

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THIRTY-THREE 308

SEPTEMBER 3, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

FIFTEEN CENTS

Nixon steps up offensive against living standards---

SEPTEMBER PRICES HIGHEST EVER



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BY THE EDITORS

The convening of a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party as the political arm of the working class against the Nixon government is now the number one task confronting the trade union movement.

Building this political answer to Nixon and creating the conditions for his removal from office and his replacement by a labor government takes on the greatest urgency as American workers face the most serious attack on their living standards and democratic rights in modern history.

Treasury Secretary George Shultz announced Friday that there would be an "astounding" jump in wholesale prices for August and the coming months—a result of the virtual abandonment of price controls under Phase Four.

Already, the average working class and middle class family is paying \$208 per year more than it did 12 months ago for food and an incredible \$12 more than in June. When children return to school next week, they will have to pay more for their lunches.

At the same time, the rise in interest rates for personal loans and government-backed mortgages places new strains on the ability of every worker to meet even the most pressing and immediate financial obligations.

The leap in the cost of living while wages are controlled does not, however, reveal the full extent of the dangers that face American workers.

Behind the rise of interest rates to record levels is the conscious decision of big bankers and the most powerful industrialists to eliminate vast pools of unprofitable capital accumulated during the decades of the postwar inflation. Now, with the overproduction of capital through the creation of mountains of

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TUALP Statement On Longshore Defeat The 'Flexible' Contract

One of the central features of Nixon's trade war strategy against Europe and Japan is the destruction of jobs, working conditions and living standards of dock workers.

Already, encouraged by Nixon's proposals for anti-strike legislation covering the maritime and other transportation industries, the big shipping companies have launched an all-out assault against the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) and all of the jobs protections remaining in the current contract on the East and Gulf Coasts.

The door has been left wide open for this attack by the "flexible" contract signed by International Longshoremen's Association President Teddy Gleason in 1972. These are the attacks longshoremen now face:

- Millions of dollars in payments to the GAI fund are delinquent.

- Deliberate violations of ILA container rules have become flagrant.

- Obsolete port facilities like

Brooklyn's Breakwater Pier are being shut down rapidly as new container and breakbulk facilities are opened.

- The big container shippers engaged in Far East trade have introduced the "mini-bridge" service, eliminating East and Gulf Coast port jobs and pitting East and Gulf Coast longshoremen against dockers on the West Coast.

At the same time, dock workers are finding it harder and harder to stretch their paychecks to meet Nixon's inflation, and now with the introduction of Phase Four their living standards face destruction at the hands of runaway prices for food, rents and other basic necessities.

Longshoremen must be united to defend themselves against these attacks. As a first step, the present East and Gulf Coast and West Coast contracts must be completely renegotiated on a national basis by the ILA and ILWU.

While the artificial credit "boom" and the US export drive

encouraged by Nixon's dollar devaluations have sent port activity and employment temporarily climbing, the bitter trade rivalries and the monetary and financial crisis which have emerged must lead to a sharp overall decline in world trade as the international capitalist economy is plunged into recession, creating vast unemployment among dockers.

Already there is a vast overproduction of container ships and port facilities on an international scale which will enormously sharpen the competition among shippers and port terminal operators and increase the threat of bankruptcies and layoffs.

The development of trade war means the development of the bitterest competition among shippers and terminal operators, who, in order to maintain their profits, will be forced to reduce the dock work force to the barest minimum through the introduction of speedup and new disciplinary procedures and the maximum utilization of con-

tainers and automation.

This means the bosses must carry through with their long-anticipated plans to completely destroy ILA container rules and the guarantee, under which eligible longshoremen must be paid for a minimum number of working hours at full pay regardless of whether they can be employed.

Some of the big containership companies have been thumbing their noses at stiff fines with wholesale violations of the ILA's 50 mile rule, which requires all containers with multiple shipments stuffed or stripped within 50 miles of a port to be handled by ILA workers.

Some of these same companies have been consistently delinquent in paying assessments to the GAI fund. While these companies have backed down when the union has taken action, and more containers are now being stuffed and stripped on the piers in some ports, the attack has just begun.

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World News Briefs...

Cambodia

In the first offensive since the halt in American bombing August 15, Khmer Rouge forces have cut the main supply routes to the capital, Phnom Penh. Route 4 which leads to the sea and Route 5 to the rice growing province of Battambang have been taken, leaving the Mekong River as the only link to the outside.

A few days earlier, the Khmer Rouge launched a rocket attack on the airport, four miles from Phnom Penh.

Greece

The fraudulent character of the Greek regime's amnesty and release of political prisoners was courageously exposed by Alexander Panagoulis, the man who tried to assassinate dictator Papadopoulos in 1968.

Panagoulis has endured five years of a life sentence in solitary confinement and suffered fiendish tortures at the hands of the regime. According to his mother his health is broken and he is "a ruin." But his fighting spirit has not been crushed.

On his release he said: "I feel disgusted that I leave the prison because freedom is for everybody. Inside the prison I continued the fight against the regime in my own way.

"I kept insulting my guards and if you go into my cell you will find slogans on the wall written with my blood."

Floods Hit Millions In Pakistan

BY A REPORTER

Over 2000 people are dead and at least two million homeless after the Indus River, swollen with heavy rains, overflowed its banks in the Punjab and Sind provinces of Pakistan.

When the last protective embankments collapsed, the waters flooded the Sukkur airport, all the roads and tore down telephone lines. In Punjab, the most populous province, at least one million tons of grain have washed away, creating an immediate threat of famine.

The effects of the rain are all the more disastrous after the severe drought that ravaged Pakistan and India last spring.

In India, preliminary reports indicate that the monsoon rains have already left 10 million homeless, 238 dead and five million acres of crops destroyed.

The crisis has been aggravated by the failure of the Indian government to put no more than four million tons of grain on the market instead of eight million as originally planned and its decision not to import another two million tons because of the high price of wheat.

Violent demonstrations over shortages and high prices, called by the pro-Moscow Communist Party, the trade unions and the right-wing Jan Sangh Party have exploded in India. Ten people have died so far in clashes with police.



Police clash with right-wing demonstrators in Chile.

Chile On Brink Of Military Coup

BY MELODY FARROW

The resignation of General Carlos Prats Gonzalez as Minister of Defense and Commander in Chief of the Army is a prelude to a military coup d'etat against President Salvador Allende.

The specter of a full scale civil war grows nearer by the hour. Allende's "National Security" Cabinet, which brought the military into the government, has collapsed after only 16 days.

The right-wing parties, the Christian Democrats and the National Party, issued a virtual declaration of war against Allende by passing a motion through Congress that accused Allende of violating the Constitution and called on the Defense Ministry "to direct the government's action."

Allende denounced the vote as a challenge to "the Armed Forces to act on the margin of authority to promote a coup d'etat" and called an emergency Cabinet meeting August 23. There have been reports that Allende is prepared to make major concessions to halt the truck owners strike that has become the focal point of the right-wing offensive.

On August 24, 5000 members of right-wing and leftist organizations fought all afternoon in downtown Santiago. Three days earlier, several hundred youth of the National Party marched in military formation to the headquarters of the Communist Party shouting fascist slogans, and fighting broke out with the CP youth.

NEW WAVE

A new wave of strikes by shopkeepers, airline pilots, engineers and other professional organizations has hit nine of Chile's provinces. Doctors in Santiago have decided to continue their work stoppage.

General Prats announced that he was resigning to "preserve the unity of the military" and admitted that the other Army commanders had demanded that he withdraw from the Allende regime. The next day the generals in charge of the mili-

tary institute and Army intelligence also handed in their resignations.

In another move, the Navy is attempting to charge Carlos Altamirano, Secretary-General of Allende's Socialist Party, and Oscar Garreton, another supporter of the government, with responsibility for the naval mutiny a few weeks ago.

Workers have seized the headquarters of the ITT which has played an active behind the scenes role in the right-wing campaign.

COUP

Despite the imminent threat of a coup, the powerful National Federation of Labor (CNT) that organizes over one million workers refuses to take any action to prepare the working class for civil war. While right-wing forces have intensified their wave of terror and bombings and have mobilized middle class organizations behind them, the CNT's only directive to its members was to "remain vigilant" and to stay on the job. The Communist Party, even at this late hour, continues to peddle the illusion that the strength of the CNT is a sufficient "deterrent" against a coup d'etat.

The Stalinist Communist Party stands directly responsible for the danger Chilean workers now face. They were the biggest supporters of Allende's Popular Unity coalition, elected in 1970, and claimed that Chile could be "peacefully" transformed into a socialist country through some reforms.

They actually supported the military when they forced Allende to bring them into the coalition and told workers that a coup could not happen in "democratic" Chile and the Army would restore order.

Allende has been unable to combat the raging inflation and

food shortages because he refuses to fight the capitalist system responsible for this economic chaos and fears a workers revolution more than he fears the military. Thus, by pulling away from decisive action, such as nationalizing the major foreign corporations, he has been unable to win over sections of the lower middle class and even workers who support the Christian Democrats.

Only the fight to mobilize the Chilean working class in a fight to take power will stop the dictatorial plans of the US backed military and their fascist allies.



General Prats

Is London Bombing Work Of Police?

BY A REPORTER

A wave of fire and letter bombings in London that the government has officially blamed on the Irish Republican Army (IRA) is being used to whip up a witchhunt against left-wing organizations.

Coming on the heels of the Littlejohn scandal which revealed that Tory Ministers had hired criminals to assassinate opponents in Ireland, the present bombings have the smell of the work of police provocateurs.

After the latest bombing incident August 24, Prime Minister Heath, seeking to create panic, declared an "alert." This is being used to step up harassment and surveillance of socialist organizations.

The bombings began on the weekend of August 18 when bombs went off in Harrod's and Liberty, two of London's biggest department stores.

On Tuesday, August 21, 15 bomb devices were found; nine encased in empty cigarette cases and another six mailed to the North Ireland Office, the Central Office of Information, the British Legion and Tory Party headquarters. Another explosion at the Stock Exchange injured several people.

The Workers Press, paper of the British Socialist Labour League, has established with both sections of the IRA in Dublin that they are not responsible for the bombing. Provisional IRA sources called a press release received by a member of the International Marxist Group, Gerry Lawless, "bogus." The release declared that IRA had carried out the bombings.

Mrs. Maire Drumm, Vice President of the Provisional IRA Fein in Dublin denied a news bulletin issued in her name claiming responsibility.

This has not stopped the newspapers from lumping the IRA together with left-wing organizations like the Daily Express which under a headline "Dedicated to Kill" called for "snuffing out extreme militants of the left who attack the Establishment."

The next step the government may take is to assume special emergency powers and begin searches of socialist organizations for "arms."

German Auto Workers Strike

The increasingly turbulent German labor movement erupted again during the past week as 30,000 auto workers in the city of Bochum wildcatted against Opel, one of the country's largest car manufacturers.

Production at Opel plants in Belgium has been stopped several times as the effect of the strike spread as far as Antwerp.

The latest wave of wildcats is being felt throughout the industrial centers of the Ruhr. Engineering workers in Rhein-stahl and Sterkrade have walked off their jobs.

Agents Scuttle 'Plot To Kill Nixon'



Nixon's biggest worry: auto workers Local 212 from Chrysler after being ousted from the Mack Stamping plant in Detroit shout down union leader Hank Ghant, who pleaded with the men to end their wildcat on the basis that it would "undermine the union's bargaining power."

BY A REPORTER

The efforts of federal authorities to create an "assassination" conspiracy during Nixon's visit to New Orleans August 16 has ended in a total fiasco.

When the story was originally released by the Secret Service the New Orleans police called it "foolish talk" and said there was hardly any evidence.

The "plot" to kill Nixon never existed. It was deliberately whipped up by the federal government to create hysteria and justify the dictatorial powers Nixon seeks to establish out of his confrontation over the Watergate tapes.

PLAUSIBLE

To make their claims plausible, officials close to the "investigation" have now released an incredible story.

According to these sources, the suspected "plotters" were six Black militants who held a discussion in New Orleans about killing Nixon at which a police informant was present.

Subsequently, there was another meeting between two of the militants where a "rifle exchanged hands." This is the essence of the plot.

POLICE

So, we are expected to believe that the police knew of a plot to kill Nixon and not only did not arrest the men before Nixon's arrival but did not even hold them for questioning until after his departure.

It seems that when the New Orleans police refused to go along with the conspiracy story and make some phony arrests the Secret Service went ahead on their own.

PIN

This is undoubtedly why they seized Edward Gaudet, a former New Orleans cop, and tried to pin him with a verbal threat to kill Nixon.

Now the federal government has been forced to drop this charge because the only "witness" to the threat will not swear it was him and Gaudet's lawyers have airtight proof that he was in New Mexico and not New Orleans, when the incident took place.

Before the police whisked Gaudet off to jail he shouted "government is organized crime." His wife angrily declared that he was being made a "scapegoat."

HYSTERIA

Gaudet now faces 165 years in jail for "assaulting a police officer with intent to kill" because he tried to defend himself against a vicious manhunt which police launched without even bothering to get an arrest warrant.

The New Orleans attempt may have failed but it must serve as a warning. More and more, Nixon is moving in the direction of creating "emergency" situations in order to justify a clamp-down on the democratic rights of working people.

B.L.A.

The arrest and indictment last week of Joanne Chesimard and nine others allegedly of the "Black Liberation Army" has all the trappings of another frame-up campaign.

Chesimard and her co-defendants will face trial in October for a long list of charges including murder, attempted murder, robbery and grand larceny. Police claim they are also linked to robberies in North Carolina and California.

WATERGATE

It is no accident that just when Nixon faces a growing crisis over Watergate and the majority of American people believe he is a liar and a crook, that the government creates diversions to whip up a law and order frenzy and stampede support for more repression.

There has never been any evidence apart from police allegations that any organization called the "Black Liberation Army" exists nor has there even been any statements from such a group.

Behind the New Orleans "plot" and the trial of Black militants is a calculated move to lay the groundwork for a police state. This is the meaning of Nixon's challenge to the courts and his determination to take on the working class, attack wages and the basic rights of the unions.

Woodcock Agrees To Chrysler Wage Limit

BY DAVID NORTH

DETROIT, Aug. 25—Auto workers have now been given unmistakable evidence that the Woodcock bureaucracy has decided to go all the way with Nixon and sign the most rotten sell-out in the history of the UAW.

Just examine last week's sequence of events:

First, Woodcock announced in Milwaukee that Chrysler—the smallest of the "Big Three"—has been chosen as the strike target, thus running away from a confrontation with the real powers in the industry, GM and Ford.

Then, the UAW leadership immediately started groveling at Chrysler's feet, asking the company to agree to a clause in the upcoming contract that would allow the settlement to be reopened in the event that Nixon eventually suspends the wage controls.

There can be only one reason the UAW is seeking such a clause at this stage of the negotiations, and that is that Woodcock has made a secret deal with Nixon to adhere to the guidelines.

When Chrysler revealed on Wednesday that it would be offering the guideline limit of 6.2 percent in wages and fringe benefits, Woodcock made no adverse comment.

"VICTIM"

Finally, UAW Vice President Fraser told a press conference in the middle of the week that Chrysler had received assurances from the UAW that the company would not be the "victim" of "concerted action" by union members.

Never—not even in the worst days of the treacherous Reuther regime—has the UAW bureaucracy plotted so openly against the ranks. While the two Chrysler workers who led the Mack stamping plant sit-in two weeks ago face up to four years in jail on charges of felonious assault, Fraser is going out of his way to assure Chrysler that the UAW will have no major disagreements with any position the company puts forward.

"I can't think of any demand, any category, where we wouldn't be receptive to an offer," he said at a press conference.

While Woodcock declares that voluntary overtime is the main issue—at the very moment when GM and Ford are returning to the standard eight hour shifts—he has not repudiated out of hand the new demands being made by the companies in the area of work rules.

Anger is mounting against the refusal of the leadership to put forward any program in the contract fight and for by-passing GM and Ford as strike targets.

A Chevrolet worker in Detroit told the Bulletin: "There's no real sense in just hitting Chrysler. GM is the one that Woodcock should've gone after. People just don't know how tough the conditions are here."

He added that Woodcock "is nothing but a Woodcock man."

Like Paul Jennings of the electrical workers and Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters before him, Woodcock is determined to obey the guidelines and prevent an auto strike—in order to keep Nixon in office so that his gangster administration can step up its attacks on the working conditions and living standards of every auto worker.

With only two weeks to go before the deadline, the members of every UAW local—including those organized at GM and Ford—must demand that emergency preparations begin for a national strike on September 14, as mandated by the overwhelming strike vote. The Chrysler ranks cannot be left to fight alone.

Because Nixon has ended free collective bargaining and because he stands as the pillar of the "Big Three's" drive for profits through vicious speedups, a national UAW strike will mean a confrontation with this govern-

ment.

Therefore, to prepare for this strike, the ranks must demand that the UAW leadership rally the entire labor movement behind the auto workers by calling a National Congress of Labor to mobilize the working class politically in a labor party to oust Nixon.

Miners Strike In Kentucky

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

HARLAN COUNTY, Ky., Aug. 25—A struggle in the coal fields of east Kentucky has entered its second month, as 180 miners have shut down operations by the powerful Eastover Mining Company in order to win a union contract.

Although the miners voted to disaffiliate with the company run South Labor Union, Eastover—a subsidiary of Duke Power—will not agree to wage increases and a contract with the members' new representatives, the United Mine Workers.

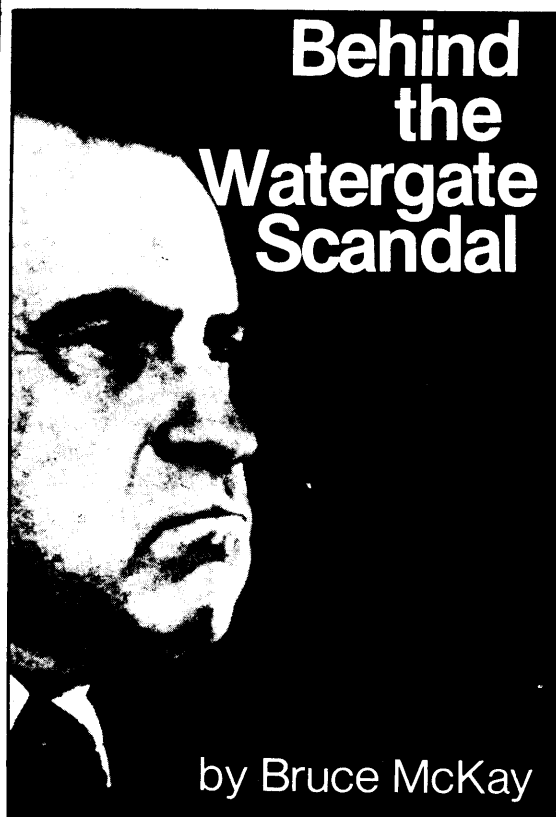
Under mounting criticism from miners in this area for a "do nothing" policy, UMW President Arnold Miller is putting up a show of militancy.

In a statement made Thursday, Miller issued a "declaration of war" against Duke Power and pledged "whatever funds, material, and manpower" to win the contract fight.

The company has denounced the union for providing the miners with \$100 weekly strike benefits and full medical coverage.

Before the contract battle began in late July, the miners had gone out over the company's attempt to lay off workers.

Must Reading.....



by Bruce McKay

Bulletin Pamphlet Series 15

50¢

Exposes how Watergate was part of Nixon's plan to destroy the democratic rights of American workers and reveals how Nixon has been groomed by California and Florida boom capitalists and organized crime since 1946 to lead the attacks on the trade unions.

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Chavez To Reopen UFW Talks

BY A REPORTER

DELANO, Calif.—Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers, has done an about-face by welcoming the Teamsters offer to halt their activities in Delano as a step forward.

Appealing for support to the grape boycott at the convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Washington on August 23, Chavez said the declaration of the Teamsters repudiating contracts with 29 growers would "open the door to negotiations."

Following a meeting with George Meany, Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons sent letters to the Delano growers stating that the contracts were not "authorized" and that the Teamsters office in Delano would be closed down. Chavez' immediate response was:

"The fact remains that two of our men are dead. The fact remains that the Teamsters and growers and cops are equally to blame for these deaths and no news gimmicks are going to change that."

RESOLUTION

At the convention, a New York teacher, George Altomare, introduced a resolution calling



Cop beating up a farm worker in Delano.

for support to the UFW from the teachers federation and the national organization. It was passed overwhelmingly.

The Teamsters action is another cynical maneuver designed to gain time before they launch a new attack together with the growers on the farm workers' struggle to defend their union.

John Giumarra Jr., spokesman for the growers, scoffed at the Teamsters repudiation, and said, "My father's response would be ha ha."

The Teamsters made no mention of 51 other contracts they signed with growers in the Coachella Valley, Kern County and the San Joaquin Valley.

Chavez' pacifist policies have led the farm workers into a complete dead-end. He returns to the negotiating table because he refuses to fight to mobilize the California labor movement to defend the pickets and forcibly drive the Teamsters out of the fields.

Chavez has called off all
(Continued On Page 14)

Canadian Rail Strike On Nationwide

BY A CORRESPONDENT

On August 23, 56,000 non-operating railroad workers shut down Canadian rail service from coast to coast after a month of negotiations and mediation efforts collapsed.

The strike poses an immediate political confrontation between Canadian workers and the government of Pierre Elliot Trudeau who may call an emergency session of Parliament to pass back-to-work legislation as they did during the nationwide rail strikes in 1950 and 1966.

The Associated Non-Operating Railway Unions, after twice lowering their demands, are asking for a 21.6 percent wage increase over two years. The average pay is now \$140 a week.

Richard Smith, chief union negotiator, stated that the main companies, Canadian National Railways and CP Rail, took advantage of the union's rotating strikes by shutting its unprofitable passenger service and only continuing freight shipments.

He denounced their last

proposal as "an insult to our intelligence and integrity." They refused to offer more than 7 percent the first year and 6.5 percent the second year and insisted on binding arbitration.

Specifically they offered 32 cents an hour for the first eight months with negotiations for a two year contract to be resumed in September.

General Motors has announced it will close its Oshawa and Sainte Therese plants for lack of parts and Ford plans to shut its facility in Oakville.

The rail unions must prepare to defeat any government strike breaking by appealing to the Canadian labor movement to stand behind them until they win their just demands and demand that the New Democratic Party in Parliament oppose any legislation to end the strike.

SSEU-371 Delegates Oppose Pinkett Appointment

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Aug. 24—Strong opposition among the ranks to the appointment of Mary Pinkett as SSEU-371 President emerged at last week's Delegates Assembly.

While the quorum required for the official conduct of business was not reached, those present demanded to know why the union bureaucracy had violated the democratic traditions of the SSEU to select Pinkett to the office vacated by Bart Cohen at a closed session of the Executive Committee.

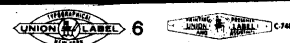
"It is the Democratic Party that has gone along with Nixon's budget slashes and it is Abe Beame who, if elected Mayor, will implement these cuts against all City workers," declared Cribben.

LEADERSHIP

The character of Pinkett's leadership was exposed again when the delegates sought to discuss the dangerous developments related to the harassment of union delegates and activists by the City. One of the bureaucracy's appointed grievance officers was accused of red-baiting an activist brought up on charges after participating in a union work action at the Bergen center.

Delegates defeated a motion introduced by Pinkett to avoid discussion of this harassment.

The CNL is now campaigning for the upcoming Delegate Assembly to call a membership-wide election of a new president and that the Executive Committee submit to the decision of the delegates.



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— How 'Salute To Ted' Covered \$49,000 Fund

BY BRUCE MCKAY

It was May 19, 1972. Republican Party dignitaries and wealthy Maryland businessmen flocked to Baltimore's Lyric Theater and paid \$100 to \$500 each to watch Bob Hope and Frank Sinatra in a "Salute to Ted Agnew Night" testimonial.

The funds were destined for the Vice President's campaign chest. On the surface it seemed like an ordinary fund-raising affair for a capitalist political campaign. Perfectly legal, and over \$170,000 was raised. But according to a Maryland grand jury, it was used as a cover to hide a \$49,000 contribution from the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President in violation of Maryland law.

While Nixon tries to stop the flow of the disclosures surrounding the Watergate scandal, Agnew is sinking in the mire of his own past political corruption.

Already, he is under investigation by a federal grand jury in connection with an elaborate kickback scheme involving Maryland contractors. Agnew allegedly accepted regular payoffs for political favors from builders beginning in his term as Baltimore County executive and extending into his stay in the Maryland governor's mansion and the Vice Presidency.

INDICTMENT

Agnew's successor as county executive, Democrat N. Dale Anderson, has already been indicted by the grand jury on 39 counts of bribery, extortion and conspiracy.

In the latest indictment

against the "Salute to Ted Agnew Night" fund-raising committee, Agnew is not mentioned, but five of the seven committee members named in the indictment are close business and political associates of Agnew and have either been specifically named in the kickback case or may be involved:

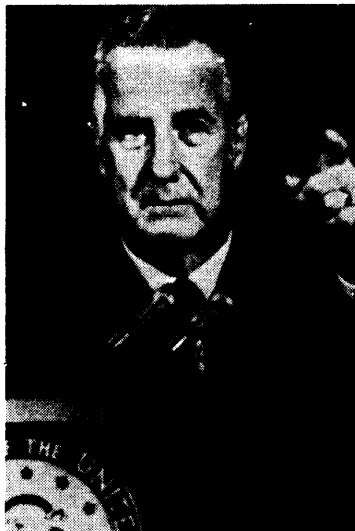
•J. Walter Jones, an Annapolis land developer and banker who has been implicated with Agnew in the alleged kickback scheme. Jones has been Agnew's closest business associate since the 1950s and according to many observers owes his fortune to Agnew's political decisions. He served as a vice president of the Finance Committee to Reelect the President in 1972.

•Mrs. Charles G. Bresler, whose husband is a wealthy Washington-Maryland area land developer who was a losing candidate for state controller on Agnew's 1966 gubernatorial ticket and an aide to Agnew in the governor's mansion.

•Mrs. Harvey M. Meyerhoff, who was the chairwoman of the Salute to Ted Agnew Night Committee. Her husband is a wealthy Baltimore land developer.

•John W. Steffey, who is one of Maryland's biggest land developers and a former state senator.

•Blagdon H. Wharton, a vice president of the Maryland National Bank who has been in-



dicted for perjury and falsification of records in connection with his position as treasurer of the Agnew Night Committee.

A former president of the Maryland National Bank who has since become Assistant Secretary of Commerce in the Nixon Administration was also a committee member and was implicated by the county prosecutor in the conspiracy although not officially named in the indictment.

CORRUPTION

The corruption of Spiro Agnew dates all the way back to the time he was a Baltimore County zoning appeals official, when his controversial veto on a zoning appeal turned a half million dollar investment by Jones and his associates into a profit of millions of dollars.

The Agnew affair exposes before the working class the corruption which permeates the American political system dominated by the two parties of big business, the Republicans and Democrats, and further reveals the dangers of allowing this government to continue in power.

BY NANCY FIELDS

The Watergate conspiracy of the Nixon Administration has revealed the extent of the development of all-out measures of repression to be used by the government to destroy the basic democratic rights of the working class.

All the forces of the state, from the CIA and FBI, to the hiring of secret agents, sabotage and illegal wiretapping, were assembled by the Nixon Administration to destroy the Democratic Party in the last election as preparation for taking on the American trade union movement. These forces will now be brought into full use as the deepening economic crisis compels the capitalist class to destroy the rights and standards of living of millions of workers internationally.

In the face of an all-out secret police plot aimed at its destruction, the Democratic Party stands prostrate. From the inception of the Watergate scandal, beginning with the burglary of its national headquarters in June 1972, the Democratic Party has refused to take any direct action against Nixon.

In the pre-election period, it simply sat by while the Committee to Re-Elect the President carried out its open sabotage of the McGovern campaign. At that time, both Ted Kennedy in the Senate and Wright Patman (Democrat of Texas) in the House had the power to open Congressional hearings into the burglary.

Faced with the growing anger of thousands of workers and youth over the Watergate revelations, the Democrat-controlled Congress reluctantly began its investigation. And, while the chairman of the Senate Select Committee, Democrat Sam Ervin, has openly admitted that secret documents which he has seen "reveal a Gestapo mentality at top levels of the Nixon Administration," Congress has refused to initiate impeachment procedures against Nixon.

In fact, throughout the hearings, the Committee has contended that any of the evidence presented against Nixon could not be used in a court of law. It has become clear during the hearings that the Democrats have simply used them in a desperate attempt to perpetuate the myth of the so-called democratic process and to restore some image of respectability to the government.

The Democrats' refusal to act occurs at a time when over 80 percent of the American population believe that Nixon is guilty, and workers and youth are now moving to demand a new election. Thus, the question that must be sharply posed today is: why is it that the party which would benefit from a new election finds itself in a state of collapse and refuses to call for such an election?

HISTORY

Behind the Democratic Party's refusal to act and its reluctance to expose the vicious police state techniques employed by the Nixon Administration stands its own long history of involvement in the development of precisely the same techniques that Nixon employed in Watergate. Whenever the power of the working class threatened the ability of capitalism to maximize its profits, the Democratic Party came forward in all-out assaults on the trade union movement.

Thus, it was under Franklin Roosevelt—that so-called great friend of labor—that the House Un-American Activities Committee was created for the sole purpose of destroying the mass movement for industrial unionism that occurred in the middle of the depression of 1937-1938. Roosevelt appointed Martin Dies to head the witch-hunting activities of HUAC in an attempt to halt the development of the CIO.

The first act of the Dies Com-

mittee of Manufacturers to distribute over two million copies of *Join The CIO and HELP Build A Soviet America*, under the guise that the book was written by the CIO and represented its official views. In fact, it was authorized by Joseph P. Kamp, head of the pro-fascist Constitutional League.

Throughout the entire Roosevelt Administration, the CIO, as described by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert Morrison in *Labor's Untold Story*, "was hit and hit hard by the charge of Communist conspiracy, thundered with all the power of ninety-eight percent of the nation's press and radio, with all the force that the world's largest aggregate of monopoly capital could muster."

In 1941, in an attempt to whip

the first acts under the new Truman Administration was the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act designed to "rid labor of Communist domination."

Taft-Hartley was aimed at the destruction of the trade union movement as an independent force controlled by its members. Its provisions reinstated injunctions, gave courts the power to fine unions for alleged violations, outlawed mass picketing, abolished the closed shop, denied unions the right to contribute to political campaigns and gave employers the right to prevent employees from joining a union. In effect, it was the "Bill of Rights" for the capitalist class.

Truman used this vicious bill nine times during his administration to openly break all

most violent anti-communist drive to date was launched under Eisenhower by Republican Joseph McCarthy, it received the solid support of the "liberal" Democrats in Congress. In fact, Hubert Humphrey authored the Communist Control Act in 1954 to outlaw the Communist Party and to open up the way for direct government intervention in all union struggles.

In introducing the bill, the real face of the so-called friends of labor was completely exposed when Humphrey, backed by all the Democrats in Congress, declared: "I am tired of reading headlines about being 'soft' toward Communism. I want to come to grips with the Communist issue. I want the Senators to stand up and to answer whether they are for the Communist Party or against it."

Faced with the virulent tactics of McCarthy, the Democratic Party went all-out to ensure the large corporations of its loyalty.

The Democrats: Record of Repression



KENNEDY

The Democrats' subservience to the interests of capitalism was most sharply revealed in the 1960s in both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. Kennedy employed the CIA to launch the Bay of Pigs offensive which was aimed directly at the Cuban workers and peasants.

He created the sophisticated international espionage unit—the Green Berets—to destroy the liberation struggles in the colonial countries. And through his brother, the Attorney General, he initiated an offensive against the trade unions complete with the method of illegal wire-tapping, sabotage and the hiring of provocateurs now being used with full force by Nixon.

Johnson followed in line with the unleashing of the barbaric war in Southeast Asia, the invasion of the Dominican Republic and wholesale attacks on workers and youth here. It was under Johnson that a full-scale plan for the military invasion of US cities—faced with the massive uprisings in the ghettos—was developed.

But, while it is true that the use of repression against the working class was always employed by the Democrats, as well as the Republicans, the Watergate conspiracy is far more than politics as usual. Thus, all the techniques developed by both parties of capitalism in the past were now brought forward to destroy the traditional two party capitalist democracy because the profound economic crisis demands that all the old forms of rule must be changed if capitalism is to survive.

Today it is the Democratic Party—faced with its own destruction—that seeks desperately to keep Nixon in office. When asked what he thought the political repercussions of a full-scale investigation into all aspects of the Watergate would be, Howard Baker (Republican Vice Chairman of the Senate Select Committee) replied: "explosive." He added: The Democrats understand that, too, because they've been remarkably quiet about Watergate."

As Nixon turns more openly to reliance on military measures and as sections of the capitalist class prepare to rip up the Constitution, the trade union movement must break completely from the Democratic Party by calling its own Congress of Labor to construct its own party to bring down the Nixon government.

mittee was to investigate the growth of the CIO in the Metal Trades Unions. With the aid of John P. Frey, head of the AFL Metal Trades Department, the government succeeded in driving the industrial unionists out of the union.

This investigation marked the beginning of the government-sponsored blacklists of working class militants. These lists later became powerful weapons in the Cold War witch-hunt conducted by Harry Truman aimed at making the trade unions totally subservient to the needs of capitalism.

CONSPIRACY

Unable to stop the movement of workers into the CIO through mere Congressional investigation, the Roosevelt Administration also developed an arsenal of sabotage and conspiracy tactics to discredit the CIO and create an atmosphere of hysterical anti-communism in the country.

The government joined with the right-wing National Associ-

ation of Manufacturers to gain support for World War Two, Roosevelt's Democratic Congress rushed through the vicious anti-labor Smith Act. Its aim was the destruction of the democratic rights of free speech, press and assembly and it made the mere advocacy of one political views a crime.

Under this act, scores of anti-war unionists were jailed, including 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party who led the successful organizing drive of the Teamsters in Minnesota. The act allowed for wholesale raids on trade union offices and socialist organizations and provided the legal tool for big business to prosecute communists and remove union militants from the labor movement throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

Truman, following the traditions of his mentor FDR, continued the development of anti-labor measures aimed at repressing the working class. In the face of a massive strike wave following World War Two, one of

strikes for higher wages. At the same time, with the growing political movement of the working class for independent political action (channeled by the American Communist Party into Wallace's Progressive Party) Truman turned to the House Un-American Activities Committee to witch-hunt all political organizations.

However, the high point of the development of police state techniques under Truman came with the passage of the National Security Act in 1948, which established the CIA, and the McCarran-Kilgore Internal Security Act. The latter provided for the building of concentration camps where any political dissenter, that is, any working class fighter, could be imprisoned without a trial during a national emergency.

COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT

All the Democrats who followed Truman have continued to serve the interests of big business in its drive against the working class. Although the

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Prices Slash Living Standards

(Continued From Page 1)

credit having wrecked the world monetary system beyond repair, the banks and monopolies are determined to take whatever actions are needed to save themselves.

Not only do rising interest rates cut off new avenues of investment by making money more difficult to borrow but also create the conditions for sudden collapses by major corporations and whole sections of industry that are utterly dependent upon cheap credit to maintain their profit rates.

Therefore, in order to save themselves, the ruling class must carry out new attacks by lowering wage levels, increasing prices, imposing vicious speedups in the plants, and—above all—destroying jobs and creating levels of unemployment that recall the worst days of the 1930s.

Knowing that the working class will fight to defend what it has won through struggle, the bankers and industrialists are trying to establish the type of political regime that will destroy all democratic rights and smash the strength of workers organized in the most powerful unions in the world.

This is what lies behind Nixon's defiance of the Constitution and his attempts to "tough it out" in Watergate. As the attempts to create the specter of a "national emergency" with a spate of phoney assassination plots demonstrates, Nixon's conspiracy against democratic rights continues.

But Nixon is able to remain in office and continue his preparations for dictatorship only because the trade union bureaucrats who stand at the leadership of the labor movement are doing everything in their power to keep Nixon in office.

At the very moment when Nixon is at his weakest, every section of the labor bureaucracy has given this criminal government critical support by "voluntarily" accepting the wage controls and deliberately heading off a showdown between the working class and Nixon over wages. The electrical workers, teamsters, and postal workers have been betrayed one after another.

All these bureaucrats are willing to accept the destruction of the trade unions in order to save Nixon and the system he represents. They are all heading in the direction of the "Corporate State," in which the working class is ruthlessly regimented and disciplined to serve the interests of capitalism.

What other conclusion can be drawn from the statement of Peter Brennan, the labor bureaucrat who actually has entered Nixon's Cabinet, who told *US News and World Report*:

"So for me or any labor man to try to kill off the person that he had just signed the agreement with would be ridiculous. So you can't put them out of business. You have to make sure that they make their profit and they can take care of their obligations as far as the agreement goes."

This is the philosophy guiding the Meanys, Woodcocks and Fitzsimmons as they go along with wage cutting, speedups, and new attacks on jobs.

There is no time to lose. Workers must rally around the auto workers, whose contract expires next week, by fighting in their locals for resolutions to be passed demanding that the National Convention of the AFL-CIO which meets next month place as the first item on its agenda the convening of an emergency Congress of Labor to mobilize the working class politically in a labor party against this government.

(Continued From Page 1)

Gleason prepared the way for these new attacks with his sellout of the 1971 strike, in which he capitulated to the bosses' demands to establish the Prior Day Order system and other measures to break down seniority and working conditions and push men off the guarantee.

Now, the shipping bosses and port operators are out for blood, and the ranks cannot depend on Gleason or the rest of the ILA bureaucracy—like Brooklyn Local 1814 President Anthony Scotto—to fight back, despite their militant talk about striking firms violating container rules or invoking contract clause 3-H to require the stuffing and stripping of all containers on the

Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party Statement

and Bridges and fought for unity among transportation workers against the bosses and Nixon. Only the TUALP has fought for a Congress of Labor to unite workers in a fight for a labor party to throw Nixon and his gang out of office and replace them with a workers' government committed to socialist policies to defend basic rights,

local to demand that the leadership of both unions mobilize their ranks in a united fight for a new national longshore contract based on the following program:

- An immediate 20 percent wage increase with full cost of living. An equity clause for all minor ports.

- Full 40 hours guarantee for all longshoremen with no restrictions for 30 hour week. All longshoremen eligible for GAI payments after two weeks.

- No loss of jobs because of diverted cargo. A unified policy must be worked out with other transportation unions regarding containers and the "mini-bridge" service.

- No prior day ordering! No assignment out of area. Job assignment according to seniority. No debiting.

- No reduction in gang size—back to 21 men.

- More jobs must be created on the docks for young workers. No compulsory overtime—double time after eight hours or 3 p.m. Triple time on weekends.

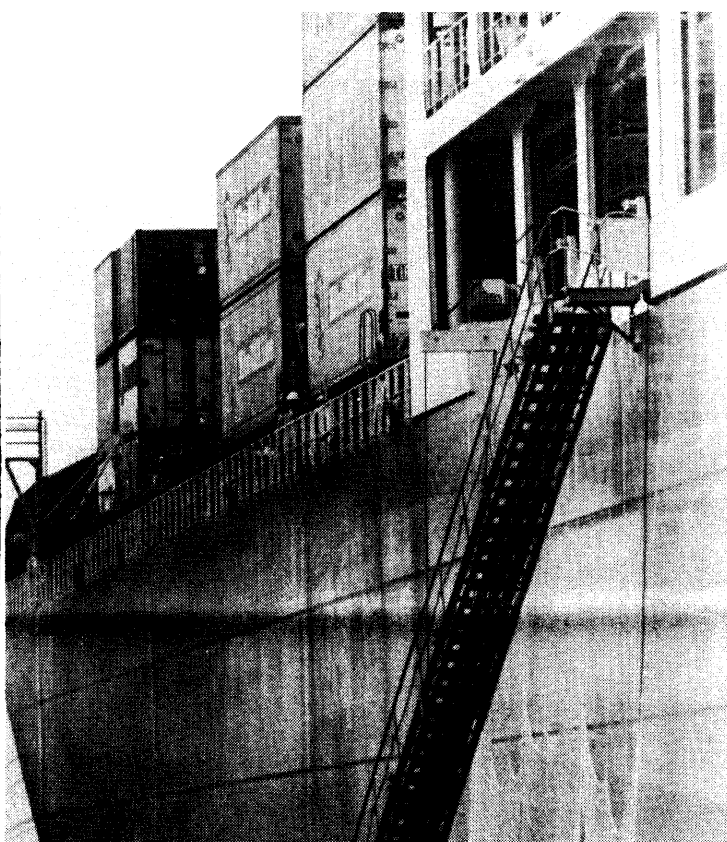
- Strict enforcement of all container rules. Container money must be paid quarterly. Right to strike over all contract violations.

- 20 and out at \$650 per month with no age restriction and with full cost of living. Years counted cumulatively.

- The real cause of unemployment on the docks lies in the private ownership of the port facilities and shipping companies. Workers must demand nationalization of the docks and shipping companies under workers control and without compensation.

- In order to carry this program forward, the ILA and ILWU must call on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers to immediately convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of demanding the resignation of the Nixon government and the scheduling of new elections and to construct a labor party as the labor movement's alternative to Phase Four, Watergate and the corrupt Republican and Democratic Parties.

Defeat The 'Flexible' Contract



piers.

The utter corruption of the bureaucracy was thoroughly exposed when New Orleans dockers shut down the port for 11 days in order to force the companies and their own union leadership to account for millions of dollars in container royalty money the ranks had never seen.

Instead of fighting the companies, Gleason and the rest of the ILA bureaucracy collaborates with them. He has sided with East Coast port interests in fighting the "mini-bridge." Gleason supported Nixon's reelection campaign in 1972 and has supported his wage controls from the beginning. Gleason, Scotto, nor anyone else in the ILA leadership has anything to say about Phase Four.

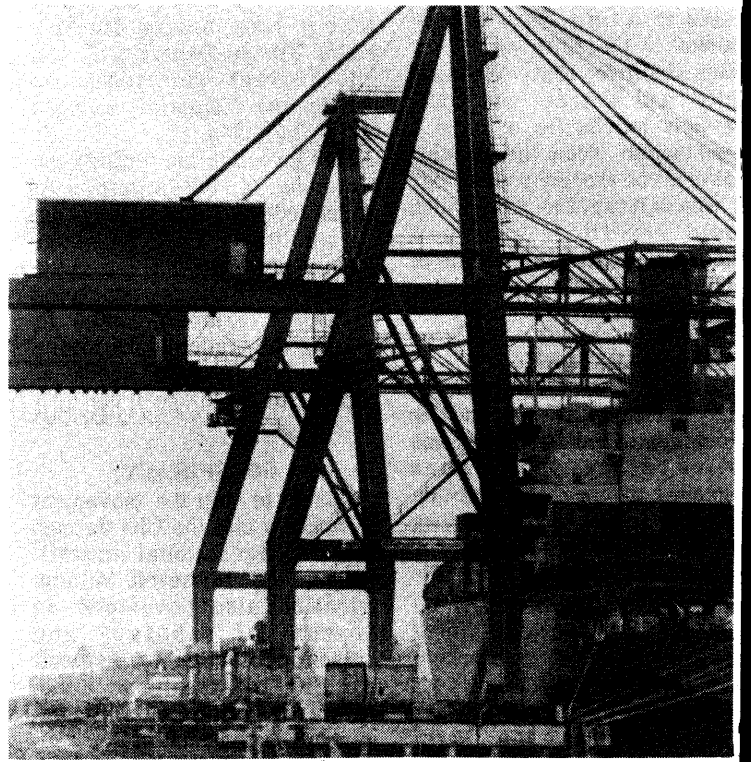
On the West Coast, dockers in the ILWU face the same situation, in which Bridges completely refused to challenge Nixon's 5.5 percent wage limit in the new contract despite runaway price increases and in which he agreed to a guarantee package still significantly weaker even than the ILA's guarantee.

Longshoremen on both coasts must immediately begin a fight to build a new leadership in both unions around the program and perspective of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. Only the TUALP has consistently taken up a fight in both unions against the sellouts of Gleason

jobs and living standards by nationalizing basic industry under workers control.

The supporters of the policies of the Stalinist Communist Party have refused to fight the present leadership in either the ILA or the ILWU. In the ILWU, they completely supported Bridges and his recent contract settlement with the PMA.

Caucuses affiliated with the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party must now be formed in every ILA and ILWU



AN INTERVIEW WITH DOROTHY HEALEY

Defending Stalinism From Outside The CP



Dorothy Healey, running as CP candidate for Los Angeles County Assessor in 1966, casting her ballot. All the questions avoided in that period coming to the surface today.

Healey: A revolutionary party is not the internal property of its members. If it is to have significance it is an instrumentality that in effect belongs to the working class and most particularly to the advanced sectors of the working class. Obviously if all that the working class sees are the presented, already pre-conceived decisions of the party, with no knowledge as to the processes that have been gone through in order to arrive at those decisions, then the workers have no way to know why that particular decision was made. Why one policy is preferable over another. So that, as a matter of course, both the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International up until 1928 or 1930 always carried on public debates. As a matter of fact, the only private ones are in the Trotskyist movement, where pre-convention discussion is a private debate.

Now I've talked to many SWP members, and they all have the identical thing to say: that that is the only way; that everyone must speak with one voice. And that if you didn't do that, then people with minority positions, before a convention, then would be placed in an embarrassing position of having to take a position that they hadn't fully agreed with. Well, just the opposite, in my opinion is true: that if that situation takes place then there is more respect for those who want action.

Again I want to emphasize what Lenin was talking about on Democratic Centralism. Not ideas...because ideas have to reflect a changing world. An action is a specific thing that has a beginning and an end to it. The debate on ideas, which means policies, never has an end because the world never stays the same. The relationship of forces never stays the same. Lenin defines Democratic Centralism in this way. Look in Volume 13.

Bulletin: ...but Lenin never compromised on the theoretical questions. But then to say that activity has a life of its own, that practice has a life of its own...not reflecting the philosophical method and positions of the comrades...

Healey: How do you determine that? By a majority vote? Do you think that a majority vote determines a philosophic concept? A theoretical concept?

Bulletin: Theory is proven in practice. Right?

INTRODUCTION

We reprint below the slightly edited transcript of a tape-recorded interview with former Communist Party member Dorothy Healey, held recently in Los Angeles.

This interview is extremely important because Healey's resignation from the Communist Party and her remarks to the **Bulletin** reveal the crisis of Stalinism and raise issues that expose the role of Stalinism internationally and in the American labor movement.

However, while being forced to raise such issues as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Healey remains a defender of Stalinism and a bitter opponent of Trotskyism. In her attacks on Lenin's conception of the revolutionary party, her defense of the Moscow Trials and all the betrayals of Stalinism, Healey attempts to obscure and distort the fundamental issues of the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism that now must be clarified in the American workers' movement.

In the following issue of the **Bulletin** we will publish an extensive reply to this interview by David North.

The transcript begins at the point at which Dorothy Healey permitted the use of a tape recorder, following an informal discussion.

Healey: Of course. But that is in the long run only. It does not prove it in the short run. If that were true, all revolutionaries in all capitalist countries would be in one hell of a spot trying to prove the scientific validity of Marxism. In the long run that is what's established, and the dialectical unity between theory and practice is one thing; but that kind of unity is not a synonym for the unity of mind and action. Marx characterized the attempt to use the phrase unity of thought, unity of will and action as a Jesuit concept designed to produce blind orthodoxy and dogmatism. That was the contempt that he had for that kind of attempt to artificially and mechanically find that kind of relationship. This he said around the fight around the Communist League, in the 1850s, and later in the fight against Bakunin. What I find ironic is that all of the Trotskyist movement have without being aware of it (one of those imperceptible things that gradually become a principle) accepted the most Stalinist definitions of Democratic Centralism. That is the height of irony; the failure to have an inner party democracy that reflects Democratic Centralism as it should be; as the dialectical unity of the most democratic and public debate combined with the subordination of the minority to the majority, with a centralized leadership. The second thing that is very ironic, and I have probably read as much of Trotsky as have ever been published in English, is

the definition of a revolutionary party which includes this central concept of Democratic Centralism, are in effect all taken from Lenin's polemics in **What Is To Be Done?** In spite of the fact that Lenin clearly specifies that what he is talking about is a party that is living in illegal conditions, where not only is the party, because of Czarism, illegal, but the unions as well. He scoffs at the very idea that even unions can be legal. Then he points at the model where not only unions can take place: the German Social-Democratic Party. He says there, both the leadership can be tested, the policies can be done in public. There is no need for the secrecy and the illegality with which we must operate.

To add further irony to it, in an article he wrote entitled "Twelve Years Later," a preface to the compilation of all his previous articles, he then goes back to the question of **What Is To Be Done?** and very carefully specifies the specific circumstances under which he wrote **What Is To Be Done?** with an implicit derision against those who would make it a model. What is supremely ironic is that not just the Communists but the Trotskyists as well have all ignored his specific warning as to the narrow limitation of **What Is To Be Done?**, in terms of the definition of a party; and totally ignore his attempt to narrowly define even the circumstances for the rest of its validity in this later article "Twelve Years Later."

Bulletin: You say both in the CP and in the Trotskyist movement?

Healey: Oh yes...the Trotskyist movement is almost a mirror image, in regard to these kinds of questions, as the CP. That is true as far as methodology.

Bulletin: Did **Political Affairs** have a different editorial line from the **People's World** in regard to the book?

Healey: That is true. The criticism in the **PW** was a far more comradely one, in the framework of what can be considered comradely criticism of Communist relations with one another, than the **Political Affairs**, but that is more a characteristic of the West Coast than of anything else. That was the paper that Al Richmond was the founding editor of, and the editor for 30 years. I would not say that that represents a significant split in the party, if that is what you are alluding to.

Bulletin: What I was referring to more was the question of whether or not that was an expression of opening public debate, when the West Coast comes up with a different editorial line than the Central Committee.

Healey: Well, Carl's article was written before the Central Committee meeting. For years all of our pre-convention discussion and debate was part of the supplement to either the **PW** or the **Sunday Worker**. Anybody could buy them and read them. They are not sacred, or secret. The Trotskyists have gone Stalin one step further in keeping private their internal debates, until they have arrived at a position, and then publicly announcing that position. That is totally alien to the tradition of Bolshevism. That is not surprising, in spite of the statement that the Bolshevik Party is the party of Lenin and Trotsky, in as much as Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party in August of 1917. The claim is somewhat presumptuous.

Bulletin: Why do you say that?

Healey: Because Trotsky had nothing to do with the Bolshevik Party until 1917. As a matter of fact I have been preparing a bibliography of what Lenin had to say about Trotsky.

Bulletin: What about Lenin's statement that once Trotsky joined the party there was no better Bolshevik?

Healey: Oh sure; but my god, that is why he had to say, "Don't hold his non-Bolshevik past against him." Lenin could

DOROTHY HEALEY...

say that because he had after all said about Zinoviev and Kamenev who gave out the date of the revolution, very nice things about them too (who we first called scabs), but there was probably no one individual in the international movement whom Lenin from 1903 to 1917 talked about with such hatred, contempt, and derision as he did Trotsky. No one...Plekhanov...no one equals the way in which Lenin talked about Trotsky.

Bulletin: How do you explain the fact that Trotsky led the Red Army?

Healey: It doesn't deny at all the role that Trotsky played after the Revolution, any more than of other people who were not Bolsheviks before...of the great talents and capacities they gave after the Revolution. All I'm referring to is this: to call the Trotskyist movement the "Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky" is dishonest and manipulative. That isn't true. You cannot join the Bolshevik Party August of 1917 and say that that represents therefore a common heritage. Why be deceitful about it?

This is the kind of nonsense that I object to when I read the Trotskyist press. I don't like it from either side. I don't like either making a cult around Trotsky any more than to make a cult around Stalin because the other part of irony is because I think that in a great sense, Trotsky and Stalin were images of one another. As an example when in Lenin's "Last Testament" Lenin warns that Trotsky has too much of a tendency to utilize administrative methods. In party terms, administrative methods means the kind of thing that stems from his approach on the trade unions, of militarizing the trade unions. It means taking organizational action in regard to political differences. It means taking if necessary, military action, government action, state action, rather than political debate. I think that it's quite possible to believe that if Trotsky had triumphed that many of the things that Stalin did, to all of our subsequent horror, Trotsky would have been just as liable to do. I don't think there's anything in his history that shows that he would not have done it. More than that, what was present in Lenin's warning about it has been disregarded by the Trotskyist movement in order to point to the warning he made about Stalin; but they have not drawn the full significance. Why did he go to the pains of saying, "Don't hold his non-Bolshevik past against him"?

You know what that means. Every old Bolshevik, no matter what Trotsky did, never forgot that this was the main guy whom Lenin fought and even the Bolsheviks had fought for almost all the years of their life. And they weren't about to forget that this man had this in his past. When I read his congratulations to James Cannon for the split in the Socialist Party, I know the Trotskyists consider it liberalism. To go into another organization and to split it and destroy it is a great revolutionary credit to you; that you have destroyed a potential political opponent. I think that that is just characteristic of what Lenin was warning about in regards to Trotsky, of "administrative approaches." That is the way Trotsky would see the defeating of a political opponent. You infiltrate the organization in order to destroy it.

Bulletin: How can you have Trotsky, who is completely opposed to ... (interruption).

Healey: I say that about the SWP and many of the Communist tactics; methodologically they have a great deal in common. Each would be more horrified than the other; the CP more so than the Trotskyists. The fact that people seem to have opposite conclusions has nothing to do with whether or not their methodology has a great deal in common; the way in which they approach questions is very similar. And like I said, the best example of this is Trotsky's congratulations to James Cannon for wrecking the Socialist Party.

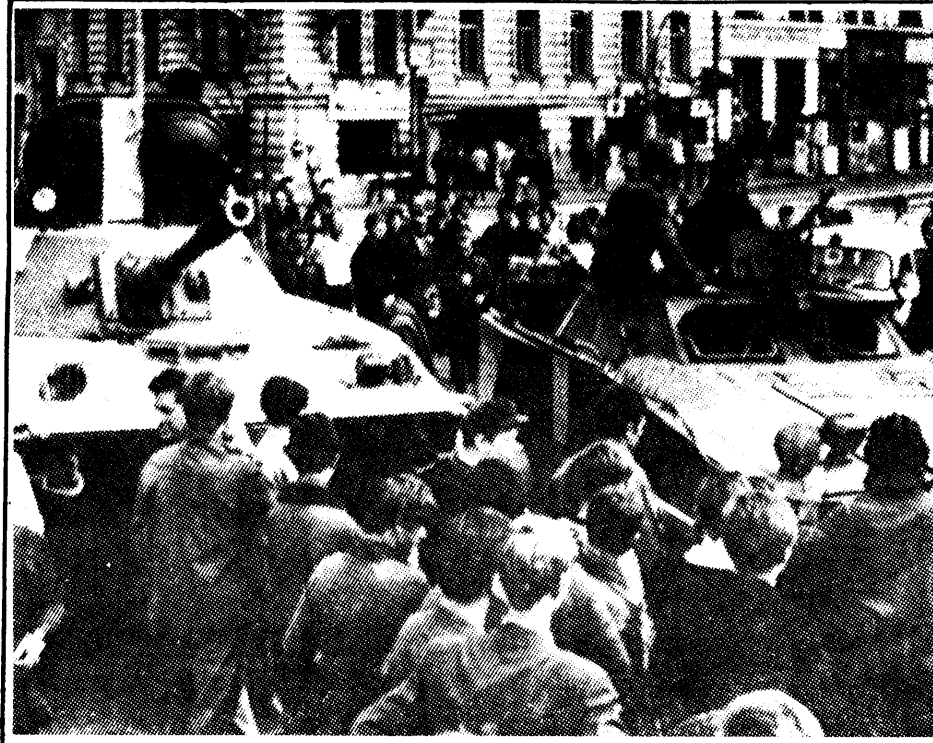
Bulletin: Doesn't the coming into existence of the Left Opposition and later the Fourth International itself, contradict what you've said?

Healey: No. The fact that there are tacti-

cal alternatives by Trotsky that are different than Stalin's doesn't mean anything as far as methodology. Tactics can be this today, and with the wave of the hand, can be that tomorrow. What you have to look for is the methodology that was present in the analysis that produced the tactics. What were the factors that were being considered, what was the weight given to various alternatives, what was the historic situation, the relationship of forces at that particular point that produced a particular recommendation for a particular tactical approach. It has no more permanent, enduring quality than that.

Bulletin: Why was Lenin's polemic aimed against every other organization and tendency? Why was the theoretical life of the Bolshevik party brought to...

Healey: Never a policy of infiltration and manipulation. Ideological debate, polemical debate. Public, polemical debate before the eyes of everybody,



Hungary, 1956.

workers to learn from it. Never a policy of infiltrating the Mensheviks in order to manipulate and destroy them. When the Socialist Workers Party entered the Socialist Party in 1935 or 1936, (and Tim Wohlforth claims this as part of the common heritage of the Trotskyist movement) and then left after practically destroying it, Cannon quotes Trotsky as congratulating them on it. You enter the organization in order to destroy.

Bulletin: Did you imply earlier that there wasn't necessarily theoretical agreement inside of the Bolshevik Party?

Healey: Within the Bolsheviks, the split around the question of philosophical idealism and dialectical materialism, was a very real one. Bogdanov, the one whom Lenin is publicly polemicizing against in Volume 14, was a member of the Bolshevik faction. Lenin says very specifically, "We agreed with one another totally on the tactics to be followed by the Bolsheviks. Our differences are philosophical; not as far as political differences." Therefore, there did not have to be a split in the party because they philosophically differed.

Bulletin: But if you are hostile to Marxist theory, then you will operate contrary to the party perspective, if one is talking about a Marxist Party.

Healey: But who determines what is Marxist theory? How then do you account for the fact that there are 57 different varieties of interpretations of what objectively reality is; each one proclaiming themselves to be true Marxists??

Clearly your practice in the world would not have proven very effective as far as your test of theory and practice. Outside of Ceylon, where is the Trotskyist movement a mass movement? What the hell is the Workers League doing in regard to the questions of inflation, besides your command to the workers to hold a general strike? What practical activities, on a day to day level do you carry out that help to organize and educate workers as to the meaning of Nixonian economics?? That is the test of your

goddamn theory. Not whether Tim Wohlforth can spin forth on the question of the difference between a metaphysical approach of philosophical dialectical idealism and a political approach of dialectical materialism lacking an idealistic quality. The test of your party is what it's doing to influence workers today. Your philosophical arguments are the most abstract and removed from reality.

Bulletin: When were the Philosophical Notebooks written?

Healey: But he studied Hegel in order to find a practical application in Russia for revolutionary tasks. The Philosophical Notebooks are replete with precisely that kind of application. He didn't read Hegel only in terms of top level theory. It was theory at the service of a political line. Theory at the service of organizing, educating, mobilizing workers and peasants. I must confess, I didn't even notice when the Bulletin stopped coming because I had stopped any careful reading of it. It

weaknesses of the socialist world, framed in historical materialism, then of course the enemy can romp away with their attacks. There's nothing that would stop them.

Bulletin: Why did you leave the Communist Party and on what grounds were your oppositions based on the 20 years of your struggle?

Healey: My first awareness of great differences came around the period known as Tehran, what is now conveniently called the Browder period. When I say conveniently called, it's like dismissing Stalin as the "cult of the individual." The Party is never at fault; the individual is at fault. You get rid of the individual and the Party is still infallible. The only reason that I was elected into the Party leadership from the CIO where I was functioning as a publicly known Communist (much happier at that point) was because I had publicly opposed the Tehran line before the "Duclois article" had been written. It had caused such a great change in internal and external party line. I guess the next time I was conscious of opposition... you know, when you are an activist, and/or party leader... at least in our party, you are functioning seven days a week. There was the constant pressure of activities which is not always conducive to any introspective analysis of what you are doing. The next debate took place around 1948...

Bulletin: I need to know what positions you took in these instances.

Healey: I had opposed the Tehran Line. I was a union organizer who was opposed to the "no strike pledge," ...the extension of the pledge. It was not simply the question of the "no strike pledge." But the hardest part about dialectics is the recognition that what is secondary at any one point becomes primary. The communist movement must have a fight on two fronts.

You can never fight one aspect of politics by itself. While I happened to agree and still agree that the dominant emphasis had to be the defeat of fascism, that had to be with the recognition that one was still operating in the capitalist system in which the ruling class, for its own purposes was participating in that anti-fascist war...simultaneously protecting its class interests of exploitation. And the CP had to reflect both aspects of the contradiction; both the primary and the secondary. The focus at that point had to be the defeat of fascism, but along with that had to come the recognition of the independent struggle against capitalism, and that meant also the corollary struggles as far as the fight against racism, oppression, and dozens of other related questions that came up at that point.

There is one reason why the problems emerge historically in the world movement in regard to revisionism and/or dogmatism. They never emerge because people sit down and say "now we are going to be revisionists or dogmatists." They emerge primarily because, although most of us are capable of teaching dialectics in a classroom, the capacity to develop a political line that is influenced and imbued with a dialectical approach, is a far more difficult question.

On the one hand, one is...if one is involved in struggling to become a serious vanguard movement, one is involved with the most pressing daily needs of workers, that of necessity have their own logic...and unless there is the constant, public review of policy, (that is why I place the emphasis on party democracy, not as an abstraction, but as an absolute essential) without much question, a one-sided line starts to develop, and as Al Richmond describes in his book, the tactic starts to rape the strategy. Not because you have made a decision on that, but because the pragmatic pressure overwhelms the strategic goals that you've set out for yourself. Secondly, a party of any size has to be able to make its policies clear enough, not only for its members, but for the tens of thousands whom it influences. Therefore it has to do what Lenin did in *What Is To Be Done?* and other writings. Of necessity you tend to exaggerate and distort what you consider the main focus of that period in order to make it a commanding enough thing to get clarity on the part of every-

became an exercise in the most esoteric expression of Marxism. That has a limited usefulness.

Bulletin: You don't see a discussion on the relationship of theory and practice...

Healey: You don't have that...because you don't have the practice. And you don't have the practice because you are unable to project a political line that is commensurate with what at any one point are the main trends among workers. How the hell did Lenin, quoting Hegel, define the question of the concreteness of theory. That it had to be concrete to be real, right?

My dislike and contempt is not based on whether the right thing was done in Germany 1923 or the Anglo-Soviet trade talks or China 1927 or on the question of whether or not you can build socialism in one country. None of that. My contempt is based on my own knowledge and the way I've seen them operate. In a way that I consider the height of manipulation and dishonesty. And I have such utter contempt for that as a method, that I don't have any patience to even use the word Marxist when it comes to that even though as I say I read their magazines that will quite often have analyses that have some interesting, important and stimulating contributions. I certainly don't mean a total negation. But in regard to this vulgarization, to reducing Marxism to, in effect, economic determinism...

Bulletin: Are you including the Communist Party in that?

Healey: Sure. Of course. You obviously never heard me speak when I was in the Communist Party. Because when I was in the city representing the Communist Party for 20 years, I don't have private positions and then have public positions. I do consider it absolutely essential that the non-Communists, that the workers must understand not just our strengths but our weaknesses. I repeat again. A revolutionary party is an instrument to be used; it's not an end in itself. And if people don't hear you, who know best of all what its weaknesses are, if you don't present the

body that you are trying to move into action. Clearly, what you are concerned with is the relationship of theory to practice...if you were a bourgeois reporter I would not do this. This problem of presenting our line, either in 1943 or in 1948 around the Third Party movement, the need to find a way to fight a two front war, which a revolutionary party must always be able to do, becomes diminished; particularly when you are a large party, not just a small sect. It becomes a very much more complicated problem. Indoctrinal purity is not the thing that you are looking for.

Bulletin: What about Czechoslovakia?
Healey: Oh, of course that was a really blistering one. I had been in Czechoslovakia in 1967. I had met with the people who were engaged in carrying through the debates which later evolved into "Prague Spring." They were debating only one question. (I had gone first to East Germany to represent the party at a party congress of the German Democratic Republic; from there I went to Czechoslovakia and refused to be part of the party delegation, because if you go as part of the delegation you get a very official treatment. I had friends there and talked with them.) They were discussing the very questions that had bothered me for many years in regard to the socialist world. They were debating the question of power...what happens to power under socialism; particularly when you have a dominant party, and within that party there is a smaller group, the Polit Buro...who really are the dominants of the entire party. I had always been struck by Rosa Luxemburg's warning that what would happen if the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes the dictatorship of the party, and not even of the whole party but of the leadership of the party, who would regularly summon huge congresses to pass with unanimity the already pre-digested decisions. When I met these communists, all of them old communists, debating the very question that I was so excited about, it was a very important time.

Bulletin: Was it not the problem of the development of a bureaucracy in Russia that they were dealing with?

Healey: No. They were debating Czechoslovakia. The bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Now if you really want to understand Czechoslovakia read that book in front of you. (George Wheeler's *The Politics of Change*.) The action that was taken in August of 1968 with five of the Warsaw Treaties invading was to me an outrageous betrayal of internationalism.

Bulletin: What about the Moscow Trials?

Healey: Now, if I were to look back, I would say that they were also that. But don't forget when I was growing up, as far as I was concerned, they were perfectly valid.

Bulletin: Why did you leave the CP?

Healey: There were a variety of reasons. For one thing, you reach a point where after a great deal of long, intensive battles...I was very much limited in terms of my capacity to influence anything. Judgments are made not on the basis of what is said, but rather who said it. Certainly my national influence was extremely limited. My very presence was becoming not conducive to the health of the party itself. More importantly, two Central Committee meetings were held, the first was last December, the second was two months ago.

At the first one, there was a very sharp attack against me because of my radio program and my public speeches, including the fact that I spoke about Czechoslovakia. The second one was where Gus Hall spoke about Al Richmond's book, and characterized it as "a weapon in the hands of the capitalist class." The local leadership here, in a decision that was really made for me, added their agreement with that characterization, a formula that all communists when speaking publicly must take the same position. This was also accompanied with an attack on Peggy Dennis' article in the *National Guardian* and her attack on the Maoists' attempts to re-Stalinize the movement. I agree with her article fully. And of course, I was not about to speak publicly, or to try to duck the question by not speaking publicly, in

regard to Al's book.

Whatever disagreements I might have with the book, I think that it is an important contribution to the CP, to revolutionary history, to the continuity of revolutionary history in this country. We need that terribly. I think that any young person that wants to become a revolutionary, and I just don't care any more what kind of "ist" he is now, has the responsibility of reading that book. There aren't many books that present a true picture of the daily activities and struggles of the party. More importantly though, what Richmond does is to present an informed analysis of where our strength and our weaknesses were. It is



Czechoslovakia, 1968.

no use living the life of a revolutionary if that life cannot produce some generalizations that will be of aid to a new generation of revolutionaries.

Bulletin: It really isn't a surprise that you avoid the questions of socialism in one country, and the tendency to always pressure the liberal end of the bourgeoisie into becoming something that it objectively can't become, in order to...

Healey: Oh, you really haven't read Lenin then if you think that that is not Leninist thinking. You should read Lenin during the period between 1922-1924 where he discusses how to deal with the liberal bourgeoisie, including the pacifist bourgeoisie, and how to differentiate between them (with the agreement of Trotsky, I might add.) He says of course we have to learn to differentiate between one section and another. He even uses the words "the 'liberal' and the pacifist," he says that we have to utilize their differences for our benefit. But let me ask you a question. Does it make a difference to the revolutionary party which form of capitalist rule is dominant: fascism or bourgeois democracy? And if so what do you do about it?

Bulletin: Yes, but bourgeois democracy is now turning toward fascism, right?

Healey: No. That is the meaning of Watergate. A big, important, dominant section of the ruling class said to Mr. Nixon... "No. No one man dictatorship. No pro-fascist dictatorship from you, buddy." That is why the left can't do a goddamn thing about it. In a moment of political crisis, the kind that this country hasn't known, the left is impotent.

Do you think that that has anything to do with a scholastic approach to the state? A non-Bolshevik approach to the state? You must disagree with that whole section in Al's book on the Peoples Front. You see, the task of the revolutionary is to try to learn what lessons are there that can possibly open a new ideological, political door that one's own movement hasn't thought of.

Trotsky's book on Germany, *What Next?* was the best thing he ever wrote. Both in his definition of what constitutes a united front, and his rejection that the social-democracy were the social-fascists. The tragedy is that neither he nor the Trotskyists tried to apply the methodology that was present there to any of the other capitalist countries, including Spain.

Bulletin: What about Brezhnev's trip?

Healey: Brezhnev didn't paralyze any one, one way or the other. Let's not kid ourselves. There was nobody moving on the left before Brezhnev came, independently and energetically anyway. Were they?

strategy being raped by tactics is a comparable question of form and content. The trade unions, on the other hand, our hope is that ultimately, if there is a class conscious core organized and fighting there, that their form which is that they have to have some approach toward defending the working class, will conflict with their bourgeois content. They are the bourgeois content within the working class form. The trade union movement is dominated by bourgeois ideology. It really goes beyond that.

The working class of this country by and large, accepts as Karl Marx says in *Capital*, accepts the rule of capitalism as an accepted thing to be taken for granted. It is not only that you have a bureaucracy that is deliberately misleading the working class. You have a working class that is not conscious of being a class. That is our fundamental problem.

Bulletin: For the CP to put forward policies that accept that weakness of the working class instead of fighting those weaknesses, means that now as the class begins to move back into struggle...

Healey: Great rank and file rebellions all over...where? Workers moving back into struggle...where? Don't you think that the little activity that is happening today will be absorbed back into the labor movement under the dominance of the present labor bureaucracy? You really believe in spontaneity.

Bulletin: We are talking about what brings the working class back into struggle after a period of conservatism; it's the objective conditions that...

Healey: No, no. There were more strikes in the 1950s than there are today.

Bulletin: Do you think that the American working class will accept being forced back into a depression? That is what is posed by this economic crisis.

Healey: I'm saying that there is no automatic guarantee that it won't. If you believe that the working class spontaneously is going to find itself equipped? Have you read the survey of the contracts that have been signed so far this year? Less than 5.5 percent. Now how do you account for that? You sound like Gus Hall. Let me go back to this question of the labor party.

The problems of the revolutionary party were not solved in Britain simply because of the Labour Party. Lenin said in 1921 that the Bolsheviks should support the Labour Party, and he named the candidates (David Lord George) like quote "a rope supports a hanging man." They have been doing that off and on since 1921. That rope is awful tough; there has been no man hanging as a result of it. The workers didn't go from their experience with the Labour Party to a revolutionary movement...

So to say that a labor party will provide the automatic panacea that your movement keeps screaming about...that is one thing...you know every communist has always talked about a labor party, it has always been our program. You will find very few times in our party line where that wasn't a central part of our program, including in the Roosevelt period...read our 1936 resolution. It castigates the labor leaders for their ties to Roosevelt and calls for a labor party. The bulk of the workers are still within the Democratic orbit, yes? The revolutionary therefore must ask himself, how do you provide tactics that are going to recognize on one hand where the workers see the differentiation so that you are dealing with that reality; while simultaneously, providing a transcending of that reality. How do you provide the kind of tactics that Lenin warned against... the commandism... of giving the ultimatums to the working class. You tell the workers that they must leave the Democratic Party because it is betraying them...who the hell listens to you? What tactics can you develop through which the working class learns to differentiate?

Bulletin: What is the relationship of Marxist philosophy to the party?

Healey: Marxist philosophy does not provide a set of categories that one can use in a biblical sense or as a cookbook recipe. It does not tell you what to do next. Marxist philosophy is primarily significant insofar as it allows you to

...Cont.

DOROTHY HEALEY...

penetrate a changing reality, and allows you to develop theories and policies that approximate reality. That allows you to understand the nature of the contradictions both external and internal within any given phenomenon. And allows you therefore to figure out policies in which the aspect of the contradiction that produces the revolutionary change gets the emphasis over the aspect of the contradiction that holds back the class and the mass.

It is not a philosophy that is meant for scholastic study. It is not a philosophy that debates as Telos (the magazine) debates. It is a philosophy of action. It is a philosophy in which action reacts back on the philosophy to enlarge its comprehension.

Bulletin: How can you have disagreement on the question of the Marxist method and still arrive at the same practice?

Healey: You should ask yourself that question. I told you before... I gave you the volume number where Lenin deals with it. I am satisfied with his answer. Because it is not something that you can solve by a majority vote. And you have to ask yourself, why it is that a group that spends as much time as you do in discussing dialectical approaches has really so few experiences of a direct relationship to a defined organized movement so that you can then come back to provide new generalizations for Marxist theory.

Bulletin: Do you or do you not have theoretical differences with Stalinism. If so, what are they?

Healey: Of course. But not as great as the differences that I have with Trotskyism.

(silence)

Bulletin: What about the CP's role internationally on Vietnam?

Healey: I think that the party's position was absolutely correct. The SWP's position was a position of American chauvinism of the most rotten kind, the most despicable kind.

Bulletin: You had the CP and the SWP linking hands in the demonstrations that were held nationally.

Healey: Yes, but with totally different approaches. The Trotskyists spend one year, an off election year, getting every Democratic politician who is opposed to the war, as the sponsor of their demonstration; in order to spend the next year denouncing those very same politicians...as endorsers one year and enemies the next year. That is their method of work. Their definition of a united front is one that they lead and control. They have absolute contempt for the united front if they don't control it. It is simply a manipulative measure from them. They think that they can influence members. It is a short lived one.

I would imagine that the fluctuation in the YSA is enormous today. That their student-based SWP, which is in their leadership as well, is not going to be able to provide the link to the working class. I think that the position that they took in regards to the signing of the peace treaty was counterrevolutionary. You are living in the country that is the aggressor, and the Vietnamese are saying to you, "Look, dear comrades, the most important thing that we need is a treaty that will end this war. We are being bled white. We must have an end." There are dividing lines on which you can continue amicable debate among those that consider themselves the left, as to the most effective road toward revolution, but there are times when people's lives are at stake, when that debate is simply outrageous betrayal.

Bulletin: You speak as if you are somehow outside Stalinism or Trotskyism. You were part of the Stalinist movement. You were in the party that supports the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The bureaucracy that led the Moscow Trials, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia...

Healey: You forget that I supported the invasion of Hungary in 1956. I believe that when Nahge made the appeal to the armies of the US and England to come into Hungary to quote "guarantee its neutrality" that that was a betrayal of any socialist perspective, and I saw no alternative except for the Red Army to come back in. Secondly, my judgment was

influenced by the fact that obviously power was in the streets. The Communist Party was not able to function. The threat of fascist takeover was what I thought to be a real one.

Bulletin: Isn't that basically what the CP says about Czechoslovakia?

Healey: But I happen to know that that is not the fact of Czechoslovakia. What gives me some pause now as I look back as to whether or not the Soviet Union had to intervene in 1956, and on the second intervention, that is November 4, is twofold. One is the statement of the Chinese Communist Party made in 1964, that the Soviet Union actually did not want to go back in on November 4; that they, the Chinese, demanded that they go back in claiming that they would expose them before the world if they did not send the Red Army back in. That gives me some



Leon Trotsky, assassinated in 1940 by Stalin. Healey says of the murder of the Bolshevik Party leadership by Stalin that while it was outrageous, it was "more correct" than the policies of the Trotskyist movement.

pause, because if the Red Army, which was right there, felt that the situation was not so desperate that it required their re-introduction, how the hell am I going to judge it, all these miles away? The second thing that gives me pause is once having done a thing like that... the fact was that Fascists were hanging Jews from the lamp posts.

Everyone forgets that Hungary was different from Czechoslovakia. Hungary was a fascist dictatorship from 1919 to 1945; Czechoslovakia was a bourgeois democracy, until the Munich period. Furthermore, the Czech CP in the 1930s and by 1945 was a mass party with enormous influence and credits among the people. In the elections of 1946 it received 40 percent of the vote. That is not the same as what happened in Hungary. I have a report to the party convention here and I was one of the few party leaders who dealt with the question of Hungary anywhere in the country, because the party was so divided and split on the issue.

Bulletin: Back again to the Moscow Trials. You can't say that the liquidation of several million Russian people, including the whole of the Bolsheviks who had led the insurrection, Trotsky...

Healey: I think that it was outrageous. It was a betrayal of socialist democracy. But the Trotskyist movement. Don't tell me about them... I watched them operate as betrayers of workers. I watched them support the worst labor fakers on only one ground...they were against the Commun-

ist Party. Don't speak to me about Trotskyism providing an alternative. I'm telling you that the mirror image was operating. That is why I gave you that quote from Trotsky of what they did to the Socialist Party. Do you think that that is any different from Stalinist methodology?

I don't see them as opposites from which one chooses. That is why I said to you that an interview with me for your paper is really nonsense, because I have great contempt for what I saw international Trotskyism do. The Trotskyist movement in 1946 supporting uncritically Walter Reuther. You want to know what that meant? It meant the later expulsion of the left CIO. With Walter Reuther being elected, the whole center-left alliance that had operated within the CIO was shattered; with Reuther taking the largest and most important union to form the center-right alliance, which meant the elimination of the left and the Communists in the CIO. The Trots helped do that. In the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, in the shipyards down here in San Pedro; I could give you a dozen examples of what I watched them do...not what somebody else told me they did.

Very revolutionary politics. You are self-righteous and lofty in thinking... well... a Communist that had supported say what happened in the Soviet Union in the 1930s is therefore something terrible. I still take the same position about the 1930s, which will really horrify you... That as horrible as those things were, the execution of two-thirds of the Central Committee of the Congress of Victory elected in 1934, the execution of the Polit Boro of the Bolshevik Revolution itself, the murder of peasants, of workers during that period, the reign of terror that operated; as horrible and outrageous as that was... I would still say, in the long eye of history, of how history will judge one or two hundred years from now... my party with its slogan of defend the Soviet Union, was more principled, more correct, than the Trotskyists who were always for defending socialism

except where it was... whose slogan, Defend the Soviet Union, meant absolutely nothing...

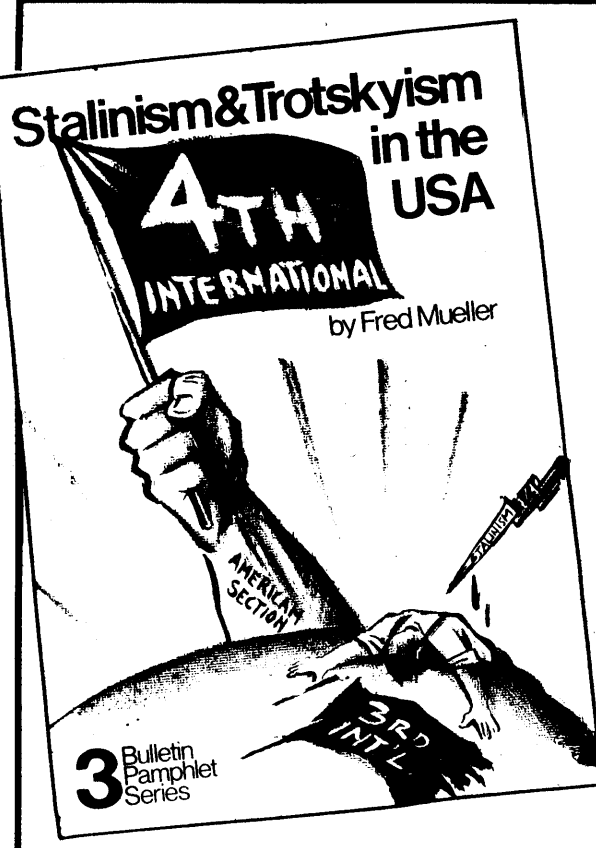
...You could never pick up, and you still can't, a Trotskyist sheet that talks about the victories of socialism, the achievements of socialism. All that you seek is a spurious, cheap, bourgeois respectability by a denunciation of the Soviet Union. You can't differentiate your attacks on the Soviet Union from the attacks by the right-wing Social Democrats. I don't know...maybe you don't agree with Trotsky...that that solitary conquest made in 1917 makes the essential difference when you have the slogan of defend the Soviet Union.

We communists went through a period of deep self-criticism and analysis of our history, and some communists maintained a grasp of what those weaknesses were, including what Stalinism represented on a world-wide scale. My statement to you that Trotskyism is only the reflex of Stalinism. I do not make lightly. The Trotskyists have yet to go through that kind of evaluation and examination of their history, and of drawing conclusions from all of it. I really don't care whether you like Pablo or you don't. I couldn't care less; you still have to go through this stage.

Bulletin: What are your plans now?

Healey: I am going to write on theory. On the theoretical questions that I think are the most challenging and important. I am in contact with dozens and dozens of revolutionary groups, both within the party and without, independent, radical groups, Chicano, Black, white. I am as I defined myself in my statement, I am a communist without a party.

Don't miss next week's issue of the Bulletin for David North's reply.



Stalinism & Trotskyism in the USA
by Fred Mueller \$.75

Exposes the role of Stalinism in the United States through an examination of the historical questions which the memoirs of former CP member Al Richmond deliberately avoid. Also contains a section on the assassination of Trotsky with evidence linking the CP to the crime.

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books

PRISON WRITINGS. By Regis Debray.

Regis Debray, former idol of the "New Left," philosopher friend of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, has joined forces with Francois Mitterand, secretary of the Socialist Party of France.

In a recent interview in Paris he said that "to think of a change of regime outside the electoral framework is a provocation or a sign of mental disease."

Why has Debray abandoned all pretensions of being concerned with revolutionary change?

Debray was, as he says himself, "born into the bourgeoisie...and thought we could analyze the world and our hearts at arms length so to speak." He and his friends joined the Communist Party as complete idealists. In his new book *Prison Writings*, Debray describes the position of intellectuals in the Communist Party.

"No amount of noblesse could oblige them to rub shoulders with the proletariat. And in fact the working class party was not specially anxious to have us either. It was never suggested that we meet or become friends with comrades from a background different from our own; I think it was felt preferable to leave the initiative up to us, and we had neither the means nor the wish to take it. In any case, such populism would have seemed to us misplaced..."

The only contact Debray and his fellow "left" intellectuals ever had with the working class was on occasional marches: "We would dress in the correct way—a sweater with a few holes, corduroy trousers, old shoes—and go out with our identity cards in our pockets, to join a demo."

Debray describes those times with irony, but he does not advance a single idea why the Communist Party kept the workers and intellectuals in the party absolutely separate, and why there was never the slightest struggle against the pretensions of petty bourgeois such as himself.

His position in South America was that of a petty bourgeois romantic, who thought he could make a link with the masses by going where he thought the real action was.

He completely wrote off the French working class, and the struggle for

Coming Back To The Fold

revolutionary parties in the advanced capitalist countries. His differences with Stalinism were only skin deep. He says now, there is no revolutionary situation in France and the only way forward is the parliamentary road of elections.

"The union of the left is not revolutionary. But it is the only conceivable process. Revolution only arrives once or twice a century. These occasions must be waited for."

Debray's real position, his hostility to the working class, is revealed in a short "digression on Trotskyism," which he describes as "the construct of an uneasy conscience."

"Like so many fine souls, the Trotskyist bewails an evil he could not do without, an evil which in the end his wails serve to support. Since every incarnation of the socialist revolution in history is contaminated at source, there can be nothing wrong in casting doubt on it all..." The nature of Trotskyism, says Debray, "is to defeat nature, to withdraw from anything that might be positive, to act forever the negative role of the professional explosives man borrowed from Hegel."

GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

By submerging himself in the South American guerrilla movement, Debray conveniently turned his back on all theoretical questions.

"The tremendous achievement of the revolution now going on in Latin America is to have swept away all these prejudices inherited from Europe, and to that extent to have 'desectarianized us.'"

Nowhere does Debray make any analysis of the history of the guerrilla movement and what led to the defeat of Che Guevara.

Che's defeat and murder was largely the responsibility of the Stalinists in Bolivia, who actively worked to isolate his band by blocking recruits. Che and Debray turned their backs completely on the Bolivian working class with their theories of the agrarian revolution.

Debray, during his stay in prison, where he was locked up on the orders of the Bolivian authorities after the capture of Guevara's guerrilla band in 1967, draws not a single lesson from Guevara's death and chooses to ignore completely Castro's subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy.

He writes: "In Latin America, and particularly in Bolivia now, the key to socialism lies in revolutionary nationalism. But the key to revolutionary nationalism in turn lies in socialism. It is up to the people of Bolivia to find their own forms, their own ways of travelling



France, May-June 1968. Debray's contact with the French working class: "We would dress in the correct way—a sweater with a few holes...and go out to join a demo."

towards socialism, bearing in mind their traditions, their national character..." Thus Debray lines himself up completely with Stalinist conceptions of national roads to socialism.

Debray's release in December 1970, after three years imprisonment by the Bolivian government of General Ovando-Candia, was due largely to the efforts of the Bolivian working class, especially the tin miners, whose union had demanded Debray's freedom. At the time Debray's lawyer issued a statement, paying homage to "the revolutionary government of General Juan Jose Torres! Warm thanks to him."

Debray's support for the Torres regime, which the Stalinists, the Pabloites and the guerrillaists all joined in defending, lines him up with those forces that betrayed the Bolivian working

class and peasantry in allowing the Banzer dictatorship to take power. Torres himself was involved in the murder of Guevara, and his regime had refused point-blank to arm the workers against

the threatened coup.

Just before his release, Debray gave thanks to DeGaulle, and saluted him as a "great historical figure." "I think," said Debray, "you can definitely dissociate him from the social forces which he represented. His perspicacity, his courage, his greatness, his daring all distinguished him from other bourgeois leaders."

This revolting adulation for one of the greatest enemies of the French and Algerian working classes sums up Debray's present position: at heart a true French patriot, coming back to the fold, after his filing among the peasants.

Dianne Isaacs tv

GOODNIGHT, AMERICA. ABC Televison. Hosted by Geraldo Rivera.

Geraldo Rivera, New York's Channel 7 reporter who exposed the brutal treatment of patients at Willowbrook Hospital, has opted for a position in the world of the nighttime TV talk-mongers.

Rivera took over as host one evening on "Goodnight, America," a spot usually covered by Dick Cavett, and put together a show—consisting mostly of film clips—presenting what he termed "a little bit of each: the good life, the idealistic side; and the not-so-good side."

The entire show was a concentrated vision of the world as seen through the eyes of a radical: some things make one uncomfortable, others make one happy, but since life is to be merely observed from a distance, it all matters very little. One can only hope that enough of the "enlightened" will get together...somehow,

some day.

After an almost infinitesimal amount of commercials and a grandiose introduction of the notables in the audience, which included Peter Max, Jill Hayworth and George Plimpton, Rivera showed a film collage entitled "The Beatles: From Liberpool to Let It Be." Rivera's comments added nothing to the content of the collage itself—that the "good old days" of the early Beatles, on Ed Sullivan, at Shea Stadium, and receiving medals from the Queen, were the "idealistic side" and that it's really too bad they aren't together today—with no assessment of why the Beatles broke up.

FARM WORKERS

The "not-so-good" side was a few minutes of Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" and an excellent clipping Rivera himself made of migrant farm workers in New Jersey, where he and his cameraman were almost shot by the owners for attempting to interview farm workers. Rivera reported all the brutal statistics: of children eight years old working seven days a week; of an infant mortality rate 125 percent higher than the rest of the US for migrant

workers; and of an average annual salary of \$1300. Rivera's solution is no different from Chavez's—the next film clipping was of Ted Kennedy and Rivera strolling the lawn of the Capitol discussing the possibility of an equalized minimum wage.

Cesar Chavez made a brief personal appearance to rally the audience to boycotting scab grapes and lettuce. Though he spoke for only one minute before the next spate of commercials, he made it absolutely clear that he has no intention of relying on the rest of the labor movement in a struggle that is today perhaps one of the most decisive for the entire trade union movement. Rivera ended the entire segment with a proposal for the government to subsidize farm workers instead of the growers—in other words, to tie them more to capitalism.

The next two segments of the show followed in like vein, the "lighter side" being a birthday party singer Carole King threw for "her friends"—90,000 of them—in Central Park this summer. As it so happened, Miss King was also making a film of her performance.

Rivera ended the show with a film clipping entitled "The Littlest Junkie," a

Goodnight, Liberalism

study of babies born addicted to heroin. Rivera never uttered one word against the pushers—including Nixon's friends in the Mafia—who earn millions from the sale of heroin, but instead appealed for tougher laws against pregnant mothers who are addicted. To him, the problem lies entirely in the individual's good or bad intentions.

Rivera's keen ability to expose what is through his reporting talents became with his appearance on "Goodnight, America" a turn to the most sickening sort of liberalism and reformism. His show came off as an attempt to transport the audience back to an attitude which has become a part of history as the whole social fabric of society breaks up with the rapid disintegration of the economy and the emergence of the working class as the decisive social force.

Rivera wants to make himself a "new breed" on TV—which, however much he may dislike it, follows in the traditions of Johnny Carson and Jack Paar—which will provide solace for the guilty layers of the middle class and take them back to the more pleasant days of the 1960s. But the sort of reformism he pushes is what today turns on the working class.

Army Spies In Germany

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Twenty-four year old John McDougal is an intelligence official, fourth class, serving in the US forces in West Germany.

He has admitted leaking secret documents to the press about highly sensitive intelligence programs which the US military has been operating.

He was breaking army law by revealing the secrets "because US military intelligence in Germany is out of control." In accepting full responsibility for the disclosures he said he was aiming to expose "immoral and illegal activities."

The documents McDougal has made public show that the US authorities have been mounting an illicit surveillance and phone tapping operation not only on Americans, but also West Germans.

The soldier, who is stationed in the West German town of Kaiserslautern with a military intelligence unit, said the US authorities had employed German and American civilians to gather information on suspected dissident groups in the US army, and on German university students and youth groups.

According to agents' reports leaked by McDougal, the purpose of this campaign was to weed out civilian or military groups, including underground press publications thought to be encouraging desertion, defection or dissidence among US

soldiers.

The agents' report concerned conversations between Mr. Tomi Schwaetzer, a correspondent of the New York Liberation News Service, whom the US army regards as a dissident, and lawyers and journalists.

After these reports were given to the press, the soldier said, his superiors ordered him to burn 25 bags of confidential documents in an apparent coverup operation.

The bespectacled soldier, whose rank is the equivalent of corporal, faces serious charges for revealing the existence of a spy network.

He says that when officers discovered his role in the leaks he was physically assaulted by his interrogators and they also said his future career would be wrecked.

One interrogating officer told him that the journalists he spoke to were "termites in the house of America" who would have to be "eliminated."

Senator Weicker has been looking into the West German intelligence operation for several weeks, even before the McDougal revelations. He believes the spy effort began last year and involved the infiltration and surveillance of radical groups who supported George McGovern in November's presidential election.

PROGRAM

The program was directed by Major General Harold R. Aaron, Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence at the US Army's European headquarters in Heidelberg. Willy Brandt's coalition government has made little

comment on the McDougal or Weicker revelations. This is understandable since Bonn was forced to admit last year that the government had been informed of the massive spy operation!

Hard on the heels of the McDougal revelations, a second soldier, Wayne Sparks, passed other documents to the press.

Before the line went dead, Sparks said from Germany: "I gave the document to the press because I believe they (the surveillance techniques) take away many rights given to us by the First Amendment."

Sparks' information shows much more than McDougal's the unrest growing in the American army.

According to it the US Army's 8th Infantry Division had ordered its intelligence service to probe "dissident incidents throughout the division."

ANTI-US

Among the details sought were "acts of sabotage or vandalism, demonstrations, teach-ins and other activities with anti-US themes engaged in by local nationals or military personnel."

Evidence of dissidence includes, "complaints to NCOs, officers, the Army Inspector General, news media or Congressmen about living conditions, harassment, unfair treatment, distribution of underground newspapers and agitation by military personnel or civilians."

These tactics are clearly in line with Nixon's conscious drift towards dictatorship and the growing power of the Pentagon.



German and American students demonstrating in Heidelberg.

Israel Moves To Annex Occupied Territory

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

The electoral platform adopted by Golda Meir's ruling "Labor Party" for the October parliamentary elections will force thousands of Arabs off their land in Israeli occupied territory to make room for Israeli settlements and industry.

These policies, adopted on August 18, reflect the hard line demands of General Moshe Dayan who put them forward as an ultimatum and threatened to withdraw from the Labor Party and its electoral list unless they were approved. He also wants to liquidate the refugee issue by "rehabilitating and rehousing" 300,000 Palestinians in the occupied Gaza strip and the West Bank which will mean forcing them into whatever jobs the Israeli government decides. The main points of the agreement between Dayan and the rest of the Zionist coalition are:

- Thirty five new villages will be built over the next five years, in addition to 48 already under construction on the Golan Heights in Syria, the Jordanian valley, the Rafah region and at Charm-el-Cheikh.

- The Israel Lands Authority will purchase land in the occupied territory and lease or sell it to public or private enterprises.

- Industries will begin on the Rafah salient between the southern end of the occupied Gaza strip and the northern tip of the Sinai.

A deep water port called Yamit will be built on the Mediterranean coast. In addition, the youth movement of Mapam, the other party in the ruling coalition, intends to build a kibbutz on

the Golan Heights.

On August 15, the Israeli authorities took over 35,000 acres of vineyards near Bethlehem for "military purposes" and is buying up land from Bedouin tribesmen.

The so-called "dove" section of the Labor Party quickly caved in to Dayan's demands. Despite a few bombastic statements by Foreign Minister Abba Eban and Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir about not abandoning "all hope of peace," they eventually admitted they had no disagreement in principle with Dayan.

Sapir and Eban only had reservations about making the settlements permanent and sought to restrict these to strategically important areas. They were not opposed to buying land in the occupied territory, but simply wanted it to be handled by a national body and not by private individuals.

The main objection of Sapir centered on the cost of financing the settlements. There is growing concern among the ruling circles of Israel that the expansion will deepen an already serious inflationary situation by greatly increasing the amount of money in circulation. Prices have gone up 11 percent since January.

This crisis has split the Israeli capitalist class on economic



Arabs working on construction in occupied territory.

policy. At the end of June, the Israeli government imposed price controls for three months as a temporary stop-gap measure. The governor of the Israel state bank, Moshe Sanzbar, has been pushing for a deflation policy in which credit would be restricted by raising the bank rate. But Meir won out over Sanzbar and bank rates were frozen.

The Tel-Aviv daily paper Ha'aretz called the controls worthless and declared that overextended bank credits and overemployment were the

fundamental problems.

The drastic cutback desired by the conservative wing of big business would mean unemployment would soar as businesses' credit collapses.

The Israeli working class is no longer willing to sacrifice its wage demands to finance the rapacious imperialist aims of the Zionist rulers. At the same time as price controls went into effect the government, under pressure from Histadrut, the Labor Federation, was forced to pay workers a 5 percent cost of

living increment.

It is now crystal clear who are the real war-mongers of the Middle East. The Zionist claim to want "peace" is a fraud. Their expansionist drive is bound to ignite war throughout the area.

The economic crisis of Israeli capitalism now forces it to attack the living conditions of Israeli workers creating the conditions for a common struggle of Jewish and Arab workers against the exploiters of the Middle East.

Watergate Plot In Gainesville



William Lemmer, on the FBI payroll.

BY BRUCE McKAY
One of the central targets of the witch-hunt against radical groups which Nixon began as soon as he took office in 1969 was the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

An attempt to link Senator George McGovern to violent demonstrations allegedly planned by the VVAW at the 1972 Republican National Convention apparently was an important part of the Watergate plot itself, according to the testimony of convicted Watergate burglar James McCord during the Senate hearings.

ON TRIAL

Now, Nixon has put seven VVAW members and one of their supporters on trial in Gainesville, Florida, on charges they conspired to attack the Republicans in Miami Beach.

These eight defendants were almost certainly set up by Nixon's agents provocateurs to serve as the scapegoats in the Watergate plot.

Had Nixon's burglars not been caught inside Democratic Party headquarters on June 17, the plan would have gone forward, and the phony charges against the VVAW members were to have provided the "evidence" of a McGovern-radical conspiracy to disrupt the convention.

Now, the government is pursuing its frame-up with a vengeance in the slim hope that a conviction will back up Nixon's charges that violence was planned at the convention and will provide a "justification" for the Watergate break-in.

PROVOCATEURS

The trial of the "Gainesville Eight" is further exposing the operations of the extensive network of police spies and provocateurs set up by Nixon for eventual use against the trade unions.

The Watergate investigation itself has barely uncovered the surface of Nixon's police state apparatus and his preparations for dictatorship. The Gainesville trial is a further warning of what is being readied against

workers' organizations.

The government's case rests entirely on the testimony of a whole galaxy of police agents and informers. These government agents seem to have virtually taken over the VVAW.

LEMMER

The prosecution's star witness, William Lemmer, is typical of the right-wing forces Nixon has gathered around him.

Lemmer joined the VVAW in Fayetteville, Arkansas, in 1971, while attending the University of Arkansas and after serving in the Army's 173rd Airborne Division in Vietnam.

Lemmer apparently was on the FBI payroll from the very beginning.

Members of the Fayetteville VVAW have told how Lemmer once put forward a plan to invade the Republican Convention, then scheduled for San Diego, with automatic weapons in order to "rip people off."

Lemmer was continually making proposals like this, according to VVAW members in the South. He was, in fact, known as one of the "crazies" in the organization.

Lemmer also has a long history of mental instability. According to his Army medical records, he suffered from insomnia, headaches, blackouts, depression, nightmares, periods of unconsciousness and amnesia.

His ex-wife once had him arrested and held for a sanity trial when he was at the University of Arkansas after he allegedly threatened her. Although police confiscated two loaded weapons from him, he was released after a university doctor told him to see a psychiatrist.

Presiding US District Judge Winston Arnow once again sided with prosecutors in keeping most of the evidence of Lemmer's mental history out of the record. "The jury might think he's crazy or something," assistant prosecutor Robert Schneider protested to the judge.

Lemmer's activities as a provocateur apparently were not limited to the VVAW. According to testimony at the trial, he was also involved in the October 1971 firebombing of the University of Arkansas' Old Main building, which was blamed on a 17 year old youth.

Lemmer testified under cross examination that he had tipped off the Little Rock FBI office that the youth, Mark Vanceil, was planning the firebombing.

An FBI agent, however, testified during Vanceil's trial that no information had been received about the firebombing. In addition, two Fayetteville veterans have filed affidavits with the federal court in Gainesville swearing that Lemmer told them in a taped conversation that he had shown Vanceil how to make Molotov cocktails and had accompanied him to the building.

Lemmer and another key government witness, Charles Becker, both rose in the VVAW to become statewide coordinators and members of the group's national steering committee.

According to other VVAW members, they were able to do this simply because they always had ready cash whenever it was needed for something and could afford to fly to attend national meetings. Their money, it has been revealed, was supplied by the FBI.

From their positions, of course, both Lemmer and Becker could not only supply the FBI with the most detailed information about the plans and operations of the organization but also played an important role in developing those plans and operations.

INFILTRATE

This pattern of government infiltration apparently was widespread. According to VVAW members in the South, the New Orleans chapter of the group was once down to only three members—all since exposed as government agents. These spies financed the chapter with FBI funds and recruited new members.

In Jacksonville, a VVAW member has charged that the two other VVAW members who helped him form the Jacksonville chapter stole the group's film, "Winter Soldier," out of his garage and turned it over to the FBI, which has since been forced to admit receiving the film.

Another of the government informers testifying at the trial, Emerson L. Poe, reportedly was the best friend of defendant Scott Camil, the alleged ringleader of the "plot" to attack the conven-

tion, as well as Camil's assistant regional coordinator.

The defense showed in court that Poe had used his friendship with Camil even after the grand jury investigation began and indictments were returned to sit in on defense deliberations and discuss defense strategy with Camil, who is acting as his own attorney. "Every conversation" was reported to the FBI, Poe was forced to admit under cross examination.

Two others in the government's long list of informers had testified by the third week in August. One of them, Louis Anchill, worked for the Florida Department of Law Enforcement.

The other, Owen Michael Carr, a former president of the ultra-rightist Young Americans for Freedom, is now an aide to Florida Senator Edward Guerny, who sits as Nixon's spokesman on the Senate's Watergate committee.

The conspiracy fabricated in the testimony of these Nixon spies and provocateurs is at best absurd. According to the accounts of Lemmer, Becker, Poe, Anchill and Carr, the eight defendants planned to wage "guerrilla warfare" at the convention with a curious assortment of weapons which were to have included everything from M-16's and M-1's to crossbows, slingshots, bolos, fishline stretched along the ground to trip up the police and balloons filled with ammonia and Clorox.

So far the only evidence produced by the prosecutors has been a homemade bolo and a slingshot.

The prosecution also may have made a fatal mistake by introducing into evidence two copies of a VVAW preconvention newsletter which made mention of ammonia-filled balloons, bolos and slingshots—no mention of automatic weapons or guerrilla warfare.

In fact, after every mention of the weapons in the first newsletter, was an underlined phrase: "This is purely a defensive measure."

It continued: "We will not allow provocateurs to endanger the safety and well being of the people." And the second newsletter began: "There seems to be a misunderstanding con-

cerning the last newsletter... First let me say that we are planning for a peaceful Convention; any trouble will only help Nixon."

While the prosecution's case against the eight defendants may seem absurd, Nixon is deadly serious about getting a conviction.

Judge Winston Arnow, for example, was carefully selected for the case—Nixon wanted no more John Siricas or Matthew Byrnes. Arnow is clearly the most pro-government judge in any of the long list of conspiracy cases prosecuted by the Nixon Administration since US District Judge Julius Hoffman presided over the Chicago Seven trial.

GAGGED

Arnow at the very beginning of the trial took pains to make certain the defendants could not wage a public political defense against the government by imposing the most far-reaching gag rule ever seen in a federal trial. Neither the defendants, their lawyers nor the VVAW itself may discuss the case publicly in order to expose it as a political attack by Nixon.

Even before jury selection, two FBI agents—Carl Ekblad and Robert Romans, one of the agents who worked on the case against the veterans—were discovered in the small third floor "frame room," which houses telephone equipment immediately adjacent to the defense attorney's offices, with extensive electronic "bugging" and communications equipment.

Arnow even refused to allow defense phone experts to check the lines for possible tampering before the prosecution had installed new phone equipment. Later, jurors themselves complained of possible government eavesdropping on their phones.

These are the kinds of police state attacks Nixon has prepared against the trade unions. The Gainesville trial, Watergate and now the phony assassination "plot" cooked up by Nixon and blamed on Edwin Gaudet all show Nixon's determination to wipe away workers' democratic rights as he prepares for dictatorship to deal with the rapidly worsening economic crisis in the interests of the big bankers and industrialists.

CANADA IAM . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

fitter, millwright, machinist, welder, etc.—at the company's pleasure and all at the same rate of pay. Spokesmen for the Ft. Frances locals indicated that while the company was not pushing for this right away, they are keeping it in mind.

Another condition gained by the IAM and IBEW prior to the Boise-Cascade takeover is payment during major breakdown machinery rebuilding periods. This type of maintenance work involves continuous, seven day working. In 1952 a method of payment was negotiated that still holds today: the first four days are paid straight time and the next three overtime.

DELIBERATELY

The company is deliberately letting the mills deteriorate, while at the same time trying to work the machinery and the machine operators faster. The Ft. Frances locals charge that: "By far the most serious concern to union membership is the fact that the company is allowing the total plant to deteriorate. Necessary maintenance to equipment is simply not being done. The practice of shutdowns to repair machines no longer holds. Machines are overdue for overhaul—a two week job on many pieces of equipment."

What replacements have been

made are, as one IBEW strike leader described them, "temporary machines." Some of these "temporaries" are now 10 years old. An IAM spokesman added: "They've got a quota and they don't give a damn how they fill it. Same on the machines—they've got a tonnage, they call it a budget."

WAVE

These strikes are part of a wave of paper mill strikes now going on throughout Ontario and part of Manitoba. The fight of these strikers to defend their conditions and improve their wages means an impending clash with the government. The opposition Conservative Party is now demanding that the minority Liberal government impose a freeze on wages. The New Democratic Party (NDP, Canada's labor party) is caught in the middle but has yet to take the necessary step of ousting the Liberals by not backing them in Parliament and forcing a new election.

The strikers in the paper and railway industries, as part of the whole Canadian labor movement, should take steps to force the NDP leaders to bring down the Liberals and return to power an NDP government based on socialist policies—above all, for the nationalization of outfits like Boise-Cascade.

DELCO-MORAINE . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

TUALP: What do you think about the situation in the factories today?

UAW Member: Things are bad and they are getting worse. This is the first time I have ever heard of a person being written up for not working on Saturday.

TUALP: Do you think that we need voluntary overtime?

UAW Member: We need it all right, but we need some money first of all. Eggs are \$1.17 a carton. Who can pay those prices without a decent raise?

TUALP: Are you saying that voluntary overtime and 30 and out are not the number one issues?

UAW Member: I'm saying that I can't take 30 and out to the store and buy food and clothes. And if we don't get a raise, we're going to need all the overtime we can get just to pay these prices.

TUALP: What do you think

about the TUALP program outlining a 20 percent increase rather than Nixon's 5.5 percent "guideline"?

UAW Member: I think we will probably need a lot more than that if prices continue to rise, but the workers will have to demand what they need.

Before Watergate the American people would believe almost anything Nixon had to say but now most of them wouldn't trust him as far as they could throw him.

TUALP: Do you think the Democrats would do any better if they had a chance?

UAW Member: All of them are crooks. One is just as bad as the other. The American people have got to rise up and take control over the industries. We've got to establish our own political party or there is no way the workers can expect to win any struggle today.

UFW . . .



(Continued From Page 4)

picketing and is sending farm workers to Los Angeles and San Francisco for boycott activities. He even called on the federal government to send 300 FBI agents to protect...the farm workers!

The role of George Meany in making a deal with Fitzsimmons instead of kicking him

out of the labor movement for scabbing on the farm workers is particularly sickening.

The tremendous power of the labor movement must be mobilized behind the farm workers and against the Democrats and Republicans who sanction these attacks before the police state methods of Delano County threaten every union in the country.

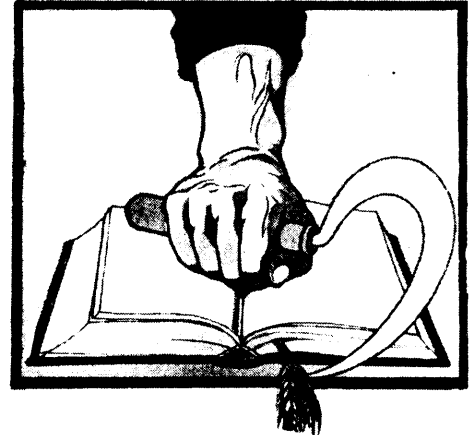
Coroner Reports 'Bloody Murder'



Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland: one of the 13 victims of the murder carried out by the British Para troops now resting in Cyprus. Recent statements by the Derry Coroner that British troops deliberately murdered the 13 citizens confirm statements of the British Workers Press, carried in the Bulletin, last year.

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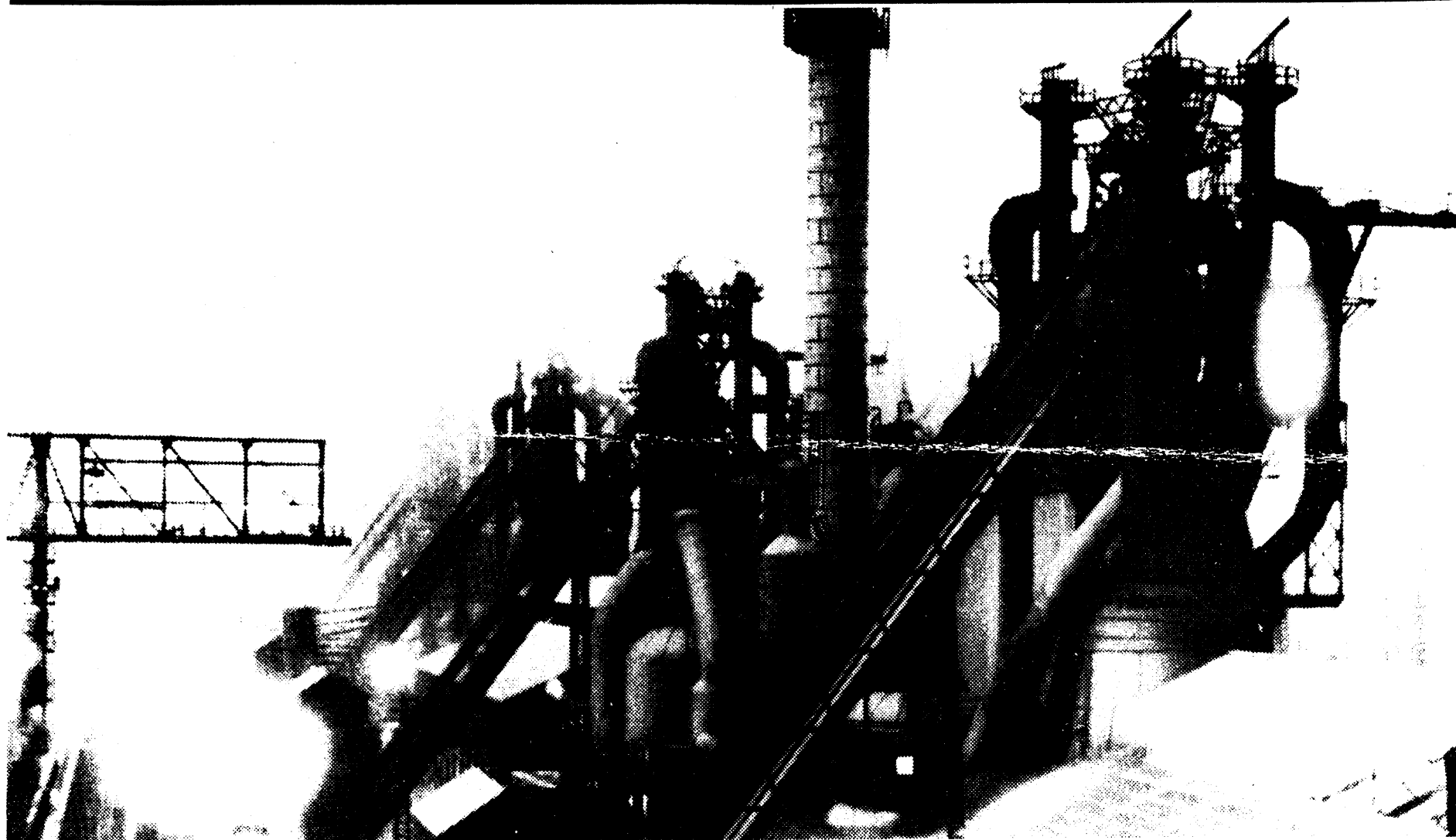
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Bethlehem Scraps Johnstown Steel Men

BY HAL STANTON

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—This city has been a major steel center for over a century and a half. Bethlehem's huge plant, which presently can produce 2.3 million tons of steel in a year, was at one time the largest mill in the world.

This plant has been the life-blood of the city since it was opened an even hundred years ago in 1873. It pioneered the Kelly converter, forerunner of the famous Bessemer, which completely revolutionized steel production.

PLAN

Faced with the deepening crisis of the capitalist system and trade war, Bethlehem has decided that the basic steel-making operations at the Johnstown plant, along with the 4700 workers and their families who depend upon it, are expendable. On June 13, 1973, the company announced its plans to scrap the open hearth furnaces, replacing them with electric furnaces capable of producing one million tons of steel per year by 1977.

Unlike the open hearth and basic oxygen types, the electric furnaces can operate on nothing more than a "cold charge" of 100 percent scrap metal, eliminating the need for hot metal, or molten iron, from the blast furnaces. This means that Bethlehem Steel will also close three blast furnaces, three coke batteries and a two-strand sinter plant along with its plate mills, some of the bar facilities and part of its rod operation.

Bethlehem will maintain its one ferro-manganese producing blast furnace and coke oven battery, its 46-inch blooming and slabbing mill, two billet mills, some of the rod, wire and bar facilities, its wheel and circular forging mills, a car shop, an axle shop, and its Gautier Division manufacturing shops. The closures will destroy 40 percent of the plant's present 11,800 man

work force.

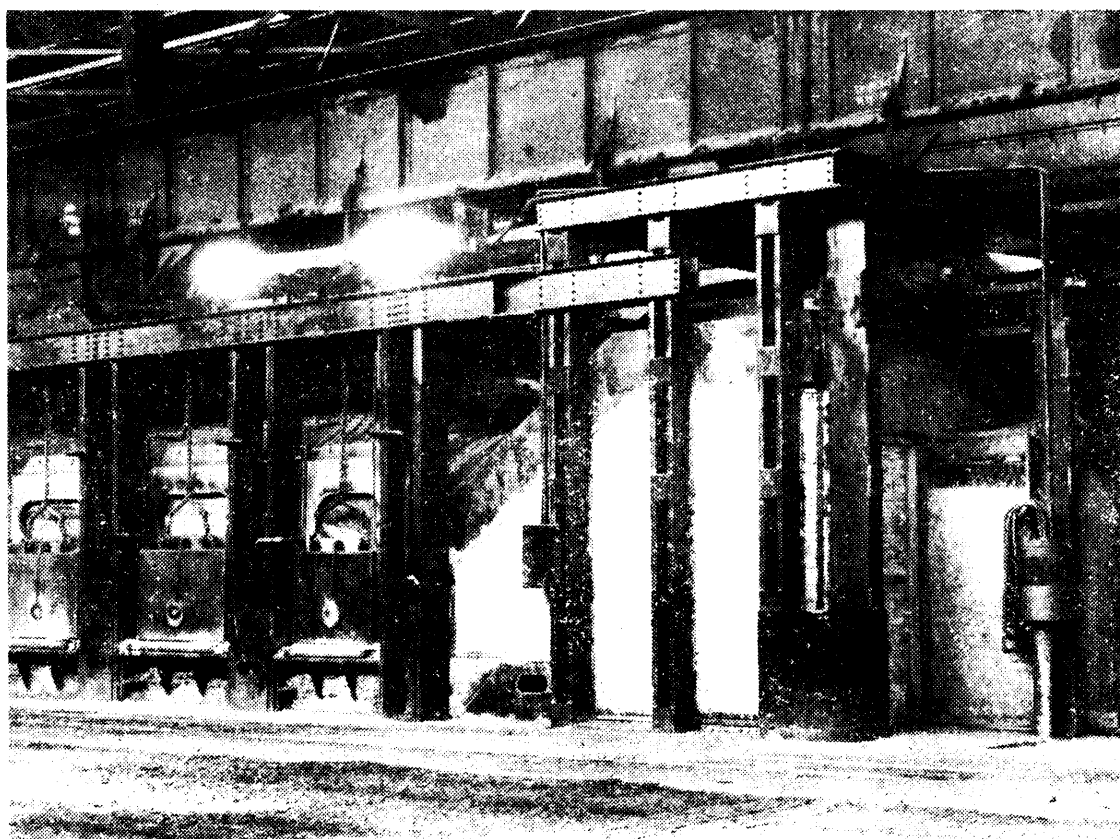
The cutbacks were part of a plan submitted to the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources to meet air and water pollution regulations. The closures will bring the plant within the guidelines of pollution standards set by the federal Water Pollution Act, which have a deadline of May, 1977. However, Bethlehem Steel emphasized "other important considerations" such as "changing markets, age, location, and physical layout of the plant; higher future product quality requirements; and more costly and restrictive transportation facilities for receiving raw materials and shipping plant products" as the immediate causes of the closures.

TIMING

According to the company, only the timing of the closures was affected by the pollution standards. The local media, particularly the city's one major newspaper, the *Johnstown Tribune Democrat*, have attempted to hide these conditions which underlie the closure, especially the crisis, attributing the closures to the work of "extremist environmentalists."

USWA

The leadership of the United Steelworkers of America rather than opening a political fight now against the threatened closures, is sowing the illusion that the plant will not shut down. However, a grievance chairman in one of the five USWA locals in the area said that plans were already made for men who lose their jobs because of the closure at Johnstown. They will be eli-



Bethlehem Steel: the old open hearth furnaces, pictured above, date back to the middle of the nineteenth century. At Johnstown, Bethlehem Steel announced its plans to replace the open hearth furnaces—and 4700 workers—with electric furnaces capable of producing one million tons of steel per year by 1977.

gible for preferential hiring at Bethlehem's new plant in Burn's Harbor, Indiana where they have an extremely high rate of turnover.

MOVE

Thus, the only future facing many of Johnstown's steel workers is either to stick it out in Johnstown, competing for a steadily dwindling number of jobs in the region, where other steel companies have also announced cutbacks and closures, or move their families a third of the way across country where they can find work slaving in a mill with one of the highest rates of employee turnover in the industry. Many of the city's youth, who were counting on the plant to provide them with a steady job, now face the prospect of unemployment.

A deep bitterness toward both the company and the union leadership is developing among the ranks of the USWA. The ranks know that any real fight to save their jobs will put them directly at odds with the Abel leadership, which is openly collaborating with Nixon. Referring to Abel's no-strike pledge, one steel worker told the *Bulletin*, "We didn't put Abel in there, he was put in from the top. If we had our own man in there, he couldn't issue the no-strike pledge." A new leadership must be built in the union basing itself on a Marxist understanding of the insoluble economic crisis, which forces the big corporations to viciously attack the rights and living standards of the working class. This is the fight being taken up by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The closure at Johnstown is part of the deepening crisis of capitalism which is moving towards recession throughout the world. A slowdown in production now threatens masses of workers with unemployment. There is no way for workers to defend their jobs without a political struggle against the government. This is what the Abel leadership together with the entire labor bureaucracy has refused to do.

RANKS

The ranks of the steel workers must now fight for the USWA to call for a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party that will fight for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control and a thirty hour week at forty hours pay to provide full employment. This is now an urgent task facing the unions.

Lock Out Hits Papers In St. Louis

BY CAROL MARKS

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 22—Approximately 200 members of Teamsters Local 610 struck the St. Louis Post-Dispatch at 1:00 a.m. this morning, the exact time of expiration of the present contract. The strike is in support of demands for wages, better working conditions, and benefits.

Since the picket lines were established, the Post-Dispatch has refused to negotiate and has retaliated by immediately locking out the remaining 2200 employees and closing down production. Since the Post-Dispatch also

IAM, IBEW Walk Out In Ontario

BY MICHAEL ROSS

FORT FRANCES, Ontario, Canada—A walkout by members of the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at two Ontario plants of Ontario-Minnesota Paper Company, a subsidiary of Boise-Cascade, has kept both plants idle since July 3.

IAM Local 771 in Fort Frances and Local 490 in Kenora went out on that date and were joined by IBEW locals in both locations on July 9. While these locals represent the maintenance crafts and trades, the production workers, organized by the United Paperworkers, have honored the picket lines, and may well be on a strike of their own by the end of August.

The unions are demanding a full cost of living clause, a nine percent annual wage increase—the company is offering six percent a year for three years—and a two year contract, as well as maintenance of most of the existing contract arrangements.

This strike represents the resistance of these unions to attempts by Boise-Cascade to take back gains won since the 1930s.

Boise-Cascade, a world-wide conglomerate, bought out Ontario-Minnesota six years ago. The new management has let it be known for some time that it wants to get rid of many of the rights of the maintenance workers.

Among these rights are craft seniority, which the company wants to replace with a general classification of "paper mill mechanic," thus making a man do every maintenance job—pipe-

(Continued On Page 14)

publishes the other major St. Louis daily newspaper, the Globe-Democrat, no daily newspapers are currently being printed in St. Louis.

FORCED LOCKOUT

One Teamster on the picket line told the Bulletin, "I've been here for 20 years and I've never seen this—a forced lockout on the first day like this." Another said, "The strike was provoked; there are a lot of issues and they just don't want to talk about them." The men all agreed that it appeared that the company wanted a strike at this time because there is a paper shortage.

One worker said, "They don't want to talk about the big issue. The big issue is manning—the company wants to cut back on loaders."

AUTOMATION

Recently, the Post-Dispatch installed a new, fully automated offset press. Now it appears that they wish to continue layoffs by instituting speedups on the loading docks.

Teamsters Local 610 striking the Post-Dispatch join other workers presently on strike against four grocery warehouses and members of Teamsters Local 618, who were recently locked out by St. Louis Auto Dealers, along with mechanics of International Association of Machinists Local 777.

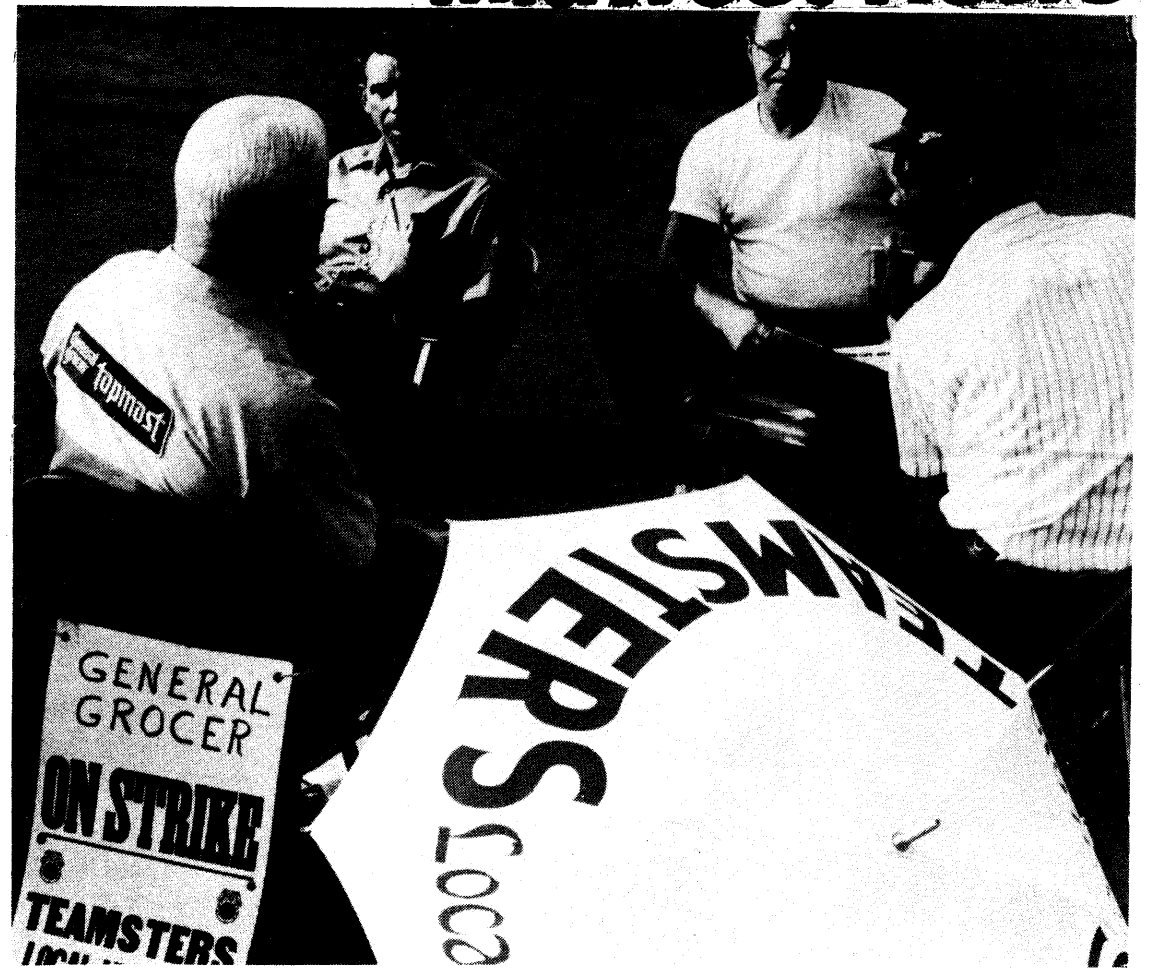
Bitter Showdown Ahead With 3M

BY MIKE JAMES

ST. PAUL, Aug. 23—Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Locals 675 and 418 are preparing now to take on Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing (3M). Last week the membership voted by an overwhelming 87.4 percent to give the union executives authorization to strike 3M here at its home base at midnight, August 26.

While the locals and company have been in bargaining session all week, there has been no report yet from either side.

Martin Macdonough, trustee of Local 675, told the Bulletin that the main issues in dispute concern wages, pensions and the recognition of a union Safety Committee. A specific wage demand has not been put forward by the union negotiators.



Teamsters Local 610 from the Post-Dispatch in St. Louis: facing a forced lockout.

Delco-Moraine Ranks Say Wages Are The Main Issue

BY A LOCAL 696 MEMBER

DAYTON, Aug. 19—A strike vote was taken by United Auto Workers Local 696 at the Delco-Moraine plant here authorizing the local union to strike over local and national demands.

It was obvious after the opening remarks at the monthly membership meeting were made by the UAW International Representative Bob Woods that the bureaucracy has no intention of using the strike votes to wage an all-out war on the corporations. Woods even went so far as to say that the strike in 1970 "broke the union but not the morale of the workers."

If nothing else, this statement

reflected an all-out attempt to frighten the workers into accepting any agreement that the bureaucracy brings back to them.

Woods stated that the UAW would not accept the wage guidelines but the Woodcock leadership still has refused to state what its money demands are and Woodcock himself remains on the labor-management advisory board that oversees the controls.

Furthermore, the fact that the UAW decided last week to select only Chrysler—the smallest of

the "Big Three"—as the strike target and avoid a fight against Ford and GM makes it clear that the bureaucracy plans to capitulate to Nixon and the companies.

RED-BAITING

In spite of veiled threats of red-baiting, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party caucus of Delco-Moraine took up the fight for the workers by probing to get an answer on what the ranks would be striking for: insurance costs plus any increases in insurance costs; 30 and out with no age qualifications; and a decent pension plan. It was at this point that discussion was quickly broken off by Elmo Parrish, the local president, who fears that if the workers were told what the bureaucrats were fighting for they would demand much more.

This meeting is typical of many other union meetings taking place all over the country where the workers are ready to fight to protect their living standards but are held back by the union bureaucrats, who are practicing secrecy, deception and a total unwillingness to fight for the basic demands of the workers.

The real sentiments of the rank and file workers is reflected in the following interview with a Delco-Moraine worker.

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NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to the Young Socialists summer camp, the West Coast News is not being published in this and the following issue of the Bulletin. The West Coast News will appear again in the issue of September 17, 1973.

Macdonough said that the company must put forward a "cost package" from which the union would decide the amounts to go to wage increases and improved fringe benefits. However, workers have reported to the Bulletin that 3M has offered a half-percent increase for the first year!

It is entirely in keeping with 3M to make such an incredibly insulting offer. It is 3M that has maintained huge, non-union, low wage facilities in Ames, Iowa, the Midwest bastion of right to work laws. The company has also been involved in hectic stockpiling of adhesives and abrasives in preparation for a strike.

It has been further reported that 3M is shooting for a 10 percent speedup in the coming year. Since the plant in St. Paul is the oldest, this speedup would be required to make the operation profitable without investing a plug nickel.

The membership has given the negotiating committee authority to set the specific demands. But Macdonough said that no particular wage figure has been set.

"We're not shooting for the moon. We would take a reasonable offer. We would take 20 percent if they offered it, we'd be crazy not to."

A wage demand of 20 percent must not be left to 3M to offer but is absolutely required by the workers as prices double and treble. 3M is determined to make the St. Paul operation profitable through destruction of hard won wages and conditions. This is made clear in the information just published in the newspaper that 3M provided \$30,000 to the Nixon campaign in secret contributions. Now Nixon has declared that 5.5 percent is the legal limit in wage increases. This is just what 3M paid Nixon \$30,000 to do for them. The members of 675 and 418 must demand that their negotiators fight for a 20 percent wage increase in the first year.

In this fight for a decent wage Locals 675 and 418 must go out and give a lead to the entire labor movement by demanding that the AFL-CIO immediately convene a Congress of Labor to map out a strategy to smash Nixon and Phase Four.