supervise them in 1969. Instead of turning to the independent struggle of the NMU ranks he has sought out the "good offices" of the employers' government.

Under the cover of union democracy the government is using this intervention to put in office men who behind their militant talk can be relied on to hold back the struggle.

There is every indication that this is what was done in the recent UMW election. Since his election Miller has done nothing to fight to change the conditions the miners face. There is also every indication that Nixon is doing the same in the NMU.

### ACCOUNTING

This is why the ranks must now demand an accounting from Morrissey, a break from these policies and a program to defeat the attacks of the shippers and Nixon, as a condition for their support. The ranks must demand that Morrissey and his slate fight now for a program to reopen the contract for a wage increase of 20 percent and a full cost of living escalator and for two full crews on every ship, each to be paid one year for six months on and six months off ship to stop the manning cuts. Central to this fight must be the demand that the NMU call for a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Phase 3 and construct a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans and against any collaboration with Nixon and his Labor Department.

Only on this basis can an opposition be mounted against the present leadership.

Nothing has been settled with the signing of this contract. On the day following the return to work by teachers, Matthew Costanzo, Superintendent of Schools, revealed the real plans of the government. He called for the weeding out of "incompetent employees."

Teachers must fight now to construct a new leadership in the union which is based on a political fight against Nixon's attacks.

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# Hanoi Charges US 'Torpedoing' Cease-Fire

BY A CORRESPONDENT

For the second time in less than two weeks, the Paris Peace agreement came close to collapsing as North Vietnam threatened to boycott meetings of the military commission because of Saigon's refusal to release prisoners of war held in Thieu's concentration camps.

While a last minute agreement by Saigon to release 6300 prisoners temporarily broke the deadlock, the issue exposed the reactionary character of the cease-fire and the fact that there is no peace in Vietnam.

Representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the National Liberation Front have no firm guarantees of safety while in territory controlled by Saigon. Sites designated for the pickup of NLF prisoners have been attacked by Thieu's army.

## VIOLATIONS

Furthermore, the United States has been carefully orchestrating Saigon's violations of the provisions of the Paris agreement.

In a speech to North Viet-

namese officers, General Giap declared that the US has given Saigon "concrete directives for them to organize the torpedoing of the accords and search at the same time for any means to impede the activities of the military delegation of our government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government."

Similarly, the spokesman of the Laos Pathet Lao, Sot Petrasay, stated Tuesday that the American imperialists are determined to "sabotage" the cease-fire in Laos.

## POLITICIANS

"We are aware," he stated, "that certain politicians and military officers are talking openly about their unhappiness with the peace accord, and this is why Vientiane is not respecting

(Continued On Page 16)

# Students Defy Greek Junta

BY DIANNE ISAACS

Massive student demonstrations in Greece against the policies of the military dictatorship in the universities have been met with vicious reprisals involving the arrest of hundreds of students and three murders by the government.

Premier George Papadopoulos declared on March 2 that: "The revolution is determined to secure tranquility and public order at the cost of any sacrifice. I and my collaborators leave no margins for experiments. We shall crush any force that emerges to disturb public order and upset social tranquility."

The wave of uprisings began in mid-January at all 10 universities in Greece when students struck classes to protest government interference in student elections. Papadopoulos retaliated on February 12, issuing a decree ending the draft deferment status of students deemed to be political agitators. Over 100 students were promptly pressed into service in the army, primarily from the law school at Athens University, which is under martial law.

## DEMONSTRATIONS

This produced huge demonstrations against the government as 4000 engineering students joined law, philosophy and medical students in boycotts and rallies. Police beat to death three students at a rally in Salonika on February 24.

Eight students from Athens Polytechnic University, arrested on February 14, received sentences of from eight to eleven months in prison—on charges of "insulting the police." Reflecting the growing anxiety of the regime, the presiding judge

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**The Young Socialist is no longer included in the Bulletin. Beginning on April 1, it will be published as a 12 page monthly paper. We urge all YS members to send in their articles for the first issue.**

# Bklyn YS Slate Polls Big Vote

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

BROOKLYN—The Brooklyn College Young Socialists polled approximately 12 percent of the vote in the recent Student Government elections, indicating the growing support for the fight the YS has taken up against Nixon's attacks on students.

A little over 4000 students voted—twice as many as in the previous election. The YS candidates on the upper slate, Theresa Delgado and Adele Flateau got 214 and 178 votes respectively. On the lower slate, Nancy Bonita received 254; Earl Johnson, 241; Edward Gillespie, 230; Joseph Bennett, 223; and Glen Walthour, 208.

The Young Socialists slate was comprised of YS members and members of the Ad Hoc Committee to Fight the Budget Cuts. It campaigned on the basis of the program of the Young Socialists to unite students and teachers in a fight against any cutbacks in education.

## PLATFORM

The platform of the Young Socialists centered around the following:

- No cuts in facilities, sports or activities.
- No cutbacks in financial aid or the Department of Educational Services—more funds for them.



Workers at the Elvin Salow Co. in downtown Boston shut their shop down solid and called in Local 359 of the ILGWU to organize them. They make only \$2 an hour making dog mats, cushions, and tobaggans. The company has refused to date to sit down with the union.

# Puerto Rican Unions Battle Price Hikes

BY LUCIA RIVERA

Only two weeks after Governor Rafael Hernandez Colon of Puerto Rico presented his so-called "price control law," it was announced that 80 of the 100 articles that were supposed to be controlled will be exempted from the freeze.

Right after Colon's announcement, an alliance of all the capitalists in the country was formed to boycott the freeze. This has created a situation of scarcity in basic food items in Puerto Rico. Rice, meat, beans, milk and bread are all in limited supply. Colon quickly bowed to their demands.

Last Wednesday the Movimiento Obrero Unido (United Workers Movement), which represents more than 40 unions in the country including the Teamsters and Boilermakers, organized a massive picket line in front of "La Fortaleza," the governor's house. They were demonstrating

against any increase in the prices and in support of the expropriation of Molinos de Puerto Rico, a rice producing company.

## CHANTED

The workers chanted: "When Teamsters go forward, there is no rich man that can hold us back," and "We have a few pennies, I can't afford steak, but if the prices go up I wouldn't eat at all."

This demonstration comes at a time when inflation is destroying the standard of living of workers in Puerto Rico.

Colon and his Popular Democratic Party (PPD), which

were supported by sections of the labor leadership in the election and promised to solve the difficulties facing both labor and management, have made it clear where they stand. The PPD will act no differently than the previous administrations in making the workers pay for the economic crisis.

The PPD has already shown its hand not only in the price control fraud but also in its attacks on the unions in the growing strike wave. During the taxi drivers' strike, the government threatened to take the drivers' permits away if they did not return to work and give them to non-union drivers.

## DESTROY

In the jockeys' strike, the government sent police to destroy their picket line and prevent them from organizing a union. Several strikers have been shot and wounded.

Workers in Puerto Rico are being hit not only by inflation but by unemployment. The government has already begun layoffs because of the budget cuts. Three sugar corporations have closed down, throwing hundreds of workers onto the unemployment line. Now El Mundo, which was struck for eight months last year, has announced it will cut the production staff by 60 percent with the introduction of new automated printing equipment.

Alfredo Gonzalez, president of Local 225 Graphic Arts and Journalists Union (UPAGRA) is warning members of his union to look for other jobs and saying that nobody can refuse to be trained on the new machines.

Now, months after the settlement of the strike, the specifics of the contract are coming out. This is the settlement that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party hailed as a "victory." PSP even invited Alfredo Gonzalez to be a key speaker at its first Socialist

(Continued On Page 16)

covered itself with middle of the road liberals.

The Third World Federation (TWF), whose campaign was virtually run by the Young Socialist Alliance, took one lower seat. Because they were unable to pose any program to fight against the budget cuts, and unite the students on this basis, the TWF actually opened the door to the Populists.

The YSA completely liquidated its own campaign into the TWF, but polled less than half the amount of votes as the TWF. Many youth split their tickets between the YS and the TWF because the Young Socialist Alliance fought for no independent policies of its own.

Throughout the campaign, the YSA used lies and slanders against the Workers League-Young Socialists.

The actual campaign and the lessons of the election will be given detailed coverage in the first issue of the Young Socialist, April 1973.

## JDL

The Populist slate, an amalgam of liberals and the JDL, took 19 out of the 20 Assembly seats. In this election, the JDL never once openly campaigned for its racist, anti-working class policies. Instead, it demagogically appealed to "the interests of all students" and

# Midwest News

## Twin City Labor Rallies To Defend Oil Strikers

BY B. WILLS

PINE BEND, Minn., March 3—A spirited demonstration of over 200 men, women, and children marched before the main gate of the Koch Refining Company at noon today in a display of solidarity with the pickets of Local 6-662 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, now in their tenth week of a bitter strike.

The turnout on the picket line of members from other Twin Cities unions reflects a growing awareness of the importance of this strike to all Minnesota workers.

In the past week, there has been an increase in the harassment and arrests of union members. Last Monday, three were charged with vandalism. In addition, the Dakota County sheriff has issued inflammatory statements to the news media blaming violence on the pickets and not on the gun-toting types of scabs and thugs now employed by Koch.

### CONTROLS

It is clear the billionaire corporation controls both the courts and the police. One of those charged with malicious destruction of property and placed on \$3000 bond while awaiting trial is Robert Oberle, a long time employee of the company. Three or four years ago, because of Koch's indifference to safety standards, he was the victim of a terrible explosion while loading a truck. The heels of both his feet were so badly mangled that he can barely walk and is forced to wear specially fitted shoes.

Moreover, once a charge is made against a picket—even before his case has been decided in court—the judge issues an order prohibiting these men from picketing.

At the very moment the noon hour demonstration was in progress at Pine Bend, 15 miles away in downtown St. Paul an AFSCME District 6 Council meeting was listening to an appeal for financial and moral support from Local 6-662 President John Kujawa.

Brushing aside the District 6 president's insulting personal contribution of one dollar and his suggestion that the hat be passed for like contributions from among the 170 unionists present, a rank and file delegate moved instead that \$1000 dollars be immediately contributed from the District 6 treasury to the strikers. The motion was enthusiastically passed.

This act follows a motion voted by the union of Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Workers to assess each member five dollars per month with the funds earmarked for the Koch workers until their strike is won.

But what is required from the entire Minnesota labor movement is to use the tremendous power and resources of the Twin Cities' trade unions to clear the scabs out of the plant immediately through mass picketing.

One Koch worker said: "I hope we're not pushed to the brink of revolution. Lots of people have been bred on anti-communism. But that's changing now."



Both photos: demonstration at main gate of Koch Refining Co. in support of pickets of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

## GM Stockpiles In Dayton Plant

BY JAMES JOHN

DAYTON, Ohio—Delco Moraine United Auto Workers Local 696 members have been working six and seven days a week, plus 10 to 12 hours in some departments, in an all-out company effort to stockpile parts before the fall contract negotiations.

The big push by the company has led in the last month to the filing of over 200 Paragraph 78 grievances by workers in an effort to defend themselves.

Management, faced with increasing resistance from workers, have intensified their attack through the use of such methods as provoking racial incidents, suspensions, forcing janitors to work production, speedup, and demotion of some militant workers who refuse to give in.

### ATTACK

Rufus Reed, a worker known for his militancy, was subject to a vicious attack by the company. Reed was working as a cement finisher in the skilled trades department when his job was taken away and he was put on an assembly line. The reason given by the supervisor for the demotion was that Reed "could not lay bricks."

At this point, the local union has not defended Reed and it can only be seen as assisting management in cutting jobs.

In Department Seven, management attempted to take the job of a Black job setter and give it to a white worker who did not have the classification which had more seniority. The committeeman in the area went along with management.

It was after the betrayal by the union committeeman that the Black worker became a member of the Delco Moraine Caucus. During the discussion it was learned that the white worker was denied the position on day shift where there was an opening, and was told by management he could get the promotion if he

transferred to the second shift.

The Delco Moraine Caucus arranged that the two workers would meet and agreed that the workers must defend each other in light of management's attempt to divide them along racial lines. Through the Caucus' fight, the workers won their jobs and both are now job setters.

## Jail Term For Teacher

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, March 1—Jerry B. Abernathy, president of the St. Louis Teachers Association, was sentenced by Circuit Court Judge Thomas McGuire to 60 days in jail for criminal contempt for not returning to work during the St. Louis teachers strike.

McGuire also refused to reduce or set aside the \$540,000 fine assessed against the Teachers Association.

The St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 was also fined \$140,000 for contempt of court. This action openly illustrates what the government has in store for trade unionists in the coming period.

Teachers Union President Demosthenes Dubose, who faces personal criminal contempt charges on March 14, said that the union does not have the money to pay such a fine and he does not know where it will come from.

Such enormous fines and jail sentences are a direct attempt to destroy the unions. St. Louis teachers must fight to mobilize all trade unionists to fight against the court's penalties.

## NCR Plans Firing Of 2,000

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—National Cash Register general manager William Schnitzler announced plans for eliminating a further 2000 workers through a "modernizing and reorganizing program."

NCR plans to demolish nine buildings and 2000 more workers' jobs. This will bring the workforce down from 20,000 in 1969 to 9000.

The United Auto Workers International Representative Cecil Hampton and Earl Hampton, president of Local 1616, are jubilant that the bosses invited them in for a color slide demonstration of the company's "modernization" program. NCR's Schnitzler told the workers: "We must achieve a new level of cooperation among employees, management and the union."

The two UAW representatives, who were given headline billing in the Dayton Journal Herald, closely dovetailed this call for workers' self-destruction. Hampton stated: "It's good for the company, it's good for the union, it's good for the community to lay the cards on the table."

### MEEKLY

The president of the local meekly stated: "It's been what most of the people have been expecting, and it will just clear up a lot of that guessing. Well, I'd like to say this: we agree with anything that can be done to make NCR more competitive."

A more open blank check for speedup and wage cuts could not be formulated. However, just two weeks ago the membership rejected a deal the two Hamptons cooked up with the company to trade pay cuts (through a revision of the Standard Hourly Plan and by giving up learning time guaranteed wages) for a super seniority agreement.

As one worker stated to the Bulletin: "The company made their plans to cut back—so why should we take a cut?" Many workers declared the UAW should fight for a national strike against layoffs and for a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay.

As companies like NCR "lay their cards on the table" and say they are not competitive, the demand for nationalization of industry under workers control becomes a necessity for workers' survival.

Earl Hampton expresses the bankruptcy of trade unionists who refuse to break from capitalism and fight for the needs of the workers. He said: "Our only theory on the whole thing is we'd like to see harmony back in the shop—not fear of layoffs."

Such harmony did not exist even when NCR had a company union and jammed the speedup Standard Hourly Rate plan down the workers' throats. Only a rank and file caucus fighting for a new leadership around the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party program can end "fears of layoffs" and "Standard Hourly Plans."



# St. Louis Ranks Press Woodcock On Wage Fight

BY A REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Discussions among auto workers here in the United Auto Workers Local 25 of the "Program for the Auto Struggle" has highlighted the need for higher wages and job security. In an interview with the Bulletin, George Walker described his views on the upcoming contract.

"A wage increase of 5.5 percent put forward by Woodcock must be thrown out. We can't repeat the last contract when we received just six percent the first year, which was really no increase just catch up money and then three percent the second and third years. Last year GM made a profit of 30 percent and that's above spending a billion dollars on improvements like the introduction of the General Motors Assembly Division. We need a 15 to 20 percent wage increase to keep up with the high food costs.

"The demand for a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay is also vital. Our jobs are not secure at all. There are plans for more layoffs now on the passenger assembly line. This is a setup for contract time, to put the company in a strong position. But it

will mean the layoff of about 1200 workers. Then the union will negotiate and get about 600 called back. It will still mean an overall loss of 600 men.

"They carried out this type of action on the truck line here and ended up with the results the company wanted—less men doing the same production. With a 30 hour work week you would have more job security.



Leonard Woodcock

"Also important in this area is overtime. We must have a national approach to overtime. I know that some plants are working 50 to 58 hours a week while at our plant they are laying off workers. The management plays one plant off against another.

"I don't think the question of voluntary overtime really gets to the point either. With high prices workers need the money and so they are forced by the circumstances to do it. I think the contract should include some provisions for prohibiting the shifting of work from one plant to another.

"Woodcock is not asking for anything, only 30 years and out and that is not really going to affect many people. The company can go along with that as long as they shift plants about as they have been doing. Thirty years is a long time in an auto plant and there aren't too many starting work at 18 years old and going to retire at 48.

"We have got to mobilize auto workers around a program that is going to win something and that means getting rid of Woodcock and all those in the local leadership who won't fight back against the company attacks."

## Armed Cops Invade Union Hall

BY S. MULLEN

WICKLIFFE, Ky.—In the midst of a walkout strike by 335 members of Local 680 of the United Paperworkers International, nearly 24 heavily armed cops raided the union hall arresting a young maintenance worker on charges of firing rifle shots into two trucks entering the strikebound Westvaco Company paper mill.

The strike itself began with the breakdown in the three week old negotiations over the union's demand for a 10 percent pay raise during the first two years of an agreement and 12 percent for the third year.

The arrest and release on bail of the maintenance worker occurred on February 18. Two days later in a move to break the strike the company, in formal hearings before public investigation officials, began hinting that there was a conspiracy on the union's part.

"We find it hard to believe," said one plant superintendent, "that such a well-positioned and well-timed maneuver was the product of the abilities of any one individual."

The statement above is true to the blueprint of the employers for further and more extensive attacks on the workers in the South. With the sharpening of the crisis of the capitalist system, the ruling class will seize any and every opportunity to attack the trade unions.

The defense of the unions requires a political fight against the government which uses its courts and police to defend the employers.

# Midwest News



Emergency delegates meeting of AFSCME Council 6 in St. Paul.

## AFSCME Head Accepts Minnesota Salary Plan

## Teachers Face Layoffs

BY A REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The Minnesota School Board announced that because of "decreasing enrollment" teachers will be fired. St. Paul Superintendent Young, seeking to inject racist poison to divide union teachers, said that recently hired minority staff members will be first to go. The School Boards are also "willing" to end seniority completely, opening the door to dismissal. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and National Education Association (NEA) teachers in Minnesota must strike against the layoffs and to achieve 20 pupil class size and 20 teaching periods per week. The time to stop layoffs is now.

BY A COUNCIL 6 DELEGATE

ST. PAUL—The state government is determined to destroy the gains made by AFSCME Council 6 Minnesota State employees and remove any protection workers have under state civil service rules.

This Saturday at the March quarterly meeting, the Council 6 bureaucracy was forced to report that civil service had added "unnegotiated housekeeping items" to the legislative bill on wages and fringes. These changes include a complete elimination of seniority, a six month extension of the probationary period, open-ended authority to suspend an employee 30 days for any cause, and secret personnel records.

On January 29, in an emergency delegates meeting of the Council, Jim Muske, president, and Joe Robison, director, pushed through acceptance of a wage package agreement with the State Civil Service Board to be presented jointly to the legislature. The delegates voted to give up the original demands of \$500 per month minimum and 75 cents across the board and accept Anderson's salary plan.

CALM

At this meeting Robison attempted to calm the opposition to

this sellout by asserting that if any part of the package was changed the Council would not be bound by the agreement.

One day before the Council delegates meeting this week, Robison made a frantic trip to the State Civil Service Office and pleaded with them to keep these changes out of the wage package bill. Civil Service agreed but made it clear that all these changes would be introduced separately anyway.

Most of these attacks were proposed by the Loaned Executives Action Program (LEAP). Through LEAP Anderson has personally solicited the expertise of 96 of the state's top corporation executives to do time studies on state workers. From the beginning, Robison and Muske refused to fight LEAP, Anderson's hiring freeze, and the budget proposal that will eliminate 1250 state jobs.

Under the pressure of these attacks and particularly because of intolerably low wages, there is a


growing movement for action. AFSCME Local 1164 University of Minnesota workers has voted to continue to fight for the original wage demands in contract negotiations.

STRIKE

The 1164 Caucus for a Decent Contract is demanding this fight be carried forward now into strike action by the local. A strike by University Hospital workers can bring out the rest of Council 6 for the original demands and against Anderson's attacks. As a delegate from St. Cloud State College stated: "Even if the January 29 decision isn't rescinded today it will be through action. A lot of people are still ready to go out from two years ago."

Much of the vocal hostility expressed January 29 to the salary sellout took the form Saturday of a desire to construct an organized opposition to the Muske-Robison bureaucracy. A delegate from a highway local pointed to the platform saying, "We have got to do some house-keeping here."

Members of locals from Duluth, St. Paul, and Minneapolis will meet with members of the Caucus for a Decent Contract and construct a statewide caucus determined to fight for what state employees need in opposition to the present leadership.



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# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Nixon's War On The Press

As new information on the Watergate conspiracy reveals that an illegal gift of \$200,000 was made to Nixon's re-election campaign last April by financier Robert Vesco, the Government has stepped up its drive to intimidate the press and destroy basic constitutional rights.

In an unprecedented attack on the press, the White House has obtained subpoenas ordering leading newspapers and magazines to hand over all material on the Watergate case compiled by their reporters to Nixon's campaign committee. Reporters who refuse to turn in their private notes and tapes could be thrown into jail.

At the same time, it has been learned that the FBI, contrary to all established procedures, submitted all the information collected during its investigation of Watergate to the White House.

The campaign against the press does not stop with Nixon's desire to cover up his connections with the most powerful sections of business. Taking its cue from the White House, a New York appeals court has threatened two reporters with jail unless they supply a grand jury with information that will be used against the participants in the Attica rebellion of 1971.

The attack on the press reflects the turn of the Government toward Bonapartist dictatorship and is part and parcel of Nixon's assault on the democratic rights and organizations of the working class.

Certainly, if Nixon finds it necessary to take action against the capitalist press itself, then what must he be planning for the newspapers of the workers' movement.

Democratic rights are not an abstraction. In essence, they are always the measure of the living conditions of the working class. The rights won by the working class were won in the struggle for the same standard of living that Nixon must attack today.

What Nixon's attempt to destroy these rights today actually means could be seen last week in Philadelphia, where teachers were swept off the picket lines by Mayor Rizzo's police, under orders to destroy the unions.

The working class can defend its rights only through the full mobilization of its strength in a political fight against the Government. This is why the task of constructing a labor party has such urgency.

It is to prepare a Marxist leadership in the working class for the coming struggles that the Workers League devotes its greatest energy to the building of the twice-weekly **Bulletin** in the fall.

## Letters to the Editor

"The Bulletin:

"You failed to mention that Charlie Clayton, president of Local 2947 Brotherhood of Carpenters, was indicted for dipping his hands into the union funds. Also at Williamsburg Steel seniority and job rights are violated contrary to union contracts. This company is the most miserable outfit in the country. Even the foremen don't agree with what's going on but are afraid to speak up.

"Also the shop stewards go along with the company. Something must be done and fast. I hope you put some squeeze on them. Keep up the good work and keep after them. There must be something that could be done, somebody to talk to. This company is getting away with murder. If there is a way please let us at Williamsburg know in your next edition. I know I speak for everyone, keep it up and thank you."

## What we think



## Lessons Of Philadelphia

The general strike call which was issued by the Philadelphia labor movement in defense of the striking teachers marks a turn in the struggle of the trade unions against the employers and the Nixon government. Not since the 1940s has such a call been raised in defense of the rights of the unions. It is the beginning of the confrontation that must now take place as Nixon, forced by the rapidly developing crisis of world capitalism, goes to war with organized labor.

The attacks aimed by Nixon and Rizzo against the teachers, the attack on wages, jobs, and the right of unions to strike, the jailings and fines on the teachers union and the direct intervention of the government in the strike are an indication of what Nixon is preparing for the entire labor movement. In this strike all of the forces of the state, from the federal mediator to the courts to the police, were brought against the unions. It was under these conditions that the leadership of the unions was forced to rally the power of the unions behind the striking teachers.

But no sooner had the call for the general strike been issued than these labor leaders furiously began their back room negotiations to reach a settlement and avoid the inevitable collision with the government. The teachers, on the eve of the struggle which would have created the conditions not only for victory in their fight but for opening the offensive against Phase Three, were blackmailed by the trade union bureaucracy into returning to work and accepting an agreement which was essentially written by Nixon's representative in Philadelphia.

The contradiction between the tremendous strength of the labor movement and the moves to dissipate it by the union leadership raise sharply before the entire labor movement the lesson of this strike—the necessity now to construct a new leadership in the unions which is prepared to fight it out to the end. This means a leadership that is prepared to do

what Jerry Wurf, head of AFSCME, told striking teachers at a rally two weeks ago he and his fellow bureaucrats would never do—"challenge the system" which is attacking all the rights and gains of the unions.

It is this perspective now to open an offensive based on the independent political struggle of the working class that is rejected not only by the reformist leadership of the unions but their allies in the Communist Party. Following the calling off of the general strike, the CP's Daily World said: "Detailed terms of the settlement in the Philadelphia teachers' strike are not known at this writing, but one thing is clear—the settlement would not have been reached without the solidarity of Philadelphia organized labor and its planned general strike." Later, after the details were released, the Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania termed the settlement "a victory in the face of the unprecedented attack of education and trade union rights."

First it must be said that the CP did not raise the call for a general strike until the unions themselves raised it. The CP, like the trade union leaders, saw the general strike not as a means to open an offensive against Nixon's attacks on the teachers and all the unions but as a threat to pressure the government into a settlement. When the strike was called off, the teachers isolated and presented with a sellout of their demands, the CP calls it a victory.

The CP draws the following lesson from the strike: "For workers throughout the nation the lesson of the struggle of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and the solidarity displayed by their fellow-unionists is plain. It is the classic lesson—struggle and solidarity can defeat labor's enemies."

The CP's left talk in this lesson of "struggle and solidarity" is a complete cover for the betrayal of the trade union leadership and designed to divert workers from the respon-

sibility of fighting the reformist leadership. Second, it consciously cultivates the illusion that Nixon can be pressured into granting reforms, that capitalism in this period of crisis can exist without attacking the wages and jobs of workers and all the rights of the unions.

Every militant strike action of the working class only forces the capitalists to prepare new attacks. If the militant struggles remain isolated from the political fight against the government and fail to challenge the reformist leaders, then they leave the working class divided in the face of the next stage of attack.

It is precisely this political fight with the government that both the trade union leaders and the Stalinists fear. The carrying through of the general strike would immediately begin to raise the political questions. This was already seen in the rally in which teachers booed Wurf when he said this is the only labor movement that does not challenge the system and when signs were carried by workers demanding the AFL-CIO head run for mayor.

The confrontation that was postponed in Philadelphia cannot be avoided. The postponement only deepens the struggle at the next point. The workers in Philadelphia showed the fighting ability and determination of the working class to fight.

The urgent necessity in this struggle now is for the construction of a new leadership in the unions, a Marxist leadership, which fights in the unions for an understanding of the crisis and the necessity to prepare the working class for the struggle for political power. This means fighting in the unions today for a Congress of Labor to map out general strike action of the entire labor movement against Phase Three and all of Nixon's attacks and to construct a labor party which will fight for socialist policies. It is on this basis that the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is constructing caucuses in the unions to provide this leadership.

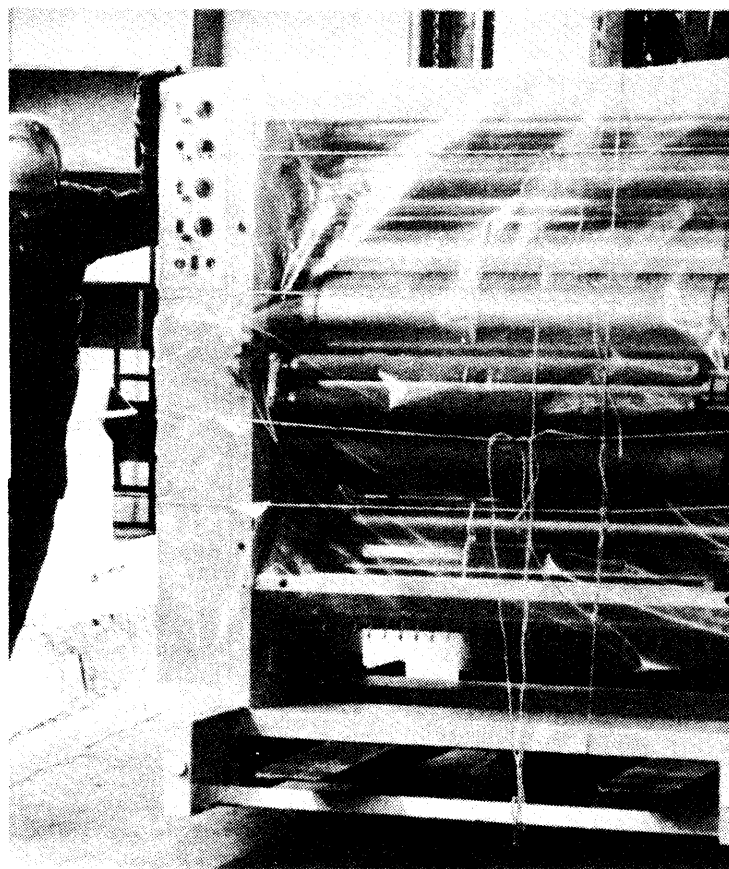
## New Press Arrives!

This week 306 new subscriptions were sent in to the Spring **Bulletin** Circulation Drive to get 12,000 new and renewed subscriptions by June 1. This brings our grand total to 2870. After tremendous work before the drive started, the branches have lagged this week after the launching of the drive. We are fighting now to get 2500, one-third of our target, in by April 1. This means we must receive 620 subs a week.

The branches that did well this week were Los Angeles with 40, Northfield with 27, and the Upper West Side in Manhattan with 26. This week all the branches must step up the fight if we are going to make our one-third goal.

We are pleased to announce that our new press has just arrived and will be installed in the next few weeks. We will have future articles in the **Bulletin** on this very important development of the paper.

We urge all our readers and subscribers to join the fight to expand the circulation of the **Bulletin** to 25,000



A section of the new web offset press, being installed to expand the **Bulletin** into a twice weekly in the Fall and a daily in the near future.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POST-WAR ECONOMIC CRISIS

The following is a draft resolution on the economic crisis presented by the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, in preparation for transforming the SLL into a revolutionary party.



The latest moves by the Nixon administration in devaluing the dollar mark a rapid acceleration of the capitalist system towards a breakdown and crisis deeper than at any time in its history.

All the political work of the Socialist Labour League must start from a grasp of the profound nature and utter insolubility of this crisis. The building of a mass revolutionary party is no longer a propaganda demand, as it has always been for the revisionists. It is the urgent, burning question of the hour.

Either the working class, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, takes the power and puts an end to capitalist anarchy, or the ruling class will be forced to impose brutal dictatorship on the European, Japanese and American working class.

What is at stake here is the training of workers in a revolutionary party, workers who start, in everything they do, from the nature of the epoch as one of wars and revolutions.

As the working class now moves into its decisive and historic struggle with the capitalist enemy, it will need to combat every reformist, centrist and Stalinist, with their opportunist recipes for once again adjusting the relations between the classes.

But these relations cannot be adjusted. Fundamentally, the period requires revolutionary action to smash the state power of the bourgeoisie and establish socialism.

Only the international betrayals of Social Democracy and Stalinism have permitted the capitalist powers, for longer or shorter periods, to obscure this nature of the epoch. But now the contradictions have once more accumulated so explosively under the surface of the boom that the choice is starkly revealed once again: the crisis of humanity demands the removal of capitalism; but capitalism survives because of the crisis of working-class revolutionary leadership; therefore this crisis of revolutionary leadership must be resolved as the primary task. In that lies the essence of the nature of the epoch. Only the Trotskyist movement has been built in struggle on this basis.

## 1. The revisionists and the crisis

The latest stage in the break-up of the world capitalist money and trade relations is a vindication of Marxism and the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International against all brands of revisionism and Stalinism. The revisionists, more than anybody, stand nakedly exposed by the rapid development of the crisis.

Throughout the last 20 years and more, it has been the revisionists, led by the so-called Unified Secretariat, who have preached the theory of 'neocapitalism'. According to this spurious, anti-Marxist theory, capitalism in the post-war period had changed fundamentally.

It was no longer capitalism of the old type, as analysed by Marx. No longer was it prone to crisis and breakdown. Through the action of the state, combined with a series of 'science-based' industries which in turn provided the foundation for a 'Third Indus-

trial Revolution', capitalism was now more or less permanently stabilized.

Instead of the preparation for social revolution, this clique of revisionists, deserting everything Trotsky and the Fourth International had fought for, advocated 'structural reforms' as the basis for their political activities.

Of essentially the same nature were those theories of the 'permanent arms economy' advanced by the petty-bourgeois 'state-capitalist' International Socialists group. This was the tendency which announced in the late 1940s that Russia was 'state capitalist' and could no longer be defended against imperialism. It was this blatantly anti-communist theory which led to their desertion from the Trotskyist movement at the outset of the Korean war.

Like all revisionists, both these trends displayed a deep hatred of the revolutionary power of the working class and a firm belief in the strength of capitalism. Their thoroughly false analysis of capitalism was but a thin cover for their scepticism about the working class, a scepticism which made them willing tools of the Stalinist

and Social Democratic bureaucracies.

It has only been through the most tenacious struggle against these ideas, for long periods under difficult objective conditions, that the Socialist Labour League has been able to analyse the unfolding of the present crisis and, on the basis of this analysis, train and educate a cadre of revolutionary fighters in the working class who now have the historic responsibility, in this entirely new situation, of transforming the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

## 2. The basis of Bretton Woods

The hallmark of the revisionist method is that it is governed entirely by surface impressions. It is this method which dominated the response of these groups to developments in post-war capitalism. For both Pabloism and the International Socialists, the ability of capitalism to avoid a major slump over the last 30 years was a sign of renewed strength and vigour. In fact

the very opposite was the case.

The ruling class felt completely unable to impose the kind of solution to its crisis after 1945 that it had done after World War I. The fact that after the Bretton Woods 1944 conference it was forced to establish a series of agencies through which the economy was artificially stimulated by means of inflation was its recognition that the working class was too strong to be dealt with at that stage.

Inflation represented a retreat before the working class. This retreat was a reflection of the decline of the capitalist system and the losses it had sustained in 1917 and in eastern Europe and China in the immediate post-war period. Capitalism survived the convulsions at the end of the war only through the betrayals of Stalinism and Social Democracy, both of which collaborated openly with imperialism in the restoration of capitalism in western Europe.

This overall decline of capitalism must be stressed when considering the present crisis. For it is not one which takes place in the system's growth and expansion, but one in its death agony. This theoretical conception has always stood at the centre of the work of the International Committee and is one for which it has fought against all the revisionists.

This historic decline of capitalism can be seen in the very nature of the Bretton Woods agreements. Their basis was the setting up of the International Monetary Fund (which commenced operations in March, 1947). The IMF was to be provided with a pool of gold and currency, contributed according to an agreed plan by the member nations. This pool was to be used to allow any country suffering balance-of-payments difficulties to overcome them without precipitating a major international crisis.

The second element of Bretton Woods was the privileged position given to the dollar. The cornerstone of post-war monetary arrangements—until President Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement—was the fact that the dollar was guaranteed at a fixed rate against gold for the purpose of international trade and capital movements. It was only because dollar holders could, if they wished, exchange their holdings into gold at the fixed rate of \$35 to a fine ounce of gold, that the dollar could become the main reserve asset throughout Europe during the post-war period.

But these arrangements were not like the old Gold Standard which existed for much of the 19th century during capitalism's expansionary period.

Bretton Woods had to allow the use of substantial quantities of paper money alongside gold. The contributions which each country made to the IMF pool consisted of 75 per cent in local currency and only 25 per cent in gold. On this pool any debtor country could draw, in return for the promise that currencies would fluctuate by only 1 per cent either side of their 'par' value against the dollar.

### 3. The growth of the American balance-of-payments crisis

The inexorable growth of the post-war crisis can be seen in

the steady increase in the American balance-of-payments deficit when compared with the continual reduction in the American gold reserve. There

have been several factors behind the growth of this payments crisis. But they all reflect the ever-growing unevenness of capitalist development in its period of decline.

After 1945 only American capitalism could shoulder the overall responsibility for the future of the entire world system against the threat of both the working class and the challenge to its future which was implicit in the existence of the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and China.

But the eruption of the present crisis has proved once more the soundness of Trotsky's judgement that no matter how strong American capitalism appeared, the contradictions of imperialism were even stronger.

In the first place America had to make considerable loans to Europe after the last war in order to prop up a number of near-destitute regimes and preserve the capitalist social structure intact. Following the war-time Lend Lease programme, the 'aid' programme initially took the form of Marshall Aid (the European Recovery Programme) which came into operation at the end of 1947.

The Americans had also to make ever-greater overseas military expenditures to preserve their strategic and economic interests. Again this was never a purely 'economic' question. War and the preparation for war can never be divorced from capitalism as the theories of 'permanent arms economy' imply.

These military expenditures were to gain in importance with the outbreak of the 1950 Korean war. In the 1960s the Vietnam war also had a major impact as a source worsening the US payments deficit. Much of the means to fight the war were purchased outside America and this meant either a loss of gold or a further piling up of external dollar balances. Spending on armaments were financed almost entirely out of budget deficits and have thus been one of the major causes of inflationary instability with which capitalism must now deal so ruthlessly.

Finally, the American payments deficit has been considerably worsened by the vast outpouring of private capital from the US. Here again we are dealing with no 'accident' which an earlier change of policy might have corrected. For the outflow of capital was testimony to the powerful operation of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. It was in an attempt to avoid the consequences of this law that the American monopolists sent their capital abroad.

The net result of all these developments was a constant piling up of external debt along with a steady decline in the US gold holding. At the outbreak of the 1950 Korean war the US held roughly three-quarters of the world's mined gold. Today the figure has fallen to under a quarter.

### 4. Gold and the dollar

In the post-war period, the dollar replaced sterling as the major international currency which, along with gold, provided the major source for the finance of world trade and payments. But once more, we should be clear that the dollar was unable to occupy the powerful position enjoyed by sterling for much of the 19th century.

During the Gold Standard's operation down to 1914, sterling was used as the main means of financing capitalist investment throughout Europe



US Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. addressing the opening session of the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. Delegates from 44 countries attended the Conference, which established the dollar as

and north America. But so powerful was British capital and so overwhelmingly important was sterling that this did not lead to crises of anything approaching the depth of those after World War II.

This was so because although considerable capital flowed out of London throughout the 19th century, Britain was able, in the main, to force those countries which borrowed it to purchase British goods. In other words, a considerable capital outflow did not lead to a serious balance-of-payments crisis.

Although by far the most powerful capitalist country since the last war, the US has never been able to achieve the relative dominance which Britain achieved for much of the last century. American capital has moved into Europe and has, in part, been used to build up local industry which was later able to compete against American firms in world markets. Japan and West Germany are classical examples of this development.

So, although the Americans tried to make the dollar 'as good as gold', it was an aim which could never be accomplished. For capitalism, only gold can constitute money. There can be no new 'international currency' which detaches itself from gold. The truth of this was established once more in 1943 when John Maynard Keynes proposed a new world paper currency,

Bancor, to replace gold. The Americans were forced to reject such a scheme; the world capitalist system had to remain firmly tied to gold which, unlike paper money, represents real value, that is the expenditure of human labour.

Since the IMF started operations in 1947, the growth of the American payments' deficit has developed alongside a decline in the proportion of gold, as against paper, in the world monetary supply. In the early 1960s, gold constituted around 60 per cent of total world 'liquidity' (that is gold

plus foreign exchange); today the figure has fallen to a little over a third. In other words, roughly two-thirds of world trading assets no longer have any value because they are no longer convertible into gold.

When this decline in relative gold holdings is measured against the expansion of world trade, the extent of the crisis and the tasks which it presents to the capitalist system are immediately apparent. In the early 1960s, as the present crisis was beginning to gather momentum, gold held as reserve assets within the capitalist system represented around 30 per cent of total world imports. Today that figure is a little over 10 per cent. Here again are the seeds of a catastrophic collapse of world trading relations.

### 5. Development of the crisis

From the late 1950s onwards, the first signs of the contradictions of capitalism as analysed by Marxists began to assert themselves. From this point onwards the US payments deficit was growing at an alarmingly fast pace as against its reduced gold holdings.

Fears grew that the Americans would be unable to maintain the convertibility of the dollar into gold. Several European governments, most notably the French, began to convert their dollar and other currency holdings into gold. This further accelerated the loss of gold in the American reserves and, in turn, forced other governments to follow the French lead.

The first response of the American administration, under President Kennedy, was to slash the 'aid' programme to the colonial and semi-colonial world. Expenditure abroad to countries like India and several African states was reduced by as much as 25 per cent and restrictions imposed on the export of private capital to these areas were considerably tightened.

The political results of this



the dominate world currency. All other currencies were to be maintained at a fixed parity to the dollar to re-establish capitalism in war-torn Europe.

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move are a warning to the whole of the European working class today. For the result of the Kennedy move was a sharp swing to the right in countries like Ghana, Algeria and Indonesia. 'Left' national-bourgeois governments which had managed throughout the 1950s to balance between the State Union and imperialism were removed and replaced by reactionary regimes immediately subordinate to the direct needs of American imperialism.

But the results of the crisis could not be confined to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This was the 'theory' of Ernest Mandel and the Pabloite revisionists. Impressed by the upsurge of the struggle in the colonial countries, they wrote off the revolutionary potential of the working class in Europe and north America.

Indeed the present crisis will expose mercilessly the Pabloite 'theory' of the 'Three Sectors' of the revolution. It was this theory which allowed Mandel and his fellow renegades from Trotskyism to reject the role of the working class in the metropolitan countries, while at the same time prostituting Trotskyism by lending their uncritical support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

But now the crisis is joined

throughout Europe and north America. The workers of the big capitalist countries are moving into revolutionary struggle along with workers and peasants in the colonial countries. This is bound to have a direct impact on the working class and intellectuals of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Once more the unity of the international working class is reasserting itself as the most powerful force in history.

Developments in Britain were to establish the utter bankruptcy and counter-revolutionary nature of such 'theories'. In 1961, sensing the changed international economic situation, the Tories, with Selwyn Lloyd as Chancellor, introduced their 'pay pause' designed to reduce wages and halt inflation. At this stage they were forced to retreat. On the one hand they faced determined and widespread opposition to their unemployment policies (unemployment rose to above the million mark in the winter of 1962-1963) and the government was plunged into a first-rate crisis in the form of the 1963 Profumo scandal.

It was under these conditions that the Tories, from the spring of 1963 onwards, began their reflationary pre-election boom. Working-class opposition to the Tory unemployment policies and determination to preserve all their gains of the 1950s pro-

duced a Labour victory in October 1964, although with only a small majority.

It was a government which came into power in the midst of a balance-of-payments crisis, produced directly by the Maudling inflationary boom. The payments deficit for 1964 was a record £800m. At this stage, however, the Labour leaders were able to turn to the Americans for financial assistance. James Callaghan was able to negotiate considerable loans from the IMF and directly from the Johnson administration in return for promises to introduce legislation to halt wage increases.

For three years after taking office help continued from the Americans in a desperate attempt to avoid a sterling devaluation. Here again is revealed the basic instability of the capitalist system, despite all appearances of prosperity during the 1950s.

At Bretton Woods, although the Americans rejected Keynes' Utopian plan for a 'new money', they could not dispense entirely with sterling's role as a reserve and trading currency. Despite the dominant position of the dollar, sterling still accounted for over a quarter of world trade in the immediate post-war years, a legacy from its 19th century position. And although continuing to decline, it was still the second most important trading currency

after the dollar.

Johnson and the American ruling class knew that if the pound was devalued again (it had already been devalued under Stafford Cripps in 1949) the spotlight of the crisis would inevitably fall on the dollar. The fight to save the pound was therefore a fight to defend the dollar.

## 6. The sterling devaluation

The forced sterling devaluation of November 1967 was therefore a defeat not merely for the Labour government's economic policies, but, much more important, a defeat for the strategy of American imperialism. From this time onwards, the world crisis of capitalism has developed at an ever-increasing pace. From November 1967 the Americans have had no choice but to prepare for economic and financial warfare against the rest of the capitalist world, and particularly against Europe.

The next stage of the crisis came with the March 1968 run on gold. So great was the demand for gold and the loss of confidence in the dollar that the Americans were driven to introduce the 'two-tier' system. This ended dollar-gold convertibility other than for 'official' (that is government) purposes. From that date there were in fact two gold markets, an official one, in which the dollar-gold price was held to its Bretton Woods level, and a 'private' market which saw the gold price continuing to rise.

Despite the 'fond hopes' of all the reformists and revisionists, such a two-tier system was inherently unstable and could not hope to survive. It was a mere holding operation on the part of the American ruling class while the 1968 presidential elections were dealt with. All attempts even to arrest the development of the crisis could only aggravate it. This was already clearly the case with the creation of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs or 'paper gold') which was designed to ease the liquidity crisis. In fact it only made worse a situation where paper debts were accumulating and gold declining in the world money system.

## 7. The meaning of August 15, 1971

The most decisive turning point in the whole crisis came with Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement that the dollar-gold link was broken for all time. Bretton Woods was dead and could never be resurrected.

From this point onwards a vast pool of money was in circulation outside the United States, with no gold backing. Estimates now place this pool of paper at around \$70 billion.

In no way could the implications of the crisis after August 1971 be likened to those of 1931. Despite the depth of the earlier crisis, it was one in which the world's major trading currency, sterling, was replaced by another currency, the dollar. The blunt fact today is that nothing can replace the dollar. Here, once more, is expression of both the enormity of the uneven development of world capitalism, which has concentrated all economic and financial power in the hands of American capital, and at the same time the historic decline of this system. The fact that in August 1971 Nixon took the dollar 'off gold' means that he destroyed the basis whereby the

vast proportion of world trade has since the war been conducted.

All measures taken since August 1971 to alleviate this crisis have collapsed almost as soon as they were introduced. This has been the case of both the Washington 'currency realignment' negotiations of December 1971, as well as all attempts to hammer out a unified European financial strategy in response to the American declaration of economic war.

Significantly the latter agreement was broken first by the Tory government in Britain, which was forced to 'float' (in effect devalue) sterling in June 1972. This, in itself, was the clearest indication that Bretton Woods, with its agreement on 'fixed parities' was now finished. The efforts at a common European financial policy are also doomed to utter failure. As the trade and financial war intensified, the conflicts between the capitalist states—economic, financial and military—controlled during the period of capitalist expansion since the war, are bound to sharpen enormously. This must call into question the immediate future of the Common Market, to which the Stalinists and the Pabloites in all countries are giving their increasingly enthusiastic support.

The revolutionary wave of 1943-1947 was betrayed by Stalinism and social-democracy, especially in western Europe. US imperialism, in its role of world policeman, poured in masses of paper dollars and dollar credits to rehabilitate European capital and enable the bureaucracies to hold back the working class. Military loans to NATO to 'contain communism' in the Cold War were part of the same process in which the framework of the post-war boom was constructed.

The decisions forced on US imperialism today by the fall in the rate of profit are thus the direct negation of the basis on which revolution was avoided at the end of the war. The contradictions of imperialism, built up beneath the surface for 25 years, now mean the rapid and ruthless transformation of the relations between the capitalist states and between capital and the working class into their opposites.

## 8. Not merely a trade war

The implications of the present stage of the crisis, of course, involve the immediate start of a trade war between all the major capitalist countries. This is the meaning of the latest Nixon dollar devaluation and the threat of a 15 per cent tariff wall if the Europeans and Japanese do not at once step into line with his requirements. In such a war, all the devices of the 1930s—price-cutting, dumping, etc.—will be employed in an even more ruthless manner.

But the crisis must extend far beyond that of a trade war, important though this undoubtedly will be.

For it is one thing to conduct a war under conditions where there is a stable means in which to conduct trade; it is quite another to engage in such a war when all the rules of international trade and payments, created at Bretton Woods, have been destroyed.

With gold now supporting perhaps only 10 per cent of the value of world trade, the implications of the crisis must be a collapse of much of the other 90 per cent. For no matter how much the revisionists sneered at the analysis

the very opposite was the case. The ruling class felt completely unable to impose the kind of solution to its crisis after 1945 that it had done after World War I. The fact that after the Bretton Woods 1944 conference it was forced to establish a series of agencies through which the economy was artificially stimulated by means of inflation was its recognition that the working class was too strong to be dealt with at that stage.

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The most decisive turning point in the whole crisis came with Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement that the dollar-gold link was broken for all time. Bretton Woods was dead and could never be resurrected.

From this point onwards a vast pool of money was in circulation outside the United States, with no gold backing. Estimates now place this pool of paper at around \$70 billion.

In no way could the implications of the crisis after August 1971 be likened to those of 1931. Despite the depth of the earlier crisis, it was one in which the world's major trading currency, sterling, was replaced by another currency, the dollar. The blunt fact today is that nothing can replace the dollar. Here, once more, is expression of both the enormity of the uneven development of world capitalism, which has concentrated all economic and financial power in the hands of American capital, and at the same time the historic decline of this system. The fact that in August 1971 Nixon took the dollar 'off gold' means that he destroyed the basis whereby the

vast proportion of world trade has since the war been conducted.

All measures taken since August 1971 to alleviate this crisis have collapsed almost as soon as they were introduced. This has been the case of both the Washington 'currency realignment' negotiations of December 1971, as well as all attempts to hammer out a unified European financial strategy in response to the American declaration of economic war.

Significantly the latter agreement was broken first by the Tory government in Britain, which was forced to 'float' (in effect devalue) sterling in June 1972. This, in itself, was the clearest indication that Bretton Woods, with its agreement on 'fixed parities' was now finished. The efforts at a common European financial policy are also doomed to utter failure. As the trade and financial war intensified, the conflicts between the capitalist states—economic, financial and military—controlled during the period of capitalist expansion since the war, are bound to sharpen enormously. This must call into question the immediate future of the Common Market, to which the Stalinists and the Pabloites in all countries are giving their increasingly enthusiastic support.

The revolutionary wave of 1943-1947 was betrayed by Stalinism and social-democracy, especially in western Europe. US imperialism, in its role of world policeman, poured in masses of paper dollars and dollar credits to 'rehabilitate' European capital and enable the bourgeoisie to hold back the working class. Military loans to NATO to 'contain communism' in the Cold War were part of the same process in which the framework of the post-war boom was constructed.

The decisions forced on US imperialism today by the fall in the rate of profit are thus the direct negation of the basis on which revolution was avoided at the end of the war. The contradictions of imperialism, built up beneath the surface for 25 years, now mean the rapid and ruthless transformation of the relations between the capitalist states and between capital and the working class into their opposites.

### 8. Not merely a trade war

The implications of the present stage of the crisis, of course, involve the immediate start of a trade war between all the major capitalist countries. This is the meaning of the latest Nixon dollar devaluation and the threat of a 15 per cent tariff wall if the Europeans and Japanese do not at once step into line with his requirements. In such a war, all the devices of the 1930s—price-cutting, dumping, etc.—will be employed in an even more ruthless manner.

But the crisis must extend far beyond that of a trade war, important though this undoubtedly will be.

For it is one thing to conduct a war under conditions where there is a stable means in which to conduct trade; it is quite another to engage in such a war when all the rules of international trade and payments, created at Bretton Woods, have been destroyed.

With gold now supporting perhaps only 10 per cent of the value of world trade, the implications of the crisis must be a collapse of much of the other 90 per cent. For no matter how much the revisionists sneered at the analysis

of the monetary crisis made by the SLL, gold and commodities are tied together inseparably. This was the whole purpose of Marx's analysis in 'Capital', a work which all these gentlemen said was now 'out of date'.

Now the correctness of its analysis haunts every capitalist financial centre and banking house throughout the world. Money grows out of commodity production as the means by which the particular values of all commodities are expressed in some universal form. Money is not, as Mandel and others think, merely a device for overcoming the problems of barter. It is the necessary base on which commodity production alone can take place and it can never be replaced by paper, despite all the technical devices which the capitalists try to invent to dislodge it from its pre-eminent position.

The crisis of the capitalist system, in any case, is not fundamentally a crisis of commodity over-production, but one involving the over-production of capital. All the institutions of Bretton Woods have for the last 25 years and more been employed to build up a huge superstructure of credit. The vast majority of trade has not been carried out with either gold or dollars but through credits arranged against the dollar. These credit institutions have in turn been used to invest in machinery and equipment on a huge scale through the capitalist world. In this process, share values have been inflated beyond their remotest connection with their real value.

Now this hugely inflated volume of capital must seek to earn its rate of profit through the exploitation of labour power. But not even the most brutal increase in the rate of exploitation of the working class of Europe and America can solve this crisis for the capitalists, although of course, they must be driven to attempt a solution in this direction.

Only the violent elimination of capital values on a vast scale can now restore the 'correct' proportions between

the pool of constant capital and the available surplus value extracted from the working class.

A destruction of capital along these lines must take the form of stock price collapse, bank failures leading in turn to the forcible closure of many of even the largest European and Japanese monopolists who will be totally incapable of meeting the American financial war.

It is in this context that the American devaluation—following that after August 15, 1971—must be seen. For each devaluation, at a stroke, reduces the value of the \$70 billion pool outside the US, much of it held by governments or used by the European monopolists to finance capital expansion.

What we are witnessing in short is the operation of the law of value. As an objective law which asserts itself against both classes, it is, in a sense, seeking its violent revenge for the last 25 years in which the capitalist class and its revisionist and reformist hangers-on have tried to ignore it or wished it away. And, like all laws of social development, it does not operate in a smooth manner, nor in one which can be anticipated beforehand, but only in the most convulsive way.

## 9. Defence of the USSR, China and eastern Europe

The great depth of the capitalist crisis also raises as an immediate and vital question the defence of the USSR, eastern Europe and China. Despite the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which becomes more naked as it moves closer to the imperialists in their crisis, the gains of 1917 and those which followed after the last war have not been lost. In these countries, property and the means of production

remain nationalized and the state, through its monopoly of foreign trade, regulates all economic relations with the capitalist world market.

It is these gains which the 'state capitalist' International Socialists reject. Under the direct pressure of imperialism they abandoned the Trotskyist movement on the outbreak of the Korean war, exposing themselves as a thoroughly anti-communist group. Their 'theory' leads them to write off not only the revolutionary potential of the British working class, but the whole of the international working class which alone made October 1917 possible. The role of such groups as International Socialists can only become more reactionary as the crisis deepens and imperialism seeks to regain the great losses it has sustained in the USSR, eastern Europe and China.

For us, the defence of all rights and gains made by the British working class over the last 200 years is inseparable from the defence of all the gains of the international working class, the greatest of which have been the Russian and Chinese revolutions. Only those who defend these gains will be able to lead the struggle to defend the rights of the British working class.

This is a vital question, because the depth of the crisis must involve the drive to war by the capitalist class. To destroy capital on the scale now required means to destroy vast quantities of surplus labour. Under such conditions, imperialism cannot for long tolerate a position where a large area of the world is closed to its plunder and exploitation.

Every worker and serious socialist must ask himself the question: would the reconquest of the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and China strengthen capitalism all over the world? Clearly it would. It is for this reason that we reject utterly the anti-communism of the Cliff 'state capitalist' group and reaffirm the unconditional defence of the USSR as the cornerstone of the revolutionary party.

## 10. The position of Britain

British capitalism and the British ruling class are at the very heart of this crisis. This poses enormous tasks before the ruling class as well as the working class. We have entered a period of intensive revolutionary struggles. In the outcome, either the capitalist class will impose a bloody dictatorship on the working class, or else the working class, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, will smash the capitalist state, establish its own power and use that power to eliminate capitalist anarchy and chaos.

The crisis is not at all merely a 'loss of competitiveness' by British capital. The relative decline of British industry and finance has been a common theme for all the reformists and revisionists. But the crisis is infinitely more serious.

The chaos into which the capitalist international economic and financial arrangements are now plunged finds the most direct reflection in class relations in Britain. The armoury of legislation which the Heath government is now assembling is not just for the purpose of wage-cutting, as the revisionists naively imagine. It is designed to put an

end to trade unionism and working-class rights as they have been established in struggle over the last 200 years.

Only the SLL has warned the working class of this situation and roused the advanced workers to the enormous dangers inherent in it.

Any stability retained by the declining British capitalism of the last 28 years depended entirely on the maintenance of the international inflationary boom and the Bretton Woods arrangements. The rapid deterioration of Britain's relative position in the capitalist system has been obscured. But now the decline must become absolute.

For such a situation, wage-cutting is hopelessly inadequate. To survive, capitalism is faced with the destruction of every basic right of the working class, of every historical gain through which the workers have organized themselves into a class. When the revisionists reject the political implications of the fight against the Tory government, this is not just a 'mistake' on their part. What is at stake, we repeat, is the whole nature of our revolutionary epoch. The crisis once again lays bare this fundamental problem.

The revisionists are carrying out the class role historically assigned to centrism. Centrism feeds only on the defeats of the working class. In attempting desperately to tie the working class to purely syndicalist horizons, the revisionists, Stalinists and centrists are working for the defeat of the working class, just as their predecessors did in the 1930s.

The fact that the capitalist crisis now takes the form of an unprecedentedly severe financial crisis also has the gravest implications for British capital. The self-satisfied revisionists throughout the boom of the 1950s and 1960s pouted scorn on Lenin's theory of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism dominated by a financial oligarchy centred on the banks.

But the great power of this theoretical conquest is more apparent every day. The fact that world capitalist finance is in crisis must create a crisis for all the merchant banks, which in turn must react back on industry as the banks ruthlessly destroy capital in order to enforce repayments of their debts.

Britain was able to avoid the consequences of her loss of industrial hegemony at the end of the last century only because of the position of the City of London as the leading centre for world trade and finance. The City was able to bring in a huge income which offset the losses sustained by industry. With sterling's role finished, and the Empire a thing of the past as a means of escape, all the powerful contradictions of British capitalism accumulated over the last century are now erupting in the most violent and decisive manner. What the working class now faces is not another stage in the steady decline of British capitalism, but the social revolution.

The purpose of our analysis of the contradictions of post-war capitalism is no way merely to 'prove' who was right on all the main questions. In any case that is abundantly clear and beyond argument. The crisis of the capitalist system has exposed the theoretical and political bankruptcy of every reformist and revisionist tendency in the working-class movement in a manner which until now

would not have been possible. The purpose of a re-examination of the nature of the present capitalist crisis is to warn the working class and the revolutionary party of its implications and the tasks which it imposes on them.

The time has come to arm the movement with a real conception of the revolutionary nature of the period in which we are living and fighting, and to combat every vestige of reformist and middle-class pressure which encourages scepticism about the urgency of the situation or the capacity of the movement to re-arm and transform itself in time to defeat the capitalist enemy. There can be no middle-of-the-road solution to this crisis. At stake is the preparation for the struggle for working-class power. It demands the immediate fight to build the revolutionary party, to transform the Socialist Labour League into that party.

## A chronology of crisis

1943 Keynes' proposals for Bancor, a new international paper currency, rejected.

1944 Bretton Woods talks. Dollar as major currency for capitalist world trade and finance.

1947 (June) IMF and other Bretton Woods institutions begin operation

1947 (November) Marshall Plan (European Recovery Programme) launched.

1950 (June) Outbreak of Korean war.

1950 Cliff deserts Trotskyist movement via 'theory' of state capitalism.

1958-1959 Growing fears expressed in Europe at American ability to maintain dollar convertibility. French begin to swap their paper money for gold.

1961 Tory (Selwyn Lloyd) 'Pay pause'. Unemployment begins to grow.

1962 US slashes aid to colonial and semi-colonial countries.

1963-1964 Tories retreat in Britain. Maudling pre-election boom.

1964 (October) Labour government elected. £800m payments deficit. Large borrowings from IMF. 'Strings' willingly accepted.

1966 (March) Labour re-elected with large majority.

1966 (July) Savage credit squeeze in an attempt to save pound. From this time onwards 'basic' unemployment trend is upwards, despite temporary fluctuations.

1967 (November) Sterling devaluation. Immediate run against the dollar.

1968 (March) Gold crisis. Gold market closed for several weeks. Two-tier system introduced. Creation of Special Drawing Rights later that year.

1971 (August) Gold-dollar link broken. Bretton Woods now finished.

1971 (December) Currency realignment talks. Dollar devalued against gold.

1972 (June) Sterling 'floated' by Barber. Currency agreements of previous December in ruins.

1972 (November) Nixon re-elected for second term.

1972 (December) Italy and Britain refuse to repay EEC debts in gold.

1973 (January) US decision to get out of Vietnam in order to concentrate on economic war against Europe.

1973 (February) Share prices slide on all leading stock exchanges US announces second dollar devaluation in less than two years and prepares for world-wide trade war.

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# Books Bill Van

**REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. Volume I of the Selected Works of Fidel Castro. Edited with an introduction by Rolando E. Bonachea, Nelson P. Vldes. MIT Press, Cambridge, 1972.**

Fourteen years have passed since Fulgencio Batista was forced to flee the island of Cuba over which he had reigned through dictatorial means for a period spanning 25 years, and since Fidel Castro prepared the final steps in establishing the present Cuban regime. Recently, for the first time in English, a collection of Castro's writings spanning the whole period from the beginning of his political career to the defeat of Batista's dictatorship in 1959 has been published under the title of **Revolutionary Struggle**.

The importance of this volume, consisting of speeches, letters, interviews and nationalist proclamations, lies not in any contribution of Castro to revolutionary theory, but rather in that it clearly exposed the real nature of the leadership upon which the Socialist Workers Party and revisionism internationally was to bestow the outrageous title of "unconscious Marxists," and the grave dangers posed to the Cuban workers and peasants by the continuing dominance of this Castroite leadership.

Castro built the July 26th Movement to overthrow the Batista regime as a petty bourgeois nationalist. His perspective was rooted in a real indifference to theoretical questions and a hostility to class politics. His position was based on the armed struggle of guerrilla fighters and opposed to what he saw as the corrupted world of politics. The victory of the Castro revolution of 1959 had a profound effect on Latin American radicalism and for a period Castro attempted to aid the formation of movements like his own on the Latin American continent.

At this time the Socialist Workers Party in the United States used the Cuban revolution as a cover for its own complete break from its Trotskyist past—as well as from the Fourth International—and to betray the struggle for a revolutionary leadership in America.

## HISTORY

The particular development of Castroism must be seen within the context of the history of Cuba, while at the same time an understanding of this movement can be greatly enriched by tracing Castro's own political history through the writings and documents printed in this new volume.

The historical roots of Castroism actually go back to the turn of the century and the Cuban War for Independence, an event whose ideology and personages Castro brings in throughout his writings to justify and dress up his own struggle. Nowhere in these writings, however, is there to be found an objective understanding of this revolution. The Cuban War for Independence was waged against the last vestiges of power of the old Spanish Empire while almost simultaneously it brought forward the real nature of the nascent imperialism of the United States. While the struggle for independence was begun by Cuban revolutionaries, it was ended by American troops.

The United States intervened in the name of anti-colonialism in order to protect extensive capital investment from the excesses of even this type of revolution, using the Platt Amendment which guaranteed America the right to military

intervention at whatever point it was determined to be necessary.

The absolute frustration of the anti-colonial revolution combined with the overwhelming penetration of North American capital frequently followed by forces of military intervention, created the basis for a hotbed of nationalist politics among the Cuban middle class. It was out of the nationalist movement that Castroism grew up.

## STUDENT LEADER

Fidel himself first entered politics as a student leader at the University of Havana. The editors of this collection give a vivid description of the university as a place where "students had to carry a book in one hand and a gun in the other to feel some degree of safety." The extensive violence on the Cuban campuses grew out of the universal corruption within the government as well as the degeneration of the nationalist movement.

The life of the campus was dominated by virtual gang warfare between two groups, who called themselves socialists and revolutionaries while sharing an intense anti-communism and only the thinnest of ideological pretensions. Their conflict stemmed from a competition for money, jobs and political influence which the Cuban government could be virtually extorted into giving.

It was in this atmosphere that Castro developed politically. During his university years Castro developed the reputation in this haven for petty crooks as the one man who could not be bought. This reputation was one of his prime political assets throughout his career.

After a brief period of activity with various anti-communist nationalist student groups, Castro joined the Ortodoxo Party of Eduardo Chibas. The Ortodoxos were opponents of the Ramon Grau administration. The majority of them had been members of the ruling party who had broken with it over Grau's alliance with more conservative forces in patching together a government. Their program was to make a clean sweep of corruption and return to the ruling party's reformist ideals.

Chibas described his own program in an appeal often quoted by Castro which he made to the Cuban people shortly before shooting himself on his radio show: "Comrades of the Ortodoxo movement, keep moving forward! Let us fight for economic independence, political freedom, and social justice! Let us sweep away the government thieves! People of Cuba, stand up and move forward! This is my last knock on your conscience."

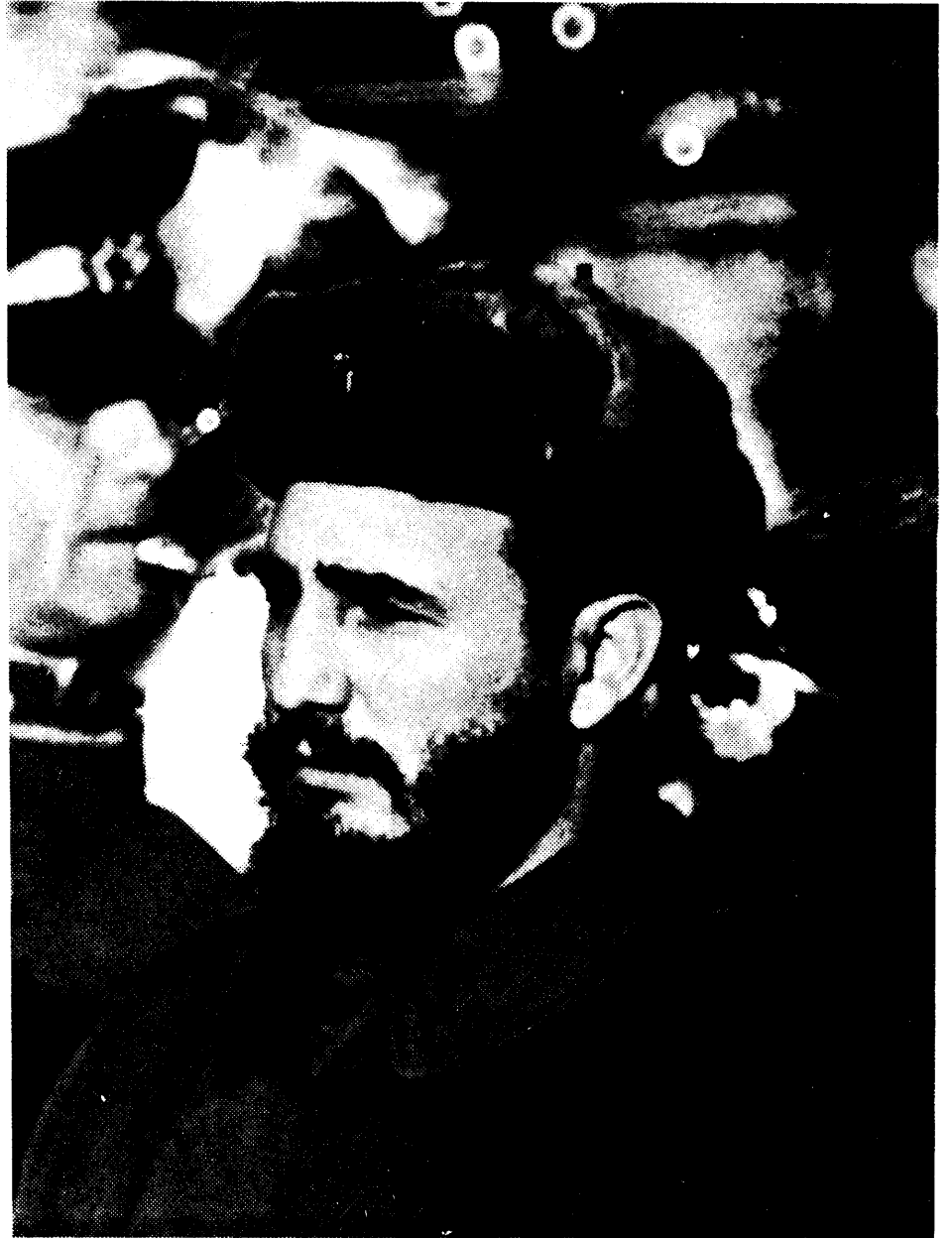
It was this program of middle class reformism that Castro took into a new situation with the military coup of Batista. He was to cling to this same program and to the name of the Ortodoxo Party right through to the defeat of Batista in 1959. Even after the formation of the July 26th Movement Castro was to continuously reiterate: "The 26th of July Movement is not different from the Ortodoxo Party for the followers of Chibas. It is the Ortodoxo movement without a leadership of landlords, plantation owners, and stock market speculators." Thus though leaving behind the old set of crooks and parasites of the Cuban bourgeoisie which had dominated the Ortodoxo Party, Castro maintained a program which was acceptable to this same clique.

## ARMED STRUGGLE

Acceptable but for one addition. With the military coup of Batista, Castro declared: "The moment is revolutionary and not political. Politics is the consecration of the opportunism of those who have the means and the resources." Castro proceeded to recruit from the Ortodoxo youth movement on the basis of the advocacy of armed struggle.

He then put his thesis to the test by attacking the Moncada barracks with 135 ill-armed supporters. The attack failed with virtually none of the insurrectionists escaping and more than half being executed upon capture. Castro describes the

# The Rise Of A 'Natural Marxist'



episode in **Revolutionary Struggle** in his famous speech before the court, "History Will Absolve Me."

Castro spent the next few years in prison and exile, a period described in this volume through his letters. In one letter from prison Castro makes a very telling description of his imprisonment: "How strangely the regime has dealt with us! They call us assassins in public and gentlemen in private. One day it is an army colonel who gives me a cigar, offers me a book and is very courteous. Another day it is three cabinet ministers, smiling, affable, respectful, appear. One of them says, 'Don't worry, this will pass; I planted many bombs and I used to organize ambushes on the country club against Machado. I too was once a political prisoner.'" This affability which Castro finds so strange actually maintains itself right up to the moment when his guerrilla forces have toppled the Batista regime. It is a relationship based on a harmony of class interests.

At the end of this volume is a letter from Castro to the commander of a battalion of Batista's surrounded troops. Castro, having discovered that the officer is an ex-university classmate, writes to him: "I offer you a dignified and honorable surrender. Accept this offer; you will not be surrendering to an enemy of the fatherland but to a sincere revolutionary, a man who fights for the welfare of all Cubans, including that of the soldiers who fought us. You will surrender to a university classmate who wants the same things that you want for Cuba."

What is made clear by this collection of Castro's writings from his first years of political activity right up until the moment of taking power is in opposition to all the revisionist theories of Castro developing as an "unconscious Marxist" through the struggle. Castro began his career as an anti-communist basing his struggle on a reformist program aimed at national regeneration. As some of the final interviews and articles in this collection clearly demonstrate, Castro maintained this political perspective throughout the struggle to defeat Batista.

In an article entitled "Why We Fight," Castro clearly sets down his intentions in regard to any social revolution in Cuba. "Let me say for the record that we have no plans for the expropriation or nationalization of foreign investments here. I personally have come to feel that nationalization is a cumbersome instrument. It does not seem to make the state any stronger yet it enfeebles private enterprise. Industrialization is at the heart of our economic progress. Something must be done about the staggering mass of over one million unemployed. A million unemployed in a nation of six million bespeaks a terrible economic sickness which must be cured without delay, lest it fester and become a breeding ground for communism."

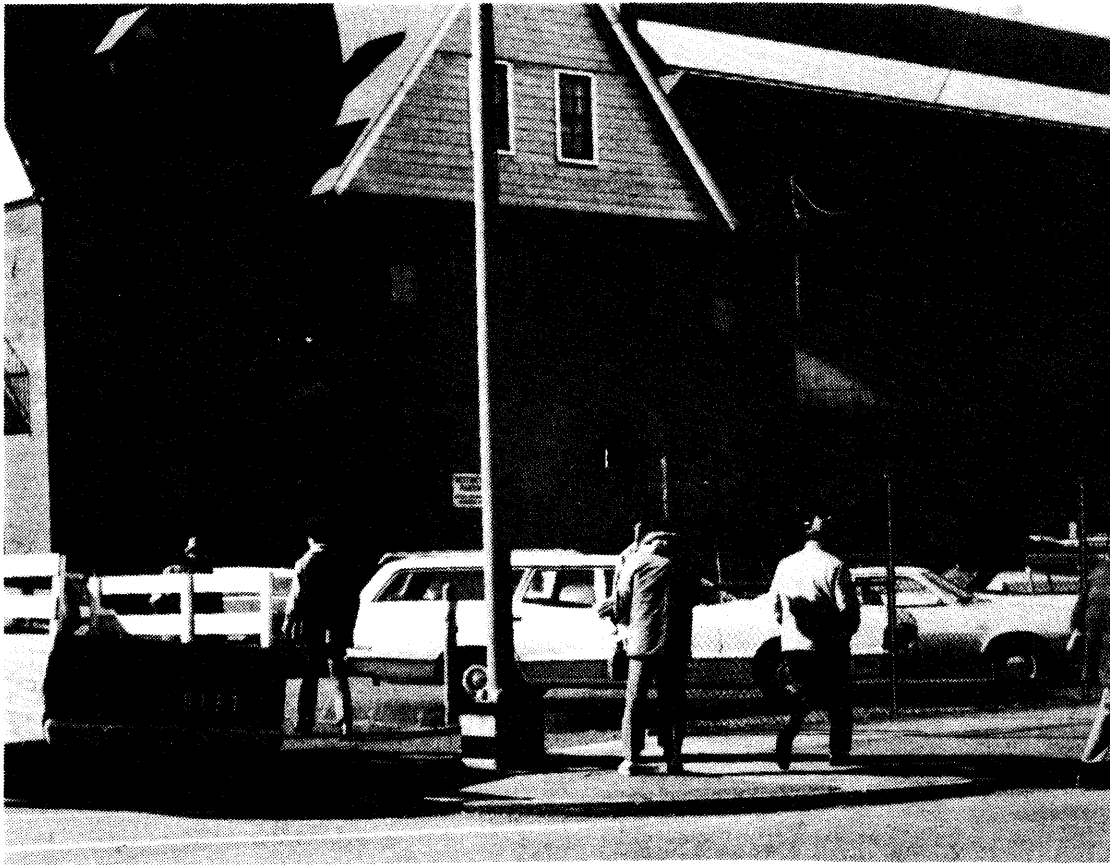
## ASSURANCES

In a later interview, Castro reiterates his assurances to the North American capitalists: "I know that revolution sounds like bitter medicine to many businessmen. But after the first shock, they will find it a boon. Our revolution is as much a moral as a political one."

Castro made these declarations for a moral revolution only 11 months before taking power. His reputation as a man who could not be bought, as "the only honest politician in Cuba," had yielded a program for a moral and uncorrupted atmosphere in which American imperialism could go about its business. It was only under the pressure of the popular aspirations of the Cuban masses, something which is completely absent from all of these writings of a moral Fidel Castro against an immoral dictatorship, that he was forced to change the manner in which he was to maintain his bonapartist regime.

He was aided in this by the Cuban Communist Party and the Moscow bureaucracy, all of which received a cover from the Socialist Workers Party and Pabloism internationally. The limited gains forced by the Cuban workers and peasants, who were no more interested in a moral government to aid imperialist exploitation than an immoral one, are now put into danger with Castro's seeking a rapprochement with Nixon.

# Nixon's Plan To Split Sparrows Point Labor



Part of Bethlehem's gigantic complex at Sparrows Point.

BY M. GREGORY

**SPARROWS POINT, Md.**—This is Bethlehem Steel's largest tidewater steel plant. During the postwar boom, employment at the point rose to 36,000, with an ever increasing output of steel. Bethlehem Steel not only owns the plant, but the whole community known as Sparrows Point—houses, stores, sidewalks and police.

Throughout the area, there are piles of bricks and boards, the remains of company housing which is all being eliminated. The company housing, although allowed to deteriorate, was a temporary solution to the rents in the city which are double for comparable housing. The housing was originally torn down to give Bethlehem more room for the expansion of its facilities, but in reality, nothing is being done with that land.

Sparrows Point workers today face an ever widening scheme of attacks on their living standard and working conditions. The critical question facing every man on the point is the question of job security. Following the settlement of the last contract in the summer of 1971, Bethlehem brought in efficiency experts and new machinery. Many men found their job classifications eliminated, and the only alternative given them by the company was to accept lower paying jobs as laborers, or leave. Employment was cut by 50 percent from 33,000 to 17,000 men.

At the same time, the new United Steel Workers of America contract eliminated the shop steward's responsibility for handling grievances, making only the zone committeemen authorized to handle grievances. This means there is one union representative for every 200 workers.

## ELIMINATION

With the installation of the new \$78 million ore dock at Sparrows Point, and the elimination of dozens of positions on the line (connecting the dock to the Sinter Mill and then to the Blast

Furnaces), Bethlehem is planning to eliminate 50 percent of the present workforce.

One worker with 17 years in the plant described the situation on the ore dock: "It's like slave labor. They used to say: 'Grab this bucket and stand by' but there's no standing by now. Every minute you're on the run, from sun up to sun down. They expect men here to make steel to compete with the Japanese—but that mean's providing free labor. When the men understand that, anything could happen."

However, Bethlehem Steel has so far been unable to stop the resistance in the shops to its plans of speeding up the workers and making them accept a lower standard of living. Every year the plant is hit by several wildcats. In the last eight months both the blast furnace and the sinter mill have gone out. In each case, the men returned to work only at the insistence of the union leadership.

Recently the Labor Department has opened a vicious attack to try to discredit the union and whip up racism in the plant. It is no accident that Sparrows Point has been chosen by Nixon to try this plan to divide workers.

## MAVERICK

Historically this plant has been a maverick within the USWA. At the last national convention of the USWA the center of the opposition came from Sparrows Point delegates. This has been led particularly by the workers in the blast furnace and open hearths. These areas, along with the ore dock and sinter mill, have been traditionally the dirtiest jobs in the plant, traditionally given to Black workers.

The old system of Jim Crowism, separation of workers

by race into different locals, has never been fought by the union leadership.

## RACISM

An older white worker explained the history of the conscious fostering of racism in the plant by the bosses. During the 1930s and the 1940s, Bethlehem sent recruiters down south to areas badly hit by the depression and brought up thousands of young Black workers who were willing to take jobs that white workers had refused to touch.

Bethlehem's training programs, the seniority system, which changed from department to department, and upgrading of jobs, were always used against the minority worker at Sparrows Point. The real push to develop this racial split between Black and white workers is now and has always been used to try to weaken the union.

The order issued by the Labor Department to Sparrows Point under the guise of fighting discrimination, contains the most dangerous threat to all workers at the point—Black and white. Very few men the *Bulletin* interviewed expressed any hope in the government intervening in behalf of minority workers. What must be seen is that this order means nothing for any worker if his job could be cut tomorrow as the company claims it could. It means that the government is trying to replace the union as the official bargaining agent on questions of seniority rights, hiring, transfers.

What is required now is the construction of a caucus at Sparrows Point and nationally in the USWA which unites all workers in a common struggle against the steel corporations and Nixon.

# EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Nixon's Favorite Singer

Despite the flap over Frank Sinatra's "anatomical" reference to Washington columnist, Maxine Chesire during an inaugural party, President Nixon plans to honor the singer soon at a White House dinner and concert that promises to be one of Washington's most successful social occasions.

According to a spokesman for Sinatra, he was "delighted, flattered and highly honored" as he must have been last summer when the president phoned to compliment his defense of his integrity under oath before the House Select Committee on Crime which had thoughtlessly accused the entertainer of Mafia connections.

Sinatra's links with both the underworld and the more "respectable" branches of international capitalism parallel those of Nixon himself as revealed through the Watergate affair. At the peak of his career, Sinatra spent four days in 1947 wining and dining in pre-revolutionary Cuba with his "dear pal," gangster "Lucky" Luciano.

According to an FBI report leaked to author Nicholas Gage, Sinatra's business circle included 10 of the country's best known underworld figures at the very time when he raised 1.4 million dollars in a single evening to defray the presidential campaign expenses of John F. Kennedy.

He also lent his public support to Joe Colombo's Mafiosa Italian American Civil Rights League in 1970 and, according to the latest report of the Government Accounting Office, helped defray the expenses of Nixon's latest campaign to the tune of \$50,000, a bit shy of Howard Hughes.

## Her Father's Daughter

According to the *New York Times*, she is a super patriot and fed up with "long haired hippies" and "protesters in the streets."

Is it Martha Mitchell speaking? No, it's Svetlana Alliluyeva Peters, daughter of Joseph Stalin. "I've found exactly what I was looking for in this country," she told the *Times'* society page reporter last week, flashing a credit card from a women's clothing store.

Worth about four million dollars from royalties on her two books, Svetlana is enjoying a cozy exile in Princeton where she owns a black shuttered mansion with a two car garage. Her best friend, whom she calls "my American godfather," is George F. Kennan, who authored the

## Child Care

While Phase Three has sent rents soaring for workers, and Nixon's budget cuts have slashed all funds for public housing, Nixon's daughter Julie and his son-in-law David Eisenhower have found a cozy little \$100,000 cottage in Bethesda. Julie, who is a would be teacher, and David, who is in the Navy, are being given an undisclosed "special rate" on the house from landlord Bebe Rebozo, Nixon's millionaire friend. This is obviously what Nixon has in mind when he talks about working up a budget to "help the needy."

## Heaven on Earth

It is not only the big American conglomerates and the Middle East oil sheiks that are making a pile on speculating these days. The Vatican, otherwise known as the Holy See, has recently reaped several hundred thousand dollars in profits from its speculative quick turnover dealings in the California based Vetco Offshore Industries.

The Holy See's dealings came to light this week when the Security Exchange Commission cracked down on the Vatican's "financial" advisor in Los Angeles. According to the president of Vetco, the Vatican "quietly acquired" one-fifth of the company's stock. The Vatican's agent is being accused of acquiring more than five percent of Vetco stock without making it public as is required by the SEC.

Vetco is now trying to get back the profits acquired by the Fiduciary Investment Services A.G. of Rome which acts for the Instituto Per Le Opere de Religione. This "institute for the works of religion" manages the Vatican's investments all over the world.

Needless to say, the Church fathers are waiting to get to heaven to get their rewards.

Cold War containment policies of the 1940s while he worked as a State Department diplomat.

But not everything has gone smoothly since she left the Soviet Union six years ago. Recently, Svetlana divorced wealthy architect William Peters after refusing to live with him in an Arizona commune.

"It was very painful, very painful," relates the daughter of the butcher of thousands of Bolsheviks. "But believe in private property and they live a communal life. They share their incomes, their food, their living. Everyone works, including the children. That's why I left Russia."

As the proverb says: "The apple never falls far from the tree."





Left: Residents are forced to live in shacks on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation near Wounded Knee. Above: Hundreds of US marshals and FBI agents armed with M-16's have surrounded the reservation.

# The Battle of Wounded Knee

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM**  
**PINE RIDGE, So. Dakota, March 5—In the face of US government preparations for an attack, Indian militants continue to hold a tiny hamlet in the heart of the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux reservation.**

On Tuesday February 27, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) took control of Wounded Knee, the site of an infamous massacre of 146 Indians by the Army in 1890, demanding that the US Senate investigate conditions on the reservation, the corruption of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and of the tribal leadership, and investigate violations of 371 treaties between the government and the Indians.

In spite of the modest character of the demands, government officials moved desperately against the occupation, fearing it could set off a massive explosion on all reservations against the extreme poverty forced on the Indians living there.

Hundreds of US marshals and FBI agents armed with high-powered sniper rifles have surrounded Wounded Knee, establishing roadblocks within two miles of the town and allowing access only to a few selected reporters. They have transformed the nearby town of Pine Ridge into a military base, fortifying the local BIA office with sandbags and instructing local police to break up all discussions between residents and "outsiders."

## WITCH-HUNT

Attempting to whip up a witch-hunt against AIM, federal offi-

cialists charged the Indians occupying Wounded Knee with holding its eleven residents hostage. This lie was exposed when three of Wounded Knee's residents went shopping in Pine Ridge the night after the occupation, informing reporters that they were never hostages and were free to come and go as they please. They added that they sympathized with AIM and preferred to stay in their homes.

Well-known AIM supporter Aaron DeSersa, editor of the Shannon County News, had his home in Pine Ridge firebombed on March 1. Local officials investigating claimed that "bad wiring" caused the explosion, even though an unexploded molotov cocktail was found inside the house.

## MARTIAL LAW

In this martial law atmosphere, Justice Department officials began "negotiations," attempting to intimidate AIM into surrendering. After several days of stalemate, Ralph Erickson, special assistant to the Attorney General, delivered an ultimatum to AIM through a press conference at 5 p.m. Sunday, demanding that all non-residents of Wounded Knee leave the area between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. today, turn in all weapons to federal marshals, and that all men leaving provide identification to enable the government to press criminal charges before a special Federal Grand Jury.

AIM leaders burnt this proposal in Wounded Knee this morning and new negotiations were set up for noon today. Behind the government's efforts lies the fear that conditions on the reservations will lead to further uprisings.

One youth in Pine Ridge told

the Bulletin: "If the Feds go in to retake Wounded Knee, they've got to take this town too. People are stirred up."

And just what conditions do the Indians of Pine Ridge reservation, as well as others just like it throughout the country, face? First is the staggering 90 percent unemployment rate, despite all attempts to conceal this under a barrage of official figures.

One youth had finished high school and been trained as an orderly by the Job Corps, but trying to get a job at the local hospital proved fruitless. "You had to be at least an LPN to get in. There used to be a fish hook factory, but now that's gone." The only other industry to speak of is a moccasin factory which hires women at sub-minimum wages.

The housing consists of wood frame houses and shacks. "In all the houses there are rats, even in the new ones," said one resident. The best housing is reserved for those with the highest incomes, those holding jobs in the school and police force. These jobs are dependent on the whim of the tribal council president. The tribal administration is notorious for refusing to fix up homes or even business buildings occupied by Indians.

The vast majority of the residents without employment live on one form of government assistance: Social Security, welfare, unemployment. One woman was receiving \$62 a month in Social Security for herself and her grandson to live on. An \$11 dollar a month increase was promised with the recent increase in Social Security payments. When it came through, her payments from child care were cut by \$11 a month.

## SCHOOLS

The roads off the main highway are rutted and some are unpaved. The local schools provide no meaningful job training. They exist only to get the youth off the street for a few years. Recreational facilities are virtually non-existent outside of one storefront.

The hospital and an old age home sit across the road from each other. Nurses from the hospital are supposed to service the old age home but in reality, they wait until a sick person is dead. "They are supposed to come over to the old age home but they wait and wait," one Vietnam veteran told the Bulletin, "and everytime they list you as 'dead on arrival.' I know. My father died that way."

Responsibility for these conditions rests with the US Bureau of Indian Affairs and its agents on the tribal council. Over many years these elements, in collusion with local banks, have assisted large numbers of cattle ranchers in taking over the choicest sections of reservation land for their own use, with a pittance being paid to its original owners.

One woman in Pine Ridge told the Bulletin that the land her grandmother owned is now rented out for grazing. As rent, she receives nine dollars per year.

Undisguised hatred for Council President Dick Wilson came out repeatedly in interviews with the reservation Indians. "It is hard to get a job here," one man stated, "because the president (Wilson) is prejudiced against the full-bloods. He is a half-blood and he hires only his relatives, and he uses the BIA funds for his personal use."

By using his position to control jobs in the local school system, the OEO office, the police department, and other tribal offices, Wilson, like his predecessors has been able to build a political machine dedicated to continuing collusion with the ranchers and the BIA. This sort of official corruption goes back nearly half a century.

Wilson and his supporters obviously see AIM as a threat to their privileged position. "Two weeks ago, Wilson refused to let AIM hold a 'victory dance' at a tribal owned hall. If he's allowed it, AIM probably would have left right afterward," was the opinion of another resident.

The shopping center reflects

the corruption on the reservations. Ostensibly owned by the Oglala Sioux Nation, it is leased to the owner of a chain store headquartered in Sioux Falls. A small handful of people, not from the reservation, run the store and hold the higher paying jobs, while Indians are lower paid, earning far less than the minimum wage. Prices in Sioux Nation (shopping center) average at least 15 percent higher than in surrounding towns. For those unable to afford transportation, there is no other place to buy food.

Commenting on the takeover of Wounded Knee's trading post by AIM, one man said, "If there's any place we should take over it is that Sioux Nation, which is supposed to be ours!"

## DEMONSTRATED

AIM had earlier this year demonstrated in Custer, South Dakota, when a white man who had murdered an Indian was charged with manslaughter instead of first degree murder. Wilson went out of his way to help out the Custer authorities. He and his henchmen are now working to give the government a cover for their actions, threatening to bring 900 Indians off the reservation to drive AIM out of Wounded Knee.

In the Indian areas here, the greatest prejudice against the Indians comes from those who gain from keeping the Indians in abject poverty.

The struggle at Wounded Knee is an expression of the determination of all sections of the working class to enter into struggle against the attacks by the government. It is clear from the force that the government has marshaled here, including armored personnel carriers, that they are preparing to break the occupation.

The struggle of the Indian people against the conditions they face cannot be won by the protest and pressure politics of the leadership of AIM but only as part of the struggle of the working class as a whole to construct a labor party and fight for socialist policies against the government.

## NIXON AND UNIONS . . .

(Continued From Page 1) treacherous policy of the entire labor bureaucracy most clearly. It is attempting to divert the tremendous anger building up among the ranks in the trade unions against Phase Three with a fraudulent campaign to end "unfair, inflexible controls."

It is not calling for the abolition of controls. No, the Executive Council announced that: "The AFL-CIO is cooperating and participating in the new stabilization structure, in the hope that it will result in an equitable and fair means of combatting inflation."

Refusing to fight Nixon, the labor bureaucracy is trying to work out a deal to make controls "flexible." The AFL-CIO has gone so far as to declare that it will withdraw its formal opposition to the renewal of the Economic Stabilization Act on April 30, which gives Nixon the power to control wages, if certain "inequities" are corrected.

George Meany has stated that the new guidelines should allow wage increases of 7.5 to 8 percent. As if it were not sufficiently criminal that he supports the imposition of controls, Meany actually proposes a guideline that comes nowhere near to matching the wild leap in prices.

According to the latest statistics, food prices alone are climbing at an annual rate of nearly 25 percent.

The great danger facing the trade unions flows from the fact that its leaders are bent on compromise at a time when the government is preparing for battle. Already, the labor bureaucracy has capitulated to Nixon on the supreme issue of the

right of the working class to negotiate its wages without the intervention of the government.

Discussing what the guidelines will be amounts to nothing more than deciding the terms of surrender. There is no such thing as "flexible" controls. In order to win a possible concession of one or two percentage points—which has not been given—Meany has accepted the principle of state, and therefore big business, control over wages.

### BANKRUPT

But the policies of compromise approved by the Executive Council are bankrupt. For millions of workers, the basic question is one of state controls or the right to a decent standard of living. Under the present conditions of Phase Three and soaring inflation, the demand for a living wage is inseparable from the struggle against the government involving the defense of all the basic rights of the working class.

Although the bureaucracy tries to run away from this conflict, it is bursting through the surface.

The real relations between Nixon and the working class is not revealed in Bal Harbour but in the jailing of Philadelphia teachers and the call for general strike, the slashing of every social program developed over three decades, and in the Phase Three guidelines themselves—which make every worker who insists on a decent wage a potential criminal in the eyes of the law.

What is now required—as the most powerful trade unions enter into negotiations—is a policy for the mobilization of the entire

labor movement to smash Phase Three. In rejecting the principle of wage controls, the working class must be organized in a fight for an increase which really meets the soaring cost of living.

At a recent membership meeting, the ranks of the Fremont Local of the UAW called on the International to seek a 20 percent increase. This proposal was adopted by the auto caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

As the auto industry has traditionally been viewed as the pace setter for all basic industry, the demand for 20 percent plus cost of living escalator must be adopted as the wage policy of the entire trade union movement in the 1973 contract battles.

**The fight of each union for this demand must have the support of all sections of the working class. Therefore, the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare a general strike against Phase Three and the building of a labor party to lead the fight for the establishment of a government pledged to socialist policies is on the order of the day.**

The fight for this policy—required by the working class—can only be taken forward through the development of Marxist leaders in the trade unions. Such a leadership can be trained only through a bitter struggle against the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists of the American Communist Party.

The fight against Stalinism is of the greatest importance, for the CP now plays a decisive role in covering for the bureaucrats who will not fight. Since Phase Three was unveiled, the

Stalinists have studiously avoided putting forward any program to fight wage controls. In the AFL-CIO's call for "flexible" controls the influence of the CP can be felt; for the Stalinists are determined to prevent a head-on conflict between the trade unions and the government and to turn the working class to futile protests.

We call on all trade unionists to join with the TUALP in a struggle against the bankrupt policies of the bureaucracy and its Stalinist henchmen and for a program to defeat Phase Three and the Nixon government.

## PUERTO RICO . . .

(Continued From Page 5) Workers Congress. The PSP is now trying to cover for Gonzalez and the labor bureaucracy.

In a recent issue of their paper Claridad, PSP devoted more than three-quarters of an article presenting statistics to demonstrate that the new equipment is used in the United States and there is nothing the workers can do about it. The PSP says that Gonzalez cannot be blamed for the threat to 60 percent of the jobs at El Mundo.

The PSP at each point seeks to disarm the working class in the face of the biggest attack by the employers and the government which will not be stopped by any protest or pressure but only by the independent mobilization of the working class in defense of their jobs and living conditions.

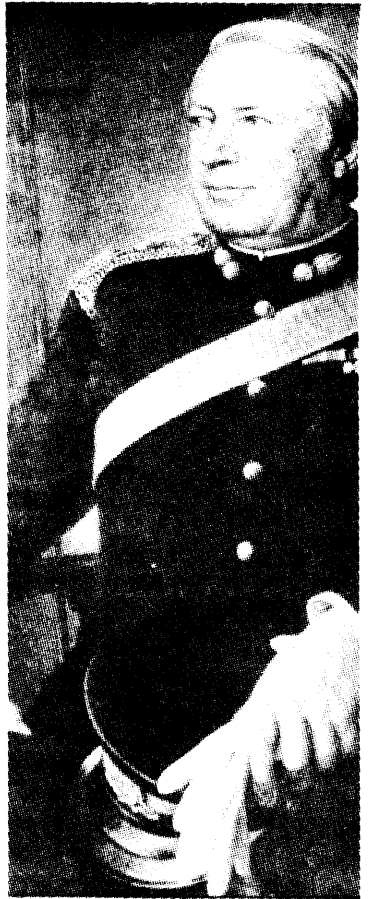
The urgent necessity before the workers is to build a labor party in Puerto Rico that can mobilize the working class independently and fight for socialist policies.

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 5) the accord. Furthermore, the violations are continuing."

New reports have revealed that prisoners held by Saigon in the notorious tiger cages of the Con Son concentration camp have been subjected to the most brutal forms of torture. One recently released prisoner said that he, like many others, had been beaten "until I vomited blood or until the blood came out of my eyes and ears."

Beatings often followed requests by the captives for water.



Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath poses in military dress.

## ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

against the unions.

### DISSATISFIED

Millions of workers are extremely dissatisfied with the half-hearted policies of their leaders. In Birmingham, four hospitals jumped the gun on the selective strikes policy by going out one day early. Everywhere all-out strike action is being demanded.

In London, a meeting of 2000 teachers overwhelmingly rejected their leaders' tame call for the continuation of the policy of selective strikes and pleading with the Tory Education Minister Mrs. Thatcher. The meeting voted nearly unanimously for a motion calling for indefinite strike action and unity with all sections of workers against the Tories, after the union leaders had beat a hasty retreat and left the platform entirely. These leaders included the president-elect of the teachers' union, Max Morris, a Communist Party member.

The attitude of Prime Minister Heath is a sharp contrast to that of the Labour Party and union leaders. Heath desperately fears the working class, but he knows the union chiefs are men who will run away from the fight. Thus he arrogantly challenged the unions:

"Those who are disrupting industry today are not only causing inconvenience—and, indeed, suffering—to people in many parts of the country, they are also striking pointlessly."

Meanwhile Heath's chief troubleshooter responsible for Northern Ireland, Sir William Whitelaw, warned that the Tories would deal with the unions exactly as they had dealt with the

Ulster "extremists." The determination of Heath and his government flows from the crisis.

As the European capitalists consider a joint float or separate floats of every currency against the dollar, it is clear that there can be no solution of the dollar crisis without depression and war. Trade war and recession is the immediate prospect for Europe.

The union leaders are playing into the Tories' hands with their piecemeal policies. The anger of millions of workers is being diverted into protest actions which cannot defeat the Tories, and meanwhile sections of the middle class can be stirred up on the basis of the partial strikes which cause inconvenience without resolving anything.

Only a decisive policy can mobilize the working class and gain the support of large sections of the middle class. The dangers of the situation are also shown by the results of the three by-elections held on March 1.

### DESPERATE

The Tories are in a desperate situation, with their share of the vote in the three districts dropping to an almost unheard of 16 percent. In the Chester-le-Street seat, the Tory vote fell from 28 percent in 1970 to 8 percent, which meant that the government candidate forfeited his deposit.

At the same time, the Labour majority at Chester-le-Street fell from 20,000 to 7000, with the Liberal candidate running a strong second. This was not due to any strength of the Liberals. There was a large abstention in many working class areas of the district.

In the Dundee by-election, a

Scottish Nationalist ran a strong second in what had been a safe Labour seat. In Lincoln, the right-wing former Labour MP Dick Taverne, who had been dropped as the official candidate for his stand with the Tories on the Common Market, was able to decisively defeat the official candidate.

Everywhere the working class and sections of the middle class are searching for a decisive policy against the Tories. The Labour and trade union leaders are determined that they shall not get it. The poor showing of the Labour candidates, in the face of the almost complete collapse of the Tories, reveals a very dangerous situation. The vacuum of leadership created by the reformists can strengthen Heath as well as make way for reactionary political developments and the open emergence of fascist tendencies.

### INSIST

The union leaders insist on fighting state control of wages the way they fought the National Industrial Relations Act, which is no fight at all. The Industrial Relations Court has already collected huge fines from the two largest unions, the engineers and transport workers.

These are the unions led by the so-called lefts, Scanlon and Jones. The betrayal on the scale of the 1926 General Strike, which is now being prepared, is the work not only of the right-wing union leadership, but of the collaboration of Scanlon and Jones. They stand completely with Victor Feather in preventing the mobilization of the ranks against the Tories.

Behind them stands the Communist Party, which is forced more and more to reveal their

completely counterrevolutionary role. Their paper, the *Morning Star*, has called for a one day general strike, which many millions of workers already know cannot stop the attacks of the government.

### LEADERSHIP

The building of a new leadership in struggle against the union bureaucracy, the Stalinists and the revisionists is absolutely critical today. That is why the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League is campaigning to transform itself into a revolutionary party.

A central part of this campaign is the Editorial Board Statement of the *Workers Press*, which is putting forward a policy to meet the gravest crisis facing the British working class in nearly 50 years. The SLL is fighting for a general strike to make the Tory government resign. This also means a fight for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, and a program which can deal with the Tories and with those in the Labour movement who crawl before them.

This program, rapidly becoming the call of workers throughout industry, demands a Labour Government which would immediately repeal all anti-union and anti-working class legislation, guarantee the right to a job, to strike, to organize, to health and welfare benefits, and decent housing, and carry out the international responsibilities of the working class.

The SLL is also holding its largest anti-Tory rally on March 11, the Pageant "The Road to Workers' Power," which brings forward the lessons of the history of the working class in the pre-revolutionary situation quickly developing today.

## GREECE . . .

(Continued From Page 5) suspended the sentences and placed the students on probation for three years.

The regime knows full well the threat the student demonstrations pose. The press has been forbidden to make any mention of student activity over the past two weeks, but it is reported that English speaking Greeks are translating articles on the demonstrations and arrests for fellow workers.

### WAGE INCREASES

The demonstrations come at the same time as textile workers are demanding wage increases and workers represented by the government-controlled General Confederation of Labor are seeking increases in pensions and wages, an eight hour day, job security and the abolishment of child labor.

As the effects of the world currency crisis bear down harder on the Greek working class, the junta must now take every measure it deems necessary to break up student militancy. The Moscow bureaucracy is fast becoming one of the regime's most useful allies. The Soviet Union has recognized the junta.

### CPUSA

The US Communist Party's call for a demonstration at the United Nations to protest the student murders is sheer hypocrisy as Moscow moves to seek friendlier relations with the dictatorship. The Stalinists in the United States have urged a letter writing campaign to the Greek embassy here to "pressure" the junta into changing its policy on the universities.

(Continued From Page 1)

shattered country and with admission into the United Nations. Dr. Henry Kissinger's latest visit to Peking is obviously intended to get Peking recognition for Nixon's policy of two Vietnams at the summit conference which is to take place soon.

Although the agreement recognizes two Vietnams by depicting as "sacred and inalienable" the South Vietnamese people's "right to self-determination," this scheme is being continually undermined by the civil war waged in the south and the incessant flow of men and materials down the Ho Chi Minh trail.

The Thieu puppet regime, despite the concessions of the NLF and Hanoi and the technical superiority of its army and air force, has lost the strategic initiative in the civil war. Hated by the peasantry and harassed by the guerrillas the Saigon regime is now rapidly succumbing to the dual pressures of inflation and corruption.

Thieu's control of Saigon and the provincial capitals is proving extremely tenuous since the NLF control all the district towns, the frontier regions and the strategically vital areas of the central highlands and the Mekong delta.

Thieu's hold over the cities is conditioned not so much on US aid, but by the political neutrality of the working class for whom the bourgeois character of the NLF program has little to offer.

In the Tet offensive and again in the spring offensive of 1972, the urban workers did not respond in a big way to NLF appeals, mainly because the PRG program promises to respect private property and does not include nationalization proposals.

But the massive inflation of food prices and imported necessities in the towns and the dollar devaluation will undoubtedly bring the working class into action against Thieu and create serious problems for the NLF leadership and the Provisional Government.

Thieu's reactionary laws on the press and the unions and his electoral laws which ensure a one-party dictatorship are guaranteed to intensify popular hatred of the regime and transform any election campaign into a civil war.

So long as the land remains in the hands of absentee landowners and the rural debt is not abolished, so long too will the civil war continue. No "peace" agreement, no "cease fire" can eliminate this. As the bourgeois correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph reported from Saigon on February 12:

"Neither the Paris conference nor the International Commission of Control and Stability appears able to cause a serious reduction in the number of incidents which occur every day. Scores are undoubtedly initiated by the local Vietcong or North Vietnamese leaders on the spot, but others by the South Vietnamese army."

These examples suffice to show the unviable and utterly reactionary nature of the Paris agreement. It is also plain that the agreement will not resolve the vexed question of 600,000 political prisoners and that, in fact, the concentration camps and notorious penal settlements such as Poulo Condor will remain monumental evidence of the complicity of world Stalinism in this betrayal of the colonial peoples.

From the beginning, the Vietnamese revolution has been a serious embarrassment to these bureaucracies. Unable to oppose openly the Vietnamese struggle, Stalinism has all along tried to exploit this struggle in order to pressurize French and, now, US imperialism to recognize the status quo in Europe and underwrite "peaceful co-existence" between Stalinism and imperialism.

Thus in the mid-1950s the Vietminh were robbed of the fruits of the historic victory at Dien Bien Phu by Peking and Moscow in order that French imperialism might be persuaded to oppose the re-militarization of Germany. This betrayal consummated at Geneva and hailed by the Stalinists and Pabliste revisionists as a "great victory" did not bring peace, but laid the basis for the present civil war.

Soviet and Chinese Stalinism's attitude to the Vietnam Revolution, which is a compound of bureaucratic knee-crooking before imperialism and a nationalist and reformist hatred of world revolution, has been highly valued by US imperialist observers.

No greater indictment of Moscow-

Peking policy can be found than the succinct appreciation of the Geneva (1954) Agreement by the US Presidential advisers contained in the Pentagon Papers:

"While it is fair to state that the immediate implications of the Accords did not reflect (even according to CIA reports) Vietminh strength and control in Vietnam at the time of the conference, it is equally important to understand why. Vietminh ambitions were thwarted, not so much by western resistance or treachery, as by Sino-Soviet pressures on them to cooperate... Together and separately, Moscow and Peking pressed concessions on the Vietminh.

"Invariably, the two principal communist delegates, Chou En-lai and Molotov, played major roles in breaking deadlocks with conciliatory initiatives...

" 'Peaceful co-existence' was the hallmark of their diplomacy. The Chinese, in particular, were interested in border security, buffers, preventing the formation of US alliance system with bases in the region, and reconstruction at home.

"The two powers did not hesitate in asserting the paramourcy of their in-

the defense of Vietnam into a pacifist-protest exercise designed to strengthen the domination of "left" bureaucrats and middle class politicians and aimed against the development of revolutionary leadership.

In Britain the high point of this betrayal was the refusal of the British Communist Party leaders to campaign against Wilson's visit to Washington in 1969 and their recent campaign to bring pressure on Nixon to sign the agreements.

In the US, Stalinist participation in the anti-war movement was designed to tie the anti-war movement to the Democratic Party and turn the movement into a pawn in the presidential election.

The American CP did not hesitate to split the anti-war movement in 1970 in order to support "progressive" capitalist politicians. In these maneuvers they were aided by the unprincipled intervention of the revisionists who substituted their own brand of "single-issue non-exclusionary" reformism for that of the Stalinists.

The International Committee of the Fourth International alone preserved and developed the Leninist theory of defeatism

escapable necessity to combine the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle for state power. To do this is to build the Marxist party without which the working class cannot be liberated.

All the activities of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the Indo-China Solidarity Front, the Student Mobilization Committee, the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance and the various ad hoc organizations set up in the USA under Stalinist and revisionist patronage cogently reveal that "a propaganda of peace at the present time, if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralizing the proletariat by imbibing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, and of making it a plaything in the hands of secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries." (Lenin.)

In this sense the differences between the US Stalinists and the US revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party were completely factitious.

While the CP called on Nixon to "Sign Now!", the SWP-YSA called on Nixon to withdraw his troops unconditionally.

Both groups based their policies on the reformist illusion that "public opinion" and the clamor for "peace" would end imperialist oppression in Indochina. Neither group campaigned for the indispensable necessity to place no political confidence in the Nixon regime and to break the US working class decisively from the two party system by forming an independent Labor Party, with a socialist program, based on the trade unions.

Their faith in the Nixon regime is but the reverse side of a deep middle class skepticism about the European and US working class.

Secondly, no defense of the Vietnamese Revolution is possible without an implacable struggle to expose the role of Stalinism in this war and to equip the vanguard of the working class with a correct and comprehensive understanding of the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism.

As the monetary and economic crisis of imperialism worsens and as the capitalist powers whip up a hysteria of economic nationalism to justify their corporatist measures, the Stalinist bureaucracies in western Europe are already openly collaborating with the monopolist plans to straitjacket the working class.

While the European ruling classes, particularly in France and Italy, integrate their plans for civil war through the mechanism of the Common Market, the Stalinist leaders prostrate themselves before the decaying organs of bourgeois democracy and swear to uphold the most reactionary constitutions in post-war Europe.

The same doctrine of "peaceful co-existence" which permitted untold death and devastation in Indo-China and created the basis for a barbaric protraction of the war, means, today, in Europe, the preparation of the greatest and bloodiest defeats of the European working class by capitalist reaction.

In Britain, too, Stalinism consciously opposes every attempt to force the Tories to resign and covers up for the corporatist policies of the trade union bureaucracy and its acquiescence to the Treaty of Rome.

In Greece, Stalinism has plumbed new depths of treachery by its open support of the monarchy and its recognition of a monarchical constitution.

The International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) warns the working class that no step forward is possible in Europe or Asia without the destruction of Stalinism and this struggle cannot and will not be conducted by the centrist movements like Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), Lutte Ouvriere, International Socialism (IS), International Marxist Group (IMG) and the Ligue Communiste, but only through the construction of ICFI sections in every European state.

The Vietnamese Revolution—despite the temporary setbacks—will prove greater than the bureaucratic straitjacket. But the ultimate victory of the Indo-Chinese people depends, more than ever, upon the struggle of European and US workers to build an alternative leadership to Stalinism and reformism and to smash imperialism.

February 16, 1973

## Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

# The War Goes On



National Liberation Front fighters.

terests over those of the Vietminh." (Our emphasis).

So it was in 1954 so it is today!

The alarm and hatred of the Stalinist bureaucracies toward the Vietnam struggle today is directly related to the fact that this struggle takes place in the context of the greatest monetary crisis in capitalism's history and an unprecedented upsurge of class struggle in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas.

A decisive victory for the NLF would act as a tremendous stimulant to the struggle in west Europe and within the USSR and eastern Europe as well.

Such a victory would severely intensify the crisis of Stalinism.

Another contributing factor towards this policy is the growing agricultural crisis in the USSR, which results from the bureaucratic methods of the Soviet leaders and their gross incompetence in managing agriculture.

Unable to feed the working class and fearful of another series of revolts like those which unseated Khrushchev, the Soviet leaders have decided to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution in exchange for US grain.

For these reasons the Soviet leaders deliberately refused to supply the latest missiles to the North Vietnamese and entertained Nixon while Hanoi and Haiphong were devastated.

While previous Presidents refused to sanction the mining of the northern ports for fear of Soviet and Chinese retaliation Nixon could—and did—pursue a total blockade because both bureaucracies had indicated their compliance with his war aims.

Outside of Vietnam Stalinism has supplemented these betrayals by converting

by openly attacking the bogus "united fronts" of the revisionists and Stalinists and by making the Vietnam Revolution a central issue in the program to build a revolutionary party.

The absolute correctness of the IC and Socialist Labour League's break with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign on the role of international Stalinism and the Vietnam Revolution in 1966 and our refusal to participate in the October 27, 1968 fraud is now amply confirmed by the events leading to the Paris treaty.

The defense of the Vietnamese Revolution means, first of all, a complete rejection of petty bourgeois, pacifist opposition to the war, which confines the anti-imperialist struggle to a series of adventurist and propagandist gestures calculated to disarm the working class politically and generate the illusion that wars can be ended by pressure on capitalist statesmen.

Underlying such an opposition is the reformist assumption that wars are accidents of the capitalist system and that the system can exist without militarism and war.

This reformist-pacifist perspective of the revisionists and Stalinists confuses the vanguard of the working class on the inevitability of revolutionary struggles between the working class and the capitalist state and, more importantly, of the necessity to smash and not to reform the apparatus of capitalist coercion and rule by the actions of the working class led by the revolutionary party.

As Lenin stated at the inception of World War I:

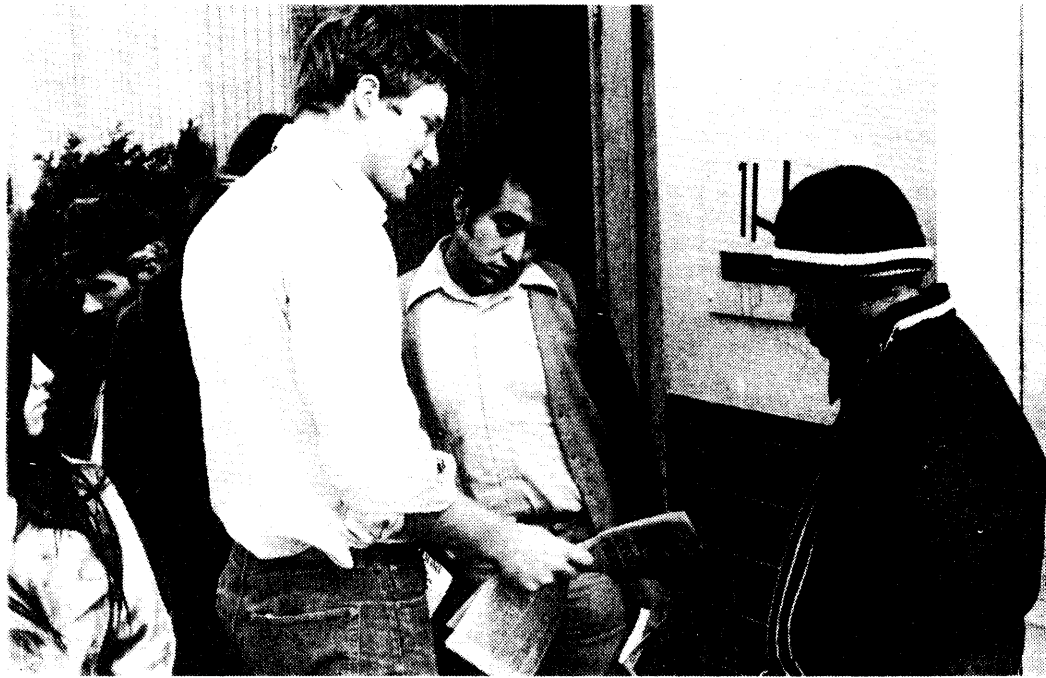
"Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are unavoidable."

The task of revolutionaries, therefore, is to show, in theory and practice, the in-

## West Coast News



Above: guardhouse at scab-run Hansen ranch in Salinas. Right: Bulletin reporter interviews workers at strike center.



## Growers Terrorize Salinas Strikers

BY TIM WARREN

SALINAS, Calif.—On Friday, February 9, police arrested 51 members of the United Farm Workers for breaking a court injunction outlawing effective picketing. Pickets against Dave Walsh Company are limited to six at the gates, one every hundred feet and two at the scab contractors' headquarters.

The union declared the strike when negotiations broke down January 22. Union demands conformed to Phase Three—a meager wage at \$2.27—and called for a paid vacation, medical benefits, and all hiring out of the UFW hall.

The arrests could cost the union \$25,000 in fines.

The strike at D'Arrigo Brothers which spread here from the Imperial Valley in early December faces a similar injunction.

Jack Deaton, who was arrested at the Walsh fields, described an incident at scab contractor Juan Gomez' headquarters: "I had a pistol put on me by Juan Gomez, Friday the ninth.

"We were going down there to talk to people, me, Gerry, and Odilon. All of a sudden about nine guys came out and started beating the hell out of us. After they finished beating us up, their old ladies came out with the sticks.

Juan Ortiz has worked for Walsh for seven years. "We've been on strike six weeks," he said. "I don't know when we're going to win it. But we're going

to. In May when the harvest comes, they're going to need a lot of people. I don't think they can do it with just contractors. That's when we'll win."

### SWEETHEART

Behind the leadership which backs Nixon's every move, Teamster organizers sign farmworkers into sweetheart contracts to scab on the UFW. "Some of the Teamsters are picketing on our side," Juan said. "They want to make the Teamster officials let Chavez organize farmworkers."

Dolores Rodriguez said: "I am a Teamster. Two years ago the state employment office sent me to the Teamsters. They said: 'You sign here and go to work.' They never send people to the UFW. The Teamsters have no medical, no vacation, no nothing. I support the Farmworkers."

Peter and Edna Gonzalez have worked all over Salinas Valley. They are now on strike against D'Arrigo Brothers. As soon as negotiations broke down they were evicted from their company trailer for union activity. The union filed suit for \$1.2 million damages to the 14 members evicted by D'Arrigo.

But these workers put no faith in courts which "keep tying our hands tighter and tighter." Picketing has been declared illegal at two out of three gates. Strikers at D'Arrigo are just waiting for the word to break that injunction.

Pete Rodriguez reports that: "The only thing that's backing up the growers right now is the contract they have with the Teamsters. They've opened up a new office in Salinas, and they're organizing to beat hell. They've got as many as 15 in a group to go to the fields."

"We've eaten beans before," Edna Rodriguez said. "Of course, even they're getting expensive. Prices are soaring. Something better be done, or the people are going to rebel. I really believe it. They're just getting fed up with it."

Farmworkers must now take the lead of the Philadelphia teachers by defying the courts and calling for a general strike to break the injunctions.

"It's got to be like that," Pete Rodriguez said. "These guys in the skilled trades and the other unions, they're going to have to fight too. It should be a united fight."

## OCAW Refuses To Shut Oil Industry To Back Shell Strikers

BY TED BAKER

MARTINEZ, Calif.—The strike of 4000 Shell Oil workers here and at refineries across the country continues into its sixth week. Production has been crippled, and Shell is only able to supply its dealers with gas and oil by borrowing it from other oil companies not struck.

The press is covering for the refusal of the union leadership to take industry-wide action by claiming that production is continuing unaffected by the strike, using supervisory personnel. This is a complete lie, as supervisors are just keeping the plant open while refined oil is shipped into the plant and then shipped out again with Shell labels on it.

As a picket here put it, "It's like they're all really one big company. Shell has been bringing it into this place in Phillips tankers, they come into the Phillips dock (about a half mile away) and our picket boat can't stop them, then they slip up along the shore to Shell."

The entire power of the oil industry has been turned against the striking Shell workers, while the leadership of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union has launched an all-out campaign to keep the strikers isolated.

### BOYCOTT

The center of this campaign is a nationwide boycott of Shell, to divert OCAW members from demanding the shutdown of the entire industry. OCAW leaders are relying on newspaper ads and billboards to persuade the public to stop buying Shell products.

Shell workers were split off from other oil workers when the

OCAW accepted contracts with all American oil producers providing for only a six percent wage increase. Shell and Standard of California then refused to accept health, safety, and pension clauses agreed on by all other companies.

The leaders of the OCAW have apologized for the isolation of the Shell strikers by claiming that Shell refused to sign because it is a foreign owned company.

### REACTIONARY

This reactionary nationalism is completely exposed by the fact that Standard Oil of California has also refused to sign this contract, but is not being struck.

Now the union leadership is engaged in maneuvers with groups like the Sierra Club, trying to portray the strike as an environmental protest. The purpose of this is to cover up for the complete sell-out on wages in the industry settlement.

A worker at the nearby Phillips refinery told the *Bulletin*: "If you really want to know, we got screwed. I know all about the pay guidelines, but six percent is not enough, I don't care what Nixon or anyone says. We should all be out there with those guys at Shell."

To defend the Shell strikers, the contract for the entire oil industry must be reopened. The industry must be shut down to win a 20 percent raise to keep up with inflation.

## State Dossiers Prepare Employee Purge

BY SHEILA BREHM

SACRAMENTO—The 100,000 member California State Employees Association has condemned a 13 page personal history required from Justice Department employees as an invasion of privacy, and a violation of freedom of speech and association.

CSEA General Manager Walter W. Taylor called the investigations a witch-hunt. "It takes us back to the 1950s when things like this were going on in the federal government."

A six page document from the Division of Law Enforcement instructs investigators to "determine weaknesses in the candidate's personal history to bring out skeletons in the closet."

The personal history is purportedly for "sensitive positions," but already a clerk has been required to complete

the document.

Investigators can probe every detail of the employee's or applicant's life, going as far back as high school to check for "any record of disciplinary action." Record checks are to be conducted with the FBI and police departments in all cities where the employee has lived.

In an obvious attempt to weed out militants, the investigation is to "ascertain if the applicant has filed any grievances with employers, and the frequency of such complaints."

Investigators will interview employees' landlords for at least the last three years to seek any "real or rumored evidence of immoral or illegal activity."

The employee's family and acquaintances are also to be investigated.

Employees and applicants are required to sign an "authority to release information" statement

granting any state agent the right to obtain information from previous employers and schools.

The history statement also requires workers to list all organizations which are declared to be subversive which he has ever belonged to in the past or present.

Any false information is grounds for dismissal or rejection.

Walter Taylor is currently seeking a meeting with Attorney General Younger. A spokesman for the CSEA said that strike action is not planned, but not ruled out.

Clearly, the apparatus is being set up to witch-hunt all state workers. To divert opposition to this open violation of basic rights into a feeble protest is extremely dangerous. All state workers must be mobilized in strike action to halt this investigation.

## West Coast News

# Alviso Barrio: Profit Creates Infested Swamp

BY BARRY GREY

ALVISO—Just minutes from San Jose, off Highway 17, lies the town of Alviso, a community of 1900, overwhelmingly Chicano, among the lowest paid and most exploited workers in the country.

The explosive contradictions of the economic crisis are summed up in the sharp contrast between the barbaric conditions of life in Alviso and the slick apartment complexes which speculators are putting up at a feverish pace all around this depression town.

Turning off of the highway into Alviso one enters a world of dirt roads and wooden shacks.

Alviso is bordered by the San Francisco Bay on one side, and the county dump on the other.

The town is below sea level. Recent heavy rains have left massive pools of stagnant water covering the streets and fields. These pools breed mosquitos which infect the residents with various diseases, including hepatitis.

Bulletin reporters spoke to housewives who live in the worst section of the town, a tract of wooden rectangular shacks owned by one of the powers in the town, Frank Onios. These huts, which housed servicemen's wives during World War Two, were purchased by Onios for one dollar apiece and set down in the middle of an open field. He charges rents from \$70 to \$120 a month.

One woman with seven children told us she lived on a welfare check of \$190 a month.

### ROACHES

Another housewife, just out of high school, said: "Conditions are terrible. Onios won't do anything. These houses are full of insects and roaches. The sewer system backs up. The water we get is filthy."

Most of the people in Alviso who work, work in the fields or in the canneries of San Jose. Many are Mexican citizens and speak no English.

Last year 30 percent of the townspeople were on welfare and the figure is rising. Youth unemployment is 60 percent.

Nixon's budget cuts are having a devastating effect on the town. A pre-school child-care center just closed down. The local OEO agency, called the Community Service Organization, is scheduled to close in June, along with the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Alviso's \$1.6 million health clinic, funded by the HEW, is being cut back. Its trainee program, which trains community people as nurses and health aides, will be eliminated or severely cut.

In 1968, Alviso voted to be annexed to San Jose. The vote was challenged and has been tied

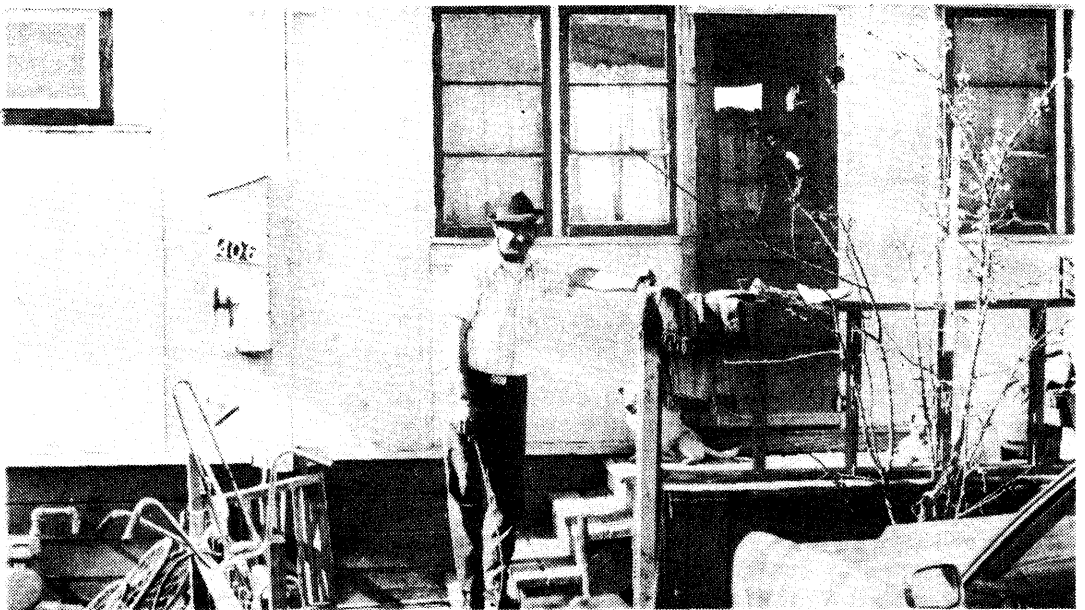
up in the courts for five years.

This has given San Jose the excuse for investing almost no money in the town and refusing to enforce health codes against landowners like Onios and others.

As a result, whole areas of the town owned by the local powers are nothing but garbage dumps infested with rats. Rabid coyotes inhabit the surrounding fields.

The women of Alviso have begun to fight back. Recently 100 housewives stormed the San Jose city council demanding a change.

The City Council responded by declaring the town a disaster area. This is a cruel joke, as the politicians of San Jose have no intention of sinking any money into Alviso.



Alviso landlords bought up W.W. II shacks for \$1 apiece and now charge workers \$100 a month.

## Taxi Drivers Strike To Save Their Jobs

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—A four day strike of Yellow Cab drivers here has been called off temporarily after intervention by Mayor Alioto.

Cab drivers struck to prevent Yellow Cab from destroying Teamster jobs by selling off permits to its taxis.

Drivers explained that by unloading permits at \$22,000, financed with ten years to pay, Yellow Cab could liquidate its business and double the money on its original investment.

Those who purchase the permits would still have to buy a cab, meter, dome light and radio and would be working night and day to pay off the bills.

Yellow Cab drivers are determined to defend their jobs and their union rights. Many of the men are convinced that the company is deliberately claiming losses to destroy union benefits and break up the union.

Drivers complained that the high fares are destroying tips. "A few years ago it was \$7.45 to the airport and customers would give you a ten dollar bill. Now its \$9.40 and you still get the same ten."

### UNDERCUT

Many drivers were furious over conditions at rival cab companies such as City, Luxor and Veterans, which undercut Yellow Cab. Many of these companies rent out cabs to drivers by the day and allow them to drive long hours and slash rates. These companies are all union but were working night and day while the Yellow Cab drivers struck.

The union officials have done little to defend the drivers. They

are working on a perspective of saving the company by bailing it out financially. A recent agreement was worked out to increase the drop on the meter and turn the entire increase over to the company.

### DARINELLI

Pete Darinelli, president of Taxi Local 265, told the Bulletin that "it was better to get something than part of nothing." He claimed that one of the big problems was that Yellow Cab was not run efficiently.

Darinelli refused to explain even when pressed by drivers on the line why the union did not fight for a master contract for all drivers except to say that their were legal difficulties.

Taxi drivers are not responsible for Yellow Cab's financial problems. Alioto's intervention will solve nothing except to give the company more time to destroy jobs.

The union leadership must be forced to strike the entire industry to establish a uniform contract and conditions. Any attempt by Yellow Cab to claim bankruptcy must be answered with a campaign to force the city to take over the cabs without compensation to the company and run the industry as a public service, assuring decent wages and conditions to drivers.

win back everything that has been taken away and to establish a real guarantee with strike action on July 1.

The ranks must force the ILWU leadership to commit themselves to a policy of a twenty per cent increase, a 100 percent escalator clause, a 100 percent payment of all cuts, guarantee of forty hours pay for all dockers regardless of work opportunity and no further rundown in the industry through attrition.

This means a fight for joint strike action with the Teamsters whose contract expires on the same date combined with a political offensive to rally labor for strike action against Phase Three and the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.



San Francisco taxi drivers shut down Yellow Cab terminal.

## Auto Workers Organize Contract Fight

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

FREMONT—Last week members of United Auto Workers Local 1364 at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Fremont established a Committee for a Decent Contract as part of the national auto caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The Committee will launch an immediate fight to vote in the program for the '73 contract adopted by TUALP at the Local 1364 membership meeting in March and elect a slate of delegates to fight for it at the upcoming pre-contract convention. This fight will be taken up in opposition to the bankrupt Herrera and Brotherhood cliques.

The Committee will fight for a

political offensive led by the UAW to smash Nixon's wage dictatorship and build a labor party as the only way to defend the rights and gains of auto workers.

### CITY WORKERS.

(Continued From Page 20)

was meeting with Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia. Just as Rizzo threw court injunctions, scabs, massive fines, and mass arrests against the Philadelphia teachers in an attempt to break their strike, Alioto is ready to use the same tactics against the city workers.

City workers must take a strike vote immediately and set a date to shut down the city. They must demand a general strike of the entire San Francisco labor movement if the city in any way attempts to break the strike.

### ILWU . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

out of the industry and prepare the way for de-registration.

There are big dangers in the bureaucracy's sudden militancy on the question of the guarantee. While there was no question that the rank and file were prepared to fight for the "B" men and were eager for a lead to take on the PMA, there has not been a word from Bridges as to a policy to answer the thirty cent cut by the Cost of Living Council or to prepare an offensive at the end of the contract.

Bridges would like to push this fraudulent guarantee as the answer to the enormous unemployment developing on the waterfront.

Dockers must prepare now to

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WEST COAST OFFICE: 3327 24th Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94110

Phone: 824-4096

## Editorial

### Secret OEO Documents Expose Plans For Dictatorship

The moves of the Nixon Administration towards Bonapartist rule are made extremely clear in secret documents now made public by the press outlining the entire campaign to dismantle the OEO program.

These documents suggest methods for exposing criminal activity, political activity and the spreading of class or racial antagonisms by poverty officials.

Auditors are instructed to obtain the reactions of local police to the OEO programs. They are also ordered to obtain information to arm the administration with evidence that OEO is a bastion of racism, unrest, crime, partisan political activity and waste.

All violations of guidelines such as birth control dissemination or assisting farm worker organization are to be assembled to assist administration propaganda.

The document also suggests ways of bypassing potentially uncooperative congressional committees.

The administration is advised to "play on the penchant of each liberal to protect only the program that interests him" and to plan to develop "adverse reaction to the inevitable counter-demonstrations" of the poor.

Liberal Senators such as Alan Cranston of California are characterized as "highly vocal, threatening, and derogatory, however the depth of expressed concerns can be questioned because primary interests lie elsewhere now."

These documents expose the administration as absolutely determined to destroy social programs and to employ the methods of lying, espionage, and police dictatorship to accomplish its ends.

What is also revealed is the total and completely justified contempt of the administration for its liberal opposition and its intention to dismantle the Congress along with the poverty programs.

The methods of Watergate and all the tools being developed in trials such as that of Daniel Ellsberg and Ruchell Magee are now being employed to destroy the living standards of millions.

These documents are a blueprint for dictatorship. Precisely the same methods are being prepared to destroy the trade union movement.

This drives home the urgency of taking up the fight in every union for the calling of a Congress of Labor that will launch a labor party to establish a workers government.

## GAI Fight Shuts Port

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 1 the Bay Area docks were shut down to demand payment of all money owed "B" men under the guarantee provisions of the 1971 contract.

No sooner did 2800 longshoremen stop work than it was announced by the Pacific Maritime Association that it had agreed to pay the back money owed to over 300 "B" men.

Under the guarantee, "B" men are entitled to eighteen hours pay in exchange for almost continuous availability for work. Many of these men have been working only a few days a month.

The *Bulletin* discussed the guarantee with a number of longshoremen who expressed enormous dissatisfaction with the provisions.

Out of \$5.5 million set aside by the PMA to guarantee "A" men thirty six hours and "B" men eighteen, only \$400,000 has been paid out.

No longshoreman knew of anyone who had been paid any appreciable amount in guarantee money and one worker reported that he had received a

check for fifteen minutes or about \$1.25 since the signing of the contract.

### GIMMICKED

Dockers complained that the guarantee is gimmicked to include "steady" man hours in the average requiring almost total availability for work to avoid disqualification.

Many dockers felt that the only reason work for "A" men had been maintained at all was that hundreds of dockers had retired or left the industry since the last contract, dangerously weakening the local.

The PMA has no doubt taken its stand on holding back payment to "B" men, even though it was clearly spelled out in the contract, because of its increasing hostility to having to pay benefits to surplus workers. There is no question that it would like to drive as many as possible

(Continued On Page 19)



San Francisco city workers picket city hall for wage increase. City is offering 2.5 percent.

## Big Pay Clash As City Ranks Rally

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 500 city workers stopped work and rallied at city hall to demand a 7.5 percent wage increase.

In the face of soaring prices, over four percent in the Bay Area in the month of January alone, the city government is offering an insulting 2.5 percent.

Large delegations from Service Employees International Union, Locals 400 and 535, and hospital workers from Local 250 ignored threats of disciplinary action by the city to pour into a meeting of the Board of Supervisors.

Over the last four years city employees have seen their standard of living cut as tiny wage increases have not matched the rise in living costs. Last year they won a mere 2.5 percent.

### COLLISION

This year city workers are prepared to shut down the city in order to keep food on their table. The struggle for a decent wage has thrown thousands of city workers into a collision with Alioto which threatens to wreck the alliance between the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

After some 300 of the demonstrators packed into the chambers of the Board of Supervisors, the Board decided to put off its decision until next Monday.

Workers interviewed by the *Bulletin* expressed their determination to fight the city and win a 7.5 percent increase.

One worker in the welfare department said: "I haven't bought a steak in over a year."

A Muni bus driver from Local 250 of the Transportation Workers Union who was just fired by the city said: "We should all stick together. That's why I'm here. We need a cost of living wage increase."

An older worker said: "If the Board of Supervisors doesn't give us 7.5 percent, \$50 a month across the board, we should walk

out and shut every door. And stay out until we win it."

### HEDGING

This sentiment for strike action and an all-out fight against the city was in sharp contrast to the hedging of the union bureaucrats. One after another they stood up before the workers massed outside the city hall and called for more protests before

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Film showing:

British  
Right-to-  
Work March

Speaker: Abby Rodriguez  
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Stop the budget cuts!

- No slashes in education, no layoffs or cuts in loan and work—study programs!
- Defend the right to an education!

Fight unemployment!

- No cuts in job programs!
- Jobs for all! 30 hrs. work for 40 hrs. pay!

Call a Congress of Labor  
to build a labor party!

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Stanford U. \$1 includes dance

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Assembly Hall

Embassy Auditorium  
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