

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWENTY EIGHT 303

JULY 16, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

FIFTEEN CENTS

YOUTH DEMAND LABOR ACT!

Over 300 youth gathered in a torrential downpour in Foley Square in New York to protest unemployment and to demand that Nixon resign and be replaced by a labor party. The following resolution, presented by Abby Rodriguez, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, was passed unanimously:

Whereas: Unemployment among youth has soared due to the policies of Nixon, through budget cuts and the elimination of job programs;

Whereas: Nixon has acted in the interest of the most vicious and desperate employers and corporations by encouraging speedup and increasing production with less workers;

Whereas: This has created a situation where thousands of youth are unemployed, so that employers can always be guaranteed cheap labor far below union wages, and Nixon himself pushes for sub-minimum wages for youth;

Whereas: Watergate reveals that this same Nixon has conspired to destroy the democratic rights of the working class;

And Whereas: The trade unions were at the top of the White House enemies list;

Then be it resolved that the AFL-CIO demand:

- Full employment for all!
- A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!
- More training programs for youth!

To implement this the AFL-CIO must act now to:

- Force Nixon to resign! Hold a new election!
- Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party!

Demonstrations were also held in Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles. A full report will appear in next week's Bulletin.



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Unions Must Build Labor Party To Drive Nixon Out!

The demonstration of the Young Socialists demanding jobs through the political mobilization of the working class against Nixon has given a lead to the entire labor movement.

No time can be lost in the calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party as the political alternative to Nixon, whose criminal administration stands exposed before millions of workers.

Nixon, refusing to answer charges on Watergate, remains in office today only because of the political paralysis of the ruling class as it confronts an unpre-

cedented constitutional and economic crisis; and because of the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy which does not want to force Nixon out.

But the paralysis of the ruling class is only temporary. It is already gathering its forces for an attack on the working class whose unbroken power is at the heart of the capitalist crisis. With or without Nixon, big business must push ahead with the attacks on the working class that Nixon sought to begin with Watergate.

Therefore, labor must act now to build its own party to

beat back these attacks and put forward a socialist program as the solution of the working class to this crisis.

In the face of the urgency of the political and economic situation, the role of the trade union bureaucracy assumes historic dimensions.

It has been two months since George Meany presented the pathetic statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Watergate which made no mention of Nixon's involvement and ruled out any action by the labor movement against this government. Meany

said that he considered Nixon innocent until proven guilty.

It is high time that Meany and the entire trade union bureaucracy give their definition of guilty to the working class. How many more crimes have to be exposed before these bureaucrats will act in the defense of the labor movement, against this discredited and criminal government?

Evidence already available and never refuted proves that Nixon plotted the most extensive attacks on the basic democratic rights of all political op-

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Workers Clash With Troops In Uruguay

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Uruguay has been plunged into the cauldron of civil war as 500,000 workers enter the third week of a general strike, locked in a life and death battle against police and Army troops to beat back the attempt by President Juan Bordaberry to impose a military dictatorship.

A 16 year old youth from the Socialist Party youth and a young professor from the Communist Party youth have already been killed by police and Army troops. Scores were wounded as hundreds of police and military troops using tanks, armored trucks, tear gas and machine guns violently repressed the latest and largest demonstration against the dictatorship.

The situation in Uruguay is the sharpest warning to the international working class of the preparations being made by the capitalist class of every country to employ military and police forces to smash the trade unions and destroy whatever democratic rights and institutions which have been won through the struggles of workers.

The heroic struggle of the Uruguayan working class against the most brutal attacks by US trained and equipped troops and police is conclusive proof, not only of the determination of workers to defend their trade unions and democratic rights, but also that the working class is the only force capable of overthrowing the capitalist system and defeating the bosses' plans for dictatorship.

This is expressed by the fact that all those middle class forces in opposition to Bordaberry's attempt to destroy Uruguay's long tradition of capitalist democracy have been forced to turn to the working class for leadership.

The only force standing in the way of Bordaberry's troops and police are the 500,000 workers of the National Confederation of

Workers (CNT) whose general strike paralyzed the country following the dispersal of Parliament by armed troops, the outlawing of all political parties and workers' organizations, the suspension of all civil liberties and the right to strike and the arrest of many trade union leaders.

Despite threats to dismiss striking government workers or conscript workers and force them to work at bayonet point—as was done with oil refinery workers and bank employees—and repeated attempts by troops to remove workers occupying factories, Bordaberry has been unable to crush the workers' opposition.

Although the state oil refinery has reportedly been restored to partial service—after being sabotaged by workers—factories are shut tight and the country's economy is grinding to a halt. Shortages of food and other necessities are growing, and the strike by bank clerks has created a shortage of money.

RESISTANCE

This determined resistance by Uruguay's workers has caused deep splits within Bordaberry's own forces. Numerous government ministers and other officials have resigned, and divisions are reported within the armed forces themselves, resulting in Bordaberry's hesitation to engage in full scale armed attacks against the workers.

But while the workers have clearly displayed their power and determination to bring the government and the military to their knees, the leadership of the

(Continued On Page 16)



The Puerto Rican National Guard mobilized against striking firemen and electrical workers.

British Unionists Call For Tories' Overthrow

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

More than 4000 trade unionists issued a call for an immediate campaign to force the Tory government of Edward Heath to resign at the conference of the All Trades Union Alliance in Manchester, England, on July 1.

The resolution voted by the delegates urged all workers to join the fight to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

Delegates also voted unanimously to lobby the biennial conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union this week, demanding that its general secretary Jack Jones break off all talks with the Tories over the Phase Three pay laws.

Jones is shattering his unearned reputation as a leading left-winger by pleading that the union allow him to keep on bargaining with Heath over tighter wage controls.

But since the decision of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to force its President Hugh Scanlon to break off talks, the attempts at compromise by other trade union bureaucrats have become untenable.

Only the Socialist Labour League has constantly campaigned for a breakoff of such talks, and the forced withdrawal

of Scanlon proves the correctness of this perspective. Behind the decision of the engineers is the powerful movement of British workers against the government.

NEW STAGE

The forced withdrawal of Scanlon and the probability that Jones will be forced to follow suit is a blow to the Heath government and marks a new stage in the political crisis.

Nothing has been solved by the talks which have gone on for so many months. In spite of the treachery of the trade union leadership, Heath has been unable to defeat any section of the working class.

A confrontation between the government and the working class is now on the agenda, but with the policies of Heath in shambles. With the exception of the dollar, the British pound is falling faster than any currency of a major industrial nation and putting intense strains on England's relation with the other

Common Market countries. Because it is so dependent upon imports, prices are out of control. The prospect for the expansion of British industry has been shattered by the slump on the Eurodollar market, which is the means through which money is raised for dollar investment in Europe. The lack of confidence in this vast pool of inflationary dollars which are worth less with each devaluation is shown by the fact that American bankers are dropping them faster than anyone else.

It is under these conditions that trade unionists from every part of the country met to build the revolutionary leadership to mobilize the working class against the Tories. The rally opened with a showing of the film "Road to Workers Power," a pageant of working class history.

ATUA RESOLUTION

This was followed by full discussion on the ATUA resolution presented by Alan Thornett a senior shop steward at the British Leyland auto plant.

The resolution begins by welcoming the decision of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to instruct their leader Hugh Scanlon to break off participation in the TUC talks (Trades Union Congress) with the Heath government, and urges the Transport and General Workers Union to do the same.

British union leaders, despite the destruction of free collective bargaining under the state Industrial Relations Law, continue to collaborate in plans for even stricter wage laws in exchange for a few empty promises from Heath.

The resolution warns "that a continuation of the class collaborationist policy of the TUC, the refusal of the Communist Party to mobilize the working class to force the Tories out and the anti-nationalization, pro-Common Market policies of Wilson, Foot and Jenkins gives the Tories scope to organize provocations,

(Continued On Page 16)



The Workers League and Young Socialists
invite you to our first

SUMMER CAMP

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Nine full days and nights of recreation and education including five lectures on the history of the American labor movement, contradiction, economy, the political development of Canadian labor and an introduction to Marxism.

The camp will be held in the heart of the beautiful Laurentian Mountains. Cabins with running hot water and heat are located on a private lake. All meals included; only a sleeping bag is necessary.

Recreation includes everything from boating and basketball to hiking, fishing, and Canadian broom ball. Special trips will be arranged to Montreal for sight-seeing.

EAST COAST: \$50

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All costs include pooled transportation, lodging and all meals. For more information/reservations, write or phone: 7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. (212) 924-0852.

The Dollar: Time Is Running Out

BY BRUCE MCKAY

NEW YORK, July 10—The dollar moved sharply higher on international currency exchanges today and Monday amid rumors that central banks were intervening to support its value.

But time is running out on the dollar and the entire international monetary system. The present measures can bring about only the most temporary stabilization of the money markets and halt to the precipitous slide to the dollar.

In the longer run, the \$18 billion of credit extended by the European central banks to allow the US Federal Reserve to intervene in the money markets will only feed the tremendous inflation which underlies the destruction of the dollar's value.

Today's rise in the dollar's value on the exchanges is but a prelude to the collapse of the international monetary system.

Complete chaos reigned on the international currency exchanges Friday. Following panic selling of dollars in the morning, major banks in West Germany ceased quoting any value for the dollar. The German money markets were forced to close early when no purchasers of dollars could be found.

"Bankers described the exchange markets Friday as completely demoralized," reported the *Journal of Commerce*. "They

expressed fear that the authorities guiding US policy were likewise, demoralized."

Tremendous pressures have once again hit the deutsche mark and the Swiss franc, and the Eurofloat is clearly in an advanced stage of disintegration. Danish authorities last week were reportedly forced to intervene vigorously to prevent a revaluation as dollars poured into Danish krone. At the same time, the British pound, which is not in the joint float but which has been moving higher against the dollar, once again resumed its downward slide.

European bankers even considered shutting down the currency exchanges Monday as they had done in March prior to the joint float agreement. Rumors of an imminent closure swept through Tokyo over the weekend, sending the dollar into one of its steepest nosedives in history when trading opened on the Japanese exchange Monday morning.

PARALYZED

The international credit markets have already been virtually paralyzed by the monetary
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CP Bars Banned Ligue From Defense Rally

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Ligue Communiste, banned by order of the French government, was refused the right to speak at a protest meeting attended by some 3000 people in Paris on Wednesday night.

At least another 10,000 stood outside the Winter Circus where the meeting was held and listened to speeches relayed from inside the hall.

The meeting was called to demand the lifting of the ban on the Ligue, the release of its imprisoned leaders Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, the dropping of charges against other members of the Ligue and the abolition of the notorious anti-wreckers law under which Krivine is charged.

Krivine, whose first preliminary hearing was held last Thursday, faces up to five years' jail for having allegedly organized the demonstration against the right-wing *Ordre Nouveau*, though he was not in Paris at the time.

The platform at the meeting, dominated by the Communist and Socialist Parties and bureaucrats from the main trade union confederations, was adamant in its refusal despite repeated and vocal protests from all parts of the hall.

Former members of the Ligue Communiste tried to organize their own meeting following the ban nearly two weeks ago. But

they were barred from halls all over Paris and the meeting was finally banned outright.

The French Communist Party in the past has consistently denounced Trotskyists and other left-wing groups as "fascist agents." When 11 left-wing organizations were banned by decree in October 1968 the CP stood by without lifting a finger.

The Ligue was barred from speaking at Wednesday night's protest meeting because the Communist Party leadership refused to share a platform with a self-proclaimed Trotskyist organization.

Stalinist chiefs sat stony-faced on the platform as chairman Daniel Mayer, a former Foreign Minister, representing the League for the Rights of Man, firmly denied the rights of the Ligue Communiste.

The meeting demonstrated conclusively that the Stalinists' so-called defense of the Ligue Communiste is a fraud designed to pacify their own members. The Stalinists cannot and will not mount a principled defense of any working class organization, least of all when it claims to be Trotskyist.



Two young Teamsters interviewed by the Bulletin: "We can't stick with the wage guidelines—prices are rising much faster. If that's all we get, we have to reject it."

Teamster Wildcats Spread Against Fitzsimmons Sellout

BY DAVID NORTH

CLEVELAND—Bitter opposition to the national Teamster settlement has erupted here in a series of strikes, and accusations by members of Local 407 that the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy is trying to prevent wildcats by intimidating members.

Fist fights broke out at a meeting last week of Local 407 when members denounced the wage settlement and the pension plan. Calls from the floor for a strike vote were disrupted by the local leadership, which broke the meeting up for more than an hour on the basis of a phony bomb scare.

Four men were arrested outside the large Cleveland Arena for disturbing the peace.

The struggle of the Local 407 ranks against the contract comes on the heels of four strikes by members of Local 392, three of which have been settled for bigger wage increases than had been granted in the national package.

But the strike by movers that began last month is still in progress as the Teamsters have already voted down three offers. The International leadership has now ordered a mail vote in order

to end the rebellion.

Strikes have not been confined to the critical Northern Ohio area. In New Jersey, drivers employed by Roadway wildcatted for 24 hours upon receiving word of the Fitzsimmons settlement.

The union leadership has attempted to downplay the significance of these strikes by passing them off as incidents involving "local disputes." But the enormous fear of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy that these local actions could trigger a nationwide wildcat is revealed in the intimidation of the Local 407 leadership and the International's standing threat not to support any strike action against the new contract.

The anger of the ranks against the Fitzsimmons sellout will be further inflamed by reports showing that the bureaucracy donated as much as \$600,000 to the Nixon re-election campaign out of the union's welfare plan.

National Guard Attacks Strikers In Puerto Rico

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Governor of Puerto Rico, Rafael Hernandez Colon, has called out the National Guard against striking firemen and electrical workers.

The 7000 strong electrical workers union (UTIER) called the strike on Friday, July 6 after long deliberations with the government, which has refused to grant a decent increase and fringe benefits. The 1100 firemen are fighting for safe working conditions, a \$500 per month salary, modern equipment and more personnel. Presently, there are only one or two firemen in a shift.

This is the first time since 1950 that the National Guard has been called out against strikers in Puerto Rico. More than 1500

guardsmen with the help of the police have occupied the offices of the department of electricity. The National Guard, wielding rifles, smoke grenades and tear gas, and the special police force took over the fire stations that the strikers were guarding to prevent any scab police from entering. A fight broke out, wounding three strikers. The strikers started throwing bottles and rocks at the guardsmen and police.

The two union leaders have declared that they prefer to go to jail or die if necessary to defend the right of the workers to strike for their benefits. The members of the UTIER have told the people to prepare for a total blackout in protest of the intervention of the National Guard.

Furthermore, it turns out that Charles Colson—one of Nixon's closest co-conspirators—is a member of the law firm that now represents the Teamsters for a retainer of \$100,000 a year.

It is this sickening collaboration between Fitzsimmons and Nixon that stands behind the new Teamsters contract.

"This contract stinks," declared a driver belonging to Local 560 in New Jersey. "You want another word for it: it smells. This is the worst contract we ever had."

He said that the wage increase—5.6 percent for the first year and less than five percent for the remaining two years—could not even begin to keep up with prices.

"Why did the Teamsters put money into Nixon's campaign? We're not getting anything in return for it," said over-the-road driver Ralph Carrio. "Everyone makes a mistake—and I'll forgive Fitzsimmons a mistake for supporting Nixon. But why doesn't he change now. Instead, he keeps working with Nixon. The best thing a trucker can do is shut the whole thing down."

Older Teamsters hauling Sealand containers on the Port Newark docks attacked the pension plan negotiated by Fitzsimmons. "We all had been told that the union was going for 25 and out at \$500 a month," declared one driver. "But Fitzsimmons signed for 30 years or age 57 with only \$425."

The contract struggle in Teamsters is not settled by a long shot. The actions by Cleveland Teamsters must be the lead for the ranks in every part of the country. The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on Teamsters to reject this settlement and begin strike action for a 20 percent increase with full cost of living, in defiance of Nixon—with whom Fitzsimmons cooked up this settlement.

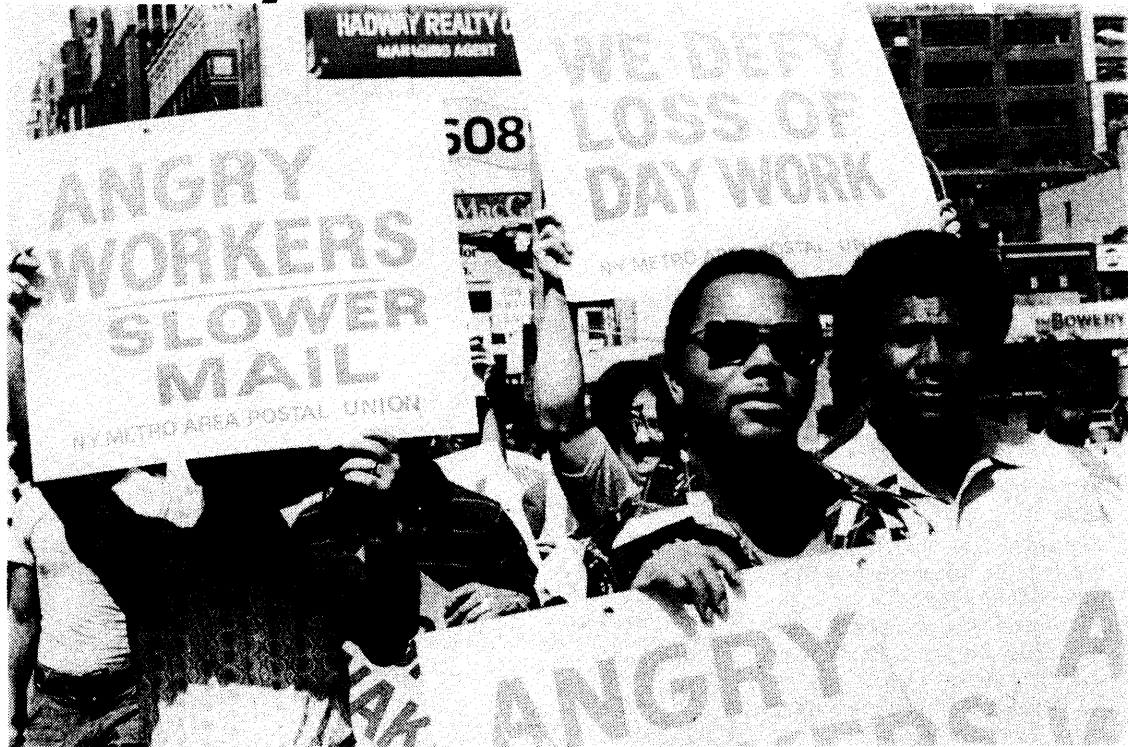
Postal Men Rally For National Strike

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, July 10—With city postal workers overwhelmingly opposed to the national settlement and a growing movement among letter carriers for strike action, Metro Area Postal Union President Moe Biller is retreating faster each day from his pledge to shut mail service down on July 21 if a new offer is not made.

Biller has maintained complete silence on the statements of four Midwest locals that they would support a national strike. Nor has he called on other New York locals representing drivers and carriers to go out with MAPU members.

At a rousing demonstration of more than 400 workers in front of the General Post Office last Friday, Biller conspicuously avoided addressing the ranks, who chanted slogans against the contract for two and one-half hours. The MAPU leadership refuses to put forward a program to fight for big wage increases and the defense of jobs against the government's plan for increased mechanization.

The enormous danger of unemployment confronting New York postal workers is shown by the plans to shut down the Brooklyn Army Terminal, which handles all overseas mail, in the fall. The facilities will be moved to a fully automated plant located in Secaucus, New Jersey. Only the 10 year workers will be employed at the new plant, while all the others now in the BAT are to be reassigned throughout the city.



Postal workers, leading the fight against the government, demonstrating in front of the General Post Office on Friday, July 6 in New York City.

Biller has not spoken out on the consequences of automation, which can completely destroy all clerical and handling jobs in the city and throughout the country.

1970 STRIKE

Many workers who took part in the historic 1970 postal strike remember Biller's support of the sellout contract and are suspicious of him now.

"Why should I have confidence in Biller," said Herman Perloff, a postal worker for 13 and one-half years, as he marched in the demonstration. "Biller is nothing. He sold us out last time, and he is talking militant now because we're all angry. I have no confidence in Biller. I only have confidence in the workers."

Recalling the 1970 strike, when troops were sent into the post offices, another worker said: "This shows what Nixon is thinking. We

were stirring up the country and he wanted to teach us a lesson. It could happen again."

Biller's main crutch in the MAPU is the "Outlaw" group, a loyal opposition dominated by Stalinists and centrists, and by Progressive Labor Party supporters. They have sought to divert any fight against Biller by demanding that Postmaster General Klassen intervene and ask Congress to grant better pensions and health insurance. They have covered for Biller's retreat from his earlier demand for a 40 percent wage increase.

The Metro Area Postal Union Rank and File Committee of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party demands that Biller mobilize the workers in strike action and call on the national leadership to bring out all postal workers against the Federal Service and Nixon.

Only the Metro Area Postal

Union Rank and File Committee is fighting around the following central demands:

- 40 percent wage increase the first year. Full COL escalator.
- 28 hour week at 40 hours pay. No elimination of tours. End the job freeze.
- Real 20 and out at 75 percent of top salary.
- Full promotion rights and seniority upon attainment of union membership.

Central to the strategy of the MAPU Rank and File Committee is the demand that Biller, Filbey and Rademacher demand the resignation of the corrupt Nixon government and call upon the AFL-CIO Executive Council to convene a Congress of Labor to build a labor party. There must also be an AFL-CIO strike if troops are used to intervene in the postal situation and a strike against Nixon's Phase Four.

Kennedy Wallace Alliance

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The appearance of Senator Edward Kennedy with Governor George Wallace on the same Fourth of July platform in Decatur, Alabama, heralded the creation of a reactionary alliance which expresses the deep crisis facing the American ruling class and poses the greatest dangers for the working class.

It is no coincidence that as the international monetary system nears collapse while Nixon and his government are paralyzed by the Watergate crisis, Kennedy has begun a campaign to revive the coalition between Northern "liberal" Democrats with the most reactionary elements of the party in the South—not in the form of the old New Deal coalition but in the form of a weapon directed in the sharpest way against the working class.

PRACTICAL POLITICS

While Kennedy asserted that "Governor Wallace and I have different opinions on some important issues," he made it very clear that these differing opinions are of no consequence when it comes to the world of practical politics and the attacks which must be made against the trade unions if the bosses' profits are to survive the slump which is developing.

What Kennedy's visit made very clear was that he is actively soliciting Wallace's support, preparing a bid for the presidency in which Wallace would become his vice presidential candidate on a ticket designed to carry forward these attacks against the trade unions.

The alliance between Kennedy and Wallace comes at the very point that the American ruling class is desperately searching for an alternative to Nixon. It poses the greatest urgency for the development of a new leadership within the trade unions in a struggle to break them from their ties to Democratic "liberals"—the so-called friends of labor. It poses the immediate necessity for the unions to convene a Congress of Labor which will force Nixon's resignation and new elections and construct a labor party as an alternative to both Nixon and the Kennedys and Wallaces.

Steel Militants Oust Abel Men

BY A REPORTER
The demand of steelworkers against the productivity drive of the companies, I.W. Abel's

State Holds Up Pay Checks

BY SANDY MEREDITH

PHILADELPHIA—As of Monday, July 9, 26,000 workers and 102,000 families have been cut off from welfare payments and pay checks by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the numbers are mounting daily.

In the state of Delaware, which is also operating without a budget, over 17,000 checks have so far been held up.

Although the banks in Philadelphia have been directed to grant short-term low interest loans to those on welfare, this alleviates the situation only slightly. Many people are crippled or too old to travel to the bank. Even for those who can get to the bank and take out the loan, the money does not go far, because there has been nothing issued to take the place of food stamps which have also been cut off. The few distribution centers which have been set up, the Welfare Rights Organization, church groups and others, are doing practically nothing also. It is estimated that 262,000 pounds of food would have to be donated daily to feed those on welfare. Many state employees are

"no-strike" pact, and Nixon's wage controls is reflected in the thumping defeats meted out to long-entrenched union

officials in elections held recently throughout the United Steelworkers of America.

Vicious red-baiting organized on both the local and international level was unable to save some of the best known backers of Abel's collaboration with the government.

The three main leaders of the well-known Rank and File Team (RAFT)—Ed Mann, William Litch and John Barbero—were elected to the top posts in the Brier Hill local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube.

Members of the large Lorain Local 1104 at the National Tube mill of US Steel ousted President George Pashkevich along with virtually his entire slate. While the victory went to a little known rank and filer, George Edwards—a supporter of the policies of the Communist Party—gained 15 percent of the vote.

In Warren, Ohio, the 4000 members of the Republic Steel local voted out the entire slate of Abel supporters, and the 2000 members of the Copperweld local in the same town also kicked out the incumbents. A major upset also occurred at the Bethlehem Steel mill in Los Angeles. These opposition forces, par-

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ticularly RAFT which has an important following among steel workers, are now in a position to take the initiative against the Abel leadership.

Therefore, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party demands that RAFT take forward the struggle against the "no-strike" pact and the wage controls by demanding that Abel repudiate the pact and prepare for the coming steel contract by calling a National Congress of Labor to construct a labor party as the alternative to the Nixon government which brought in wage controls against the trade unions.

The RAFT leadership has so far shown no intention of fighting for these policies which represent the only clear break from Abel's betrayals of steel workers. RAFT's first action since the election—to call on the courts to invalidate earlier elections—opens the way for direct government interference in the union.

Furthermore, the leaders of RAFT have yet to break with their own earlier support for the McGovern campaign and the Democratic Party.

The fight against Abel's collaboration with Nixon must be taken forward now through the construction of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the steel workers union.

UNION LABEL 6

UNION LABEL 6

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

Interview With An Israeli Revolutionary

Zionism Is The Class Enemy

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

After 25 years of existence at the expense of the Palestinian masses, the Israeli ruling class is faced with the development of serious cracks in the foundation of the Zionist state.

This is expressed in the growing number of strikes and opposition to Zionism among Jewish workers who are beginning to recognize that their struggle must be linked with the struggle of Arab workers in Israel and with the struggle of the Palestinian masses who were driven from their homeland and massacred when the state of Israel was created.

This movement among Jewish workers comes as the constant preparations for war against the Arab nations and the development of the crisis in the international capitalist economy have forced the Israeli capitalists to attack the working conditions and living standard of Jewish workers who in the past were granted concessions on the basis of reducing the living conditions of Arab workers to a bare minimum. These attacks—with prices rising at 40 percent a year—are exposing the real face of Zionism as the class enemy.

Faced with the sharpening of this class conflict which will take place as the international crisis forces greater and greater attacks on Israeli workers, the Zionist regime has begun a campaign of repression against the anti-Zionist left.

As the Israeli rulers were celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Zionist state, a series of political trials were also taking place. Thirty-six defendants were charged with belonging to a "spy ring" working with Syrian intelligence.

In reality, all of the defendants were members of two organizations claiming to be "Marxist" (the Red Front and Revolutionary Communist League), and the trials reflected the great fear the Zionist capitalists now have of the movement of the Israeli working class, the cooperation of Jewish and Arab workers which is beginning to be evident, and the factory committees which are being organized independently of the state-run Zionist trade union federation, Histadrut.

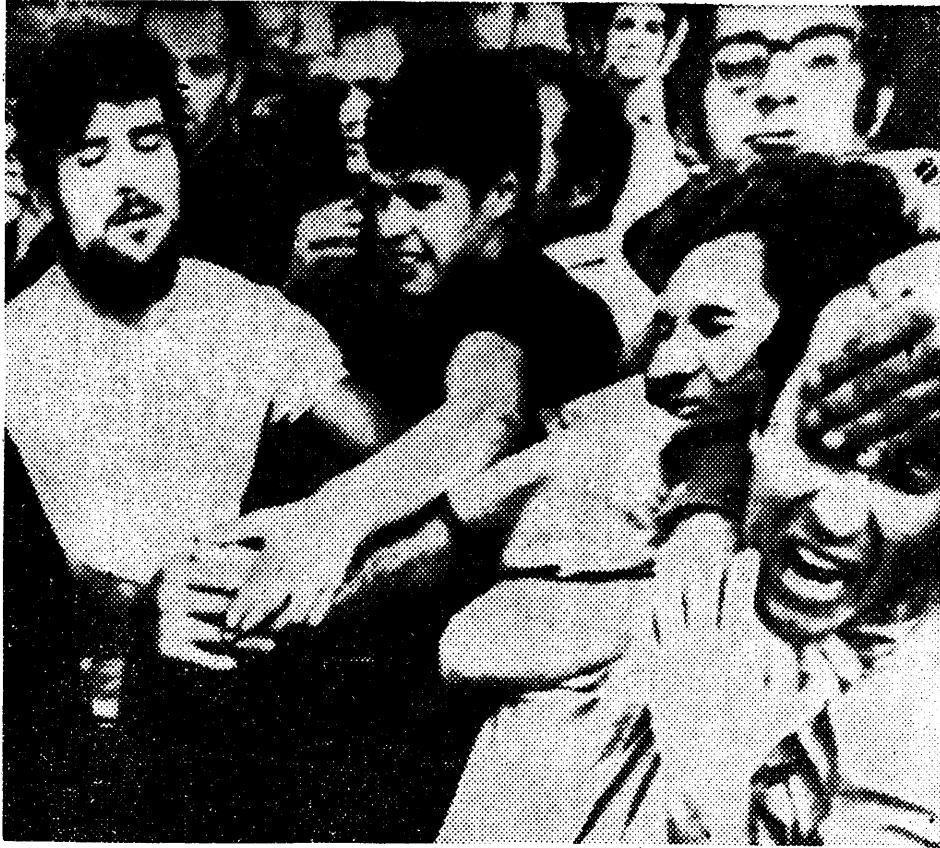
Some of the defendants in the recent trials were Jewish, among them ex-paratrooper Ehud Adiv, who received a 17 year sentence; Yehezkel Cohen; 26 year old building worker David Kupfer; Rami Livneh, whose father is a Communist Party member of the Knesset (Parliament) and school teacher Dan Vered.

In a recent interview with the **Bulletin**, a member of Vanguard, an Israeli revolutionary organization, discussed the nature of the trials and how they reflect the capitalist crisis:

"The only way to understand the trials is to understand the international crisis and how it will appear in Israel and all over the Middle East. During the recent years, there have been increasing struggles of the working class simultaneously with struggles of the Arab masses against Israel. The bourgeoisie with the collaboration of the betray-



Golda Meir.



Fight between students protesting Israeli imperialism and the government in Tel Aviv, 1970.

ers—Stalinists—are reacting to this by preparing special laws to outlaw all strikes.

"The world crisis is now affecting Israel very sharply, although to a certain extent this crisis has not been seen in Israel as sharply as in Europe and at the center in the United States.

CRISIS

"Zionism is preparing for the oppression of its own working class. As the crisis deepens throughout the world, it is known that Nixon will limit the credit and aid to Israel. All the foreign companies will have to leave or limit production.

"Israel is a very weak country and is built mainly on credit and foreign companies. Israel alone cannot compete on an international scale; thus, the situation in the next few months will sharpen tremendously as the Zionists must attack the standard of living of the Israeli working class.

"The recent political trials are only one of the preparations of Zionism against its own working class in the context of the world crisis. It's not an accident that this group was sentenced for a long period of imprisonment.

"One charge against them was that this group—the Red Front—is a Marxist organization which intends to overthrow the government. This is nothing but a preparation for outlawing all the other Israeli working class parties and organizations.

"The main role of Zionism is to be the policeman of the Middle East and to suppress the Arab masses. This was the meaning of the raids into Lebanon. But in order to be the policeman for imperialism in the Middle East, it has to suppress its own masses."

According to the Vanguard member, the movement of Israeli workers which has intensified since 1969 is being reflected in the army, where under the surface there is growing discontent among soldiers from working class families.

"Going hand in hand with the awakening of the Israeli working class, you can see the same thing in the army. They begin to think; they begin to be aware of what is going on within the working class."

Combined with this development of the class struggle within the military, what the Zionist ruling class fears most is the growing solidarity between Jewish workers and the more than 100,000 Arab workers in Israel, who are concentrated in the construction industry and factories. The Vanguard member told the **Bulletin**:

"The politically important fact in Israel is that the factories—mainly in the area of

Tel Aviv—are full of Arab workers. In Tel Aviv, the factories contain many Arab workers. Thus, the economic and political struggle cannot be just with the Jewish workers; it has to be with the Arab workers in the factories. Many Jewish workers are beginning to understand this and awaken.

"One of the important reasons that Zionism oppressed the Palestinians is that the Palestinians are the most exploited factor in the Middle East. Every struggle by the Palestinians in Lebanon inspired the struggle of the Arab masses. The attacks on Palestinians in Lebanon were attacks on the Arab masses, on the Lebanese workers. It was the Palestinians who led the general strike of Lebanese workers.

"Vanguard says that every struggle of the Israeli working class has to be combined simultaneously with the political struggle for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all villages and territories which have been occupied by Zionism. This is how Jewish workers will show their interest in the struggle of the Arab masses.

"Because the Middle East is a semi-colonial area, most of the masses don't have elementary democratic rights. The Israeli working class has to lead the struggle against Zionism for a constituent assembly of the Jewish workers and the Arab and Palestinian masses and through this struggle to form a workers' government. Every struggle in Israel and the Middle East will pose the question of power. Zionism, together with the bourgeois Arab regimes, will oppose this struggle of the Israeli working class and the Palestinian masses with all the means at their disposal."

He explained that the groups which were involved in the recent trials are ultra-leftist splittoffs of the revisionist Israeli Socialist Organization, better known as Matzpen from the name of its newspaper.

He said the position of the Red Front is that the Palestinian guerrilla movement must be supported uncritically because the Palestinians are an oppressed people, and that the Israeli working class must be written off as a revolutionary force—according to Red Front, the Israeli working class is the "oppressor."

MATZPEN

Matzpen, he said, comes out of a big upsurge of the Israeli working class in 1961 and 1962, which led to a brief general strike, and the construction of hundreds of factory committees in opposition to the Zionist Histadrut bureaucracy, which eventually managed to force the workers back to work and suppress the committees

with the aid of the Stalinist Israeli Communist Party.

"During the 10 years Matzpen has existed, certain tremendous opportunities have developed to lead the working class independently of the bourgeois parties and the Stalinists, but Matzpen always tailed the Stalinists and Zionism.

"Many workers came to Matzpen because they were frustrated with the other parties, but Matzpen, because of its centrist nature, could not give a political answer to the workers.

"Because of its petty bourgeois character, it did not try to work within the working class and they have turned to the students as the revolutionary force. Now, they blame the working class for its defeats. Many workers came to Matzpen, but Matzpen did not have any answer, nothing to tell them, no program—just talk against Zionism.

"Mapam, which tried for a long time to appear as a workers' party, does not try to maintain even the appearance of a workers' party anymore. It is in the Cabinet.

"After the '67 war—in 1968 and 1969 at the beginning of the world inflation, the world crisis, you could see in Israel the awakening of the working class in the emergence of many leftist, many centrist movements. Matzpen split into several organizations. Matzpen in Tel Aviv is anarchist. Matzpen (Marxist) in Jerusalem—one of the most important centrist groups—is Pabloist. The other organizations don't try to do anything seriously but exist as circles.

"Because of the crisis, the Pabloist organization zig zags. Mainly, it is trying to have a leftist face which in many programs is put completely formally, in a propaganda way. It tries to have the appearance of a working class organization and to have a lot of youth following it but will not try to build anything seriously in the working class. It has a leftist face we have to fight—fight to expose it.

TROTSKYISM

"The only solution in Israel and the Middle East is to build a Trotskyist party which will lead the working class independently of the traditional bourgeois parties against imperialism and forward to socialism. This can only be done on an international scale in which the Trotskyist party is part of the Fourth International.

"To do this in Israel means first of all to organize the Israeli working class independently from the Histadrut in its own independent organization. Now, every strike is separate and isolated and easily defeated because Israeli workers lack their elementary tools of fighting—independent trade unions. Histadrut represents Zionism and the employers, and its leaders are appointed by the government. We must fight independently of Histadrut to build independent factory committees and struggle for a general strike.

"This struggle cannot be conducted without the Arab masses which are in every factory, every fight. Only the revolutionary party can lead the economic struggle and show the working class who its true enemies are. At the same time, with the deepening crisis, the Israeli working class cannot lead this struggle without posing the political questions of power.

"In the tremendous crisis which is being opened in the Middle East we must build the revolutionary party. Without this party, the struggle will be easily suppressed. This party has to fight to understand the difficult situation and can develop a perspective only by developing dialectical materialism. It will have to fight against the traditional parties—against nationalism, and in Israel against the illusions which centrist groups like Matzpen and ultra-leftist groups like Red Front bring into the working class. This party can be built and can develop a correct method and policy toward the tremendous crisis in the Middle East only as part of the Fourth International."

St. Paul Drivers Voice Opposition To Wage Pact

BY B. WILLS

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Sentiment for a “no” vote against Fitzsimmons’ sellout is growing at Twin Cities terminals as the terms of the proposed agreement became known. In the face of inflation of over 25 percent, the proposed settlement does not even grant the 5.5 percent permitted by Nixon’s own guidelines.

A Teamster from Iowa, driving for Cedar Rapids Steel Transportation Company, voiced his fears: “You know I’m strictly on mileage. The rise in the cost of living is damned important to me. I still don’t know what the new proposal is on mileage. Before I vote for it, I want to know what there is for us. Our present rate is 16.2 cents a mile. That’s not as good as it sounds considering the actual hours we have to put in. Most of the time we get to our destination and have to wait around, sometimes a whole day or longer, before we can get the rig unloaded and then reloaded. In the meantime we’re stuck someplace with nothing to do and don’t get a dime for it.”

Leaders like Fitzsimmons, following the steps of James Hoffa, Dave Beck and Dan Tobin, his predecessors, have at every point attempted to tie the union to the government and settle for any rotten agreement rather than mobilize the strength of the membership. It’s that which has led to the growth of unorganized firms and to the deteriorating job conditions and wages.

The conditions faced by these drivers were summed up by a Teamster militant who has driven for Twin Cities based Murphy Freight Lines for 20 years:

BODY AND SOUL

“When I’m home, I can be called, and I usually am, any time only eight hours after leaving the truck. According to our present union contract I belong to the company body and soul. That includes the time it takes to travel from the terminal to my house. You can’t

really relax, can’t even go to a movie because the company has the right to call you any time, after those few lousy hours, to get your can down and take a trailer to Chicago, or Milwaukee or some other place.”

He added that the vote in Minnesota would be split, with the older men supporting it due to the early retirement provisions. “But the younger guys won’t buy it. They’ve lost too much in inflation since the last contract signed. Retirement is too far away for them to get very excited about it now. But I’ll say this. If they vote ‘no’ in the rest of the country or if a wildcat really gets off the ground as it did in Chicago, everyone here, no matter how he votes, will go along with the movement just as they did three years ago.

“I remember how not only Minnesota drivers, but Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri did too. After the companies got tired of trying to locate freight destined for St. Louis but for some damned reason ended up in places like Duluth or some other remote spot, they got wise and settled on ‘Chicago’ terms.”

OHIO

As for national action he declared: “In my judgement the action this time is going to be in Ohio. That’s the state to watch. They have more Teamsters there than in five or six other states combined. And those men are not going to stand for any nonsense from Fitzsimmons. I happened to be in Chicago three years ago when he proposed his rotten deal. The Teamsters there heard he was flying into the city to try to shove his sellout down their throats. I tell you they had a reception committee waiting for him down at O’Hare but he never arrived. Good he didn’t because he’d have never left that airport alive.”

Midwest News



500 State Troopers have been used in Kalkaska, Michigan to “protect” the site of Shell Oil’s 2 million dollar processing plant, which is being built by nonunion labor.

NLRB Seeks To Bust Militant Chicago Local

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO, July 5—Using the methods of the early 1800s, the National Labor Relations Board today ruled that Teamsters Local 705 had organized gasoline station attendants through a 15 year campaign that is allegedly a “systematic pattern of atrocious illegality.”

This move is aimed at breaking the power of Local 705, whose main body of members, local cartage drivers, had organized the wildcat in 1970 that broke the national Teamsters (IBT) agreement. It is timed to coincide to the contract vote to try to head off another wildcat.

Charging corruption, coercion and racketeering, NLRB Administrative Law Judge Stanley N. Ohlbaum ordered the union to pay back dues and health, welfare and pension benefit money collected from “persons pressured into joining the union and employers forced to contribute to the union.” This decision was also referred to the Justice Department for further action.

This ruling requires the repayment of money collected six months before and after the fil-

ing of charges in November, 1970.

The secretary of Louis Peick, president of Local 705, told the *Bulletin* that the union will appeal to the full NLRB, with no other plans or comments for now. Peick is a national IBT trustee and president of its Chicago Joint Council 25.

A recently retired member of Local 705 spoke to the *Bulletin* about the struggle facing Teamsters:

“By Christ, from the cost of living alone the Teamsters should be getting more than 30 to

35 cents. That’s an awful setback for the drivers. I think we should demand a Congress of Labor and build a third party.

“This Watergate affair, that’s an awful one to crack. Nixon said that he resented being asked to go to the witness stand. I think if he’s guilty, he should have to testify. It makes no difference if he’s the President.

“I think the union leadership is messed up in this too. But if the government’s going to raise the cost of living, they should pay us a decent wage.

St. Louis Local 600 Suspects 'Shady Deal'

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, July 7—Teamsters Local 600 which started the wildcatting against the 1970 contract will meet July 15 to discuss the proposed new contract. Many members are still completely in the dark on what is contained in this contract.

As one driver put it, “There is a shady deal going on. The stewards met last week but they haven’t told the drivers anything. No copies of the contract have been given out. All we know is what we get from the papers.”

In spite of the fact that wage increases called for in the proposed contract are below Nixon’s guidelines, Local 600 has soft-peddled the wage issue and like Fitzsimmons, place other things such as health and welfare benefits and vacations in the forefront.

Since 1970, when Local 600 virtually shut off all truck traffic across the Mississippi during a strike in open defiance of the International leadership, the union has been severely weakened by a drop in membership from 13,000 to 7000. Many trucking companies have moved out of St. Louis to outlying areas in other states in an attempt to break the union.

Other large companies are try-

ing to break the Teamsters by buying their own trucks. Continental Can Company bought 500 units and are using truck drivers from their “company union” to do the work of Teamsters.

ANGER

One worker brought out his anger over Nixon and Watergate: “The Watergate affair shows how rotten the government is. What this country needs is the little man to have a say so in politics.” Another trucker said, “A labor party would be good.”

Two young drivers from out of state expressed the need for decent wage increases that are not in the proposed contract.

One from Little Rock, a member of Local 868, said: “We can’t stick with the wage guidelines—prices are rising much faster. If that’s all we get, we have to reject it.”

The other, from Local 68 in Indiana, said: “I was expecting a buck and a half an hour over three years.”

Watergate And The Fight For Democratic Rights

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary
of the Workers League

St. Louis Monday, July 23 7:30 pm

Transfiguration Church 18th And Biddle

Dayton Tuesday, July 24 7:30 pm

Downtown YMCA 17 West Monument

Kalamazoo Wed., July 25 1:00 pm

Western Michigan University

Woodcock Accepts Phase 4 Controls

BY ED SMITH

The United Auto Workers bureaucracy under President Leonard Woodcock has confirmed that it will collaborate wholeheartedly with President Nixon and the Big Three Auto bosses in enforcing the Phase Four wage "guidelines" on the UAW ranks in the upcoming contract negotiations.

UAW officials are awaiting the results of a Labor-Management Advisory Committee of Nixon's Cost of Living Council. "Now we may at least have some idea of what the limits will be on wages and fringes," said a UAW spokesman.

The UAW leaders are apparently "hoping" that the Nixon Cost of Living Council will approve a limit of seven percent, the same received in the new Teamsters contract. But they are obviously prepared to accept even less if the Nixon Cost of Living Council so decrees.

This is absolutely unacceptable in a period where out of control inflation is actually reducing the standard of living of UAW members. Nothing less than the 20 percent wage increase with a full cost of living escalator fought for by the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party can protect the living standards of UAW members.

St. Louis Auto Ranks Demand GMAD Strike

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS, July 7—On Wednesday June 27 members of United Auto Workers Local 25 voted to strike the General Motors Assembly Division plant here as part of the fight against the attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions facing auto workers.

Over 16,000 grievances have been filed by the union since October 27, 1972 and \$3.5 million is owed to Local 25 members in Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) pay. The chairman of the shop committee, Jack Douglass, and two other zone committeemen have been fired by GM on trumped up charges.

In the recent period production has reached its highest levels for some time as GM stockpiles cars in preparation for the contract negotiations beginning this month. Approximately 1000 workers were called back, bringing the total number to 8200 in the plant. This means there are still 1300 men laid off since the introduction of GMAD.

The strike vote taken by Local 25 on June 27 was the fourth since the mini-strike campaign was ended last November. No strike has ever been called. The men have forced this vote on the Local 25 leadership because of the brutal conditions faced in the plant. The union bureaucrats have only used these strike votes to confuse and dissipate the militancy and fighting spirit of the ranks. They then propose such betrayals as allowing an arbitrator decide whether GM can keep the SUB pay they have stolen from the workers.

STRIKE

The men are predicting that Local 25 will strike when the present contract expires in September and that it could last until February. The Local 25 leadership expects six other GMAD locals to walk out with the St. Louis local. Reportedly Wood-

The situation is made even more scandalous by the fact that UAW President Woodcock himself sits on the Labor-Management Advisory Committee that will attempt to crack down on UAW members wages.

The demand must be raised immediately throughout the UAW for Woodcock to get off the Labor-Management Advisory Committee and stop all collaboration with the anti-labor gangster Nixon and his Phase Four now.

Woodcock's treachery in collaborating with Nixon and Phase Four is even more odious because in the near future the very jobs of thousands upon thousands of UAW members are at stake.

Recently it was revealed in Detroit that the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) funds which provide benefits for laid off UAW members are in a near bankrupt state. And this is at a time of nearly full employment in the industry.

cock has already sanctioned a strike in St. Louis but is refusing to back it with a nationwide strike or even financially with any strike benefits.

The St. Louis strike must become the spearhead of this fight in a drive within auto to make preparations for a nationwide strike and reject Woodcock's sellout deals. This fight is being taken up by the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party around the only program that can rally all auto workers in defense of their jobs and standard of living. Only this mobilization—confronting the political questions posed by the Watergate revelations and Woodcock's coverup for it—can carry forward the fight of Local 25.

GM Demands 7 Day Work Week

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—Workers in several departments at the GM Delco-Moraine plant are being driven to work seven days per week without letup. Some departments are working 10 hours a day six days per week. Not only are the workers tired and worn out by such a strenuous schedule, but upon taking a day off for whatever the necessary reason, they are confronted with bitter harassment.

Workers have been threatened and given disciplinary layoffs as the result of their attempting to turn away some of this overtime. Conditions in general are

Due to manipulation by the Big Three, the SUB is so low on funds that the first serious wave of layoffs will bankrupt them completely and thousands of auto workers and their families who had counted on SUB to help them tide over the layoffs will find themselves destitute.

LAYOFFS

Massive layoffs are definitely on the way in auto. GM President Cole recently announced in Detroit that GM expects a substantial reduction in sales by early 1974. This means big layoffs in GM plants considerably before then—perhaps even before the end of the year.

Chrysler Corporation has boosted its sales over 20 percent in the current model year. But Chrysler officials obviously do not expect this rosy picture to continue forever.

Already a number of workers at Detroit's Lynch Road Plymouth plant have been called down to the front office. There they have been told the plant is 7000 orders behind and Chrysler is losing money on the second shift, so they better "shape up."

Informed sources in the plant report the layoff of the entire second shift—2000 men—will be ordered by the beginning of 1974 and perhaps considerably before then.

The UAW leadership has been making a few noises about "reform" of the SUB funds. But it has nothing to say on the question of layoffs because it fully accepts the "right" of GM, Ford and Chrysler to make their workers unemployed. They are absolutely opposed to the policy of the National Auto Caucus to stop layoffs by instituting the 30 hour work week with 40 hours' pay.

Auto workers must join the fight of the National Auto Caucus of TUALP demanding that Woodcock stop his collaboration with the attacks of the Big Three and Nixon on auto workers' jobs and living standards and instead lead a fight for a decent contract to protect UAW members from these attacks. This can only be done on the basis of the National Auto Caucus program.

reported by one of the workers as being "the worst I've ever seen."

It was stated at a recent union meeting by one of the union officials that on the average there 30 disciplinaries per week. These things are being done by management for the purpose of securing a more favorable position at the bargaining table. Materials are being stockpiled which will be used by management to force the workers out into the street if they are not willing to accept a rotten contract.

These things are happening not only because this is the contract season, but also because of the tremendous economic crisis that faces the corporations. They intend to make the workers pay for it by mass layoffs, wage freezes

Midwest News



Dale, interviewed by the Bulletin.

Mail Carrier

Blasts Contract

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON, Wisc.—Local 507 of the National Association of Letter Carriers is balloting by mail on the national contract. Given a lead by the New York Postal Union, postal workers across the country are taking up a fight for a nationwide strike. The Bulletin interviewed the editor of the 507 Express, the branch publication of the Madison local of the Letters Union about the proposed contract.

Dale replied:

"There's no protection against speedup. Rademacher is trying to sell it to us. There's a pittance of a pay raise. They call it 14 percent, but in wages it's really closer to 8 percent—over two years. The 14 percent includes fringes, like more paid on health insurance.

"We're to get one cent an hour for every 4 percent increase in cost of living. But I've already had to cut down on what my family has been eating in the last six months. During the wage freeze, the government tried to take away even that increase, and we had to go to court to get it back!

"The carrier force is low. When men retire they're not replaced. There hasn't been a letter carrier hired in the last year. They're trying their

darndest to get more work from each carrier. They're now putting in a 'mechanical mark-up' system to do the forwarding of letters in the post office.

"This means a loss of 18 hours a day of office work for carriers in Zone 4, for instance, which means carriers have to spend more time on the street: six or seven hours on the street—six or seven hours out in Wisconsin winters! They keep adding more territory to routes.

"This has been going on nationally. Eventually carriers can't carry all the mail they're assigned to, and have to leave mail at the post office.

DELIVER MORE

"They keep on it, so that the carriers either cut their lunch hours, or drive too fast. They don't care how he does it, he's just supposed to deliver more mail.

"There used to be about 30 corporate heads making over \$25,000 a year, now there's about 1200 who make over \$40,000! When they talk of cutting costs, they never think of the executives; they take it out of the part that creates the service.

"I think more common people need to be in politics now. There's two sides—one does all the work; the other—nothing. From what I know, this country wasn't set up to be this way!"

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for an immediate campaign to be taken up by all locals to stop the intolerable working conditions and get the 40 percent increase necessary with full cost of living through preparing national strike action.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Build Labor Party

(Continued From Page 1)

ponents and against the working class itself. At the same time, Nixon is up to his ears in corruption that expresses his total contempt for even the laws of capitalist democracy.

Nixon is eligible for impeachment not only on the basis of one charge, but on so many that virtually everyone has lost count.

•THE WATERGATE COVER-UP

First, of course, there is the evidence presented by John Dean of Nixon's role in the coverup of the Watergate conspiracy. In the course of his testimony, Dean revealed information related to spying, bribery, enemy lists and Nixon's vicious hatred of even the mildest expression of political dissent. Besides Nixon's actual complicity in the coverup, which Dean documented beyond all doubt, the entire Administration was shown to have been in a plot against almost every guarantee of democratic rights contained in the Bill of Rights.

•SABOTAGE

Throughout the election year, the White House directed a \$100,000 campaign to sabotage the Democratic Party, which came under the jurisdiction of H.R. Haldeman, Nixon's closest associate.

•ILLEGAL CAMPAIGN GIFTS

American Airlines admitted last week that it had made illegal campaign gifts totalling \$55,000 to the Committee to Re-Elect the President. The money was solicited from the airline—which had a case pending before the Civil Aeronautics Board—by Nixon's personal attorney, Herbert Kalmbach.

•OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE

In addition to those examples Dean gave of how Nixon sought to cover up Watergate, it has been learned that the leadership of the Justice Department and Nixon's handpicked FBI director, Patrick Gray, withheld information from its agents that could have led to the uncovering of the illegal White House spy ring called the plumbers long before it was actually exposed.

•SAN CLEMENTE

Under the guise of "security" arrangements, more than \$2 million was spent by the government to make Nixon's estate in San Clemente more profitable to him. The expenditures were also lavished on Nixon's property in Key Biscayne.

•OBSTRUCTING ANTI-TRUST SUITS

It was revealed last week that the Justice Department, while still under John Mitchell, overruled staff recommendations that an investigation of the pricing practices of the Precision Valve Corporation get underway. Why were sound legal arguments for the investigation ignored by Mitchell? Some believe that it may have something to do with the fact that Precision Valve was owned by none other than Robert Abplanalp.

Nixon could be impeached and actually sent to jail for any one of these crimes, which involve a host of charges. But this viciously anti-labor government is kept in office by the treacherous support of the trade union bureaucracy—like the Teamsters leadership—which are tied to Nixon not only by the bounds of political solidarity, but by illegal contributions financed out of the welfare plan of the members.

A new leadership pledged to the building of a labor party must now be constructed in the trade unions through the struggle to force Nixon out. This means a bitter battle against the trade union bureaucracy which will not challenge Nixon.

The Workers League, Young Socialists and Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on all workers to join the fight to build this leadership.

What
we
think

The Constitutional Crisis

The United States is in the midst of the most fundamental constitutional crisis in its history. Each day more and more evidence piles up implicating the President of the United States in illegal activities. But Nixon, claiming executive prerogatives based on the Constitution, refuses to give evidence before the Congressional investigating committee. At the same time he has defied Congress over his continued bombing of Cambodia and over spending funds appropriated by Congress.

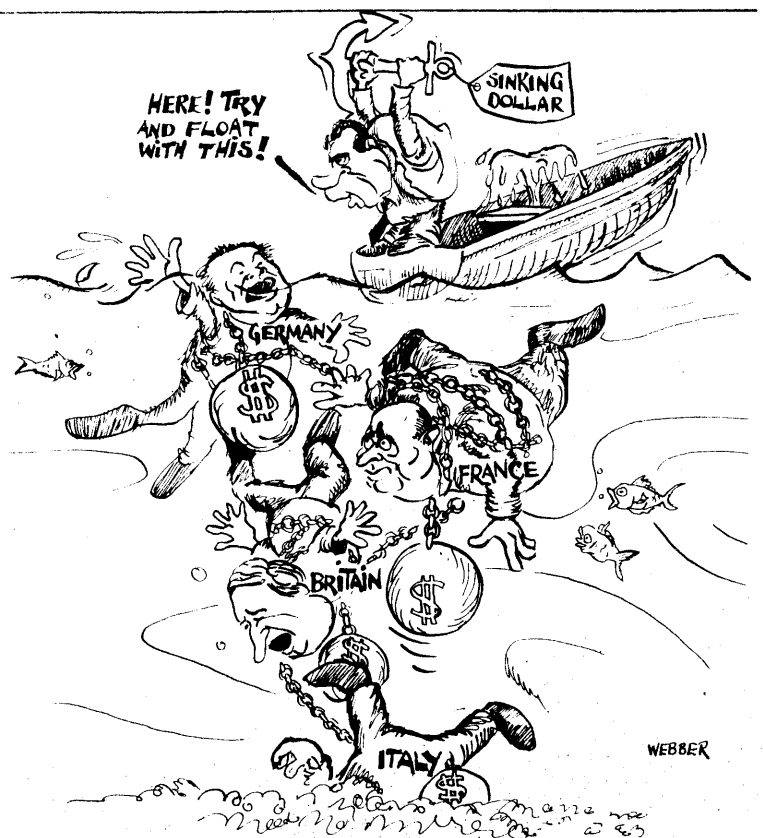
This situation is compounded by the character of the illegal acts with which Nixon is being charged. These acts were aimed at political opponents, critics of his policies and the working class itself. They involved activities of staff members of the executive which took place secretly without check by the legislature. In addition are a number of charges involving amassing great quantities of wealth for the purpose of maintaining Nixon and his supporters in office for perpetuity. These funds came from a variety of special interests dependent on government protection, including interests closely associated with the Mafia itself.

The question now sharply posed is whether the American Constitution itself can survive this crisis. All the contradictions originally built into the Constitution now explode the relations between the departments of government because the crisis of the capitalist economic system is also at the exploding point. Watergate reveals that there are powerful forces at work who wish to replace the Constitution in practice, not with a more democratic form of rule, but with open dictatorship. Before this threat Congress has remained prostrate.

The Constitution itself was drafted in secret session by representatives of the wealthy class in America.

The major preoccupation of the original drafters was to develop a system of government which would permit, as it had to, the participation of the majority in voting while preventing the majority from utilizing this power to act against the privileged minority. It was to achieve this goal that the original "checks and balances" between executive, legislative and judicial departments were developed.

Out of this situation emerged



the idea of the presidency. It was modelled after the British king. In fact, some of the drafters favored the establishment of a monarchy with Washington suggested as the king. However, the memories of the American Revolution were still too strong in the land, with its mobilization of masses of small farmers and artisans against the arbitrary actions of the crown. As a substitute a president was proposed who served for four years, was elected through a complicated, indirect method of choosing electors, and who could be removed only with the greatest difficulty.

In the early period this system worked pretty well. Over 90 percent of the tiny population were small farmers and the main opposition to the capitalist rulers came from this strata. The farmers, though desperately poor, were property owners and the nature of the conflicts not fundamental enough to place the constitutional system under undue strain.

Today the situation is fundamentally changed. Less than 10 percent of the population remains on the farms and the overwhelming mass are industrial workers concentrated in the great cities and surrounding urban areas. America, no longer only an exporter of agricultural goods dependent on Britain for capital and manufactured goods, dominates the world which in turn is dependent on America. It dominates the world under conditions of the most fundamental crisis in the history of the capitalist system.

"As depressing as Watergate is," the Wall Street Journal editorializes, "the economic

developments are even more so." The problem is that this economic crisis brings out sharply the unresolved contradictions built into the American form of democratic capitalist rule.

Under these conditions the executive moves with greater and greater arbitrary independence of Congress and above all of the workers who make up the majority of the population. Congress, even if it were to try to seriously resist this encroachment, which to date it has not, will get no help from the judiciary stacked with men chosen by the president and unremovable for life. The problem lies not only in the difficulties this poses even to the capitalists in making a swift shift in government at a time when the crisis explodes daily. Sections of the ruling class can take advantage of the dissatisfaction of the middle class with this situation by moving quite illegally through the military regardless of what Congress says or the Constitution provides. What has happened in Uruguay can definitely happen here.

The only road forward under these circumstances lies in the development of a leadership in the working class. There must now be the bitterest fight against the corrupt labor bureaucracy and a new leadership built in the fight for labor to form its own party, call a Congress of its own, and prepare to fight for Nixon's removal and his replacement with a workers government. At the same time such a leadership will prepare the working class to confront the dangers to all democratic rights which now immediately arise.

Building The Bulletin

After an extremely slow start, the Young Socialist subscription drive has finally taken a major spurt forward. This past week we received 381 subs, bringing the drive total to 644 towards the goal of 3000 by August 15.

Much of this gain came from New York City branches which brought in 191 subs. A tremendous response was received from unemployed veterans, young workers at the Navy Yard and Williamsburg Steel, and from youth at the beaches on July 4.

In order to meet our goal of 2000 subs by the two-thirds mark of July 25 we will need 700 subs per week from now on in. This will require a big fight centered on actual sub mobilizations in the parks, beaches, unemployment and job centers, and along with the Bulletin in house to house work.

Bulletin subs continue to come in, but slowly. This week was our best so far with 187 subs giving us a total of 682 for the summer period. Now renewal work must be combined with sub mobilization work featuring both the YS and Bulletin to bring the weekly figures up to 400.

TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM



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

PART TWO

Because of his closer proximity to the masses in Petrograd Trotsky was sometimes more correct than Lenin who was in exile—and later—in hiding in the Vyborg district of Petrograd.

Lenin, according to a footnote by Trotsky to the Appendix I of his 'History of the Russian Revolution' quoted yesterday, admitted during the Third Congress of the Communist International that he himself had made 'ultra-left' mistakes, especially while an emigré, 'including one during his last "emigration" in Finland in 1917, when he defended

a less expedient plan of insurrection than the one actually carried out'.

This is obviously an oblique reference to Lenin's proposal to Smilga ('Lenin'. By David Shub. Pelican, p. 267) to organize an insurrectionary headquarters in Finland as well as his later advice to the Bolsheviks to time the insurrection for opening of Northern Congress of Soviets in September.

In the end, although he disagreed initially with the postponement of the insurrection by three weeks, Lenin in fact, worked out the plan which enabled the Bolsheviks to execute the insurrection on the eve of the Second Congress of Soviets.

So the charge of 'constitutionalism' by the authors of 'Against Trotskyism', who

claim Trotsky wanted to delay the insurrection to coincide with the Second Congress of the Soviets, sounds extremely hollow when levelled against the man whom Lenin praised for leading the walk-out from the 'Democratic Pre-Parliament' a few weeks before the October seizure of power.

The 'Pre-Parliament', or 'Council of the Republic', was established by the Democratic Conference—an assembly of bourgeois and social-democratic reactionaries which was convened during the period of the struggle against General Kornilov's attempt to overthrow Kerensky.

The purpose of the 'Pre-Parliament' was to circumvent the convocation of a Constituent Assembly and, at the same time, distract attention from the Soviets as instruments of power.

The right wing of the Bolsheviks—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Nogin and others—wanted to continue sitting in this bogus parliament in the same way as they had supported the Democratic Conference in spite of Lenin's insistence that they quit it.

Only a minority of Bolshevik leaders—principally Lenin and Trotsky—were in favour of boycotting the 'Pre-Parliament' as a conclusive demonstration of their break with bourgeois constitutionalism and of their

determination to seize power and overthrow Kerensky's regime.

When Trotsky proposed boycott of the Democratic Conference he was voted down—but he was warmly supported by Lenin.

As a result of their joint efforts, the vote was reversed at a later meeting of the Bolshevik faction.

On October 23 Trotsky led the walk-out from the 'Pre-Parliament'. Six days later the Petrograd Soviet under Trotsky's chairmanship created the Military Revolutionary Committee, the organization which led the insurrection of November 7, 1917.

Lenin's praise of Trotsky is the most convincing and irrefutable answer to those who lyngly accuse Trotsky of 'constitutionalism'.

'Trotsky was for the boycott. Bravo, Comrade Trotsky! Boycottism was beaten in the Bolshevik faction attending the Democratic Conference. Long live the boycott!' ('Proletarskaya Revolyutsia', No 3, 1924. See 'The Stalin School of Falsification' p. 12.)

The Stalinists will find it impossible to cite a single quotation from Lenin giving praise of this order to Stalin!

As a matter of curiosity it is worth pointing out that the only quotation from Lenin used in 'Against Trotskyism' to

Trotsky addressing the Red Army in Poland, above. Kerensky, below.



sustain the charge of 'constitutionalism' does not mention Trotsky anywhere!

Lenin wrote it obviously as a warning to Zinoviev and Kamenev who were opposed to the seizure of power and wanted to postpone it indefinitely and let the Mensheviks convene the Congress of Soviets at their convenience.

This is the only construction that can be laid on Lenin's terse sentence: '... if the Bolsheviks allowed themselves to be caught in the trap of constitutional illusions, "faith" in the Congress of Soviets and in the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, "waiting" for the Congress of Soviets, and so forth—these Bolsheviks would most cer-



tainly be miserable traitors to the proletarian cause.' ('Against Trotskyism', p. 124. Our emphasis.)

Stalin's role in this very crucial turning point of Bolshevism has for years been obscured by his own official propagandists. But from the publications of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism itself we can reveal exactly where he stood.

After quoting Lenin's outright condemnation of Zinoviev and Kamenev, the book 'V. I. Lenin—A Biography' goes on: 'This was Lenin's uncompromising attitude. But his attitude to these strike-breakers was not supported by everyone.

'Stalin, for instance, without consulting the Central Committee and other members of the "Rabochy Put" ["Workers Path"] editorial board, published a letter from Zinoviev in the October 20 issue of the paper containing a completely unsupported denial of Lenin's charges against him.

'Stalin published an editorial note asserting that with Zinoviev's statement [in 'Rabochy Put'] and Kamenev's [in the Petrograd Soviet] "the question may be regarded as settled. The harsh tone of Comrade Lenin's article does not alter the fact that basically we still share the same views".'

And the writers of this biography add: 'Stalin thus exhibited a conciliatory attitude to the strike-breakers of the October Revolution.'

His action, taken four days before the insurrection, was seen as an act of political solidarity with Zinoviev and Kamenev and, fearful of the anger of his fellow Bolsheviks, Stalin tendered his resignation from the editorial board of the paper. The CC, however, rejected his resignation.

All contemporary accounts link together the names of Lenin and Trotsky as the principal

leaders of the workers' state. It was under Stalin that history was rewritten and even photographs doctored to erase Trotsky from the record and retrospectively 'justify' the ideology of bureaucracy.

The Brest-Litovsk controversy within the Bolshevik Party is no exception to this Stalinist rule.

The book 'Against Trotskyism' misrepresents and falsifies the attitude of Trotsky only in order to conceal the essential unity of perspective and method which enabled Trotsky and Lenin to stand together against the petty-bourgeois opposition in the final and decisive phase of the Brest-Litovsk crisis.

The first phase of the Brest-Litovsk drama lasted from December 2, when the provisional armistice was signed between the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers, to the beginning of January 1918, when the Germans uncovered their brutal terms for an imperialist 'peace'.

During this period Lenin was in full agreement with the stalling tactics of the Bolshevik delegation because he, together with Trotsky, hoped for the outbreak of a German revolution.

On January 5 the talks became deadlocked and the Bolsheviks were faced with two alternatives: prosecute a suicidal war or agree to outrageous peace terms. The German revolution was still maturing, but had not materialized.

This created a division of opinion within the Bolsheviks and at the January 8 and January 11 meetings of leading Bolsheviks, the leadership split three ways. Lenin was for an immediate peace and a breathing space until the German revolution materialized and the peasants received the land

in Russia.

Trotsky was for a position of 'neither peace nor war' which, he hoped, would provoke a breakdown in the negotiations and enable the Bolsheviks to blame the Germans for any subsequent peace treaty.

Bukharin and others were implacably opposed to peace and for a 'revolutionary war'.

Trotsky's attitude was influenced and mitigated by the fact that in January 1918 Germany was in the throes of a huge strike wave and soviets appeared for the first time in Vienna and Berlin. The revolution, however, was still 11 months away.

Lenin's defeat at this session did not embitter him against Trotsky. On the contrary, Lenin realized that, given the situation created by the German demands, the only way to defeat the 'immediate war' faction was to support or at least not obstruct Trotsky's formula.

At the January 11 CC, Lenin modified his position to 'drag out the signing of the peace in every way'. This was carried by 12 votes to one. Thus on January 12 the joint session of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks and Left Social-Revolutionaries resolved, by a majority of votes, to propose Trotsky's formula to the Congress of Soviets.

Although the authors of 'Against Trotskyism' fail to mention it, the minutes of the succeeding Central Committee reveal that even Stalin had to defend Trotsky's formula (after the event, of course):

'Session of February 1 [January 19] 1918; Comrade Stalin: . . . The way out of this difficult situation was provided by the middle point of view—the position of Trotsky.' ('Stalin' by Leon Trotsky, Panther History, Volume II, p. 22.)

The next stage of the Brest-Litovsk crisis lasted from January 18 to February 18 when the Germans and Austrians, exasperated by a month of talks, launched their offensive

against Russia.

At the Central Committee meeting on January 17, Lenin proposed the immediate signing of the treaty regardless of material and territorial sacrifice. He was voted down—but by only one vote.

On January 18 the Central Committee met again. At the first session Lenin was once again voted down by one vote, but at the second session of the Central Committee meeting Trotsky—convinced equally by Lenin's realism and by the German entry into the Ukraine—rallied to Lenin's side and with his single vote gave Lenin the necessary majority to begin negotiations for peace. This concluded the dispute.

Trotsky's differences with Lenin were legitimate political differences arising out of different and conflicting estimations of the German events, which were based sometimes on incomplete and fragmentary information. This was what Brest-Litovsk proved in a very dramatic fashion.

These differences with Lenin, however, have been magnified beyond all proportion by Stalin's henchmen. Here is what they say in 'Against Trotskyism':

'Documents show that on the question of the Brest Peace Treaty, Trotsky maintained an anti-Leninist stand, criminally exposing the newly emerged Soviet Republic to mortal danger.

'As head of the Soviet delegation to the peace talks, he ignored the instructions of the party Central Committee and the Soviet government.

'At a crucial moment of the talks he declared that the Soviet government was unilaterally withdrawing from the war, announced that the Russian Army was being demobilized, and left Brest-Litovsk.

'This gave the German Command the pretext it desired for ending the armistice. "We can only be saved in the true sense of the word, by a European revolution," he said. (Extra-

ordinary Seventh Congress of the RCP(b), verbatim report, Russ. ed. Moscow, 1962, p. 65.)

'The German army mounted an offensive and occupied considerable territory. As a result much harsher peace terms were put forward by the German government.

'On account of Trotsky's adventurism, Lenin wrote, Soviet Russia signed "a much more humiliating peace, and the blame for this rests upon those who refused to accept the former peace".' ('Against Trotskyism' p. 13.)

Oh the times! Oh the morals!

When the Brest-Litovsk controversy was first distorted out of all proportion by the early Stalinists in the 1920s it was a central feature of the argument that Trotsky constantly 'underestimated' the peasantry.

Trotsky, so it was alleged by the Party hacks, wanted a revolutionary war against Germany because he underestimated the war weariness of the peasantry.

The purpose of this argument was to woo the rich and middle peasants on whom the bureaucracy relied in their campaign against the opposition.

Today, however, the bureaucracy has little need for such an argument, since the rich peasants have long since been 'liquidated as a class' as Stalin succinctly put it.

In the 1930s the 'underestimation of the peasantry' thesis was replaced by the retrospective argument—outrageous and incredible—that Trotsky sabotaged Brest Litovsk in the interests of a fascism that had still to be established.

This is how the Soviet 'History of the Bolshevik Party', published in 1939, explained Trotsky:



'At that time it was not yet clear to the Party what was the real reason for this anti-Party behaviour of Trotsky and of the "left communists".

'But as has been recently established by the trial of the anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists" (beginning of 1938) Bukharin and the group of "left communists" headed by him, jointly with Trotsky and the "left" Essars, were already then in the secret conspiracy against the Soviet government. Bukharin, Trotsky and their fellow conspirators, it has developed [sic] aimed to annul the Brest Peace Treaty, to arrest V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, Ya M. Sverdlov, kill them, and form a new government of Bukharinites, Trotskyites and the "left" Essars.' ('Stalin' by Trotsky Vol II. Panther History, p. 21 1969.)

The present authors do not resort to this calumny because to do so would be to raise again the vexed question of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the 1950s.

The convulsions of the bureaucracy, as Trotsky explained, here once again show how the requirements of historical falsification change.

Despite these thematic variations, the method of the present-day distorters remains essentially the same as their predecessors.

They carefully conceal the identity of the most incorrigible opponents of peace and the protagonists of revolutionary war: the faction of Left Communists, led by Bukharin, Dzerzhinsky, Radek, Kollontai and others.

This group comprised a majority in the Bolshevik central committee. At the central committee meeting on January 8, 1918, called to decide on the acceptance of the first set of German terms for an armistice, the 'revolutionary war' faction received 32 votes.

Lenin, who was for immediate peace, got 15 and Trotsky's resolution of 'neither

war nor peace' received 16, i.e. an aggregate of 31 votes.

Thus even if Trotsky had supported Lenin on this particular occasion there is little evidence to show that peace on the German terms would have been secured: The Bukharin faction still had a majority.

The 'revolutionary war' faction, as Lenin defined it, echoed the Philistine patriotism of the petty-bourgeois masses, which was considerable.

The interests of these social groups were most clearly articulated by the Left Social Revolutionaries who broke from the Bolsheviks and staged an insurrection against Soviet power after the conclusion of the Brest Treaty in March 1918.

This position of 'revolutionary war' was a very far cry from Trotsky's defence of 'neither war nor peace'. Trotsky understood as well as Lenin the war weariness and land hunger of the Soviet peasantry who comprised a majority of the Russian army.

His attitude was completely opposed to the war faction, as he explained in his letter to the Bureau of Party History:

'If I stood, at the time, for postponing as long as possible the moment of capitulation to Hohenzollern, it was not for the purpose of calling forth a revolutionary war, but in order to arouse the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary to as great a revolutionary activity as possible.

'The decision to announce a state of war as terminated, without signing a forced peace, was dictated by the intention of testing in action whether or not Hohenzollern was still able to wage war against the revolution.

'The decision was adopted by the majority of our Central Committee* and approved by the majority of the fraction of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

Lenin regarded that decision as the lesser evil since a very considerable section of the party leadership was for the Bukharinist "revolutionary war", ignoring not only the condition of the peasants, but also of the labouring masses.

'The signing of the peace treaty with Hohenzollern exhausted entirely my episodic differences with Lenin on that question, and our work proceeded in complete harmony

... Just a few days after the signing of the peace, I was placed—on the motion of Vladimir Llyich—at the head of the military work.' ('Stalin School of Falsification' Pioneer Publishers 1962 p. 26-27.)

The Stalinist editors deliberately omit to mention that it was Trotsky's single vote that enabled the 'peace' faction to triumph over the 'war' faction at the decisive CC session held on February 18, 1918, to consider the very onerous terms dictated by General Hoffman after the German offensive which followed the breakdown of the Brest negotiations.

Lenin's confidence in Trotsky—based on political agreement about the prospects of world revolution—was greatly enhanced by the final agreement over the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty.

In his reply to the debate on the political report of the Central Committee (March 8, 1918) which the editors of 'Against Trotskyism' reproduce—Lenin pays a balanced and generous tribute to Trotsky while not sparing his lack of tactical judgement.

'Now I must say something about Comrade Trotsky's position. There are two aspects to his activities; when he began the negotiations at Brest and made splendid use [sic] of

Trotsky and the Soviet delegation arriving for the Brest-Litovsk talks, page 10. In the early stages of the crisis even Stalin had to defend Trotsky's formula. The later differences between Trotsky and Lenin were shown to be legitimate political ones arising out of the different and conflicting estimation of the German events. Above, a massive demonstration of German workers. Stalin, below, said: "No revolutionary movement exists in the West..."



them for agitation, we all agreed with Comrade Trotsky ... Trotsky's tactics were correct as long as they were aimed at delaying matters; they became incorrect when it was announced that the state of war had been terminated but peace had not been concluded.' (P. 149, ibid).

What has this appreciation in common with the Stalinist slander that 'Trotsky maintained an anti-Leninist stand, criminally exposing the newly-emerged Soviet Republic to mortal danger'? Nothing whatever!

What the dialectic of the debate did show, however, was that those who supported Lenin in the early stages, like Stalin and Zinoviev, did so for entirely different and opposed reasons.

Unlike Lenin, Stalin and Zinoviev supported peace at

any price because they were completely sceptical of the European working class.

At the January 11 CC meeting, Lenin criticized Trotsky for proposing 'an international political demonstration' from the tribune at Brest, but at the same time dissociated himself far more sharply from the remarks of Stalin and Zinoviev who opposed Trotsky from an anti-internationalist and chauvinist angle.

It would not be presumptuous to state that the following remarks of Stalin, and Zinoviev, culled from the minutes of this CC, caused more embarrassment to Lenin than the mistaken evaluation made by Trotsky:

Stalin: 'Comrade Stalin feels that by adopting the slogan of revolutionary war we are playing into the hands of imperialism. Trotsky's stand is unten-

able. No revolutionary movement exists in the west, there are no facts, only potentialities, and we cannot take potentialities into consideration. [Shades of Socialism in one country!]

'If the Germans begin an offensive it will strengthen the counter-revolution in our country.'

Zinoviev: 'We are confronted of course by a serious surgical operation because by signing peace we shall strengthen chauvinism in Germany and for some time weaken the movement throughout the west. The other prospect looming before us is the destruction of the Socialist Republic.' (Minutes of the Central Committee of the RSDLP (B) August 1917—February 1918. Russ. ed. Moscow, 1958 pp. 171-172.)

Lenin's comments on the speeches of his two supporters not only reveal the enormous gulf separating Lenin's intransigent internationalism from the national-reformism of Stalin, but also refutes the pervasive Moscow lie that Lenin's foreign policy was based on the principles of 'peaceful co-existence'.

The minutes of the CC for January 11 (24) 1918 leave absolutely no room for speculation on this score:

'Comrade Lenin points out that he is not in agreement on some points with his supporters, Stalin and Zinoviev. Of course there is a mass movement in the west, but the revolution has not yet begun.

'But if we were to alter our tactics because of that, we should be traitors to international socialism. He does not agree with Zinoviev that the conclusion of peace will for a time weaken the movement in the west.

'If we believe that the German movement can develop immediately, in the event of an interruption of the peace negotiations, then we must sacrifice ourselves, for the

German revolution will have a force much greater than ours.' ('On Trotskyism' p. 130.)

Lenin's optimism—and Trotsky's too—in relation to the German working class was confirmed by the November 1918 revolution which enabled the Bolsheviks to unilaterally renounce the Brest-Litovsk treaty without declaring hostilities. In short to declare a state of 'neither war nor peace!'

Were we to use the historical method adopted by the authors of this book, it would be possible to show without difficulty that Lenin, in the course of the war with Poland two years after Brest-Litovsk, did far more 'damage' than Trotsky's position at Brest-Litovsk.

Lenin's policy on this question, incidentally, gives the lie directly to all those Stalinist pundits who try to portray him as a pioneer of the idea of 'peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems'.

Nothing was further from Lenin's mind in the struggle with Pilsudski, which broke out on May 1, 1920. The Polish troops invaded the Ukraine on that date, urged on by the British government and Winston Churchill. Within six weeks, the Poles were in full retreat.

When Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, proposed on July 11, 1920, that Britain should mediate between the Red Army and the badly-battered Poles, who had tried to invade the Ukraine, the Bolshevik leadership rejected his offer by a majority.

Instead, Lenin favoured 'a furious speeding-up of the offensive on Poland'.

Trotsky, who opposed Lenin

on the Politburo, favoured halting the Red Army at the Curzon line previously proposed as the frontier by the British Foreign Minister and making a public peace offer.

Lenin and the Politburo majority favoured carrying the pursuit of the Poles into Warsaw and beyond. Trotsky correctly feared that an invasion even by the Red Army would inflame Polish nationalist sentiment and enable Pilsudski to rally the peasant masses on the basis of bitter memories of Great Russian repression under the Tsars.

Lenin hoped that the Red Army intervention in Poland would spark revolution there and that the arrival of the Red Army on Germany's frontier would have a similar effect in Germany too.

These hopes proved illusory: the Soviet forces, as Trotsky had feared, were defeated and routed on the Vistula before Warsaw. The offensive owed its failure not only to the unfavourable political conjuncture and to its adventurous character, but also to the personal, subjective ambition of the political commissar in charge of the southern invasion army, Joseph Stalin.

Stalin wanted to cover himself in glory by entering the town of Lvov at the same time as Tuchachevsky, commanding the northern wing of the army, was entering Warsaw. This ambition ran completely contrary to the requirements of the plan of battle because it opened a widening gulf between the two wings of the Red forces.

Demands from Moscow to close the gap were ignored by Stalin and it was into the gap between the two armies that Pilsudski—advised by Marshal Foch—aimed his successful counter stroke.

Contrary to Stalinist legend, Lenin did not believe in the conception that socialism could be built in a single country. He was prepared to gamble for high stakes in the

hope of provoking revolution abroad and assisting the workers of the west to come to the aid of the Soviet Union by overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

His position contains not a trace of the bureaucratic nationalist prejudice embodied in the Philistine concept of 'peaceful co-existence'.

The Polish episode alone gives the lie to the version of the Brest-Litovsk events put forward by the editors of 'Against Trotskyism'. It demonstrates that Lenin's thought was dominated by the 'Trotskyist' idea that revolution in the west was essential to save the Soviet Union from degeneration and defeat and that he was prepared even to undertake a sally into Poland to try and hasten this process.

The defeat on the Vistula in the west enabled the White Guard forces of General Wrangel to invade the Caucasus in the south. As a result the Soviets signed a provisional peace with Poland in October 1920.

This peace proved extremely precarious because Pilsudski, backed by the *entente* powers, hoped to nullify it and resume hostilities. If the Soviets had fallen for Pilsudski's intrigues, the consequences for the USSR would have proved far more serious than those which might have attended Trotsky's refusal to sign the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

All the calumny and distortion of the Soviet Press and historians cannot hide the fact that it was Trotsky's unbending determination to avoid another disastrous advance onto Warsaw which alone saved the Bolshevik regime and enabled it to meet the severe challenge of the transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy of 1921.

Isaac Deutscher in the 'Prophet Armed' describes the curious reversal of roles be-

tween Lenin and Trotsky in this historically-famous episode.

'Trotsky relates that Lenin was at first inclined towards war, but only half-heartedly. At any rate, Trotsky insisted on peace and on the loyal observance of the provisional treaty with Poland; and once again he found himself in danger of being outvoted and reduced to the dutiful execution of a policy he abhorred.

'From this he at last shrank. He decided that the differences went so deep that this time he would not feel bound by any majority decision or by Politburo solidarity and that, if outvoted, he would appeal to the party against its leadership.

'He used a threat similar to that which Lenin had, with overwhelming effect, used in the controversy over Brest, and he, too, achieved his purpose . . . for now Lenin deserted the war faction and shifted his influence to back Trotsky. Peace was saved.' ('The Prophet Armed', Oxford University Publishers, 1954, p. 469.)

Far from weakening the USSR the controversies between Lenin and Trotsky on tactics and even aspects of strategy did strengthen the collaboration of these leaders and contributed to the strengthening of the Soviet state and party leadership.

The Polish events are, in this sense, the most damning exposure of the Stalinist-idealist attempt to portray Lenin as an impeccable Pope of Communism and Trotsky as an incorrigible Bolshevik of and Bolshevik.

TO BE CONTINUED

* This is a reference to the January 11 (1918) CC meeting where Lenin proposed that the CC authorize Trotsky to delay the signing of peace by every possible means. Trotsky's motion to demobilize the army, to terminate the war but not to sign the treaty was passed by 9 votes to 7.

books from labor publications

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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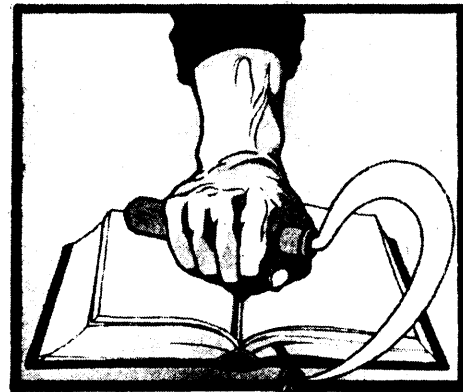
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Lou Belkin films

Monsieur Verdoux's Profit Motive

MONSIEUR VERDOUX. Starring Charlie Chaplin. Directed and produced by Chaplin.

Monsieur Verdoux, the crowning achievement of Charlie Chaplin, has made its long-awaited and oft-postponed return to New York. Driven out of the United States along with its star more than 20 years ago in the midst of the anti-communist witch-hunt, people are once again lining up to see Chaplin's devastating satire.

For a while it looked like **Monsieur Verdoux** would never quite make it back. Its scheduled run was supposed to begin a year ago, but the assigned theater interrupted its festival of Chaplin movies to cash in on the pornography market. A number of months passed before another theater, the Paris, opened its doors to **Verdoux** last week.

While Chaplin always leaned toward a certain maudlin sentimentality, there is little of the naivete that marred the 1940 sound feature, **The Great Dictator**, in **Monsieur Verdoux**. The experience of the war hardened Chaplin. In the earlier film, Chaplin had the individual goodness of a little Jewish barber saving the world from the catastrophe of World War Two. But in **Verdoux**, written, directed and of course starring Chaplin eight years later, it is the brutality and corruption of capitalism that is the fundamental theme.

Monsieur Verdoux is a character who,



having been fired from his job as a bank clerk at the onset of the depression in France early in the 1930s, turned to the more profitable pursuit of marrying and murdering old maids and dowagers for their money. He romances and murders whenever he receives margin calls from his Paris stockbroker, with whom Verdoux is heavily overinvested.

Rather than allowing himself to be wiped out as the Paris exchange slumps lower and lower, Verdoux races off to one of his many wives, convinces them to take their money out of the bank, kills them in the evening, disposes of the body, and then races back to Paris or wires the money to his broker.

"DOMESTIC"

All along, Verdoux maintains his real family with a paternal devotion that is a savage put down of the sacred bourgeois conventions of "domestic" life. The easy transition which Verdoux makes from his cold-blooded business transactions to the role of the loving father and husband is one of the film's most brilliant conceptions. With his hands dripping with blood from the previous evening's work, Verdoux walks elegantly into his living room and chides his son for pulling the tail of a pet cat. "Goodness, I cannot imagine from where you get that streak of cruelty," says Verdoux.

Verdoux never feels the slightest remorse. After all, it is necessary for him to make a living. Constantly, Chaplin makes the point that Verdoux does on a small scale only that which is practiced regularly by those more powerful on a far greater scale. As Verdoux says at one point, he kills 12 women for money and is called a murderer. The government begins a war for the purpose of making money and murders millions, but its generals are called heroes and given medals. "Numbers sanctify," says Verdoux.

The very excuse that Verdoux gives for his actions—his family—is a bitter comment on the hypocritical morality of the capitalist class.

The comic genius of Chaplin is such that his comedy never degrades the serious nature of the film. And **Monsieur Verdoux**



Chaplin with Annabella (Martha Raye), above, and below that, the last moments of his career just before his arrest.

is very funny—could it be otherwise with Chaplin? The use of his voice actually accentuates all the great gifts he developed as the "Little Tramp" of the silent features. His portrayal of the elegant Verdoux captures both the murderer, the businessman, the poet, and the former bank clerk who counts thick wads of paper currency with the speed of a man who spent 30 years as a teller.

FLOOZY

There are too many portions of the film that caused belly laughs in at least this reviewer to describe with full justice. Martha Raye, playing a floozy who hit the lottery jackpot, is the one wife that Verdoux cannot kill simply because she is too clumsy and frenetic to be a victim. Their misadventures prove to be the undoing of Verdoux's career, which is destroyed at any rate by the collapse of the market.

Verdoux lingers on for several years before the police and the bereaved family of one of his victims discover him and he makes no attempt to escape. By this time, the mass slaughter of the war is about to begin and the armaments business is the

thing to be in—as Verdoux learns from a young millionairess whom he had once taken pity on during her less fortunate days—but justice demands that Verdoux face his punishment.

NOT APOLOGIZING

Not apologizing for anything, he tells the court upon hearing that he is to die on the guillotine: "I will see you all...very soon." And when the priest comes to his cell to take confession, Verdoux asks him spritely: "What can I do for you, Father?" Somewhat shaken, the priest asks, "Have you no remorse for your sins?" Verdoux answers, "What would you be doing without sins."

Cardinal Spellman, the liberal and right-wing press, the Hollywood guardians of American morals and the Congress were horrified by **Verdoux**. What were all those harsh American accents doing in a film that was supposed to take place in France? What is Chaplin up to? It was the biggest gang-up in the history of movie making.

But **Verdoux** is back and it should be seen.

BY PHIL WILLIAMS

Within the last few months, the leading oil companies—Exxon, Mobil, Texaco and others—have swung into action with a high pressure media campaign to convince American workers that a critical gasoline shortage has overtaken the country.

Prices for regular gas have shot up to nearly 50 cents a gallon in metropolitan areas. Workers on vacation with their families face rationing by many stations along turnpikes and the interstate highway system, and the Nixon Administration has threatened to impose special gasoline taxes and impose rationing throughout the country.

The gasoline shortage follows on the heels of last winter's fuel oil shortage and warnings that the US reserves of natural gas are rapidly being depleted, both of which led to sharply higher heating and electricity costs.

Capitalism indisputably faces an energy crisis because of the inability and unwillingness of the capitalist class to risk the enormous basic investments required to develop new supplies of fossil fuels and new sources of energy. The current gasoline shortage, however, which is biting into the already shrinking paychecks, is clearly being contrived by the five major oil producers.

The purpose of this unprecedented conspiracy is three-fold. First, the companies want to increase prices and their already record breaking profit margins. This they have already done just in time for Nixon's price freeze which allows gasoline prices to remain at all time highs for the rest of the summer.

Secondly, the five biggest producers, which now control 32.5 percent of the domestic distribution of gasoline, want to drive the independent distributors out of business.

In the past decade, the small independents have been able to expand their share of the market from 20 percent to about a third, threatening the ability of the major producers to maintain their control over monopoly pricing arrangements.

"SHORTAGE"

Basing themselves on the tremendous growth in gasoline consumption during the boom period, the small independents were able to cut into the market dominated by the big producers by buying their excess gas supplies in large volume and on short contract (usually a month) and then selling it at retail at a low profit margin, using reduced service and other cost cutting methods to undercut the major oil company stations.

The third objective of the current "shortage" is to persuade Congress to underwrite the billions of dollars in basic investments necessary to open up new oil fields for exploitation and to push through the Alaskan oil pipeline project which environmental groups have so far stymied.

The first goal has already been reached, with gas pumps across the country announcing record price levels. The profits of the big companies are soaring as well—and they were already at historical highs. Exxon's first quarter 1973 profits were 43 percent above the year before, while the profits of all five major producers stood 26 percent higher.

In the first week of June, Sun

Oil announced it will pay 20 to 45 cents per barrel more for the crude oil it purchases from producers in the Southwest, while on June 3, the big oil companies came to an agreement with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Companies raising crude oil prices 11.9 percent as a result of Nixon's devaluation of the dollar.

Prices for gasoline have risen even more than justified by the rising cost of crude oil. Premium gas in New York City is now over 50 cents a gallon, and wholesale prices to the independent distributors and large volume governmental users has also skyrocketed.

The city of Baltimore, for example, has agreed to pay 50 percent more for its annual fuel supply this year. "We're over a barrel," City Controller Hyman A. Pressman said. The Massachusetts Turnpike Authority found itself in a similar situation. It had to pay Atlantic Richfield 49 percent more for its fuel than it had a year earlier, according to the Wall Street Journal.

"I don't think this thing is a natural shortage; it must be man made," Frederick, Maryland, dealer Junior Blank told the Baltimore Sun. "The people who run the industry must have known this thing was coming." Another dealer, Paul Wagoner of Cumberland, said the "shortage" "came up too fast to suit me."

BLOW

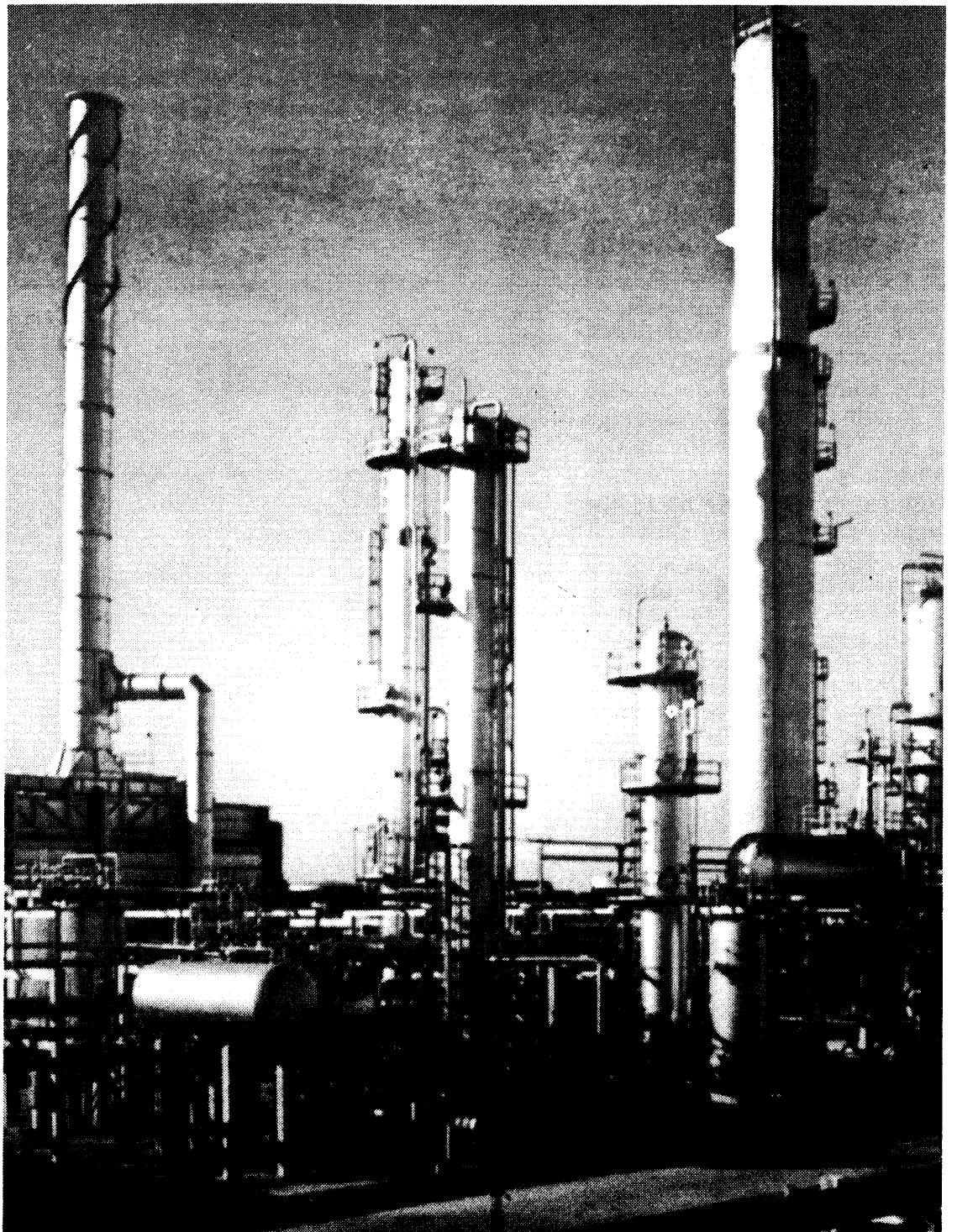
The "shortage" has also struck a serious blow against the independents. By mid-April, about a thousand stations had shut down or were about to, according to the Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers of America. By mid-June, about one percent of the nation's 220,000 stations were closed or threatened with closure and the situation under the surface is much worse.

Along with the attack on the independents, the major producers are engaged in a calculated effort to reshuffle their own stations and more efficiently divide up the national market among themselves. Gulf Oil, for example, is withdrawing from Maryland, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Delaware, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, Nevada and Northern California.

INVESTIGATION

Maryland's Governor Marvin Mandel has ordered an investigation of possible anti-trust violations by the major five producers because some of the independents are running out of supplies during the "current real or contrived shortage of fuel." In Roanoke, Virginia, the Save-X chain has already closed its 28 service stations, and in Washington, independent dealer Jacob Homes had shut 19 of his 24 stations by mid-April. Many other independent service stations are now curtailing hours or limiting customers to 10 gallons.

The nature of the attack on the independents and the monopoly control the major producers have over gasoline supplies through il-



A refinery in Tucson, Arizona. "I don't think this thing is a natural shortage; it must be man made," one dealer said.

The Great Gas Swindle

legal cartel agreements was brought to light in an anti-trust suit recently brought against Texaco and Coastal States Gas Producing Company. The suit challenges an output purchase contract between the two companies—a common agreement throughout the industry—which the Justice Department says denies the right of independents to buy refined oil products from Coastal States Gas.

Under the agreement, Coastal States purchases crude oil from Texaco—the second largest US oil company and the nation's leading gasoline marketer—refines it and then sells a substantial portion of the refined products back to Texaco.

NIXON

The most important aspect of the current campaign by the oil industry, however, lies in the question of the basic investments the oil industry must now make to maintain its supply of crude oil, as well as assuring the continued flow of oil supplies from the explosive Middle East.

Nixon went as far as he could in April in meeting the oil barons'

demands by lifting oil import quotas, which served to protect the small producers more than the large multinational companies like Exxon, and announcing plans to triple the federal lands available for oil and gas exploration off the continental shelf. In addition, Nixon—whose campaign coffers have been swelled with contributions from the oil industry—also proposed that Congress end the regulation of natural gas prices from new wells and enact new tax laws that would allow the oil companies to write off 12 percent of the cost of drilling producing wells and seven percent of the cost of dry wells. Other proposals would have the government take on even more of the cost of explorations and drilling.

But while this new investment—running into the billions of dollars—is needed to guarantee the future supply of crude oil for refining, the claim of the oil producers that supplies are already short is an obvious fraud. Instead, they are deliberately holding back supplies and running their refineries at

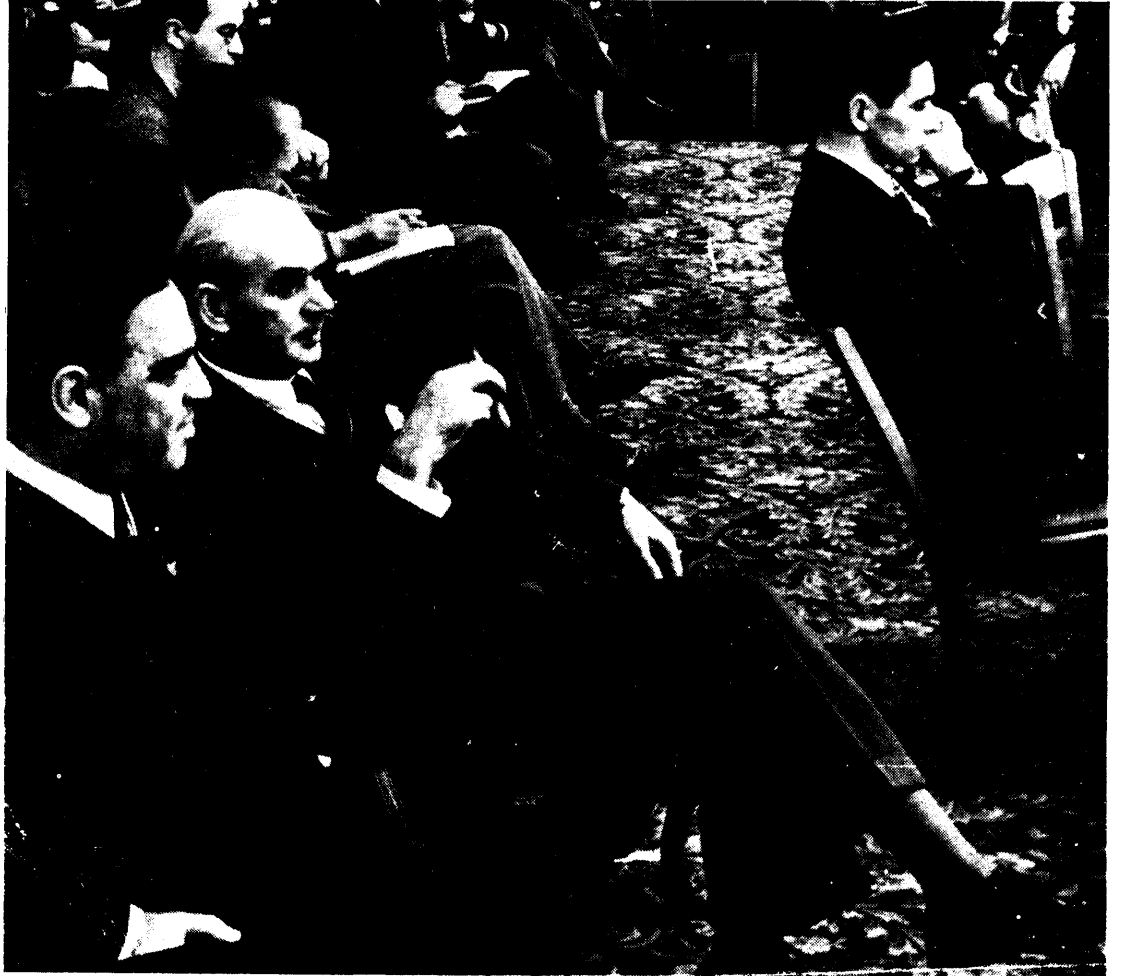
about 10 percent under full capacity.

The "shortage" is belied by the announcement by Exxon, Mobil and Standard Oil of California, among others, that they plan to expand their refinery capacity. Exxon has contracted to expand its refining capacity by a full 30 percent—a \$400 million investment. This is not the type of project these companies would undertake in the midst of a crude oil shortage.

At the same time, these new investments are being announced as the international economic crisis is coming to a head. With the economy already in a downturn, the collapse of the international monetary system and credit markets cannot be far away. The collapse of these international exchange relations will mean a complete disruption of world trade, including the oil trade. This, combined with the drying up of all new investment which will accompany the growing slump in the world economy, will assure a real gasoline shortage and energy crisis, as well as unemployment for thousands of workers in the oil industry.



James B. Carey, (left) one of the original red-baiters, during the last UE convention for which he served as president in 1941. Henry Wallace's campaign for the presidency—supported by the Stalinists—created a big diversion from a labor party. Right: Philip Murray (with cigar) and Carey (right) with New York's Mayor LaGuardia (left) during a Wallace speech.



STALINISM AND THE UE/PART 2

The Post War Witch-Hunt Begins

BY DAVID NORTH

It was through its historic betrayals of the American working class during World War Two that the Communist Party helped to create the conditions for the hysterical red-baiting initiated by the Truman Administration with the support of the CIO bureaucracy that split the labor movement.

Had it not been for the fact that the Stalinists had discredited themselves by ruthlessly suppressing militants within the unions they controlled, by vigorously policing the "no-strike" pledge for Roosevelt and suggesting that it remain in force after the war, and by vilifying workers who did fight the Government—like the miners and the ranks of Montgomery Ward—the right wingers in the CIO could never have launched the witch-hunt of the late 1940s.

In fact, the first big movement against the Stalinists came not in the form of a witch-hunt but in the wake of the postwar strike wave, as entrenched Stalinist leaderships were challenged by insurgents who were fed up with the cynicism and treachery of the apparatus. The CIO bureaucracy, led by Philip Murray, defended the Stalinist leadership against the movement of the rank and file.

When Walter Reuther temporarily moved to the left and led the great UAW strike of 1945-1946 in order to regain the popularity he had lost through his notorious role as a wartime speedup expert, he came into conflict with the Stalinist Thomas-Addes faction that still controlled the union. In the first battles between Reuther and Thomas-Addes, Murray participated in a smear campaign against Reuther.

Murray also collaborated with the Stalinists of the UE to strangle the auto strike. When 225,000 GM workers shut down 92 plants on November 21, 1945, the UAW assumed that the UE would at least call out the 30,000 members of its union working in the electrical appliances division of GM. This did not happen. Instead, the UE and Murray tried to pressure Reuther to relinquish the bargaining authority of the elected GM Committee and to move the negotiations out of Detroit in order to arrange a quick settlement.

Even after the UAW publicly called on the UE to shut down the electrical appliances division of GM, no action was taken. Not until January 15, 1946, did the UE begin strike action of its entire membership against General Electric, Westinghouse and the GM electrical appliances division.

But, in what has gone down in American trade union history as a vicious stab in the back, the UE settled with GM on February 9 for terms that the UAW had rejected. The UAW was left to fight GM alone.

As the role of Murray makes clear, the drive against the Stalinists which was initiated by the CIO leadership in 1946 had nothing to do with the fight by the ranks for militant leadership. On the question of betraying the working class and tying it to the political parties of big business, neither faction had any major disagreements. They had pre-

sided over the wartime speedup and wage freeze cheek-to-cheek.

ROOSEVELT AND STALIN

But with the end of the wartime alliance of Roosevelt and Stalin and the drive of American imperialism against the working class internationally as well as in this country, the CIO bureaucracy would no longer work with the Stalinists. As Truman pushed the Marshall Plan, the CIO bureaucracy began the witch-hunt in order to discipline the working class and throw out the CP, which was tied to the foreign policy of the Kremlin.

It was out of this witch-hunt that the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union emerged. In fact, the men who first led the IUE and who are still in the leadership of many of its locals were the original witch-hunters. James B. Carey had been a virulent red-baiter during the 1930s, and the CIO leadership had found it necessary to remove him from the leadership of the UE in 1941 in order to facilitate the wartime collaboration with the Stalinists.

The UE had been the bastion of the Stalinists in the CIO. When the witch-hunts began, it was not possible for Murray to simply drive a number of Stalinists out of the UE and take it over. Instead, he had to engineer a split; and for this purpose he used the old red-baiting factionalist, Carey. While he capitalized on the dissatisfaction of the UE ranks with the Fitzgerald leadership, the only plank that Carey ever had on his program was anti-communism.

Because the Stalinists sought to maintain their alliance with the CIO bureaucracy as long as possible, they actually facilitated the work of Carey and elements like him throughout the

labor movement. The Communist Party originally supported the famous "Declaration of Policy" issued by Murray in November of 1946 which stated:

"We resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

Welcoming this resolution, which received unanimous support at the CIO Convention, George Morris wrote in the *Daily Worker* that the CP "always favored a statement telling the world the CIO isn't communist."

As late as September 1946, Murray was still appearing at the annual conventions of the UE and praising the Fitzgerald-Matles-Empak leadership. But once he had the "resent and reject" resolution under his belt, Murray proceeded to give more open support to the Carey faction which circulated a smear sheet called *The Real UE*.

The first setbacks suffered by the Stalinists occurred in January 1947, when the Carey faction was able to win the leadership of the General Electric UE Local 203 in Bridgeport and the Westinghouse Local 601 in Pittsburgh. Twenty-five years later, the President of what is now IUE Local 203, Louis Santoanni, recalls with pride that he threw Matles out of the local's union hall after the election.

Tensions between the CIO and the UE were further exacerbated by the decision of the Communist Party to support the presidential campaign of Henry Wallace in order to pressure Truman to pursue a more moderate policy toward the Kremlin, and at the same time to prevent the development of a break by the working class with the capitalist parties that could lead to the emergence of a labor

party.

This was yet another betrayal of the working class which was in direct conflict with the government over the attempts to legislate union-busting laws such as Taft-Hartley. Even under conditions of vicious attacks on the trade union movement and preparations for war which were endorsed by Democrats and Republicans, the Stalinists remained opposed to the independent political mobilization of the working class in a labor party. Instead, the CP organized a fraudulent diversion around Henry Wallace—Roosevelt's third-term vice president—whose credentials were nothing more than a belief that the State Department should try more wheeling and dealing with Stalin. He said that he favored "peace" with the Soviet Union unless the US decided to go to war. Under those conditions, Wallace promised, he would call off his campaign and loyally support Truman.

"I am not a communist, I am not a socialist, I am only an American capitalist—or as I told the House of Parliament in London—I am a progressive Tory who believes it is absolutely essential to have peace and understanding with Russia."

Invited to the Twelfth Convention of the UE, Wallace declared that he believed in capitalism "but not in reactionary capitalism." Albert Fitzgerald became the co-chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee.

While the Stalinists campaigned for Wallace, the CIO bureaucracy threw its resources into the Truman campaign—ignoring the fact that Truman made free and frequent use of the Taft-Hartley law to break strikes.

TO BE CONTINUED

ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

witch-hunts and anti-communist hysteria in preparation for a snap General Election."

The rally called on workers to build Councils of Action in all areas to fight to return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies to expose the reformist Labour leaders. The resolution states squarely that the central task is the development of revolutionary leaders in the plants who will fight to build the revolutionary party and prepare for the conquest of power.

FIVE POINT CAMPAIGN

The conference called for support to a five point campaign to restore free negotiations for the unions, lobby the Transport and General Workers Union conference to demand they quit talks with Heath, defend the 24 Shrewsbury building workers victimized for striking, build the SLL into a mass revolutionary party, and extend the circulation of its daily paper, Workers Press.

The decision of the engineering workers and the determined strikes waged at Perkins and Chrysler in the past month show the strength of the working class in defending its rights. At Chrysler, management was forced to withdraw its



Alan Thornett

punitive action against workers for "shoddy" work. Behind this battle was a concerted effort by the employers to impose higher productivity and whip the workers into line with the needs of the trade war and inter-

national competition.

The ATUA rally emphasized that despite these setbacks for the Tories, Heath must step up his plans for a confrontation with the working class under conditions where he can decisively defeat them.

It has been revealed that British police are being specially armed with high power telescopic rifles and other sophisticated equipment and the Ministry of Defense has announced that they are developing CR gas for use within the United Kingdom.

CIVIL WAR

These measures are being readied in Britain as in all other countries as civil war becomes the only recourse left to the capitalist class to resolve its economic and political crisis.

The ATUA rally not only reflects the movement of workers towards revolutionary politics, but testifies to the consistent struggle waged by the Socialist Labour League to mobilize workers against the Tories and to give leadership in every major struggle.

The campaign for the founding conference of the revolutionary party, which will take place November 4, has been given a giant impulse forward.

URUGUAY . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

workers' movement has revealed its complete bankruptcy. The refusal of the CNT and the Communist Party leadership to fight to bring the working class to power has kept workers on the defensive against the Army and police and threatens to pave the way to defeat.

While the methods of individual terrorism used by the Tupamaros isolated them from the workers' movement and rendered them impotent when confronted with the military coup, the Stalinist popular front policies of collaboration with sections of the capitalist class followed by the Communist Party left the working class unprepared for the civil war struggle in which it is now engaged.

CNT

The Stalinists and the Communist-led CNT are using the general strike not to launch an attempt to bring the workers to power and overthrow capitalism, but rather as a defensive weapon to maneuver for the restoration of capitalist democracy.

"We're united on two basic principles: Bordaberry must go and democratic rights must be restored," a representative of

the outlawed CNT told the New York Times. The CNT has also issued a special appeal to the military stating that they would cooperate in the military's program of "national reconstruction" and that: "We will not turn out as enemies of the armed forces but will respect your aims, which had been violated by the dictatorship."

BROAD FRONT

The Communist Party has continued to participate in the Broad Front coalition it joined in 1971. The Broad Front, made up of Communists, Socialists, "left" Christian Democrats and even members of Bordaberry's own ruling Colorado Party and the traditional rightist opposition National Party, ran a retired general for president in the 1971 election, winning 20 percent of the vote on a reformist program.

Now the Broad Front has formed a coalition with the National Party—after having refused to support the general strike for a full three days after Bordaberry's coup d'etat. This "broadened" coalition, called the Resistance Front, has simply called for Bordaberry's resignation, the formation of a provisional government and new elections leading to a Constituent and Legislative Assembly for the purpose of drafting a new constitution and restoring capitalist democracy. "Essentially what we want is a provisional government composed of representative sectors that could include the military," a spokesman for the Resistance Front told the New York Times.

As Bordaberry's troops and police continue to attack striking workers, destroy trade union offices and arrest the union leaders, the treachery of the Communist Party's popular front politics—its refusal to break with the Broad Front and call for the overthrow of Bordaberry and the military and the formation of a workers' government—is being exposed for every worker to see.

CHILE

This same sort of treachery is now preparing the way for civil war throughout Latin America, especially in Chile, where the Stalinists participate in Allende's Popular Unity government and increasingly rely on "loyal" military officers to save the country from civil war.

These "loyal" officers are now preparing to follow the path of the Uruguayan military, encouraged by Allende's dependence on the Army to crush a recent rebellion by a dissident tank regiment.

The vicious attack on the Uruguayan working class also poses the sharpest warnings to the American working class. What is happening in Uruguay now is a glimpse of what the American ruling class is preparing here as the international economic crisis plunges the capitalist economy into a deep slump—this is precisely what has been revealed in the Watergate scandal disclosures.

What Uruguay has shown so graphically is that there can be no resolution to the capitalist crisis outside of the struggle of classes and that this struggle must end either in the victory of the working class with the overthrow of capitalism or the defeat of the working class and the destruction of its trade unions and basic rights with the imposition of the most brutal forms of dictatorship.

DOLLAR . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

chaos. Hardest hit has been the Eurodollar market—the \$100 billion in European dollar deposits which has become a prime source of capital financing and liquidity in Europe. The important Eurobond market has all but shut down, with the cancellation last week of a 100 million mark issue.

The continuing decline of the dollar represents the actual destruction of masses of paper capital, threatening to explode the vastly over-extended Eurodollar market, having wiped out a full 10 percent of its value in the last week of June and the first week of July alone.

Unless Nixon were to agree to re-establish the gold standard by devaluing the dollar to the free market price of gold, he must pump more dollars into Europe through credit and "swap" arrangements. Such a devaluation—amounting to 200 percent at the present quoted gold prices—would have

catastrophic economic consequences.

The offer of a \$12 billion currency swap by Common Market nations would solve nothing. While intervention on this basis might elevate the dollar's value for a short period, it would actually cause a further deterioration by pumping more dollars into European central banks and many bankers are predicting such an effort to support the dollar would only encourage a further panic on the money markets.

BORROW

The only other alternative left open to Nixon, other than complete inaction, is to borrow from the International Monetary Fund or work out some arrangement to create more Special Drawing Rights—IOWs for gold—which would also add fuel to the international inflation and the destruction of monetary relations.

Nixon's inability to stem the

dollar's collapse, as well as his clumsy attempts to control soaring prices inside the US through artificial export controls and a "price freeze" has brought him under increasingly sharp attack from Wall Street, which itself can put forward no solution to the crisis.

"We are left with a sense that events have taken control, that this society has lost the ability to get an effective grip on any of its problems," the Wall Street Journal said editorially today.

"So far as we can tell," the Journal editors continued, "the administration has simply given up in its attempts to provide economic leadership, abdicating wholly to short-run political considerations."

Later, the editorial said: "Watergate has already severely undercut Mr. Nixon's ability to govern."

"But in a larger sense the problem goes far beyond Mr. Nixon. His short-lived attempts at leadership stood out only

because the background was so bleak. It is probably a bad habit anyway to look only to the White House for leadership. But somewhere or another there needs to be a will to face up to our pressing long run problems. At least in this summer's baking sun, that will is nowhere to be seen."

At the same time, the Journal of Commerce was editorializing that "the US has no monetary policy worthy of the name, no fiscal policy except what happens, largely by accident, and no policy for dollar defense, even if ample resources existed for such a defense."

With the capitalist class already admitting its own bankruptcy in confronting the economic crisis, workers must now take forward the fight for a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party which will fight for the socialist policies which are the only solution to the collapse of the international capitalist economy.

Young Socialists invites you to:

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Sunday, July 22 sports, swimming, picnic in beautiful Morris T. Baker Reserve.

Educational program:

Watergate & the defense of democratic rights

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League

Buses leave from 924 Second Avenue So., Minneapolis 9AM sharp

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Call 612-336-9966 for more info.



1929 crash on Wall Street: the strongest vindication of Marx's assertion that the capitalist crisis cannot be understood in isolation from circulation.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

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

There is one aspect of Spartacist's discussion of economic perspectives which deserves separate attention. Along with Dick Roberts of the Socialist Workers Party, Spartacist is seeking to make a case that the Workers League and the International Committee have broken with Marx's assessment of the capitalist crisis in our insistence on the importance of the monetary crisis.

It seems that we are "monetary quacks like Proudhon, William Jennings Bryan, deGaulle and Lyn Marcus." Spartacist argues as follows:

"...Marx insisted that the basis of economic crisis was in capitalist production, not circulation. The root cause of all crises is that capital expands faster than the surplus value that it generates (i.e., the rate of profit falls.)"

Then to clinch the argument Spartacist refers to Marx, claiming he "dismissed credit theories of crisis out of hand," quoting from the important Chapter 17 of his *Theories of Surplus Value*:

"In investigating why the general possibility of crisis turns into a real crisis...it is therefore quite superfluous to concern oneself with the forms of crisis which arise out of the development of money as means of payment."

The reference to Chapter 17 is very important for here, in the Chapter on Money in the *Grundrisse*, and in sections of Volume III of *Capital* itself, we have the most extensive treatment of the question of capitalist crisis. Our purpose in turning to Marx is not to seek out a quote to justify a conclusion already arrived at but to achieve an understanding of Marx's method of assessing capitalist contradiction.

Marx makes one very perceptive assessment of the approach of bourgeois economists to the question of the capitalist crisis. It applies even more forcefully to Spartacist:

"The desire to convince oneself of the non-existence of contradictions is at the same time the expression of the pious wish that the contradictions, which are really present, should not exist." (*Theories of Surplus Value*, Volume II, Page 519.)

CONTRADICTIONS

Spartacist approaches the capitalist crisis with precisely this method of apologetics. Its intent, and on this it acts in

concert with the SWP, is to deny contradictions it knows exist in order to be able to avoid the political responsibilities conscious recognition carries with it.

Marx did not assert that the "basis of the economic crisis was in capitalist production, not circulation." Quite the contrary, in the very chapter that Spartacist quotes from, he insists that the capitalist crisis cannot be understood by dealing with production in isolation from circulation. Marx writes:

"The first section dealing with capital—the direct process of production—does not contribute any new element of crisis. Although it does contain such an element, because the production process implies appropriation and hence production of surplus value. But this cannot be shown when dealing with the production process itself, for the latter is not concerned with the realization either of the reproduced value or of the surplus-value.

"This can only emerge in the circulation process which is in itself also a process of reproduction." (Ibid. page 513.)

Of course Marx always insisted on the importance of the production process but he refused to see it in isolation from the process of circulation, without which production under capitalism is impossible. It is only when we view the capitalist system as a whole that it is possible to understand the cause of capitalist crisis, the possible forms through which the crisis appears in different periods, and the immediate factors which bring about the realization of the crisis in specific forms.

This is why crisis is not discussed as such in Volume I of *Capital*, which deals with capitalist production.

Actually the discussion of crisis in Chapter 17 is devoted wholly to the question of circulation. The quotation of Spartacist's can only be understood within this context. Marx is making a very careful and important distinction between the causal question—why the possibility of crisis inherent in the money form becomes an actual crisis—and the question of the money form of the crisis itself. He asserts it is absurd, "superfluous," actually a tautology to seek the cause simply on the level of the effect or form. He follows up this quoted sentence with an attack on bourgeois economists who suggest "that this obvious form is the cause of crisis." (Ibid. page 518.)

The danger in viewing the money form in isolation lies in seeking a remedy for crisis in money alone. This is the actual position of the "cranks" Spartacist refers to, who wish to solve the contradictions of capitalism not by overthrowing the capitalist system but by adjustments within the money system. Today this is the position of the bourgeois economists who propose various schemes like special drawing rights and floating currency arrangements as the "solution" to a crisis

What Is Spartacist Today?

The Nature Of Capitalist Crisis

Part Four

whose form is in the monetary system but whose cause lies in contradictions of capitalism inherent throughout the system, in fact natural to the system itself.

COMMODITY

The cause of the capitalist crisis lies at the very heart of the system and is expressed in the commodity itself. Marx writes in *Theories of Surplus Value*:

"The most abstract form of crisis (and therefore the formal possibility of crisis) is thus the metamorphosis of the commodity itself; the contradiction of exchange-value and use-value, and furthermore of money and commodity, comprised within the unity of the commodity, exists in metamorphosis only as involved movement. The factors which turn this possibility of crisis into (an actual) crisis are not contained in this form itself; it only implies that the framework for a crisis exists." (Ibid. Page 509.)

Marx makes a similar point in the *Grundrisse*:

"All contradictions of the monetary system are the development of the relations of products as exchange values, or their definition as exchange value or as value pure and simple." (*Grundrisse*, page 152.) And:

"Within bourgeois society, the society that rests on exchange value, there arise relations of circulation as well as of production which are so many mines to explode it."

The commodity is a unity of two quite independent opposites—use value and exchange value. Capitalism works on the basis of exchange values. It is through exchange values that use values are circulated. From the point of view of exchange value, the quantitative point of view, the different qualitative uses of an object are unimportant. From the point of view of use value, it is precisely this quality which is important and the value quantity which is unimportant. A piece of gold on a desert island makes a pretty poor sandwich and conversely a speculator in pork bellies never needs to nor has any particular desire to bite his teeth into the belly of a pig.

Within the separate sides of the commodity lies the potential for very complex independent development of each side—particularly exchange value. But capitalism also requires the unity of the two sides. Marx explains crisis as the tendency of the capitalist system to forcefully, violently reassert the unity of these opposites after a long period of separate oppositional development.

The potential of crisis in the commodity is only realized with the development of a society based solely on commodity production—capitalist society. Under capitalism this tendency towards separate development is expressed throughout the whole of the entire system of reproduction—that is production, circula-

and expanded production.

The development of money as a special commodity whose purpose it was to represent the value of all other commodities and thus facilitate their widescale exchange and the development of a division of labor is what facilitates even more this independent development of the sides of the commodity.

Chapter 17 of *Theories of Surplus Value* is devoted primarily to an explanation of how in the process of circulation the act of selling commodities is separated in purpose, time and place from the act of purchasing commodities. Money plays the middle role. Capitalist production takes place on the basis of combining an ever expanding body of capital with a work force for the purpose of producing an expanding number of commodities. These commodities end up either as consumed items by the work force or as additions to the body of capital. In either case production tends to increase without consideration of the limits, the barrier placed upon it by the market. Thus the tendency inherent within capitalism to overproduction.

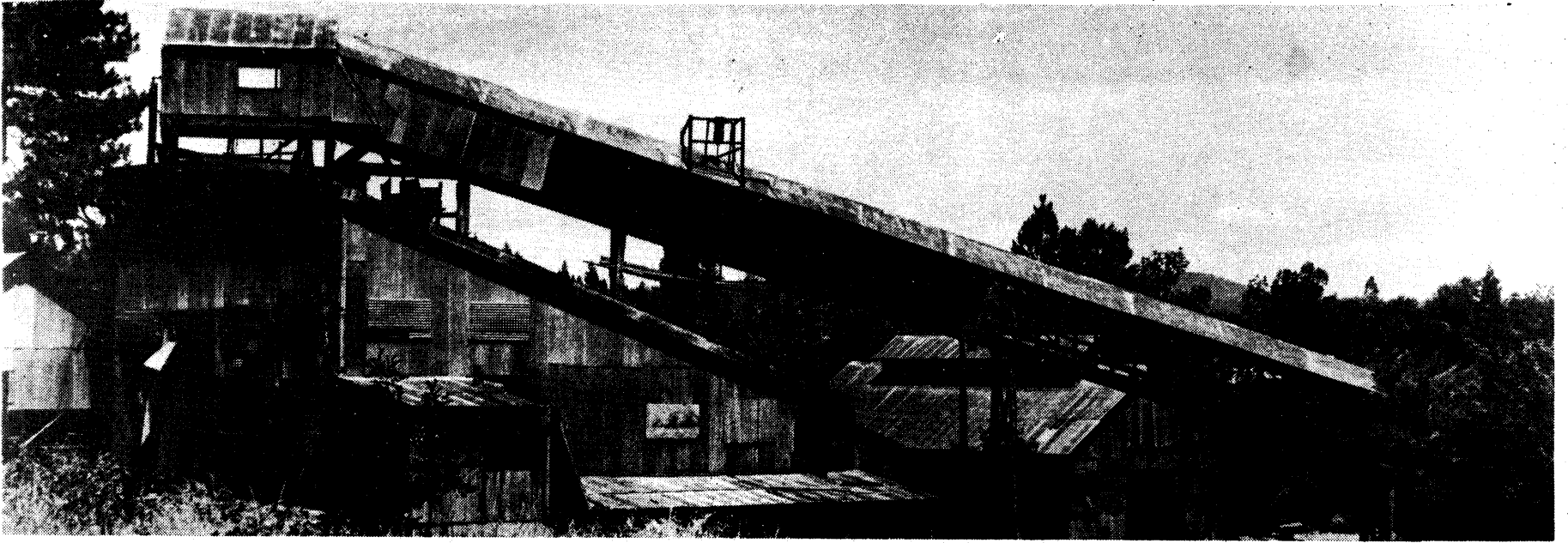
CRISIS

The difficulty with bourgeois economists like Ricardo, he explains, is that they stress the general truth, that supply and demand are a unity. What they do not wish to recognize is that this unity is achieved necessarily in capitalism through violent upheavals, through crisis. They view crisis as an accidental occurrence because of some maladjustment on the surface. They cannot face the fact that maladjustment is central to capitalism and unity is accidental.

In a beautiful passage in the *Grundrisse* Marx attacks these bourgeois economists, stating:

"They take refuge in this abstraction because in the real development of money there are contradictions which are unpleasant for the apologetics of bourgeois common sense, and must hence be covered up. In so far as purchase and sale, the two essential moments of circulation, are indifferent to one another and separated in place and time, they by no means coincide. Their indifference can develop into fortification and apparent independence of one against the other. But in so far as they are both essential moments of a single whole, there must come a moment when the independent form is violently broken and when the inner unity is established externally through a violent explosion. Thus already in the quality of money as a medium, in the splitting of exchange into two acts, there lies the germ of crises, of at least their possibility, which cannot be realized, except where the fundamental preconditions of classically developed, conceptually adequate circulation are present." (page 198.)

TO BE CONTINUED



The Great Gold Rush Of 1973

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

"What basis? Actually it is difficult to envision in this regard any other standard than gold. Yes, gold, which does not change in nature, which can be made into bars, ingots or coins, which has no nationality, which is considered, in all places and at all times, the immutability and fiduciary value par excellence. Furthermore, despite all that it was possible to imagine, say, write or do in the midst of major events, it is a fact that even today no currency has any value except by direct or indirect relation to gold, real or supposed."

These are not the words of Karl Marx but of General deGaulle speaking at a press conference in 1965. At the time, deGaulle was held up for ridicule by world monetary "experts" and revisionists alike for his belief in the sacred power of the yellow metal. Today it is this same faith in gold which is leading to a world wide rush out of paper money into gold as the only reliable store of value.

With the price of gold daily shooting toward the \$200 per ounce mark, a new "gold rush" is in the making. Already hundreds of workers and their families are heading for the gold hills of California, panning for gold on the weekends, and large mining corporations are taking another look at the possibilities of reopening the large mines in hopes of making quick and large profits.

Since the 1850s, billions of dollars worth of gold was mined from the rich Mother Lode country of California. Mining

gold continued to be a lucrative business until 1964, when the last operating mine closed down.

The California gold rush began in 1849 when the news of "gold lying in the streams" spread throughout the world in a matter of days. Thousands of settlers left the towns and farms, headed for California to make their riches. In Oregon it was estimated that over 80 percent of adult males left that state for the foothills of California in the first years of the gold rush.

The vast majority of gold miners were just able to make a meager living. Even those who were able to make over \$100 a day panning or mining, immediately saw their money eaten up. Eggs could cost as much as \$30, flour not much less, and mining equipment cost many days work.

Those who were lucky enough to strike a rich vein of gold soon found out that a large amount of capital was required to even begin mining operations. This could only be found by opening up the mines to the large mining companies of the North, or by getting the necessary money by selling shares to banks and wealthy individuals who were looking for investments with a high profit margin.

After four years of gold mining, only 60 gold quartz mines were working, all owned in one way or another by the Northern banks and mining companies.



An abandoned gold mine, and the men who used to work the mines.

These mines produced over 250,000 ounces of pure gold in 1853 alone.

Thousands of hungry miners roamed the hills looking for some way to earn a living with a regular income. These men became the first workers in the large mines. At the same time importation of Chinese workers provided the mines with a surplus of cheap labor necessary to keep profits high. While the mines made millions, working conditions were among the worst in California.

An old miner, who became a worker in the mines in 1900 at the age of 14, told the *Bulletin*: "I came out West with my father in '89. In the nineties you were paid two dollars a day for mucking (scrapping the rocks and mud from the mine) and about two and a half for working machinery. If you got hurt in those days you had to make your own way to Nevada City (about 5 miles away) to the county hospital. You didn't get any pay, and if you didn't have any money saved up you couldn't live."

Miners who worked in a mine that shut down had nothing. There was continuously a surplus of miners willing to work, always competing for the few jobs available.

Meanwhile the profits made rich men out of the bankers. In 1865 the largest and richest of the gold quartz mines, the Eureka, produced \$2,000,000 in gold and a nice profit of over \$500,000.

Early attempts to unionize the miners failed. Jack Basset, now 85, told us, "I tried to unionize the miners, but nothing could be done with them. There were too many men for the work, and the companies ran the organizers out of town, or worse...there are a lot of unmarked graves around here."

"The last thing the miners had was a company union that only struck once in 1956. So I left and helped to organize lumberjacks, construction workers and farm workers all over."

There were only two major strikes of gold miners, one in 1907 for the eight hour day, the last in

1956 for higher wages.

The mines operated during the 1930s, making the gold hills the only place in the United States that had near full employment. Eleven thousand employed in the mines got about \$6 a day.

During World War II the mines were closed due to a government order that the gold mines were nonessential to the war effort. After the war, few mines reopened. Many mines had filled with water and could not be reopened.

KILLING

The largest mining companies placed a lawsuit against the government, accusing the government of destroying their property, seeking to make a last killing to the tune of millions.

In order to claim that the government had destroyed the mines during the war, the mine owners had to keep the mines in operation until they won the settlement. In 1956 mine workers in the largest mines struck for higher wages and better job protection. Rather than give in to the mine workers' demands, the mines were closed. Only one mine, the 16 to 1, remained open until 1964 when production costs soared above the \$35 set by the government.

But in 1970, the dollar crisis first became severe and speculators and mine companies began to buy up old claims and explore the possibilities of reopening the large mines. Newmont Mining Corporation, a New York based firm with world-wide investments, still owning the Eureka mine, is willing to sell out at a high price, but hasn't given up the chance of reopening if the gold price climbs higher.

Thirty people a day are asking for information on gold mining from the California Division of Mines in San Francisco, and the bourgeois press is playing up reports of workers who on their weekends off are able to pan gold in the streams. In all the old gold towns the sale of gold pans and equipment is booming.

Six small professional mining

operations have opened in the last years, their location a well kept secret. Other professional mining companies are restoring the worn timbers in some mines and replacing rusted equipment to prepare reopenings when the price of gold climbs higher still.

One worker at the Nevada County Museum told us that "anyone who is willing to carry a 400 pound pack 50 miles into the hills and remain there for three months can come back with a lot of money...but most of the people who come here don't know what they are looking for. They've just come because of the newspapers and such."

Already big profits are being made. Earnings for the Homestake Mining Company in Lead, South Dakota have tripled from one million dollars in the first quarter of last year to over three million dollars this year. Shares have rocketed to 49 dollars from 24 dollars in the same period.

Companies such as Homestake are banking on the fact that higher prices will enable them to mine lower grade ores at a big profit. Prospecting has been extended to nine Western states. There are plans under way to reopen mines in Alaska and the Dominican Republic as well.

There will be no solution to the capitalist crisis from these plans to increase the mining of gold. The mining companies are speculating on big price increases being made official.

Such developments will wipe out at a single stroke the value of the vast paper dollar pools in Europe leading to bankruptcies and a collapse of credit. At the same time increasing the value of the gold pools of Europe and the US would lay the basis for an incredible inflation of paper money based on doubled or tripled gold reserves.

The new gold rush means not an opportunity for workers to make a few extra dollars on weekends but a warning of the danger of a collapse of paper money and the wiping out of the gains and basic rights won over years of struggle.

Nixon Pal Exposed In New Fraud

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—The city audit of the San Diego Stadium Management Company has revealed another swindle by C. Arnholdt Smith, one of President Nixon's most ardent supporters and financial backers, and owner of the San Diego Padres baseball club.

Smith, recently accused by the Securities and Exchange Commission of looting the US National Bank of over \$150 million and conspiring to loot his Westgate Corporation of untold millions more, has had his hand in the pocket of San Diego workers ever since the inception of the Padres.

With the complicity of the city, the San Diego Stadium Management Company was set up by Smith for the purpose of operating the stadium and promoting the city, with the city footing the bills for these "services." E.J. "Buzzy" Bavasi, president of the Padres, is also president of the management firm.

It now appears that the \$1.3 million given by the city over the last four years to the management firm for promotion has been turned over to the ball club as a loan.

The city auditor said that about \$40,000 in bills received last month alone by the city for "promotion" were not used for promotion purposes but were regular business expenses of the team that should have been paid by them.

Earlier Smith sold the land for the stadium to the city through the management corporation, using former Mayor Frank Curran and the city council to drum up support for the new expansion team and the stadium as a great tourist attraction. A bill was shoved through the city council to make the taxpayers pay \$35 million to build a stadium for the Padres in 1968.

BRIBERY

Smith, Curran and the city council were all indicted in a separate case of bribery about the same time, and Nixon had to personally intervene and suppress Internal Revenue Service evidence in order to save his patron.

Now, hard pressed for ready cash by the financial crisis and the SEC's current investigation of his business dealings, Smith has sold the Padres to a Washington, D.C. group for \$12 million, not a bad profit at all for a so-called losing proposition.

Smith's excuse to the San Diego public was that they were not supporting his team strongly enough to make the profits he was expecting. As to the 20 year lease he signed, which has 15 years to go, Smith brazenly stated that he did not see any reason he should be held accountable and that the city should not expect him to keep a losing ball club.

Although city officials are now pretending righteous indignation and have even threatened to stop the sale of the Padres, they have only succeeded in exposing themselves as willing accomplices of this swindle.

West Coast News



Members of International Restaurant and Hotel Employees Union on strike in Palo Alto. L'Omelette employees have been offered 15 percent over four years.

Secret Report Details New Slave Labor Plan

BY DENISE ALEXANDER

SAN FRANCISCO—As thousands of workers in California are being laid off due to closures such as the San Francisco Naval Yard, new plans are being drawn up to force them into slave labor while eliminating thousands of welfare jobs.

A confidential report entitled "The Elimination of the AFDC (Family) Program" outlines a program designed by Robert Carleson, past Director of California State Department of Social Welfare, now serving as Special Assistant to Secretary Casper Weinberger of HEW.

In this pilot program the government would subsidize private employers not covered by the minimum wage, who would "employ" welfare recipients who would be forced to accept any job or have the state forcibly take their children from their homes.

Virtually everyone over 16 receiving Aid to Families with

Dependent Children would be drafted into this program, barring only mothers for six weeks after delivery. Supposedly money will be saved by a projected 26 percent of the AFDC families dropping off welfare because of "inconvenience." The plan arrogantly states: "It is assumed that these persons will either find jobs on their own, marry employed persons, or somehow live without a job."

SWEAT SHOP

An example is given where a mother of two who "participates" in the "Self-Support" Program gets a total of \$20 more than her former \$235 welfare check, in exchange for working in sweat shop conditions, losing food stamps, medical, social services and the right to raise her own children.

Similar forced work programs have existed in California for several years. In Alameda County, recipients of General Assistance are forced to do farm labor for three dollars to five dollars daily before they qualify for a \$100 a month grant. These workers must appear in downtown Oakland at 4 a.m. daily to be driven sometimes as far as San Jose.

The government intends to expand these pilot programs in an attempt to push down wages and break the unions. The unions must begin to expose these programs and force their elimination. It is only through the fight to build a labor party that a real alternative can be presented—full employment at union wages.

Big Support For Merger In NEA

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND—The 111th Annual Convention of the 1.3 million member National Education Association (NEA) met in Portland last week, with the question of merger with the 385,000 member American Federation of Teachers dominating the discussion.

The NEA has traditionally been a conservative organization of teachers emphasizing professionalism, compared to the militant AFL-CIO affiliated AFT.

Last year the NEA narrowly voted to ban merger talks. But a year in which 145 teacher strikes took place, five out of six under NEA leadership, has precipitated a change. Many teachers understand the weakness in the face of school board attacks caused by divisions between the two organizations.

Nearly 40 percent of the 9100 delegates voted for outright merger with the AFT on the AFT's terms, including affiliation with the AFL-CIO. The resolution was sponsored by the United Teachers of New York, which is the product of a merger last year of the NEA and AFT in New York State.

COMPROMISE

This tremendous sentiment forced National President Catherine Barrett to accept a compromise resolution reversing last year's ban and authorizing merger talks to begin September 1, but forbidding affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

Another important change was the convention's decision to "elect the next President of the United States." The NEA has previously abstained from all political commitments.

Both decisions reflect the changes in thinking of the nation's 2.1 million teachers. In 1961-1962 there was one teachers'

strike; in 1970 there were 181 strikes. Teachers have been jailed in the thousands over the last 11 years because they fought back against the doubling of class sizes, which makes it impossible to teach, and the slashing of wages through inflation. Most

teachers still take home between \$400 and \$500 a month.

One delegate told Bulletin reporters, "It's a power struggle. The government is either going to work with us our way or we're going to work against the government."

Strike Committee Set Up As S.F. Mailmen Slam Pact

BY A POSTAL WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO, July 7—Local 214 of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) voted unanimously last Monday night to reject the contract accepted by the national leadership and now being voted on by mail ballot.

NALC is the second largest of the four postal unions, with over 200,000 members. National President James Rademacher has dispatched business agents to every region to try to sell the contract, which calls for a 14 percent wage increase over two years and a free hand for Postal Service management in slashing jobs and tearing up the work rulebook.

Three unofficial briefings were held last week in the Bay Area. Carriers who attended these sessions were polled at the union meeting—every single one urged rejection of the contract.

One veteran of the 1970 strike demanded that the local leadership spell out plans for a

strike, so that the confusion and lack of coordination would not be repeated, and all vital installations would be shut down. Local President Don Hackett agreed under pressure to set up a strike committee consisting of the local officers and shop stewards.

But Hackett insisted that no strike would be called and that if the contract was voted down Rademacher would go back to the bargaining table for another 180 days. He has no intention of leading any fight against such a betrayal.

The ranks must turn down the contract in the secret ballot vote and force Hackett to give a lead for a strike along with the other big locals if Rademacher refuses to do so.

METAL . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

tors to shut down major construction sites with such vicious demands indicates that this attack is aimed at every construction worker and is backed to the hilt by the government.

One sheet metal worker working in the San Fernando Valley stated that, "My boss told me two months ago he was not going to sign any new contract and was going non-union. We need a 20 percent raise, not a 20 percent cut. I'll be damned if I'm going to work for less and I'll be damned if I'll work non-union."

The battle beginning in Southern California now links up with the vicious cuts being imposed in construction in Northern California. This fight requires the unity of construction workers state-wide to shut down construction, smash government guidelines and force the union leadership to cease all cooperation with the Construction Industry Stabilization Board.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

Phone: 824-4096

Contractors Open L.A. Pay Cut Drive

BY ROBERT CADE

LOS ANGELES—4000 sheet metal workers, almost the entire membership of Sheet Metal Workers Local 108, assembled at a specially called meeting July 2.

In an angry mood the membership openly called for strike action to repel the Sheet Metal Contractor's Association's (SMCA) bid to destroy the union.

Local 108 is the second largest sheet metal local in the US and covers all those who fabricate and install sheet metal duct work used in heating and air conditioning in L.A. County.

The last offer that Local 108 has received from the contractors' association is a precedent

setting cut in pay from \$9.77 an hour to \$8 an hour and less, almost 20 percent.

The contractors demand introduction of new classifications within the union. Eight dollars an hour would be paid only to skilled layout men, while those journeymen installing duct work would be paid \$7.42 an hour with additional classifications on down to \$4.00 an hour. Also slated for the ax are several paid holidays.

The local leadership led to the amazement of the ranks for a two week extension of

negotiations. Most of the membership was so unprepared that the motion was pushed through by a voice vote.

Sheet metal workers in Orange County are already striking and are demanding a three percent tax on wages to establish a fund for a guaranteed wage.

PROVOKE

A Local 108 business representative told the *Bulletin* that the SMCA had the approval of the Association of General Contractors in their actions and that "many of the contractors running multi-million high rise jobs actually sit on the SMCA's board and are willing to provoke a strike and have their jobs shut down."

These preparations must be understood as the beginning of an open shop drive in the Southwest. The willingness of the contractors

(Continued On Page 19)

Bay Area Transit Men Strike For Wage Equality

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—The most modern transit system in the world ground to a halt Monday as 1200 workers walked out over demands for wage equalization. Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) workers are demanding that all employees of the system be paid the prevailing union wage in the Bay Area transit industry.

A legal provision known as 13-C attached to federal subsidies to BART requires that workers who transferred to BART from other systems like Greyhound or AC Transit keep their old rate of pay. The other workers are paid rates as much as two dollars an hour less.

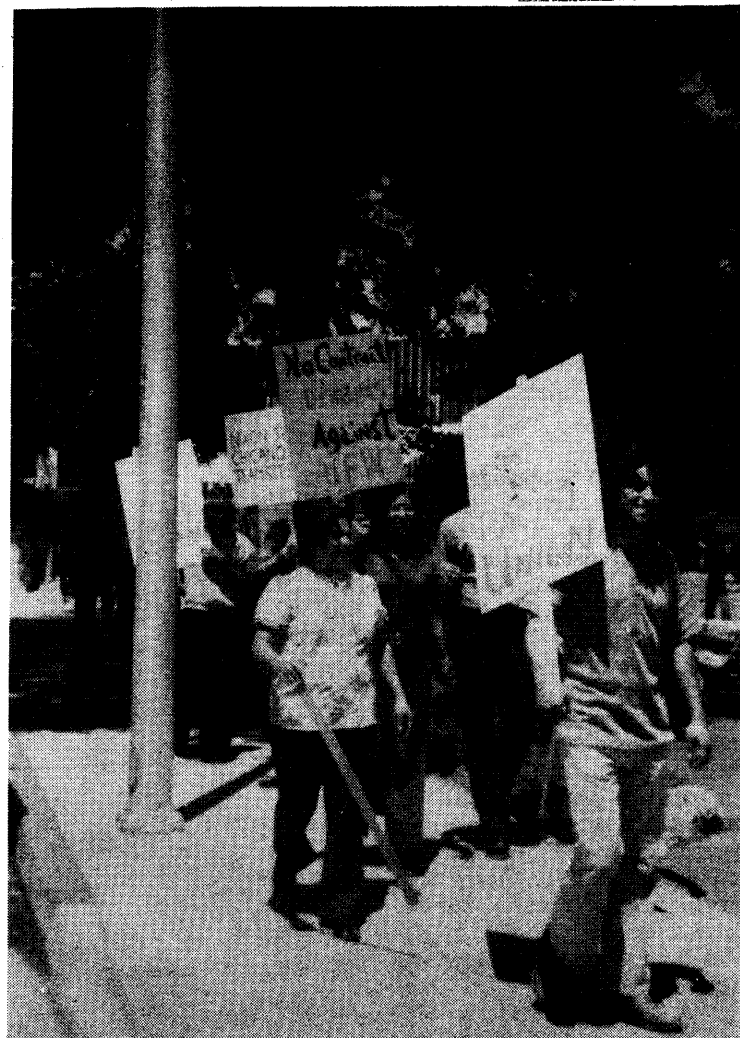
At union meetings and on the picket lines members of Local 390, which represents maintenance and clerical workers, have been adamant that no agreement will be accepted without immediate wage equalization. They demand that raises be granted to all workers using the higher rates as the base.

BART proposes to equalize by freezing the higher paid workers until those paid less catch up sometime in the future.

COMPROMISE

Union leaders are desperately seeking a compromise. Original strike plans were postponed one week by Local 390 head Paul Varacalli. At that time he said he was hopeful a settlement could be reached even though BART General Manager William Stokes had announced that immediate wage equalization was impossible.

Negotiations have now been



200 cannery workers picket Teamster leadership now in negotiations for contract covering 80,000. Workers picketed Hyatt House in Palo Alto where negotiations are being held in support of striking UFW.

Editorial

No To Unemployment! Reject Longshore Pact

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has reported that the longshore caucus has recommended acceptance of the 1973 contract.

The money offered is a pittance when compared to the rate of inflation. Forty cents the first year and 30 cents the second are coupled with a cost of living agreement that will not cover any rise in prices above 3.8 percent.

The major concession from the Pacific Maritime Association is a six million dollar guarantee fund, every penny of which will be paid to the union. In addition the rules and restrictions on guarantee payments have been eased.

It is the new situation of mass unemployment that is being prepared that will expose the fraudulent guarantee. A fund of \$115,000 a week will be an insult when thousands are without work and whole ports are threatened with destruction.

The PMA has agreed to a maximum overhead of six million dollars knowing full well that in the next period it will be fighting to drive the majority of longshoremen off the waterfront.

The Stalinists are playing the most reactionary role. While making a few criticisms of the contract they confine themselves to weighing its good and bad sides and refuse to fight for rejection, leaving it up to the ranks to decide as they put it.

Dockers must take the lead of the post office workers by rejecting this contract and striking the entire West Coast to win a full 40 hour guarantee with no limits on payments. monetary crisis means a collapse of world trade.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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resumed with San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto as mediator. BART made its first formal counter offer, to equalize wages by the end of the three year contract, freezing the higher paid workers until then. Varacalli told the press: "It appears that we are on the road to an agreement."

Pickets at BART's head-

quarters did not agree with Varacalli. One told the *Bulletin*, "Most of us have worked here for over two years without anything being done about equalization. We've been waiting for this strike a long time, and now that it's here, we're not going back without equalization. As far as I can see, that means we're in for a long strike."

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