

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER

JUL 30 1976

INSTITUTION

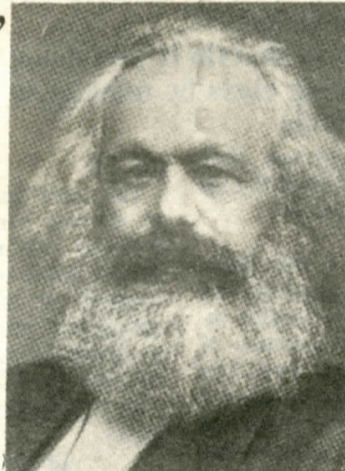
VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWENTY 295

MAY 21, 1973

FIFTEEN CENTS

NIXON SCANDAL SHAKES DOLLAR

“But as soon as credit is shaken—and this phase of necessity always appears in the modern industrial cycle—all the real wealth is to be actually and suddenly transformed into money, into gold and silver—a mad demand, which, however, grows necessarily out of the system itself. And all the gold and silver which is supposed to satisfy these enormous demands amounts to but a few millions in the vaults of the banks.”



Karl Marx

“I don't like to use the word crisis. It's hard to tell what a crisis is any more.

“A government can never rule out possibilities forever and ever. The fact that a devaluation is a possibility does not mean that it is a probability.

“I find the price of gold much less interesting than the price of hamburger.”



Herbert Stein

Political Committee Statement

The Watergate scandal, which has undermined international confidence in the stability of the Nixon government, has led to a new dollar panic. During the past week, a mad rush to get out of the dollar pushed the price of gold to a record \$129 per ounce in the Paris market. Within the United States, the growing fears of big business are expressed in the sharp slump in the stock exchange that brought share prices to their lowest level in 1973.

Because it occurs in the midst of—and as part of—the worst economic crisis in the postwar period, the Watergate

scandal has virtually paralyzed the Nixon Administration.

American trade unionists must now take decisive action to force Nixon out of office. Workers must introduce resolutions in their locals demanding that the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and United Auto Workers organize a massive campaign in the labor movement for Nixon's resignation through:

•The immediate convocation of a Congress of Labor.

•The construction of a labor party as the political alternative to Nixon and Agnew.

•Defiance of the government's wage guidelines and the preparation for strike action to smash Phase Three.

Workers must repudiate the continued collaboration of their bureaucratic leadership with the Nixon Administration. The 10,000 rubber workers striking B.F. Goodrich in defiance of the Phase Three guidelines, which are supported by the United Rubber Workers bureaucracy, demonstrates the power that can be brought against Nixon just when he is at his weakest.

The absolute necessity of taking decisive action is made

clear by the disclosures relating to the Watergate conspiracy during the past week.

It has now been revealed that the bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex was only part of a spying operation that was directed by Nixon's closest aides and aimed against the working class.

H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, associates of Nixon for more than 15 years, brought John Dean into the White House because of his knowledge of radical movements.

Not satisfied with the FBI as

(Continued On Page 8)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

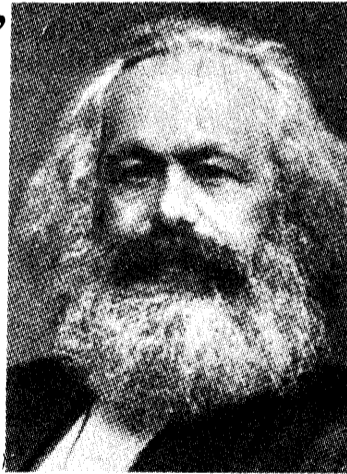
VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWENTY 295

MAY 21, 1973

FIFTEEN CENTS

NIXON SCANDAL SHAKES DOLLAR

“But as soon as credit is shaken—and this phase of necessity always appears in the modern industrial cycle—all the real wealth is to be actually and suddenly transformed into money, into gold and silver—a mad demand, which, however, grows necessarily out of the system itself. And all the gold and silver which is supposed to satisfy these enormous demands amounts to but a few millions in the vaults of the banks.”



Karl Marx

“I don't like to use the word crisis. It's hard to tell what a crisis is any more.

“A government can never rule out possibilities forever and ever. The fact that a devaluation is a possibility does not mean that it is a probability.

“I find the price of gold much less interesting than the price of hamburger.”



Herbert Stein

Political Committee Statement

The Watergate scandal, which has undermined international confidence in the stability of the Nixon government, has led to a new dollar panic. During the past week, a mad rush to get out of the dollar pushed the price of gold to a record \$129 per ounce in the Paris market. Within the United States, the growing fears of big business are expressed in the sharp slump in the stock exchange that brought share prices to their lowest level in 1973.

Because it occurs in the midst of—and as part of—the worst economic crisis in the postwar period, the Watergate

scandal has virtually paralyzed the Nixon Administration.

American trade unionists must now take decisive action to force Nixon out of office. Workers must introduce resolutions in their locals demanding that the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and United Auto Workers organize a massive campaign in the labor movement for Nixon's resignation through:

•The immediate convocation of a Congress of Labor.

•The construction of a labor party as the political alternative to Nixon and Agnew.

•Defiance of the government's wage guidelines and the preparation for strike action to smash Phase Three.

Workers must repudiate the continued collaboration of their bureaucratic leadership with the Nixon Administration. The 10,000 rubber workers striking B.F. Goodrich in defiance of the Phase Three guidelines, which are supported by the United Rubber Workers bureaucracy, demonstrates the power that can be brought against Nixon just when he is at his weakest.

The absolute necessity of taking decisive action is made

clear by the disclosures relating to the Watergate conspiracy during the past week.

It has now been revealed that the bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex was only part of a spying operation that was directed by Nixon's closest aides and aimed against the working class.

H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, associates of Nixon for more than 15 years, brought John Dean into the White House because of his knowledge of radical movements.

Not satisfied with the FBI as

(Continued On Page 8)



The incredibly sharp economic crisis in Germany has been accompanied by the appearance of neo-fascists, the "Action of the New Right," whose stated intention is to "wipe out Marxism from the German workers." Banners at a right-wing demonstration say "Germany is not yet lost."

Brandt Wants Release Of Nazi War Criminal

BY A REPORTER

Right-wing forces in Germany demanding that the Soviet Union and East Germany release top Nazi Rudolf Hess from Spandau prison have apparently won the support of Social Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt.

In an interview published by the conservative magazine *Stern*, Brandt argues that Hess, now nearly 80, has suffered enough.

Hess was Hitler's closest collaborator from the early 1920s on, played a key role in bringing Hitler to power, helped organize the destruction of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, and was directly responsible for the deaths of millions.

In 1941, he flew to England on a mysterious mission to Churchill that has never been properly explained.

Brandt did not confine his remarks to Rudolf Hess. He also criticized the Italian government for refusing to release SS Col. Herbert Kappler, who was sent to jail 28 years ago for ordering the massacre of 335 hostages in 1944. Kappler admitted that he personally shot a number of the hostages.

This sharp turn to the right—which Brandt hopes will appease his liberal coalition partners as well as the reactionary Christian-Democratic Union opposition—is being supplemented by a witch-hunt of communist militants in the trade unions.

The bureaucracy of IG Metall—the most powerful trade union in Germany—has issued a statement that members of a number of left-wing organizations cannot join the union.

"The aims and activities of the extreme left wing groups called the KPD (illegal German Communist Party which now operates legally as the DKP), the KPD/ML (Maoist), KPD/AO worker-basis groups, the Communist League, the Communist Workers' League, and Communist Workers' Press, and the so-called revolutionary trade union opposition, are against the interests of trade unionism.

"These groups have been declared hostile organizations. Membership of these groups is incompatible with membership

of the Metal Workers' Union."

The Stalinist German Communist Party has joined in the witch-hunt, supporting resolutions which support the expulsion of Trotskyists and Maoists.

The Social Democrats have learned nothing from history.

Just as the CDU is preparing an offensive against the working class, Brandt makes every concession to the most nationalist and right-wing forces. These can only disarm the working class politically and create the conditions for bringing the CDU back into power.

TUC Joins Phase Three Talks

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Tory government of Edward Heath in Britain is preparing to deepen its attack on the living standards of the working class by moving to set up Phase Three of its economic policy against the unions.

Encouraged by the total submission of the trade union leaders to Phase Two, Heath has sent out formal invitations to the Trades Union Congress (equivalent of the AFL-CIO) and the British employers organization to open official talks on state control of wages under Phase Three, to go into effect some time in the fall.

Under Phase Two, wage increases have been limited to only \$2.50 a week plus another four percent and the machinery of the Industrial Relations Court was established to fine unions and jail union leaders who defied this Act. The Transport and General Workers Union was forced to pay 50,000 pounds for fighting the right to picket while gasmen and hospital workers who went on strike against the Act were isolated and betrayed by the TUC, which refused to call out the whole labor movement in their defense.

What Heath has in mind for Phase Three is not just a ceiling on wages but actual wage cuts. Wages may be held at three to four percent while prices are allowed to rip at an annual rate of over eight percent, meaning drastic slashes in the budgets of working class families.

Heath's aim is to secure the cooperation of the trade union leaders in agreeing to a per-

manent state wage law that would effectively abolish the independence of the unions.

The deepening of the international crisis of capitalism and the weak position of British industry, its massive balance of payments deficit and the preparations it must make for trade war and even world war in the next period, pushes the Tories to make savage attacks on wages.

Heath knows that these attacks will be met with tremendous resistance and the growth of revolutionary struggles by workers and youth in Britain. This means his government must be ruthlessly reorganized to eliminate all democratic rights and that the building of a police state will require a new General Election to renew his mandate.

The masses of British workers are beginning to move into action against the union leaders who have given up the fight. They are particularly beginning to see the treacherous role of leaders like Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon who talked militant but at the decisive moment caved in to Heath.

In the past few weeks, delegates of the Public Service Workers Union voted to demand increases up to \$15 a week and delegates in the Electrical Union have passed a resolution urging the TUC to mobilize all unions behind any union threatened by

Nixon Defies Congress On Bombing In Cambodia

BY MELODY FARROW

Nixon spokesmen arrogantly announced last Saturday that the administration would continue its intensive bombing in Cambodia despite what Congress decided.

Nixon's request to authorize the Defense Department to transfer \$500 million from one account to another for use in Cambodia was defeated in the House by a vote of 219 to 188. The next day, Nixon's press secretary declared:

"We will continue with the policy which we feel is the right policy and that is to provide support to the Government of Cambodia at their request. If at some time in the future funds are not available then the Congress will have to assume the responsibility in that matter."

Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson declared that other funds could be found. The vote was in fact nothing but shadow boxing between the Democrats and Nixon. Nixon has already spent over \$160 million on the Cambodian bombing raids without any approval from Congress.

At the same time, the government made it clear that it was prepared not only to step up the

bombing of Cambodian villages but to renew the bombing of North and South Vietnam.

Unable to crush the liberation troops which have now virtually surrounded the capital, Phnom Penh, Nixon is presenting Hanoi with an ultimatum: either they force a cease-fire deal on the Cambodian forces or North Vietnam will be attacked again. Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union is aiding Nixon by using all his weight to pressure the North Vietnamese leaders to agree to this.

This threat will overshadow the new talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, scheduled to begin May 17, on the Cambodian situation and the breakdown of the Vietnamese peace agreement.

On Saturday May 12, representatives of the National Liberation Front released a statement accusing the United States of continuous bombing strikes within South Vietnam along the Cambodian border.

It was also revealed by former ambassador to Laos, G. McMurtree Godley, that Nixon is spending up to \$26 million to finance 15,000 to 20,000 Thai troops based in Laos.

The statement that the bombing raids are being conducted "at the request" of the Cambodian government is likewise a complete fraud. A *New York Times* reporter, in a lengthy article published last week, exposed how the bombing raids are completely directed and controlled by the US Army, while the Cambodian command provides only the appearance of being in charge.

LEADERSHIP

The burning issue facing British workers now is to construct a new leadership in the unions, a revolutionary leadership that will fight to force the government out through industrial action and will fight to return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

This was the major theme of the impressive May Day demonstration and rally in London / 1000 supporters of the Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Union Alliance.

Addressing the rally, Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL, called the trade union leaders the "policemen of capital within the labor movement." He declared that the objective crisis would make it possible for the working class to take power in its hands together with workers in other countries and that every worker and youth should join the SLL in this fight.

Bulletin Expansion Drive

We received \$2,473.22 this week, bringing our grand total to \$38,072.08 towards our goal of \$50,000 for the Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive by June 1.

The Palo Alto Young Socialists have shown what can be done, raising \$433 by serving beef Teryaki and ice tea at a Stanford University craft fair. Brownsville and East New York held a successful card party bringing in \$90 while the Brooklyn Young Socialists held a dance featuring two live bands from Jamaica, Queens.

We are still running below the \$3,500 needed per week. We only have three weeks to go. We must now push through to the end so that the Bulletin can build the alternative to Nixon twice a week.

Gold Price Soars Over \$100 Mark

BY BRUCE MCKAY

NEW YORK, May 15—As confidence in the American government evaporates under the impact of the political crisis generated by Watergate, a crisis of unparalleled proportions is now pounding the world monetary system.

The price of gold has decisively smashed through the \$100 an ounce barrier, closing today at over \$124 an ounce in Paris and over \$109 an ounce on other exchanges. Traders in London were quoted today as saying they could see no end to the climb.

The stage has now been set for a third devaluation of the dollar just as the effects of the second devaluation earlier this year are beginning to be felt. The dollar is coming under the heaviest attack in currency markets since before that devaluation.

The threat of another devaluation and the rise in the price of gold was reflected on the stock exchanges, with the New York Exchange tumbling to its lowest level since early last year, losing more than 40 points since the middle of last week.

The outbreak of a new monetary crisis occurs at an extremely critical point, for the political crisis stemming from the Watergate disclosures and

the growing possibility of Nixon's resignation or impeachment as he is unable to deal with the economic crisis and the movement of American workers are rapidly eroding faith in the strength of the US government, which since Nixon removed the gold backing from the dollar in 1971 has served as the only foundation for the dollar and the international economy which was built upon it.

The decisive smashing of the \$100 an ounce barrier came amid reports that the Arab oil producing countries—among the very largest dollar holders—may stop accepting worthless paper for their oil by nationalizing their oil reserves and are beginning to dump their dollar holdings on a massive scale in order to buy gold.

There were also reports that the Soviet Union has entirely ceased its sales of gold on the European markets, borrowing dollars to meet foreign exchange requirements and protecting its

(Continued On Page 16)

Young Socialists Plan Rallies To Build National Conference

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The Young Socialists will hold their first national conference here on May 26-27 at Hunter College to launch the YS as a national organization. Youth from all over the country, from Watts to New York, will be attending.

At a time of the greatest international economic crisis in history, as gold soars to over \$100 an ounce and the Nixon government teeters with the Watergate revelations and the movement of the working class, the YS conference will feature the film *The Road to Workers Power*, made by the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

The film which is in full color and 50 minutes long shows scenes from the historic pageant of labor history held by the British

Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists in March of this year.

STRUGGLE

Ten thousands workers and youth attended this rally and hundreds participated in the pageant itself which recreated the 300 year struggle of British workers for their rights. Today, the Tory government in England is threatening all these rights.

The pageant itself was a central part of the preparation for building the revolutionary leadership now required to de-

(Continued On Page 14)



"The union leadership stinks," was the opinion of one worker at the B.F. Goodrich plant in Oaks, Penna.

Rubber Rebellion Growing As Goodyear Faces Wildcat

BY DAVID NORTH

AKRON, May 14—As the strike by 10,000 members of the United Rubber Workers against B.F. Goodrich enters its second week, the virtual rebellion against the pact signed by the URW leadership with Goodyear is on the verge of shutting down the entire rubber industry.

Although Goodyear workers are in the plants under the new contract, last week's unanimous vote by Local 2 to reject the contract was backed up with another vote introduced from the floor demanding that the Goodyear contract be re-

negotiated.

It is a near certainty that Goodyear workers will wildcat in order to win whatever gains are made by the ranks employed by Goodrich. However, there is a strong possibility that Local 2's 9000 members will walk out while the Goodrich strike is still in

(Continued On Page 16)

IUE Grants Extension On Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

BRIDGEPORT, May 14—The leadership of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) has already begun to retreat from the necessary battle against General Electric by asking for modification—rather than termination—of the contract which expires on May 26.

This allows General Electric another ten days of negotiations

even if it maintains its hardline position.

While the IUE refuses to reveal the actual state of negotiations nor print its wage demands, the *Bulletin* has learned that GE has already turned down a key IUE demand for the end of the open shop throughout the industry.

ANGRY

Workers in the plant here are angry over company attempts to destroy job classifications. The

hiring of young workers, whom the leadership makes no attempt to sign into the union, is creating an even more vicious open shop classification.

One of the oldest GE plants, the Bridgeport facilities, are half-empty. The closing of the hair dryer department meant the loss of 300 jobs.

New England Regional Director DiCicco stated that the feeling among GE workers was militant. "If there is not an adequate increase in wages," he said, "it will not be ratified."

Young Socialists 1st National Conference

New York May 26/27

Hunter College Playhouse
68th St. & Lexington Ave.

\$2.50 Registration

Dance Top Name Latin & Soul Bands
First American Showing:

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



\$1.00 For People Transportation Costs



GE plant in Bridgeport, Connecticut, where the IUE leadership is already backing off from fight for closed shop and an end to layoffs.

SIU Caucus Fights Layoffs

BY JERRY SPEARS

BROOKLYN—During the past five months, more than 300 workers have been fired by Seatrain at the former Brooklyn naval yard where huge oil tankers are being built.

As these firings take place, workers are forced to work overtime and speedup is demanded by Seatrain as workers are forced to complete jobs in a specific period of time.

In this situation, coupled with the tremendous inflation, the fight for wages, upgrading, safety and job security and the end to these firings is being taken forward by the Caucus for a New Leadership.

At the last membership meeting of the United Industrial Workers—Seaman's International Union, one worker, who

just recently joined the Caucus for a New Leadership, demanded that the union leadership fight for the reopening of the contract around the question of wages, noting that workers at the yard and throughout the country had to have more money in order to survive.

The union representative, Ralph Quinones, arrogantly stated that Seatrain has the right to pay workers what they want to and that the union could only see to it that the workers receive what Seatrain promises them.

On every issue facing the

workers at the yard, the union leadership—led by President Paul Hall, the man who "secretly" gave Nixon \$100,000 for his campaign fund—has refused to mobilize the ranks and propose a strategy to beat back the attacks of Seatrain and Nixon.

The Caucus for a New Leadership is the only force inside the yard that is taking up a fight to defend the rights of the workers as they seek to fight back against the attacks of Seatrain and the betrayals of the union leadership. The CNL calls on all workers to join the Caucus which is fighting around the following program:

NO LAYOFFS:

We demand that the union leadership fight for the reinstatement of all workers fired in the past five months and to end all layoffs. We demand that an emergency membership meeting be called if one more worker is laid off and that strike action be considered at this meeting against any further layoffs.

NO SPEEDUP, NO FORCED OVERTIME:

Do away with all time limits on jobs.

WAGES:

Immediate upgrading with a wage increase to meet the cost of living. There must be an immediate fight to reopen the contract around this demand.

BETTER WORKING AND SAFETY CONDITIONS:

Immediate inspection of the entire yard accompanied by a committee of workers from each department.

The UIW-SIU leadership must call a Congress of Labor to bring together the entire labor movement to build a labor party that will politically fight against the Republican and Democratic parties.

Taxi Men Fight Ruling

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036 AFL-CIO has called a protest meeting for Friday May 18 in response to the new regulations announced by the Taxi and Limousine Commission.

The Taxi Commission headed by Michael J. Lazar has instituted a 10 day suspension along with a \$25 fine for any driver observed with a passenger in his cab while the meter is off. On the second "flag up" violation, the driver is dismissed from his garage and his name added to a taxi commission book which is circulated to every fleet in the city.

In effect the Commission has started black listing procedures in order to protect the profits of the garage owners. It was for this reason that the commission was first set up and Lazar has done everything in his power to carry out this directive from the fleet owners.

"GUERRILLA" WARFARE

This new ruling is an attempt by the government to cut off the recent upsurge of "guerrilla" warfare carried out by some drivers in order to supplement their meager wages, which have

been hit by the tremendous rise in the cost of living. Cab drivers have not received an increase in wages in four years.

The Van Arsdale bureaucracy—which did everything in its power in the last contract to sidetrack any fight for an increase in wages—has been forced to do something to appease the anger of the ranks. But a few hours of protest is not enough.

The Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract supports this demonstration but calls upon the Van Arsdale leadership to also fight for a decent wage through 60 percent of the meter. At the same time it must be realized that the Taxi Commission is the government. There cannot be an end to the attacks of this Commission unless the Democrats and Republicans are thrown out. The Central Labor Council, led by Van Arsdale, must take steps to build a labor party.

Bronx Hospital Workers Back Fired Delegate

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—One hundred-fifty technicians from the X-Ray and Laboratory departments at Bronx Municipal Hospital walked off their jobs on May 8 when X-Ray delegate John Quintas was fired for "insubordination."

The workers, members of Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199, stayed out until May 11, despite the refusal of 1199 leaders to give them official support, and demanded that Quintas, an 1199 delegate, be fully re-instated.

The firing was the culmination of a long fight at the hospital to maintain decent working conditions and health care. Difficult X-Ray procedures involving spinal injuries have always been done in the presence of a doctor and moreover, the technicians have insisted that only the doctors are qualified to move such patients.

Such a situation took place May 8 when Delegate Quintas refused to proceed without a doctor and was immediately fired. Workers at Bronx Municipal have stated that Quintas was deliberately chosen to handle the patient as a pretext to fire him.

LIP SERVICE

During the entire four days the technicians stayed out, the 1199 leadership, while they paid lip service to the struggle and did not actually order them to go back, would not extend the fight

3,363 Reject Sullivan In PFT Election

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—A crisis of leadership in the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers was deepened in last week's union election. For the first time, a collective bargaining slate of Frank Sullivan and John Ryan was seriously challenged.

Although they received 5075 votes, the Membership Service Three slate received 3363 votes.

This unprecedented challenge to the Ryan-Sullivan leadership shows the deep divisions which now exist in the PFT due to anger over the contract settlement and the eight week strike earlier this year.

This election has completely exposed the betrayals of the Progressive Caucus and left them in serious crisis. The Stalinist leadership of this caucus has clearly refused to fight for an alternative leadership to Sullivan. This caucus ran several candidates but no opposition to Ryan and Sullivan, and no attempt to challenge the contract which was a central issue in the strike.

Instead they continued to campaign for greater union democracy and reforms. The weakness of their vote shows the bankruptcy of the Stalinist policy in this period.



Leon Davis

to the other departments at Bronx Municipal, Jacobi or Albert Einstein. In this way the 1199 bureaucrats allowed the strike to become isolated and peter out.

A compromise agreement was reached which will place Quintas on the City payroll pending an arbitration hearing May 18.

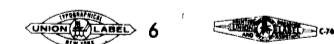
The attack on Quintas is part of the drive of City and private hospitals to bust the strength of 1199 in preparation for drastic cutbacks in services and jobs that have already begun. Behind the explosion and anger of Bronx Municipal workers is the deal made last year between 1199 President Leon Davis and the City to transfer 1199 members at City hospitals onto the City payroll and into the City union, District Council 37, with losses in benefits and other rights.

Nixon's budget cuts mean that now the City is reorganizing hospital care in order to destroy it. This is why they are trying to test out the 1199 ranks and their leadership to see how far they can go.

READY

What is clear from Bronx Municipal is that the ranks are ready to fight but the leadership is petrified of strikes. They would not have walked off their jobs if they felt that the union leaders would have fought for Quintas. Davis is determined to prevent any new explosions in the future.

The awarding of a 7.5 percent wage increase to 1199 members has solved nothing. We can now expect many more severe attacks on working conditions and we must fight to make the 1199 leadership mobilize the entire union to defend any section of workers who are either on strike or who face layoffs.



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

BY BRUCE MCKAY

WASHINGTON, May 7—Over a thousand journalists gathered here this weekend to attend the Second A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention ("Liebling II") sponsored by the journalism review (More).

This convention was held at a particularly critical time for everyone who works in the news media, at a point when the press is coming under increasingly sharp and determined attacks by the government and when the certain degree of independence won by a few journalists on some of the so-called liberal newspapers is coming to an end.

Liebling II was convened in the midst of the most serious political crisis in the history of the American government, a crisis precipitated by the determined efforts of a few reporters to uncover the Watergate conspiracy.

It was also held in the midst of an international economic crisis which has already forced Nixon to twice devalue the dollar, impose wage controls and initiate an international trade war. It was this economic crisis which led to the Watergate spying expedition, as well as to an intensification of the attacks on the press which had begun as far back as the mid-1960s when a few of the reporters covering Vietnam began questioning the role of the US there and reporting what they actually saw.

CLASH

As the economic crisis deepens, Nixon must prepare for a decisive clash with the powerful American working class. This means preparing to destroy every basic democratic right of workers, including the right to a free press. It means bringing newspapers like the Washington Post back into line and cracking the whip of editorial discipline in the newsroom to reassert the privileges of capitalist ownership.

Above all, it means that the government must concentrate its attacks upon the working class press in this country.

While a self-congratulatory atmosphere prevailed in the discussion of Watergate during the convention, the very success of reporters in exposing the conspiracy will intensify the attacks and magnify all the dangers which journalists now face.

These dangers were expressed by Garry Wills, a journalist who has covered Nixon for several years, in Saturday's panel discussion of Watergate and its meaning.

"Nixon is at his best when he has an enemy to attack," Wills said. "He does have to find an enemy in order to get off the hook in the Watergate case. It can't be Haldeman or Ehrlichman or Mitchell. He has to find a guy and counter-attack."

"He'll find his enemies. They'll be the old ones, the ideological ones, the 'Commies' he used to attack back in the 1950s."

Unlike the 1950s, however, Nixon must attack not only the left

but the entire working class. Instead of a period of compromise and relative economic stability, Nixon faces a period of crisis. Watergate has brought home to Nixon and the capitalist class he serves the necessity of strangling any semblance of a free press.

In this context, it is hardly surprising that the first to go to jail in the aftermath of the Watergate burglary was, not a Nixon aide or even one of the seven burglars, but a reporter.

Liebling II was held not only at a point when the press faces an intensification of the government's attacks, but in a period when journalists will also come increasingly into conflict with their own capitalist bosses.

In the printing industry, publishers are introducing automation, speedup and layoffs and are insisting on Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines if not less. They are moving to break not only the printing craft unions but the Guild—or to keep out the unions where they have never successfully organized.

They will ruthlessly stifle the movement among journalists, especially the younger ones who come out of the student ferment of the 1960s, to gain control over the editorial and news content of their papers and establish "democracy in the newsroom."

ISSUES

These issues were all very much on the minds of the working newsmen who attended the convention and were repeatedly brought forward despite the liberalism and middle class radicalism which dominated all of the workshops. The convention revealed that a growing number of journalists are beginning in a small way to grapple with the central questions they now face and want to fight back against Nixon and their own bosses.

This was partially reflected in the topics of some of the workshops: "Getting Subpoenaed: How to Fight Back," "The Guild and AFTRA: Can Journalists Survive on Bread and Butter Alone?" and "Power in the Newsroom: Who Has It and How to Get It."

Of particular importance during the convention were the issues involving the role of the unions, control over working conditions and editorial content and the very nature of the capitalist press and broadcasting media.

The convention sponsors, as well as most of the participating journalists, wanted to approach the question of who controls the editorial and news content of the newspaper or TV or radio news program as a matter of "reforming, or radically changing, the profession," in the words of Lance Tapley, who chaired the final workshop on "Where Do We Go From Here?"

Panelists in the "Power in the Newsroom" workshop posed the solution to this vital question as a matter of gaining participation in management, if necessary, and electing editors and making editorial decisions according to democratic principles, using the example of *Le Monde* and a few other European newspapers.

In the workshop on the role of the Newspaper Guild and AFTRA, which represents TV and radio journalists, this same



Crisis In The Newsroom



Los Angeles Free Press editor Art Kunkin at 'alternate media' workshop (bottom). From left to right: Washington Post reporter Morton Mintz, AFTRA Pres. Sanford Wolff, Washington Post reporter Stephen Rosenfeld, CBS News correspondent George Harman and Newspaper Guild President Charles Perlik.

question was disguised in a veil of "professionalism" while Guild President Charles Perlik posed a solution in terms of winning contract concessions here and there to give reporters more control over the use of their stories—so-called integrity and voice in product clauses.

But, as Perlik himself said, "You're trying to take a man's power away from him, and a publisher is certainly not going to let you take his power away without a fight."

It is not today even a matter of taking away an individual publisher's power to control what goes into his paper. It is precisely this question which is at the heart of Nixon's attacks on the press—the capitalist government itself will intervene to control editorial and news content wherever publishers and broadcasters fail to crack the whip hard enough.

With the international crisis overshadowing every development, the capitalist class cannot afford to grant even the smallest concession, to those idealistic reporters who believe they can

"reform" the capitalist press to make it honest.

As one reporter from Portland, Maine, said in the Guild-AFTRA workshop, "Unless we start talking about what we're going to do about the means of production, we're just going to be sitting around talking about 'professionalism.'"

RADICALS

The middle class radicals at the convention—representatives of the "alternative media"—also put forward the position that a solution to the crisis facing journalists can be found within the system. Because some of these "alternative" newspapers like the Los Angeles Free Press print news which "establishment" newspapers will not touch, the workshop organized by these radicals attracted a lot of attention from reporters who work for the regular capitalist press.

But these newspapers either sink into mysticism and the drug culture or espouse empty radicalism or, like the Free Press and The Village Voice, they are in fact profit making,

capitalist enterprises. None of them offer any real alternative to the capitalist press. None of them offer any way to fight back against the government's attacks.

It is only the strength of the working class and the trade unions which offer a way for the men and women in the newsroom to fight the attacks of Nixon and their own bosses, and it is only the development of the working class press—the *Bulletin*—which poses a real alternative to the capitalist press.

What Perlik and AFTRA President Sanford "Bud" Wolff utterly refused to address themselves to in their discussion of the role of their unions was the fact that every fight which the unions take up, whether for wages or for control over working conditions and editorial content, is today a political fight.

The only way forward is in the fight to unite the labor movement politically in a labor party based on the unions and socialist policies, and for a Congress of Labor which can develop a program to fight Nixon and force him to resign.

YSA Member Joins AFSCME Witch-hunt

BY AN 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS, May 15—Acting in panic on the eve of a mass meeting called to take a strike authorization vote, the Executive Committee of Local 1164, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees of the University of Minnesota voted May 14 to uphold the charges of Eric Nyberg and to expel Perry and Liz Tilleraas from the union.

Flying in the face of the membership's wishes to mount a real campaign for the signing of a decent contract, the leadership of 1164 refused to build this mass strike authorization vote meeting and persisted instead with this expulsion.

The university negotiators, in mediation sessions this week, showed their utter contempt for the union and the contract fight by offering a \$375 minimum salary and a two cent wage increase, no shift differential, and no dependent insurance coverage. As the chief university negotiator stated, "We don't set wages according to what people need."

The trial began last week, and was continued to May 14. Under pressure of the massive campaign waged in defense of the Tilleraases, Grosscup, one of the accusers, was forced to drop two of his charges that named the Workers League at the first session of the trial. The balance of his charges were dropped after an Executive caucus during the second session. But this in no way alters the essential nature of the charges: that the Tilleraases are being charged and their expulsions have been carried out because they fought for a political program within the union movement.

The Grosscup charges were dropped because of the vigorous campaign mounted at the trial within the ranks of the union and among other Minnesota unionists protesting the use of red-baiting to silence political opposition and to protect the cozy relationship of the 1164 and the Council 6 bureaucracy with Minnesota Democratic Farmer Labor Party Governor Anderson.

President Charles Williams would not let the many letters received by the Executive Board be read into the record or even reported at the trial. He claims they were irrelevant. But he acted as chief prosecutor, openly aiding Nyberg, a Progressive Labor Party supporter, who used his charges to continue the red-baiting drive.

The chief "witness" against the defendants was a taped recording of a former union member, Janelle Hongess.

The specific charge was that the Tilleraases "went around telling members that the special meeting being called was not an official union meeting." Hongess, however, testified to the fact that Perry Tilleraas had tried to sell her a *Bulletin* and that her arguments with him were about union strategy and politics. This was accepted in evidence in spite of its irrelevance.

In addition, the Tilleraases

were denied a chance to cross-examine the witness in direct violation of the Constitution.

This one supporter of the YSA was in the local cheek by jowl with PL-SDS supporters. In spite of her previous equivocal position that she intended "to listen and evaluate Nyberg's charges on the basis of their merit," she played an active role in forcing through the expulsion. She took the stand each time in support of Nyberg's charges. She was the only witness on behalf of Nyberg outside of PL-SDS supporters.

The union's very existence is now in question in the face of the hostile administration. The Caucus for a Decent Contract has stepped up its struggle to mobilize the ranks for a "yes" vote at the May 15 meeting and for the local to repudiate the actions of its Executive Board.

In the meantime plans for an appeal are underway.



Liz Tilleraas testifying at trial where she and Perry Tilleraas, at her right, were expelled from 1164 for fighting for a political program in the union.

Strike Hits Ammo Plant

BY A REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—About 300 workers here, members of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association Local 93, are on strike against the Kisco Company, Incorporated for a new three year contract in which they are asking for a one dollar raise for each of the three years.

Kisco, which makes ammunition for the government, has offered less than one-fourth of

that amount for the lowest paying jobs, and not more than 42 cents a year for the highest paying jobs.

The strikers complained about the working conditions at the plant. One said: "The place leaks when it rains, it's infested with rats, it's hot in the summer and cold in the winter."

Another said, "You can't get sick. If you do need a doctor's excuse and if you don't have one, they will fire you."

Another said, "The place is one big safety hazard. There is no safety plan. We need proper medical facilities."

Local 93 has been on strike since April 29 and the company has stated that they expect the strike to last for over a month.

One of the strikers was angry because Kisco hired three supervisors two days before the strike and are now using them to scab. The trucking company they use would not honor the pickets. One truck broke the picket line and two strikers were almost killed.

The betrayal of the union leadership is shown by their refusal to take the strike seriously. The strikers receive no strike benefits other than food stamps and when they walk the pickets they receive only a dollar an hour.

Support from the rest of the labor movement must be won for financial support as well as a fight for a Congress of Labor to map out a strategy to fight against Phase Three.

Editorial Repudiate Anti-Communism

In a revival of the anti-communist witch-hunting tactics which scarred the American labor movement in the 1940s and 1950s, trade union bureaucrats together with supporters of the Stalinists of the Progressive Labor Party have engineered the expulsion of Perry and Liz Tilleraas, supporters of the Workers League, from AFSCME Local 1164 in Minneapolis.

This expulsion was undemocratically carried out against the two militants because they fought for a political program within the trade union movement and demanded strike action to defend AFSCME.

Now, when the trade union bureaucracy is forced to reverse its position and call a mass meeting for a strike authorization vote—vindicating the program put forward by Perry and Liz Tilleraas—it seeks to eliminate all political opposition within AFSCME. In this way the bureaucracy hopes to weaken the AFSCME ranks as they begin their strike.

It comes as no surprise that right-wing bureaucrats unite with Stalinists in order to purge the union of militants. The precedent for this type of red-baiting was established more than 30 years ago in Minneapolis. On the eve of World War Two, the labor bureaucracy and the Communist Party assisted Roosevelt when he used the notorious Smith Act to jail the leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party on grounds of sedition.

Given this history, it is scandalous that a supporter of the Young Socialist Alliance—youth movement of the SWP—became the key witness for the AFSCME bureaucracy and the PL-SDS Stalinists in the kangaroo court trial which led to the expulsion of the Tilleraases.

The SWP-YSA has defended the Stalinist Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League against hooligan attacks. We support that principled decision and have joined in that defense.

But we demand that the SWP-YSA explain publicly why one of their members supported this Stalinist attack in AFSCME against Trotskyists. We call on Jack Barnes and Andrew Pulley to repudiate the action of this YSA supporter in Local 1164, to publicly withdraw her statements as witness, and to direct their supporters in AFSCME and the entire labor movement to demand the immediate reinstatement of Perry and Liz Tilleraas.

Ozark Mechanics Fight Company Spy Cameras

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, May 11—Members of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association Local 24 and 4 have rejected, by a four to one margin, a proposed contract which only Ozark Airlines felt was good.

The union leadership recommended that the contract be defeated because it did nothing to stop company harassment and did not meet the pay raises and benefits being fought for.

The main issue that concerns the workers, who have been on strike since April 20, is company surveillance. Ozark Airlines has set up television cameras in fourteen places with nine of them in work areas to spy on the employees.

A spokesman for the union said, "There are no limits to it. If we allow Ozark to do it, they all will. They're using security as a reason for watching workers."

The AMFA has been working without a contract for over a year because of the Federal Railroad Act. Since their contract expired last year, Ozark has been increasing their harassment of workers. One incident involved one worker being sent home and given three weeks off for taking ice cream off a plane. He was reduced from lead mechanic to regular technician.

The workers are also fighting against foreman seniority. If a foreman gets laid off, he can

bump a union man out of his job. The mechanics also want a pension fund equal to that of other airlines.

Ozark also is backing away from giving the workers a 5.5 percent pay increase by splitting up payments and not giving one lump sum.

Teamsters Local 618 told their Ozark employees that they could take their choice whether or not to cross the picket lines. Twelve members of Local 618 are scabbing, eight are honoring the lines. The Pilots' Union has filed charges against five pilots for not honoring the picket lines.

With the control that the government has over the transportation industry and the fight that the airline companies are carrying out to break the unions through the "Mutual Aid Agreement"—a set up where any company that is on strike gets paid during the strike by the other companies—the strikers must be conscious of the political implications involved.

One commented on a labor party: "Let's face it. The Democrats and Republicans are both crooked. The Democrats haven't been caught at it as much as the Republicans."

Battle Looms On Teamster Contract

BY WILL ROEMER

CHICAGO, May 12—Fitzsimmons announced last week that the over-the-road truck drivers of the Teamster Union were asking for a 50 cents an hour increase for each year of the three year contract, a one cent a mile increase, a "no ceiling" cost of living, three dollars a week more to the Health and Welfare Fund, and three dollars to the pension fund.

As soon as these statements were made to the press and media, a vicious campaign denouncing the Teamsters was begun by the newspapers on behalf of big business. The *Chicago Tribune*, the mouthpiece of Chicago business, said the package proposed was "staggering." The *Tribune* quoted a Chicago trucking company official as saying, "If they get anywhere what they are asking, it means you can kiss wage restrictions goodbye."

The Master Freight Contract covers 450,000 truck drivers nationally and is the pace setter for all Teamster locals and much of the rest of labor. This is why it is around this contract that the capitalist press comes out vehemently opposing labor.

It was only three years ago that the Chicago Independent Truck Drivers in a post-contract strike of 85 days forced Fitzsimmons to renegotiate the national contract.

STRENGTH

Since that time workers have gotten more than a taste of what Nixon is planning for labor. They have also realized their strength and, as they have sought to mobilize this strength, they have come into a collision with their leadership.

Fitzsimmons, in announcing the perspective for the Master Freight, is careful to try to hide the inadequacy of the wage demand by stressing the overall package which provides a 20 percent increase in the first year. He is trying to make it palatable to the ranks. Locally, he is backed up by Louis Peick, head of Local 705 who has called the proposed contract demands "satisfactory."

OPPOSITION

There is strong opposition to the Fitzsimmons leadership in the Teamsters. One member of Local 705 told the *Bulletin*: "Nothing about the contract has been discussed with us. The last union meeting lasted one-half hour and they said nothing. I think that we need to kick Fitzsimmons out and I think that we need to have a labor party."

Fitzsimmons' continued presence on the Cost of Living Council makes clear that he will not fight the Nixon government. He and the AFL-CIO leadership remain the most loyal servants of Nixon right at the point when labor must construct its own party to sweep away the debris of the capitalist parties and replace it with a labor government pledged to socialist policies.

A Teamster Caucus of the

Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party must be built in the locals and win a decent contract that meets the following demands:

- One dollar per hour first year and wage reopeners.
- Full cost of living escalator clause.
- Guaranteed 40 hour week.
- Twenty and out at \$650 a month.

The Teamsters must break with Nixon and the Democrats and initiate a call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Dayton School Board To Cut 550 Teachers

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON—Teachers here are faced with cuts in employment of at least 15 percent for the school year 1973-1974. In the face of these cuts, the Dayton Classroom Teachers Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association, continues to offer compromises to the Board of Education in spite of the fact that each compromise offer has been rejected.

There is a projected cut of at least 550 teachers including 280 teachers who have not had their contracts renewed. At least half the elementary counselors and special subject teachers are being eliminated. In addition to the teachers, teacher aides and other staff are being drastically reduced. Class sizes are excessive now, in some cases over 40. If the cuts remain, this will mean an impossible situation for teachers and students.

The Dayton School Board has been split between so called conservative and liberal factions. While pretending that they have differences over integration, both factions have been together in carrying out attacks on both teachers and students.

TORN OFF

The cover over their seeming differences has now been torn off. When it came to the teachers and aides, they were unanimous, voting seven to zero for the budget cuts. In a special meeting on May 10, Keith Haws, President of the DCTA, gave a revealing recital of the compromises he had already presented to the Board, noting they all had been rejected.

He then stated that the Association was going to make its final compromise offer. The compromise called for: reducing the student day by one-half hour in the primary grades, so primary school teachers will

have more planning time, although they will still be expected to teach gym, art and music themselves, accepting the cuts from attrition, requiring only that 150 of these vacancies be filled by those whose contracts have not been renewed; that any future hiring shall first draw on "qualified non-renewals" before any new teachers are hired.

The legislative director of the Ohio Education Association (OEA), while pointing out that the cuts were not confined to Dayton but had become a national issue, stated that the different actions taken nationally are being studied to see which type is most successful.

Leaving out any reference to the strikes which have taken place, he announced that the OEA is considering a legal brief on the desegregation issue in Dayton now before the federal court, hoping that proof of the bad effects of the cuts on successful desegregation may bring about a court reversal of the cuts.

This proposal is a diversion, putting forth the notion that teachers can expect a favorable intervention by the courts, in spite of all the injunctions and rulings that have been handed down by the courts against the teachers.

Although the cuts were admitted to be a national question, no political perspective or proposals for strike action were put forth by the leadership at the meeting.

A leaflet put out by the Dayton

Young Socialists and distributed at the meeting gave the political perspective that must be taken up by the teachers, pointing out that the attacks and the cuts are taking place from Nixon on down to the Dayton School Board. The leaflet called for united strike action backed by the AFT and all of Dayton labor, and for initiation of a call by the Dayton AFL-CIO Council, the NEA and the AFT for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Mandate To AFSCME

BY A REPORTER

KALAMAZOO, Mich.—An Executive Board meeting of the Western Michigan University Campus Employees Union, members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), voted to approve a resolution based on the program of the Committee for a Decent Contract.

In the face of recent layoffs and threats of job reclassification at the university, the CDC program endorsed by the last mass membership meeting of the union called for:

- No layoffs.
- Rehiring of all those laid off.
- No downgrading of standards through job reclassification.
- Union strike action to stop layoffs and job reclassification.
- A blueprint presented for a full membership vote on any further changes in personnel policies.
- That the union call a Con-

Midwest News

IUE Pickets Surround Portec

BY MIKE JAMES

ST. PAUL, May 10—Last Friday International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1140 mass picketed the Portec plant to bring the company to its knees and grant the strikers a decent wage. Two hundred and fifty men surrounded the gates and prevented office and supervisory personnel from driving in.

The company then speedily rushed to the court to obtain an injunction on the grounds that the strikers damaged an office worker's car. Further, the company claimed that they must be allowed to provide necessary services to their customers regardless of the strike.

The central issue in this fight is Portec's refusal to grant the men a cost of living escalator increase or a wage settlement beyond five percent. The court defends the right of the company to keep the plant operating while it deliberately works to starve out the IUE.

The judge announced that picketing will be limited. Just how severely this limitation will be is to be decided by the court on Wednesday. So far, the leadership of the local has put forward no strategy beyond courtroom litigation to win the union's demands for a cost of living increase.

Throughout the United Electrical Workers and the IUE a massive confrontation with Nixon's wage guidelines is rapidly building up. It has already exploded at Portec. Local 1140 is not facing this struggle alone. Electrical workers must demand that a general strike against Phase Three be called by the AFL-CIO and a Congress of Labor convened to answer Nixon's attacks.

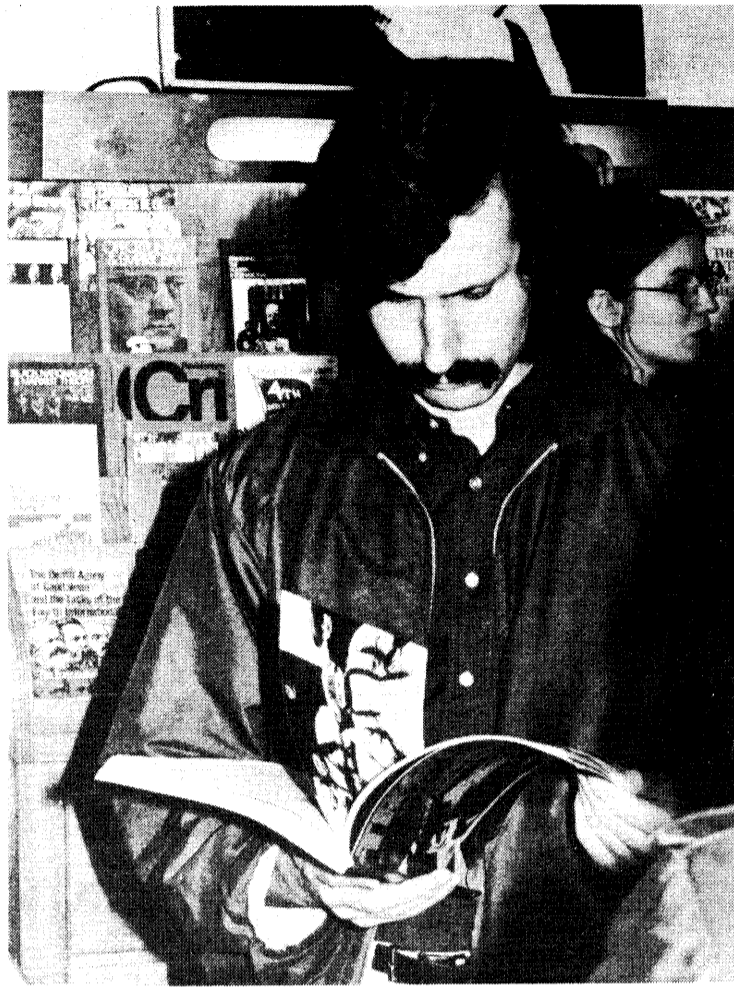
Local 1140 must defy any court injunction on picketing and rally the support of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and the members of all its affiliated unions to close Portec down.

gress of Labor to protect the local and all university employees against government attacks.

The membership meeting, when voting on these contract demands, mandated the Executive Board to take action on these demands. The Executive Board accepted the resolution with one exception: that the call for union strike action be changed to a general "union action." They then called for a special membership meeting to vote again on the amended resolution.

Members of the Executive Board said they would take their resolution to a statewide meeting of the heads of Campus Employees locals in AFSCME.

At the scheduled membership meeting, the Committee for a Decent Contract will fight for strike action in defense of the union, and for a proposal that a Congress of Labor be called to begin the building of a labor party to counter the attacks from the Democrats and Republicans.



Twin Cities YS literature sale after the recent May Day meeting. The YS plans big campaign to build National Conference.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon Scandal Shakes Dollar

(Continued From Page 1)

the traditional investigative agency, the Nixon Administration illegally ordered the CIA to operate within the US and recruited a body of political police out of the most desperate anti-communist elements. Among their assignments was the burglarizing of the office of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

"Ehrlichman and Haldeman—particularly Haldeman—were up to their ears in this, along with Dean, in trying to involve the CIA in this whole Watergate mess," stated Senator Stuart Symington.

In other words, Nixon planned to use the CIA—American imperialism's principle arm of international counterrevolution—against the workers' movement in this country.

This new information confirms the warnings made last fall by the Bulletin that Watergate was part of Nixon's attempts to develop the political apparatus for Bonapartist rule over the working class:

"More sharply than any other action undertaken by the Nixon Administration, the conspiracy has exposed the preparations made by big business for the establishment of a police state and the destruction of the trade unions."

Related to the Watergate case, financier Robert Vesco has offered to testify—in exchange for immunity—that frenzied swindling and gross corruption are the ways of life for the administration and practically all the politicians in Washington.

In addition to its essential conspiratorial character, Vesco's remarks demonstrate that Watergate is also a super Teapot Dome in which politicians from Nixon on down function with utter contempt for their own laws.

But the revelations which have shaken the government to its roots have not altered the character of the Nixon Administration. Nixon maintains his arrogant contempt for all democratic processes which is an expression of his hatred of the working class.

Nixon continues the bombing of Cambodia in spite of the fact that Congress in both its houses has voted to cut off funds.

At the same time, Nixon and his toady Kissinger rattle their sabres against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, threatening a new holocaust of saturation bombing.

Nor is Nixon prepared to give up his intentions to launch a brutal trade war against Europe.

However, Nixon's attempts to carry out these policies come up against the strength of the working class—and this strength is what underlies the explosions over Watergate that have virtually paralyzed this government.

It is only the refusal of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to take advantage of Nixon's weakness that permits him to remain in office.

The fact is that Nixon's entire career was a preparation for Watergate. The touchstone of his political life has been anti-communism and a hatred of the American labor movement.

Nixon first gained political office as an agent of Southern California reactionaries through a vicious red-baiting campaign against the liberal Jerry Voorhis. He used similar methods against Helen Douglas to enter the Senate. Nixon then framed Alger Hiss, urged the atomic bombing of Vietnam in 1954, and befriended Joe McCarthy.

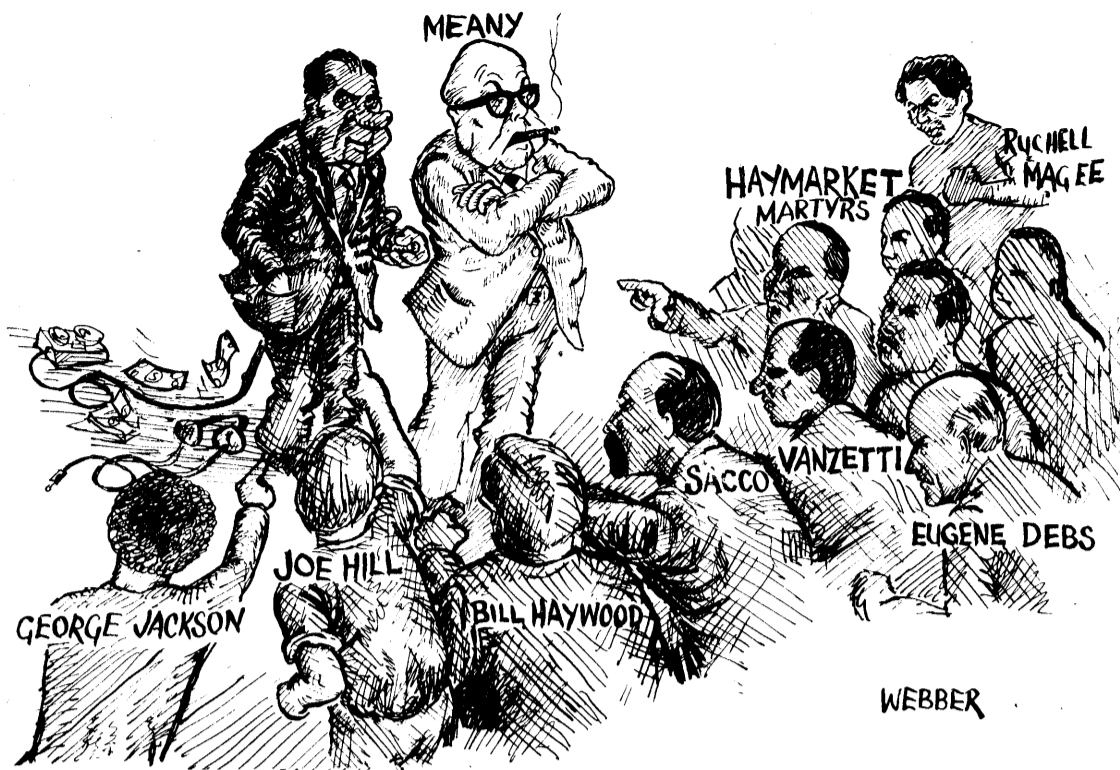
Since 1969, he has ordered the saturation bombing of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, upheld every fascist and bloody military-police dictatorship in the world, and has sought to strip the American working class of its gains in living standards through inflation, wage controls and ruthless budget cuts. The Watergate conspiracy has exposed the methods he is prepared to use to carry out these policies.

The chief danger facing the American working class is the willingness of the trade union bureaucracy to give him another chance.

Nixon can and must be thrown out of office. The working class must be mobilized independently to bring this about and to create a political alternative to Nixon.

Nixon can be defeated and the rights and gains of American workers defended only through the calling of a Congress of Labor which unites the entire working class against the government and builds a labor party to fight for a socialist program for American workers.

The Workers League and Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on all trade unionists to take up this fight in their locals.



THATS THE AMERICAN WAY... HE'S INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY!

What we think A Crisis Of Leadership

The strike of 10,000 rubber workers against B.F. Goodrich exposes more clearly than ever the treacherous role being played by the trade union bureaucracy.

In virtual rebellion against the model "pattern" established earlier this month by the URW leadership, the Goodrich strike represents the growing movement of the industrial working class in conflict with Nixon's Phase Three policies.

It is the strength of the American working class that is the heart of Nixon's crisis. The Watergate Conspiracy was aimed against the labor movement as part of the implementation of the government's attacks on the living conditions and democratic rights of the working class that were originally outlined by Nixon on August 15, 1971 and then carried forward in Phase One, Two and Three.

Now the Watergate scandal is blowing up in Nixon's face because of the strength of the working class and he is confronted—as seen by the rubber workers' strike—by a powerful wage offensive.

Never have the conditions been more favorable for convening a Congress of Labor to unite the working class in action to force Nixon out of office and to construct a mass labor party as the political alternative to the discredited politicians of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

But, under these conditions, when Nixon is at his weakest, he finds his staunchest allies in the trade union bureaucracy. Every section of the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamster leadership is attempting to hold back the movement of the working class and to prevent—above all—the development of a political struggle to remove Nixon from office.

At the meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, George Meany publicly defended Nixon and ruled out any independent initiative by the labor movement to demand his resignation—let alone build a labor party to replace him.

While refusing to discuss Watergate, the AFL-CIO also decided to remain on Nixon's Phase Three Cost of Living Council and—for the first time—did not demand the end of Phase Three controls.

I.W. Abel, the steel workers

president, told reporters during the Executive Council meeting that steel locals that have voted down his "no strike" deal with US Steel "have no right to do so."

It is not Abel, Meany and Fitzsimmons alone who are determined to save Nixon's neck and who bitterly oppose any fight against Phase Three. Their views are shared by all those so-called "lefts" and "progressives" in the labor bureaucracy who are enthusiastically supported by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party.

ILWU President Harry Bridges is engaged in negotiations with the West Coast shippers to arrange a deal by which there will be no strike even if there is no contract. Modeling himself after Abel, Bridges is only asking the shippers to guarantee a wage increase of less than 5.5 percent.

The new leadership of the United Mine Workers is emphatically opposed to the resignation of Nixon. UMW Vice President Trbovich told the Bulletin: "You have a lot of good people in government. It would serve no purpose to have them resign. There are some Republicans who are going to be hurt and I don't think they deserve it."

In response to a question about the labor movement taking advantage of the weakness of Nixon due to Watergate to lead a campaign to smash Phase Three, Trbovich replied: "I don't think we should use Watergate as a foundation. We should continue along as we have in the past."

The refusal of the labor bureaucracy to speak out on

Watergate and their continued collaboration with Phase Three is proof that Meany, Woodcock, Miller and the rest stand with Nixon against the American working class.

Their policies of collaboration pose the greatest dangers because they are giving Nixon the time he so desperately needs to pick up the pieces of his shattered administration and the opportunity to launch more vicious attacks against the working class.

However, the rubber workers' strike shows that the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy is now coming into collision with the determination of the working class to defend its rights. American workers have had it with Phase Three and have begun to fight the controls that have been imposed by the government just as the Watergate scandal is having an important effect on the political thinking of the working class.

The enormous possibilities that are now opening up to bring about a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor party requires the construction of a Marxist leadership in the working class. Politics must be brought into the unions against the trade union bureaucracy and their Stalinist apologists in the actual struggle to mobilize workers against the Nixon government. It is in this way that the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will construct caucuses inside of every union and lead the fight for a political alternative to Nixon.

Building the Bulletin

Fort Greene leads the way having already gone over its sub quota with 386. This last week a total of 910 subs came in nationally, bringing the grand total to 9,874. We must continue to bring in over 800 subs per week for the next three weeks to go over our goal of 12,000 subs by June 1.

In the New York area, 204 subs were gotten in a single day mobilization in the Jamaica, Queens area by the Brooklyn branches. The Manhattan and Bronx branches got 154 subs in the Elizabeth, New Jersey area. A number of individual branches did very well: Washington—84; Bushwick—70; Philadelphia—69; Upper West Side—67.

We warn the comrades that the last three weeks will be difficult because of all the work and travel time needed for the National Young Socialists Conference. However, this can also be a fine opportunity for subscription work if the Bulletin is fought for during mass mobilization work for the conference.

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in his pamphlet *A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters* is forced to confront the open liquidationism within the CP which led to over 30 percent of the membership voting for McGovern as well as members of the Central Committee. He does this by putting the blame on the working class and on the ranks of the CP. Absolving himself and the central leadership from responsibility for this and the policies which led to it, Hall tries to cover up the whole role the CP has played and the history of Stalinism.

As we pointed out in the last article, liquidationism in the CP and its class collaborationist policies are not, as Hall wants to view them, the result of "excesses," "confusion," or "mistakes" but the very logic of the policies formulated and defended by the world Stalinist movement and the American Communist Party for over 45 years.

In fact, Hall got where he is today because of his loyal defense of these policies and the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The present leadership of the CP was formed out of a struggle within the American CP to unconditionally defend the bureaucracy from attack by the working class. This was the period of the outbreak of a tremendous crisis in the world Stalinist movement following the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution. This crisis had its sharpest reflection within the American party, actually threatening its very existence, for it had for so long been the most subservient defender of the zigs and zags of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its reactionary perspective of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence." It was Hall who was put into office in 1959 to pick up the pieces.

There is a movement now within the CP to create a myth around Hall as a great leader of the rank and file of the American working class, as a born proletarian leader, and of late as a great "Marxist-Leninist" theoretician. In a eulogy to him on his 60 birthday, a resolution of the Political Committee attempts to paint this picture:

"Gus Hall began his career as a fighting proletarian in his early teens. Gus Hall's commitment to the workers' cause in the class struggle has been the mark and main content of his life for 45 of his 60 years. It has been a hard way at times but he has traveled it without any detours.

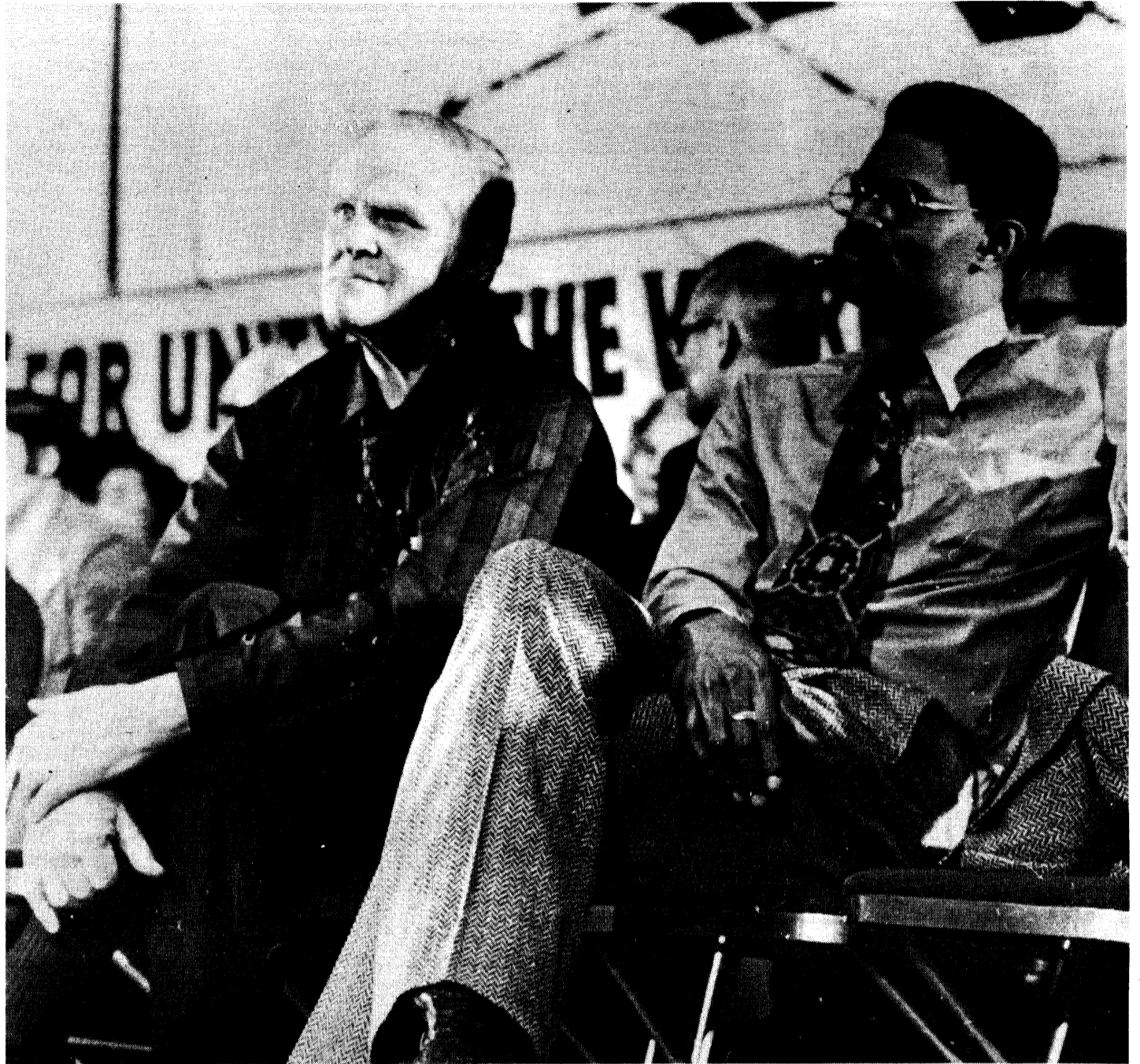
"Gus Hall rendered outstanding service to the trade union organization of the workers of giant corporations of the mass production industries as a leading steel worker-organizer in the late '30s."

HISTORY

Hall's history as a steel worker is being used by the CP now to portray him as another William Z. Foster. In an introduction to a pamphlet by Hall on Steel, *It Takes a Fight to Win*, the following is said about the author:

"It is characteristic that the history of the Communist Party, USA is intertwined with the life and work of two of its outstanding leaders who had particularly close connection with steel workers. William Z. Foster, for many years Chairman of the Communist Party, was the leader of the great 1919 Steel Strike, and Gus Hall follows with leadership in the Little Steel Strike of 1937."

According to this same blurb, Hall "was



Gus Hall during the 1972 elections: support to McGovern. Hall, after many years of training in derailing struggles of the working class, faces an unprecedented crisis within the Communist Party USA as the working class internationally goes on an offensive.

THE GUS HALL STORY: CHEATING ON HISTORY

the leader of the 1937 Little Steel Strike in Warren, Ohio which was the 'model organizing job' according to Philip Murray. He amazed Phil Murray when he turned down the offer of a well paying job in union leadership to become a \$15 a week organizer for the Communist Party."

Since Hall tries to use his role in 1937 as credentials for leadership of the working class today, it is important to examine it. First, it must be said that the unionization of the steel industry in the late 1930s was a far cry from the struggle that faced Foster in 1919 before the depression and before the rise of the CIO with the bitter battle against craft unionism and the Gompers leadership of the AFL. Foster carried out this battle virtually alone with only a handful of people. In the late 1930s, the union drive in steel was another matter. For the most part, the official leaders simply rode the tide of the labor upsurge generated by the long depression and particularly the victory of the great sit-down strikes in Flint in 1937.

STEEL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The drive to organize steel was put in the hands of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, in which Hall claims to have been an organizer. This Committee was composed for the most part of top officials of unions outside the steel industry. The majority of this steel committee were selected from John L. Lewis' own leadership in the United Mine Workers. Lewis' right-hand man, Philip Murray, was put in charge of the committee. In the way the committee was set up, the leadership was virtually handpicked and imposed from above.

In March of 1937, US Steel signed a con-

tract with the SWOC. This was not so much a credit to Lewis but to the tremendous victory of the sit-downs against General Motors which the heads of US Steel wanted to avoid. The steel workers had absolutely no control over the union. Officers were only elected in 1942. The rank and file steelworkers had not, like the other CIO unions, gone through the long struggles to get their gains. Rather, the gains had come from above. Thus they were not prepared for the struggle which broke out in Little Steel.

Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown Steel and Tube, Inland Steel and Weirton Steel refused to give union recognition to the SWOC. On May 26, 1937 the strike began. Thousands of rank and file steel workers entered into this struggle heroically battling company goons, police and National Guard. But the strike, in which a number of lives were lost, went down to bitter defeat because of the role of the SWOC leadership and the Communist Party.

These forces told the workers that Roosevelt and the Democratic politicians were the "friends of labor" and that the strikers should "welcome" the National Guard, state troopers and police sent in to keep "law and order" by the Democratic "New Deal" governors and mayors. The forces sent in to break the strike were described by these leaders as coming to "protect" the strikers and "keep the mills closed."

In Ohio where Hall—as he himself brags—was a leader of the SWOC, Democratic Governor Davey sent the National Guard into the steel areas. After holding a secret conference with the steel bosses, they moved from Youngstown to Warren, Niles, Dayton, Massillon and Cleveland smashing picket lines, ar-

resting strikers, escorting scabs into the mills. Here, as in the other areas, the Stalinists urged the strikers to welcome the guardsmen as heroes. Two strikers were killed by deputies in Youngstown. Organizers and rank and file were arrested and the union headquarters were raided.

In Canton, Governor Dewey's guardsmen arrested hundreds of workers. One worker was beaten to death and children who jeered at the occupiers were jabbed with bayonets. In Massillon, Ohio deputies armed with tear gas shotguns supplied by Republic Steel opened fire at night into pickets. Two strikers were killed. In a midnight raid, 150 workers were dragged from their homes.

In Chicago, the union leaders and Stalinists told the strikers, who had called a Memorial Day meeting, that Roosevelt and Democratic Mayor Kelly had "guaranteed" the right to peaceful picketing. As the strikers marched across the field, they were met with 200 police that opened fire and charged the crowd with guns and clubs. Ten workers were killed, 40 wounded by bullets and 101—including a child—were injured.

Even after this, the union leaders and the CP continued to place their faith in Roosevelt but Roosevelt answered their pleas with the now famous "A plague on both your houses."

SETBACK

The Little Steel Strike was defeated and was the first serious setback for the CIO. It was defeated not because of the workers, who fought with all determination and heroism, but because of the role of the union leaders and the Stalinists with their faith in Roosevelt and the

other so-called friends of labor. Thus, the workers entered this struggle not prepared and were told by these forces that they could depend on the good graces of the government and not their own independent strength and political struggle.

The role of the Stalinists in this strike stands in sharp contrast to the fight of the Teamsters under the leadership of the Trotskyists in Minneapolis in 1934 which paved the way to the organization of the CIO.

POPULAR FRONT

The reliance on Roosevelt in the 1937 strike was part and parcel of the CP's implementation of the Stalinist policies of the Popular Front, subordinating the independent struggle of the working class to the bureaucracy's ties with American capitalism. This led not only to the defeat of Little Steel but the CP also played a critical role in preventing the tremendous movement of the CIO from breaking with capitalist politics and forming its own political party.

In 1949, Gus Hall wrote an assessment of the role of the CP in steel for Political Affairs entitled "Thirty Years of Struggle in Steel" (September 1949). In this article, Hall completely makes light of the defeat suffered by the steel workers. He writes:

"On May 26, 1937, the SWOC was forced to strike the plants of 'Little Steel' over this issue. The response of the steel workers was 100 percent pro-union. Morale was high. All the plants were closed down. The steel corporations declared war."

Hall then points out how the companies had armed themselves for the battle and continues:

"The strike started on May 26. On Memorial Day, the Chicago police attacked a peaceful union parade with rifles, revolvers, tear gas, etc., killing 7 and wounding 90 strikers. Before the first month was over six more strikers were killed by city and corporation police. The governor of Ohio called the National Guard out to break the strike."

Hall, of course, does not mention that it was he and the other CP members in steel that joined with the union leaders in welcoming the National Guard. He also tries to play down the real impact of these policies and the defeat the steel workers suffered precisely because they were unprepared and demoralized when the so-called friends started sticking guns in their backs.

"After four months of sharp struggle, the union was forced to retreat. The strike was called off, but this time the steel workers were not demoralized or disorganized."

"The Communists and other militant and progressive unionists skillfully led the workers of 'Little Steel' through these difficult days of temporary retreats."

Hall concludes his version with the statement:

"The entire Communist Party gave its best in support of this struggle. Our Party can rightly be proud of its enormous contribution."

Later in his report Hall comes to the "Errors and Weaknesses in our past work." He states:

"Because of the policies of Browder-revisionism, we dropped our guard against the constant penetration of the ideology of class collaboration into this union. We did not expose, we did not sharply enough criticize and attack these policies when they appeared."

"Our weakness was not that we collaborated with the present union leadership, but that while doing so we did not expose and criticize the treacherous, class collaborationist policies of that leadership."

"We did not fight sharply enough against right opportunist tendencies and practices by our own leaders and members."

Here, Hall is careful to avoid any specifics and he tries to hide everything behind the usual scapegoat of Browder who Hall, in fact, supported uncritically and without question up until the Emergency CP Convention in 1945.

CLASS COLLABORATION

What was the ideology of class collaboration? What in fact were the results of failing to "criticize the treach-



American CP was the most loyal supporter of Soviet bureaucracy's brutal repression of Czechoslovakian uprising in 1968.

erous, class collaborationist policies of that leadership? The Stalinists, and Hall is one of their experts at this, always manage to make their "self-criticism" so general in order to brush aside the full impact of their politics, an impact on the lives of thousands of workers who went into battle determined to win their rights and were betrayed and set back by their leaders.

Hall is trying to cheat history when he now parades around as the hero of the steel workers. But you cannot cheat history. For the members of the CP, that history is there despite all the lies Hall now tries to use to cover it. The errors and weaknesses Hall talks about vaguely are not in the past but very much before the CP today. That is why the CP can support so-called progressives like the former Mayor of Cleveland Carl Stokes who called out the National Guard in the same state of Ohio against the Teamsters three years ago. Hall even attacks the Socialist Workers Party in his *Lame Duck* for daring to run candidates against such a man.

The policy of turning to the armed forces of the capitalist state rather than to the independent mobilization of the working class is not something the CP left behind in 1937. In the recent events of the National Caucus of Labor Committee's vicious, anti-communist attack on the CP and the SWP, the CP has up to this point refused to join in a joint defense with other working class tendencies or to call on the unions for support. Instead, it has turned to the New York City police for "protection." At a meeting of the Social Service Employees Union, the supporters of the CP demanded not that the union defend its rights but rather, they called on the union to demand that Mayor Lindsay do the work. At their May Day Rally, which was surrounded by police, there was a call from the platform for applause for New York's finest.

It is the grossest of distortions for the CP to try to compare the Foster of 1919 to the Hall of 1937, both from the standpoint

of their personal contributions and the conditions within the Communist Party. Foster, like James P. Cannon, who was later to become the leaders of the American Trotskyists, was a leader in his own right of some of the first struggles of American workers, which resulted, after the Russian Revolution, in the formation of the Communist Party. It would be more appropriate to compare Hall with the Foster who later became the leader of the Stalinist CP and one of the most obedient servants of the Soviet bureaucracy. Hall, in fact, was trained in this school of Foster. He came to political maturity in the period of the betrayals of the international working class by Stalinism in the 1930s in Germany, France and Spain. He was trained in the school of the class collaborationist politics of the Popular Front, the Moscow Trials and the assassination of Leon Trotsky in which the leaders of the American Communist Party were complicit.

The CP's *Daily Worker* in this period ran screaming headlines about the "Trotskyite, Fascist Conspiracy," demanding that the Trotskyists be driven out of the labor movement. The CP even supported the frame-up of the Trotskyist leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters under the Smith Act. Later, they, including Hall, were to become the victims of this Act. While the Stalinists have, since the dumping of Browder and the Khrushchev revelations, done a lot of breast beating about their "mistakes and errors" they have never repudiated the Moscow Trials.

After his work in the SWOC, Hall became a functionary for the CP. There is very little about him or written by him from this period up to the time of his election as National Secretary of the CP, except around his imprisonment under the Smith Act. Hall was very much a behind the scenes organizer in the CP leadership. He was known among the members of the CP, particularly in Ohio where he was the head of the CP, as not much of a "thinker" or theoretician but as someone loyal to the leadership carrying out the day to day

work. He displayed the subservient mediocrity that has become the hallmark of the Stalinist leadership and its rejection of Marxism. It is only today that the CP tries to create some history for him.

BROWDER

Hall rose in the line of Stalinist functionaries particularly after the 1945 Emergency Convention which ousted Earl Browder. In 1944 Hall was praised for his recruitment drive of workers to the Communist Party in Ohio. This drive was centered around the campaign to "win the war" and was part of the whole patriotic fervor the CP whipped up in defense of the imperialist war. This was also the basis for the CP's defense of every anti-labor policy of the Roosevelt government.

After the Second World War and the capitulation of the Stalinist leadership to imperialism that made possible a new life for capitalism, the alliance between the Soviet bureaucracy with its former allies began to break down with imperialism's renewed war drive and the beginning of the cold war. Stalin, through Jacques Duclos, the leader of the French Communist Party, issued a letter directed against the leadership of the American CP and Browder.

Browder now became the scapegoat for the whole past policies of Stalinism formulated not by Browder but by Stalin himself. Browder was denounced in this letter for "transforming the Teheran declaration of the Allied government into a political platform of class peace in the postwar period." He was criticized for having dissolved the American Communist Party into the Communist Political Association. All of the past errors of the CP were now attributed to Browderism and this has been the well-worn refrain since.

But Browder's policies were merely the logical conclusion that flowed from the policies of Stalin, particularly in the country where the liquidationist pressure was the strongest, where the imperialists were the most powerful. Browder's dissolution



Hall, below left, as Chairman of the Strike Committee during the 1937 Little Steel Strike in Warren, Ohio. Above, the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937, where Hall and the CP joined with the steel union bureaucracy in welcoming the National Guard—the result of the ideology of "peaceful coexistence."

of the CP only followed Stalin's dissolution of the Communist International.

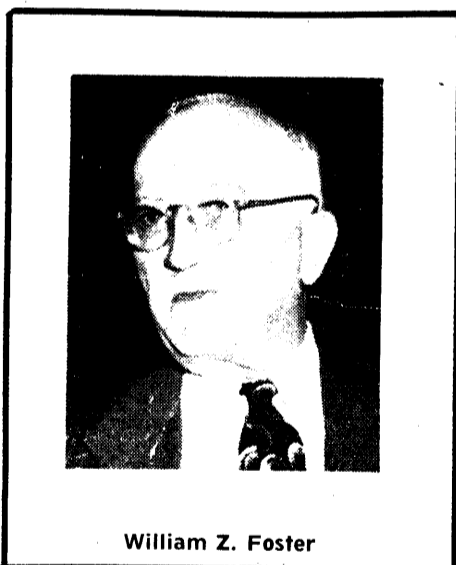
It was Stalin and the diplomatic interests of the bureaucracy—its alliance with Churchill and Roosevelt—that had set the stage for the patriotism of the CP and its open strike-breaking aid for Roosevelt during the war. The leaders of the CP had faithfully followed these policies without question. Now, as Stalin was making a new turn, all of the leaders—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Al Thompson, Eugene Dennis, Benjamin Davis and Hall—lined up with Foster who now became the head of the CP.

All of these leaders had, up until the time of the National Committee meeting, nothing but praise for Browder. Foster, who in his early days had shown some independence, had long before bowed to the wishes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. In the most cynical way, the CP faced this crisis by simply confessing their mistakes and uniting against anyone who would raise questions about this new turn. Hall became Foster's protege in the bureaucracy of the CP.

At the 15 National Convention of the CP, Hall delivered the keynote address, as National Secretary, entitled "Peace Can Be Won Now." Quoting the CP's draft resolution Hall states, "There is no greater patriotic duty than to prevent a third world war." Hall, posing as the "outstanding champion of peace and democracy," put forward the line of the CP for the "struggle for peace in general." Rejecting any question of the struggle of the working class against the war, Hall called for "working for a single major peace center," including "sections of the capitalist class."

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Following Foster's statement to the convention that the CP "is firmly convinced of the possibility of peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism in the world," Hall claimed that if enough pressure is applied through this pacifist campaign the



William Z. Foster

US rulers will be convinced that they can get along with the Soviet Union if they want. The central demand raised is "For negotiation and agreement with the Soviet Union to maintain peace." Hall, in his report, sees the culmination of this "peace" campaign being the elections. He sees not the formation of an independent party of the working class, a labor party, but "peace tickets and peace candidates" to provide a basis "for new realignment in our country's political life" and "a national peace ticket for the 1952 elections in which 'sections of the capitalist class' will participate.

In a section on "Independent Political Action" reminiscent of his *Lame Duck* cover up, Hall says of the campaign the CP waged for the Wallace Progressive Party:

"Hindsight says it might have been wiser for the broad third party forces to find a less rigid and crystallized form than a political party, such as a presidential ticket for that particular election. But the policy was basically correct.

"However, we now know that the masses who were moving away from the two old parties, and large sections of those

who supported the Progressive Party program, had not shed their illusions to the extent of voting for a third party when the showdown came. This was largely because wide sections continued to be influenced by the 'lesser evil' myth, a tendency which was fostered by the unprecedented demagoguery of the Truman campaign."

Again and again, we see the stale Stalinist excuses for their so-called mistakes, which they always realize in "hindsight" and always blame on the working class. It was the CP who did the most in the 1930s to foster the illusions of the "lesser evil" and at a point in the postwar upsurge of the working class when union locals and masses of workers were demanding a labor party, the CP channeled these forces into the Progressive Party. The policies which Hall today looks back on and says were "mistakes" and for which he had no responsibility were, in fact, the very ones formulated and pushed by himself and the rest of the CP leadership.

The other aspect of Hall's role at this convention is important. It shows how he was to become the top leader of the CP. In the summary of Hall's report, it is revealed that there was some opposition at the convention. Hall remarks, "You know around the country, in almost all the states, there is a core of comrades around the party that I will call 'the disgruntled type.'" In answer to one member's statement that "the party has watered down the Marxist-Leninist concept of Party membership," Hall replies by simply asserting this is not the case and then admonishes: "I think it would be much better for Comrade ***, in a self-critical manner, to examine his wrong view without rationalization and shadow boxing, and come to the conclusion that the Party position is correct, and proceed from there." In other words, Hall learned very early the art of suppressing any opposition within the CP.

One of the other points in the eulogy to Hall on his 60 birthday states: "He led the Party in defending itself from the undermining and diversionary internal attacks on its integrity of principle and strength of organization. Critics of the Marxist-Leninist line from positions of the Right and to the 'Left,' opportunist and liquidationist tendencies of all kinds, were confronted and defeated."

What the Political Committee Resolution refers to is the unprecedented crisis which shook world Stalinism and the American Communist Party after the revelations of Khrushchev and the Hungarian revolution. Hall was in jail at the time, framed-up under the Smith Act which during the period of the witch-hunt of the 1950s put a good portion of the CP leadership behind bars. Hall, himself, was on his way to the Soviet Union from Mexico when he was arrested by FBI agents.

1956

The crisis that broke in the CP in 1956 tore this party apart. The factional struggle took place openly in the pages of the *Daily Worker*. When the column "Speak your Piece" was opened up, hundreds of rank and file CP members wrote in criticizing their leadership, the past policies and raising many questions. The crisis was felt particularly hard within the American party because it had for so long faithfully followed the policies of the bureaucracy and particularly Stalin. For those who did not live through this period, it is hard to imagine the impact it had. This crisis reflected in fact the impact of the movement of the working class against capitalism and against its agents in the Stalinist bureaucracy. The year 1956 marked the beginning of the breakup of the boom and the relationships which had been established at the end of World War Two through the deal between Stalinism and imperialism. This breakup was expressed through the struggle of the working class in the Soviet countries against the bureaucracy.

Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Party Congress was an expression of the crisis of the bureaucracy and an attempt to contain the growing movement of the working class in the workers state after the death of Stalin. This movement first broke out in Germany and Czechoslovakia in 1953. Khrushchev's secret speech expos-

ed the crimes of Stalin, the frame-up trials of the 1930s, the crushing of workers democracy and the tremendous danger Stalin had placed the Soviet Union in during World War Two as the Nazis invaded. Khrushchev, of course, avoided the conclusions of these revelations in order to maintain the bureaucracy. He claimed they were the result of the "cult of the personality of Stalin."

The leadership of the CP, only three years before, at the death of Stalin, had written long praise of him as a great "humanist" who would remain "immortal." Now Foster wrote a series in the *Daily Worker* on the revelations following Khrushchev's line that Stalin's crimes were due to "excesses with his exaggerated emphasis upon his own personality." It is clear that Foster attempted to contain the discussion and above all avoid any questioning of the past betrayals. In a letter of April 11, one CP member asked why Foster in his article the "Lessons from the Stalin Question?" was trying to "clamp a lid down" on the discussion.

Another asked on April 19 why Foster and the top leadership "permitted an atmosphere to prevail in the CP only six years ago in which legitimate criticism of such questionable Soviet development was definitely discouraged." In the same issue Foster attempts to defend the policies of Stalinism by contending that his crimes were mistakes that did not flow from the generally correct line:

"Stalin has consistently followed a correct general political line and he has performed great services in the rapidly advancing Russian and World Revolution.

"His many mistakes and errors, therefore, are deviations from, and distortions of, this essentially correct line. Various of them, in fact, may be classed as revolutionary excesses; which Stalin, no doubt felt to be justified by the sharp needs of the Revolution."

In June of 1956, the National Committee of the CP issued the following statement:

"We cannot accept an analysis of such profound mistakes which attributed the mistakes solely to the capricious aberrations of a single individual, no matter how much arbitrary power he was wrongly permitted to usurp. It is just as wrong to ascribe all the mistakes and violations of socialist principle to a single individual as it was to ascribe to him all the achievements and grandeur of socialist progress in the USSR."

An open division was developing in the CP between the Fosterites and a group around John Gates who was the editor and controlled the *Daily Worker*. For a time this group used their control in order to raise questions on Stalin's role and also on the role of the entire leadership. The differences came out at the National Committee meeting in September of 1956 at which Foster and Ben Davis voted with the main resolution but with "qualifications." No sooner had the discussion on the Khrushchev revelations opened and the differences begun to come out when the crisis exploded anew with the Hungarian Revolution.

The first response by the CP was to condemn the revolution as "pro-fascist" and the work of "counterrevolutionaries." But a few days later the Hungarian Communist Party had issued a statement against the charges of Pravda that the workers' struggles were inspired by American imperialist circles. The Hungarian CP answered this by saying that they regarded this as "an insult to our people" who rose up in a popular uprising.

When Soviet tanks opened fire on demonstrators killing men, women, and children a general strike and armed insurrection began which threatened the bureaucracy with political revolution. The revolution was smashed on because of the brutal intervention of the Soviet troops.

When the *Daily Worker* published an editorial stating that the intervention of Soviet troops "does not advance but retards the development of socialism..." it was denounced in the Soviet theoretical magazine *Kommunist* as being "slandering." Letters came in from the Fosterites defending the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and the murder of the workers.

It was in this crisis that the Fosterites' 16 National Convention was held. The Fosterites were in a minority at this convention. Their statement was that the

of labor. Thus, the struggle not prey these forces that the good graces of not their own inde-political struggle. inists in this strike st to the fight of the leadership of the polis in 1934 which organization of the

FRONT

osevelt in the 1937 rcel of the CP's im-talinist policies of bordinating the in-the working class to es with American t only to the defeat CP also played a ing the tremendous rom breaking with forming its own

te an assessment of eel for Political Af-ears of Struggle in 9). In this article, ight of the defeat orkers. He writes: e SWOC was forced 'Little Steel' over nse of the steel ercent pro-union. e plants were clos-orporations declared

ow the companies for the battle and

on May 26. On Chicago police at-parade with rifles, etc., killing 7 and Before the first ore strikers were oration police. The lled the National strike."

ot mention that it P members in steel ion leaders in wel-ward. He also tries l impact of these the steel workers use they were nized when the so-sticking guns in

of sharp struggle, retreat. The strike is time the steel oralized or disor-

nd other militant ts skillfully led the through these dif-ly retreats."

ersion with the ist Party gave its struggle. Our Party its enormous con-

Hall comes to the ses in our past

ies of Browder-re-our guard against of the ideology of this union. We did harpily enough cri-policies when they

not that we colla-ent union lead-ing so we did not treacherous, class s of that lead-

sharply enough st tendencies and wn leaders and

ul to avoid any o hide everything goat of Browder orted uncritically o until the Emer-1945.

ORATION

ology of class n fact were the iticize the treach-



American CP was the most loyal supporter of Soviet bureaucracy's brutal repression of Czechoslovakian uprising in 1968.

erous, class collaborationist policies of that leadership? The Stalinists, and Hall is one of their experts at this, always manage to make their "self-criticism" so general in order to brush aside the full impact of their politics, an impact on the lives of thousands of workers who went into battle determined to win their rights and were betrayed and set back by their leaders.

Hall is trying to cheat history when he now parades around as the hero of the steel workers. But you cannot cheat history. For the members of the CP, that history is there despite all the lies Hall now tries to use to cover it. The errors and weaknesses Hall talks about vaguely are not in the past but very much before the CP today. That is why the CP can support so-called progressives like the former Mayor of Cleveland Carl Stokes who called out the National Guard in the same state of Ohio against the Teamsters three years ago. Hall even attacks the Socialist Workers Party in his *Lame Duck* for daring to run candidates against such a man.

The policy of turning to the armed forces of the capitalist state rather than to the independent mobilization of the working class is not something the CP left behind in 1937. In the recent events of the National Caucus of Labor Committee's vicious, anti-communist attack on the CP and the SWP, the CP has up to this point refused to join in a joint defense with other working class tendencies or to call on the unions for support. Instead, it has turned to the New York City police for "protection." At a meeting of the Social Service Employees Union, the supporters of the CP demanded not that the union defend its rights but rather, they called on the union to demand that Mayor Lindsay do the work. At their May Day Rally, which was surrounded by police, there was a call from the platform for applause for New York's finest.

It is the grossest of distortions for the CP to try to compare the Foster of 1919 to the Hall of 1937, both from the standpoint

of their personal contributions and the conditions within the Communist Party. Foster, like James P. Cannon, who was later to become the leaders of the American Trotskyists, was a leader in his own right of some of the first struggles of American workers, which resulted, after the Russian Revolution, in the formation of the Communist Party. It would be more appropriate to compare Hall with the Foster who later became the leader of the Stalinist CP and one of the most obedient servants of the Soviet bureaucracy. Hall, in fact, was trained in this school of Foster. He came to political maturity in the period of the betrayals of the international working class by Stalinism in the 1930s in Germany, France and Spain. He was trained in the school of the class collaborationist politics of the Popular Front, the Moscow Trials and the assassination of Leon Trotsky in which the leaders of the American Communist Party were complicit.

The CP's *Daily Worker* in this period ran screaming headlines about the "Trotskyite, Fascist Conspiracy," demanding that the Trotskyists be driven out of the labor movement. The CP even supported the frame-up of the Trotskyist leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters under the Smith Act. Later, they, including Hall, were to become the victims of this Act. While the Stalinists have, since the dumping of Browder and the Khrushchev revelations, done a lot of breast beating about their "mistakes and errors" they have never repudiated the Moscow Trials.

After his work in the SWOC, Hall became a functionary for the CP. There is very little about him or written by him from this period up to the time of his election as National Secretary of the CP, except around his imprisonment under the Smith Act. Hall was very much a behind the scenes organizer in the CP leadership. He was known among the members of the CP, particularly in Ohio where he was the head of the CP, as not much of a "thinker" or theoretician but as someone loyal to the leadership carrying out the day to day

work. He displayed the subservient mediocrity that has become the hallmark of the Stalinist leadership and its rejection of Marxism. It is only today that the CP tries to create some history for him.

BROWDER

Hall rose in the line of Stalinist functionaries particularly after the 1945 Emergency Convention which ousted Earl Browder. In 1944 Hall was praised for his recruitment drive of workers to the Communist Party in Ohio. This drive was centered around the campaign to "win the war" and was part of the whole patriotic fervor the CP whipped up in defense of the imperialist war. This was also the basis for the CP's defense of every anti-labor policy of the Roosevelt government.

After the Second World War and the capitulation of the Stalinist leadership to imperialism that made possible a new life for capitalism, the alliance between the Soviet bureaucracy with its former allies began to break down with imperialism's renewed war drive and the beginning of the cold war. Stalin, through Jacques Duclos, the leader of the French Communist Party, issued a letter directed against the leadership of the American CP and Browder.

Browder now became the scapegoat for the whole past policies of Stalinism formulated not by Browder but by Stalin himself. Browder was denounced in this letter for "transforming the Teheran declaration of the Allied government into a political platform of class peace in the postwar period." He was criticized for having dissolved the American Communist Party into the Communist Political Association. All of the past errors of the CP were now attributed to Browderism and this has been the well-worn refrain since.

But Browder's policies were merely the logical conclusion that flowed from the policies of Stalin, particularly in the country where the liquidationist pressure was the strongest, where the imperialists were the most powerful. Browder's dissolution

Hall, below left, as Chairman of the National Caucus of Labor Committees in Warren, Ohio. Above, with the steel union bureaucracy in a parade, with the ideology of "peaceful

of the CP only following the solution of the Communist Party. It was Stalin and theests of the bureaucracy, Churchill and Roosevelt, stage for the patriotisr open strike-breaking during the war. The lea faithfully followed the question. Now, as Sta new turn, all of the Gurley Flynn, Al Thom nis, Benjamin Davis a with Foster who now b the CP.

All of these leaders time of the National C nothing but praise for who in his early days h dependence, had long b wishes of the Stalinist b most cynical way, the C by simply confessing t uniting against anyone questions about this became Foster's prote cracy of the CP.

At the 15 National Co Hall delivered the keyn tional Secretary, entitl Won Now." Quoting the tion Hall states, "The patriotic duty than to world war." Hall, pos standing champion of cracy," put forward the the "struggle for peace jecting any question of working class against th for "working for a si center," including "sec talist class."

PEACEFUL COE

Following Foster's sta vention that the CP "is of the possibility of pe of capitalism and social Hall claimed that if e applied through this pac

party is in crisis" because of "acute differences" and as a "result of the all-out campaign by the main leaders of the New York State Committee to transform the party into a 'non-party association.'" Despite these differences the leadership sought to present the face of unity. At this point the party was on the verge of collapse. Over 50 percent and later this was to be 75 percent of the party members had left. The circulation of the *Daily Worker* had fallen by 80 percent. The Stalinist youth movement, the Labor Youth League, was for all practical purposes dissolved and a month later was formally dissolved.

The conference voted for a resolution against a letter sent by Duclos once again warning of the "dangerous departures" of the American party. The resolution called for a "break from uncritical acceptance and dogmatic application" of "Marxism-Leninism."

But this unity was very shortlived. Almost immediately a struggle broke out in the pages of the *Daily Worker* over the meaning of the conference. It is clear that Foster was just buying time. Beginning in the Spring of 1957 the old line leaders of the CP like Al Thompson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Hall, and others were released from jail. All of these leaders now lined up behind Foster using their prestige to crush the opposition in the CP. At a big rally in July to honor the Smith Act victims Al Thompson openly threatened:

"Any individual, or for that matter be it an entire leadership in our party, can be criticized out of the leadership, and if the criticism is sound and constructive and we all learn from it, our party and the working class will be strengthened, not weakened."

This was an open declaration of war. In September Joseph Clark, foreign editor of the paper and one of the Gates group leaders, resigned from the party. Following his resignation a letter appeared in the *Daily Worker* stating: "A group of us in Brooklyn have each pledged a weeks pay for the paper, payable on the day when Johnny Gates, that prize victim of the American disorder: Right Wing Com-

munist is either dumped or quits.

"Let's hope the day is not too far off when the staff will be throwing another farewell party for him..."

This is an indication of the vicious character the struggle took to hound the opposition out of the party. In January the *Daily Worker* was reduced to four pages and later a weekly. A few days after this Gates resigned. Gates and his group were very distant from Marxism. They later left politics, refusing to conduct a real struggle against Stalinism which would have meant turning to Trotskyism. But in response to the crisis it raised many questions which Foster refused to answer, but simply reaffirmed its support to the Soviet bureaucracy and defended its most bloody acts against the Hungarian working class.

It was in this struggle that the present leadership was formed. It was Hall who was brought in to reconsolidate the party which was in shambles, eliminate any further opposition and rebuild it on the basis of unquestioning loyalty to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Hall was groomed particularly for this. After being released from jail in April of 1957 he returned to Ohio and was kept out of the heat of the faction fight by Foster and kept waiting in the wings. In 1959 he emerged at the 17 Convention to be elected National Secretary. This followed a fight within the leadership particularly over Eugene Dennis, whom Foster accused of capitulating and failing to deal firmly enough with the opposition.

In his address Hall tried to give the impression that the crisis was now a thing of the past, that the CP was entering a new era. "Our Party enters this convention victorious over the elements of liquidationism and revisionism, and having in the main eradicated their twin evils—'Left' sectarianism and dogmatism." Hall then attacked "negativism" and "cynicism" in the party, stating there are "no realistic political foundations for such an outlook on life in general... Your moods arise because you have permitted temporary subjective factors to overwhelm better judgement." In

this most cynical way Hall sought to wipe out the whole crisis, dismissing it as a "subjective factor" in the minds of the CP members. "The best antidote for this negativism is activity," he added. But all of this could not cover up this devastation of the CP or the questions that were left unanswered. This today must be the task of a new generation who must above all turn to the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

Hall was put into office not only on the basis of the bureaucracy's open action against the movement of the working class in the workers' states but in preparation for new battles in which the American CP would be called upon to defend the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the working class. Hall faithfully carried this out when the Soviet troops once more moved in to crush the struggle of the working class in Czechoslovakia. Even though many of the European CPs condemned the invasion, the American CP defended it down the line, accusing the masses of workers of being inspired by the CIA. Recalling the crisis in 1956, Hall in his speech to the National Committee, "Czechoslovakia At The Crossroads," said:

"We have worked hard and too long to rebuild this Party to permit a repetition of irresponsibility that almost destroyed this Party some years ago. In our Party structure there is no room for such behavior because one must answer where does this leave such principled questions as Party unity..."

But what about the principled questions of the fight of the working class for workers democracy in a state that rightly belongs to them, not to the parasitic bureaucracy?

Today Hall is the man responsible and trained for defending the needs of the Soviet leadership against the tremendous movement of the working class throughout the world. His role and the role of the CP takes on a particularly pernicious role since it must now defend every maneuver between the Stalinists and Nixon and prevent a movement in the US against Nixon. This was precisely the role of the CP in the

elections. They used McGovern, their own campaign and the "Sign Now!" movement really as a pressure on and a prop for Nixon to prevent any real opposition developing within the working class.

Today in the midst of the refusal of the Soviet bureaucracy to say a word about Watergate, Hall and the CP are silent on this. In fact the press of the Red Army, the Red Star, which is headed by one of Brezhnev's new appointments to the Central Committee, the man responsible for the intervention in Germany in 1953 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, prints an article by Gus Hall. In this article Hall attacks Maoism and praises the new deals between Brezhnev and Nixon, "the thaw of the cold war, the relaxation of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the political stabilization in Europe," and the "normalization of the situation in Indochina." Hall adds: "An important factor in achieving successes was the personal leadership of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev."

So it is Hall as head of the American CP that the bureaucracy uses to try to defend to the working class its more and more rightward turns, and Hall is a willing accomplice.

Contrary to the myth of the CP it is this subservience to the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy no matter what the cost to the working class and the workers states themselves that forms the basis for his credentials of leadership.

Today the CP faces a new crisis as the policies of Stalinism now come into open collision with the interests of the working class in its fight against capitalism and its agents. This is a different period than the 1950s; a period in which the struggles of the workers in the advanced countries, the colonial countries and the workers' states now are joined. We say to the members of the CP, particularly the youth: you have a responsibility to demand an accounting from Stalinism. You must above all turn to a study of the historical lessons of the fight against Stalinism by the Trotskyist movement and the fight of this movement today.

CONCLUDED

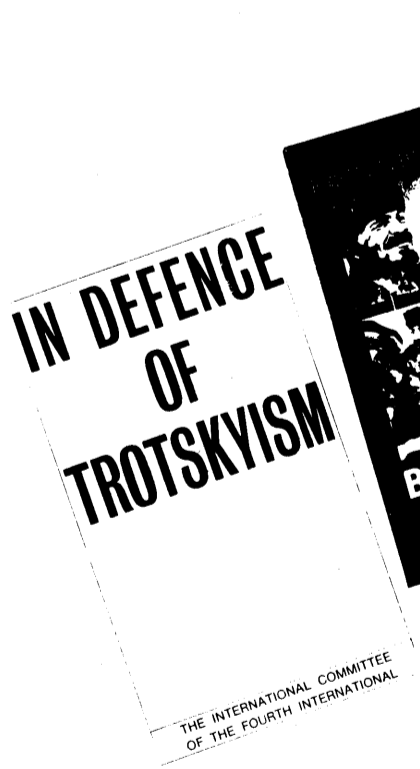
JUST OUT!



FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL \$3.75

Just arrived from England. This new edition of the first volume of Trotsky's writings and speeches for the Communist International covers the period of its first three Congresses and incorporates previously unpublished material from Volume 13 of his *Works*.

Labor Publications, along with New Park Publications of England is embarking on a major publishing program. This will include new editions of Trotsky's basic writings and an expanded series of pamphlets of Marxist classics with new introductions which try to develop a new understanding of these works in light of the international crisis today and the tasks of the Trotskyist movement. This is a giant stride forward in the development of a Marxist publishing house. Be sure to look for our new titles in the coming months!



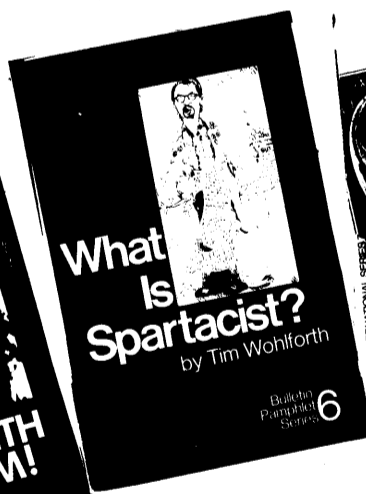
IN DEFENCE OF TROTSKYISM \$1.00

Just arrived from England. Basic statement of the International Committee on the question of Marxist philosophy. Fundamental answer to the revisionism of the OCI and of George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party.



BREAK WITH CENTRISM! \$.95

Basic documents of the French OCI's split with the International Committee. Discusses the role of centrism in the defeat of the Bolivian working class and its relationship to the Marxist method.



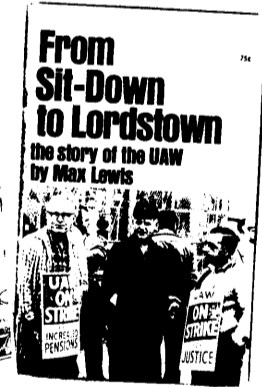
WHAT IS SPARTACIST? \$.95

This second edition, with a new introduction by Tim Wohlforth, contains vital material on the struggle for perspectives within the Socialist Workers Party in the 1960s and the Spartacist League's refusal to carry out that fight as part of the international movement. This pamphlet is essential in the new period for an understanding of the dangerous role of pragmatism and radicalism in the labor movement.



THE DOLLAR CRISIS \$.25

A collection of articles reprinted from *Workers Press*, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee. Essential reading for gaining an understanding of the world monetary crisis and the development of capitalism since World War II.



FROM SIT-DOWN TO LORDSTOWN \$.75

This pamphlet brings to life the bitter battles in auto against the bosses and the government and examines the role of the CP during the formation of the United Auto Workers. An understanding of this history is necessary today to construct the political alternative to Nixon.

David North Film

HITLER: THE LAST TEN DAYS. Directed by Ennio de Concinni. Starring Alec Guinness, Simon Ward and Adolfo Celi. Screenplay by Wolfgang Reinhardt.

Hitler: The Last Ten Days is the latest in a series of studies that have been recently produced devoted to the life of the most monstrous butcher ever produced by world capitalism. Particularly in West Germany, where such an important movement by the working class is now developing, the capitalist press has published lengthy reassessments of Hitler's career—justified with claims that new and important information has been uncovered.

This film, which was made in England and opened last week in New York, concentrates on life within Hitler's underground bunker as the Red Army closed in. Starring Alec Guinness, who can play Hitler as convincingly as he played King Feisal in *Lawrence of Arabia* or Fagin in *Oliver Twist*, the film presents Hitler as a maniac whose personality was more fundamental than his political role.

While references are made to his connections with and services to capitalism, the political ideology of fascism is given very superficial treatment. There is absolutely no attempt to penetrate into the character of the Nazi regime beyond the rather hollow work of historian H. Trevor-Roper.

Actually, the film attempts to give the impression that with the exception of Hitler and a number of his collaborators, the General Staff and a good deal of the personnel of the Third Reich were decent individuals deceived by the "Fuehrer's" personality.

LIBERALS

Liberals have always attempted to build up the personal prestige of the German officers who led the abortive coup against Hitler on July 20, 1944. They rarely touch on the fact that these men were anxious to get Hitler out of the way in order to conclude a pact with Roosevelt and Churchill and conduct the war against the Soviet Union.

In this film, the officers stand around Hitler in righteous horror over his refusal to permit retreat and surrender. Somewhat belatedly, men such as Keitel and Jodl are shocked to learn that Hitler actually did not mean best for the German people.

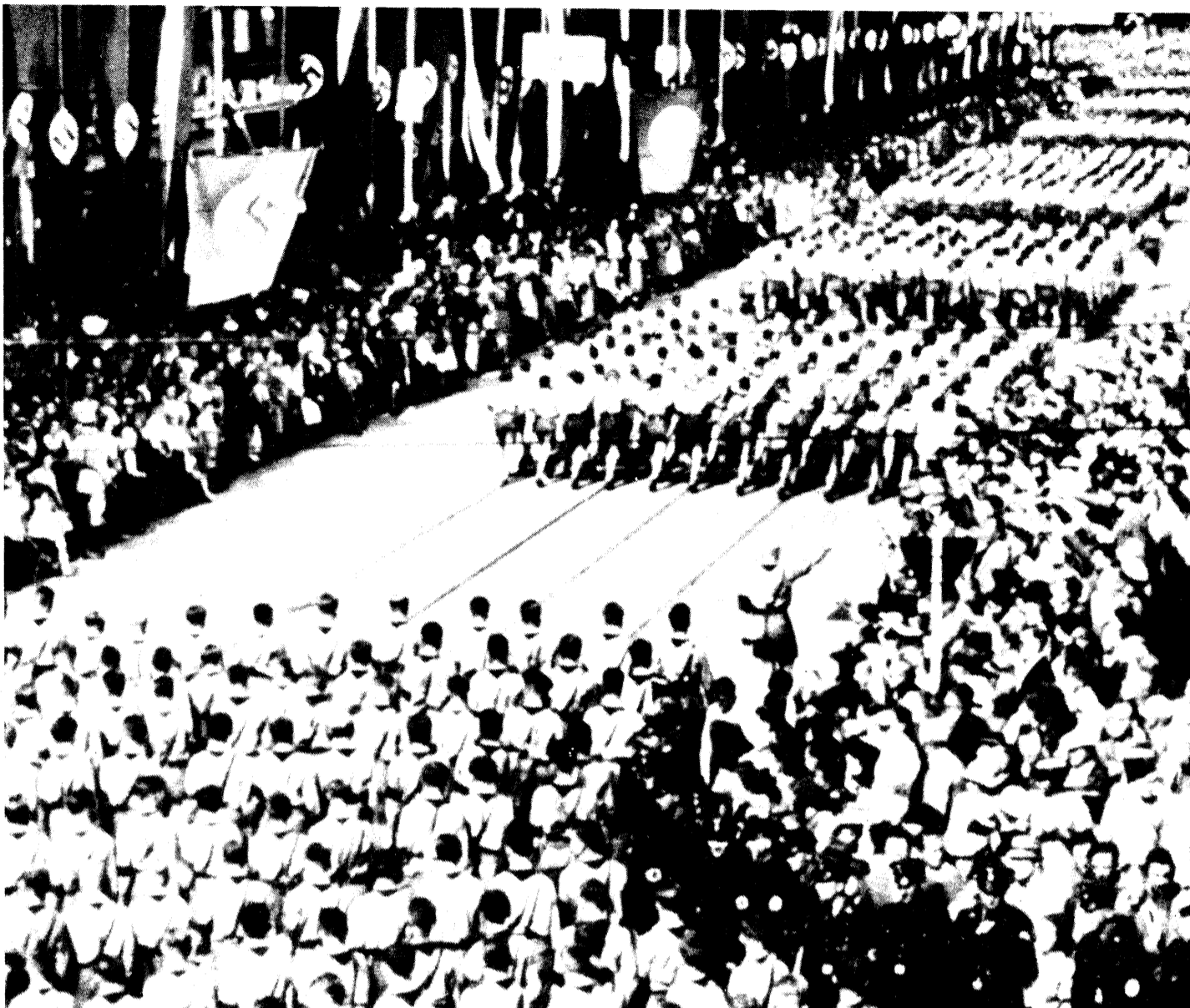
Even Eva Braun, sitting on the suicide couch, suddenly says to Hitler with a tear in her eye: "Maybe I never knew you."

Another sequence shows one particularly fervent German officer, played by Simon Ward (a quite appropriate role for the actor who recently starred as young Winston Churchill), who has volunteered to smuggle Hitler's testament out of the bunker. But when he leaves Hitler and walks through the smoking ruins of Berlin, the conscience stricken officer rips the testament up.

REACTIONS

A great deal of the film is taken up with Hitler's hysterical reactions to learning of the betrayals of his closest collaborators: Goering and Himmler. But the writers of the dialogue chose to ignore what actually was behind the contact made by the heads of the SS and Luftwaffe with the Allies.

Himmler was clearly encouraged by reports from the Allies that they were in-



Hitler youth: presented in the film as a matter of attraction to Hitler's personality.

terested in finding some way to arrange a deal with certain sections of the Nazi command in order to stop the onrushing Red Army. For this reason, some contact was made between Swedish diplomat Folke Bernadotte and Himmler.

As for Goering, he was wine and dined by American commanders in Southern Germany following his arrest. More rigorous treatment was ordered only after strong protests were registered by partisan groups and American soldiers.

All the machinations between the Allies and the crumbling Nazi government were

upset by the speed with which the Soviet army swept through Berlin.

COVER

Without investigating these political relations and by presenting a flattering portrait of the harried Nazi generals, the film only serves to cover the role of fascism as a defense of capitalism.

Nor does it reject the collective guilt theory—which accuses German workers of sharing responsibility for the acts of the regime established by the capitalists to destroy trade unions and the basic rights of the working class. At one point, a

narrator declares that by 1935, 90 percent of the population supported Hitler.

The outrageous lie of the collective guilt theory is a convenient way of avoiding the fact that the heirs of the industrialists who put Hitler in power 40 years ago are richer than ever today—and are preparing a new round against the German working class.

It should be noted that Kurt Kiesinger, a devoted Nazi during the 1930s, once again became the head of the Christian Democratic Union—the main capitalist party—following the resignation of Rainer Barzel last week.

Lou Belkin Film

SOYLENT GREEN. Directed by R. Fleischer. Photography by R. Kline. Starring C. Meston, Edward G. Robinson, L. Taylor-Young and C. Connors.

It is hard to imagine a more pathetic, mawkish, and monstrous apology for a decadent capitalist system than *Soylent Green* playing, oddly enough, to big audiences at theaters around the country. MGM, which produced the film, is controlled in part by Shell Oil, and since *Soylent Green* dares treat pollution, one thinks that irony in this case has been stretched to the point of vulgarity.

We are presented in the opening sequence, which is the most interesting part of the picture, with the

decay of society and the onslaught of pollution which kills most living things, ravages the landscapes and intoxicates people until they expire. Although we see industry rip up the earth, pollute the streams and employ lots of people who also make a lot of waste and add to the pollution, everything is presented with the kind of liberal veneer that makes everyone guilty. "We're all responsible" is the message.

Furthermore, the extreme pessimism depicts New York City in the year 2022, a city of 20 million. Ninety percent of the people are out of work. The only industry is the Soylent manufacturing company, which is controlled by people we never see and who control half the world's food supply. The pessimism reeks of "1984" in capitalist garb with people doing anything to keep working and "big Brothers Soylent" annihilating those too weak to maintain tight control of things, or who lapse into belief in god or other such stuff, or who are just plain getting soft.

Prostitutes reside in luxury apartments with current owners or, should they die, with new owners. They are called "fur-

niture" and they live the lives of Roman courtesans with obvious charms and skills and are not much good at anything else. We are not sure why the producers put them in, but one imagines that Hollywood could not put anything out without attractive ladies and sexual innuendoes.

SOYBEANS

The Soylent company brings out two soybean products, inasmuch as there is no other food available. The land and cattle have been ruined. A new product is brought out called *Soylent Green*. On one Tuesday, which like all days, is heavily fraught with pollution, riots occur because there is not any *Soylent Green* left. Meston decides to investigate. His friend Max (Edward G. Robinson), who works as a police book, because most historical documents and books have perished, has ascertained that *Soylent Green* is made out of humans. After Max dies, Heston follows his body to the special processing plant. He discovers what we have known all along. But the Soylent Company guns him down because he knows their big secret. If this sounds incredible we might only remark that when we entered the theater the usher told us we made a big mistake.

Doomsday Is Coming Soon

20 Years of the International Committee

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK—Over 150 workers and youth packed Labor Hall last Sunday to hear Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, give the fourth lecture in a six part series on "Twenty Years of the International Committee."

At the beginning of his talk, entitled "Spartacist: Radicalism vs. International Marxism," Wohlforth stressed the importance of the fight against revisionism within the Socialist Workers Party that was started in 1961. He said that understanding the lessons of that struggle are of the greatest importance today as events around Watergate create a tremendous potential for the launching of a campaign for the labor party.

Because the American working class is beginning an important process in its political thinking, Wohlforth declared that it was necessary to study the history of the struggle of the International Committee against pragmatism—the philosophical method of the American capitalists.

Reviewing the earlier stages of the struggle within the SWP, Wohlforth pointed out that the minority which emerged in 1961 was a product of the American radical movement.

"The minority could break from revisionism only through a difficult internal struggle," he said, "particularly because the minority shared in large part the method of the SWP majority." This common method was reflected in the minority's original opinion that the central issue within the SWP was the question of Cuba. The minority, said Wohlforth, saw as its task the defense of the program from attack—the assertion of orthodoxy. In this sense, the minority agreed with Hansen that Cuba was "the acid test."

DEFENSE OF MARXISM

But, Wohlforth declared, "the International Committee viewed the struggle in a different light. The IC considered it a struggle against Pabloism, for perspectives, and for the defense of Marxism."

Wohlforth noted that there existed differences between the SWP minority and the International Committee. "These were natural differences. They came out of the background of the American labor movement. They were, for this reason, all the more important and dangerous.

"But the development of an opposition within the SWP reflected a turn. A fight had begun within the SWP and it expressed the first impulse of the coming movement of the American working class."

Though there were natural differences, Wohlforth said that the decisive issue was whether the minority would be willing to learn from the International Committee: would it learn that Trotskyism develops in the course of negation because it is through negation—the struggle against revisionism—that continuity is preserved. Within the IC, said Wohlforth, it was the initiative of the Socialist Labour League which maintained continuity.

Wohlforth said that it was the initiative of the SLL which led the minority to introduce the issue of perspectives into the discussion within the SWP. The minority published a document which was directed against the SWP document which paved the way toward fusion with the Pabloites. There was no attempt by the SWP to confront in this document the new developments in the international situation, particularly the beginning of the breakup of the post-war boom.

Recalling the events of 1961, Wohlforth explained that the "SLL intervened in the SWP dispute and urged the minority to proceed with great caution—to avoid an early split. Because great issues had been raised in the SWP, the SLL insisted that the minority probe disagreements to their roots."

Spartacist: Defenders



For all their point picking (speaker at the last class, right), Spartacist has always ended up on the side of Pabloism on the principled questions. At a demonstration in Liege, Belgium in 1967 Spartacist sided with the Pabloites and Stalinists in demanding the removal of a banner carried by the British Young Socialists commemorating the anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution.

It was not easy for the minority to follow the advice of the SLL to guard against "our own impetuosity," said Wohlforth, because the SWP leadership launched a witch-hunt. But the minority did its best to fight it through in spite of the difficult conditions.

In 1962, an important dispute arose within the minority itself for the first time. It is important to note, said Wohlforth, that this dispute coincided with a proposal by the SLL that the minority send representatives to England to study the American question.

Outlining the dispute within the minority, Wohlforth explained that Judy Mage came into conflict with the SWP leadership over her role in the Social Services Employees Union, which she had helped to form through a break with the AFL-CIO. The SWP leadership took a conservative position, accused Judy Mage of advocating dual unionism, and ordered her to stop her work in that union.

"On the particular issue of the SSEU Judy Mage was correct," said Wohlforth. "But she had either to stop her trade union activity or get out of the SWP. Mage would not subordinate her trade union work to the Party. She began as a syndicalist. James Robertson sided with Mage, making the statement 'One must stick with one's class.' He said that Mage could remain in the minority tendency even if she was expelled from the SWP. In the end Mage, as president of the SSEU, would betray the membership."

Wohlforth said that another dispute arose within the minority over Robertson's determination to label the SWP as a "right-centrist" party. The IC opposed this course, maintaining that the character of the SWP could only be determined through the course of the struggle. Applying labels to the SWP could only be an impediment to the development of the discussion and the achievement of clarity on fundamental issues.

Robertson's position, stated Wohlforth, recalled the formalism of Max Shachtman who constantly sought to reduce all complexities and wipe away all contradiction by applying labels.

The International Committee decided that it would be harmful to the discussion within the SWP if the minority took the position that the SWP was centrist. Wohlforth continued:

SUBORDINATE

"Therefore, the SLL proposed that the minority subordinate itself to the Inter-

national Committee—yes, subordinate itself—and base its fight on the strategy and tactics of the IC.

"James Robertson would not accept this and he split with the IC in 1962. He made an organizational break because he could not accept the discipline of the international movement."

Following Robertson's split, the Reorganized Minority Tendency introduced a document in 1963 counterposed to the positions of the SWP leadership. The basic issues raised by the minority were that: the United States is at the heart of an emerging liquidity crisis; this is leading world capitalism into a devastating crisis; there must be a turn by the SWP toward the working class; this requires taking the labor party issue off the shelf and opening a real fight for it in the trade union movement.

Wohlforth stated that the document of the SWP proposed reunification with the Pabloites. In spite of this, he emphasized, James Robertson did not oppose the SWP reunification but abstained.

"The Robertson tendency—Spartacist—will break with everybody on tertiary matters," Wohlforth declared, "but it will not say four words on the fundamental issues. When the tough question of opposing the actual reunification with Pabloism came up, the Robertson tendency abstained."

"On 10 years of the struggle against Pabloism, Robertson abstained. He considered the proposed liquidation of the Trotskyist movement by the Pabloites to be a tactical question."

Wohlforth observed that despite the 1962 split, there remained many unresolved questions. Spartacist claimed to adhere to the IC politically but had organizational questions. Furthermore, Wohlforth pointed out that the forces which were to emerge as the Workers League had a great deal to learn "because they were not cut out of different cloth than Spartacist." The question of unity had to be explored.

In 1965, discussions were held between representatives of the SLL, Spartacist and the American Committee for the Fourth International. At these meetings, Wohlforth explained, a memorandum was drawn up on basic principles, and it was proposed that these principles be the basis upon which an American perspectives document would be drafted.

The ensuing discussion on the perspectives document virtually broke down. It was characteristic of Robertson, said Wohlforth, that he could only produce a

few notes that expressed the most narrow impressionism. Robertson had nothing to say about the crisis or about a turn toward the working class. What this reflected was the determination of Spartacist to remain a propaganda movement.

In spite of the serious differences, Wohlforth said that members of the ACFI went into the 1966 Conference of the International Committee with the expectation that it would be possible to achieve unity with the Robertson group.

But at the Conference, held in London, Robertson gave a report that was in complete disagreement with the principles that had been agreed to. He advanced the positions that there was no Fourth International, that it was necessary to seek the fusion of various tendencies to create a Fourth International, that the struggle against Pabloism was not central, and that there was no major crisis developing in world capitalism. Robertson said that he foresaw quiescent times in the United States.

"The representatives of the SLL were anxious to answer Robertson," noted Wohlforth. "But after he had presented his position, Robertson decided that he would not attend any more sessions of the International Committee."

"Before the highest body of the working class—the International Committee—Robertson displayed unbearable arrogance. An older Greek comrade attending the conference, who had experienced the life and death struggle for Trotskyism in the period of Stalinist and fascist repression, declared that he was horrified by Robertson's behavior. The IC voted to censure Robertson and demanded an apology which he would not give."

"As far as the IC was concerned, it was not simply a question of Robertson's mistaken positions. He acted as a petty bourgeois nationalist hostile to internationalism and as a subjective idealist."

SPLIT

A decisive split with Robertson took place in 1966, and since that time the Spartacist tendency has existed only to slander the International Committee and to create provocations.

Wohlforth referred to the factional policies of Spartacist since 1966. Everything Robertson has done since that time reveals that Spartacist has not the slightest interest in the struggle against Pabloism.

First, Robertson immediately turned over the documents of the 1966 Conference to the SWP which Hansen turned into a notorious pamphlet called "Healy Reconstructs the Fourth International." This pamphlet is distributed by Spartacist which in this way entered into a bloc with Hansen, the theoretician of liquidation in the US.

Then, Wohlforth noted, Spartacist jumped to the support of Tate, an agent of the revisionists who deliberately created a provocation against the Socialist Labour League.

Next came the incident in Liege, where the SLL and the OCI participated in a demonstration against NATO called by the Pabloites with the Stalinists. Marching independently, Wohlforth explained that the SLL and OCI raised a banner commemorating the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

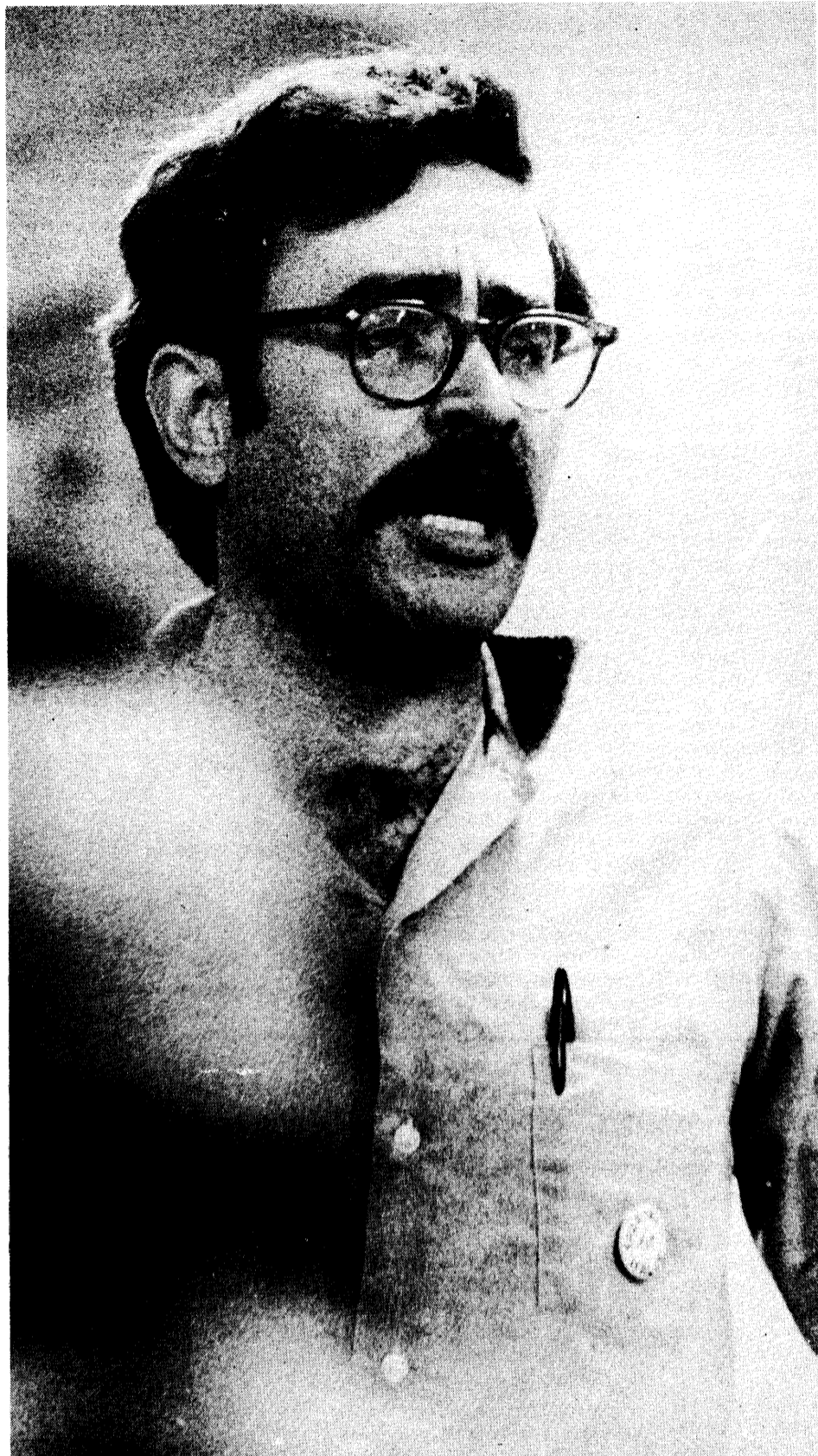
"Robertson denounced the International Committee as sectarian," declared Wohlforth, "for raising the banner of the Hungarian revolution. So much for the principles of Spartacist!"

Wohlforth also discussed the attempt by Spartacist to form a bloc with the most right-wing Pabloite, Posadas.

"What was characteristic of Spartacist's utter contempt for Trotskyism was its bloc with Progressive Labor—an out and out Stalinist organization—against the SWP," declared Wohlforth. "Spartacist then makes a mockery of the Marxist method by calling these Stalinists 'Trotskyists with a pre-frontal lobotomy.'"

Concluding his presentation, Wohlforth declared that Spartacist could never develop perspectives because perspec-

Of American Radicalism



tives must be rooted in internationalism and a scientific analysis of the economy. But in Spartacist's refusal to confront the problem of perspectives—to probe the developments in the economy—is to be found its break with materialism.

"Spartacist never understood that Marxism is not a set of formal truths but that it must be developed," said Wohlforth. "Not only does Spartacist deny that it is necessary to go beyond what Marx wrote in *Capital*, it does not even think it is important that *Capital* be studied. It views *Capital* as a bible: it is enough to place one's right hand on the book and swear."

At the heart of Spartacist is its common agreement with Pabloism. Wohlforth insisted that Spartacist never broke with Pabloism on its denial of the capitalist crisis, its arrogance toward the Fourth International, on propagandism, and on the method of pragmatism.

RATIONALIZATIONS

Spartacist, said Wohlforth, sees Marxist theory as being nothing more than logical conclusions drawn from a series of internally consistent rationalizations.

"Spartacist does not have any position on the crisis and on the tasks facing the revolutionary movement today," declared Wohlforth. "They are passive and without perspective, totally dominated by absurd factional activities."

"This leads them now to a position where they will not defend the American working class under conditions exposed by Watergate. What Nixon tried to do to the

Democrats is nothing compared to what he would like to do to the labor movement, but Spartacist cannot prepare the working class because this tendency has turned away from Marxism."

Among those attending the lecture was James Robertson, who was offered 20 minutes—and a ten minute extension—to present the views of Spartacist on the issues raised in Wohlforth's presentation.

Robertson stated that the International Committee is a form without content. "There is no IC," he declared. "It is a fictional committee devoid of content." He added that the "IC is a negotiation bloc—that is all."

Explaining the decision of the Spartacist tendency to abstain on the critical SWP motion calling for reunification with the Pabloites in 1963, Robertson stated that "We abstained because we intended to stay within the SWP."

"In hindsight," Robertson continued, "the Spartacist tendency should have voted in support of that resolution rather than abstain."

Justifying his arrogance toward the International Committee in 1966 at the Conference in London, Robertson said that he did not break discipline because there is no international.

"The Stalinists look to Moscow," he stated, "and the Workers League looks to the IC."

"CRISIS MONGERING"

Turning to the question of perspectives, Robertson maintained that the 1963 docu-

ment of the SWP minority expressed "crisis mongering." Stating that there has been a fundamental crisis since 1914 within capitalism, Robertson did not see anything particularly new in the present situation.

He said that it was not an economic crisis that produced the May-June 1968 General Strike in France, and that a new economic boom had just begun in the United States.

Another member of Spartacist declared that there was no special importance in the current level of prices and unemployment because "rising prices and unemployment are congenital" to capitalism.

Replying to Robertson's statements, Alex Steiner declared: "What Robertson presents as an economic analysis is the same type of non-analysis that existed within the SWP. There is not simply a general trade war developing today, but a trade war under conditions where there is no stable system of currency."

Referring to Robertson's allegations against the International Committee, Steiner stated: "If the Fourth International was a fictional form, it would have let Robertson stay in 1966."

A member of Spartacist attacked the policies of the Workers League in the unions, referring to the fight of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party over wages to be reformist. "I would call your theory: 'Wages and Revolution,'" he said.

Young Socialist Editor Abby Rodriguez said that the statements by Spartacist members expressed the method of pragmatism which bases itself on impressions and formulas. That is why Spartacist cannot understand the fact that every wage struggle raises the question of a political struggle.

As for the remark that unemployment is congenital to capitalism, Rodriguez pointed out that millions of youth now face a situation where their future could be destroyed by having no job and will therefore fight to defend themselves.

"It is not a matter of simply waiting for a crash and depression like the 1930s where millions will be out of work and starving. It is the determination of workers today not to be pushed back to those conditions which is so revolutionary," he concluded.

A supporter of Spartacist in the National Maritime Union attacked the Workers League for giving critical support to the reformist Morrissey slate rather than his own candidacy.

CENTRISM

In his summary, Wohlforth first answered the speaker from the NMU, saying that in the present period centrist forces emerge in the trade unions which seek to hold back the development of the working class. These forces, however, represent a certain stage in the movement of the working class whose thinking does not simply proceed in a straight line toward a revolutionary position.

Therefore, it is necessary for Marxists to develop tactics that take the working class through an experience with centrists like Morrissey in order to expose them. This is why the Workers League gives critical support to Morrissey while demanding that he carry forward policies to defend the NMU. In this way, the ranks can be broken from Morrissey, brought to an understanding of our fight for the labor party, and create the conditions for establishing a revolutionary leadership in the NMU.

The slate supported by Spartacist, said Wohlforth, ignores the working class. It plays an "exemplary role" which does not seek to confront the difficult task of changing the thinking of workers in that union.

Discussing the development of the capitalist crisis, Wohlforth said that its central element is the tendency of the rate of profit to fall in a general course, but this is counteracted in certain historical periods by other forces within the economy.

"Our task is to look at those tendencies offsetting the decline in the rate of profit

during one period because in the next period, these counteracting tendencies work to magnify the crisis," said Wohlforth.

"Thus, the new crisis is coming out of the factors used to smother the old. It is the height of complacency to say that inflation is always a problem in capitalism. One must understand what is new in this inflationary situation."

Under conditions of galloping inflation, the vast extension of credit, the severance of the dollar from gold, and the resulting breakup of the world monetary system, the capitalists fear making the basic investments that are required for the continuation of production. That is, the capitalists will not make investments at the point of production: at the point where man confronts nature in a struggle to change nature.

There is decreasing confidence that a long range investment will realize a profitable return. It is for this reason that there has been a downturn in capital investment for the purpose of extracting natural resources, thus leading to the major energy crisis that now exists.

SHARP CHANGES

The world of 1973 is not the same as it was during the 1950s, said Wohlforth. There are sharp changes in the balance of payments that are of tremendous importance, he declared.

"When Robertson speaks we are given the example of the total prostration of the Marxist method," Wohlforth asserted. "Robertson recognizes the general crisis only to avoid doing anything today."

Wohlforth rejected Robertson's statements on the IC being a form without a content.

"The IC fought against revisionsism at every point. In 1953 the Trotskyist movement was saved by the split with Pablo. In 1961 the struggle was taken forward on a higher theoretical level. The IC fought for a revolutionary perspective and trained forces on this perspective, and the struggle produced a rich history. The documents of this struggle constitute a major step forward in the Marxist movement."

As for Robertson calling the IC a "fiction," Wohlforth pointed out that Spartacist came to this conclusion after Robertson was thrown out of the 1966 Conference. "You didn't go to England to see a fiction. You call the IC a fiction because after you went there you did not wish to obey its decisions."

With all the arrogance of an American nationalist, said Wohlforth, Robertson decided to counterpose himself to the Fourth International. "And since then you have built nothing internationally and you have no principles," Wohlforth declared.

"Robertson tells us that he would vote for liquidation into Pabloism in order to remain in the SWP, with which he claims to have the most fundamental differences. But he refused to sign a statement with which he only disagreed tactically in order to remain a part of the IC, with which he claimed principled agreement."

In conclusion, Wohlforth stated that the Workers League and the IC were not talking about a general crisis. "We say that the dangers now facing workers mean that their futures are threatened."

SLANDER

He said that the claim by Spartacist that the Workers League did not raise political issues in the labor movement was an outrageous slander.

"We have fought for the labor party. We have published a manifesto on the labor party that has been circulated in the tens of thousands. We have held two national conferences that have brought trade unionists from every part of the country to set up caucuses in every union to fight for the labor party. In Dayton, a member of our caucus in auto has just won 21 percent of the vote in his local, running on a platform whose first two points were the Congress of Labor and the labor party."

"And we will continue to fight for Marxism in the trade unions against forces like Spartacist."

GOLD CRISIS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

massive gold reserves while waiting for their dollar price to climb.

The soaring prices also follow a warning from Peter Flanigan, Nixon's international economic adviser, that a big increase in oil imports caused by the so-called energy crisis could result in another devaluation of the dollar. The government also released figures showing a \$10 billion first quarter balance of payments deficit.

Following the rapidly deteriorating position of the dollar in relation to gold, interest rates in the United States have spurred to their highest levels since the disastrous "credit crunch" of 1969-1970, revealing beneath the surface of the inflationary bubble the development of a liquidity crisis with the potential of bringing down the entire financial edifice of international capitalism and paralyzing the productive system.

PERPLEXED

In the wake of the irresistible rise in the world gold price, capitalist economic experts last week were perplexed by the seeming strength of the dollar in trading against the West German mark and other paper currencies. But, rather than signalling a new era of monetary stability as some of these commentators wishfully concluded, this seeming strength merely demonstrated the profound weakness of the entire monetary system. This is more than adequately borne out by this week's complete panic.

The strength which the Euro-

pean currencies like the mark and the Japanese yen had previously displayed rested upon the expansion of capitalism after World War Two made possible by the dollar inflation agreed upon at the 1944 Bretton Woods conference.

This apparent strength is transformed into weakness with the disintegration of the dollar caused by the removal of its ties to real value—gold—and the evaporation of confidence in the Nixon regime following Watergate. These currencies are now further weakened under the blows of Nixon's trade war, which is inching the European and Japanese economies over the brink of collapse.

The mark, the yen and every currency tied to the dollar must now come under attack along with the dollar itself, giving an especially violent character to the rise in gold prices.

BREAK UP

The process of the break up of the European and Japanese economies is brought into sharp focus in the 21-point "anti-inflation" program unveiled last week by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. This program amounts to a capitulation to American capitalism and the destruction of the inflationary West German boom.

Included in the program are proposals for lowering or eliminating all of the foreign trade and investment barriers over which the government has control and recommendations for lowering Common Market import restrictions and tariffs.

It also includes an especially severe investment and credit policy, including a 10 percent corporate tax surcharge and a one year suspension of capital depreciation allowances.

Economics Minister Dr. Hans Friderichs and Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt said the current economic situation "made it imperative to resort to harsh and brutal steps to dampen the aggregate demand."

Brandt's program was announced after Nixon's Treasury Secretary, George Schultz, told the House Ways and Means Committee that no reciprocal trade agreements will come out of the pending negotiations with the Common Market.

"There may have to be more giving than taking as far as other people are concerned," Schultz said, reflecting Nixon's determination to make Europe bear the brunt of the economic crisis.

In order to carry forward a trade war against Europe and Japan, as well as attempt to beat back the American working class wage offensive, however, the American capitalist class requires a strong government and just as it is sparking a new monetary crisis, the Watergate scandal is undermining Nixon's ability to carry out the tasks set before him by the international crisis.

CENTER

The United States is now at the very center of the international crisis, and the next stage in the development of this crisis can be seen in the rise in interest rates and the development of a credit

crisis in the US as well as in Europe.

The Federal Reserve last week hiked its discount rate—the interest charged on funds borrowed by member banks—to a steep six percent following a similar increase by the West German Bundesbank.

This is the highest discount rate since the 1969-1970 period and the 1921 depression. Bankers here predicted it will set off a new wave of increases in the prime lending rate and all other interest charges.

A rise in the prime rate—the rate charged the largest corporate borrowers—to 7.5 percent is expected soon, and some financial experts are predicting a rate of seven and three-fourths percent.

RISE

The rapid rise in interest rates comes as bankers move to protect existing assets and are forced into an increasingly critical shortage of ready cash with the ballooning of the credit system out of all proportion to the amount of actual currency in circulation.

The Federal Reserve discount rate has been raised four times now since the beginning of the year, reflecting the explosive increase in borrowing by member banks which cannot meet their reserve obligations as they are forced to pay off an ever larger volume of short term debts.

Borrowing from the central banking system is now averaging nearly \$1.5 billion per week, and in the latest statement, member

banks ended up a record \$151 million short of their required reserves.

In addition, the extremely rapid expansion of consumer credit has clearly reached its outer limits, with reports that more credit is now being extended for the repayment of past loans than is being used for new purchases.

This is a sharp expression of the liquidity crisis now taking shape. The fraudulent speculators and thousands of legitimate businessmen who have been operating solely on the basis of credit in the past period will suddenly be caught short of cash to pay their creditors and without the ability to borrow still more to pay off their past debts.

With the explosive growth of speculative borrowing on the international credit markets and by investors on the stock exchanges, with the explosion in the price of gold and with the increasing lack of confidence in the Nixon government, the development of this liquidity crisis in the US spells the end of the inflationary expansion and the collapse of credit and paper money on an international scale.



GOODYEAR . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

progress. "The membership is very angry about wages and pensions," a Local 2 officer told the *Bulletin*. "Considering the way they feel, things could happen."

Local 2 President John Nardella, who as a member of the URW negotiating committee had approved and signed the Goodyear pact, recommended the contract's rejection at the membership meeting in order to save his neck.

BACKPEDDLE

"It was something else to see him backpeddle," said a union officer who asked not to be identified. "But the men were all asking him: 'If you don't like the goddamn contract, why did you sign it?'"

He also reported that URW President Peter Bommarito is coming under heavy attack.

All the efforts of the URW

bureaucracy are being directed toward ending the Goodrich strike as soon as possible in order to prevent it from spreading.

Although there has been no progress in the negotiations, Bommarito continues to refuse calling a strike by workers in Uniroyal and Firestone who are being told to remain on the job without a contract.

A spokesman for the International told the *Bulletin* that it is "always a possibility" that the URW would settle with Goodrich on terms that would be rejected later by Uniroyal and Firestone workers.

DEAL

"We prefer to deal with one company at a time," he said, although he admitted that the companies are collaborating to break the strike through implementation of a mutual assistance pact.

Goodyear is currently supply-

ing Goodrich customers and sharing operating costs. When asked if the policy of the URW is to avoid an all-out strike, the URW spokesman—Ted Long—admitted: "That's right." He also confirmed earlier reports by the *Bulletin* that Bommarito has been in touch with Cost of Living Council adviser Dunlop, Nixon's top hatchet man on wages.

The anger of the ranks over the contract was expressed outside the Goodrich plant in Oak, Pennsylvania. The men are determined to prevent the Goodyear Pact—which adheres to the 5.5 percent guidelines and has a rotten pension plan—from being passed.

"The union leadership stinks," said one worker. "It's selling the membership down the river."

Another worker said: "The way I feel now, I'll be out for a month. We know what's right and wrong. I have a family and kids

and I have a hard time living with inflation."

A number of workers spoke out against a provision in the Goodyear contract which provides for the introduction of the six day week. "We struck 40 years ago for the eight hour day and now they want to take it back. They want to force us into a compulsory six day week with no doubletime on Sunday."

The strike by Goodrich workers is a tremendous blow against Nixon and the trade union bureaucrats collaborating with Phase Three. They all fear that a victory by the rubber workers will provoke a massive strike wave by the more than 4.5 million workers in basic industry whose contracts expire over the next few months.

Rubber workers must demand that Bommarito shut down the entire rubber industry and demand the support of the entire labor movement.

RALLIES . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

defend those rights today. Workers and youth in the US now enter into struggles against the government under conditions of revolutionary struggle in Europe, particularly in Britain. A revolutionary youth movement in the US can only be constructed as part of an international movement.

BRUNT

The youth have felt the sharpest brunt of the attacks by this government. With the budgets slashed, youth face a summer in which there are no prospects for jobs. With Nixon preparing to implement new cuts next fall, millions of youth will be denied the right to a decent education.

Young workers face layoffs, wage cuts, and speedup. At the center of the conference will be a discussion of the *Draft Program of the YS* to answer this crisis and of plans to mobilize the youth against the government's attacks by turning to the labor movement and fighting now to build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

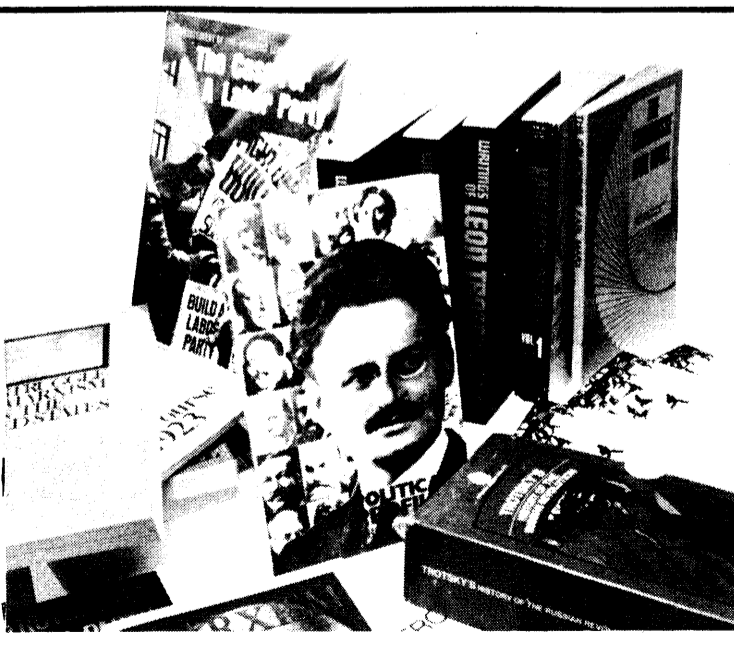
The conference will discuss the critical importance of youth turning to the questions of Marxist theory and the economic crisis.

A big dance will be held on Saturday night of the conference which will feature three top bands, Latin and Soul.

In preparation for the conference, the Young Socialists are holding rallies in the universities, high schools and communities. We urge every worker and youth to attend this conference to build the movement which can now lead the struggle to defeat Nixon.

**NOW
OPEN!
LABOR
BOOK
STORES**

NEW YORK
135 W.14 St. 7th Floor
Mon.-Fri. 5:30-8pm
Sat.: 11 am-5 pm
MINNEAPOLIS
924 So. 2nd Ave.
Weekdays: 6:30-10pm
Tues. and Sat.:
10:30 am-5:30 pm
CHICAGO
1325 So. Wabash, Rm 305
Mon., Wed., Fri. 6-9pm
Sat.: 10 am-6 pm
BALTIMORE
2202 Maryland Ave.
Wed., Thurs., Fri.:
6:30-9 pm Sat.: 2-5 pm



PART I

Woodcock: Voice Of Compromise

BY ED SMITH

The 3000 delegates to the United Auto Workers Bargaining Convention in Detroit in March were welcomed by Leonard Woodcock, the UAW's president since the 1970 death of its longtime leader Walter Reuther.

Woodcock brought with him a reputation for progressiveness and toughness built up by the capitalist news media and the American Communist Party. Woodcock demanded that the delegates abide by President Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines while inflation roars ahead at a 20 percent annual rate.

"I have no difficulty dealing with this (Nixon) Administration in a pragmatic relationship," says this great "progressive" and darling of the Communist Party's *Daily World*. "There is no evidence of an Administration that is going after the labor movement."

This year the fight of the UAW for a decent contract against the Big Three auto makers will be the keystone of the fight of the entire labor movement against Phase Three.

The UAW ranks and workers generally are entitled to ask themselves the questions: Who is Leonard Woodcock? What kind of leadership does he bring to the crucial contract struggles of this fall?

Leonard Friel Woodcock was born February 15, 1911 in Providence, Rhode Island. His father Ernest was a skilled machinist and one of the early members of the Mechanics Educational Society of American (MESA), a radical union which still holds some contracts among skilled trades in auto. Before emigrating to the US, Woodcock's father was a socialist, a member of the Independent Labor Party (ILP). At the start of World War One, Woodcock's father was interned in Germany where he had been sent to install some machinery. Woodcock and his mother settled in England. Leonard was sent to Chipsey, an exclusive English "public" (upper class) school, rated "only a cut below Eton"—the traditional training ground for the leaders of British imperialism.

Woodcock's family returned to the US in 1926 so his father could obtain work in Detroit's booming auto industry. Leonard studied at the City College (now Wayne State University) and at the Walsh Institute of Accounting. His ambitions were far removed from the labor movement. His aim was to become an accountant or a clerk.

DESTROYED

However, Woodcock's ambitions to join the middle class were destroyed by an event that disrupted the lives of millions of American workers: the Great Depression. Millions upon millions of workers found themselves idle and their families threatened with starvation while the huge factories stood cold and empty all over America and the world.

By 1933, the depression forced Woodcock to quit school in order to support himself. He landed a job at Detroit Gear and Machine, an auto parts subsidiary of Borg-Warner Corporation. Here Woodcock found himself working a 12 hour day, 7 days a week at 35 cents an hour.

The American working class was determined not to take the depression lying down. In 1933-1934, a wave of strikes and organizing drives that was to culminate in the development of the CIO began. The highlights of the preliminary wave were the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, the San Francisco Longshore and General Strike, and the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, led by the American Trotskyists.

This wave of working class resistance even reached Detroit, a citadel of the open shop, run by the overlords of American industry, Henry Ford and owners of General Motors such as the DuPonts. Unions were kept out by terror with private armies of company goons and spies like Henry Ford's infamous Service Department. The auto bosses kept the divided working class of transplanted Southerners, immigrants and Blacks at each others' throats through an elaborate system of racist propaganda and provocation. Above all, there was the threat to all union agitators of the loss of their jobs and blacklisting throughout the area. Workers who took up a fight against the employers were confronted with the immediate prospect of starvation.

UNIONISM

Despite these grim conditions, unionism began to gain a foothold in Detroit. One of the first Detroit shops unionized was Detroit Gear and Machine, organized by an AFL union in 1934.

Woodcock joined this AFL union and with it entered into the fledgling United Auto Workers, which soon became part of the CIO. Woodcock worked himself up inside his local and eventually attained the position of treasurer.

1936 marked a turning point in Woodcock's life. He suffered a severe attack of tuberculosis. In an effort to recover, he quit his job at Detroit Gear and Machine, dropped out of his UAW activity and left for Mexico. His savings enabled him to live fairly comfortably while he devoured hundreds of books—on labor, history, economics, politics and socialism. While in Mexico, from 1936 to late 1938, Woodcock missed the great upsurge of the UAW among the auto workers that climaxed in the Flint sitdown strikes and the recognition of the UAW by General Motors.

When Woodcock returned to the United States, he joined the Socialist Party. In the SP, Woodcock met Roy Reuther, one of the brothers of Walter Reuther, who had played an important part in the early organizing drives of the UAW and in the Flint sit-downs themselves.



Walter Reuther, under whose aegis Woodcock rose in the UAW hierarchy.

The Reuther brothers were on their way out of the SP at the time Woodcock met them. Even the mild reformism of the SP was holding them back from seizing the advantage in the increasingly bitter in-fighting for power inside the UAW bureaucracy. Therefore, they broke from the SP. They convinced their new friend Leonard Woodcock to take this course too. Woodcock resigned from the SP in mid-1940 because it refused to support England in the imperialist war with Germany. Within a few weeks he was on the UAW payroll through the good offices of his patron, Reuther. And with the exception of one brief period, Woodcock has been part of the UAW bureaucracy ever since.

Woodcock's first UAW job was on the UAW regional staff in Grand Rapids. His job was to organize the General Motors Fisher Body plant in the town, which was a holdout from unionism. Woodcock completed this job successfully.

But his main interest was the in-fighting within the UAW bureaucracy, in which he participated as a staunch supporter of Reuther. He was a Reuther aide at the bitter 1941 Buffalo UAW convention. This marked the beginning of a long battle between the Reuther faction and the forces behind the UAW leaders R.J. Thomas and George Addes, who, in alliance with the Stalinists of the Communist Party, maintained a powerful faction in the UAW bureaucracy.

Reuther had Woodcock picked for bigger things than the Grand Rapids regional staff. After 1944, to meet UAW requirements for office, Woodcock went to work as a punch press operator at Continental Motors in Muskegon, Michigan. This is the last time

Woodcock ever worked outside the UAW bureaucracy.

In 1946, Reuther was riding the crest of popularity which stemmed from his leadership of the tremendously long and bitter UAW strike against GM that was one of the highest expressions of the great 1945-1946 strike wave. At the same time, there was a seething hatred of the UAW bureaucracy among the ranks which centered above all on the Stalinists who had been the spearhead of the bosses' drive for speedup and no strike pledges during the war. Reuther was able to command much of the anger and resentment of the ranks in his favor and narrowly edged out the Thomas-Addes forces and the Stalinists in the 1946 Atlantic City UAW convention.

REWARD

Woodcock played the crucial role of vote counter for the Reuther forces at the convention and was rewarded the post of Reuther's first administrative assistant when he became UAW president. From then on, Woodcock's rise in the UAW hierarchy was rapid. In 1947, he was elected director of UAW Region 10 covering Western Michigan. He also became director of the UAW's Continental and American divisions. In 1955, he became a UAW vice president, and became director of the agricultural implements section, later dropping this for the aerospace and finally the GM division.

Woodcock had a rather checkered career in his various divisional posts. In the 1958 mid-night negotiations, conducted in the middle of a sharp recession that left thousands of UAW members out of work, Woodcock decided that a confrontation with GM should be avoided. He sent

UAW members in GM's plants to work after the contract had expired, announcing, "we're going to rock and roll all summer." GM was delighted with Woodcock's maneuver because it kept the workers at work without contract protection.

GM took advantage of the situation to push through punishing productivity increases, while noting with satisfaction that wildcat strikes went way down. One GM official reported: "One little tough guy came in the first morning we ran without a contract, saluted, and said, 'Yes, sir, boss. You ain't going to get nothing to fire me on.'" Out of this situation, Woodcock managed to extract the principle of relief time and the right of GM locals to strike over individual issues.

In 1961, Woodcock negotiated a deal with American Motors, which he heralded as the high point in his achievements: a profit-sharing plan. Woodcock exulted: "If we could get the profit-sharing formula from GM, it would be like getting the keys to Fort Knox after somebody had shot the guards."

It should be noted today, as the UAW bureaucracy begins to tout the idea of profit-sharing as an alternative to wage increases that Woodcock's great victory at American Motors has paid, if anything, exactly twice in its entire twelve years of operation, while the AMC workers have labored at substandard wages. In his post as aerospace director, Woodcock only succeeded in negotiating a union shop and company paid dental care, while the aerospace firms were rolling in staggering profits from government spending during the Vietnam War.

TO BE CONTINUED

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTING TEAM
SAN

FRANCISCO—The twentieth Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was held in San Francisco from April 30 to May 7. It convened only a month before the expiration of the contract in warehouse and only two months before the West Coast longshore contract runs out.

The convention's opening virtually coincided with the greatest political crisis in the history of the United States with the explosion of the Watergate scandal posing the collapse of the Nixon Administration and raising to the ILWU labor's enormous opportunity and responsibility to forge a political alternative.

This responsibility was all the more urgent with the union once again facing negotiations in longshore that could well place the ILWU at the very center of the political confrontation with the government. The seriousness of the situation is driven home by the fact that since the last contract, tonnage in the most automated West Coast ports has skyrocketed while the work force has experienced a continuous erosion.

This convention has the responsibility of making a political assessment of the last two years and of the dangers now facing the labor movement and of outlining a fighting perspective to take on the government.

The grave dangers facing the ILWU ranks are sharply exposed by the failure of the Bridges' leadership to do any such thing.

If any union has been the target of government political attacks it has been the ILWU, whose longshore strike coincided with the institution of the Phase One wage freeze. In October 1971 Taft-Hartley was used against the union and in January 1972 special legislation was passed to force the ILWU back to work. The Pay Board cut the contract settlement by 40 percent and the Cost of Living Council intervened in 1973 to prevent any payment of lost wages.

In addition the NLRB ruled in this same period to deny longshoremen the right to impose a tax on containers handled by non-union men hoping to heat up the jurisdictional disputes with the Teamsters. Thus virtually every significant section of the last contract was declared invalid by government intervention.

Every ILWU member knows that whatever can be gained by the union without a political fight against the government.

Bridges Won't Fight For Political Alternative



ILWU convention, where Bridges, is moving closer to the policies of I.W. Abel.

It is this situation that posed so sharply the fight to convene a Congress of Labor to work out a policy to defeat Phase Three and to launch the struggle for a labor party to fight for political power.

It was precisely these political questions that the ILWU leadership sought at all costs to avoid, substituting instead militant trade union rhetoric about strike action and unity.

ILLUSIONS

The Bay Area and the ILWU in particular have long been looked to by the labor movement for the heroic San Francisco general strike of 1934. This has led to big illusions that militant shutdowns will be sufficient to defend the trade union movement. Thus the traditions of 1934 have been used to keep the working class from thinking politically and in particular to hold back the development of a struggle for a labor party.

It is precisely at a time such as this when the Watergate crisis reveals that the government is preparing for dictatorship and the smashing of the unions that the construction of a party of labor to fight for power becomes a matter of life and death.

But for Harry Bridges speaking at the convention, "There's only one weapon that works...the only weapon the working class has...the laying down of tools. We're not going to allow any long term contracts. There's a reason for that. We want the troops lined up, we want the threat there, the ability to move."

In 1939 Bridges testified before Dean Landis at a deportation hearing that he favored the creation of a labor party in the US. He went on to state that "trade unions can only go so far and then they will be robbed of it by other means."

"When we fought and won certain things...our employer groups could not take those things away from us through economic struggle—they immediately

started pouring a lot of bills into Congress and every one of those bills was aimed at crippling our activities, crippling our unions."

If today Bridges claims that the strike is the only weapon, ILWU Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt provided the theoretical justification.

Thus Goldblatt proclaimed that this is a new stage of capitalism, "executive capitalism" in which the capitalists and the government are one. "Phase One, Two and Three are not just specific regulations but are designed to get people to accept controls over labor. They wish to condition unions to accept government wage dictatorship, regimented bargaining dictated by Washington."

For Goldblatt there are two possibilities: political and economic. As for the political, "the chances are slim even with the Democrats." He maintained quite correctly that with the Democrats "the illusion of tinkering with controls is the thrust of Congressional opposition."

The Goldblatt solution is economic. "If labor doesn't move here someone else will fill the vacuum. We might find a similar situation as in France in 1968 where students triggered the strike. The administration would like nothing better than isolated actions. The ILWU must break out of its shell. We need a broad scale economic action to meet the administration with a production shutdown."

The policy of both Bridges and Goldblatt amounts to telling workers to turn away from politics toward syndicalism and furthermore that such things as a longshore strike are impossible until such time as all labor is united for a general strike.

In effect then, precisely at a time when the ILWU must be mobilized to defend every gain in the coming contract, the leadership is using the history of 1934 and the promise of a general

strike to advocate doing absolutely nothing.

What the leadership is saying is that it knows that nothing can be obtained by working with the administration or seeking to make controls a little better. Goldblatt also reveals that he knows that the working class will fight for its rights and thus his worry about May-June in France, 1968. Not wishing to be outflanked, they are proposing that at a certain point they may have to resort to strikes not as part of the political strategy aimed at driving the government out and replacing it with a labor party, but as a means of exerting pressure for reform.

What is revealed here is that the same labor leadership which at one point cooperates almost completely with government strike-breaking can when that becomes impossible consider a more "militant" policy still designed to avoid the question of political power.

It is precisely for this reason that the Stalinist People's World has hailed this convention for keeping a militant course. The Stalinists are quite capable of recognizing that militant strikes cannot be avoided and their central strategy is to derail any movement toward an independent political development in the labor movement.

Both Leonard Woodcock, UAW president and Albert Fitzgerald of the UE, guest speakers at the convention, contributed to the lack of perspective.

Woodcock openly called for pressure on the Democratic Party to become the party of reform. He made it very clear that he felt labor would have to live with controls until 1974 and refused to commit himself to breaking the guidelines in the upcoming UAW contract. Like Bridges he put forward a policy of short contracts. In true Reuther style he concluded by calling for an alliance of the labor movement and the civil rights movement to

make the Democratic Party responsible to the people's needs.

Fitzgerald spoke at length on the Watergate crisis. Significantly, he recalled the bugging and surveillance campaign conducted by the FBI and other intelligence agencies in the 1950s, only to conclude that this was more of the same this time conducted against the very Democrats who had assisted the bugging in the past.

He refused to draw the real lesson that Watergate was a warning that precisely such police state measures were being prepared for the labor movement. Fitzgerald claimed that the electrical workers had to get ready for a big fight with GE and to "forget about the Cost of Living Council for now...get every penny we can and after that we'll have plenty of time to worry about the government going along with us."

Thus for Fitzgerald, Watergate was "nothing new" and the problem of taking on the government is something that can be put off for later. In this way Fitzgerald sought to blunt the real meaning of the coming struggle in General Electric which will pose the first major political challenge to Phase Three.

Throughout this convention the real questions facing the rank and file found only the most muffled expression in the contributions of the delegates. The sharpest development was on the question of organizing the unorganized to bring new forces into the union.

Figures for union membership reveal that in the last two years the union has barely been able to maintain its membership through bringing in several thousand new members in organizing drives. Most of this has taken place in Hawaii.

A number of delegates spoke to denounce the leadership for allowing a situation of virtual stagnation to prevail, claiming that the ILWU will either organize new members or die. Great fear was expressed about the erosion of the strength of the union exposed in this stagnation.

Behind this of course was the recognition that the main strength of the union is on the docks in the longshore section which faces decimation through automation.

There can be no disagreement with the need to organize unorganized shops but the question of defending longshore jobs and beginning immediate preparations for a struggle around the coming dock contract to defend the right to work of longshoremen through a 40 hour guarantee and written provisions to prevent any further erosion of the work force was never posed.

PROMISES

The ILWU ranks must face the fact that all the resolutions of this convention from the question of racism, unemployment, trade war, anti-union laws and organization can only remain paper promises until the union is mobilized behind a political perspective.

The ILWU has been in the leadership of the movement in the Bay Area to rally the unions in protest action against Phase Three. The ranks of the ILWU must insist through the construction of an opposition movement that this initiative be taken forward through the struggle to transform the United Labor Action Committee into a movement for a Congress of Labor.

It is only through taking the lead in such a fight that the union can prepare for the coming showdown on the waterfront.

West Coast News



Three hundred Fremont auto workers rallied to defend supporters of the Brotherhood Caucus fired by GM.

300 GM Ranks Fight 6 Brotherhood Firings

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT—Over three hundred members of Fremont Local 1364 turned out at a rally in front of the union hall called by the Brotherhood Caucus to demand the reinstatement of six Brotherhood members recently fired by General Motors.

In an attempt to squash the tremendous opposition in the plant to the Woodcock leadership and the Herrera regime, GM has singled out these workers as examples, using the flimsiest of pretexts to cover their open political attack on the ranks.

One of the workers who was fired has 19 years seniority.

To this point, Herrera has not lifted a finger to defend these workers.

The Brotherhood Caucus, which now claims a membership of 1500, has filed an unfair labor practices suit with the National Labor Relations Board.

At the rally Early Mays called for a vote in the local elections

next month to replace Herrera with the Brotherhood slate.

John Scrempo, Chairman of the Brotherhood Caucus, stated that the Brotherhood Caucus was fighting for a good contract in opposition to the sellout being engineered by Woodcock.

One of the six Brotherhood members fired by GM told the Bulletin, "They don't want people to get together. If the people ever stick together, the company doesn't have a chance. That goes for Nixon and Reagan too."

DETERMINATION

The large turnout and tremendous enthusiasm at the rally demonstrate the determination of the Local 1364 ranks to beat back GM's attacks. At the same time, these firings are an indica-

tion of the kind of regime GM is seeking to impose at Fremont and in plants all across the country.

This means a real alternative to Woodcock's sellout policy for the 1973 contract must be put forward in the June elections. Appeals to the NLRB will not halt these attacks.

The Brotherhood leadership has yet to commit itself to a strike in the fall. They have yet to put forward a specific wage demand to meet the soaring cost of living. They have put forward no strategy to break Nixon's wage controls.

The Committee for a Decent Contract calls upon the Brotherhood leadership to take a clear stand on these issues.

Kaiser Elections: Big Discontent With Abel

BY A USWA MEMBER

FONTANA—The eight thousand steel workers of Local 2869 are preparing for the June 5th elections of president and other officer positions, trusteeships, and grievance committee posts.

President Dino Papavero is challenged by seven other nominees. With elections less than a month away, the various candidates have not begun to confront the major question thousands of steelworkers face every day—paychecks which are being devoured by the racing inflation and Abel's sell-out settlement of a three percent wage increase and "no-strike" policy.

DISCONTENT

The workers' discontent with the present leadership is reflected in the over 304 nominations for the various posts—the greatest number of nominations in the history of Local 2869.

A worker with seven years in the Tin Mill at Kaiser commented on the candidates for president. "These guys are just like the politicians. They can say whatever they like, but when they get in office they all support big money. The poor man, the working man, hasn't got a chance. When we go to the union meeting to speak to try to do something about it, they say 'shut up, you're out of order.'"

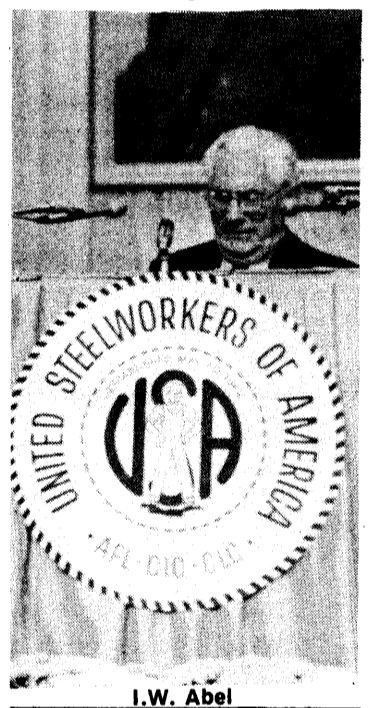
PROGRAM

The Steelworkers for a Labor Party Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party are the only ones who have put forward a program for the real defense of workers' wages. It calls for an immediate increase of \$1.00 an hour and a 100 percent monthly cost-of-living escalator clause to start the first day of the contract. There must be complete job security with 30 hours work for 40 hours pay for full re-employment. We must restore

full collective bargaining: a general strike to smash Nixon's Economic Stabilization Act and Phase Three. The only way Kaiser workers can guarantee their jobs is through the nationalization of all the steel industry under workers' control through a Labor Party pledged to socialist policies.

ISSUES

Steelworkers must force the candidates for union office to confront the major issues facing them: wages, speedup and job security, and demand the immediate convening of a Congress of Labor to defeat Nixon's anti-union economic policies.



I.W. Abel

SEALE . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

policies against the working class used in those three other cities where nationalists have become mayor through the Democratic Party.

REFORMISM

The most bankrupt reformism has dominated Seale's campaign. Turning his back on the political struggle that the workers and youth must take up against big business in order to defend their basic rights, Seale merely talks about "peoples free services."

Seale has moved so far to the right that he has made no criticisms of Reading, a right-wing businessman. In return, Reading has called Seale "a fine American" and added: "I hope he continues to work within the system."

The Black Panthers have had difficulties getting youth interested in Seale's campaign, and virtually no youth attended a campaign meeting held at Grove Street College.

If Seale does win a large vote, it will have been because Black workers recall the struggle he took up several years ago and not because they support the treacherous policies he supports today.

Shell Forced To Reopen Negotiations

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MARTINEZ, Calif.—Shell Oil Company, second largest in the world, has been forced back to the table. After 101 days, and six weeks without

negotiations, Shell agreed to reopen talks in Houston last Thursday.

Late reports indicate that Shell has agreed to the basic union demand for safety committees with union participation, won from the

other oil companies earlier this year but refused by Shell.

Shell strikers have been left isolated by the leadership of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic workers union, who refused to call out workers at the other oil companies and instead played games with the middle class ecology groups and sponsored a phony boycott of Shell products.

LIMITED

The limited victory which the Shell workers have won is due entirely to the strike, which cut production at most refineries to below 50 percent. Because of the general shortage of petroleum (the so-called energy crisis) Shell was unable to fully carry out its strategy of "borrowing" oil from other companies to supply its own dealers. Atlantic Richfield and Chevron are already rationing deliveries to their dealers in Southern California, and the other companies are nearing that state.

Shell was seeking to lead the

industry in breaking the OCAW, continuing operation of highly mechanized refineries using supervisory personnel and relying on the collaboration of the leaders of the building trades, who ordered maintenance workers to cross the picket lines.

One picket at the Martinez plant told the Bulletin, "We're on this strike for the right to have a union. We're not just striking for ourselves. This is for every worker in the country. If they beat us, Phillips will be next, or maybe the building trades who are crossing our lines. But I guarantee you that they are not going to beat us. We'll stay out here 'till the last dog in the street dies if that's what it takes to win."

The OCAW leadership sought to avoid any fight at all by accepting Nixon's guidelines and settling for a six percent wage increase. This retreat only whetted the appetite of the oil monopolists who chose to provoke a strike over safety.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

\$1.00 FOR 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB \$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS
 \$4.00 FOR ONE YEAR 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

Phone: 824-4096

Big Labor Boost To UFW Strike

BY BARRY GREY

SALINAS—The announcement by George Meany that the AFL-CIO will contribute \$1,600,000 to the United Farmworkers' opens the way for the most massive strike ever to hit California agriculture.

The grower and government-backed drive by the Teamsters to break the United Farm Workers reached a new low last week, when the Teamsters signed an agreement with D'Arrigo Brothers in Salinas.

The UFW has been engaged in a bitter strike against D'Arrigo, a lettuce grower, since December 6, 1972. D'Arrigo was one of five Salinas Valley growers who signed with the UFW in 1970. The UFW has been striking to force D'Arrigo to renew the contract.

D'Arrigo has used scabs, court injunctions, police harassment and physical threats in an attempt to break the strike. All of this has failed.

Last week the Teamsters began signing up the scabs. On Wednesday, they set up their own picket line. On Friday morning, D'Arrigo signed with the Teamsters.

Ralph Lemos, captain of the D'Arrigo strike committee, told the *Bulletin*: "We've been on strike against D'Arrigo since December 6, 1972. All of a sudden six or eight Teamster pickets show up and D'Arrigo signs with them."

KILL

"The Teamsters are out to kill the United Farm Workers movement. They're not out to represent field workers. If they would agree to a card check, we'd defeat them by 200 percent."

"The growers want the Teamsters because they want a free hand on everything, mechanization, pesticides, labor contractors. We have guarantees on these things. Under the Teamsters nobody has yet seen a contract."

The Teamsters have virtually no support among the farmworkers. One UFW member who is on strike against D'Arrigo said "Yesterday, 17 or 19 of the scabs signed with the Teamsters. But when we set up our picket line, they came out with us. As far as I'm concerned, better than half of the people scabbing are for the UFW."

"I also know that if there are elections a majority of those people will support the UFW. They've been intimidated. They're told they will not get a job if they don't join the Teamsters."

OUTRAGEOUS

The all-out drive to smash the UFW and the outrageous scabbing of the Teamsters has now forced the AFL-CIO to come in with money and organizers.

Chavez has announced that the UFW has enough money to run an all-out strike and that Meany has promised that if he needs 5000 men he will get them.

Chavez and Meany must be

held to these promises. There is no longer any excuse for a policy of boycotts. The stage is now set for organizing massive farmworker strikes with full support from the unions that can organize the entire industry and make big gains against the growers.

This will mean a clash with Nixon and Reagan who will use the damage to crops from a strike to attempt to smash the UFW. This drives home the urgency of fighting for a Congress of Labor to forge a labor party committed to defeating these capitalist politicians.

Editorial

Bridges Follows Abel— Strike On July 1!

Only a few days after the conclusion of the ILWU convention which avoided any discussion of the coming docks contract, union president Harry Bridges has announced a tentative pact with the employers to avoid a strike on July 1.

Bridges for all his militant trade union talk and reputation as a left trade union leader has now come forward with a pact identical in content to that signed by I.W. Abel in the steel industry.

Bridges proposes to accept a 25 cent raise in return for extending the present contract and agreeing to arbitrate all differences.

The ILWU leadership knows that a strike on the docks coming in the middle of enormous labor unrest and the possibility of the Teamster strike at the same time along with battles of electrical workers and farmworkers will mean a head on clash with the government. It is this he seeks to avoid at all cost.

Bridges is relying on the fact that after a 134 day strike in 1971 dockers had virtually every clause in their contract taken away by government intervention to convince the ranks that a strike would be hopeless.

It was precisely his refusal in 1971 to carry the fight through with the government and rally labor to the support of the ILWU that made this possible.

Today the prospects for a successful ILWU strike are greater than ever before with the government reeling from the Watergate revelations and whole sections of the labor movement preparing to come into struggle against the wage guidelines.

Dockers must face the fact that not a thing can be gained by prolonging negotiations with the Pacific Maritime Association which will be under no pressure to grant concessions.

Since the last contract hundreds of dockers have left the industry bringing registration down to 11,000. Ports such as San Francisco are in financial crisis because of the rundown in the work force.

Dockers must have a 20 percent increase and a 100 percent cost of living escalator. There must be a full 40 hour guarantee to all longshoremen and a guarantee that there is to be no further reduction in the number of registered dockers.

There must be a massive rejection of the Bridges' strike-breaking proposal and the setting of a July 1 strike date if these demands are not met.

Dockers must call on the labor movement to come to their support with strike action if there is any attempt by the administration to intervene.

The ILWU must give a lead to labor by beginning the fight now to call a Congress of Labor that can defeat the administration by launching a labor party as an alternative to the capitalist parties.



Ten thousand B.F. Goodrich rubber workers have shut down plants across the country in a rebellion against the rubber union leadership's acceptance of Phase Three. Above are striking workers from the B.F. Goodrich plant in Los Angeles.

Teamsters Rebuff Fitzsimmons Plea

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Seven Teamster Union locals have overwhelmingly voted to continue their strike against the Southern California van and storage industry.

Last week Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons intervened in the four week strike and demanded a mail-in ballot urging acceptance of the industry's latest offer which was still far below the 40 percent wage increase over three years that the drivers are demanding.

Many drivers expressed resentment over Fitzsimmons' intervention and roundly defeated the offer by a vote of 892 to 612. They say they are determined to stay out until they win their demands.

Feeling against Fitzsimmons is running high. His close collaboration with Nixon and the Phase Three policies was blasted by striker John Bell who said, "Fitzsimmons is not helping us one bit, up there with Nixon. The only thing that is going down is our wages."

Completely disgusted with the Watergate affair that is rocking the Nixon regime, Bell said, "I've never been very interested in politics before, but I think it is now time to kick out all the politicians and put the blue collars in."

PARITY

The 1800 striking Teamster drivers, on strike for the first time in 25 years, are demanding parity with the San Francisco drivers who earn \$6.41 an hour as compared to \$4.62 in Los Angeles.

The San Francisco drivers are now in negotiations, and according to James Caso, secretary of LA Local 389, there is a good

possibility of expansion to a state-wide strike on July 1 when the San Francisco contract is up.

This is precisely what Fitzsimmons fears: an open challenge to Nixon's 5.5 percent guidelines, showing the way to Teamster drivers nationally.

An "Effective Democrat"

BY MARTY MORAN

OAKLAND—There is every indication that Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale will win a substantial vote in the runoff mayoral election being held here.

In the first election Seale received 21 percent of the vote, and the likely increase in his total against incumbent Republican Mayor John Reading expresses the desire of a large section of Oakland workers for a political alternative to fight the attacks of the government.

But the Seale campaign poses enormous dangers because he is running on a Democratic Party ticket with the same program used by Stokes in Cleveland, Hatcher in Gary, and Gibson in Newark.

In office, Seale is prepared to carry out the same vicious

(Continued On Page 19)

Big Labor Boost To UFW Strike

BY BARRY GREY

SALINAS—The announcement by George Meany that the AFL-CIO will contribute \$1,600,000 to the United Farmworkers' opens the way for the most massive strike ever to hit California agriculture.

The grower and government-backed drive by the Teamsters to break the United Farm Workers reached a new low last week, when the Teamsters signed an agreement with D'Arrigo Brothers in Salinas.

The UFW has been engaged in a bitter strike against D'Arrigo, a lettuce grower, since December 6, 1972. D'Arrigo was one of five Salinas Valley growers who signed with the UFW in 1970. The UFW has been striking to force D'Arrigo to renew the contract.

D'Arrigo has used scabs, court injunctions, police harassment and physical threats in an attempt to break the strike. All of this has failed.

Last week the Teamsters began signing up the scabs. On Wednesday, they set up their own picket line. On Friday morning, D'Arrigo signed with the Teamsters.

Ralph Lemos, captain of the D'Arrigo strike committee, told the *Bulletin*: "We've been on strike against D'Arrigo since December 6, 1972. All of a sudden six or eight Teamster pickets show up and D'Arrigo signs with them."

KILL

"The Teamsters are out to kill the United Farm Workers movement. They're not out to represent field workers. If they would agree to a card check, we'd defeat them by 200 percent.

"The growers want the Teamsters because they want a free hand on everything, mechanization, pesticides, labor contractors. We have guarantees on these things. Under the Teamsters nobody has yet seen a contract."

The Teamsters have virtually no support among the farmworkers. One UFW member who is on strike against D'Arrigo said "Yesterday, 17 or 19 of the scabs signed with the Teamsters. But when we set up our picket line, they came out with us. As far as I'm concerned, better than half of the people scabbing are for the UFW.

"I also know that if there are elections a majority of those people will support the UFW. They've been intimidated. They're told they will not get a job if they don't join the Teamsters."

OUTRAGEOUS

The all-out drive to smash the UFW and the outrageous scabbing of the Teamsters has now forced the AFL-CIO to come in with money and organizers.

Chavez has announced that the UFW has enough money to run an all-out strike and that Meany has promised that if he needs 5000 men he will get them.

Chavez and Meany must be

held to these promises. There is no longer any excuse for a policy of boycotts. The stage is now set for organizing massive farmworker strikes with full support from the unions that can organize the entire industry and make big gains against the growers.

This will mean a clash with Nixon and Reagan who will use the damage to crops from a strike to attempt to smash the UFW. This drives home the urgency of fighting for a Congress of Labor to forge a labor party committed to defeating these capitalist politicians.

Editorial

Bridges Follows Abel— Strike On July 1!

Only a few days after the conclusion of the ILWU convention which avoided any discussion of the coming docks contract, union president Harry Bridges has announced a tentative pact with the employers to avoid a strike on July 1.

Bridges for all his militant trade union talk and reputation as a left trade union leader has now come forward with a pact identical in content to that signed by I.W. Abel in the steel industry.

Bridges proposes to accept a 25 cent raise in return for extending the present contract and agreeing to arbitrate all differences.

The ILWU leadership knows that a strike on the docks coming in the middle of enormous labor unrest and the possibility of the Teamster strike at the same time along with battles of electrical workers and farmworkers will mean a head on clash with the government. It is this he seeks to avoid at all cost.

Bridges is relying on the fact that after a 134 day strike in 1971 dockers had virtually every clause in their contract taken away by government intervention to convince the ranks that a strike would be hopeless.

It was precisely his refusal in 1971 to carry the fight through with the government and rally labor to the support of the ILWU that made this possible.

Today the prospects for a successful ILWU strike are greater than ever before with the government reeling from the Watergate revelations and whole sections of the labor movement preparing to come into struggle against the wage guidelines.

Dockers must face the fact that not a thing can be gained by prolonging negotiations with the Pacific Maritime Association which will be under no pressure to grant concessions.

Since the last contract hundreds of dockers have left the industry bringing registration down to 11,000. Ports such as San Francisco are in financial crisis because of the rundown in the work force.

Dockers must have a 20 percent increase and a 100 percent cost of living escalator. There must be a full 40 hour guarantee to all longshoremen and a guarantee that there is to be no further reduction in the number of registered dockers.

There must be a massive rejection of the Bridges' strike-breaking proposal and the setting of a July 1 strike date if these demands are not met.

Dockers must call on the labor movement to come to their support with strike action if there is any attempt by the administration to intervene.

The ILWU must give a lead to labor by beginning the fight now to call a Congress of Labor that can defeat the administration by launching a labor party as an alternative to the capitalist parties.



Ten thousand B.F. Goodrich rubber workers have shut down plants across the country in a rebellion against the rubber union leadership's acceptance of Phase Three. Above are striking workers from the B.F. Goodrich plant in Los Angeles.

Teamsters Rebuff Fitzsimmons Plea

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Seven Teamster Union locals have overwhelmingly voted to continue their strike against the Southern California van and storage industry.

Last week Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons intervened in the four week strike and demanded a mail-in ballot urging acceptance of the industry's latest offer which was still far below the 40 percent wage increase over three years that the drivers are demanding.

Many drivers expressed resentment over Fitzsimmons' intervention and roundly defeated the offer by a vote of 892 to 612. They say they are determined to stay out until they win their demands.

Feeling against Fitzsimmons is running high. His close collaboration with Nixon and the Phase Three policies was blasted by striker John Bell who said, "Fitzsimmons is not helping us one bit, up there with Nixon. The only thing that is going down is our wages."

Completely disgusted with the Watergate affair that is rocking the Nixon regime, Bell said, "I've never been very interested in politics before, but I think it is now time to kick out all the politicians and put the blue collars in."

PARITY

The 1800 striking Teamster drivers, on strike for the first time in 25 years, are demanding parity with the San Francisco drivers who earn \$6.41 an hour as compared to \$4.62 in Los Angeles.

The San Francisco drivers are now in negotiations, and according to James Caso, secretary of LA Local 389, there is a good

possibility of expansion to a state-wide strike on July 1 when the San Francisco contract is up.

This is precisely what Fitzsimmons fears: an open challenge to Nixon's 5.5 percent guidelines, showing the way to Teamster drivers nationally.

An "Effective Democrat"

BY MARTY MORAN

OAKLAND—There is every indication that Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale will win a substantial vote in the runoff mayoral election being held here.

In the first election Seale received 21 percent of the vote, and the likely increase in his total against incumbent Republican Mayor John Reading expresses the desire of a large section of Oakland workers for a political alternative to fight the attacks of the government.

But the Seale campaign poses enormous dangers because he is running on a Democratic Party ticket with the same program used by Stokes in Cleveland, Hatcher in Gary, and Gibson in Newark.

In office, Seale is prepared to carry out the same vicious

(Continued On Page 19)