

# Bulletin

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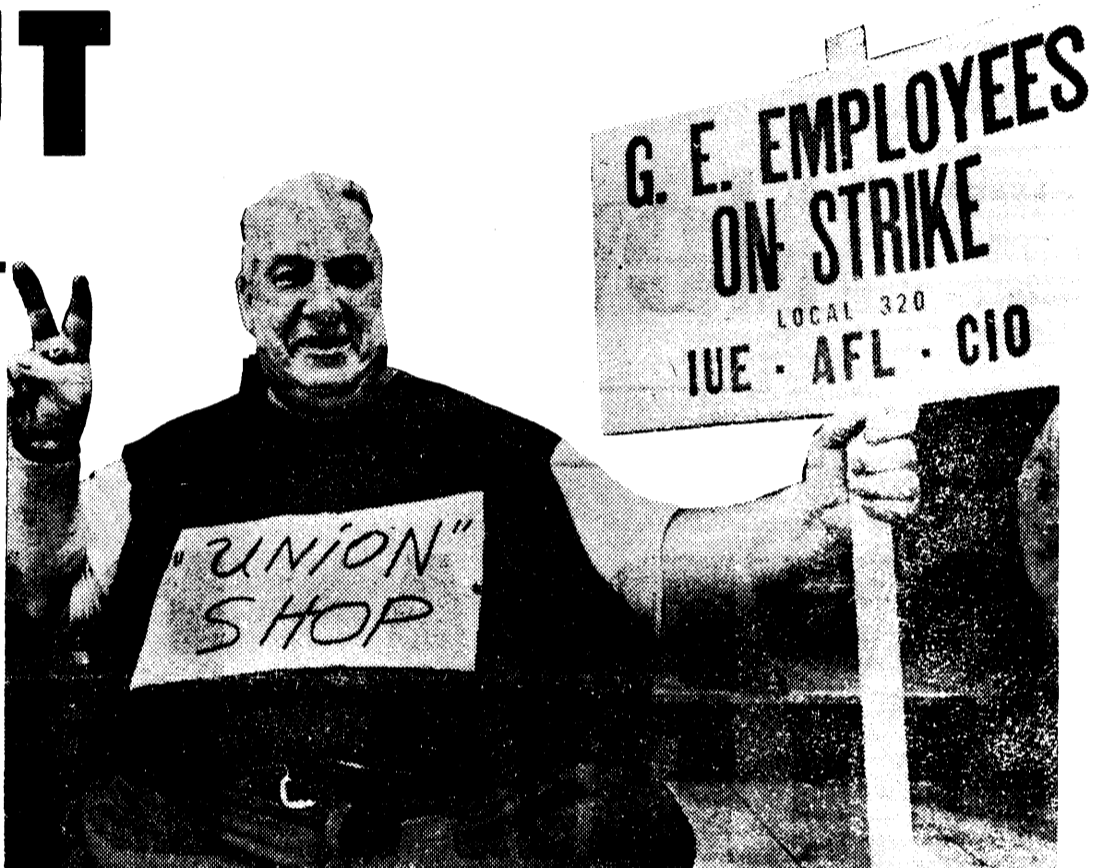
documents  
from the  
soviet opposition

nixon, bosses, bureaucrats make deal

## RANKS FIGHT AGAINST GE SELLOUT

### SYRACUSE, SCHENECTADY, MACHINISTS REJECT OFFER

STRIKING WORKER MAKES VICTORY SIGN AFTER LOCAL 320  
IUE, SYRACUSE, N.Y. REJECTED G.E. SELLOUT OFFER.



## wilson and nixon agree-- more bombs for vietnam

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson was extended an unusual invitation during his visit to Washington last week--to sit in on a meeting of the National Security Council. While Wilson joined the top strategy gathering for U.S. imperialism that day, U.S. planes again rained bombs over Vietnam. This was indeed a fitting welcome for Mr. Wilson who had come to visit Nixon to declare his complete loyalty to U.S. imperialism and his support to its war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam. Mr. Wilson pretends to speak for the British trade union and labor movement but this visit makes absolutely clear who Wilson really speaks for--world imperialism.

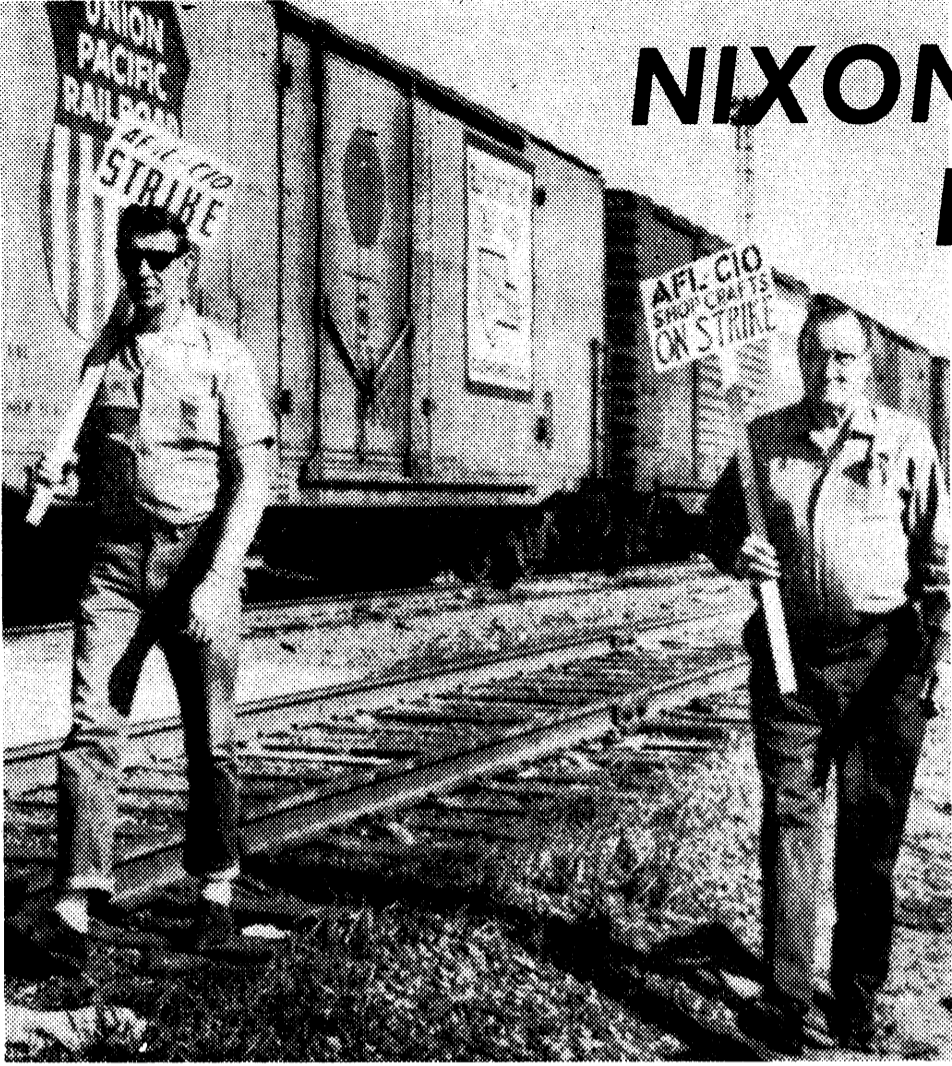
The Christian Science Monitor described in its January 31st editorial the relationship between Nixon and Wilson as "heart-warming and reassuring" and said of Nixon's invitation to Wilson to join the National Security Council: "It was

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Welcome, my man, to the land of the silent majority.

# NIXON MOVES TO CRUSH RAILWAY STRIKERS



RAILROAD WORKERS PICKET UNION PACIFIC IN LOS ANGELES, CAL.

BY NEIL MARTIN

The injunction ordered by the U.S. District Court last Saturday against the striking shopcraft workers on the nation's railroads, delaying the strike for ten days, can only give the government and the railroad bosses time to prepare more vicious attacks to stop the ranks' struggle on wages and working conditions. This action by the courts is a warning not only to the rail unions but to the entire trade union movement that the Nixon government is prepared to back the employers with all the power of the state in order to halt the offensive by American workers.

What the employers and the govern-

ment now face is the massive strike wave that has been sweeping Europe and has now come home to the very heartland of capitalism-- the U.S. Thinking that they had "settled" the G.E. strike of 15 weeks, Nixon and the corporations now are confronted with rebellion in the ranks of the G.E. unions against the sellout contract and the threat in ten days of the continuation of the rail strike. Meanwhile tugboat men in New York have closed down the harbor, National Airlines has been shut down and the city of Cincinnati is on the verge of a general strike.

The rail strike is the result of the refusal of the ranks, in parti-

cular the sheet metal workers, to accept the deal worked out last December between the rail bosses, the union bureaucracies, and the government. After working for almost a year without a contract the four unions representing 48,000 shop workers decided to strike the Union Pacific as their strategy to get the demands of their members across the country on some 75 major railroads.

In retaliation for the Union Pacific strike major railroads threatened a nationwide lockout. This brazen threat was calculated to create a "national emergency" and enable the Nixon administration to act against the unions.

## TEMPORARY

Of course the injunction is just a temporary device which solves nothing. What happens when the ten days are up? Well, Nixon is prepared. Secretary of Labor Shultz is ready to present to Congress new proposals for what will in effect be compulsory arbitration.

No doubt Nixon and Shultz will use the threat of a rail shutdown to force through the new anti-labor legislation they have been preparing to overhaul the Taft-Hartley Act and Railway Labor Act, gathering every strikebreaking tool into a single, comprehensive law.

Nixon, the bankers and big corporations are preparing this legislation knowing what is ahead for the capitalist class throughout 1970. 150,000 G.E. workers stood firm and united in 13 unions against their arrogant boss for almost four months, and now 48,000 railway workers stand-

ing united in four unions behind the Sheet Metal workers in their fight against work rule changes, give the bosses just a taste of what is ahead. Already the Teamsters have made known their demand for a 75% across the board increase. The auto workers are restless under speedup and layoffs and anxious to have a go.

The railway workers must now show the way forward by defying the vicious plans of the employers and Nixon and carrying forward their struggle. It is clear that just as in the December rail negotiations and in the proposed G.E. settlement, any deal cooked up by the collaboration of the union leaders with the employers and the government can only spell compromise and open the way for a wholesale destruction of working conditions and jobs on the railroads. The ranks must make sure that there is no compromise of their original demands.

The injunction and threat of new anti-union legislation spell out loud and clear that the trade unions must answer these attacks not only with an economic offensive but a political offensive. The only way to stop the strikebreakers in the White House and Congress is the fight now to construct a labor party on a program of:

- \*Repeal all anti-labor legislation!
- \*End inflation with big wage gains and an escalator clause in every contract!
- \*End unemployment with the four day week at full pay!
- \*Union control over working conditions!
- \*End the war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam!

## ANGRY RANKS WON'T SWALLOW G.E. SELLOUT

BY DAN FRIED

Voting by a wide margin to reject the sell-out General Electric contract, the 5,000 member Syracuse local of the IUE began a struggle to throw this contract right back in the face of the employers. The dissatisfaction with this contract that is rampant in the ranks of the G.E. workers was shown by an estimated five to three vote against the contract at the company's largest plant at Schenectady, N.Y.

Despite the announcement by the IUE and UE leaders that ratification has been approved, they have been having one hell of a time getting the ranks to swallow this rotten deal they cooked up with Nixon and G.E. Latest to join the Syracuse, Schenectady and other locals in the

rejection is the IAM which recommended that its 14,000 members involved in the strike turn the contract down.

The union leaders have quite literally allowed the ranks to be starved into submission. They have used their control of the union apparatus, and the economic hardship endured by strikers trying to live on \$12 a week strike benefits for 14 weeks, as a club to get acceptance of the contract.

It is apparent that it didn't take much to convince G.E. to sign the agreement. As New York Times labor writer A.H. Raskin puts it, while G.E. backed down on its policy of "Boulwarism," the agreement "still leaves the company with lines unbent in all its prized area of managerial authority, including union security." In the words of a top G.E. executive: "We stayed in the ball park; we just moved the fences a little."

The 150,000 strikers did not stay out 14 weeks to get a contract which will leave them worse off than before at the end of 40 months. At the beginning of the strike the union leaders stated as "unconditional demands," necessary in order to make up for the \$30 per hour lost over the previous contract: 90¢ and hour in wages over a 30 month contract (an average of \$30 an hour per year) PLUS a FULL cost of living escalator. And what are the strikers being asked to accept NOW as a "great victory" by their

leaders? Fifty cents an hour over a 40 month contract (an average of 15¢ an hour per year) plus a token escalator which puts a ceiling of 8¢ an hour on cost of living adjustments. This means that after the cost of living rises more than 2.5%--and it has been rising at the rate of 7%--the workers don't get a penny more. The sell-out is simple arithmetic. The wage package falls far short of the gains made last year in maritime, airline, longshore and construction industries, not to mention the demands now raised in the tugboatmen's strike and in the trucking industry negotiations.

It was in order to reverse this trend and head off the truckers and auto workers' struggle later this year that Shultz and Nixon were so anxious to push this sell-out settlement on the G.E. workers. There is reason to believe that the terms were suggested, if not dictated entirely, by the Department of Labor. The capitulation of the union leadership to the pressure of federal mediator, George Counts, is a surrender to Nixon's attack on the wage demands of ALL workers.

Jennings and Fitzgerald have been the agents of the sell-out which they now try to paint as a great victory because G.E. made the agreement through "negotiation" and accepted collective bargaining as opposed to their past policy of "take it or leave it." But the fundamental question all along both for G.E. and the workers was the wage question and the

escalator clause. On this issue, as the G.E. executive put it, the company is "still in the same ball park" while the workers will have to tighten their belts if the contract goes through.

Jennings has been preparing the apology for this sell-out from the beginning. The Bulletin warned in the Nov. 10, 1969 issue: "IUE President Paul Jennings is opening the door for a sell-out compromise when he says that the fundamental question is an acceptance of unions and an end to Boulwarism. 'They're going to have to improve on that offer and the minute they do they've killed Boulwarism.' We went on to ask Brother Jennings, 'If G.E. simply 'improves' its offer (from pennies to nickels) then should the unions say 'we've won' and go back to work? ...The question is not one of 'improvements'--of the company backing down on its 'take it or leave it' attitude which they may well do--but of winning the workers' just demands.'"

Jennings and his fellow bureaucrats were able to isolate the militants but in doing so they have come out more openly than ever before as the agents of the government and employers. The fight must be taken up in earnest to replace these bureaucrats with a revolutionary Marxist leadership which really fights for the unions to represent the workers' interests. Jennings and his friends have sold out but they haven't yet heard the last from the workers.

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BULLETIN RM. 8, 243 E. 10 ST. NYC 10003

# italian workers protest arrests

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The decision of the Italian ruling class to go ahead with the prosecution of thousands of socialists and trade union militants on charges of violence and "resisting the forces of public order" out of last fall's massive strike wave has itself set off a wave of huge protest strikes and demonstrations throughout Italy.

Some 9,900 militants now face charges under Italy's fascist penal code. Each week for the next several months will see the opening of trials for anywhere from 20 to 200 individuals, many of whom have been in jail since last Fall.

The week beginning January 19th brought 13 workers to trial in Milan on charges stemming from demonstrations during the one day general strike of November 19th. Milan workers at the Pirelli and Farmitalia factories immediately answered this attack by taking to the streets with strike action. This action has subsequently burgeoned into a wave of strikes, demonstrations, and meetings in all parts of the country--Turin, Pisa, Pavia, Grosseto, Milan.

On January 22, the leadership of Italy's three main unions were forced by the militancy of the ranks to call a strike of all industrial workers in the northern Padova region to protest the legal repression. A day earlier the sharpest confrontation to date occurred when police attacked an illegal student demonstration against the repression with tear gas, injuring dozens of students and arresting 33 in the course of a two hour street battle.

While what is posed by the legal repression is the necessity for the unconditional defense of all workers

facing charges and the mobilization of the labor movement nationally to see that these charges are dropped, both the Socialists and the Italian Communist Party refuse to take up this fight.

The right wing Christian Democrats and the Saragat Social Democrats have, for their part, taken a quite unequivocal stand on the legal actions now pending. Social Democratic spokesman Preti has made clear his scorn for the idea of "curing abnormal situations by issuing an amnesty every year." This, in his opinion, would constitute an infringement on the "independence of the judiciary" which would "damage the prestige of the state."

This is the whole point. Precisely because the fight against these legal repressions poses a direct political challenge to the state, posing in fact not only to damage its prestige, but its overthrow, the Communist Party is completely unwilling to take up this fight. The one day general strike on demands for economic reforms last November was one thing; a direct political challenge to the state power is quite another.

## FASCIST

This is, however, exactly what is required. The illusions still fostered by the Socialist and the Communist parties of re-cementing a center-left coalition with progressive capitalists on the basis of a program of reform has never stood more exposed. In region after region it is the right wing Andriotti forces in the Christian Democratic Party that are being elected to political posts while the pressure of the big bourgeoisie more and more finds its expression completely outside of parliamentary

# A LETTER FROM DANY SYLVEIRE

To the Bulletin:

Dear Comrades,

I would like you to print a correction to the interview you published in the Bulletin which Pat Connolly did with myself. In the second part of the interview (Bulletin, January 26) it says: "It was the turn of the Trotskyist movement in Britain towards the youth which began in 1960 which laid the basis for the complete transformation of that movement from a small propagandist, mainly middle class group, into the beginnings of a mass revolutionary party." In 1960 the Socialist Labour League had already been engaged for a number of years in a struggle against idealism and propagandism and was well on the way in political preparation for its opposition to the SWP who capitulated to Pabloism in 1963. In no sense could the description in your paper therefore apply.

The SLL has led considerable struggles for the continuity of Mar-

xism and principles against revisionism and had through this gained a large body of experience which enabled it to make this turn as the crisis of capitalism developed. I would ask you to correct this mistake in the Bulletin because it writes off the very rich history of the Trotskyist movement in Britain.

In the first part of the interview there is a statement which is inaccurate due to a section of the sentence being omitted: "All our policies and positions were passed against the right wing, the state capitalists and the Fabloites, who voted together." I in fact said: "were passed against the right wing, the state capitalists and the Fabloites, who voted together on certain issues such as joint candidates for the National Committee."

Yours fraternally,  
D. Sylveire

channels in fascist attacks on the working class.

On January 27th bus and tram workers in Turin struck for one day for a new contract and better city transportation service. Fiat workers have just taken up the struggle to prevent Fiat from going back on the agreement achieved last year to reduce hours from 44 to 42 per week. In factory after factory, new shop floor committees exclusive of the existing union bureaucracies have sprung up to fight against speedup and other aspects of the employers' assaults within the factories. Now 1 1/2 million farm workers plan a February 2nd stoppage to back demands for increased Social Security benefits, while in Palermo, Sicily, tens of thousands recently demon-

strated against the refusal of the government to alleviate the disaster arising from last year's earthquake which continues to leave some 90,000 people living in huts.

Caught between the millstones of its own working class and the growing pressure of a recession in the United States, the Italian bourgeoisie can no longer afford either reforms or the luxury of center-left coalitions, which in any case were based upon the period of relative class peace and boom. Italian capitalism is now turning more and more openly to the road it followed in 1921. The Italian working class must make the necessary break with Stalinism and blow the plans of the rulers skyhigh, smashing the decrepit Italian state and establishing a Soviet Italy.

# WILSON, NIXON AGREE - MORE VIETNAM BOMBS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

a deserved mark of honor to a man, who, notwithstanding no little criticism at home, has stood staunchly by the United States during the latter's long and terrible trial in Vietnam." The editorial goes on to say "Britain and America... are reassuringly close... These are no small comforts for both on a globe pulsating with tensions, unresolved conflicts, immense challenges and great dangers."

The "unresolved conflicts" and "great dangers" the Monitor and the entire capitalist class are concerned with were expressed quite clearly by Wilson himself when he spoke to leaders of big business in New York. The central theme of his address was the drive for higher productivity in industry and the dangers posed to capitalism throughout the world by the offensive of the working class in the fight for wages. Dealing with this offensive said Wilson, "is going to be for all of us one of the big problems of democracy as we enter the 1970s. We are all in it together."

The "new special relationship for the nineteen seventies" between the U.S. and Britain which Wilson spoke of is the unity of American and British imperialism against the world working class. The agreement between Nixon and Wilson on Vietnam is part and parcel of their agreement on the question of the drive to lower the standard of living of the workers in the U.S. and in Britain to save the failing capitalist system. Wilson and the Labor

government have been the hatchet men for the bankers and corporations in the U.S. and England with their attacks on the workers through a wage freeze, anti-labor legislation, and brutal measures to increase the productivity of the workers. Wilson and Nixon had plenty to talk about as Nixon is taking on the American workers with his movement to crush the fight for wages and jobs and to make the working class pay for inflation and the imperialist war in Vietnam. Hours before Wilson arrived, Nixon slashed funds for health, education and welfare. Meanwhile Nixon was intervening with his mediator in the G.E. strike to prepare a defeat for the G.E. workers. Later last week he and Shultz made plans with the rail bosses to stop the rail strike and to threaten new anti-union legislation.

The "danger" posed to world



NIXON WELCOMES WILSON TO THE USA

capitalism is indeed the tremendous offensive of the working class from Vietnam to Europe, to the Soviet countries, to the U.S. All the leaders of world capitalism are scurrying over to confer with the giant of this rotten system. Wilson was the first. In March Nixon will receive Pompidou and in April Brandt. Clearly these spokesmen of capitalism are meeting to plot their war against the international working class.

Key in world imperialism's strategy is the defeat of the workers and peasants struggle in Vietnam. This is why Nixon's greeting for Wilson was so "amicable," for Wilson, as the capitalist press states, has been behind the U.S. all the way. This war, however, is a war not in the interests of the working class in Britain or the U.S. but a war of the capitalist class. It is the same war that is being conducted at home in every capitalist country.

## CAMPAIGN

In Britain the working class answered Wilson's collusion with Nixon and exposed Wilson as the spokesman not of the labor movement, but of the employers, in the tremendous response received by the campaign begun by the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, to "Stop Wilson's Visit to Washington." Thousands of petition signatures from trade unionists, youth, students and intellectuals were collected in this campaign and hundreds of resolutions from the trade union branches were passed in support of this campaign.

Now this campaign will go forward to make May 1st a day of action by trade unionists against the Vietnam war, and solidarity with the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

U.S. imperialism has every intention of continuing this war. The bombs dropped over Vietnam last week and Nixon's statements at his press conference that the U.S. will be prepared to deal with any NLF offensive "more strongly than we have dealt with it in the past" spell this out loud and clear.

At the same time Nixon and his war critics in the Democratic and Republican parties have obviously made a deal to play down the war in Vietnam. They are all united in their propaganda attempts to make cleaning up the environment the central issue today. This is nothing but rubbish to lull the working class to sleep while the whole lot of them stand together in the war against the workers. Just like Wilson, these critics stand behind Nixon in preserving the system that is at the roots of the war in Vietnam and the war at home.

It is clear that the tactics of "pressuring" U.S. imperialism and allying with a section of the capitalist class, the perspective put forward by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party in the anti-war movement, will not stop this war. What is required is the action of the labor movement mobilizing the millions of trade unionists, youth and students on a CLASS basis in a massive march on Washington against the war, inflation, unemployment and the cuts in social services.

## Labor Calls One Day General Strike In Cincinnati

BY FRED MUELLER

Fifteen hundred city employees in Cincinnati are setting an inspiring example for all trade unionists. These workers, represented by AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees), include charwomen, sanitationmen, clerks, engineers, laborers and truck drivers. They have been on strike for over four weeks, successfully defying anti-strike laws, court injunctions against picketing, and off-duty police scabs.

The workers have been fighting for wage increases on a par with those given to Cincinnati police and firemen last year. The city has offered these workers less than half what was granted to the police and firemen. Present wages range from \$85 a week for the charwomen to \$115 for the sanitationmen.

As of February 2nd, the strike talks were still broken off. The Cincinnati Labor Council has scheduled a one day general strike of 100,000 unionists for February 11th. William P. Sheehan, executive secretary of the Council, threatened a massive civil disobedience campaign and stated that "a state of war exists between organized labor and the wielders of power."

It is not the working class which wields the political power in Cincinnati or anywhere in the country. A state of war exists in Cincinnati between organized labor and the bosses' government. This strike has tremendous significance for all workers. It poses in embryo the struggle facing the entire working class in this period.

Lower paid workers with little trade union experience are playing a more and more militant role in this national wage offensive. The government is exposed as the direct strikebreaker or the power behind the strikebreakers.

The workers of Cincinnati can win, if they hold firm to their demands and fight back with massive labor support. The one day general strike of Cincinnati labor must be just the beginning. An all out general strike must be called if it is necessary to win the workers' demands. There must be a break with the Democratic and Republican "wielders of power." An independent labor party based on the unions is required in the next period for these struggles.

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## g.e. strikers at schenectady speak out

### 'We Can Close Down This Country if We Want to'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SCHENECTADY, N.Y. -- The striking General Electric workers here are in high morale. In the fifteenth week of the strike, when the news came that a settlement with the company was in the offing, most workers this reporter spoke with had a "wait and see" attitude.

"If they offer us another rotten package like the last two, we'll vote it down," said one worker, expressing the prevailing sentiment.

The injunction which limits picketing to token numbers has been in effect for weeks. Even though the company had a well-publicized back-to-work campaign, it had no visible effect in this largely G.E. city.

There is virtually no scabbing among production workers, and although clerical and office personnel are scabbing and are supposed to be doing production work, they are incapable of operating the machines.

The workers' militancy was expressed in huge picket lines before the injunction prohibiting them. One worker described wearing sneakers, so that no one who got past the line could make a rush for it and get away.

The threat of major layoffs after the strike is settled has been used against the striking workers here.

### INFLATION

Soaring prices and inflation make the question of wage hikes the central one, both for G.E. workers and for other industries whose wage settlements will be patterned after G.E. At the same time the issue of pensions is also important, especially to the older workers. One young worker said his father had just retired on a G.E. pension after 25 years work, and had to go on welfare after two months.

The news of the impending settlement has not settled the case for them. "We'll stay out until summer time if they try to give us another stinking deal" one worker said, and the feeling was nearly unanimous

## Stalinists Twist The Facts To Push G.E Sellout

More than 24 years ago the leadership of the UE which was then dominated by the Stalinist politics of the Communist Party played a key role in pushing the recommendations of Truman's "fact-finding board" as the basis for a sell-out settlement of the G.E. strike of 1946.

Today the spokesmen of the Communist Party are still up to their old tricks. In the Jan. 31, 1970 edition of the C.P.'s Daily World, which bears the banner headline "13-Union Bloc Wins G.E. Strike," George Morris writes: "The company was forced to up substantially its second offer of Dec. 6...." We wonder what Mr. Morris means by "substantially?" G.E.'s original offer of a 20¢ wage hike the first year is exactly what it wound up with and the 15¢ each year for the next two years together with the emasculated escalator clause are very little more than G.E. had put forward in its second offer.

Morris goes on to say that this settlement "brought victory for all labor and set a higher collective bargaining level for unions with 5,000,000 members negotiating in 1970." "Higher" indeed! Either Mr. Morris doesn't know up from down or, as we suspect, he and his

that, with unemployment compensation and strike benefits they could stay out a long time.

All of the workers we spoke with agreed that the boycott of G.E. products organized by the union leadership was insignificant and could not win the strike. The most important

coming up for a vote, this question has to be raised in every local of the striking unions, as well as in other unions. What is at stake is the wages, jobs and working conditions not only of the G.E. workers who have struck for 15 weeks but of all workers.



STRIKING WORKERS PICKET GENERAL ELECTRIC IN PHILADELPHIA.

thing was the militancy of the workers in fighting back against a sell-out settlement after 15 weeks of striking.

### POWER

When we posed the question of real support for the strike by other unions, by having the AFL-CIO call for a one day general strike of the whole labor movement in support of the G.E. workers, the strikers agreed that this kind of power--the whole organized labor movement striking--was what is required. One worker said: "We can shut the whole country down if we want to."

Now, with the sell-out settlement

## MILITANTS WANT TO FIGHT AT BURLINGTON G.E. PLANT

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BURLINGTON, VT.-- The crisis in the strike against G.E. is developing faster and faster as talk of settlement spreads. The leaders of Local 248 of I.U.E. here have done little to keep up the morale of the strikers. The striking I.U.E. members are determined to stay out, even though half of the local's members are scabbing on their own union. The only obstacle to a decisive NO vote on the proposed settlement may very well turn out to be the local leaders. Their handling of the strike has kept the rank and file workers out of real contact with union matters.

One striker said they would "stay out till summer if we have to." Several of the workers this reporter spoke to agreed that a one day strike action by the entire labor movement was what was needed to defeat G.E.

Paul Jennings called G.E.'s offer an insult last October, and now he calls the VERY SAME deal a stunning victory. Increases of 4 and 5 % are no victory for anyone except G.E. and its Washington agents. There must be a loud, definitive NO on any proposed settlement that falls even a millimeter short of the original demands.

## Bulletin

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# DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET OPPOSITION



# I am ashamed for you comrades

**The President:** This union meeting must decide on the dismissal of V. M. Guerline, literature professor in the upper classes, who, by her political and ideological position, no longer deserves our confidence.

**A. V. Novojilova:** In January there was a trial of four young people. Their activity was genuinely anti-Soviet. They were guilty in varying degrees, but irrefutable proof attested to their guilt.

A duplicating machine, dollars, Russian money and anti-Soviet literature were found at their homes. The accused, Ginsburg, aside from his anti-Soviet activity, was publishing foreign articles. All were inveterate anti-Soviets and received a well-deserved punishment.

The trial was not completely public but what does that matter when it was dealing with

such obvious misdeeds? They couldn't be allowed to make anti-Soviet statements in the presence of the Soviets. Our people must not be subjected to such lies.

Perhaps there were other reasons why the trial was not public. It is not for us to know everything. We must place our confidence in our security services and not doubt them.

After the trial, Litvinov and Bogoraz (Daniel's wife) gave a slanderous letter to the foreign press full of anti-Soviet demands—liberation of prisoners with the help of the West and a condemnation of Soviet justice.

A series of unstable intellectuals who gave in to this provocation associated themselves with the repugnant letter. Their signatures are joined to the bottom of the Litvinov-Bogoraz letter.

This group of ideologically unstable people took up the defence of criminals. This letter was signed by our colleague, Guerline. She has defended anti-Soviet activists at the same time as teaching literature.

Such duplicity is inadmissible. Whoever hesitates or doubts cannot be an ideological guide, cannot be an educator, cannot work in our school. **Guerline:** I have already lived through this. I was judged without a hearing in 1949, if it can be called a judgement, for the sole reason that I was the daughter of a man executed in 1947.

Today I am also being judged, or rather I have been judged and again without a hearing, since the Party meeting and the local committee have already made their decision without even taking the trouble to listen to me.

The decision that will be made here is already known: the collective must confirm a verdict already reached and you have only met for that.

The conduct of the communists of this school is cowardly and unworthy. They have acted like a special session of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) where judgements are made in the absence of the accused.

But I must speak of what I've done, of the reasons and of myself.

I was orphaned at the age of seven. My father, a communist, was executed, and my mother condemned to eight years in prison for her connections with an 'enemy of the people'. She only survived her rehabilitation for a short while.

When I was arrested I was 19. My whole school stigmatized me along with other enemies, teachers of Marxism, today rehabilitated.

When I returned to Moscow after my rehabilitation, many people were ashamed to look me in the face. These people had quite simply believed that I was guilty; they had all satisfied the needs of the organizations that were above them in the hierarchy.

Before making wild accusations against people again, those who witnessed and survived the years 1937-1947 should remember the mass meetings demanding the execution of Tukhachevsky and Yakir; they should remember the unconscious way in which

thousands who had done nothing were 'unmasked'; they should remember the creative zealotry which led us to discover anti-Soviet organizations in kindergartens.

I know what a violation of the law is. I know how important it is for the honour of our state that the law be observed because it is just that spirit of the law that is expressed here. For us history is not written in our manuals or in the pages of our lifeless books but in our flesh; we must all feel ourselves responsible before history and for history.

We cannot be indifferent to violations of the law; we must sound the alarm each time we are not sure that the law of the Soviet state is being scrupulously observed because on the state level legality and legality alone is the measure of justice.

I don't understand those who lack civic fibre, those not interested in justice inasmuch as the honour of our country is tied to it.

Just and noble ideas require just methods in order to be realized. Civic concern, which is not only my right but my duty, is what pushed me to act as I have, that is, to sign a letter whose central theme was the legality of the trial.

Now let's come to this letter. I did not sign the appeal of Litvinov and Bogoraz and I would have refused. I addressed myself only to the state organs and Soviet judiciary. I don't believe I would be able to go over their heads to world opinion.

In accusing me of anti-Soviet activity, you have, why I don't know, only cited the Litvinov-Bogoraz letter when I signed another letter. This letter was sent, and I emphasize this again, to the Supreme Court, to comrades Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny and to the lawyers of the accused. There was no question of appealing to the foreign press.

The demands in this letter clearly differ from those of Litvinov and Bogoraz. I am not speaking of the liberation of the accused but only a second trial 'keeping the proceedings entirely public and observing all the juridical norms, and of the punishment of those who are guilty of violating the law (this is the concern of the Moscow Tribunal).

The letter did not raise the question of the guilt of

the accused and I am deliberately staying away from that question. I am not capable of considering it because I cannot do a judge's job.

But, again, honest and strict respect for the law must concern all men of good faith. A criminal, a murderer, a rapist, under a just government and strong Soviet reason, must be judged according to the law in all its severity and without the least infringement.

**A voice in the room:** And according to you should anti-Soviets be judged by law?

**Guerline:** Anti-Soviets too and even war criminals.

**The same voice:** But they are enemies. How can enemies be defended? They harm us and you are going to observe the law! That's unacceptable! Do they deal nicely with us?

**Guerline:** Aren't you ashamed? Your words are unworthy not only for a teacher but for anyone with any sense. Not to pardon our enemies is precisely to judge them by law, and only by law.

Our laws are strong and severe enough to punish whoever breaks them, without recourse to injustice. And if we don't observe the law in our country, how will we distinguish ourselves from our enemies?

In effect you are calling for lynch law and the summary executions of 1937!

What guarantee have we got that a tribunal that illegally condemns a guilty man today will not condemn an innocent man tomorrow?

**A voice (always the same mathematics professor, N. N. Nojinka):** Criminals cannot be judged according to justice. By that reasoning it would be necessary to acquit them all.

**Guerline:** Condemn the guilty and acquit the innocent. Whoever doesn't understand that should take an elementary course in political philosophy.

**Nojinka:** But what does the fate of these criminals matter to you? How does it concern you?

**Guerline:** I am not preoccupied by what happens to them. I am speaking only of respect for the laws and justice of the state.

But I'll go on.

## The dismissal of professor Guerline

The people to whom the order to dismiss me was given and who have already made their decision, do not want to hear anything, do not want to understand anything. With a determination worthy of better use they repeat the same phrase: 'We completely associate ourselves with the authors of this letter'. (This sentence has been most effectively extracted from the letter I signed.)

But what does to 'associate completely' mean to Litvinov and Bogoraz? Reading this letter I understood it, and continue to understand it in a very specific way: we associate ourselves with the public well-being, with the civic disquiet revealed in the Litvinov-Bogoraz letter.

The addresses of my letter and the demands expressed in it are in opposition to those of the Litvinov-Bogoraz letter. If the contents of these two letters had been the same,

a second text with other demands would have made no sense and it would have been enough to limit ourselves to the phrase, 'We associate ourselves completely'.

I agree that this phrase could have two interpretations. If I had drafted this letter or had a chance to correct it, I would not have allowed such ambiguity in its formulation.

This phrase should not have been written or should have been: 'we share Litvinov and Bogoraz's concern over the violations of Soviet law perpetrated in the last political trial'.

I am emphasising this so that the comrades who return to this question will keep my clarification in mind and consider the 'criminal' phrase in the sense and with the interpretation I have given it.

Comrades, I'm not afraid of what's going to happen to

me; I've known worse. At this moment I'm not thinking only of myself, I'm thinking of you. Through your mistake I don't want to return to 1949.

This meeting, called after my dismissal had been decided, justifies the uneasiness that drove me to sign this letter. Think about it: is the main point a careless, or even false phrase, which is contradicted by the content of the letter, or is it the purity and sacred character of the law without which we would have no state?

Now some words about the school. There is a question to be considered in this investigation which precedes the decision reached today. That's why I bring it up, having foreseen the questions.

I have never been a hypocrite with the children. I have never lied to them. I have taught them, to the best of my ability, what I consider to be the truth. I have never talked to them about the letter or about the problems raised here; they are still too young to understand.

I have taught them literature, this literature always based on strong moral principles, on honour, on humanism.

I have striven to teach the children to think, since that is what learning means, to think honestly and to be rational. Who can seriously say that my teaching has had a bad influence on the children?

## Questions put to Guerline

**Eidline (history professor):** What is the real relationship between Bogoraz and Sinyasky?

**Guerline:** She is Daniel's wife.

**Nojinka:** How did you know what happened at the trial?

**Guerline:** From people who happened to be near the court where the trial was being held.

The trial had been declared public but only a very select public was allowed to enter. Also from Ginsburg's mother and from the defence lawyer's speeches.

**Nojinka:** Why did you believe them and not us?

**Guerline:** Because I don't want to believe, but to know. Everything that I've been told has strengthened this desire and increased my anxiety.

**Novojilova:** Why don't you want to recognise that the Soviet government can have reasons it's best not to give for not letting everyone into the courtroom? Would it have been better to hold it at Loujniki? [A stadium with 15,000 seats in the suburbs of Moscow].

**Guerline:** But the law says in advance what kind of trial should be held behind closed doors. And since 1956, all of us should understand the terrible danger of saying: that is beyond me. Has history nothing to teach you, historian?

As for Loujniki, that wasn't necessary, it's cold there in the winter. The Penkovsky trial was shown on television: no one doubted the legality of that trial. [Colonel Penkovsky was an American spy. His trial was public and televised as was the trial of the 'leged English agent of the

NTS, Gerald Brooke, recently released by the Soviet authorities.]

**Eidline:** According to you, are the accused guilty of anti-Sovietism?

**Guerline:** I've already said that I don't ask myself that not being a judge. Haven't you yet understood that that is not the question?

**Someone:** Why did you speak to the 'Voice of America'? And to the BBC?

**Guerline:** I spoke to our government and to our courts, I don't have to answer for the BBC.

**A voice:** But the BBC transmitted it.

**Guerline:** The BBC, not me. I'm not the BBC.

**Andreyev (manual labour professor):** Why do you always say 'we', 'we'? Who is this 'we'? In the name of what organization are you speaking?

**Guerline:** I say 'we' in the following sense. We citizens, and I include you, must be sensitive to what's happening in our country. I signed the letter in my own name, I will answer for it personally.

**Andreyev:** Who gave you this letter to sign?

**Guerline:** I think that is an immoral question. I will explain why. If I am dismissed from my job for having signed it when I didn't ask anyone else to sign, whoever gave it to me would be exposed to even harsher repressions. I don't want to make their lot any worse.

**Someone:** Do you know everyone who signed the letter?

**Guerline:** No. I hardly know 10, more or less well.

**The same:** Can you answer for the morality of the signatories?

**Guerline:** I can only answer for myself.

**A voice:** Which signatories do you know?

**Guerline:** Is that a question or curiosity?

**The same voice:** I don't believe you only know 10.

**Guerline:** You're right. I probably know more among those who signed other letters concerning this trial—Veniamine Kaverine for example or Paoustovsky. [Two well-known and revered Soviet writers. Paoustovsky died in 1968.]

**Nojinka:** But why are you interested in these delinquents and their fate?

**Guerline:** Try to understand, it's justice that interests me.

**Nojinka (in a loud voice):** Criminals and justice!

**Guerline:** At this level I can't explain anything. Think a little about what you're saying. Your words would be a bonus for the enemy.

**The President:** Who wants to speak?

**Saveley (professor of industrial design, assistant pedagogical director):** Guerline has just spoken of humanism, of respect for man. I understand how she feels. I know Yourovskaia's family. She was also arrested but would she sign? She's been in camps too and for more than five years. Guerline only had five years of exile. But I understand how she feels.

But what I don't understand is the relationship between all this and the students. What is

really happening?

Previously no one at the school read Andrei Biely, Sacha, Tchorny, Akhmatova or Goumilev, no one talked about them. And now? Students in classes other than hers are asking who these poets are.

From whom have they heard about them? From the members of the literary club. No one talked about these poets before, no one knew their poetry, and now they are read and reproduced on the typewriter. And on the school typewriter too!

Why doesn't anyone read what's in the library? Where does this pernicious infatuation come from?

An incident in the middle of a discussion attracted my attention to this. A 10th year student asked why don't we consider Goumilev's death heroic? The other students reprimanded the young fool and I joined in.

But there was another member of the club who was not admitted to the Komsomol because of self-conceit. This again is because of the club.

The editorial staff has worried me too. Three members of the club are on the committee. The newspaper had articles on school life before, and now there is only the literature question.

The newspaper for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution only had an editorial; the rest was poetry. Mayakovski is all right, but then Blok, Essenine!

The editorial committee pretended that no one could do any better. Then the 10th year students set to and did better. Instead of splitting poetic hairs they showed the life of the school.

Lena Efremova put out a good paper in the eighth year and then in the ninth, because of the club, started to do bad work. Nothing was put in about the plenum of the party committee in Moscow. She asked why anything should be written about it since everyone read the newspapers.

There is nothing about Gorky in the paper. In the ninth year they say, we haven't studied him yet, let the 10th deal with him.

And 7B? For three years it has been called Zoia Kodmodemianskaia and there is still no work on her subject. [She was a young member of the Komsomol who volunteered in October, 1941, was taken prisoner in November and hanged by the Nazis.]

Another thing. A student in the eighth year, which Guerline doesn't teach, said: 'What a good teacher Guerline is and she's going to be dismissed!'

The feelings you arouse, Guerline, are very suspicious.

### Ossipov (mathematics professor)

What adult manages the newspaper? What connection does Guerline have with it?

**Savelev:** No one manages the paper. We have confidence in the children.

Guerline has nothing to do with the paper, but three members of the editorial committee belong to the literary club and the others obey them.

**Bougrova (physics professor):** The little girl in the eighth year said that about Guerline a long time ago. When she said that there wasn't any question of dismissal. She often speaks in a strange and incomprehensible way.

**THE trial of Ginsburg, author of the 'White Book' on the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, and Galanskov, editor of the unauthorized 'Phoenix 61' and 'Phoenix 66', elicited a series of responses.**

Many petitions and letters were signed protesting against this iniquitous trial which attempted to establish an unnatural relationship between the opposition communists and the NTS (a White emigré organization) fascists.

Professor Guerline, wife of the praised literary critic, Aikhenwald, who has written in particular in 'Novy Mir', was among 170 people who signed a petition which said, among other things, that: 'We affirm our complete agreement with the authors of the letter'.

It denounced the illegalities of the trial: 'This tendentious Tribunal has handed down an equally tendentious verdict'.

It finished with the following demand: 'We appeal for a re-trial of Galanskov, Ginsburg, Dobrovolsky and Lachkova in a public court corresponding to our legal norms and in the presence of representatives of public opinion chosen from among the signatories of this letter. We demand that sanctions be brought against those responsible for the organization of this trial that has so discredited Soviet justice'.

But a teacher, under Stalinism, is not primarily a source of culture and education, he must also be the vigilant instrument of a network of propaganda as constricting as it is crudely mythological and whose fragile equilibrium he must protect.

Thus the official organ 'Outchitelskaia Gazeta' on December 16, 1953 defined the task of a teacher in the following terms:

'All school teaching must be impregnated with the spirit of the Party and conform rigorously to its principles.'

It is this position of 'principles' that prompted a correspondent of 'Outchitelskaia Gazeta' on February 18, 1953 to reproach a teacher for confining himself to abstractions when he took up the theme, 'Soviet Tribunals and Their Tasks' because he had not 'considered bringing up the physician-assassins who sold themselves to the imperialists for dollars and pounds'.

Luckily for this teacher as soon as Stalin died, some weeks later, these same physicians were rehabilitated.

So the Party cell at the school where Guerline teaches decided—on an order coming from above no doubt—to relieve the Soviet educational system of this perverse teacher, who fought for the implementation of guarantees that are given to Soviet citizens by the constitution and the laws.

The cell that decided to dismiss her then called together the union section of the school, that is all the teachers (the 'collective'), since trade unionism is obligatory. The union meeting decided by a vast majority to dismiss Guerline.

One of the assistants at the meeting made a transcript of the proceedings and this account was circulated by 'Samizdat I', 'The voice of the communist opposition in the USSR'.

It should be added that Guerline appealed against the decision to a Tribunal. Among the numerous teachers dismissed for having protested against this arbitrary and illegal action, she was one of the few to be reinstated.

The publicity given to her case by the circulation of this document and the desire to break the united front of the rebels no doubt had an effect on the Tribunal's decision.

In this brief introduction all the allusions in the text cannot be clarified.

The most insidious is that of the 'keys'. It probably signifies that Guerline's husband, Aikhenwald, was visited by people who signed one of the protests and he eventually gave them the keys to his flat. This is denounced vigorously as suspicious by some of those present at the 'union' meeting.

Espionage and Stalinist 'vigilance', which were given full scope in the Moscow Trials, are always cultivated by the state machine as one of the means of resisting the slow but deep upward movement of the masses.

## New questions put to Guerline

**A voice:** Who signed first, you or your husband?

**Guerline:** Me.

**A voice:** Doesn't it seem to you that Bogoraz is biased?

**Guerline:** How does that concern me?

**Nojinka:** And if this trial had been according to all the rules what would you have said?

**Guerline:** I would have said justice triumphed.

**Nojinka:** What is lacking then?

**Eidline:** Guerline, if you are moved by humanitarian feelings, why haven't you signed anything for Spock? [An American doctor arrested after a demonstration against the war in Vietnam in 1968.]

**Guerline:** I would have if I wasn't more interested in the problems of our country.

**A voice:** Why were you aroused for a political cause? You didn't intervene for common, human rights.

**Guerline:** Yes, but neither was I dismissed from my work for that.

**Ingerov (the director):** None of the people we know, no one at the school signed! No one!

**Andreyev:** What are Kristi and Klenitskaia to you?

**Guerline:** Friends.

**Andreyev:** Do you know Orlovski?

**Guerline:** Like you. I've only heard him speak many times. I met him once but not in the period you're interested in.

**Andreyev:** When you leave your house do you leave your keys with strangers? How many keys have you got?

**Guerline:** We have many. We live like that. We leave them with friends when its necessary, never with strangers.

**Andreyev:** She signed Litvinov and Bogoraz's letter. Their letter complements this one. (He reads the end of Litvinov's letter.)

Aren't there any honest people in the Soviet Union? To listen to you, one would think that you're more honest than anyone else. Haven't we got our newspapers, our institutions? You haven't addressed yourself to them. Therefore the Soviet laws you speak of are trampled underfoot by you.

You haven't said who sent you this letter. You only say what it is advantageous for you to say. (A voice: You speak of an advantage!)

You are lying when you say you didn't sign first. Your signature is one of the first. (Guerline: They're in alphabetical order.)

And you're making a mistake about Soviet law. If you received an appeal it should have been sent to those who deal with the law.

(Guerline: I sent it to the Soviet government.)

And yet you have forwarded democracy, you have signed Litvinov's letters!

You say that you haven't lent your keys and your husband says that he has. I keep my keys in my pocket. What do you do with yours?

You are lying, you are looking after your own interests. You have raised yourself against the Soviet authorities. We have chosen judges in whom we have confidence and you clamour for their punishment.

The letter, from beginning to end, was written by an anti-Soviet hand.

And even among Party members, there are people who aren't completely honest. Who spoke to you about the decision of the party meeting?

**Guerline:** I figured out that

state secret myself. It was first a Party meeting, and then the local teacher's committee, who decided upon my dismissal. It's clear that the local committee didn't make this decision alone.

**Andreyev:** Once again, you don't want to name your confederates. Who spoke to you about this meeting?

**Guerline:** I've already explained.

**Andreyev:** Someone who signed this letter can't teach in our school.

**Ossipova:** We know and understand all the duties and responsibilities of a teacher. We know Guerline. She's a good teacher. We must all think carefully and not take these accusations lightly. I cannot believe Guerline's explanation, but I cannot not take them into consideration.

We must also consider the trend that has inspired her action. In effect, she is experiencing the problem of legality and she has the right to that.

Let's even admit that she was wrong not to attach the requisite importance to the first sentence of the letter. But should we impose sanctions for one mistake?

I'd like to make an analogy. Lenin, in an intervention against chauvinism and great power and nationalism in general, said that we must pardon the nationalism of oppressed nations but not that of ruling nations.

If Guerline was wrong we can understand her. We must understand her, not penalize her. Guerline didn't sign Litvinov and Bogoraz's letter, she signed a letter addressed to the institutions of the Soviet State. We mustn't lose sight of that. We must think hard before deciding.

**L. P. Semerova (retired vice principal attached to party work):** The actual situation is very complex. The hand of the enemy is at work in Poland, in Czechoslovakia. The ideological struggle has very much intensified.

Guerline says she is concerned with the defence of the laws and humanity. She is not concerned about knowing when and in what conditions the trial took place.

How can a Soviet citizen speak like that? This could not happen without the hand of the enemy.

We want people to speak up when things aren't working correctly but why sign letters? Why collect signatures? Why let the entire world know? These letters cover our state, our laws with filth.

In her statements Guerline clearly shows that she thinks she alone understands; don't the others understand anything?

You often said false things when I still worked here. And in the fifth year in your class, for a whole semester there was no new work done. . . . You did not start any. This is disgraceful.

Man can only satisfy his needs when he gives all his strength to society.

If a teacher isn't convinced that his state is right, he cannot be an educator. No one had the right to spread the filth in these letters.

And what is there to say about the past? It's already been judged, there's no reason to return to it.

**Ossipov (physical education teacher):** Anna Leonidovna has just spoken about chauvinism. Isn't she ashamed? Where does nationalism come in? (Ossipova: You misunderstood me!) Perhaps, but it doesn't matter. Anna Leonidovna is wrong.

Guerline is trying here to dissociate herself from Litvinov's letter. That won't do!

You can't object to one and sign the other. And in addition she wants to justify herself.

There are only two kinds of propaganda and what is useful for them is harmful for us.

Her political weakness does not permit Guerline to be a teacher. I mistrust her politically.

**N. E. Smirnova (literature**

**professor):** I've heard too many things here which it is impossible not to answer.

Firstly, why have almost all the comrades who've spoken talked of the Litvinov-Bogoraz letter?

Guerline has eloquently proved here that she takes a different position from Litvinov and Bogoraz, that the letter she signed was addressed to representatives of the Soviet power, that her action was dictated by truly civic motives.

She committed a responsible act not for glory, not for personal advantage, but because it arose out of her civic convictions.

If she was wrong in not attaching enough importance to that first sentence which everyone has made so much of, she has explained herself in a sufficiently convincing way.

Another thing, the club has been talked about here. Guerline is a good teacher whose courses are well liked. This year the club is very interesting. She didn't start with Goumilev but with the literature of the 1880s.

She has dealt with a complex literary process:

I. S. Bougrova helped at all the club meetings and only had good things to say about them. I'm sorry I wasn't at those meetings but I had accounts of them from I. S. Bougrova.

I know Guerline's students personally and have read many of their lessons—as Guerline has read those of my students—and I am sure that she has not nor could she have taught them anything bad, neither in her class (her teaching was inspected and always approved) nor in her club.

The club was conceived of as an enlargement of our programme, not as a copy of it.

There was therefore no question of Gorky but of let us say Blok and Briussov without whom the literary process cannot be understood.

Gorky and Mayakovski are studied at the beginning of the 10th year and Guerline was trying to widen the children's horizon.



**Daniel (left) and Sinyavsky** the two Soviet intellectuals whose trial brought world-wide protest. These prominent intellectuals who protested in the Soviet Union were similarly treated—sent to prison camps thousands of miles from their homes. This also had repercussions through all spheres of Soviet life, with many people losing their jobs for unexplained reasons.

She has worked very hard, meanwhile directing the journal radio for a year, has helped in organizing all the evening get togethers, and prepared two of them herself.

**A voice:** But now do you see what she's done?

**Smirnova:** I've already said that. Based on one single sentence, and knowing moreover the meaning Guerline gives it, one could not mistrust her politically, neither as a teacher nor as an individual.

**Vassileva (teacher of the primary classes):** Comrades, speaking as a communist I must tell you frankly that Guerline has signed a document whose anti-Soviet meaning is indisputable.

**The comrades here who've spoken of Litvinov and Bogoraz's letter are right.** There is no essential difference between the letters. She cannot refuse responsibility for the amalgam.

It isn't surprising that a letter with such a bedfellow received no answers. Without the bedfellow there would have been an answer. No one would answer such anti-Soviet letters.

We should not talk about careless formulations but, if we are responsible people, about its anti-Soviet content.

Why was this letter signed by 220 people? Is that the expression of a personal offence? And you've tried to explain that you bear no ill will towards us!

You're not considering anything; the international situation is so difficult now that we must always think about it. For us the main point is the ideological firmness of the teacher. Comrades, I would not entrust the education of children to Guerline.

**Eidline (history professor):** I understand Guerline. Her life hasn't been easy. But is she the only one to have gone through all that?

More precisely, just yesterday, overwhelmed by this hideous story, I told it to my father. And I learned unexpectedly that my father had suffered from the cult of the individual in 1952.

I never knew about it. I wasn't living with him, we didn't see each other.

He was a victim of it, but he speaks indignantly of those who say such things about our country in dirty letters sent to our enemies. My father gave me a solid ideological education.

In spite of all that I will speak up when it concerns a political error, whatever it costs me. Already at the Party meeting on March 25 I spoke up.

It's become difficult for me to work in the ninth year classes. The students are just waiting for me to make a mistake.

I say to them, 'The decadent movement is a reactionary trend'. Then they ask, 'Then the decadent poets are reactionaries?'. I answer, 'Yes, except for Brioussov and Blok who recognized their errors'.

And then again: 'And Tsvetaeva, was she a reactionary poet?'. 'Yes, of course.' 'But Guerline didn't tell us that. It's very difficult to learn.'

And the discussions! One student stands up and says, 'If someone sacrifices himself for an idea that he considers right, no matter what it is, it is heroic'. That was on the subject of Goumilev.

Who talked about Goumilev to them? Since when have we included Annenkov [probably confused with Annensky], Goumilev and Biely in our Russian poetry course?

A parallel can be made with 'The Ancestors'. ['The Ancestors' is a piece by Mickiewicz, a 19th century Polish writer and dramatist. He is considered to be the greatest Polish writer and the proscripting of his work in Warsaw at the beginning of 1968 sparked off resistance among intellectuals and students.]

No one has the right to include these decadents. What have these minor poets given to the ideological tempering of our generation?

Guerline's position is false and corrupt. She has just explained it. But Guerline, we haven't only got the year 1937! There is also Soviet power. That answers for 1937.

She's already been judged. In the collective there is a group that put themselves above the others. We have our organization and this group of professors is always opposed to the others, making a show of their erudition.

No Guerline. You lack character; moral laxity, lack of discipline. These are two faces of the same coin. The role of educator cannot be entrusted to you.

I swear that but for this letter, if anyone had sat in judgement on you, I would have been against it. But you cannot teach. Don't be angry with me, I have no confidence in you.

**V. I. Nagornaia (physical education teacher):** We have made a mistake. In the local committee we made a decision without giving Guerline a hearing.

She is right, it should not have been done. We're not judging an act, but an individual. When an individual addresses us, we mustn't only look at the dossier, we must listen to her.

I knew nothing about this letter. I have no opinion. I've just heard Guerline and I cannot doubt her or not believe her.

Think, why exactly has this trial raised such indignation, why have violations of the law been spoken of? No one has answered that question for me. Why couldn't this have been public? It all would have been clear then . . . but now . . .

The club has been discussed. It's been going for less than a year. That's too short a time to transform children.

The club couldn't have deformed the children. There are things other than literature.

There's physical education. As a physical education teacher I say we've also participated in their education and I should be dismissed too, we should all be dismissed.

**Epchtein (geography professor):** I've worked 30 years and this is the first time I've heard such talk. The school is an ideological establishment of the state and such discussion takes place!

If you'd declared war, Guerline, you would respect Soviet power.

Why has the cult of the individual come into this? You claim that the cult of the individual existed here but the conversation mustn't be diverted.

The first and second letters are the same whether you like it or not. It's the action, not the motivation that interests us.

If you dared sign such a letter, Poland isn't far away. It's a direct analogy. They are links in the same chain.

For whom is this necessary?

We must be totally convinced and not hesitate. Otherwise what kind of teachers are we? How will we dare delve into political questions in our classes without a perfectly firm, absolutely pure conception of the world? Such teachers have no place in this school.

**Nojinka:** I am not convinced that Guerline wanted to defend justice. This justice is not convincing. Ossipova and Nagornaia spoke of it and they didn't convince me. I am not convinced! The others convinced me but not you. I don't believe in your 'legality'.

The main point Guerline, is the personal offence you've committed. People don't interest Guerline, but they must interest you. Your signature is in defence of people you don't know.

How can criminals be defended? And how is that justice?

Justice judges criminals and you defend them.

Why haven't you consulted your friends, Guerline? If they are your friends, why haven't you consulted them?

Either you're protecting them or else they're not your friends. Is what I'm saying true?

There's something strange here. Otherwise what are these friends defending?

And if Guerline is defending justice, why didn't she bring this question up for discussion in the union meeting? Why is she afraid to tell us the real names of the people who gave her the letter? How can anyone defend her?

And our administration was wrong too. 'She's only looked after her lectures, it doesn't matter who gives these lectures'.

Her erudition has even been praised. Why is erudition necessary? In a lecture the teacher has the role of ideological guide; don't bother us with your logic, it's not a question of that.

In Guerline's class, 7B, things aren't going well. It's slack, undisciplined. Everything's been going well in my classes.

When they were in the fifth year, when they'd just come out of primary school, they laughed when they saw a girl who wasn't as well dressed as they. Their mood didn't please me at all. Now that's over but it's an undisciplined class.

We can see Guerline clearly now; she's a good teacher but there's a lot to reproach her for. I'm entirely of the opinion that her conduct is incompatible with being a teacher. Whoever vacillates to the right can't teach on the left.

**Mazo (a young biologist):** I must go, but I'm going to say something. Two years ago war criminals were tried. My personal opinion, I'm establishing a parallel.

**A voice:** What does that mean? It's incomprehensible.

**Mazo:** I said, I'm establishing a parallel. (He goes out.)

**Bougrova (doctor):** I spoke to Guerline about the local committee decision. It's not a secret. And I gave some poetry to the pedagogic council, to the professors. And the children took them.

They were my favourite poems. And I was involved with the club.

**Mantsour (literature professor and friend of Guerline's):** Guerline said that those who condemned her in 1949 were too ashamed to look her in the face afterwards. So that I will not be ashamed, I will speak.

I'm not supporting Guerline, I didn't divulge the secret of the Party meeting.

I have said what I think and I will not be ashamed to look Guerline in the face.

**Pakhomov (doctor, president of the local committee):** Bougrova had no right to disclose the secret decision of the local committee.

**Ingerov (director of the school):** Comrades, none of you here have any doubt who's defending Guerline. That deserves some thought.

Their intervention is not a chance thing, and it is not by chance that we foresaw this. These comrades would have done better to look after themselves. Where does such a position lead them?

The collective will not want to work with those who have defended her.

Guerline's action is unspeakable. The first and second letters are the same! You will not get out of it and you will not deceive anyone.

Without seeming to, Guerline has insulted us all. Why does she say it was all decided in advance? What Guerline and her defenders have said is derisive and vain. Their radios [BBC and 'Voice of America'] will harm no one. They only defile themselves.

It's not by chance that her class and her club are undisciplined. No, it's not by chance. Man is not made by a succession of chances.

No one who thinks correctly defended Guerline. What Nagornaia said is unworthy, as has been her conduct throughout the meeting (several times she's interrupted the speakers indignantly). What a lack of principles!

As for Guerline's sincerity, that's not even worth mentioning! What a hypocrite.

She is in the same bunch as Gabai.

Who is going to believe that Guerline didn't know that her lies would be taken up by 'Voice of America'? Why did she broadcast the letter (Guerline: You're lying—I didn't broadcast it.) and not come to the party organization?

Now let's pose the essential question: what are you going to do now, comrade defenders, and with whom? We won't allow you to have it both ways. You have no right to introduce doubt into 16-year-old heads. An unprincipled group has formed which is trying to influence our serious comrades.

Can we be sure that with Guerline's departure a Soviet atmosphere will be re-established?

lished? With no equivocation we have got the measure of these comrades. They had better think before voting.

We are giving a political meaning to this business. It's necessary to get rid of Guerline right away; she should never have been admitted to the school.

The education of children can't be entrusted to a politically doubtful individual!

**Batyguina (vice-principal):** It's been said here that Guerline only made one error. One error can characterize the political level of a teacher.

Yes she gave good lectures, she was learned, but we must go farther. What traces of new work are there in 7B?

It's all formal, nothing comes from the heart. And this is only the lectures!

The class is called Zoia Kosmodemianskaia and it's done no work on her subject. At the end of 45 minutes of the class what is there? The letter.

And she's insolent too. She refuses to be available or else 'someone made an unjustified remark' about something she said or she refuses on principle to speak at the meetings. She refused to make copies of the reports, she says there are enough of them; that is her true face.

My son was in her class. As a mother, as a teacher, as an administrator. . . . I don't think she can be a teacher. Her teaching won't produce men the country needs.

**President of the meeting (teacher in primary school):** You don't yet have this civic spirit and honesty you speak about. On many points you are apolitical. The comparisons with the cult of the individual are absolutely apolitical.

People with clear consciences and real civic concern feel perfectly secure. Why don't I feel in danger? I have a clear conscience.

Let's vote on the following proposal: to demand that the Ministry of Culture dismiss V. M. Guerline according to article 48 of the work code (by demand of the union organization).

**Results of the vote—of 42 present, 5 against and 2 abstentions.** [The Ministry of Culture was given different figures—2 or 3 against and 1 abstention.]

**Guerline:** I am ashamed. I am so ashamed that I can't raise my eyes. I am ashamed, ashamed for you, comrades. Because you don't know how to listen or understand, because you don't know how to think, because many among you have revealed yourselves to be even more dishonest than I thought you were.

April 16, 1968.

# MOSCOW



# TRIALS

## ANTHOLOGY

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# fascist gangs terrorize rockfest



THE HELLS ANGELS GANG BEATING UP A SPECTATOR AT THE ROLLING STONES FREE CONCERT

BY ED SMITH

An ignominious finish has drawn appreciably closer for one of the most virulent forms of middle class sickness infecting youth in America and the world in the '60's: the cult of psychedelia, "youth culture" and hippiedom.

The revolting antics of Michael Brody, the multi-millionaire hippie whose cynical pretension of distributing his fortune was enthusiastically whooped up by the capitalist press until it became transparently clear that he wasn't about to give anyone, however needy, the time of day, much less any of his precious millions, are just the latest and most bizarre in a series of events pointing up the mounting decay of this middle class frenzy as the working class begins to mount ever sharper struggles and the class battle is joined.

One of the most significant of these events is the disastrous free concert attended by 300,000 given by the Rolling Stones at Altamont, Calif., at the end of their recent American tour. The festival was billed hope-

fully by newspapers and radio stations both "underground" and "straight" as "Woodstock West" and "symbolic of a new generational spirit" (cop-out). Instead, the Altamont disaster exposed for all to see the underlying desperation and rottenness that is the real force behind the rock festival-Woodstock syndrome and the "cultural revolution." This was manifested in its clearest and most brutal form by the reign of terror at the festival by the Hells Angels motorcycle gang-- imposed of course with the blessing of the festival promoters who had hired them as "security guards."

## MURDER

Their reign culminated in the cold-blooded murder of a young black worker, Meredith Hunter, 18, less than 20 feet from, and in full view of, the stage, as well as the savage beatings administered at whim to several musicians and photographers and literally dozens of members of the audience. The "festival" assumed the aspect of a nightmare. In the words of the rock magazine "Rolling

Stone":

"The 300,000 anonymous bodies huddled together on the little dirt hills were indeed an instant city-- a decaying urban slum, complete with its own air pollution. By the time the Stones finally came on, dozens of garbage fires had been set all over the place. Flickering silhouettes of people trying to find warmth around the blazing trash reminded one of the medieval paintings of tortured souls in the Dance of Death. The stench of the smoke from tens of thousands of potato chip packages and half-eaten sandwiches brought vomiting to many. It was in this atmosphere that Mick sang his song about how groovy it is to be Satan. Never has it been sung in a more appropriate setting."

It is important to note that the action of the Hells Angels, a completely fascistic gang, was preceded by a long history of infatuation for and romanticization of these thugs by middle class radical and hippie elements, dating back to the days of the Berkeley Vietnam Committee (BVC), although the Angels had re-

peatedly revealed their class nature by strikebreaking and attacks on anti-war marches. As the capitalist crisis develops there will be a tendency for a desperate middle class, including many radicals, to turn towards fascism as the conflict between labor and capital becomes fiercer.

## LESSONS

Significant also is the fact that the Angels were able to terrorize and murder in this fashion in a crowd of 300,000 WITHOUT ANY RESISTANCE WHATEVER, demonstrating the impotence of the middle class before fascist terror. It shows what will happen if those rallied under the banner of the working class cease to depend on themselves for defense against capitalist attacks and begin to rely on "blobs" and "alliances" with middle class forces in the forthcoming class battles. Only bloody and horrible defeat can ensue.

There is only one way out of the cesspool of capitalism--the road of socialism, of working class revolution. Only the revolutionary party basing itself on Marxism, on a scientific understanding, and the need to construct a disciplined party, can provide a lead for youth. The Workers League fully intends to answer the challenges of this period by developing such a lead for the youth.

## Army Clamps Down On G.I. CoffeeHouses

The government and its military are moving with all deliberate speed in an attempt to crush the growing opposition within the armed forces to the war in Vietnam. The stockades are already overflowing with militant G.I.s. Over 10,000 men are presently in military and federal prisons arrested for opposing the war.

The military has now launched operations to shut down the coffeehouses which have grown up around the bases and which have been centers for anti-war activity among soldiers.

The coffeehouse in Columbia, S.C. near Fort Jackson was recently locked up when the local government declared it a "public nuisance." Now a battle is raging in Tacoma, Washington where the brass is threatening to declare the GI coffeehouse, Shelter Half, off limits. A hearing on this question by the Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board was postponed two weeks ago, but it is clear that this is only a temporary retreat. The disciplinary board claimed that there was evidence that Shelter Half had become "a source of dissident counseling and literature and other activities inimical to good morale, order and discipline within the armed services."

The breakdown in morale, order and discipline within the armed forces is a result of the fact that thousands of GI's together with more and more trade unionists and youth are realizing that the war in Vietnam is "inimical" to their interests.

## Bulletin Salesman Harassed at Oakland University

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ROCHESTER, MICH. -- Agnew's moves on a national level to suppress "free speech" and "political dissent" are being taken up by capitalism's lackeys all over the country.

The treatment by the Administration of Oakland University when a Bulletin salesman attempted to sell the paper on campus is just one example.

## Minneapolis Teachers Plan Wage Fight

MINNEAPOLIS--The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local 59, really showed the way forward to beat back Nixon's anti-union plans, when, on Jan. 24, they demanded a \$3000 pay increase for all Minneapolis teachers. Teachers in St. Paul and other Twin City districts must go for the same amount.

Teachers must be prepared to strike to win this demand and avoid another defeat like last year. The state's anti-strike laws against teachers must be defied in order for teachers to make the kind of gains that are essential

First the Bulletin salesman, who is a student on the campus, was ticketed and his papers were confiscated on the grounds that there is an ordinance prohibiting selling. This ordinance has no legal basis as many court cases have indicated.

This incident was brought to the attention of the Chancellor, W. Varner, by the American Civil Liberties Union. The Chancellor responded by saying that he would settle the matter and notify the A.C.L.U. He did neither. Now the A.C.L.U. is handling the matter through the courts.

Regular sales of the Bulletin have now been resumed on the campus, but harassment by the Administration continues. The Administration has contended that "on campus"

means in the dormitories and in one other building. While this salesman was selling in one of these buildings, he was again notified by the police and the Administration that "on campus" now means at a table in the corner. The next step will be for the administrative bureaucracy to re-interpret "on campus" to mean off campus.

It is no coincidence that some of the trustees of the Oakland University Foundation are none other than Edward N. Cole, John Delorean, Max M. Fisher, and Semon E. Knudsen. These auto magnates have much to lose if the students come out of the university with anything but an anti-working class perspective, especially in this period when the working class is going on the offensive.

## HEW CUTS TO END SCHOOL FOR THOUSANDS

Nixon's veto of the Health, Education and Welfare appropriation bill last week is having a drastic impact on thousands of college students. Nixon's veto slashes millions from the federal loan program made available for needy students.

Edward Sanders, Vice President of the College Entrance Examination

Board said: "We estimate there will be tens of thousands of students who will not be able to return to the classroom for the second semester" because of the cuts.

This attack on students is part and parcel of Nixon's recessionary moves to make the working class pay for inflation and the war in Vietnam.

Student power, of any shade, can do absolutely nothing to ward off these blows. It is clear that the real "boss" is not on the campuses but in the White House. The trade unions must now take the leadership in this struggle and prepare action involving millions of workers, students and youth to stop these attacks and to stop the war in Vietnam.

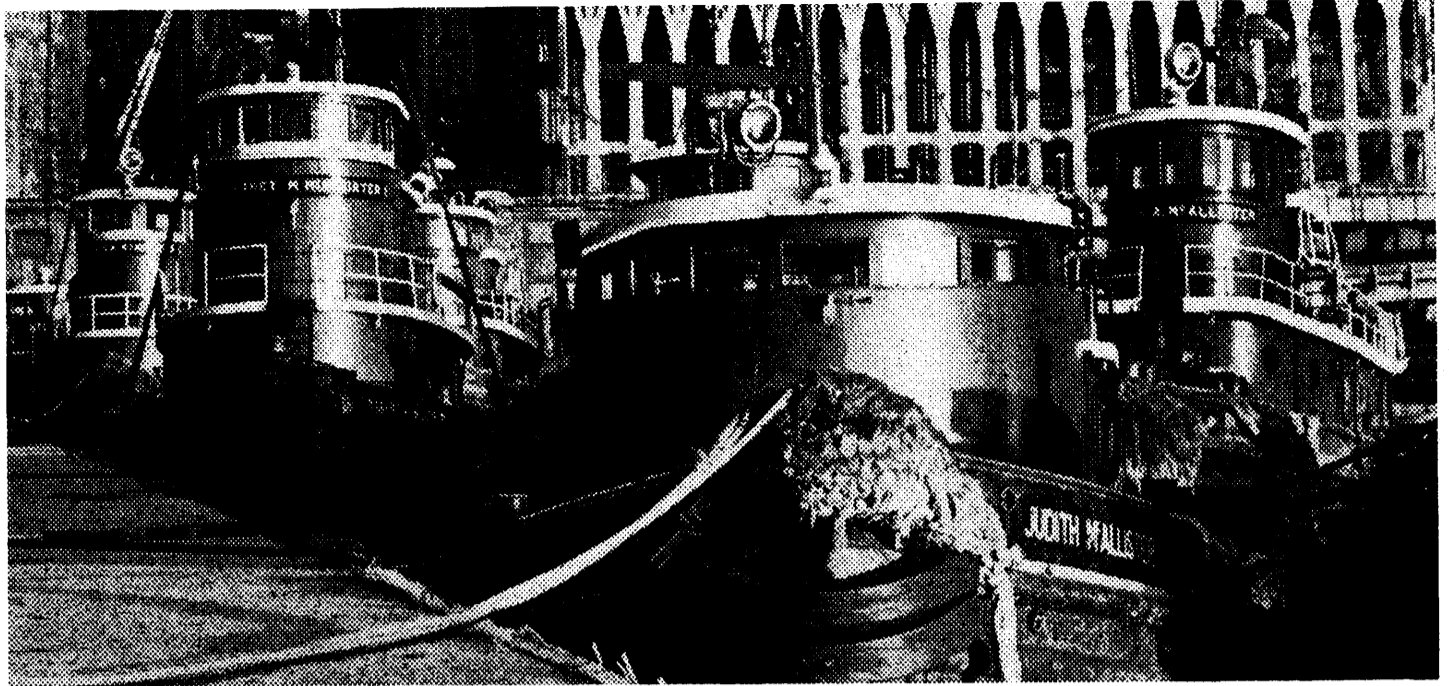
# NY Tugboat Men Strike for Decent Wage

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

NEW YORK, Feb. 1--The National Maritime Union meeting hall here was filled to capacity as thousands of members of Local 333, covering 6,000 tugboat and lighter crews, mates and captains in New York Harbor, voted for a strike for a 100% wage increase over three years, a twenty years and out pension plan, and an end to the companies' practice of chartering boats to non-union southern and foreign operators and running them instead of union vessels.

This firm action in rejecting the bosses' offer of a 20% wage hike over three years, tied to union acceptance of the southern and foreign charters, must be backed to the hilt and must be won in order to make up for the losses suffered under the 1967 contract.

One tugboat mate told this reporter: "In 1967 we went on strike for one week and got the thirty-hour week--four crews (instead of three on each vessel). But it amounted to a pay cut. I'm getting the same pay now as I was getting then. I'm a mate and I'm getting \$2.96 an hour. We had to sell a little for what we got. Now we get no pay for travel time or for waiting for replacement crews (at shift change), and lightermen get no monthly pay for attaching



TUGBOATS TIED UP AT PIER 14 AFTER THE CREWS STRUCK FOR 100% WAGE INCREASE

hoses. For many men it was a pay cut."

The 6,000 men in Local 333 have the strength to shut down the entire Port of New York. The rank and file must make sure that their leaders keep this strike solid. There must be no repeat of the 1967 sell-out.

The ranks of Local 333 must make

sure that ALL the contract demands are won and that guarantees against manning scale cuts and runaway vessels not sacrificed for a big wage increase.

\*For 100% wage increase!

\*For twenty years and out pension!

\*No more runaway boats and non-union crews!

## SSEU Ranks Fight Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK -- The ranks of the Social Service Employees Union - Local 371 are showing President Morgenstern that it is not as easy as he thinks to shove a rotten deal down their throats.

They have responded overwhelmingly to a petition campaign initiated by the Committee for a New Leadership, resulting in the collection of over 1700 names in less than three days. This petition orders the calling of a special membership meeting before the Feb. 6th strike referendum to clarify the Union's stand on reorganization, job security, and working conditions. The meeting will be held on Feb. 4th.

This response to the petition is due to the concern and unrest of the membership over reorganization.

Attacks on workers in the Department of Social Services are snowballing. Caseloads get higher and higher. Transfers have begun on a mass basis. "Earmarking" demotes more supervisors each day. The recently released Executive Order # 492 gives a new dimension to disciplinary procedures.

### REORGANIZATION

The membership is seeing more clearly that there is more to reorganization than a yearly bonus and a promise (for now) of no layoffs.

They are far from satisfied with Morgenstern's and the City's package of \$720 for 1970 plus a 75 caseload. The threat of losing jobs to reorganization is breathing down everybody's neck.

The Committee for a New Leadership aims to use this meeting to take the main concern of the ranks--reorganization--right into Morgenstern's cozy negotiations with the City. The CNL will propose to the membership that the issues of reorganization, job security, and working conditions--the subject of the meeting--be made the core of all further bargaining with the City. The concrete program for this fight must be:

1. Return to 60 caseload, 15 in BCW and equivalent quotas elsewhere.
2. Every penny of the \$720, and provisions for upping the ante if the workload quotas are not met.
3. Full rehiring - no earmarking.
4. Reopening of promotions and return to the supervision spans of the last contract.
5. Elimination of "accountability procedures."
6. Reinstatement of field days.
7. No abolition of any existing titles, particularly HCP's and DER.

Only through such a fight can the City be prevented from going through with its wholesale attacks on jobs and working conditions through reorganization.

## Ranks Form Caucus at Thermo-King

BY A 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS-- Workers at the Thermo-King (Westinghouse) plant in Bloomington took an important step forward January 26th with the formation of the Dollar an Hour Caucus.

The caucus is fighting for a dollar an hour hike for each year of the new contract. Its program also includes: a complete cost of living clause, sick leave pay, and a four day week with five days pay.

The caucus also is demanding "NO LAYOFFS, and no overtime to be worked if any of our members are unemployed."

A draft of this program was circulated in the plant on the 27th, and by the end of the day 25 workers had endorsed it. It was then distributed that night with the endorsements to a joint meeting of the negotiating committee and stewards, and the next day in the plant.

On Thursday, January 29th, the caucus' warnings about layoffs, up to then greeted with disbelief and ridicule, was confirmed out of Westinghouse's own mouth.

### BRAZEN

General foreman John Wroblewski called a brief meeting for the welding and grinding departments. His

message was as abrupt as it was brazen: "If we don't start getting some more frames out of these departments and up to the lines, we'll have to start laying off in other departments." A similar speech was given to the coil department. This is a clear attempt to demoralize the union, just two months before their contract expires.

The reaction to all of this by the union's official leadership came the next day. Nothing was said about Wroblewski's speech. Instead, President Ben Stephani, himself a welder, circulated, in a limited quantity, a zeroed leaflet reprinting a December 1, 1969 article in the Bulletin. This article showed the relationship of the General Electric strike to the struggle at Thermo-King. He was trying, by implication, to say that the Workers League favored Steelworkers Local 2175 accepting an identical contract settlement to the one G.E. workers got. Stephani is grasping at straws to say the least, in his attempts to head off the ranks' struggle behind the Dollar an Hour Caucus.

### MORE

What the Bulletin article showed is that Westinghouse is going to try to stick Thermo-King workers with even less than what G.E. workers got. The article pointed out that,

## NMU SEAMEN PULL WILDCAT WALKOUT

BY TOM GORDON

Seamen from the National Maritime Union wildcatted against five American Export Isbrandtsen Lines freighters on January 23rd in New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk. The men briefly walked off ship to protest the sale of the company's laid up passenger liner, the Constitution, to the Greek Chandris Line. The NMU hall in New York refused to assign any crews to American Export vessels for that day but then the bureaucracy let the strike peter out.

This wildcat won a temporary stalemate in the struggle against passenger-liner layoffs, despite the refusal by the Curran bureaucracy to make it official. American Export cabled NMU president Joe Curran to deny its plans to sell the Constitution, as soon as it found out about the strike.

### SOLIDIFIED

The seamen who struck American Export show the way forward for the rest of the NMU in the struggle against passenger-liner layoffs and the Nixon Plan. This action must be solidified by the ranks and carried forward into a positive program of struggle against the layoffs and the Nixon Plan.

The ranks must take up Curran's proposal in the January "Pilot" for a demonstration in Washington against the layoffs of passenger-liners. This demonstration must be turned away from Curran's scheme of reorganizing passenger liner operations into one big company, to an action directed against the bosses and the Nixon Plan and their plans to cut wages and jobs. The ranks must raise the demands that the passenger-liners be put out to sea and that the wages and jobs of seamen be guaranteed through the four watch system, full manning and no pay cuts.

like the G.E. workers, the ranks at Thermo-King would have to be prepared to close down the plant.

It is precisely Stephani, like the leaders of the striking G.E. unions, that will try to get the workers to settle for less.

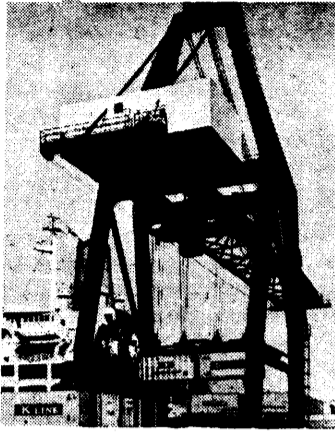
The Thermo-King workers must go for much more than what the G.E. workers struck for, let alone what they got. The understanding that they must go for much more is shown in the formation of the Dollar an Hour Caucus which since the publication of its program has received growing support.

## Bulletin Fund Drive Nears \$12,000 Goal

As we go into the final week of the Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive, a total of \$ 11, 437.59 has been collected toward the goal of \$ 12, 000. This is an increase of \$ 939 over last week's total.

The final fund scoreboard will appear in next week's Bulletin. With a big push by all our readers to send in every possible contribution, we hope to go over the top on our goal. It is not too late. Send contributions today to Bulletin, 243 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

## CRISIS IN MARITIME



### PART SIX

BY DAN FRIED

It is the attitude of not asking for too much from the bosses in order to keep them in business that causes Scotto and his fellow ILA bureaucrats to see themselves as cooperative junior partners in all the employers plans for containerization which spell the destruction of thousands of jobs and the death of entire ports.

Scotto has absolutely no program for fighting this containerization prospect. Instead he grasps at straws, tries to negotiate with the shippers and looks toward supposed "friends of labor" among politicians like New York's Mayor Lindsay to bring the blessings (curse would be more accurate) of containerization to Brooklyn. This is why Scotto supported Lindsay in the recent New York mayoral elections. At the same time Scotto's counterpart from local 791 in Manhattan, Lynch, was proclaiming his support for Procaccino as THE man who would bring shipping back to Manhattan. And so it goes.

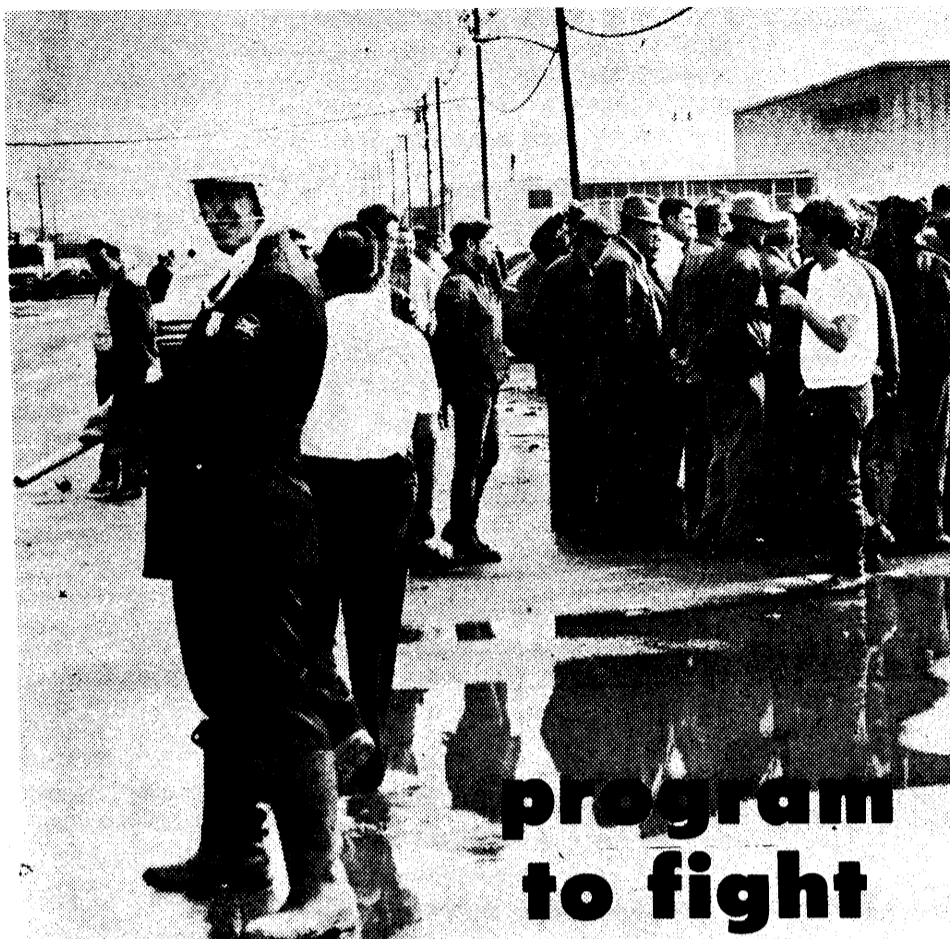
The fundamental strategy of the employers is to play off one port against another, and to pit one group of dock workers against another in fierce competition over containerization. For example, New York is set against Hampton Roads, Brooklyn against Jersey, A, B, and C cards against the rest; '69 men against seniority men, black against white and so on. Meanwhile, the shipping association bosses sit back rubbing their hands with glee as this competition is used to force acceptance of more discipline, tougher work rules, gang size reduction, the eventual elimination of thousands more jobs and the ultimate destruction of the ILA itself.

#### DIVIDE

The ILA leadership cooperates with and in fact carries out this strategy of divide and rule. Their real policy within the ILA is dog eat dog but when one bureaucrat makes a play for his particular port or local, the others denounce him with all the hypocritical self-righteousness at their command. For instance, when the Philadelphia ILA voted to kill the container royalty agreement for the Port of Philadelphia as a concession to the employers aimed at bringing container services to Philadelphia--instead of other Northeast ports--Scotto quickly took to the pages of the "Brooklyn Longshoreman" with a bitter denunciation of the Philadelphia local for sabotaging unity: "But one thing is dead certain," wrote Scotto, "competition is strictly management's game. Once a labor union permits its membership to be played off one against another, it's on the road to disaster." Fine words, Brother Scotto, but action speaks louder than words.

Scotto has not only "permitted" management to play off one section of the membership against another, but has himself taken the lead in encouraging this competition. All his negotiations with the employers,

### FIERCE JOB COMPETITION BROUGHT RIOT POLICE TO N.J. DOCKS



## program to fight gleason and scotto

such as with Meyer Line and Moore-McCormack to keep their business in Brooklyn; with the Army to reopen the Army base; and with all his efforts to reopen Bush terminal and his negotiations with Lindsay and other politicians for the building of Brooklyn container terminals are nothing other than "management's game."

Scotto's maneuvering with the container bonus money was a blatant example of playing off one section of the union against another. At a packed membership meeting of Local 1814 last fall, Scotto announced that the container bonus would be paid out by Thanksgiving or Christmas at the latest. To cover up all the stalling over this payment, he made a crude attempt to butter up the older men in the local when he said he was fighting for the money to be divided ONLY among A, B and C men and it was just too bad for the Jersey longshoremen most of whom were D and E men. This is how Scotto fights for unity in the ILA.

#### "BONUS"

The story of the "container bonus" which is supposed to compensate the New York longshoremen for containerization also illustrates the Scotto-Gleason method of playing "management's game." In this case the name of the game might be called "payoff for the workers" which is offered in exchange for management's unchallenged (by the bureaucracy) right to use containers under any and all circumstances with the right of ILA labor to strip and stuff containers in a very limited number of cases. On top of this the employers have been granted gang size reduction and authority for "full manpower flexibility," meaning more speedup and tougher working conditions. To top it off, since 1960 when the container bonus fund was set up based on royalties ranging from \$.35 to \$1.00 royalty per ton of containerized cargo, the employers have literally saved billions of dollars from containerization while the New York longshoremen have gotten less than \$300 in all in bonus payments.

When the last bonus payment was finally distributed after many promises and delays the bureaucracy took it upon itself without any vote

from the ILA membership to deduct a 10% assessment on each check, amounting to a total of \$400,000 which was placed in the ILA coffers. ILA President Gleason, pleading ILA poverty, said that the assessment was necessary to make up for the loss of dues resulting from containerization. This recalled Scotto's bemoaning of ILA poverty in a statement in the March-April, 1969 "Brooklyn Longshoreman": "The membership has purposely been reduced so that there would be work for all."

This is just brazen hypocrisy. Despite the thousands of longshoremen who have left the industry for good (the best off of these now get a maximum of \$300 a month on "early retirement") and the many, many thousands yet to go when containerization hits with full force, there is no regular work for thousands of '69 men in New York, and in similar categories in other ports. These men are lowest in seniority and do not even get any guaranteed income at all.

#### COMPETITION

The truth is that, Scotto's talk aside, there is NOT full employment and even the men with the guarantee in New York are dissatisfied with this situation and uneasy about the future. The intense competition between ports and within the Port of New York, encouraged by the shippers with the assistance of the ILA bureaucracy, is the biggest reflection of the struggle for jobs. Equally damaging to the union is the competition for jobs between low seniority and high seniority men and especially between the regular men and the 2,000 New York "G" card ('69) men who do not get the guarantee, or travel time or the container bonus or union medical and welfare benefits. The resentment of the '69 men during periods when there is not enough work for everyone has come to a head in recent years at Port Newark. As the Bulletin reported last October 20th, with this explosive hostility being misdirected at higher seniority longshoremen from other sections of the port who were sent to Newark-Elizabeth for work.

All these internal fights, together with the bureaucracy's reliance on reformist schemes, ineffectual gimmicks, and deals with politicians threaten to tear apart and weaken

the ILA. With the negotiations for the 1971 contract not so far off, and with the prospects of a deepening recession, a real battle is shaping up for this contract.

In such a struggle the employers can use not only the power of the government against the longshoremen, but under the impact of recession, attempt to turn the 2000 '69 men which the union has left "out in the cold" into a strike-breaking force on the docks. That is why a fight must be started now for FULL AND COMPLETE UNION BENEFITS INCLUDING THE INCOME GUARANTEE FOR ALL LONGSHOREMEN REGARDLESS OF SENIORITY. We say, make the bosses pay!

The ILA has to go into the next contract with a struggle for a master contract for all East and Gulf coast ports which demands equal wage conditions, and work rules for all ports in order to stop "management's game" of using competition between ports. Make no mistake about it. Now that the shipping associations have gotten the basic agreement to handle containers from the ILA, no one should be surprised if they try to throw out in whole or in part the 40 hour week income guarantee in the Port of New York. The developing international recession along with growing domestic and international competition between container lines means the bosses must cut costs everywhere even further. In such a struggle the absolute unity of the ranks to maintain the guarantee is essential.

Even more important is the fight for JOBS FOR ALL BASED ON THE 30 HOUR WEEK AT NO LOSS IN PAY. The prospect of further containerization together with the deepening recession makes this shorter work week the key demand now. As in the auto industry where mass layoffs are hitting the workers, there is a need to raise the fight for the reopening of the contract on the 30 hour week demand right now rather than waiting until the 1971 contract.

The employers have also hinted they might consider further reduction in the age at which longshoremen can get early retirement benefits in exchange for the union giving up the full guaranteed income. This is just another one of their schemes for getting thousands more longshoremen off the docks. We say, yes, there should be early retirement for all longshoremen after 20 years on the job at FULL UNION WAGES AND BENEFITS AND SPREAD THE AVAILABLE WORK AMONG THE REST OF THE MEN on the basis of the thirty hour week. In a world where New York electricians have a 25 hour week, where even I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers has called for the 6 hour day, Gleason and Scotto accept the 40 hour week as eternal and the wholesale loss of jobs and destruction of entire ports as inevitable.

The longshoremen have the power if they fight in a united struggle with all transport workers--dockers seamen, teamsters, rail workers--to control all the conditions of their work through nationalization of the entire industry. Without such a struggle, all the forces of containerization and modernization that the capitalists are bringing into the transport industry will be used not to benefit, but to further enslave the longshoremen. Gleason, Scotto, and the rest of the ILA leaders are committed to the schemes and politics of the capitalist private owners, which opens the way to the eventual destruction of the ILA as a union. A new leadership which refuses to cooperate with these schemes and fights instead for the interests of all the dockworkers must be built in the ILA.

# TRUDEAU CALLS THE PLAY IN CWA SELLOUT

BY A CWA MEMBER

TORONTO-- The recent contract settlement of the CWA local C4 with Northern Electric Company cannot be described as anything but a sellout by the present union leadership. The membership at the start of negotiations instructed the bargaining committee to fight for demands which they considered were the very least which they could settle for. These demands included a 30% wage hike over one year, a cost of living clause, a shortened wage progression schedule from 6 to 4 years, full paid medical benefits. Every

demand was necessary to keep wages and conditions ahead of the soaring cost of living and to strengthen the union for future bargaining.

What they were presented with at the end of negotiations by the leadership was a far cry from these original demands. A 4 1/2% wage increase at the bottom of the scale ranging to 9 1/2% at the top, a slightly increased medical coverage, slightly better transport expenses and that's all! No cost of living clause, no 30% wage increase, no shortening of the wage schedule. And if this was not enough in and of

itself, the bargaining committee presented the company on a silver platter two additional bases and, what's more important, a clause which enables the company to hire and fire at will employees with less than one year seniority in the Western provinces.

TRUDEAU

It is clear that the company is extremely conscious of the changing circumstances in its favor as a result of Trudeau's anti-inflation measures which have already created 6% unemployment with soaring prices, coupled with a 5% ceiling on wages. Trudeau sets the scene and the company is not slow to take advantage. Significantly the company for the first time in its history asked for a one year contract. They know that next year there will be even more unemployment and thus its bargaining position will be that much more strengthened. Also with the introduction of base seniority only in the Western provinces, it can weaken and divide the union membership even more than it already has been able to do with its wage progression over 6 years.

The blame for giving the company such an advantage and in accepting what amounts to a wage cut for members with less seniority must rest with the leadership. It is now a question of building an alternative leadership. The problem lies in the syndicalist outlook of these leaders who refuse to recognize that the day of compromise and horse trading has come to an end. Capitalism and with it Northern Electric, cannot afford compromises and cannot afford unions. This was summed up at the last contract meeting by the executive when they stated that "the company was simply not giving anything away." Thus they rest themselves on the strength of the company and not on the militancy of the rank and file unionists.

This militancy of the rank and file was apparent throughout the whole

contract negotiations right up to the end when they booed and heckled the bargaining committee for accepting the lousy contract. But because there was no alternative to the present leadership the membership had no alternative but to ratify the agreement with a vote of 516 for and 278 against, with over 200 abstaining.

If the time to fight for the original demands was the last contract, it has become even more urgent with the passing of every day. The alternative leadership must be built immediately. If the union remains in the hands of the present syndicalist leaders the union will be smashed. The caucus that emerged in opposition to the existing leadership over the last contract must be built and developed. This caucus must turn to the rank and file to prepare them for the struggles in the next period.

It has to fight tooth and nail for the original demands of the membership. Such a struggle must of necessity be political to take the union on the offensive by calling for the nationalization of the telephone industry and take this fight into the NDP as part of a whole program of nationalization of the basic industries under workers' control. Only by fighting for such a program can it base itself on the rank and file and not on the crumbs of the company's good nature.

## FIGHT JOB FREEZE AT KINGSBROOK

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK--At the Kingsbrook Guild chapter meeting of Local 1199 the members soundly defeated an amended union constitution proposed by the leadership with almost 90% voting no. One of the two major changes in the defeated constitution not only would make the constitution harder to amend but would also reinforce the divisions currently imposed on the membership.

There is growing dissatisfaction among the ranks of 1199 with the leadership's increasingly open contempt for rank and file initiative, their inaction against the job freeze affecting workers city-wide, and their indifferent handling of grievances. The price agreed to by the leadership in return for the 1968 wage gains--the strong no-strike, no-action clause--is now being collected in full.

Based on the strength of their fight two years ago, 1199ers remain determined to win greater gains in the contract coming up this summer and they are even more aware that wage gains are only part of the story when the bosses have a free hand to use attrition and speed-up while the time studies and various commissions pave the way for outright layoffs.

MILITANCY

The militancy of the ranks will not so easily be fettered by deals with Lindsay, but increasingly is being mobilized for meaningful action. At the Kingsbrook meeting a motion for a noon hour rally against the job freeze to be held at all hospitals was supported by 40% of the 60 members present.

This struggle of the ranks for an effective program must increasingly find expression in the chapter meeting--at one meeting after another. Based on this rank and file strength and direction, the delegates must now carry this fight further in the delegate assemblies. Only action against the job freeze can defeat the bosses' attacks and make real gains in the next contract.

## gravediggers strike in fifth week



THE STRIKE OF THE 1700 NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA GRAVEDIGGERS FOR HIGHER WAGES IS GOING INTO ITS FIFTH WEEK. HERE WORKERS PICKET AT FLUSHING CEMETERY, QUEENS, N.Y.

## MILITANTS FIRED AT GOUVERNEUR

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- Not only have the leaders of 1199 refused to lift a finger to fight the job freeze and speedup hitting the hospitals, but are now openly collaborating with the hospital bosses in victimizing militants. This is becoming clear in the case of five union members who were fired at the Gouverneur clinic affiliated with Beth Israel hospital.

The workers who were fired are members of the Health Revolutionary Union Movement, advocates of community control. The workers were dismissed for fighting to re-instate Dr. Karkus who was fired for supporting HRUM's program. Previous to this some of the workers were arrested at Beth Israel during a demonstration even though they had agreed to leave when they were told to.

At Gouverneur 162 of the 180 workers signed a petition not to take action to defend the workers. That night a union meeting was held at which workers from other hospitals were barred from attending. Obviously anxious to drive these workers out of the union and limit discussion, a motion was rushed through and passed no to take any action. As far as the union leadership is concerned the matter is settled.

While the Workers League and its supporters in 1199 give no political support to this group, we say that a fight must be begun immediately to re-instate them. These firings are only the beginning of an attack

on activists in the union. Davis has given the green light to the hospital bosses to witchhunt militants out of the hospitals. This attack is not just aimed at radicals and socialists but every worker who fights against the rotten working conditions in the hospitals.

The union leaders are trying to obscure the real issues by hiding behind the contract. The workers are accused of disrupting the hospital with demonstrations and leaflets. But this is not the point. The bosses "concern" for the patients and workers at Gouverneur was exposed when, after these workers were fired, Ray Trussel, Director of Beth Israel, decided to close the entire clinic. The union charged lock-out and the clinic was kept open but it was not so long ago that threats were made to close it permanently. Workers have been threatened and intimidated if even seen speaking to the HRUM supporters.

HARASSMENT

The workers at Gouverneur are afraid that all jobs will be cut and harassment continued if these workers return. The very opposite is true. It is 1199's leadership which is opening the door to these attacks. The union leaders, instead of fighting the job freeze and the threats to close clinics, place themselves on the side of the very people who are prepared to throw hundreds of workers out of jobs to save money. The fact that Dr. Krakus was fired

for merely sending a letter to Trussel reveals the ruthless suppression of any opposition to the bosses.

FEAR

What lies behind the union's refusal to defend these workers is their FEAR of the bosses and of the sharp conflict that is ahead in July when 1199's contract expires. They refuse to conduct a struggle against the job freeze despite the growing restlessness of the ranks. Davis is preparing for the July contract by getting rid of any opposition that can oppose his capitulation to the bosses. It is the same policy as his public disavowal of the 500 Brooklyn Jewish workers who staged a work stoppage to defend a fired worker who wanted to join the union. This leadership cannot be trusted to defend any worker who fights back.

SLANDER

The leadership is now conducting a campaign of slander to identify all workers who defend the fired workers with the politics of community control and confrontation.

It is precisely because the union leaders never fought the harassment at Gouverneur that workers feel they must appease the bosses to defend their jobs. A fight must be made now at chapter meetings all over the city to reject the leadership's position and to re-instate these workers.