

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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INSTITUTION

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MAY 28, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

LABOR MUST FORCE

A NEW ELECTION

BY THE EDITORS

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The Watergate scandal has exposed the 1972 election as a complete fraud forced on the American working class only through deception and illegal manipulation. The disclosures surrounding Watergate add up to one thing: Nixon and his henchmen, backed up by a thoroughly corrupt section of American big business, plotted during the 1972 election to deprive workers of their basic democratic rights.

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The exposure of this plot in the capitalist newspapers and now on television before millions of workers has created the gravest political crisis for the American bosses, and this political crisis

(Continued On Page 16)

Bankers Drive For Massive Unemployment

BY BRUCE McKAY

NEW YORK, May 22—As summer approaches and millions of youth prepare to leave school to look for summer jobs, bankers and industrialists are readying the steepest rise in unemployment since the 1930s.

Under the new economic "game plan" of the powerful commercial banking interests, the ranks of the unemployed will swell as the flow of credit is shut off, and a chain reaction of financial bankruptcies, plant closures and mass layoffs is set off throughout industry.

The barons of big business hope to use this growth in joblessness as a bludgeon against the trade unions to enforce the most brutal speedups and wage cuts on those workers left in the factories.

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(Continued On Page 16)



Pickets of Locals 680 and 980 Painters and Carpenters Unions in St. Louis swarmed the gates of Gadsdorf & Sons on May 15 after a 380 to 42 vote against the contract proposed by the company and the union bureaucracy. See story, page 7.

Peruvian Junta Arrests Trotskyists

With the full backing of the Communist Party, the Peruvian military junta has begun a savage repression against the Liga Comunista, Peruvian section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

We have learned that comrade Sergio Barrio and another member of the Liga Comunista Central Committee were arrested almost two weeks ago by the military at the height of a savage witch-hunt against the Trotskyists in the Communist Party press.

Sergio Barrio has been moved from prison to prison by his military jailers who have subjected him to systematic torture in order to force him to sign a fake confession. His future, like that of other leading Peruvian Trotskyists, is uncertain.

A letter from Peru reports:

"Our organization is at the moment being very harshly attacked. The police apparatus is busy hunting out our comrades. The two comrades in the leadership are in prison and their future, like that of the rest of the Central Committee, is uncertain.

Our Press has been destroyed and we are now completely clandestine. Repression has been unleashed not only against us, but also against centrist organizations and isolated cadres of the CP, who are being arrested, kid-

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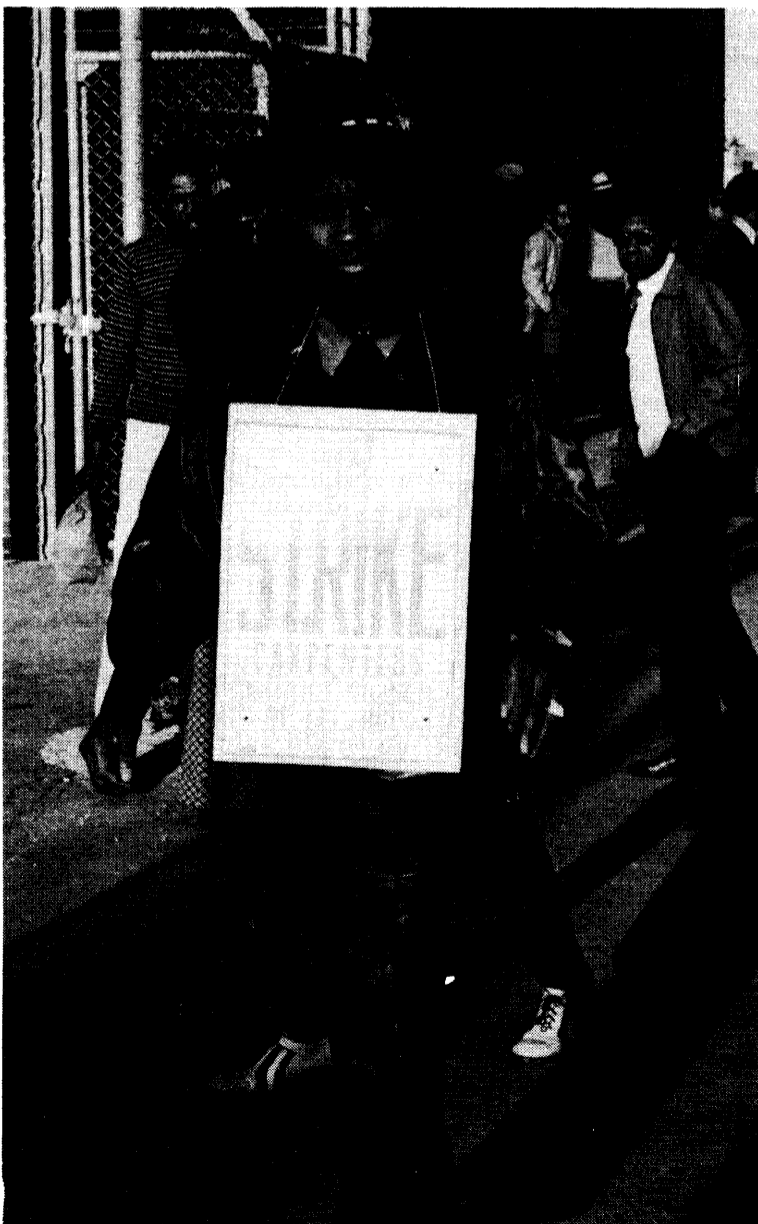
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AS BREZHNEV ARRIVES IN BONN-- Industrialists Threaten Mass Unemployment

BY DIANNE ISAACS

As Soviet chief Leonid Brezhnev enjoyed an eight course luncheon in a villa overlooking the Rhine with West Germany's Chancellor Willy Brandt, the German industrialists have embarked on a course which will mean massive unemployment for the working class in the coming months.

Government figures released during May reveal that the cost of food has risen over 10 percent from April of 1972. With masses of dollars pouring into the banks as the dollar plunges, the government has been circulating more and more marks, resulting in wild inflation that in turn threatens the very ability of the mark to maintain itself on the international market.

The impossible situation has

Betrayal In Lebanon Truce

BY MELODY FARROW

The agreement negotiated May 17 between the representatives of the three main Palestine liberation organizations and the Lebanese Army is a conscious stab in the back of the Arab people.

The terms of the agreement, although not completely disclosed, concede the right of the Lebanese Army to control the resistance movement and greet as brothers the very same Army which sought to massacre the Palestine guerrillas and refugees.

This deal can only pave the way for a new outbreak of civil war as it will never be accepted by the Palestine people.

The Lebanese government of Suleiman Franjeh was demanding security control over the 15 refugee camps in Lebanon and the removal of heavy weapons, such as rockets and mortar from the camps.

Representatives of Al Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Democratic Front agreed that the guerrilla movement would make no "illegal arrests." Atalah Attalah, military commander of the Palestine guerrillas, said "complete understanding" had been achieved.

Arafat now sings the praises of a government that has openly collaborated with the Israeli campaign to wipe out the

led the banks to demand over the past few weeks a policy of "tight money"; that is, higher credit rates, which have jumped from five to six percent.

This means investment will be almost at a standstill and production will shrink as corporations find themselves caught in the credit squeeze. Massive layoffs loom ahead, coupled with skyrocketing prices.

But the ruling class enters this period completely unprepared for an all-out round of battle with an increasingly militant working class. Over the past months they

have been forced to make certain compromises on wages in the face of massive national strike movements, particularly of the printers, and metal and chemical workers.

Because of this very strength, Brandt's opposition, the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Democratic Union, are in complete disarray as Opposition leader Dr. Rainer Barzel resigned May 9 after Social Democratic electoral victories in the fall and ratification of the treaty recognizing East Berlin. Bavarian right-winger Franz Josef Strauss has been suggested as a possibility to replace Barzel in June.

It is into this political and economic framework that Brezhnev arrived in Bonn to deepen the detente between the Soviet Union and capitalist Europe. Brandt provided 6000 police to protect Brezhnev, and massive demonstrations against his visit led by the Maoists resulted in scores of arrests.

For more on Brezhnev's visit, see "What We Think," page 8.

What Brezhnev demonstrated last week was that he is prepared to go to any lengths to insure a trade deal with Brandt—whose "Ostpolitik" is a plan to insure a market in Eastern Europe to avert a crisis of overproduction—and confirm a disarmament and security conference in the summer. He stood at attention when Germany's national anthem, "Deutschland Uber Alles," was played and made it fully clear in a televised speech that he accepts the coalition of the Social Democrats with the liberals. In the civil war conditions being prepared by the bankers, Brezhnev declared:

"Our talks with Chancellor Brandt confirm that there is a good outlook for the future...The quarter century period of the cold war is now giving place to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and the West."



Brezhnev and Brandt: basically no disagreements.

Hanoi Warns U.S. On S. Vietnam Bombing

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On the eve of new talks between Henry Kissinger and North Vietnam, North Vietnamese leader Le Duc Tho issued a warning to the United States that the talks would be immediately cancelled unless the bombing of National Liberation Front territory in South Vietnam was halted.

A Hanoi white paper on the developing civil war in the South declared "peace in South Vietnam has been threatened and the situation in the entire area of Vietnam has become very tense."

The United States has sought to provoke North Vietnam by halting its minesweeping operations, halting discussion of economic aid and recently bombing Loc Ninh province along the Cambodian border.

What scares Nixon and Kissinger is the situation in Cambodia where the revolutionary troops continue to maintain a virtual stranglehold around the capital Phnom Penh. All gasoline and kerosene is gone.

Last week, Lon Nol's troops mutinied and marched into the capital firing their guns in the air and demanding their back pay.

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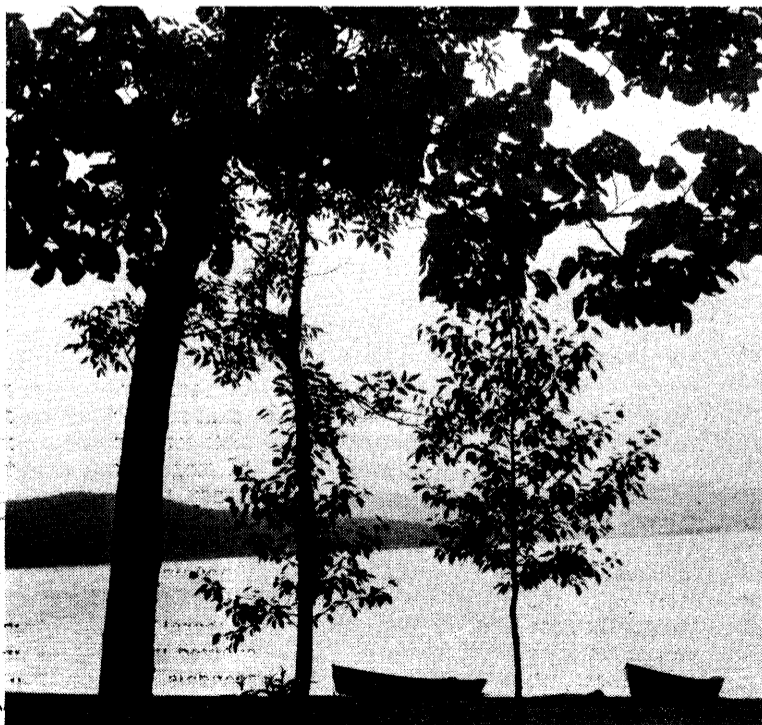
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Nixon is clearly seeking to whip up a storm about so-called North Vietnamese violations to divert attention from the Watergate scandal.

In a speech May 19 in the middle of the revelations of McCord, Nixon devoted all his remarks to Vietnam saying that Hanoi "persisted in violations." He claimed that North Vietnam refused to reveal the full fate of US prisoners and that "huge amounts of military equipment" were being poured into South Vietnam.

Just before Kissinger left, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved an amendment to cut off any funds for military actions that Congress does not specifically approve. Then the Senate Appropriations Committee voted 24 to 0 to cut off funds for bombing Cambodia after June 30. Thus, Nixon faces these talks with absolutely no mandate.

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guerrilla movement. It is known that the Lebanese Army was informed of the Israeli assassination plot of three Palestine leaders in April and that prior to the raid, the power in Beirut was cut off to assist them.

There are reports that Israel may be planning a major attack on the guerrilla forces and that the Lebanese Army is withdrawing from the border in the South to clear the way for them. But the guerrilla's strength has been left substantially intact and they remain together with their brothers in the Syrian resistance movement, a well equipped, powerful force.

Franjeh's recourse to negotiations was a sign of the extreme weakness of his regime. He was unable to defeat the guerrillas because of the tremendous support they received from the Lebanese workers who are organized in strong trade unions.

The struggle for unity between the Arab workers and peasants and the Palestinians in a common fight against their own government is the most urgent question facing the resistance movement if another slaughter is to be prevented.



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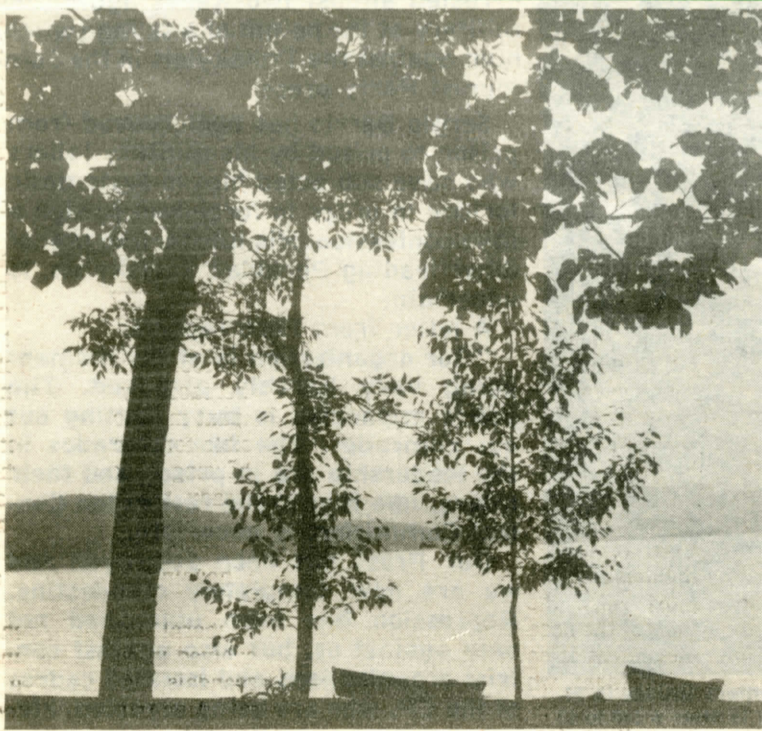
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Skylab Fiasco Dooms Future Space Programs

BY BRUCE MCKAY

Skylab, the \$2.5 billion orbital laboratory and space station, is now little but a junk heap circling endlessly around the earth.

It was to have been the next, and in many ways the most important stage in the US space program, which is now jeopardized by Skylab's failure.

The Skylab fiasco is a manifestation of the crisis of international capitalism and the resulting refusal of big business to invest any significant amount of capital in new technology, factories or equipment.

Skylab was put into orbit around the earth, not—as the scientists in the program believed—to carry man's struggle to understand nature to a higher level, but rather as a high profit sop to the sagging aerospace industry. Whether Skylab works or breaks down was of little importance to the quick money men in aerospace who rake in all the profits.

Although in preparation for 10 years, the Skylab program was thrown together at the last minute on a shoestring budget, using parts left over from previous space missions and without the normal testing procedures.

As a result, the space station is without half of its electricity because all of the solar energy panels did not unfold and it is now either too hot for habitation or too cold because the ship's temperature control system broke down. In addition, the extreme heat on some sections of the space craft has caused the release of poison gases from insulation material aboard ship.

Now, NASA wants to send the three astronauts on a dangerous repair trip to place a plastic awning over the craft to protect it from the heat of the sun's rays.

The problems began when, 65 seconds into the flight, an aluminum shield protecting the Skylab was ripped away, apparently fouling the mechanism

Bulletin Expansion Drive

This week we have received the magnificent sum of \$6,742.00 on our \$50,000 Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive. This gives us a grand total of \$44,814.32.

We wish to especially thank a trade union supporter who has contributed \$3,500 to help see to it that the twice weekly Bulletin is published. A movement will be built with this kind of determination.

We must now push through the next two weeks bringing in at least \$3,500 per week. This will be our answer to Watergate. Let us remember Watergate started by Nixon's own confession, from his efforts to crush the socialist opposition among youth in 1970.

These efforts will continue. We must prepare our own resources for the struggles ahead. For this we need the funds.

Steel Vote: He's Guilty

BY A REPORTER

LORAIN, Ohio, May 21—Steelworkers in the giant National Tube mill here voted last week to demand the resignation of Richard Nixon.

Local 1104 President George Pashkevich opposed the motion and ruled it defeated following a voice vote. But members demanded a show of hands and the motion then passed easily.

During the debate, workers declared that Nixon was responsible for Watergate, shouting "He's guilty, alright!"

which was to have unfolded one of the solar energy panels.

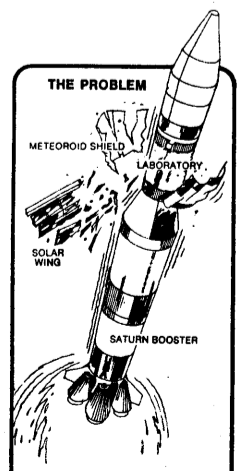
It is hardly surprising that something went wrong. Skylab was assembled like a jig-saw puzzle, using a command and service module from the Apollo moon program, a Saturn rocket's second stage booster for the orbital workshop and a telescope mount originally designed to fit on a lunar exploration craft. These various parts, together with a gyroscope which was simply a scaled up version of one used in smaller satellites, were actually force fit together in order to end up with the Skylab.

The scientists in the program saw the problems coming but could not do much about it, having been subordinated to a small budget and the cost-cutting profit hunger of the aerospace companies.

Several weeks before the launch, program director William Schneider had warned:

"We do, based upon experience, expect that there will be some hardware problems. Skylab is a program that has not had the depth of reliability, kinds of testing, that we were used to in Apollo, so there are some things in there that we're not quite 100 percent sure of as we may have been in Apollo."

As it circles around in space, Skylab serves as a monument to capitalism's inability to carry forward man's struggle against nature, or even to provide jobs and the necessities of life as investment collapses under the blows of a world crisis.



While the bureaucracy of the New York City Taxi Drivers Local 3036 protested interference from Taxi Commissioner Lazar with the hearing officers, the 500 workers who demonstrated in Manhattan two weeks ago felt that the Commission should be eliminated entirely.

IUE Backs Off From GE Strike

BY A UE 128 MEMBER

ALLENTOWN—With one week to go before the expiration of the General Electric contract, there is absolutely no agreement between the Coordinated Bargaining Committee and GE.

GE remains adamant in its demands, which amount to an open attempt to destroy the working conditions in the unions of GE workers. Faced with this situation, the leadership of the International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Electrical Workers have developed no strategy for carrying forward a fight against GE and Westinghouse, and are now pulling back dangerously from confronting these corporations with national strike action.

The position last week of the IUE allows for an additional 10 days of negotiations which is being followed now by the leadership of the UE.

This treacherous path was revealed at a meeting of UE Local 128, where over 300 employees of GE at Allentown heard President Ed Marakovits state flatly that the leadership has "no package to give you" and that they have no idea whether or not there would be a strike.

INTENTION

Moreover, immediately following Marakovits, Vice President Kokulus revealed the leadership's intention to back off from confronting GE. He stated that:

"Next Saturday night we will not be on strike." He said that "possibly Westinghouse may go out and we would continue to negotiate."

Rather than the leadership reporting on the status of negotiations around crucial demands

of compulsory overtime, continuous operations, and the right to lock out employees, the large body of workers present were treated to a mass of vague statements designed to cover the complete bankruptcy of the perspectives of the leadership.

Except for the 29 cent catch-up constantly emphasized by the UE leaders, nothing has been revealed about the kind of general wage increases the union leadership is prepared to fight for.

It was only when discussion began that the ranks themselves raised many of these questions. Many workers were concerned with the demand for continuous operation, in which a section of the plant would be run on a non-stop basis which would—by reorganizing work patterns—eliminate jobs.

One worker even questioned the ability of the present leadership to gain the 29 cent catch-up: "If you didn't get it then, what makes you think we can get it now?"

Retreating from its militant posture of a few weeks ago, the UE leadership now seeks to prevent a head-on clash with GE and Nixon's guidelines—at a point when Nixon is greatly weakened by the Watergate scandal.

GE workers must demand no retreat, but immediate strike action at both GE and Westinghouse. The general strike must raise the political questions of the necessity of the labor movement to confront the Nixon government, which stands ready to defend corporations like GE by calling for a Congress of Labor.

Japanese Workers Defeat Election Bill

FROM OUR
CORRESPONDENT

Huge demonstrations last week by 300,000 Japanese trade unionists and youth, as well as the threat of a general strike, have forced liberal Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to abandon his plans to gerrymander the electoral system.

His government is now in danger of falling as it faces the unabated offensive of the working class which Tanaka had pledged to weaken through a legislative bill that would have discarded the proportional system of representation. The Liberals had conceived this plan following their serious defeats in the last election.

However, all major working class parties—the socialists, communists, and social democrats—and the Buddhist opposition walked out of the Parliament and refused to reenter until Tanaka withdrew his proposed legislation.

Tanaka's sudden retreat before the working class—after having insisted time and again that he would stand firm—is sending shock waves through the ruling class. As the economic crisis deepens and the pressure of trade war grows heavier, the Japanese capitalists desperately want a "strong man," but Tanaka is virtually discredited.

DEFEAT

His latest defeat is not attributable to any lack of ruthlessness on his part but to the enormous strength of the labor movement. In spite of numerous provocations last week by riot police wielding billy clubs and water hoses, the demonstrations by workers and student youth were marked by heroic determination and boisterous confidence. The opposition parties labelled the Tanaka gerrymandering bill as "an attack on the Constitution."

The anger of Japanese workers is aimed not only against the reactionary electoral laws proposed by Tanaka but also against the deteriorating living conditions. During the past 12 months, food prices in Tokyo have increased by 300 percent.

Rampant inflation has made it impossible for workers to better their housing conditions, which are already the worst for any major industrial country. While private rents soar, funds for public housing are being cut back.

The Liberal Party, which is also involved in numerous financial scandals, is the fruit of General MacArthur's postwar dictatorship and is ripe for overthrow.



Philadelphia youth signed up to attend the First National Conference of the Young Socialists after a discussion on the labor party and a report from Kiki Mendez, YS Treasurer.

Biller Evades July Postal Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The meeting called by President Moe Biller of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union last Wednesday erupted in arguments and fist fights lasting nearly five hours over the refusal of the Biller leadership to confront the critical question facing the MBPU: the elimination of day tours and the coming July contract struggle.

The 400 workers present were told by Biller that the meeting was called to discuss constitutional reform and a dues increase. The workers demanded that Biller confront the real issues. They know full well that the ZMT and LSM machines and Secaucus operation being brought in to all installations will result in the elimination of day tours at Grand Central and that thousands of clerks and handlers will be thrown out of work.

In the face of the very explosive situation at the meeting the Outlaw group—a collection of radicals, Stalinists and centrists—stepped in to seek to divert the critical questions back into a discussion of Biller's proposals. Their leaflet issued for the meeting did not even mention the contract, but proposed how Biller's constitutional amendments could be improved and made more democratic.

The newly formed MBPU Rank and File Committee issued a leaflet for the meeting demanding Biller discuss the contract negotiations in Washington and preparations being made by the MBPU and APWU for national strike action if the demands were not met. The Rank and File Committee demanded Biller set a strike deadline date of June 30 and a mass rally to prepare strike action. In the face of the Watergate scandal and McGovern's support to Nixon, the Committee demanded that Biller break with the Democrats and call upon Filbey of the APWU and the AFL-CIO to convene a Congress of Labor to build a labor party now.

The MBPU Rank and File Committee will be calling a

public meeting to discuss the upcoming contract struggle and the preparations that must be begun for strike action around the following program:

- 40 percent wage increase the first year. Full COL escalator.
- 28 hour week at 40 hours pay.
- Union-management control of all automation. No layoffs.
- 20 and out. 75 percent of top salary.
- Lift the job freeze. Immediate hiring.

Central to the fight of the MBPU Rank and File Committee is the demand that Biller call upon the AFL-CIO to call general strike action in the event troops are brought in and that the Biller leadership call upon the AFL-CIO to convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of building a labor party now. This is the only way the postal ranks can win their next contract and a decent standard of living and job security. We call on all MBPU members to join the MBPU Rank and File Committee.

1199 Sets Strike Date

BY AN 1199 REPORTER

NEW YORK—At an emergency meeting of the Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199 Negotiating Committee on May 22, the leadership decided to call a strike for June 4 if the 7.5 percent retroactive pay increase from July 1, 1972 is not paid by then.

After the Pay Board decided to rescind the cutback and approve the 7.5 percent, a number of hospitals claimed they did not have the money after all to pay that increase. This is after a long struggle after which in July 1972 the Health and Hospitals Corporation agreed to the 7.5 percent contract.

The 1199 Rank and File Committee submitted petitions to the Negotiating Committee in-

Rubber Bureaucrats Silent On B. F. Goodrich Talks

BY DAVID NORTH

COLUMBUS, Ohio, May 21—Leaders of the United Rubber Workers are in virtual seclusion in the Pickford Hayes Hotel here, refusing to comment on the progress of their negotiations with B.F. Goodrich as the strike against the company enters its third week.

Frightened by the growing resentment of the ranks over the sellout negotiated with Goodyear last month, the union bureaucracy will not state what it is demanding for the Goodrich workers. Nor will it outline its reasons for keeping Uniroyal and Firestone workers on the line without a

contract.

An especially touchy subject is why URW President Peter Bommarito and the union negotiating committee signed a contract that was rejected unanimously by the 9000 member Goodyear Local 2 in Akron. Every union official with whom the Bulletin spoke denied that he had supported the settlement.

Local 2 President John Nardella, whose signature appears on the original copy of the settlement, told the Bulletin today that he has constantly opposed the settlement. But Nardella would not say whether he favored action by the Goodyear ranks to throw out the contract and support the fight of the smaller Goodrich locals. "I am sure you understand why I can't comment on that," he said.

In an attempt to maintain a veil of secrecy around the current talks, the URW has declined to give a complete list of the members of the negotiating committee.

As the Bulletin reported earlier, the URW signed the Goodyear contract—which accepted the 5.5 percent wage guidelines and a pension plan that costs the membership more than \$100 per year when they retire—after consulting with John Dunlop, Nixon's enforcer of the Phase Three controls.

Bommarito is still determined to prevent a challenge to Nixon's policies and hopes to prevent a shutdown of the entire rubber industry.

Arms Plant Closes To Bust IAM Strike

BY BILL VAN

WESTFIELD, Mass.—As the strike by 850 members of Lodge 1420 of the International Association of Machinists enters its seventh month against the Savage Arms Company, the company's present president, H. Robert Clark, has announced a decision to close the Westfield plant here.

The strike began as a wildcat action which completely shut down the Savage plant on November 13, 1972. In the month preceding the union's early December contract expiration date, the company had engaged in a widespread cutting of rates of the piecework upon which most of the Savage workers depended.

Combined with this action came a continual harassment over the amount each worker had produced and a vicious drive for increased productivity in order to make the rate. Only after two full weeks of the wildcat action did the union grant official authorization.

Throughout the winter, the Savage Company refused to negotiate with the union and only in April did the company make its first offer. This offer, in reality, represented an all-out drive to break the machinists' union. The company had filed a one million dollar lawsuit against the local for unfair labor practices and announced the firing of 30 union officials and committeemen.

Savage offered only a 62 cent hourly wage increase and a five cent incentive increase. This offer would not begin to meet the union's minimal demands to bring parity to the Savage workers who make far less in both rates and fringe benefits than employees of other divisions of the parent Emhart Corporation, and those of the gun industry as a whole.

The union has agreed to accept the contract offer despite opposition within the ranks, ex-

pressed in a wildcat strike meeting called two weeks ago. The Savage Arms Company has decided to close, however, because, in the words of the company president, the union's acceptance "has strings attached." These strings were the union's insistence that the lawsuit be dropped and that the 30 members be reinstated.

It seems clear that the closure decision is the last stage in the company's drive to break the union. The Westfield plant is relatively new, having replaced an old, multi-story plant in nearby Chickapee Falls in the production of pump shotguns only 12 years ago. Savage's only other plant is located in Puerto Rico, and manufactures primarily hand guns.

Newton Fights URW

BY A REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—Amid an intensive harassment and speedup campaign, Newton New Haven Dyeing Company has refused to recognize the United Rubber Workers local which was voted in 87 to 82 on April 13.

The company has filed false charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), accusing the union of intimidation and misrepresentation. Working conditions at Newton, always notorious, have become, as one worker stated, "The worst I've seen in 16 years." Recently the Warwick Furnace used to melt down the metal blew up for the second time this year and sprayed molten metal over two workers, sending them to the hospital with serious burns. The company blamed the workers for the explosion, claiming they threw empty milk containers into the furnace.

In these conditions, newly hired young workers often walk out after only a few hours of work. The average wage of \$2.60 to \$3.16 an hour does not compare with the \$4.50 an hour received for similar work in the area.

CAMPAIGN

Newton, a small company facing intense competition, launched a vicious campaign during the union drive, which caused a huge turnover in the work force. Over a period of a few months, 55 workers who had signed union cards quit because of harassment and 25 women were laid off.

The URW representative, Phil

Stapleton, is going along with the company's stalling tactics. He has promised to fight for union recognition "all the way through the courts."

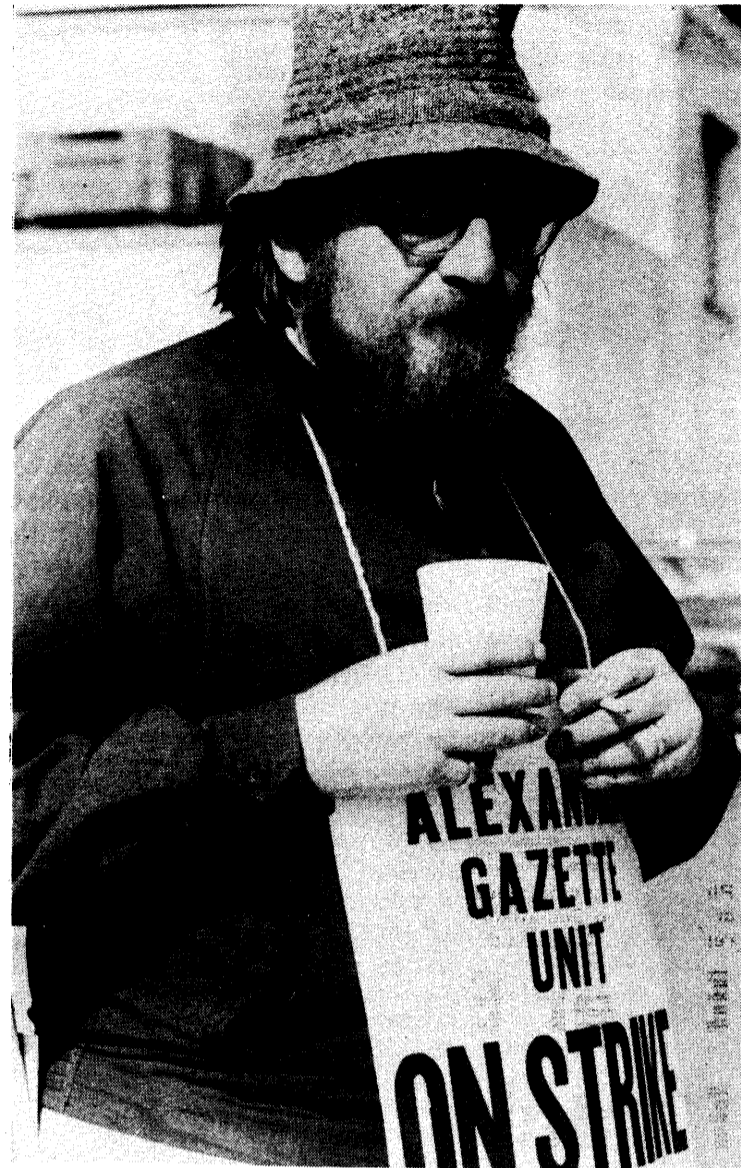
STRIKE VOTE

Workers in the union must campaign for a strike vote to be taken if union recognition is not won within the five week period of the NLRB decision. They must join URW members at B.F. Goodrich who are defying Nixon's 5.5 percent guidelines, and demand \$1.50 an hour increase, an end to speedup, control over safety conditions, and that the URW demand a Congress of Labor to rid the unions of the government wage freeze.



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Newspaper Guild On The Firing Line

BY BRUCE MCKAY

ALEXANDRIA, Va.—The seven lonely strikers at the local Gazette are carrying on a struggle which is critical for every worker in the printing industry.

The Gazette's publisher has not tried to conceal her determination to break The Newspaper Guild in Alexandria—and the next in line is the International Typographical Union (ITU), which represents the Gazette composing room staff.

"Our management has said that they plan to bust out the unions, and the ITU is the only other union shop we have in the building," Guild unit chairman Nancy Caine told the *Bulletin*.

"Our own printers even admit the fact that they know they're going to be busted out when their contract comes up next, because the company is going to bring in cold type. That's the pattern across the country," she said.

The struggle at this small daily—one of the smallest in the Baltimore-Washington Local 35—raises all the fundamental questions which will face workers at the Baltimore Sun and the two major Washington dailies when their contracts expire this year.

PROVOKE

According to reliable sources at the Sun, management is now openly preparing to provoke a strike when the Guild's contract expires next month. It plans to introduce automation and a staff reorganization while workers are out on strike and present this as an accomplished fact to the unions.

The strike at the Gazette began over the issue of wages, after 10 months of negotiations produced absolutely no concessions from the company. Wages at the paper are grossly substandard compared even with the Guild-organized weeklies in the area.

The union was calling for an increase over 30 months of \$60 in the top minimum salary, from \$190 to \$250—an annual raise of over 12 percent, which, like the pay hikes negotiated with the

Washington Post, would be chopped down by Nixon's Cost of Living Council without a political fight by the unions.

SCABS

Now that the strike is well into its second month, the Gazette has replaced the strikers with scabs and has refused to even consider hiring back the strikers as part of a settlement. The union is now fighting for its life.

Pickets have faced repeated physical assaults by scabs, while police have been mobilized to protect scabs and harass and intimidate pickets, even arresting them after they had been hit by scab cars as they picketed in front of the rear driveway.

In the face of these attacks, the local's leadership gave only minimal support, refusing to mobilize mass picketing and resorting to an advertising boycott in order to avoid a fight.

From the strike's early days, when the ITU came out in support of the strike for a week, when there were significant numbers of pickets on the line and when craft unions in Washington were mobilized to picket the Army Times Publishing Company where the paper was set during the ITU walkout, the picket line has dwindled to a courageous handful.

EXCUSE

This failure of the Washington-Baltimore leadership to mobilize support for the strike was used as an excuse by the ITU bureaucrats to force the Gazette shop back to work. Now, the paper is printed with non-union pressmen and ITU members crossing the picket lines.

"The craft unions just said to us, 'When we see some Guild support—which is your union—we'll come back,' and that's the way it's remained," Caine said. "I know that they're still with us,

because I'm still in contact with the crafts in Washington. They would come back."

Washington locals of the Pressmen, Stereotypers, Mailers and Graphic Arts unions have now agreed to send as many pickets to support the Gazette strike as the Guild mobilizes.

The leadership of the Washington Baltimore Guild has made it very clear that it has no intention of mounting a real fight to win this strike—and equally clear is the refusal of International President Charles Perlik to do anything at all.

Sources within the Guild told the *Bulletin* that Perlik is prepared to see the strike go down to defeat in order to score factional points against Local 35 President Richard Basoco, Perlik's primary opposition in the union.

When asked by the *Bulletin* if he has any perspective for winning the Alexandria strike, Perlik replied: "No, I don't." When the seriousness of the situation and the likelihood of defeat without the mobilization of the unions was posed to him, he simply replied: "That's an assessment that would be hard to refute."

ESCAPE

Perlik tried to escape responsibility for his own lack of leadership by blaming the local: "The prosecution of a strike in the Guild is the local's responsibility, and the Washington-Baltimore Local in particular is not particularly anxious and enthusiastic about having the International do much to help it out," he said.

The only visible support provided by the International for the strike has been a negotiator sent in for a brief period to aid in mediation discussions—after one of the strikers called the International office three weeks into the strike.

Although Perlik claimed that

Above, David Stack, Guild picket hit by a scab car. To the left, pickets in front of the Gazette—a small number because the local leadership has refused to mobilize a mass line.

"our support for the strike remains," he added that "seven people striking are pretty lonely."

TERMINATED

"What do you mean, what are we going to do about it?" he queried. "We just struck for five and a half years in Los Angeles (referring to the strike against the Hearst Herald-Examiner—BM) 2200 union members—and we just terminated their benefits this month. Eventually, you reach the end of the line."

The membership of Local 35 cannot accept this bankrupt perspective and must be mobilized around a program which can defeat both the attacks of the Gazette and those which they will face at their own papers and from the government.

Guild Members for a Labor Party, which is running a slate of delegates for the Guild's national convention this summer, is fighting at the Sun, the Washington Post and the Star-News to bring workers into the fight at Alexandria around a program based on the perspective of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

VICTORY

Reporters and other Guild members of Local 35 must fight on the picket lines for the victory of the Gazette strike and fight to mobilize their brothers in the craft unions in support of the strike and the following program to defeat all the attacks on workers in the printing and broadcasting industries:

•The Newspaper Guild must call on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, the United Auto Workers and all other trade union organizations to convene an immediate Congress of Labor.

•Labor must force Nixon to resign; a new election must be held.

•American workers must have their own independent political

party as an alternative to Nixon, Agnew and the Democratic Party; a labor party must be built now.

•The Guild must defy Nixon's Phase Three wage controls by demanding a 20 percent first year wage increase in every contract and call on the AFL-CIO to prepare strike action to smash Phase Three.

•The Guild must protect its members against layoffs due to automation, speedup or any other reason and must oppose any form of speedup through strike action if necessary. More jobs in the industry must be created by demanding 28 hours of work per week for 40 hours pay.

•Democratic rights must be defended. The Guild must call on the trade union movement to resist any interference by the government with the press, such as wiretapping or the jailing of reporters for refusing to reveal sources, by strike action if necessary.

•The local Guild units must have control over all working conditions within their shops and the content and use of material written by member reporters. "Voice in product" and "integrity" clauses must be defended and supported as a step in this direction.

•Common contract expiration dates with all other unions in the printing industry to prevent publishers from using workers in one union as strikebreakers against the other unions.

The picket lines have been honored by telephone installers in the Communications Workers of America who refused to install new telephones in the building.

The Gazette is only able to continue publishing with the aid of ITU printers because the union leaderships have refused to agree to common contract expiration dates and pit the real power of the printing unions against the publishers.

AFSCME Sabotages Strike Vote

BY AN AFSCME 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS, May 20—In the face of the even more rigid position of the University of Minnesota administration toward contract negotiations, the local leadership of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1164 of the University of Minnesota workers has completely liquidated the fight for a contract in the university hospitals. Local President Charles Williams refused to even call for a strike authorization vote at a special membership meeting summoned for that purpose.

Few workers attended the meeting. Many workers are disgusted and angered with the local leadership for expelling two members of the local, Perry and Liz Tilleraas, and are justifiably skeptical of going out on strike with the present leadership. Also, the local leadership mounted absolutely no campaign to build the meeting or to win the strike vote.

Williams' covers within the local, Progressive Labor Party and SDS, proceeded to explain how backward the workers were because they were not in attendance at the special meeting. Then, in substitution and opposition to the necessary fight for a strike to gain a decent contract and a wage increase, they pro-

posed a picnic!

Thus, they continue their partnership with Williams with one common goal: to avoid at all costs a strike, which would bring the local into direct confrontation with the government. It is for these political reasons that the local leadership, with the open aid of the Stalinists, have expelled Perry and Liz Tilleraas, leaders of the Caucus for a Decent Contract, whose program includes the mobilization for a strike and the calling of a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party.

As a member of the Executive Board said: "They didn't prove a thing—it was all political. There are some rotten politics around here all right, but they're not yours!"

One young cook, in testimony at the hearing, indicted the local

Midwest News



Youth from high schools and campuses in St. Paul signed up for the YS National Conference after attending a meeting on Watergate.

leadership: "If you had been doing your job, the Tilleraases wouldn't be on trial here tonight." It is this task, the building of a new leadership within AFSCME, that the CDC has dedicated itself to in the course of taking the Tilleraas' case on appeal to Council 6 of the State Workers.

The Council 6 Executive Board turned down a petition for an order for delay of punishment.

This ensures that the Tilleraases will not be present at the Council 6 Quarterly Meeting in June as alternate delegates.

Workers from around the country must now take up the defense of the Tilleraases and demand that the Council 6 Executive Board reverse the local Executive Board's decision. Write: Tobey Lapakko, Secretary, AFSCME Council 6, 475 Rice Street, St. Paul, Mn. 55155.

No Return To 7 Hours At Ekco

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO—Ekco workers say the company blatantly violated its contract with Teamster Local 714 in imposing a seven hour day on production workers here. In past years, the company has worked a three day week, or six hour day for months on end, entirely at the discretion of the company.

In announcing the switch to seven hours, the personnel manager spurned the protests of shop stewards, exclaiming: "Look, the workers like the seven hours. They do it, don't they?"

When news of arrogant statements like this reached the workers, a determined movement for a plant-wide walkout began. Stewards demanded that full-time officials of Local 714 institute legal action on the grounds that the company was "locking out" workers for the one hour and accumulating hundreds of individual grievances, all of which must be dealt with through separate meetings with management.

Surprised by this opposition, the company offered to lay off a portion of the workers and put the rest on eight hours if the union would drop legal action. The stewards refused and the company put all workers back on eight hours.

At the May meeting, the largest in the history of Ekco, workers from all major departments spoke in favor of a plant-wide walkout should the company return to the seven hours. Company agents within the union sought to draw out the stewards into openly calling for a strike in order to establish the legal basis for prosecution of the stewards by the company. This failed.

A company supporter then brought out the real strength of the company's position within the union by stating: "We can't do this. The workers are hopelessly divided. The white workers won't work with the Black workers; Pollacks won't work with the Mexicans..." These arguments were spurned by the meeting.

While it is clear that a walkout will occur if Ekco attempts to reduce hours to victimize the shop stewards, Ekco workers must turn their attention to the real weakness of the union, which is the corruption and collaboration of full-time officials of Local 714 and the Teamster bureaucracy nationally.

The Teamster leadership is the only section of the labor movement which has openly supported Nixon and Phase Three, adapting to every twist and turn of Nixon policy. Now that Nixon is in trouble, these officials are in trouble as well. Now is the time to launch a national campaign to oust all Nixon supporters from the Teamster leadership, through the campaign for a labor party and a national Congress of Labor.

Nationalists Split Antioch Tuition Fight

BY JOHN WERNER

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio—The student strike against the budget cuts at Antioch University is in its fourth week. The strike that has shut the buildings and closed most of the operations at the university is now threatened with a possible injunction as a result of a class action suit being filed by a group of students not supporting the strike.

The University has announced it will lay off univer-

sity workers of United Electrical Workers Local 767. The strike was called by about 300 New Direction Financial Aid students.

The New Direction students are students who have their tuition and living expenses paid by the university and are mainly Black and Appalachian youth. Every year their grants in aid are thrown into question by the liberal administration.

The cuts by Nixon have further jeopardized their grants. The students became fed up with the liberal hypocrisy of the administration who boast of their "pluralistic" enrollment policy but continually threaten their grants.

The demands of the strike are essentially that financial aid be-

ing given to the New Direction students be guaranteed through graduation instead of having to be sought each year for renewal as at present and that any budget cuts—the Institute for Study of Social Problems, part of the New Directions and other facets of the program were cut \$100,000 to \$25,000 in next year's budget—be spread throughout the college proportionately.

Although the demands put forth are justified and should be supported, there has been no attempt to link them with the dissatisfaction of the other students who are complaining of the high tuition—\$4000 a year—and the deteriorating buildings.

Most of the student housing is in a state of disrepair, is crowded and has no cooking facilities.

This policy of dividing the striking students from the rest of the students on the basis of "poor and third world background" is the responsibility of the Stalinist groups who dominate the politics of Antioch, particularly the Maoist Revolutionary Union. Proceeding from their "third world" policy, they have only encouraged the nationalists to isolate their demands and program from the rest of the student body.

Thus, they bolster the attempts of the administration to split the low income students from the rest of the students. The administration tells the tuition paying students that the high tuition is to support the low income grant students. Instead of countering this splitting device with a un-

ified set of demands for all the students: lower tuition, guaranteed grants and student loans and improved building maintenance, the New Directions Leadership, dominated by the RU, exclude the other 95 percent of the students from representation on the strike committee.

The RU in their report entitled "National and International Overview of the Strike," imply a defeat stating, "Whatever the results of our strike, we must maintain and build the struggle."

After a defeat, they would no doubt blame the students who failed to support the strike although they did nothing to gain their support and supported their actual exclusion from the strike.

In Dayton recently, the RU was in the leadership of a wildcat strike at the GH&R foundry and then completely collapsed as far as giving any leadership to win the strike. They were speechless when it came to fighting for a legal strike against the bankrupt union leadership.

After their paralysis, and the workers went back to work, they proceeded to blame the workers, accusing them of racism and lacking unity.

Clearly the way forward to win the strike must be to build a movement that will fight for the unity of the students around a nationwide fight against the high tuition, budget cuts, the wage freeze, and the fight to build a labor party. Students must join the fight to demand the unions call an emergency Congress of Labor to deal with the dollar crisis and Watergate.

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Tanning Co. Threatens To Move

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—Workers at Superior Tanning Company have demanded a full union meeting to expose the facts and fight the moves by the company toward closure.

"We are not moving anywhere until we get this meeting on Wednesday," said Walter Scott, a member of Local 43 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union. "They claim they don't have enough to pay for these pollution devices but the federal government has already laid down the money. They just don't want to bother with this place anymore."

The top leadership of Local 43 moved the May 15 meeting behind the closed doors of the Superior offices. They were forced to do this when a meeting with the stewards began to bring out the double talk of the company and threatened to go beyond discussion. The union has not disclosed anything that was discussed or decided at this secret meeting.

The city of Chicago has given the company until June 1 to repair safety violations and install pollution devices. The company has revealed that it intends

'16 Cents Is Not Enough'

BY A REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, May 20—Four hundred workers, members of Locals 680 and 980, Painters and Carpenters Unions, voted on May 15 to reject the proposed contract prepared by company negotiators for Gasdorf & Sons, and decided in a close vote to initiate immediate strike action.

The contract, proposed by the Gasdorf Company and the union bureaucracy, was defeated in a wide majority of 380 to 42.

On the morning of May 16, pickets swarmed around the gates at Gasdorf.

The proposed contract offered virtually the same things agreed upon in the last contract, with the exception of wages. In this area they offered, under a three year contract, a wage increase of 16.5 cents for the first year, and 15 cents for each of the two remaining years, on a base rate of \$1.90 per hour.

This was completely unacceptable to the ranks. The union bureaucracy, in the midst of one of the most "unruly" meetings in its history, found the ranks literally at its neck.

"With prices going up the way they are now," said one woman at the contract meeting, "in three years one pound of hamburger will cost me \$6.00. Yet, I'll only be making about \$2.80 an hour. I'll have to spend over two hours of my working day to buy one meal's worth of meat. Sixteen and a half cents is not enough!"

to move out rather than spend any money on repairs.

BATTLEGROUND

The Wednesday meeting must become a battleground to force the union leadership to fight the vicious drive to destroy the union. It is clearly an attempt to make workers pay for the crisis of the dollar.

"Four years ago they paid eight cents a pound for these hides," explained one worker. "Now they are paying 50 cents a pound." The wife of a worker told the *Bulletin*:

"Their father and his father before him and I imagine it goes back farther than that—all made their millions off this place. Now with the price of hides so high and the pollution ruling they just can't make any profit. So they close up." It is clear that the company planned for this closure.

The union opened the door for this brutal disregard for basic union rights. For over a year, Superior Tanning has been in violation of a three year contract with the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union.

The working conditions have sharply deteriorated. Superior Tanning would not invest any money on repairs on the 80 year old plant.

SENIORITY

"I make \$3.36 an hour after working here for 20 years," said one worker. "When I go to the tanning factory a block away I will make 20 cents less an hour and I also lose all my seniority, even though the plant is organized by the same union."

Most of the men who work at Superior Tanning are older, many with over 20 years' service. The wife of one worker who has 33 years of service told the *Bulletin*: "I don't know what we'll do if he gets laid off here. He's too old to get another job and too young to collect social security."

75 Professors Face Dismissal

BY A REPORTER

MADISON—For the first time, some 60 to 75 tenured professors in the University of Wisconsin system will lose their positions because of cuts in the system's budget. Authorization for the dismissals came May 12 from the University Board of Regents.

The American Association of University Professors has given the green light to these layoffs. Professor David Baerreis, president of the Madison chapter, said:

"As a matter of policy, the AAUP does not oppose laying off

or firing of tenured faculty members if it's a matter of economic necessity."

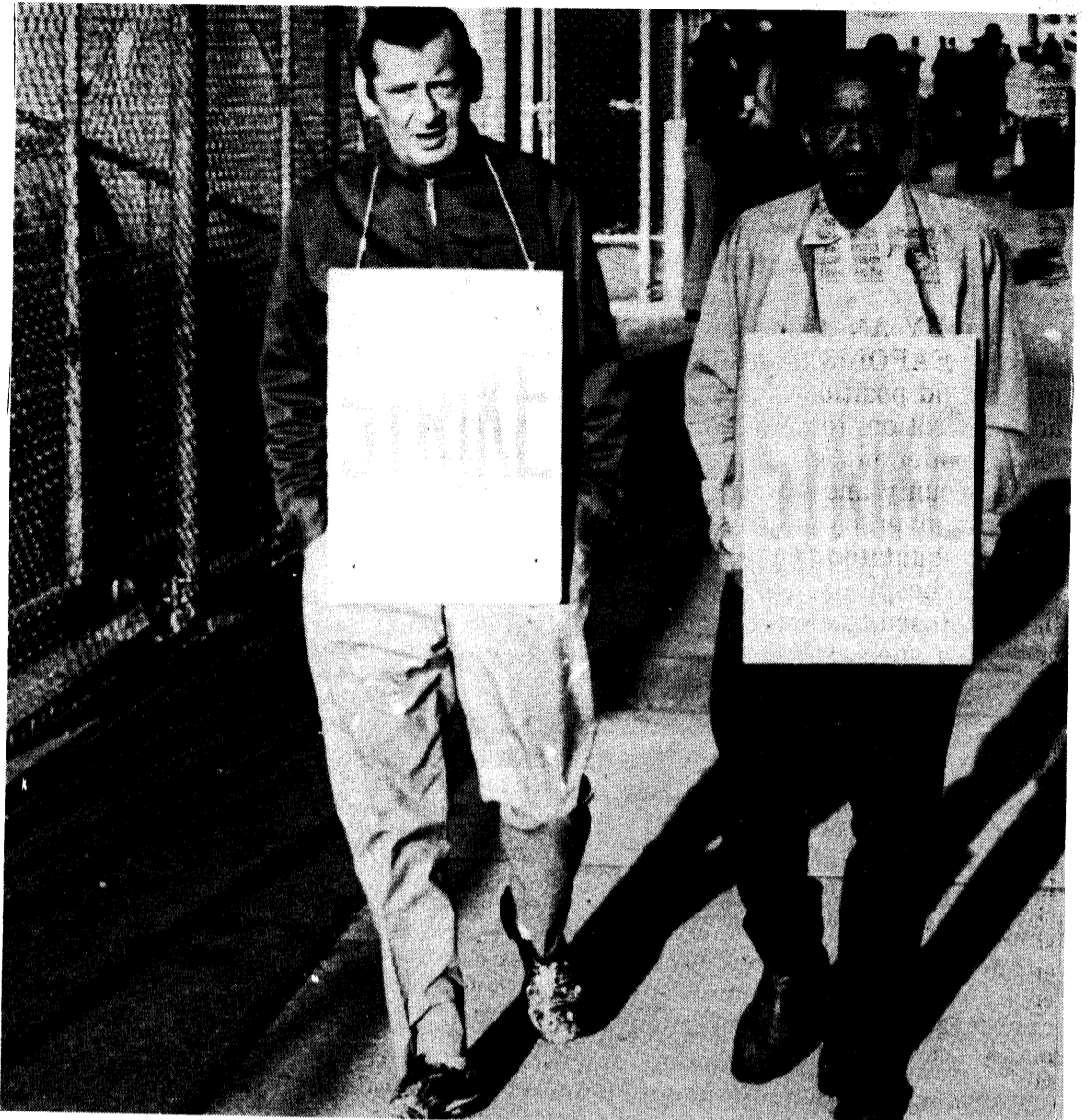
The University of Wisconsin system was originally a land grant college—the federal pansion—and therefore could offer cheaper tuition.

The Board of Regents cites dropping enrollment as the reason for cutbacks. Enrollment has dropped a slight amount because the cost of education is getting farther and farther out of the student's grasp.

The University Administration Code stipulates that each tenured faculty member must be given a hearing before being dropped. Non-tenured faculty need not even have reasons cited for their dismissal.

Both the Association of Univer-

Midwest News



Carpenters on the picket line in St. Louis.

Square D Strikers Hold Out To Win Union Recognition

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

LINCOLN, Neb., May 22—Labor support is growing for the 300 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1536 who are in the seventeenth week of their strike against the Square D Company.

Notorious for its union-busting tactics, the company has refused to negotiate a contract with the IBEW which won bargaining rights after a

nearly unanimous vote of the membership.

About 85 percent of the workers in the plant are women and Square D has refused to budge from its offer of a 15 cent increase over two

years. The current average hourly wage is \$2.50.

"They just told us you can take it or lump it," Local 1536 Business Manager Virgil Cash told the *Bulletin*. "The company wouldn't even look at the union's package."

DESTROY

He added that Square D has been involved in six strikes in different parts of the country during the last year. In its plant in Oxford, Ohio, the strike lasted 21 weeks.

Eighteen workers have been as the company has used the state law which prohibits mass picketing. In addition to using injunctions, the company has physically harassed the pickets.

"The company figured that they could destroy us because the union is new in the plant," said Cash, "but they are in for a surprise. We'll win the strike."

He said that financial support to the Local and a nationwide boycott has begun to hurt the company.

However, the IBEW must shut down all the Square D plants until the company recognized the union and meets demands.

sity of Wisconsin Faculties (TAUWF) and the Madison Campus of the United Faculty realize that unionization is necessary. Current legislation has been introduced to allow for union-legal.

60 HOUR WEEK

The average UW professor works a 60 hour week even with a teaching assistant who may work 20 to 25 hours. Salaries for assistant professors begin at \$8500 and teaching assistants at \$2500 for the academic year.

The faculty union must be formed in order to take up a political fight against Nixon in defense of education through a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party. The budget cuts cannot be fought without a political fight.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon's Secret Police Aimed At Workers

Richard Nixon's latest statement on Watergate, released Tuesday afternoon, establishes that he authorized and supervised a special police force working with the CIA and FBI to eliminate radical political groups as preparation for an all-out attack on the democratic rights of the working class.

The burglary of the Democratic Party headquarters was only one aspect of the Watergate affair. Using right wing demagoguery about "national security" as a justification, Nixon now admits that he ordered extensive wiretapping; that he expanded intelligence operations within the US which regularly included the burglary of homes and offices; that he organized an illegal liaison between the CIA, FBI, Secret Service, NSA, Treasury and Defense Departments; and that he insisted upon draconian methods of surveillance after Daniel Ellsberg gave the Pentagon Papers to the New York Times.

Nixon also states that he set up "a special investigations unit within the White House" which included men later involved in the Watergate burglary such as Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy.

This illegal police agency, according to the Nixon's statement, "operated under extremely tight security rules. Its existence and functions were known only to a very few persons at the White House. These included Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Dean."

Nixon's statement, as well as the testimony of James W. McCord, reveals his enormous fear of the working class and its political leadership. Nixon asserts that the organization of the White House espionage operation took place in the wake of the 1969-70 student demonstrations against the war and the powerful wage offensive of the working class climaxed by the strikes of postal workers, electrical workers and teamsters.

With the events of May-June in France not forgotten, the Nixon Administration had students killed at Kent State and Jackson State, and sent national guardsmen into the post offices and through the streets of Cleveland against the teamsters.

At the same time, a spate of political trials began that were aimed at socialists like Angela Davis and Juan Farinas.

Nixon's statement is a warning to the entire working class. Not only does it reveal exactly what the Administration has done in the past, but it is a clear declaration by Nixon that these activities must be strengthened in the coming period.

The ruthless vendetta that Nixon has pursued for the last three years against the Vietnam Veterans Against the War exposes the ruling class' terror against every expression of the movement of the working class, particularly the angry young workers who have returned from the imperialist war.

In the light of Nixon's revelations, which exposes his preparations for the massive confrontation now emerging between the Government and the working class over wages, living conditions, and the very right of unions to exist, there can be no delay in organizing a massive campaign in the labor movement to force Nixon out and hold new elections.

Every trade unionist must demand in his local that the AFL-CIO, Teamster and UAW bureaucrats stop covering up for Nixon and mobilize the working class in such a campaign through the calling of a Congress of Labor to form a labor party pledged to socialist policies.



What
we
think

CP Covers Up For Brezhnev Trip

The American Communist Party has given enthusiastic backing to the upcoming visit of Soviet Party chief Leonid Brezhnev to the United States, and has thus fallen into line with the desperate attempt of the Kremlin bureaucracy to save Richard Nixon's neck at the very moment when the question of his impeachment or resignation is being raised publicly.

With Leonid Brezhnev himself declaring that nothing short of an earthquake will stop him from showing up in Washington next month, the American Stalinists are openly trying to make sure that Nixon will be in the White House when the top Kremlin bureaucrat gets there.

The CP refuses to campaign in the labor movement now for the removal of Nixon from office, the holding of special elections because the last one was rigged through the Watergate conspiracy, and the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare the alternative to this criminal government by building a labor party.

It must be noted that the CP has dropped its earlier talk of Nixon's impeachment. Instead, its official organ, the Daily World, now seeks to justify Brezhnev's visit by suggesting that it is not all that important whether or not Nixon played a role in Watergate. "The significance of Watergate does not lie in whodunit or even if Richard Milhous dunit," states the editorial of May 19.

The Daily World then adds: "What is the basic relation between, let us say, the low-level rascals who burgled the Watergate and the great miscreants incorporated in International Telephone and Telegraph?"

As the Stalinists and everyone

else following the newspapers know by now, Watergate was not the product of "low-level rascals" but of Richard Nixon and his closest associates. The deliberate falsification of the implications of Watergate by the Daily World is in tune with its treatment by the Soviet and East European press, which has barely mentioned the conspiracy.

One Polish editor bluntly admitted: "From our standpoint, Richard Nixon is the best possible American President in the current circumstances, and we don't want to see him embarrassed."

Revealed in the CP's support for Nixon when he is at his weakest is its subservience to the Kremlin's reactionary policies of "peaceful coexistence." The American Stalinists are perfectly willing to give Nixon every opportunity to remain in office and continue his attacks on the working class in this country and internationally provided that he comes across with favorable trade arrangements with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The CP goes so far as to portray Richard Nixon as a progressive statesman who is being victimized by reactionaries unwilling to see harmonious relations between the United States and USSR. Referring to the fact that the New York Times advised Nixon to postpone his talks with Brezhnev, the Daily World declared:

"The Times would 'postpone' to some indefinite future the discussion of the situation in Cambodia. The Soviet desire for peace in Indochina is shared by the overwhelming majority of the American people. The Times would 'postpone' relaxing of tensions in the Middle East. That reflects the Times' support of the militarist-Zionist-theocratic rul-

ing clique in Israel. The Times' partners in that anti-peace, anti-liberation program are Senator Henry Jackson and George Meany. Their joint program is a program for heightened chauvinist tension in the Middle East."

All this is very much in keeping with Gus Hall's claim that Richard Nixon's policies are progressive internationally in spite of his actions within US borders.

Because the counterrevolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy does not have any international perspective for bringing the working class to power, it seeks to overcome the social crisis within the Soviet Union through political and economic collaboration with world imperialism.

Therefore, the Chase Manhattan Bank is permitted to open a branch in Moscow and Dr. Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum, is given the right to invest in the exploitation of Siberian gas and minerals.

For all its demagogic attacks against Meany, the American CP will support his refusal to demand Nixon's resignation or to take any steps to bring that about.

Within the Soviet Union itself, the Kremlin will not refer to Watergate because it fears the indignation of the Russian workers and peasants against the collaboration of Brezhnev with the criminal imperialists.

Brezhnev's upcoming trip and the role of the CP in supporting it demonstrates that Stalinism is the most counterrevolutionary force within the workers movement. It remains what Trotsky called it nearly 40 years ago: "The syphilis of the workers movement."

As the working class enters into revolutionary struggle, the Stalinists not only seek to hold it back but openly engages in plots with the capitalists to suppress any expression of revolutionary leadership.

Last week, Brezhnev travelled through Germany protected by an army of police whose dragnets were combing the country in search of Maoists who can be arrested under laws supported by the German Stalinists.

In Britain, the Communist Party has refused to agree to participate in a united defense of working class organizations.

In Peru, the Stalinists have helped instigate and support the arrest and torture of members of the Liga Comunista, Peruvian section of the Fourth International.

The treachery of the Stalinists reflect their enormous crisis and fear of the movement of the working class. It is on the basis of Marxist theory and Trotsky's struggle for the continuity of that Marxist movement carried forward today by the International Committee that the Stalinists can be thrown out of the labor movement.

Building the Bulletin Sub Drive Needs Push

This past week we have experienced a serious slowing down from the excellent figure of 910 subs received the preceding week. Only 384 subs came in no doubt because of attention to building the National Conference of the Young Socialists. This gives us a total of 10,258 towards our goal of 12,000 by June 1.

San Francisco and Palo Alto branches deserve special mention for joining Fort Greene in completing their quotas

We must now go all out to complete the drive on time. There can be no extensions in the drive and the political situation will not allow us to fail to complete it.

Therefore we propose:

1. Everyone not attending the YS Conference work the full weekend of the 26-27 on subs.
2. Sub mobilizations be held each night by the forces returning from the conference.
3. People take off work if necessary for this campaign.
4. All day mobs must be held on Saturday June 2nd by all branches.
5. If quotas are not reached all day mobs must be held on Sunday as well.

There are to be no exceptions to this campaign and those branches which have completed their quotas must fight to go over by the largest possible margin.



The Battle To Organize California Agriculture/ Part One

WAR IN THE FIELDS

BY MARTY MORAN

California agriculture has always had a unique character in the United States. It is controlled by a small handful of powerful landowners and corporations, backed by the Bank of America, the world's largest. The concentration of landholding and the industrial character of farming are not accidental features which can be reformed, but have deep roots in the development of capitalism in California.

California was brought into the United States by the War of 1848 with Mexico, waged to satisfy the land hunger of the Southern slaveowners. The discovery of gold in 1848 and the rush of immigration from the East frustrated the desire of the South to turn the great valleys of California into slave empires. The state was put firmly in the grasp of Northern capitalism.

From 1850 to 1860 the population of the state quadrupled. Very few of these people found their fortune or even steady work in mining. Most were looking for land to farm, but they found that the railroads, property speculators, and plain swindlers had taken over the old Mexican land grants and were using the courts and the state troops to enforce their claims.

As early as 1850, a mob of "squatters" seized the state capital at Sacramento to resist a claim by Captain John Sutter, the discoverer of gold, to a Mexican land grant on which they were illegally farming. The national guard was called out to suppress the uprising. Thereafter the state spared no effort in serving the new land-

owners and helping them to expand their holdings.

Vast areas of land left unused by feudal Mexican landlords were sold by the state as "swamp land" at a dollar an acre. By 1871, railroads owned 20 million acres of land and 516 individuals another nine million.

POPULISM

The growth of large landholdings took the form of an orgy of property speculation, fraud, government corruption and wholesale violence against small farmers. Many times radical protest movements aimed at breaking up the land monopoly arose in the middle class in response to this during the nineteenth century. This populism united small farmers and farm laborers on the basis of the program of the small farmers, promising farm workers that they too could get their piece of land.

The program of the populists accepted the laws of capitalism and the market but rebelled against the consequences of those laws—land monopoly and ruin for small farmers. The essential reason for the tremendous concentration of land ownership in California was not the greed of a few individuals as the radicals thought. Actually, it lay in the character of the land itself. Most of the great valleys are dry, near desert, and when used for large scale grain growing of the kind typical in the Midwest, become rapidly exhausted. Many of the large landowners at first could find no profitable use for their land at all and raised no crops. Those that did attempt conventional cereal production went broke fast.

It was discovered, however, that with irrigation and labor, intensive cultivation the valleys could produce enormous quantities and varieties of fruits and vegetables. Growing these specialty crops requires an enormous labor force and large amounts of capital investment in irrigation and other land improvements. Small farmers could not get their hands on that much capital. Agriculture in California is large scale industry and under fully developed capitalism could only take the form of monopoly. The economic conditions simply never existed for the development of individual homesteaders and tenant farms producing grain.

The big landowners were immediately

faced with an acute contradiction between the enormous profits to be made from industrialized agriculture and a severe shortage of labor. California was isolated by thousands of miles of deserts and mountains from the population centers in the East. Those workers who did escape the eastern factory towns looked for land of their own or jobs in the West Coast cities, not for near slave labor in the California fields.

From the beginning, the growers had to import labor from the Far East by sea to provide a cheap work force to pick crops and dig ditches. The layoff of tens of thousands of Chinese laborers upon completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 provided the first pool of unskilled labor for fruit growing. Over the next 70 years, successive waves of immigration met the demands of the growers—Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Filipinos, Mexicans and Okies.

Each new group of immigrants was used to break down whatever gains previous groups of workers had been able to win, to smash existing workers organizations, and in some cases to drive established workers out of the fields completely. The growers exploited the racial and language divisions in the working class to prevent, for many years, even the most elementary kinds of trade union organization in agriculture.

In fact, racial hysteria directed at immigrants was the chief weapon of the whole capitalist class in California. When the great railway strike of 1877 reached San Francisco, it was turned into a march against Chinatown, and attacks on Chinese workers, not American bosses, were the result. Anti-Chinese agitation was continually whipped up by the press and politicians among backward sections of the working class to weaken the powerful San Francisco labor movement and destroy the conditions won by Chinese workers in the fields through clan and family organizations.

In 1892 the Geary Act was passed excluding Chinese from most forms of work, and in 1893 the Chinese were physically driven from the fields by mobs. This was at the height of the depression and crisis of the 1890s, and the poverty stricken unemployed who made up the mobs took over

the jobs of the Chinese at wage cuts of up to 50 percent, to the great profit of the growers.

The first efforts of farm workers to organize in trade unions came after the turn of the century. An American Federation of Labor farm laborers union was formed in the Santa Clara Valley in 1903 with headquarters at San Jose. It never went beyond organizing white workers in the packing sheds, ignoring the Japanese field workers, and it collapsed as soon as the season was over and the migrants moved on. The AFL, geared only to the privileged strata of the most skilled workers, made no real drive to organize agriculture. With its philosophy of class compromise, quiet negotiations, and craft unionism, it was completely unprepared for the ferocity with which the growers resisted trade unionism.

Agriculture is a unique industry. Hundreds of different crops are grown with different seasons for planting and harvest. Some workers, generally a privileged few, remain on the same ranch or farm year round and are completely dominated by the owner. The vast bulk of the labor force is in demand only for a few weeks a year at any one farm, at the planting and especially at harvest. These workers try to stay employed by moving from farm to farm as the different crops mature.

At harvest time, the grower is confronted with a virtual army of workers who descend on him at a time when he must have their labor or his crops will rot and he himself be ruined. Even a short strike could mean the destruction of his profits for a whole year. At the same time, the migrant workers are isolated from the rest of the working class and dependent on the grower for food and shelter in the "temporary labor camps" thrown up in every farm area. In these conditions, the contradiction between the employer and the working class is absolutely naked, and every conflict becomes a form of civil war, with the total destruction of one side or the other posed at every point. As a result, the employers have resorted to collusion, blacklisting, labor subcontracting, violence, racial hysteria, police, and a systematic reign of terror unequalled in the struggle of classes. This has been answered by movements of farm workers

that have always had an explosive character.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The first great upsurge of California farm labor took place under the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—known as the Wobblies. The Wobblies were syndicalists, revolutionary trade unionists, who organized farm workers in the period before World War One.

The IWW founded the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, which by 1917 had over 50,000 members, mostly in the Midwest. Most Wobblies were itinerant workers who talked union and provided militant leadership as they migrated through the Western states. By 1912 about eight percent of California farm workers had held IWW cards at one time or another, although far fewer were active organizers.

The Wobblies confronted enormous problems in California. From the start, state repression against them was severe. IWW meetings were broken up by police all over the state. In San Diego, a local ordinance was passed suspending the First Amendment and concentration camps were established to house any worker who spoke up for trade unionism. Hundreds of Wobblies went to San Diego and to Fresno to fill the jails in a tactic known as concentration. When there was no more room in prison, and more street corner stump speakers continued to pour into the towns, the police were forced to permit organizing. Locals were set up all over the state.

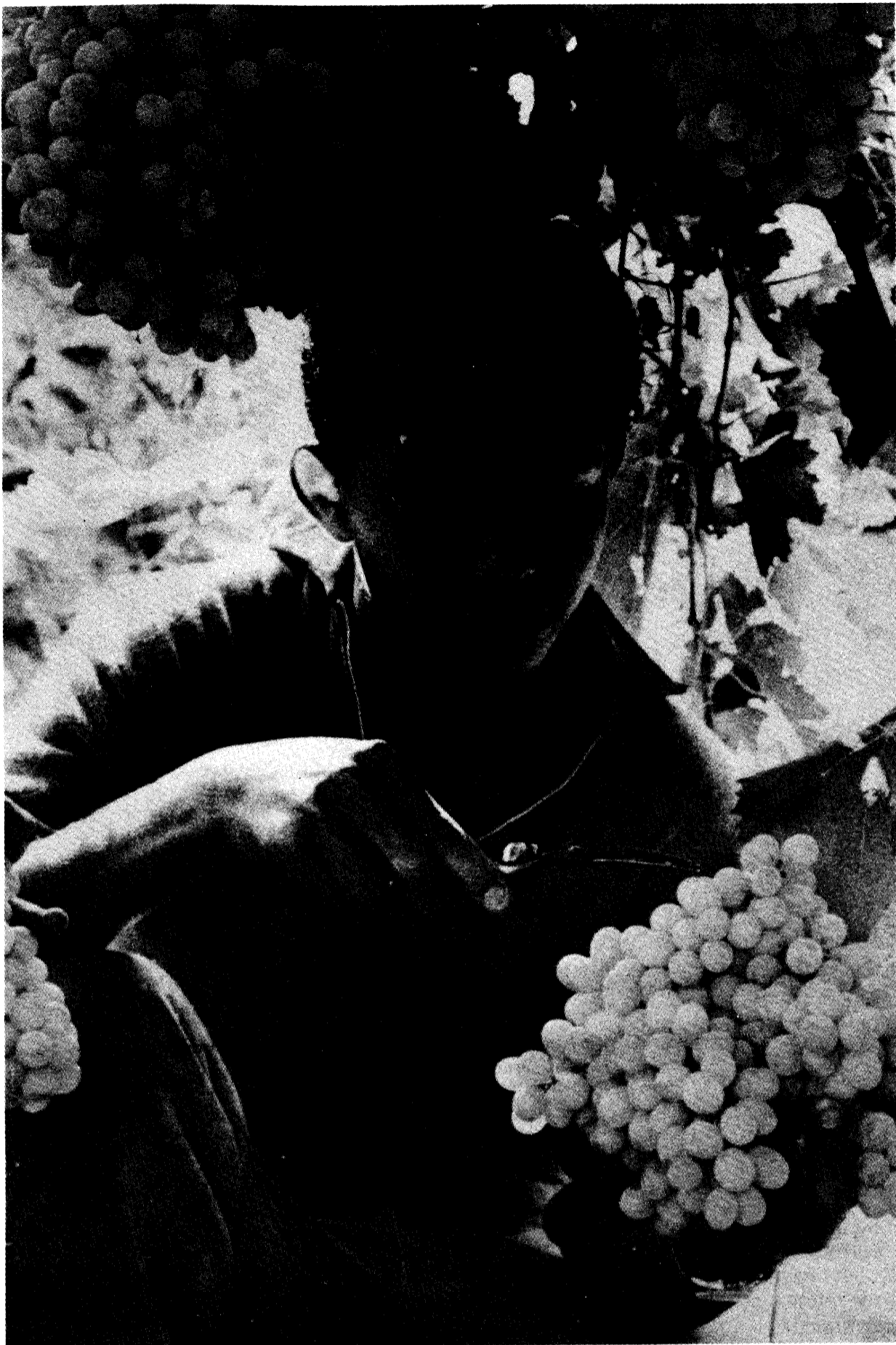
The so-called Wheatland Riot of 1913 was the turning point for the IWW in California. The Durst hop ranch at Wheatland in the Sacramento valley had advertised for 2700 workers, although only 1500 were needed. This was a common tactic among growers to keep wages down. Twenty-eight hundred workers, men, women, and children, were packed into the labor camp under horrible conditions. Families lived in sheds or even boxes, with 30 or more sharing a single toilet. Half the workers were unemployed at any one time. More than half were aliens. In one crew of 235, 27 nations were represented. There were about 100 IWW men in the camp, led by Blackie Ford and Herman Suhr, who began a fight with Durst over sanitation. A mass meeting was called to discuss living conditions, and Ford addressed the workers and called for action to force Durst to provide decent housing. The sheriff's posse and District Attorney arrived to break up the meeting, as was the custom. They shot their way in and tried to arrest Ford. The workers returned the fire, and the DA and a deputy and two farm workers were killed.

This provocation was a signal for a statewide police offensive against the IWW. Four companies of National Guard marched on the Durst labor camp and dispersed it. Over a hundred workers were arrested. All over the state known Wobblies were arrested for "criminal syndicalism." Herman Suhr, who had left Wheatland and gone to Arizona before the shootings, was kidnapped back to California, beaten every night for several weeks, and put on trial with Ford for murder. Both were convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

After this an anti-red hysteria was whipped up and the IWW lost its foothold in the fields. The AFL leadership added a treacherous stab in the back when they announced that, because of Wheatland, they would abandon even their token efforts to organize farm labor.

The IWW was not disciplined or centralized and it rejected a political fight of workers for power. The Wobblies felt that the spontaneous fighting spirit of the workers would be enough to defeat the capitalists and create "one big union" which would take over the factories and the fields and run them in the interest of the working class. Their task as leaders was merely to express that spontaneity as it was, not give a direction to the workers movement and above all not to fight for a political understanding of what the working class had to do.

The Wobblies were anti-theoretical. To them the government was an irrelevancy that would be dispensed with as soon as the workers took over the factories. With



these conceptions, the Wobblies were able to lead heroic struggles for union organization and against US participation in the first imperialist war, but they were unable to grasp the necessity, as Lenin did, of the working class smashing the capitalist state and building its own.

As a result, the IWW was swept away by the police repression that accompanied US entry into World War One. More than 500 were arrested in September 1917 and imprisoned for obstructing the war effort. The IWW's back was broken, and the best elements went over to the new Communist Party.

Agriculture went into deep slump after World War One. Farm workers did not gain even the minimal benefits other workers won during the boom of the 1920s, and the 1929 crash hit them when they were already down. Wage rates dropped steadily in agriculture from 30 cents an hour in 1919 to 12.5 cents an hour in 1933. At the same time, the Japanese were driven out and Filipinos and Mexicans brought in in their place. The Exclusion Acts passed against Orientals did not apply to the Philippines since it was an American possession. The main reason for granting of "independence" to the Philippines by the Act of 1935 was to restrict further immigration.

At first the movement of farm workers in response to this collapse of capitalism expressed itself through "national" unions. A Confederation of Mexican labor

was organized in Los Angeles in 1927, and the Mexican Labor Union of Imperial Valley organized a strike of cantaloupe pickers in April 1928. This strike was broken by mass arrests, deportation, and scabs brought in from Oklahoma and Texas. Other ethnic unions were formed, but they met the same fate, and farm workers rapidly discarded them and sought new leadership.

Farm workers launched a tremendous offensive against the growers in a strike wave from 1932 to 1937. This movement was part of the general upsurge of labor which led to the formation of the CIO and the building of mass industrial unions. However, because of the divisions and false policies of the leadership and the vicious attacks of the growers, no farm workers union was able to win a written contract in California or survive as an organization. It is this period that all farm workers must turn to in order to understand the attacks they face today.

REFUSED

The AFL absolutely refused to make any effort to help farm workers to organize. In 1935, while tens of thousands of workers were on strike, one leader said, "Only fanatics are willing to live in shacks or tents and get their heads broken in the interests of migratory labor." Not being fanatics, the AFL made no move until the rival CIO began organizing cannery and other food processing workers.

Such political leadership as there was to the strike wave was in the hands of the Communist Party, and its industrial arm, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL).

1931

In 1931, in response to a series of spontaneous strikes in the Imperial Valley, the TUUL established the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (AWIU) at Brawley. These strikes had been lost, but the AWIU organized a conference to take the struggle forward. A week before the conference there was a general roundup of over 100 organizers. Many were tried under the Criminal Syndicalism Act, which made trade union agitation illegal and eight were sent to San Quentin.

In 1931-1932, the CP organized the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU). A handful of organizers went on the road following the spontaneous strike movements and tried to intervene. A series of small strikes took place during the summer of 1932. One strike of 400 fruit pickers at Vacaville, under CAWIU leadership, was the longest up to that time, lasting 60 days before it was crushed.

By 1933, the accumulated anger of 15 years of wage cuts was bursting through to the surface. As the crops matured, thousands of workers struck against wage cuts. Pea pickers at Hayward and cherry pickers near Sunnyside struck and forced the employers to raise piece rates. In



August, the first carefully organized large strike won a settlement and reinstatement of all strikers for the first time, when 1200 Italian pear pickers in Santa Clara Valley forced a wage increase from 20 to 25 cents an hour. By the time of the first CAWIU convention that same month, there was a real basis for the union. A program was formulated for 75 cents an hour, the eight hour day, time and a half for overtime, decent houses and sanitation and an end to piecework.

At the same time, a spontaneous strike hit the Tagus fruit ranch. This ranch, owned by the Merritt family, was regarded as the stronghold of anti-unionism in the state. The strike against it touched off a statewide strike wave from San Diego to Sacramento. However, the center of the strike soon became the cotton ranches, where more than 18,000 workers struck in October on ranches stretching for 114 miles through the San Joaquin Valley. The CAWIU at that time had four organizers for the whole valley.

On October 12, vigilantes riddled the union hall at Pixley with bullets; two were killed, and soon after another worker was killed at Arvin. Eleven ranchers were arrested for the Pixley murders and acquitted, and seventeen strikers were jailed for minor offences, that is defending themselves with their bare hands against an armed mob. Three thousand workers marched through Bakersfield in the funeral of the Pixley victims. The Na-

tional Guard was mobilized, and the state health officers were brought in to condemn the strikers main camp at Corcoran as a health hazard. The camp, in fact, was in better shape than when the growers operated it as a labor camp, but the threat of National Guard evicting their families forced the cotton workers to return to work subject to State Mediation Board. After 24 days, the workers returned undefeated but without union recognition.

The growers began to recognize that the existing law and order forces were not doing the job for them and turned to organizing right-wing para-military groups to guard scabs and break up union meetings. A lettuce strike in the Imperial Valley in January 1934 was broken with help from the American Legion, which helped police drive strikers from the labor camp. A group was formed called the Associated Farmers, pledged to defend the rights of the small farmer.

However, in reality it was backed by California Lands, the real estate subsidiary of the Bank of America, which owned or controlled by mortgage 50 percent of North and Central California farm lands. The Associated Farmers sponsored a military organization called "California Cavaliers" whose avowed purpose was "to stamp out all un-American activity among farm labor." This group engaged in beating of strikers and organizers on a wide scale and imposed virtual dictatorship on farm towns during strikes.

The CAWIU led struggles which won significant wage increases for 50,000 workers, raising the basic rate from 15 cents an hour to 25 cents. But its isolation from the rest of California labor suddenly took its toll. After the San Francisco General Strike of July 1934, which laid the basis for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) all over the West Coast, the employers reacted sharply with a frenzied offensive against organizers and unions in the rest of the state. Terrified at the strength and determination shown in the General Strike, the growers took advantage of the breathing space given by the reactionary AFL leaders in cutting the strike short and unleashed a reign of terror against the CAWIU.

Eighteen organizers were arrested in a raid on union headquarters in Sacramento, and eight were convicted, again under the Criminal Syndicalism Act. The eight were released on appeal after two years, but the CAWIU was left in a shambles. When the CP swung to the right in 1935 to embrace Roosevelt and the liberal section of the employers in the Popular Front, the "red" unions including the CAWIU were quietly folded up.

The destruction of the CAWIU was followed by an orgy of fascist attacks on the continued resistance of farm workers. In June 1935, fiery crosses were burned on a San Jose hillside overlooking a workers' camp. In Santa Rosa, an apple pickers

strike was broken when a mob led by the mayor, the president of the local chamber of commerce, bankers, police legionnaires, and state legislators tarred and feathered two organizers. The number of strikes by field workers began to fall off under the impact of these defeats.

As the movement among the migrant field hands began to recede, the more settled workers in the canneries and packing sheds swung into action. These workers were concentrated in the big towns like Stockton, Fresno, and Salinas, where food products are processed, canned, and packed for export to the national and world markets. In June 1936, because of the rapid growth of the CIO in basic industry, the AFL set up a federation of cannery, agricultural, and packing house workers and began to charter federal locals. These locals were industrial, not craft, locals directly affiliated with the national AFL. They were established as a concession to the rank and file urge toward industrial unionism, but the AFL barred affiliation of the different federal locals in the same industry to each other. All joint activity had to be carried out through the top AFL leaders like president William Green, who were determined to preserve the narrow craft divisions that weakened the power of the unions.

The establishment of federal locals led almost immediately to an explosion. In Salinas, a federal Vegetable Packers Association was formed among the lettuce packers, who worked six months a year in Salinas and six months in the Imperial Valley. Thousands of field and shed workers struck in October 1936 at the height of the harvest. The sheriff filled the Salinas jails with strikers and drafted all Salinas males from 18 to 45 into a "citizens' army" of 2500 men. The Associated Farmers took control of the strike, breaking operations, moving scabs in by the thousands and taking over military control of the police and army from the sheriff, who then went on vacation until the end of the strike. Enormous sums were spent to harvest the lettuce, but it could not be packed in Salinas, so it was shipped to Los Angeles where it was unloaded, packed, and reloaded by AFL members with the connivance of AFL officials. This open strikebreaking smashed the Salinas union.

The state AFL called a convention to set up a statewide packing union and petitioned the national leadership to form an industrial union for all farm labor. This was rejected, and farm workers were compelled to set up separate locals for field and shed workers. At the same time, the state AFL leaders completed their capitulation to the fascist forces in the Associated Farmers. A strike of 1500 men of the AFL federal Cannery Workers Union in Stockton was attacked by a "citizens army" led by Associated Farmers commander Colonel Walter Garrison. Three hundred pickets were assaulted on March 24, 1937, and the same day AFL officials signed a back room deal with the Stockton Food Products Company and called off the strike.

After the Stockton defeat, the AFL abandoned any effort to organize farm workers and simply tried to hang on to its gains in the packing sheds and canneries. The employers and their goon squads reigned supreme in the fields.

The success or failure of the farm workers revolt in the 1930s depended on two things: defense of picket lines from goon squads and police, and coordinated action with other workers vital to the agricultural industry, particularly truck drivers, railroad workers and longshoremen. The flood of immigrants from the Dust Bowl areas of the central plains, together with the unemployed of the cities, provided an enormous pool of labor, and thousands of strikebreakers could always be mobilized by a determined grower. Mass picket lines and workers defense guards had to be formed to stop scabs and resist grower intimidation. This was impossible for migrant farm workers isolated in little valley towns to do on their own, because the armed forces of the entire state were being used against them. The AFL leadership was able to prevent the solidarity between city labor and farm labor which was the growers' nightmare. In the early 1930s, the sectarian Communist Party policy of dual unionism complemented the AFL bureaucrats' hostility to farmworkers. By refusing to form a



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new leadership in the AFL unions, particularly Teamsters, the CP left the field to the bureaucracy and insured the betrayals to come.

Above all, the role of the state in backing the growers with police, troops, mass arrest of strikers and organizers, and frame-up trials had to be exposed and fought. The politicians of both capitalist parties backed the growers to the hilt while the trade union bureaucrats fawned on Roosevelt, governor Culbert Olson, and other so-called friends of labor. The rise of the CIO laid the basis for the emergence of a labor party in the United States, but this development was consciously sabotaged by the labor bureaucrats and the Communist Party. In the so-called left period of the early 1930s, the CP opposed the building of a labor party because it deemed the AFL unions "social fascist." After the rightward swing of 1935, the CP became what it still is today, the most conscious prop within the workers movement of the Democratic Party.

World War Two brought an enormous boom to California. The requirements of naval warfare in the Pacific built up shipbuilding and airplane industries almost overnight. This led to an immediate drain of labor from the fields, as the workers deserted the low wage slavery in agriculture for new jobs in the cities. To meet the resulting demands of the growers for a new supply of cheap labor, the government instituted the **bracero** program, which was to oppress farm workers for 20 years.

This program provided for use of masses of Mexican workers in the fields as contract labor. Terms of the standard contract were worked out by the US and Mexican governments at the direction of the growers. These contracts were signed by the worker and his particular employer and could be renewed for more than one season if the employer desired. Under the bracero system the immigrant worker from Mexico was completely at the mercy of the grower. He was forbidden to work outside of agriculture; he could be deported at the whim of the boss; much of his wages were withheld from him to be

paid on his return to Mexico. His only "defense" was the Mexican consul, of whom there were three for the whole central agricultural area. These privileged representatives of the Mexican capitalists and landlords did not care about the conditions faced by farm laborers.

Every year from 1942 to 1962, from a quarter to half a million Mexican farm workers entered the United States as **braceros**, over half to work in California. The program, originally a war-time expedient, suited the growers so much it was extended after the war and eventually codified as Public Law 78 in 1951 by the Democrat-controlled Congress. Supposedly braceros were only to be hired as a supplement to domestic workers, but actually growers used braceros wherever they could, mercilessly exploiting them, and driving native workers out of the fields.

The AFL National Agricultural Workers Union, a merger of several relics of the 1930s, was unable to make any serious penetration of agriculture. It led several strikes during the postwar strike wave, but the story was the same every time—no attempt was made to physically stop scabs, who were recruited by the thousands in Mexico and kept apart from American workers, and every strike was lost. The AFL made no effort to organize braceros, instead engaging in racist and chauvinist attacks on these immigrants. A few strikes were even organized among workers who were citizens against the use of braceros. Demonstrations were organized in Oxnard in the late 1950s, led by Cesar Chavez.

Behind the growers' seemingly invincible hold on agriculture, backed by the government and the two major parties, was being prepared the force that would tear apart the death-like peace imposed on the fields. The renewed international economic crisis, postponed for some years by the 1944 Bretton Woods monetary agreements, hit agriculture first among major US industries.



As the year ends, a strikebreaker feverishly prunes on vines that were never picked.

TO BE CONTINUED

JUST OUT!

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



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IN DEFENCE OF TROTSKYISM \$1.00

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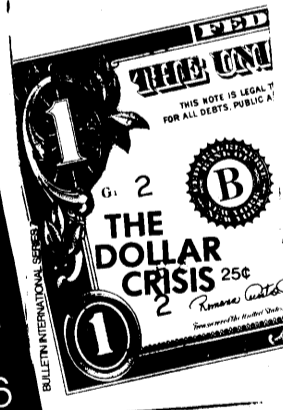
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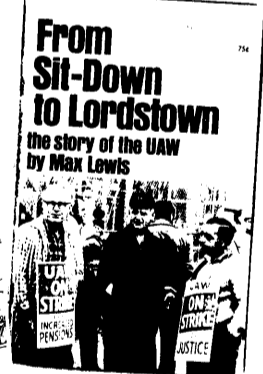
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This pamphlet brings to life the bitter battles in auto against the bosses and the government and examines the role of the CP during the formation of the United Auto Workers. An understanding of this history is necessary today to construct the political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

Order from: Labor Publications, Inc., 135 West 14th St., 6th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

TV John Crawford

Resurrecting Stalin

STALIN. WNET, Monday, May 14. Written and Produced by Robert Vas.

As a revolutionary crisis shakes society to its foundations, all the conceptions of bourgeois ideology are turned inside out.

Liberalism, which is based on the certainty that capitalism is eternal, must line up with the most reactionary forces in a desperate effort to halt the development of revolutionary leadership and Marxist theory. It justifies this shift with the argument that democratic institutions are threatened by the machinations of "extremists."

Based on the book by the late George Paloczi-Horvath, Robert Vas's mammoth program on Stalin was a nauseating illustration of this trend.

This rabid anti-communist spectacle—which consumes no less than two and one-half hours of air time—has already been shown in England and was presented twice last week in New York on "educational television." It will be seen throughout the country in the coming months.

It took the hackneyed cliché about the horrors of Stalinism being the inevitable consequence of Bolshevism and gave this distortion a further sickening twist.

Stalin, Vas told us, was only the product of the Party machine, while this was itself the creation of Lenin. So, while condemning Stalin, almost in passing, as a mass murderer, the program tried in essence to justify him.

The current attempt to boost the Communist Party on TV—a conscious move to head off the growth of the revolutionary party—involves the presentation of the CP as "respectable" and "democratic." This runs headlong into the corpse of Stalin and the record of his crimes. Vas's program must be seen as a piece of historical camouflage.

Vas kept referring to the words of Stalin's opponents and critics as "the rigged trial," implying that their evidence was as false as that presented against the victims of Stalin's purges.

The young Stalin was shown as a romantic peasant lad, hardened and disillusioned in the school of Lenin. Unlike those intellectuals Lenin and Trotsky, he was close to the realities of the life of the masses, said Vas.

"HORRIBLE HEAP"

The degeneration of even bourgeois standards of historical veracity is exposed throughout the program. At times, the narrator stoops to the most primitive racism to explain Stalin and what drew him to Bolshevism. Stalin, we are told, came from a "horrible heap" of races that lived in Georgia. At another point, the narrator suggests that Stalin alone led the difficult life of a revolutionary while Lenin and Trotsky lived in "comfort" abroad.

When, in March 1917, he was not under the influence of Lenin, Stalin turned instinctively towards "democracy"—in the shape of the Provisional government of Prince Lvov. Lenin's return in April rudely shattered this democratic idyll.

Khrushchev, in his 1956 speech, accused Stalin of inventing the category "enemy of the people." Not at all, says Vas, the phrase was used by Lenin.

Secret police? The Cheka already operated in Lenin's day, did it not?

One-man dictatorship? Some chopped up phrases from Lenin were thrown in to tell us where that came from. (In fact, the only quotations from Lenin's works were such torn out fragments, referring to "dictatorship" or "terror.")

Perhaps the most barefaced in this heap of lies and distortions was the reference to forced collectivization of agriculture. Stalin, we were told, had not wanted to make this turn, which cost so many peasant lives and damaged both industry and agriculture so severely. He had been push-



ed into it—by Trotsky and the Left Opposition!

The trials of Old Bolsheviks and the mass purges of the 1930s were then presented as merely the logical outcome of the revolution and its Bolshevik leadership. Lenin's last fight against the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy was recalled, but not explained. Trotsky's fight against Stalinism was dismissed as a "power struggle."

The form and style of the program was determined by its political content. Three narrators were supposed to represent respectively "the official viewpoint," Stalin's "critics" and something called "eternal Russia." A fourth and leading narrator was supposed to stand for "objectivity," as shown by the enormous size of the book he pretended to read from.

A great deal of newsreel material was shown, but its significance was twisted to fit in with the program's line. Poems by Anna Akhmatova were supposed to form a continuous thread through the program's epic 140 minutes.

In this poetry, the agony of Soviet history is focused on the screen of the feelings of the poetess. Seen in this way, through the wrong end of the telescope, great and tragic events are made to seem boring.

But even the immense boredom of the program had its political function. Like the vast expanse of Russia swallowing up an invading army, the yawning wastes of TV time aimed to dissolve the viewers' critical faculties.

And so Vas worked to degrade the movements of history to the proportions of individual psychology. When, in 1956, Khrushchev tried to explain away the degeneration of the Soviet state in terms of Stalin's personal weaknesses, Marxists dismissed his efforts as a bureaucratic-idealist evasion. Vas turns this method on its head.

Instead of Khrushchev's picture of the revolution being spoilt by one man's defects, the TV Stalin was an honest pea-

sant caught up in a bureaucratic machine already built by Lenin.

The greatest movements of masses of workers and peasants for their liberation are thus depicted as the machinations of a tiny, malevolent but efficient group. Bolshevism, the great theoretical development of the most advanced thinkers of our time, is made to look like a recipe for organizing a dirty trick on society.

Then, of course, it becomes possible to conceal the "river of blood" which Trotsky saw dividing Stalinism and Bolshevism. Principles and theory and the self-sacrificing struggle for them in constructing a revolutionary leadership in the working class, the essence of Bolshevism, have no place in the Vas picture of the world.

The centralized organization Lenin built was the essential instrument through which Marxist theory could be developed. Without its struggle in the working class, the masses remain at the mercy of the ideology of the ruling class.

To identify this with the Stalinist apparatus, founded on lies, and lubricated by individualism and careerism, is to strike a blow at the only force which can take humanity forward.

The struggle to destroy the power of the ruling class and open the road for the liberation of mankind from exploitation and oppression, meets the violence and cunning of the exploiters. In the Soviet Union this meant the most brutal civil war.

POETRY

Those who devoted their lives to winning this war, using every weapon they could muster, were some of the most politically principled and physically courageous workers, peasants and intellectuals in history.

Vas tries to put them on a level with the thugs and liars who later defended the privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This cancerous growth on the body of the

revolution was an expression of the pressure of capitalism in decay, the system on whose behalf Vas speaks.

Stalin was not the victim of the revolution, but its grave digger, transmitting the requirements of imperialism by his murderous destruction of Lenin's party.

Today, new generations of workers and intellectuals come forward to take up the fight for this party, not only in the capitalist countries, but inside the Soviet Union itself.

They will uncover the real history of Stalinism, continuing and enriching Trotsky's struggle for Bolshevism, and complete the job for which Lenin's party was built. It will take more than educational television to stop them.



V.I. Lenin. Stalin, above.

20 Years of the
International
Committee

In Defense Of Dialectics:

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

"The training of the Trotskyist movement over the last two years has been directed around the struggle with the OCI," declared Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth in the fifth of a series of lectures on "20 Years of the International Committee." "This discussion has brought the struggle against Pabloism to its highest theoretical level."

Speaking on "The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI," comrade Wohlforth told the 150 workers and youth attending the lecture that whole new national sections of the Fourth International have been trained and developed through this struggle. He referred to the development of the sections in Peru—where a weekly newspaper with considerable influence in the trade unions is being published—in Germany, and Ceylon. These sections, he said, have been trained in the very heat of the struggle against the OCI's revision of Marxism.

Wohlforth insisted that it is critical that members and supporters of the Workers League turn once again to the lessons of the split. "By studying this struggle now," he said, "we negate these lessons into a whole new period, and therefore this discussion will bring a much greater understanding today."

A study of the split with the OCI becomes so critical today because the most important task facing the Trotskyist movement in the United States is the training of cadres, said Wohlforth, and it was over this issue that the dispute with the French took place.

Reviewing the history of the French Trotskyist movement, Wohlforth pointed out that it had been the first victim of Michel Pablo's attempt to liquidate the Fourth International. The majority of the French movement led by Pierre Lambert refused to accept Pablo's instruction to dissolve the section into the Stalinist movement, and the majority—composed mainly of workers—was expelled.

For one year, noted Wohlforth, the Lambert group existed under the very difficult conditions of political isolation until the British Trotskyists joined the fight against Pablo and the Socialist Workers Party issued the Open Letter.

Comrade Wohlforth emphasized that the two main strands of Trotskyism came together in the formation of the International Committee. "The split with Pablo in 1953 brought together the old sections of the Trotskyist movement in the US and France," declared Wohlforth, "the centers of orthodoxy."

Many of the difficulties that the French movement faced, said Wohlforth, were rooted in unfavorable objective conditions that led to a real decline in the size of the organization after 1952.

However, Wohlforth stressed the failure of the French group to come theoretically to grips with the lessons of the split with Pabloism. The theoretical weaknesses of the movement were expressed in the errors it made in relation to Algeria. While the French Pabloites under Pierre Frank supported the bourgeois nationalists of the FLN in 1959, the OCI adapted to another section of the Algerian bourgeoisie around the MNA which it saw as some sort of "natural" Marxists.

Although the OCI reassessed and corrected its position on the MNA, which was exterminated in the course of bloody repression by the FLN, Wohlforth stated that the errors flowed from a failure to study Pabloism from the standpoint of the Marxist method—and in that sense the OCI was similar to the SWP.

He added that while it disagreed with the OCI over Algeria and several other issues, the International Committee understood the great objective difficulties confronting the French movement and considered the fact that it had survived the decade after the war to be an accomplishment.

"This is also true of the SWP," declared Wohlforth. "The IC had to view

each party from its development with the hope that the parties could be brought into the new period. Therefore, the Socialist Labour League always sought to maintain discussion by exhausting every possibility to avoid a split. Even in 1963, the SLL proposed the setting up of a parity commission with the SWP."

Wohlforth explained that the French movement rendered a great service to the International Committee by standing firm against the SWP in 1963. "But the role of the French in the discussion," he added, "was simply to follow it."

Very little was contributed by the French to the discussion. "The Lambert group held the position that Pabloism is simply a tendency in the petty bourgeoisie, not in the working class. The OCI did not understand the importance of the struggle. It sort of said: 'We broke from Pabloism in 1952, and we'll never get



The 1971 Essen rally

together again.' It saw consciousness merely developing out of the working class while they conducted their work in the trade unions."

Between 1964 and 1966, there was an important growth of the French movement as the bulk of the Stalinist youth movement went over to the OCI or the revisionists. Wohlforth noted that this breakup of the Stalinist youth movement was the first indication of the coming May-June 1968 General Strike. By the fall of 1966, the OCI was able to organize 500 youth and bring them to the Liege demonstration; and at the Le Bourget rally two years later, the OCI mobilized 8000 youth.

Comrade Wohlforth pointed out that as the 1966 Third Conference of the IC approached, the OCI developed the theory that there exists within the trade unions a strata of militants and that the central task was the regrouping of this "natural vanguard" in order to build the revolutionary party.

"The SLL saw this position as liquidationist," declared Wohlforth, "and as an adaptation to French syndicalism. It was an avoidance by the OCI of the political task of breaking the mass trade union movement from the domination of the Communist Party by taking the working class through a struggle against the Stalinists."

"The IC intended to have a discussion on this, but at the conference, more fun-

damental questions were raised: the defense of the continuity of the Fourth International against the Voix Ouvriere group and Spartacist. In that struggle, the OCI took a principled stand with the SLL, the Greek section, and the American Committee for the Fourth International.

"But the documents of the 1966 Conference reflect the difficulties that existed between the SLL and the French. Certain concessions were made by referring to the 'Reconstruction' of the Fourth International."

Wohlforth stated that after the Conference, the French began to move away from the IC. Preparing for the 1967 International Youth Assembly, the SLL maintained that the capitalist crisis was reaching a new stage and that it was therefore imperative that there be a sharp break with centrism. The SLL declared that the talk about a united front of left groups was hostile to Trotskyism.

On the other hand, the French saw the International Youth Assembly as a centrist gathering; and they did not believe that there was a crisis. The French were opposed to fighting for the Fourth International at the Assembly.

But in spite of the positions of the OCI,

blishment of a popular government. "During this period, the Bulletin conducted a campaign in the labor movement demanding that the French Communist Party take the power," declared Wohlforth.

"Following May-June," he added, "the French learned a number of things about developing a newspaper and in holding a youth conference. In a technical sense, the OCI developed.

"But it didn't learn the central lessons of the role of Marxist theory in building a movement, of preparing cadres through the theoretical struggle against Pabloism."

Wohlforth asserted that the SLL took the initiative in raising these questions at the 1970 pre-conference of the IC. The SLL stated that the new stage in the economic crisis would pose revolutionary struggles in a number of European countries. While the past had been dominated by propaganda work, the turn in the international situation required the actual development of forces within the trade unions and among the youth. This task could be met only through a turn to philosophy in order to grapple with the relationship of consciousness to the material world.

Only through the study of the Marxist method, declared the SLL, could the revolutionary party understand the changes in the objective world, the changes in the thinking of masses of workers, and how the party must change in order to intervene in the struggle and construct a revolutionary leadership of the working class.

DISAGREED

The OCI disagreed with this position. Wohlforth stated that Stephan Just, a leader of the French movement, insisted that Marxism is not a theory of knowledge. The OCI submitted a resolution which maintained that the revolutionary party fights only on a program which concentrates Marxism and the whole historical experience of the Marxist movement within itself. SLL Central Committee member Mike Banda intervened following Just's lengthy presentation and insisted that there be far more discussion on the issues being raised by the OCI. The French finally agreed to this proposal.

With the Essen Youth Conference coming up, Wohlforth explained that the SLL and WL agreed to participate but informed the French that they wanted the opportunity to study the document that the OCI was preparing for that meeting. However, the SLL received an untranslated document just before the Essen Conference. This document put forward the same anti-Marxist positions that the OCI had advanced at the 1970 pre-conference.

"So the SLL demanded that there be an amendment to the document," declared Wohlforth.

The amendment stated that there could be no revolutionary party without Marxist theory, and that the struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology in the workers' movement through the study and defense of dialectical materialism is the central task in developing a revolutionary cadre.

Wohlforth stated that when the OCI voted against this amendment, lining up with centrist forces like the POUM, it had made the decision to break with Marxism and split with the International Committee.

The formal split, however, did not take place until after the events in Bolivia later in the summer of 1971. Wohlforth said that the issue of Bolivia was of great importance although the split had actually taken place at Essen. "The WL and SLL had to speak out on Bolivia because the theory of Permanent Revolution itself was at stake," he declared. "We had to condemn Lora's collaboration with the military, Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists which was responsible for the defeat of the Bolivian working class. We had to make clear that Lora had never been in the International Committee and that he would have never been admitted to

The Split With The OCI

it without a full discussion on his political history."

The OCI denounced our statement on Bolivia and called the IC bourgeois capitulators, recalled Wohlforth.

Comrade Wohlforth stated that the development of the OCI and its split from the International Committee had to be understood in the light of the refusal of the French to confront questions of philosophy. It is important to note, said Wohlforth, that the OCI had not written on rationalism or mechanical materialism—the two most important currents of thought in France—in the 20 years prior to the split.

In refusing to confront the struggle for Marxism against all forms of bourgeois ideology and by simply resting on the program, Wohlforth stated that the OCI failed to grapple with the central question: how does the program develop and change, and how can that program be made to live in the working class as its thinking changes. This problem requires that one grapple with Marxism as a theory of knowledge.

A program by itself is dead, it is something fixed, it is a negative, explained Wohlforth. One must begin with the positive of the new experiences of the struggle and the changing objective developments and negate them with the program. Out of this collision, he said, comes the development of the program—and the program only lives at the point of that development.

The program is not something taken out of the freezer and given to the working class nor can it be held apart from the working class. Wohlforth stated that the collision can only take place in the unity of the party with the working class through conflict with its present thinking. It is this tension which is the life of the party.

PRACTICE

There exists a unity of theory and practice but this unity exists in their conflict as practice is developed consciously in the struggle to change the thinking of workers. At the heart of the development of the revolutionary party is the constant testing of its perspective in the changing objective situation through its conscious practice.

Wohlforth emphasized that this is a theoretical task and requires the serious study of Hegel's *Logic* and *Phenomenology*. He said that the logical categories of Hegel reflect the contradictions of the material world. The understanding of the anatomy of movement within the material world makes the study of Lenin's *Volume 38* particularly critical because here we can grapple with sentences from Hegel in their collision with Lenin's thought.

Wohlforth declared that the International Committee had been slandered by those who say that we abstract theory away from practice. "There is a lot of practice in the SLL and the Workers League," he stated, "But we insist that there must be a study of philosophy because the training of Marxists is central in the building of a revolutionary party."

Noting the developments since the split, Wohlforth reiterated that the break with the OCI was the high point in the development of the IC. "But the OCI is falling apart," he said. "For them, reconstruction has meant disintegration."

He referred to the break of the OCI with the Hungarian Varga group, their continued relations with Lora with whom they have no principled agreements, and their disputes with the Israelis—who agree with no one. Wohlforth said that the French—after talking about reconstruction—have now openly abandoned even the name of the International Committee.

Concluding his presentation, Wohlforth commented that it might be argued that the split should have come sooner. However, he said because of the nature of the past period and the slower development of thinking, clarity on these theoretical issues could not proceed at a great speed. The International Committee



May-June 1968: what was posed to the OCI was a study of the Marxist method to break from syndicalism.

went through a very important experience with the French and the SWP, always hoping that these sections could remain in the IC and be brought into the new period. It is by exhausting all the possibilities for clarity and maintaining the discussion as long as possible that the International Committee has been able to make an important development.

In the discussion following the lecture, representatives from the Class Struggle League and Spartacist refused to discuss any of the theoretical questions involved in the struggle with the OCI, and in so far as they referred to the history of that struggle, they simply slandered the International Committee. In a vicious attack on the SWP, the French, and the entire Fourth International, one speaker said that all the sections capitulated to imperialism after the Second World War.

Harry Turner, leader of the Class Struggle League, showed his complete contempt for Marxism by calling dialectical materialism a "mystical banner" and adding: "Everybody and his brother is for dialectical materialism."

Responding to these statements, comrade Alex Steiner pointed out that the speakers from Spartacist and the Class Struggle League "couldn't say two words on the Marxist method." He declared that they are enemies of Marxism.

In his summary, comrade Wohlforth first assessed the development of the discussion over the past weeks. He said that it had sharply posed the need for a break with radicalism. Referring to the previous week's discussion, when Spartacist founder James Robertson had been unable to say anything coherent on perspectives, the history of the Fourth International or the Marxist method during the 30 minutes he had been given on the floor, Wohlforth observed that Spartacist members came to the present lecture with absolutely nothing to say. They were able only to slander the Workers League and the International Committee with the same lies that have been answered many times during the course of the series.

Therefore, Wohlforth stated that the break with radicalism and the formal thinking of the revisionists required a careful study of the Marxist method. He then turned to several sections of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*.

When comrade Wohlforth began his summary, he told one person in the audience who began to get up that the Workers League would not tolerate disruptions and that those who attended the lec-

ture were obliged to remain until it was concluded.

Shortly afterwards, as he read that section of *Volume 38* dealing with the mutual contact of opposites, a leading member of Spartacist ostentatiously began reading a newspaper along with one supporter and was informed that they would not be permitted to attend the final class.

The Spartacist members then began to walk out of the lecture, but returned to their seats after the marshalls informed them that such disruptions would not be permitted. It is significant that Spartacist members decided to walk out of a meeting in which the questions of theory were being presented most sharply. Their actions—which betrayed such contempt for Marxist philosophy—underscored the centrality of the issues which have been raised in the split with the OCI.

Wohlforth quoted from a section in *Volume 38* in which Lenin defended Hegel against Kant's attack on abstract thought:

"Essentially, Hegel is completely right as opposed to Kant. Thought proceeding from the concrete to the abstract—provided it is correct (NB) (and Kant, like all philosophers, speaks of correct thought)—does not get away from truth but comes closer to it. The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely. From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice,—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality."

He then proceeded to another section of the *Philosophical Notebooks* in which Lenin explains how abstract thought is rooted in the contradiction of man as part of nature and man in struggle against nature.

"Logic is the science of cognition. It is the theory of knowledge. Knowledge is the reflection of nature by man. But this is not a simple, not an immediate, not a complete reflection, but the process of a series of abstractions, the formation and development of concepts, laws, etc., and these concepts, laws, etc. (thought, science—"the logical Idea") embrace conditionally, approximately, the universal law-governed character of eternally moving and developing nature. Here there are actually three members: 1) nature; 2) human cognition—the human brain (as the highest product of this same nature), and 3) the form of cognition and this form con-

sists precisely of concepts, laws, categories, etc. Man cannot comprehend—reflect—mirror nature as a whole, in its completeness, its 'immediate totality,' he can only eternally come closer to this, creating abstractions, concepts, laws, a scientific picture of the world, etc., etc."

Wohlforth explained that in *Volume 38* Lenin constantly emphasized that thought develops out of the contradiction of man's struggle against nature of which he is a part. It is through abstract thought that man grapples consciously with contradiction and understands the development of thought in the struggle against nature.

This, said Wohlforth, becomes so critical today because in its crisis, capitalism has become the greatest impediment in the progressive development of man's struggle against nature and therefore to the development of human society and its thinking. In the period of the sharpest contradiction between man and nature, contradiction itself must be studied. Therefore, Wohlforth claimed that the study of Hegel is so decisive because in almost every sentence, contradiction is expressed.

However, he added that contradiction must not be understood in a formal way whereby contradiction is recognized and held within the mind without actually bringing contact between the opposites in the material world itself.

Wohlforth quoted Hegel: "But formal thought makes identity its law, and allows the contradictory content which lies before it to drop into the sphere of sensuous representation, into space and time, where the contradictory terms are held apart in spatial and temporal juxtaposition and thus come before consciousness without mutual contact."

He then referred to Lenin's notes on this statement by Hegel: "'Come before consciousness without mutual contact' (the object)—that is the essence of anti-dialectics. It is only here that Hegel has, as it were, allowed the asses ears of idealism to show themselves—by referring to time and space (in connection with sensuous representation) to something lower compared with thought. Incidentally, in a certain sense, sensuous representation is, of course, lower. The crux lies in the fact that thought must apprehend the whole "representation" in its movement, but for that thought must be dialectical."

Wohlforth stated that in order to establish mutual contact between opposites, it is vital to understand what it is that brings about the conflict in the material world. Today this struggle takes its sharpest expression within the factories as the development of capitalist social relations brings the working class into conflict with the ruling class.

The formalist holds thought apart from the development of the working class and sees his program separate from the struggle to change the thinking of workers. Formalists, said Wohlforth, do not seek to make the connection between the program and the living movement of the working class. They hold their program outside of its actual struggles, eliminating all conflict. Formalists do not see the revolutionary party fighting as part of the working class but in conflict with its thinking, and therefore cannot bring about any development of revolutionary leadership and politics in the workers movement.

Their practice becomes the expression of this formal method: although they make the most long-winded criticism of opportunism, formalists remain completely distant from the working class. In the unions, their caucuses are merely circles for the radical strata or convenient vehicles for syndicalists.

Wohlforth said that the formal method is an obstacle to the building of a revolutionary leadership in the present period where it becomes necessary to construct Marxist parties under conditions of great economic crisis and the development of civil war conditions in Europe as well as the powerful movement of workers in the United States.

WATERGATE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

has now completely merged with the unparalleled economic crisis which is shattering the world monetary and credit system and sending the price of gold skyward at a dizzying speed.

American workers must intervene decisively in this crisis to resolve it in their own interests, smashing Nixon's attacks on their basic rights and living standards and defeating the plans of the big bankers for recession and mass unemployment.

The powerful American trade union movement must now demand Nixon's immediate resignation. A new election must be held in which the American working class can put forward its own alternative to replace Nixon, Agnew, and all of the corrupt politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Trade unionists must now launch campaigns in every union local for resolutions calling on the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters to demand Nixon's resignation and the calling of a special election by:

- Immediately convening a Congress of Labor.

- Constructing a labor party as the political alternative to Nixon, Agnew and the Democrats.

- Ending all collaboration with Nixon's wage guidelines, demanding a minimum 20 percent wage increase in all contracts and preparing strike action to smash Phase Three.

In carrying forward this fight, workers will have to confront their own self-satisfied bureaucratic leadership, which has either remained silent about Watergate while Nixon is tapping their own phones or has been content with some mild wrist slapping while openly collaborating with Nixon's wage controls, trade war and attacks on the right to strike.

The extent of the activities surrounding Watergate—the plot against the basic rights of workers—is now coming to the surface. What is revealed is that these activities are still going on and preparations are going forward right now to attack workers' trade unions and political organizations.

The secret witch-hunting spy group set up by Nixon's former White House lawyer John Dean III and former New York City police detective John J. Caulfield as an arm of the Nixon reelection committee (CREEP) is still in operation within the Justice Department and under Nixon's direct supervision.

The men who financed these activities under CREEP, who paid for the bugging of Watergate and Donald Segretti's blatant attempts to break up the Democratic Party's campaign, and who paid hundreds of thousands of dollars in the cover up attempt to keep the Watergate burglars silent, are the most corrupt section of the American ruling class, the men who grew rich on the wheeling and dealing of the speculative boom.

The methods of this group of American capitalists are graphically expressed in the fact that one day before the law requiring public disclosure of campaign contributions went into effect, they sent couriers from all over the US literally carrying millions of dollars in cash for Nixon's campaign.

One of these bagsful of money—\$200,000 from New Jersey financier Robert L. Vesco—got to CREEP headquarters three days too late, re-

sulting in an investigation and the indictment of two of Nixon's top campaign officials and former cabinet officers: former Attorney General John Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans.

Mitchell and Stans, along with former New Jersey GOP leader Harry Sears, are accused of conspiring with Vesco to accept the \$200,000 in return for using their influence with the Securities and Exchange Commission to squash an investigation into Vesco's international mutual funds swindles.

G. Bradford Cook, then SEC general counsel and head of the investigation into Vesco's dealings, has been forced to resign as SEC chairman because of the disclosure of Stans' influence in getting him promoted to the SEC chairmanship in February after he had deleted all reference to the \$200,000 bribe from the SEC's final charges against Vesco.

What the SEC was investigating in the first place was a conspiracy by Vesco and numerous associates to embezzle \$240 million in mutual funds from the mammoth Investors Overseas Services empire. Vesco took over from the notorious Bernie Cornfeld in 1970, just as Cornfeld's entire speculative bubble was about to burst.

The \$200,000 contribution to CREEP was only part of Vesco's desperate attempt to cover up the swindle and prevent an investigation, an attempt aided wherever possible by Nixon and his aides. In 1971, Vesco's International Controls Corporation employed Nixon's nephew Donald Jr., who has since become one of Vesco's closest associates and confidants, reportedly now staying with Vesco at his Costa Rican hideaway.

In July 1972, Vesco called upon his friend Jose Figueres, the president of Costa Rica, to write Nixon asking him to call off the SEC probe. Figueres may now be forced to resign because of this disclosure and the reports that his bank account has swelled from his friendship with Vesco.

In the fall of 1972, just prior to the election, Vesco wrote to Nixon's brother, F. Donald, "to threaten disclosure of the secret cash contribution and other adverse consequences unless the SEC was directed to drop all proceedings," in the words of the grand jury indictment against him, Mitchell, Stans and Sears.

Vesco is representative of speculative capitalists who are Nixon's staunchest backers and the real forces behind Watergate.

It is these men who base their wealth and power entirely on the speculation and credit of the boom period who now face catastrophe as the big banks and major industrialists now move toward breaking the credit bubble which threatens their capital but which is the very life blood of the speculators.

The speculators have been the most desperate supporters of Nixon and his attacks on the institutions of capitalist democracy and the basic rights and organizations of American workers, and they will become the most virulent backers of right-wing and fascist movements in the future.

This crisis has come at just the moment when the capitalist class requires a strong government to carry on a trade war against Europe and a virtual civil war against the American working

class, and all sections of the ruling class are beginning to come to Nixon's defense, trying to prevent the complete downfall of his government.

This makes the decisive action which the trade union movement can take to force Nixon's resignation and a new election all the more urgent.

Nixon and the corrupt class he represents can be defeated. They can be defeated only through a Congress of Labor which united the trade unions and millions of American workers behind a new leadership and a labor party fighting for socialist policies against Nixon and both parties of capitalism.

Letters from Prison

To The Editor:

A few lines to let you know that I read my first Bulletin newspaper today which was given to me by a comrade. I am very pleased with the article, "Why Is AFL-CIO Silent On Watergate?" We need a very hard fighting party which will fight fire with fire.

As an Attica political prisoner I am grateful for your overwhelming involvement in our struggle and the support that you, along with the many other brothers and sisters have been extending to all of us.

I will be free of this concentration camp in September of

this year and I am putting my full time into what I believe in. The Bulletin will be hearing from many of my comrades in these camps over the country as well as from outside of prisons.

In conclusion let me say on behalf of all of us in the maximum, please don't reject and forget us, because this allows the monster to brutalize, murder, and treat us inhumanly. We are of you, we love you, and struggle with you.

I say from my prison cell: Right On! to the Bulletin.

In Solidarity,
Willie H. (Malik)

PERUVIAN JUNTA . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

napped and held incommunicado. Every right of individual freedom is being violated.

All constitutional guarantees have been suspended in Arequipa and Moquegua, the provincial leaders of the latter have been arrested. A General Strike is imminent in Cuzco and Puno in support of Arequipa and Moquegua who are fighting for the repatriation of a deported leader, a worker in the mine in Moquegua (Cuaione). His name is Hernan Cuentas and he is a member of the POMR (a centrist group.)

The repression has been unleashed against us because of the difficulties of the CP in getting rid of us. The facts we have mentioned plus the announcement that strikes will be subject to government intervention and the gains

of retirement benefits are to be cut back show the seriousness of the problem facing Stalinism and the dictatorship.

The latter had to publish a communique through the CGTP in which we were explicitly accused of being CIA agents and our repression was called for. They want to destroy us and have their hands free. We are determined that they will never do this! We have behind us almost all of the south of the country which is on strike, and strikes are spreading through Lima.

The Workers League unequivocally denounces this repression and calls on all workers' organizations and individuals to immediately send protests to the Peruvian Embassy at 1320 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

A full report will appear in next week's issue of the Bulletin.

UNEMPLOYMENT . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

represents IOUs, and endangered by the growing lack of confidence in paper money and all forms of credit.

This very temporary stabilization and postponement of the crisis was bought only at the price of runaway inflation, which Nixon has combined with wage controls to viciously cut away at workers' living standards. The rate of inflation since Phase Three was put into effect has been 9.2 percent, with the latest figures showing a seven-tenths percent rise in April alone.

The big banking houses like Chase Manhattan and Morgan must now risk pricking this inflationary boom, because it threatens to make their existing stock of capital in paper currency, securities and credit completely worthless and touch off a series of major bankruptcies which would reverberate throughout the financial world.

DECISIVE

But the decisive action of these interests and their representatives on the Federal Reserve Board to call a halt to the flow of easy credit has created the conditions, not for a mere "cooling off" or mild recession, but for the violent collapse of the mountain of paper money and credit upon which the entire international capitalist economy now rests.

The measures now invoked to "deflate" the economy and throw it into a sharp slump are a rapid increase in interest rates, making it more expensive and difficult to borrow, and increases in the amount of cash reserves banks must hold in their vaults or on deposit in Federal Reserve banks against their total deposits.

The increase in reserve requirements for large certificates

of deposit from five to eight percent is the most direct action yet taken by the Federal Reserve to halt the growth of credit. Increasing reserves actually reduces the amount of credit banks can create and further pushes up interest rates.

With the end of the easy credit period, all of the big speculators, the investors and the small businessmen and farmers who have lived on borrowed money during the past period will face a "credit crunch" as they suddenly find short term loans unavailable to pay off past debts.

Especially hard hit will be the construction industry, the brokerage houses, the big conglomerates, the insurance empires, the big finance companies and the retail distribution industry where credit has played a major role in the last few years.

BORROWING

Workers and their families will also be hard hit by the credit squeeze. Already they are borrowing more to pay off past debts than to purchase new cars, houses, appliances and other necessities, and layoffs and unemployment will make it impossible for many to meet loan or mortgage payments, resulting in a rash of foreclosures and repossessions by banks and finance companies.

Together with the political crisis paralyzing the Nixon government in the aftermath of Watergate and the deep uncertainty it has produced in international financial circles, the impending credit squeeze is panicking the international currency exchanges and the stock exchanges.

The Watergate scandal has deeply eroded confidence in the dollar—and with it credit based on the dollar—and now with growing doubts about the US

economy, complete chaos reigns within the international monetary system.

The price of gold in London yesterday rose seven dollars an ounce at the opening of trading, closing with a record price tag of \$112 an ounce—double what it was one year ago.

In the meantime, the dollar as measured against European currencies plummeted to its lowest level since the world's currency exchanges were closed for two weeks in March to prevent a complete collapse of the monetary system.

INABILITY

The wildly fluctuating exchange rates and gold price are rapidly breaking down the system of international exchange by making it impossible for corporations and banks to determine the worth of any paper currency. This inability to predict the relationship of currencies from day to day discourages international trade and all but speculative capital movements and investment, and must of necessity lead to a breakdown of production for the world market.

This uncertainty about the monetary system and the credit crunch which now looms large and raises the specter of bankruptcies on Wall Street has sent the New York Stock Exchange into a severe tailspin, depressing the Dow Jones industrial average to its lowest level in over 18 months and setting the stage for a real crash.

The Dow Jones index is now over 150 points below its high of a few months ago, and tight money has already caused brokerage houses and the Exchange itself to lay off thousands of employees. The gloom on Wall Street is real, and workers must heed its warning.

Walter Reuther's Hatchet Man

BY ED SMITH

PART II

Woodcock played an important role in the political operations of the UAW in the postwar years, a role which could be summarized as "Reuther's hatchet-man." One source in the UAW states that in the postwar period regular Friday night classes were held in Detroit's Holbrook High School for the top bureaucracy of the UAW including the Reuther brothers and Woodcock.

These classes were part of the preparation to drive the Stalinists, the rank and file oppositionists and any other opponents of the UAW completely out of the UAW and consolidate the UAW bureaucracy's hold on the union.

They were conducted by Emil Mazey, presently UAW secretary-treasurer, and the subject matter was Machiavelli's *The Prince*—the book which Nixon's right-wing statesman, Henry Kissinger, models himself after.

Machiavelli must have stood Woodcock in good stead in his operations as Reuther's political agent. Ex-socialist Woodcock was Reuther's man in the UAW's postwar drive to take over the Michigan Democratic Party from the old guard allied with Michigan (later national) Teamster head Jimmy Hoffa. In this instance, the UAW had more physical muscle than the Hoffa forces and succeeded in getting its slate nominated to head the Democratic Party ticket.

At the same time, Reuther was being thrown into panic by the prospect that mass working class hatred of the union-busting Truman Administration would lead to the destruction of the Democratic Party. After Reuther's and Woodcock's attempts to draft General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Supreme Court Justice Douglas for the Democratic nomination failed, the UAW bureaucracy fell back on the favorite formula of all desperate opportunists in the UAW from 1935 to today: the UAW should work for its Democratic "friends" just one last time, as the "lesser evil."

Accordingly, the UAW endorsed Truman, while Reuther stated that this was merely "paving the way for a genuine third party movement next year so it could be a force in the 1952 elections." When Truman was re-elected because of the enormous funds and manpower supplied by the labor bureaucracy, Reuther scampered to show his support for him. After visiting Truman in the White House he announced, "What happened November 2 was an important step in bringing about the realignment of the farmers and the workers."

Reuther and Woodcock were never to give any support to the idea of labor's political independence again. Woodcock has played a leading role among the entire labor bureaucracy in keeping the labor movement tied to the bankrupt anti-labor Democrats since the death of Reuther.

By 1960 Woodcock had advanced so far in the estimation of the Democratic hierarchy that he was selected as a member of a Democratic steering committee. His role was to arrange a relatively harmless nominating session. He was to see that the convention would not repel the television viewers of America by presenting a poor electoral "image." The result of their labors was broad agreement on convention rules and the choice

of telegenic men who would be in the camera's eye. Thus, Woodcock was an active participant in a conspiracy to deceive the American working class concerning the real nature of this coalition of the capitalist politicians and labor bureaucrats. These so-called liberals are annually by these same labor bureaucrats promoted as "friends of labor."

At the 1960 convention Woodcock spoke on his surprise at the nomination of labor-hater Lyndon B. Johnson for vice president. He said:

"I must confess I was shocked. I went upstairs to Walter's suite and people were sitting around in almost stunned silence. I finally said, 'Well, goddammit, I was a delegate in '52 and I voted for John Sparkman (a notorious right-wing racist.) And Lyndon Johnson isn't John Sparkman. And Texas isn't Alabama. This is not the end of the world.'"

Despite Woodcock's outburst, Americans for Democratic Action head Joe Rauh and Reuther's wife May wept. According to one UAW man, International Union of Electrical Workers President Jim Carey just "blew his mind," and seemed ready to jump from the hotel window.

Woodcock received support from another ex-Socialist Party renegade, International Ladies Garment Workers Union head David Dubinsky. Dubinsky thought the LBJ nomination was "just great." However, AFL-CIO President George Meany was unreconciled to Johnson. Woodcock personally turned the tide for Johnson by defeating the forces inside the Michigan delegation led by Governor G. Mennen Williams, a multi-millionaire, who wanted to take Johnson's nomination to a floor vote.

OPPOSITION

Although Woodcock later made great play with his opposition to the Vietnam War after having strongly supported it for years, it was he more than anyone else who was responsible for putting Lyndon Johnson into the White House.

Despite Woodcock's exploits in the Democratic Party backrooms, it seemed that his star grew steadily dimmer as the 1960s drew to a close. For years, Woodcock had been Reuther's right-hand man. Over the course of decades Reuther had tutored his protege on the intricacies of sharp dealing and bureaucratic manipulation necessary to ride herd on the UAW ranks. For many years, it had been commonly assumed that Woodcock would be Reuther's chosen successor.

However, as time passed, it became obvious that Reuther had no intention of retiring before the mandatory age of 65, which would leave Woodcock only a very short time in office before he too reached the 65 retirement age. Thus, speculation on who



Above, Reuther and Truman. Reuther justified the UAW officialdom's endorsement of Truman by claiming it was "paving the way for a genuine third party movement next year." Below, Woodcock (left), Reuther and Adlai Stevenson...all wearing buttons saying "Don't blame me, I voted Democratic."



would succeed Reuther shifted from Woodcock to younger faces such as UAW Chrysler Director Douglas Fraser.

However, all these calculations were upset by new circumstances. On May 9, 1970, UAW President Reuther and his wife were killed in a plane crash. Woodcock garnered the forces to defeat Fraser. Fraser withdrew from contention on May 21 and on May 22 Woodcock was elected to fill out Reuther's unexpired term.

Once in office, Woodcock was faced with a new problem. He had been elevated to office by the UAW bureaucracy not because of his skills in winning gains for the ranks from the auto bosses but for his bureaucratic know-how inherited from the late Reuther, which would be irreplaceable in filling the gap left in the UAW bureaucracy by Reuther's death. Woodcock's problem was that Reuther had left behind him the consequences of the 1967 contract.

CONCESSIONS

In this contract Reuther had obtained wage concessions for UAW skilled tradesmen who had been on the bureaucrat's back because of the erosion of their special positions. But in return, he let the Big Three put a limit on the cost of living escalator. In the three years since 1967, inflation had soared far above the limit, hitting the UAW ranks hard.

To add to Woodcock's fear in the face of the angry demands of

the ranks to overthrow the limit on the cost of living escalator, the Teamster rank and file broke through the wage "guidelines" set by their leadership, the bosses and the Nixon Administration. At the very time Woodcock became UAW President, the Teamster ranks were winning up to \$1.85 an hour increases in national wildcat actions.

Woodcock faced the choice of winning something for the UAW ranks or losing control entirely. He chose the former. On September 15, 1970, the UAW struck General Motors Corporation for the first time since 1946. The strike lasted until November 11, 1970, when GM signed an agreement for a 79 cent increase in wages over three years, an unlimited escalator clause, and "30 and out" at age 58.

This agreement was less than half of what the Teamsters got and what the UAW ranks could have gotten, if the strike had had a leadership which showed it was willing to extend the struggle to all the Big Three, as the *Bulletin* posed at the time. Some measure of the past ravages of inflation were recouped and some protection against future inflation was attained through restoration of the unlimited escalator clause.

It was this settlement together with a similar settlement in steel that precipitated the capitalist crisis that produced Nixon's economic measures of August 15, 1971. These measures in turn laid the basis for the current complete disintegration of the capi-

talist monetary system which both presents tremendous dangers and opens up revolutionary opportunities for the world working class today.

Months after the settlement was signed, Nixon declared the 90 day wage freeze and set up the Pay Board which included Meany, Teamster head Fitzsimmons and Woodcock. The Pay Board was finally busted up by the massive pressure of the working class for their wages. Despite the fact that the UAW was a prime target of the Pay Board's attack, especially in the cut in the aerospace workers' pay increase from 12.3 to 8.4 percent, Woodcock stayed on the Board until he was literally pushed off by the walkout of the three AFL-CIO members led by Meany. Thus, the image of Woodcock as some sort of progressive as compared to the reactionary Meany wing of the bureaucracy took another drubbing.

Aerospace workers received Woodcock's advice not to look to general strike action against the Pay Board, which he was still on, or to a break with the Democratic and Republican wage-freezers and form a labor party but to rely on court action.

Just last month Woodcock admitted that court action was still in process, almost two years after the original Pay Board cut. To many aerospace workers the situation is worse since they have lost their jobs.

TO BE CONTINUED

SPECIAL TO THE
BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES—In the two weeks that have passed since all charges against Daniel Ellsberg were dismissed, he has paid courtesy calls on such liberal politicians as Edmund Muskie and has been a frequent visitor to the Congress.

However, in spite of the liberalism of Daniel Ellsberg and co-defendant Anthony Russo, the Pentagon Papers trial was never a liberal issue.

Rather, it was a case which posed the necessity of mobilizing the American working class politically against this government through the building of a labor party to prevent the destruction of democratic rights and the launching of a third imperialist war.

The Pentagon Papers case was a political trial conducted illegally by Richard Nixon for the purpose of crushing all opposition to the policies of imperialism. Through the lynching of Ellsberg, Nixon hoped to cow the press, create the conditions of wholesale witch-hunts, and—above all—attack socialists in the workers movement.

RUTHLESSNESS

For this reason, the Pentagon Papers trial was the expression of the Nixon Administration's preparation for imperialist war. Information that has come to light over the past two weeks reveals that the case was conducted within an atmosphere of official ruthlessness that struck at even the designers of Nixon's policies.

While Henry Kissinger ordered electronic surveillance of his closest associates, officials within the Defense Department were forced to undergo lie detector tests to determine their loyalty to Nixon.

The trial must be seen in the light of Nixon's personal history—which has been one of preparation for war against the working class and its leadership. Developed under the wing of rightist and totally unscrupulous millionaires who made their fortune through speculation and financial manipulation in the heady postwar boom of Southern California, Nixon made his name as a witch-hunter of "subversives" in the government. He stepped into the vice presidency over the body of Alger Hiss.

ELEMENTS

Under conditions of great economic crisis, these elements around Nixon—who represent that section of the capitalist class who base their wealth primarily on the conditions of inflationary boom—are determined to hit out ruthlessly at the working class. It was their agents—from Nixon down through Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Chapin, Segretti—who plotted both the Watergate Conspiracy and the Pentagon Papers trial.

The dismissal of the charges against Ellsberg reflects the enormous crisis within the ruling class which does not know exactly how it should proceed in the face of the powerful working class.

The government's case was never a strong one. The Espionage Act under which Ellsberg and Russo were indicted is vaguely worded and of very questionable applicability to Ells-

The Anatomy Of Nixon's Political Show Trial



Ellsberg during a press conference. John Dean appears at upper right.

berg's act of releasing xeroxed copies of the top-secret study commissioned by former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

The study, on military and civilian intelligence, was to explain why the United States has been unable to defeat the Vietnamese Revolution despite a sustained effort over two decades.

DUBIOUS

Since the extent of Russo's and Ellsberg's so-called "conspiracy" was an agreement to provide members of Congress with copies of the Pentagon report, the prosecution was unable to make a case for an espionage conspiracy against the "national security." Furthermore, the dubious legality of the federal security system itself made it difficult for the Justice Department to pin down the exact law that the two men had vio-

lated in releasing the documents.

Since the material reproduced was returned intact, it was impossible to prove theft.

For months the courtroom drama revolved around two issues: did the information in the papers leaked to the New York Times provide an "advantage" to a foreign power at the expense of the national security, and did Ellsberg and Russo have knowledge at the time of their act of such assistance to the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese?

The government provided a variety of hawkish witnesses. The Ellsberg defense provided a flock of doves who swore the release of the Pentagon Papers brought no advantage to the Vietnamese Liberation movement politically or militarily.

Many of the witnesses for Ellsberg were former prominent

liberal advisors to Kennedy and Johnson whose support for the defense assuaged their consciences. Their hands are as stained with Vietnamese and American blood as their counterparts for the prosecution.

According to a Justice Department affidavit first made public by Judge Byrne on April 28, then Attorney General John Mitchell hired Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt, both now serving sentences for Watergate, to "gather evidence" on Daniel Ellsberg and his associates, including a "psychiatric profile" of Ellsberg.

Hunt and Liddy were provided all of the "raw files" of the FBI and the Justice Department on Ellsberg, just as Nixon's attorney, John Dean, was later to be given the "raw files" of all those interviewed by the FBI in the Watergate investigation.

In addition, they had trans-



cripts of wiretaps of conversations involving not only Ellsberg but Morton Halperin, Ellsberg's immediate superior, who was then serving on Henry Kissinger's National Security Council. In his dismissal today, Judge Byrne cited the government's admission this week that it had apparently lost those transcripts.

BURGLARY

John Ehrlichman, one of Nixon's two top aides who resigned last week over Watergate, personally requested the cooperation of then Deputy Director of the CIA Robert Cushman with Hunt and Liddy. Upon instructions from Ehrlichman's assistant, Egil Krogh, Liddy and Hunt then planned the burglary of Ellsberg's medical records from the Beverly Hills office of his psychiatrist, who had earlier refused to divulge information to the FBI. The CIA provided a special camera, false identification papers and various disguises.

With Liddy and Hunt, Eugenio Martinez and Bernard Barker, also in prison for Watergate, flew to Los Angeles, accompanied by Felipe De Diego. De Diego, with Reinaldo Pico and Barker, assaulted Ellsberg at a peace demonstration the day of J. Edgar Hoover's funeral.

Martinez, Barker, De Diego and Pico, all Cubans and veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion, undertook these sordid activities, according to De Diego, on the assumption that they were completing "a CIA mission" for the White House in a matter of the gravest "national interest." Together, Liddy, Hunt and Barker have decades of total service with both the FBI and the CIA.

Dr. Fielding's psychiatric office was broken into over the 1971 Labor Day weekend, ten months before Watergate. Some of the Ellsberg material was among the items removed from Howard Hunt's safe immediately after the Watergate arrests and turned over to then FBI Director Patrick Gray by John Dean and Ehrlichman and then destroyed.

The conspiracy of the FBI, CIA, White House staff, Justice Department, Republican Party and President of the United States to hire a band of the most rotten human refuse from the Cuban Revolution to commit all criminal acts short of actual assassination of the liberal opponents of the Nixon Administration, offers no cause for radical celebration, cynicism or complacency by the American working class.

The revelations during the last two weeks of the Ellsberg trial make clear the depth of degeneracy in a ruling class in profound crisis and shows what that class and its agents are preparing for the American working class and those who plan to lead it to power.

Debate At UCLA

Sterile Formulas From Spartacist

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The most complacent and flippant outlook toward the monetary crisis and the Watergate scandal characterized the perspective of the radical Spartacist League in debate with the Workers League-Young Socialists. The debate, attended by over 40 people at UCLA, marked an important step forward in clarifying the division between middle class radicalism and Marxism.

Major presentations from the Workers League were given by Dennis Brehm and Irving Hall. Brehm, placing great emphasis on the monetary crisis, said: "The monetary crisis expresses most sharply the contradictions of capitalism today. The heart of capital, the law of value, is taking revenge after 27 years of being denied. The price of gold shot up to over \$110 an ounce, while the official price is pegged at only \$42. This is the barometer of how stormy this crisis is becoming with the flight away from paper currency and credit, paving the way for huge collapses."

"We must begin as materialists and understand that the driving force behind the big political changes taking place is the breakup of the postwar boom."

In fundamental disagreement with this, Spartacist speakers said: "Capitalism is not a monetary system, but a system of production. The monetary crisis is only a form; the political crisis is more fundamental."

From this, they along with an SWP supporter, concluded that we are in a general crisis, and that inflation has always been a part of capitalism.

METHOD

In answer to Tweet Carter, main speaker for Spartacist, who said that Pabloism was simply a revision of Marxism coming from incorrect positions on Cuba, Black nationalism, etc., Irving Hall stressed that what was at stake was the break from materialism, from the Marxist

method. He emphasized the objective pressures on the movement during the 1950s and the 1960s, and the impressionistic approach of Pablo and later the SWP to the boom period.

Hall insisted: "To say Pabloism is just a matter of incorrect positions on this or that is idealist, and lines Spartacist up with the Pabloites, who are hostile to theory, internationalism, and therefore unable to develop an American perspective."

Significantly, the debate was able to center on the main questions of the Marxist method itself. Addressing herself to this, Tweet Carter stated: "The Marxist method is for the working class to use so it will know what to do. We must be consistent and the proof of our consistency is that Spartacist hasn't changed its line in 10 years." She proudly announced that they can still sell the first issue of their paper.

SECTARIAN

Hall replied in his summary, "When Spartacist points today with pride that its positions haven't changed in 10 years, it defends, as do all sectarians, a set of sterile formulas as a cover for its abstaining from practice, from participation in the living class struggle."

"Contradiction is the most difficult and most important concept within Marxist theory. Contradiction is the main impulse, source, of the movement of matter and thought. Lenin quotes Hegel approvingly, against those, like Spartacist, who see contradiction, when encountered, as unnatural, something which must be resolved in the head."

Hall compared Spartacist's

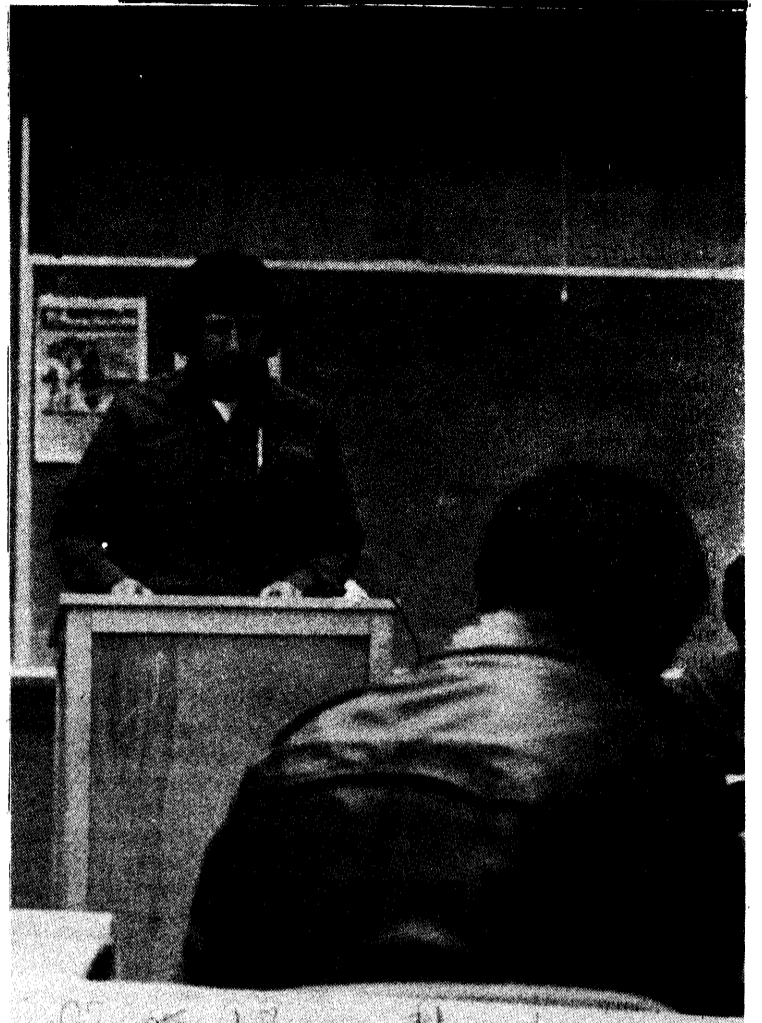
complacency to the same snickering that characterized the Shachtmanite youth during the 1938-1939 struggle in the SWP when Trotsky and Cannon took up the fight for dialectical materialism against the petty bourgeoisie.

Spartacist tried to slander the Workers League by saying that its policies in the trade unions are syndicalist. Spartacist was reminded during the discussion that it was the Workers League, not Spartacist, that held two national conferences for a labor party and formed the national Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. It was the Workers League, not Spartacist, that campaigned during the presidential elections for a labor party, selling tens of thousands of labor party manifestos and continues to broaden this fight today to force Nixon out.

But Spartacist has it all down pat. The revolutionary formula? In her summary, Tweet Carter said it is very simple. "What is needed is a general strike. This will paralyze capitalism and the revolutionary party steps in."

This is the height of American radicalism, steeped in spontaneity and militancy, hostile to the political fight. For all of Spartacist's talk of the pure political program, when it comes down to a perspective for the working class, they have no political program. What was brought out in this important debate, therefore, is the link between sectarianism and opportunism stemming from a common hostility to Marxism. The Workers League and the Young Socialists will build its cadre in opposition to the whole history of radicalism in the American movement.

West Coast News



Irving Hall speaks for Workers League in debate with Spartacist.

Job Threat To Caseworkers

BY CRISTINA BOWERS

SAN JOSE—Two hundred eligibility workers marched into a meeting of the Board of Supervisors to protest against the hiring freeze imposed last week at Santa Clara County Department of Welfare.

The freeze is the first step toward implementing HR 1, the federalization of Adult Aids which will eliminate 140 positions, and threatens the eligibility workers with layoffs, reshuffling and a huge increase in caseloads.

The County's claim that EW's were already overstaffed by 67 workers brought laughter and jeers from the angry workers.

One worker asked: "There are 300 extra cases in my unit left by a worker who quit. Who is supposed to take care of those families if no one is hired to take her place?"

To this Howard Campen, County Executive, arrogantly replied, "Dish them out to the other workers."

Eligibility workers, as with all Welfare Department employees in Santa Clara, are paid from eight to 30 percent less than other County employees whose jobs require the same qualifications.

In the upcoming contract Local 535 is asking for realignment which will bring EW's salary up from \$554 to \$725, comparable with other county positions plus an across the board increase of \$75 for all employees after realignment.

One worker said, "Two years ago we had a sick-out and we all felt pretty stupid having to call in excuses. If we're going to do this let's go all the way. We should just walk out and if that doesn't do it, call for a strike vote. We want the lot."

There are already signs that the union leadership is backing down. At the Board meeting the field representative claimed that the union had no real conflict with the Board and that the Board's proposal which contained no real guarantee against layoffs was a victory.

Local 535 must answer these attacks with all-out strike action to demand no layoffs, no increase in caseloads, salary realignment, \$75 across the board and an immediate end to the hiring freeze. Such a strike can only be won by calling for full support from the Santa Clara County Labor Council, to bring all city workers out and call for a Congress of Labor and a labor party to end Phase Three and HR 1 along with it.

AFL-CIO . . .

(Continued From Page 20) rich to be funded by the budget cutbacks in services to working people and the poor.

US Senator Alan Cranston, a liberal "friend of labor," told the conference Nixon's economic policies were not working. "If Phrase Three doesn't stop inflation," he said, "we will give him tough new legislation that

will stop it."

Cranston and other Democrats are now demanding tougher wage controls, banning even the 5.5 percent now permitted by the Cost of Living Council.

These labor leaders are now directly collaborating with the Democrats to keep Nixon in power. They are consciously

sabotaging strike movements in California aimed at breaking through the wage guidelines.

In Los Angeles, where 1600 Teamster drivers for the van and storage industry are striking for 13 percent wage increase, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons ordered a vote on the latest miserable offer by the em-

CLERKS . . .

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ployers, which was overwhelmingly rejected.

The leaders of the 21,000 member supermarket clerks union in LA have sent their 21 percent wage demand to federal mediation for one month.

RETREATS

These retreats only make the employers more vicious. The van and storage bosses have just announced that they will attempt to reopen, using a full staff of scab drivers.

This is a big escalation of the new open shop campaign, begun in LA with the use of scabs and police terror against striking rubber workers.

The fight against these attacks requires a complete break with the two parties of big business, the construction of a party of labor, and mass industrial action to oust Nixon and bring such a party to power.

were related to his support for Nixon.

FIRED

Over the past months DeSilva has fired most of his union staff. They are now being reinstated in their old posts until new elections take place. Mrs. Lois McKinstry, highest ranking of these officials who was executive vice president, has formed a nucleus for an opposition in the local. At the un-

ion meeting authorizing strike action they called for rejecting the 5.5 percent offer and recommended a strike.

DeSilva will be retiring on May 31, which is before the 30 days extension is up.

The big question the clerks are asking is, will the opposition, once in office again, reject DeSilva's agreement to mediation and fight for their original demands.

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Bay Area Workers League and Young Socialists picnic to benefit Bulletin Fund Drive.

State Labor Leaders Crawl To Politicians

BY MARTY MORAN

SACRAMENTO—With the Nixon Administration on the verge of collapse because of Watergate and the labor movement in California under unprecedented political attack, the state AFL-CIO legislative conference met in Sacramento last week. Over 600 union officials representing 1.6 million trade unionists were in attendance.

What the conference revealed was the union leadership's refusal to defend the membership against state control of wages and a government backed union-busting drive.

State AFL-CIO chief John Henning announced in advance that he would be grateful for whatever the Democrats and Republicans in the legislature saw fit to give.

Proposals were made for increasing unemployment insurance, disability insurance, and workman's compensation, and granting collective bargaining rights to public employees. No

mention was made of how to win these demands in the face of the total hostility of the Democratic state legislature and Governor Reagan.

What the union officials deliberately refused to discuss was the mobilization of the strength represented at the conference to launch an offensive against Nixon.

Instead they grovelled before a parade of capitalist politicians who came before the conference to announce their support for increased attacks on the working class.

Reagan defended his plan for a tax rebate that would benefit his

(Continued On Page 19)

Carpenters Face Lock Out, Pay Cut

BY A LOCAL 1020 MEMBER

PORTLAND—Members of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Local 1020 today voted to strike in the face of a lockout threat by the Association of General Contractors. The meeting of over 200 carpenters voted strike authorization to begin on June 1, along with five other construction unions—Teamsters, Laborers, Cement Masons and Operating Engineers.

These unions face an AGC that, in the words of the chairman of the negotiations committee, is determined to "force us all back to the 1930s." The employer group is threatening to bust the union and open up non-union shop conditions in the Northwest.

The AGC is demanding the termination of the contract clause that includes subcontractors under the agreement. The employers have refused to discuss any area of the contract except where they demand cuts in overtime pay, changed job classifications to effect a pay cut for many carpenters, and productivity provisions.

Letters have been sent out by the AGC to the trades threatening a lock-out and the importation of strikebreakers if no agreement is reached by May 31.

In the face of these attacks and threats from the employers, the union bureaucrats have proposed no serious fight for any gains in this contract. At the strike vote meeting, Ray Coles of the negotiating committee said no wage demands would be made because of the Pay Board.

This stand outraged the ranks who over and over demanded to know what the leadership planned to do about wages and job security. The bureaucrats refused to answer these questions, only proposing a gradual transition over several years toward a

36 hour week at 40 hour pay.

The workers in the construction trades have expressed the desire for a real fight against the AGC. The drywall apprentices have voted unanimously for a cost of living escalator. Many carpenters told the Bulletin they want big wage increases and a one dollar an hour vacation fund. But this fight brings the membership up square against the union bureaucrats. At one point in the strike vote meeting Coles burst out: "If you don't like what we're doing, elect someone else."

Postpone Grocery Pay Clash

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—On the eve of a massive strike lockout in Southern California supermarkets, officials of the Retail Clerks Union and the Food Employers Council have extended the present contract for 30 days by calling in the Federal Mediation Service.

W.J. Usury Jr., director of the Federal Mediation Service, was selected as a "neutral and independent third party" to make recommendations for a settlement.

The union officials have gone running to the federal government despite a huge mandate by 6500 clerks authorizing strike action and rejecting the food industry's 5.5 percent wage offer of 28 cents an hour.

The clerks want parity with the food clerks in Northern California, which would mean a 21 percent wage boost, or 91 cents. Union officials and the employers have spent the week in Washington with federal mediators and representatives from the Cost of Living Council. There can be no doubt that the 21 percent will be out the window as far as federal arbitration is concerned.

CAPITULATED

Days before union officials capitulated to the food industry in accepting mediation, Joseph T. DeSilva, head of the 19,000 member Retail Clerks Union, resigned. He headed the union for 34 years and agreed to retire in a surprise settlement of a bitter intra-union dispute. He accused his union associates of trying to sell out the union, and he was ac-

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Editorial

CP's Sham Fight Against Nixon

The deepening Watergate crisis is driving the Communist Party to the right and exposing their desperate maneuvers to defend the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party.

The latest People's World makes this clear in an interview with Richard Groulx, head of the Alameda Central Labor Council.

Groulx's policy of supporting the Democrats left the labor movement in Oakland absolutely paralyzed in the recent elections with nothing to choose from but the right winger Reading and the nationalist demagogy of Bobby Seale.

According to Groulx, labor could do nothing. "Nobody can survive in our kind of politics representing just labor. In local government labor people think they have to lean over backwards to represent others. That's not so for management candidates."

For the People's World, "there is considerable matter for thought in what Groulx said, even for those who still fault the Alameda County labor movement for failing to take the lead in the Oakland race."

For the Stalinists the criminal paralysis of the labor leaders is to be defended on the basis that the labor movement does not have the strength to break from the liberals and forge an independent political party.

It is precisely this perspective that leads them to cheer labor endorsement of ex-cop Tom Bradley for Los Angeles

mayor while being forced to admit that he is running a reactionary law and order campaign rapidly dropping every shred of his supposed "liberalism."

The big clashes being prepared between the working class and the government pose the necessity of a political movement of labor to fight for power. This means the fight to expose the labor leadership and build an alternative to it prepared to carry out this fight.

The Stalinists fear this above all. Their apologies in Oakland reflect the national policy. Precisely at the point that the Watergate crisis could bring the government down if the labor movement took up the fight, the CP demands not a break by labor from the capitalist parties but impeachment proceedings in the House of Representatives.

They seek to bring about on a national scale the sort of paralysis of labor that they defend in Oakland, to give Nixon the precious time he needs to reconstruct the government.

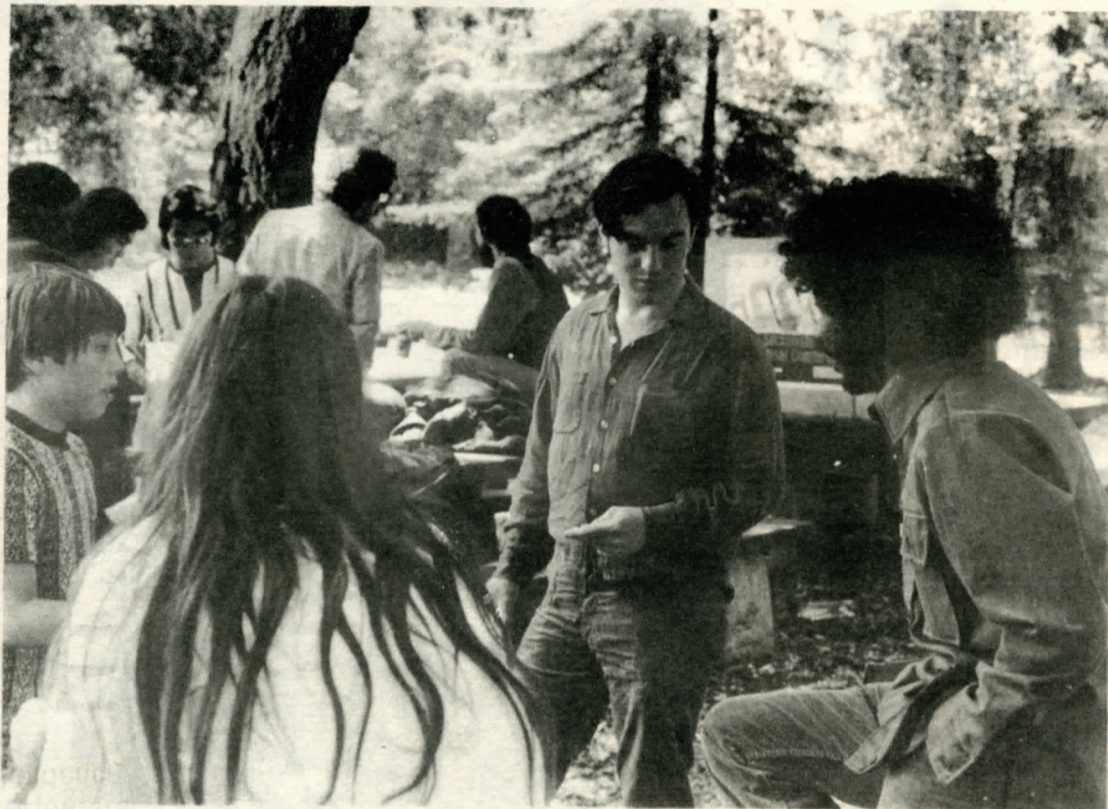
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