

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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103

FIFTEEN CENTS

NIXON DEFIES CONGRESS

BY THE EDITORS

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Brushing aside Congressional demands that White House aides implicated in the Watergate conspiracy appear before a Senate subcommittee, Nixon stated:

"The manner in which the President personally exercises his assigned powers is not subject to questioning by another branch of government. If the President is not subject to such questioning it is equally inappropriate that members of his staff not be so questioned, for their roles are in effect an extension of the Presidency."

The immediate purpose of this declaration was to inform Congress that he would not permit former aide Dwight Chapin to explain why Nixon's personal lawyer gave Donald Segretti, a college buddy of Chapin, close to \$40,000 to sabotage last year's Democratic presidential campaign.

But Nixon's statement has far broader implications. It is a warning to the working class that the administration is preparing the grounds for a Bonapartist dictatorship by seeking to undercut all democratic institutions and rights.

This is the meaning of Nixon's concession that his vast expansion of executive privilege is based "on more than constitutional doctrine." He defended his defiance of Congress by referring to "practical necessity."

When he refers to "practical necessity," Nixon is admitting that he must construct a new type of government for the purpose of preparing a head-on collision with the working class under conditions of unprecedented crisis.

Since his reelection, the intensive reshuffling of the regime was designed to establish an administration functioning without restrictions on its powers. As the **Bulletin** warned after the November election, the new super-cabinet was set up to staff the administration with men responsible to no one but Nixon.

Now, Nixon tells the Congress that "those men must not be inhibited by the possibility that their advice or assistance will ever become a matter of



St. Louis bakery workers, members of Bakers Union Local 4 on strike for the first time against the Frito-Lay Co. which refuses to grant 14 cent per hour increase on present starting wage of \$2.50.

Bulletin Expansion Drive

The Spring **Bulletin** Expansion Fund Drive has taken an important jump since last week, bringing in \$2,331.65 to give us a grand total of \$9,705.81.

Ft. Greene held a highly successful dinner party which netted \$165.90 for the Drive. Chelsea led the way with \$449.25 while the

Bay Area came in second with \$390.00. There are still, however, several branches which have sent in nothing.

We must raise a total of \$16,600 by April 1 to make the one-third mark in our drive for \$50,000 by June 1. This means we must step up the drive to \$3,500 per week for the next two weeks. Now as

we actually install our new press and get geared up for the battle ahead against Nixon and the large corporations and banks, there must be every effort to raise the necessary funds to launch the **Bulletin** as a twice-weekly this Fall and prepare for the daily paper.

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Forward To Revolutionary Party 10,000 At SLL Pageant

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Over 10,000 trade unionists and youth massed at the Empire Pool, Wembley, in London last Sunday for the biggest anti-Tory rally since the Heath government came to power in June 1970. It was called by the Socialist Labour League.

They witnessed a unique event in the history of the working class, a three hour pageant of the struggle for basic democratic rights performed by workers and youth from every part of Britain.

As every worker in Britain is now threatened with the destruction of his trade unions and essential liberties—under Tory law it is a crime to strike for a decent

wage—the pageant's evocation of past struggles generated tremendous enthusiasm among the audience and sharply posed the political tasks before the working class.

"This historic occasion would not have happened without the fight put up by the League and its supporters," declared Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL, British section of the Fourth International. "The message from this pageant is to go forward and transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party."

Referring to the attempts of the right-wing clique in the Labour Party, led by pro-Common Market Roy Jenkins and Dick Taverne, to smash all opposition to Tory policy, Comrade Healy said that there must be a special conference of the Labour Party to expel the traitors in its ranks.

"This conference should prepare for the battle ahead. It should lay down a socialist policy for expropriating capitalism and it should form a pact with the trade union movement in a struggle to create the industrial and political conditions to force the Tories to resign."

BLAME

The Tories intend to blame the new surge of inflation on the working class even as they hold down wages and seek to prevent workers from simply catching up with price increases over the past year or two. All the moves of the Heath government have to be seen within the framework of this insoluble economic crisis.

The strategy of the capitalists is to whip up anti-union sentiment among sections of the middle class, utilize the collaboration of the trade union leaders to the fullest, preparing at the same time for general strike and the opportunity to impose a decisive defeat on the working class.

The bomb explosions in London on March 9 are a critical part of Tory strategy. It is highly unlikely that these explosions were a complete surprise to the government and the police, especially if they were the work of the Provisional IRA, as the government itself strongly suggested.

It has already been reported that the police delayed warning passersby in the area where they would be notified that bombs would be going off. Pedestrians received only a few minutes notice in the area around the Old Bailey, the Criminal Court in London, although the police received nearly an hour's warning.

One person was killed and over 200 injured in the explosions. The large number of injuries fits in with the Tories' aim to use this incident and the possibility of others in order to put the working



Massive anti-Tory rally at Empire Pool, Wembley in London sponsored by the Socialist Labour League.

Big Gains For French Left

BY MELODY FARROW

The Gaullist Party of President George Pompidou narrowly remained in power in the runoff elections in France on Sunday. The coalition of the Communist and Socialist parties won 47 percent of the vote in the March 11 runoff election to the French National Assembly and doubled its seats to a total of 178.

Although the Gaullist Party won the same amount of popular votes, they will have 271 seats in the Assembly, because the French electoral system is designed to prevent proportional representation.

The Gaullist Party, Union for the Defense of the Republic, increased its vote by 10 percent after they made a deal with the Center Democrats of Jean Lecanuet to withdraw in each other's favor in 100 districts to prevent a Left majority.

The dramatic increase in the Communist and Socialist Party votes is a major setback for the Pompidou regime. Despite their artificial majority in the Assembly, the Gaullists are in deep crisis, their base of support disintegrating. It is a corrupt regime of bankers and industrialists who have deliberately created tremendous unemployment and inflation in their drive to rationalize their industry to beat back their European and US rivals.

The big gains made by the Left

parties is a clear indication of the growing strength and confidence of the French workers and their desire to form their own government. This election will be the prelude to revolutionary explosions throughout the country.

DICTATOR

Pompidou will now seek to use this "mandate" to push ahead with his attacks on trade union rights, to halt wage increases and rule as a virtual dictator.

Pompidou's last speech on the eve of the election expressed his fear for the survival of the Fifth Republic, but was also a sharp warning of the crackdown that will follow the election.

CHOICE

He declared that the election involved a fundamental choice between "Marxist Communism and its assured allies and all the others." He accused the Left coalition of seeking to "suppress individual liberty, and the right of property" and to impose a "totalitarian" administration.

This situation exposes the danger of the Communist Party's vow to respect the Gaullist Constitution and the "legalities" of the capitalist state. They have indicated they will accept Pompidou as president and will abide by the Assembly majority.

Before the March 11 vote, the CP leaders moderated their appeals even more to assure the middle class there was nothing revolutionary in their program. The CP leaders were careful not to mention a Left victory but only spoke of "the enlarged possibilities for expression, including inside Parliament, of the workers interests and the reinforcement of the positions of democracy."

Not only does the CP disarm the workers with illusions of working within a Parliament that has no powers and can be abolished by Pompidou, but their refusal to go on the offensive against the regime will alienate sections of the peasantry and middle class who are turning to the workers

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Haiti Labor Battles Inflation

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

HAITI—The Haitian people over the last few months have faced an astonishing increase in prices, especially in essential food commodities. This massive inflation poses starvation to the Haitian workers and peasants.

The peasants have been driven off their land at gun point to take part in demonstrations supporting the government. Therefore, they have been unable to produce essential agricultural commodities on their land and there is an enormous scarcity of foodstuffs.

The Haitian government's policies are designed solely to receive military aid from US imperialism. At the same time, afraid that the economic crisis will produce mass movements against Duvalier, the US must pour military aid into Haiti.

POVERTY

The conditions that face the Haitian workers and peasants are ones of abject poverty and oppression. Children and adults wrap their feet in rags because they have no shoes. The school books are years out of date. Milk supplies have been exhausted. Babies are abandoned because the poor cannot afford to feed them.

Meanwhile, the petty bourgeoisie ride around on the most recent Japanese motorcycles and the entire government is marked by corruption.

Prices have risen drastically in the last few years. The price of beans has gone from 50 cents a pound in 1969 to one dollar a pound in 1973, while rice has risen from 45 cents a pound to \$1.40. Goatmeat has jumped from 70 cents to two dollars a pound.

At the same time that prices are increasing, the vast majority of Haiti's budget is allocated for military spending. Now with the dollar devaluation prices will climb even higher. It is clear that the Haitian workers and peasants are being driven back by US imperialism and its puppet regimes like Baby Doc's in Haiti.

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Greek Students Defy Ban On Rallies

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Clashes between Greek students and the military dictatorship erupted again on March 6 after Premier Papadopoulos banned student assemblies scheduled to be held in all the universities.

Several hundred students rallied in Athens' Constitution Square and then fled down the side streets as police moved in to break up the demonstration. Thirty-seven were arrested. Around the same time a lawyer, Dimitri Pappas, who was defending the students, was also arrested.

On March 5, 500 students in Salonika marched through the streets after they were refused use of the Technical School for a general assembly.

The student uprisings, the first open rebellions since the military coup d'etat in 1967, began in January to protest the regime's interference in student elections. The demonstrations intensified after the government drafted over 100 students as punishment.

Greek students are fighting for the right to organize their own unions which are presently controlled by the military and for the

ouster of the "commissioners" (retired army officers) who head all university bodies. As a former leader of the old regime said:

"It is the beginning of a process which will not be limited to the youth. It is the beginning of a general revolt as we have seen for some years in Spain. But the regime here is not as solidly implanted as it is in Spain."

The Greek students have come up against the most brutal methods of repression, fully backed by Nixon, whose military aid and bases prop up the Greek junta.

EYE WITNESS

Students from the Technical University gave this eye-witness account of the events of February 14:

"Kalivas Smailis and Gravaritis, the familiar security officers with reputations for torture and interrogation, appeared at the gates and were greeted with shouts of 'Out Smailis—Out

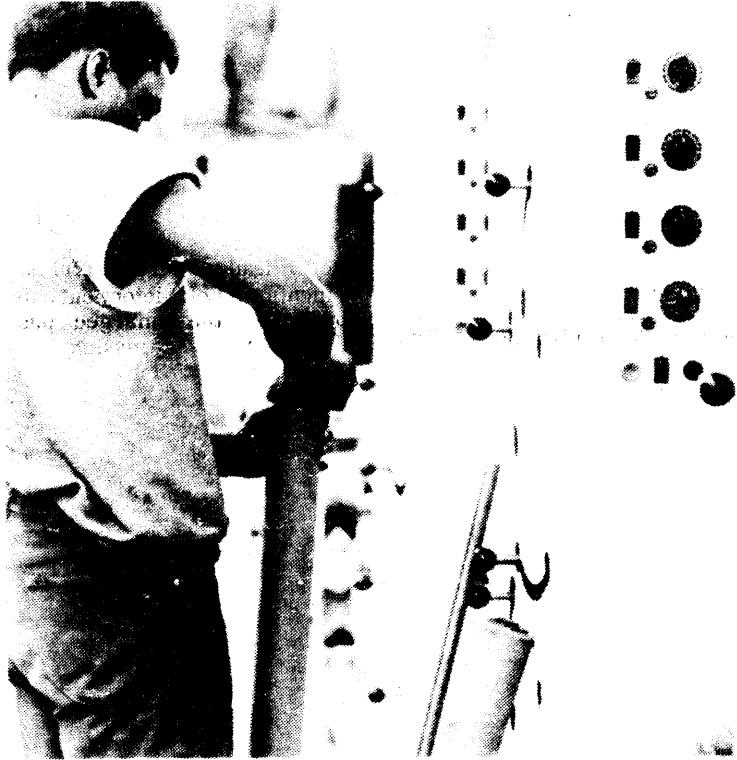
the Torturers.' Four police armored vehicles followed by jeeps appeared in the area.

"At 4 p.m. while negotiations continued, the police forced their way through a side door. The clash is frightful. Policemen, informers, and paid sympathizers carry clubs, revolvers, cudgels and crowbars. The regime appointee as President of the Engineering Students Council beats his fellow students with a cudgel. The students retreat and the persecutors follow them beating mercilessly. They isolate students and beat them to the point of fainting."

What Papadopoulos fears is that the wave of unrest will lead to strikes and struggles among the Greek workers who are becoming increasingly bold and defiant toward the regime. Building workers and other sections of workers are demanding higher wages and many of the building workers were involved in the street fighting.



New Press Almost Set To Roll



Installing Bulletin's new four-unit web offset press.

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—Work is now well underway on the installation of our new web offset press, preparing the way for twice-weekly publication in the fall and the development of the first Trotskyist daily newspaper in the United States.

Rollers for the new press are now being installed and adjusted and trial printing runs will begin within a week. In addition, our new offices are being outfitted to provide complete print shop, newspaper production and editorial facilities.

Nixon's attacks on the capitalist press reflect the turn of the ruling class toward Bonapartist dictatorship as it seeks a solution to the crisis. Only the development of the *Bulletin* first as a twice-weekly paper, then as a daily paper, can prepare the way for the building of a labor party and a revolutionary leadership which can answer the attacks being prepared against the workers' movement, its organizations, press and all democratic rights.

American Smelting Announces Baltimore Closure

BY MARY GREGORY

BALTIMORE—American Smelting and Refining Company (ASRCO) here announced last week its plans to close its Canton-Baltimore plant and open a new \$100 million refinery in Amarillo, Texas. The official explanation was that the company was unable to meet federal pollution guidelines.

The Baltimore plant is the largest of American Smelting's three plants—the other two are located in Perth Amboy, New Jersey and Tacoma, Washington—and together with the nearby Kennecott Refinery, it produces over 20 percent of United States copper.

This plant has one of the longest histories of militancy in the area. Forming the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Local 625, workers won the eight hour day in 1916. Local 625 workers were the spearhead of the strike movement in Baltimore in 1945 and

1946 following World War Two against the huge layoffs throughout the industry. Expelled from the AFL-CIO in 1950 for being "communist controlled," Local 625 joined the United Steel Workers of America in the mid-1960s.

SCHEME

Throughout the post-war period up to today, the scheme of the bosses has been to combine the most ruthless speedup with the most antiquated, backbreaking, unsafe and dirty working conditions and procedures. The coal furnaces are still loaded by shovel, two men to a boxcar. The tank house, as in many other areas of the plant, has little or no ventilation.

Throughout the 1960s and up to today, the plant has been hit by wildcat after wildcat over working conditions, violations of safety provisions, contract violations and layoffs, but every time the militancy of the ranks has been betrayed by the leadership.

A 45 year old worker with 20

years in the plant told the *Bulletin*: "I don't know what to think. Whenever they needed to turn up the pressure, they threatened to close down. It was all scare tactics. A lot of guys don't even think they mean it now. But 158 men have already been laid off."

"They plan on cutting back to 50 percent before they move. It means learning to live on welfare, and even that's being eliminated."

Another man added: "I don't know what to do, but I did think the union should have called a meeting immediately to let people officially know what the situation is and what we're going to do about it. But they won't even talk about it. One official said I know more than he does. We pay him to know and to do something about it. I'm not up for moving to Amarillo and there aren't any jobs around here."

Another man added: "This whole pollution issue is a fraud. First of all, the government doesn't care what you do, their

'Controlled' Prices Leap In February

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The real nature of Phase Three was once again exposed last week as the government announced that wholesale prices in February registered their biggest raises since the inflationary days of the Korean War.

The wholesale price index rose at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 19.2 percent, with food prices once again exploding upward at double that rate.

The complete fraud of Nixon's anti-inflation program was revealed in the figures for consumer goods and industrial commodities, which supposedly fall under price controls.

Finished consumer goods prices registered a gain at an annual rate of 15.6 percent, while industrial commodities prices rose at an annual rate of 12 percent.

The increase in the prices of industrial commodities such as fuel oil and lumber, which until now have remained fairly stable, reflects the uncontrollable nature of the inflationary trend, which is being fueled by the enormous expansion of credit in the capitalist world.

The increases of the last three months fully expose the lie that wage struggles are the cause of inflation, with wholesale prices rising at an annual rate of 20 percent, while workers' wages can increase by no more than 5.5 percent.

The complete bankruptcy of the present trade union leadership has also been revealed in the inflationary leap. While workers watch their earnings evaporate in higher prices, the trade union bureaucracy offers to help Nixon hold down the wage demands of millions of workers in contract negotiations this

year.

Workers must expect inflation to get much, much worse in the months ahead as the wholesale price increases of the last three months and the even bigger ones to come are transformed into skyrocketing prices on the store shelf.

Every trade unionist whose contract expires this year must be prepared to wage a bitter struggle for wage increases and escalator clauses which can meet these price increases and prevent an erosion of his standard of living.

Floating Threatens EEC Crash

BY DAVID NORTH

The announcement last Friday that all major foreign exchange markets would remain shut until March 19 revealed that the week-long deliberations of the European finance ministers have failed to produce a policy to deal with the currency crisis that resulted in the virtual paralysis of the world money centers.

Far from finding a solution to the crisis, the decision of Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and Denmark to float their currencies means that there is no agreement on how to return to a system of fixed exchange rates that has been the bedrock of world trade since 1944.

While England, Ireland and Italy already floating freely, the other six Common Market countries have embarked upon a "dirty float" which permits the artificial manipulation of exchange rates to serve the trade interests of each nation.

Germany has agreed to revalue the mark by three percent before floating as a concession to France. But there is nothing to prevent France or any of the floating countries to break out of the so-called common float the moment it has an adverse effect on their economies.

Although this measure is intended as a defense against the

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Union Ends Teachers Strike Without Gains

BY DAVE WHITE

NEW HAVEN, March 13—The tremendous enthusiasm and determination of the New Haven teachers six day old strike, which received the Central Labor Council's promise of a general strike if teachers are jailed, was set back when teachers accepted the recommendation of Judge Dube to go back to school.

In return the Judge promised round-the-clock negotiations and a possible favorable ruling on the union's motion to dissolve the injunction against the strike on or before March 20 if there is no success in the talks.

In spite of voting four to one to return to work, teachers unanimously agreed to go out again next Tuesday and with more support if no progress has been made. One of the many teachers who opposed returning to work said: "If we're out for a contract, we stay out until we get it. If the Board hasn't bargained in good faith for 13 months, why would they begin now?"

BOARD

The Board of Education is refusing to budge and is still offering less than one percent increase in wages for the second year, no reduction in class size and cutbacks in the number of teachers.

The Board has fought to keep the schools open. Scab teachers are being recruited from the dorms of Southern Connecticut State College and Yale, sixth grade students are supervising first grade classes and students are being locked in their

classrooms.

Students at all three city high schools have boycotted classes. Last week they spontaneously walked out and joined their teachers on the picket lines. NHFT President O'Brien refused student appeals to organize a full scale student strike.

Having already dropped wage demand to zero the first year and 4.5 percent the second year, O'Brien and his second in command Matt Borenstein, leader of the Action Committee, are openly betraying this struggle.

Following Vincent Sirabella's call for general strike if any teachers were jailed, the labor leaders used this as a pressure tactic on the Board and the Mayor.

The retreat on wages and working conditions and the dangerous pressure tactics must be thrown out by the teachers. All the questions facing the teachers and the entire labor movement are on the line in New Haven. The needs of the teachers and students can be met only by an all-out offensive against the Board of Education and the Nixon government. This means fighting for:

- \$10,000 to \$20,000 salary on a five step basis.
- Full cost of living.
- Twenty students per class and twenty teaching hours per week.
- General strike—make Sirabella keep his promise. The NHFT must take the lead for a general strike against Phase Three.
- For a Congress of Labor to mobilize all labor in a political fight against Nixon and the Democrats by building a labor party.

Westinghouse Provokes Wildcat

BY SANDY MEREDITH

PHILADELPHIA, March 14—A mass walkout by 5100 members of United Electrical Workers Local 107 over illegal job combinations shut down the Westinghouse plant in Lester, Pennsylvania for four days.

This action marks the beginning of big contract battles in May and June against Westinghouse-General Electric, backed up by Nixon and Phase Three.

At the same time, it shoots holes through DiLucia's and the local leadership's position that strike action may not be necessary to break Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines.

The dispute began last Friday when a test mechanic refused to mix mortar and lay brick, a job historically done by engineering workers. For this, he and another mechanic, who also refused the job, were sent home without pay. All 73 men in the Y-lab walked out in sympathy with the disciplined men.

On Thursday the local leadership unsuccessfully tried to patch up the situation by assigning a temporary works engineering bricklayer to the job.

But, Westinghouse insolently



Teamsters Local 379 in Boston out on strike against the Charles George Company.

Philadelphia TWU Votes To Strike For 20% Hike

BY DENNIS HAULING

PHILADELPHIA—Transport Workers Union Local 284 at a standing room only meeting with over 3500 men present voted unanimously to go on strike Wednesday at midnight.

The union, with a membership of 5500, representing trolley car, bus, subway drivers and mechanics, clearly stated that they will defend their right to a decent wage and are determined to challenge the wage guidelines.

The entire union meeting focused on two points: the wage guidelines and the hatred of the ranks of the present leadership. Many of the union bureaucrats devoted their entire talk toward

the wage guidelines. One said: "I don't think the guidelines are worth a damn. Where's your five and a half percent with food?"

HATRED

The men expressed their hatred of the entire leadership of DiClerico by yelling from the floor, "Get DiClerico to go to jail, he ran out on us last time," referring to his jailing in the last strike and then pleading with the men to return to work so that he would not have to return to jail.

The demand of the union is for

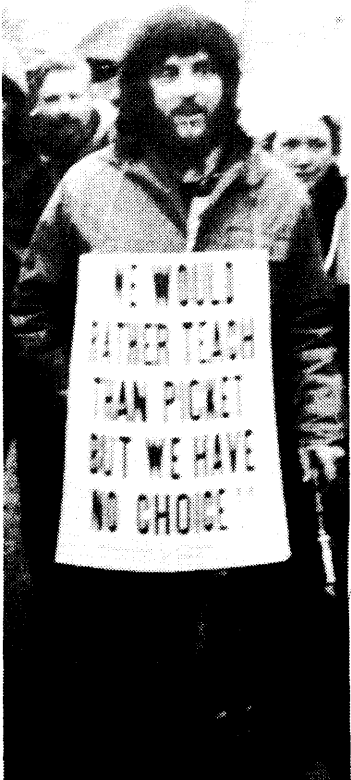
a one dollar an hour across the board increase for one year. At this time, bus, trolley and subway drivers make \$4.68 an hour, while maintenance men make \$4.50 an hour. This is approximately a 20 percent wage increase. The South Eastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) is offering a 42 cent increase over 30 months; approximately a 3.5 percent increase.

Many of the men, when asked about the present contract, said that it is the government that is writing the contracts today: "We're definitely in need of a labor party. The unions are being taken over by the government and big business. The labor man doesn't have a chance unless he unites."

The rank and file expressed great distrust for the present leadership. As one man told the Bulletin:

"The leadership is just waiting for the government to step in and come back to us and tell us that their hands are tied because the government has stepped in. The leadership is influenced by the politics of the bosses. In the last election, the men not only had to fight the company, but we also had to fight our own leadership."

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Argentine Elections & Centrism



Juan Peron

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The military dictatorship of Alejandro Lanusse in Argentina has announced the "winning combination" of Dr. Hector Campora and Vicente Lima, the candidates of Juan Peron's Justicialist Party in the elections this week.

The year end decision to call the elections, the first in 17 years, came with the impossible situation facing the Argentine ruling class: the deep crisis of world capitalism and the tremendous movement of the powerful Argentine working class.

It was in the context of this crisis that Peron was invited back to Argentina in November and entered into negotiations with the military. Lanusse sought the collaboration of the Peronist trade union leaders against the working class. The deal worked out with Peron was to give the military dictatorship an appearance of "democracy" and the Peronists the appearance of power, behind which the military would continue to rule—or as they put it "keep an eye" on the new government "until social and economic

stability has returned."

The return of the Peronist party to power, however, takes place in an entirely different situation from its rise after the war. Peron, who during his period of rule was able to establish a base of support among the working class, in no sense represented or today represents the interests of the working class. He was a product of a short-lived boom period immediately after the war.

RIVALRY

As the hold of British imperialism in South America weakened, the Argentinian bourgeoisie was able to take advantage of the rivalry between British and American interests. It was on this basis that Peron granted concessions to the working class. By 1955 with the penetration and dependence of Argentina on US imperialism, concessions were no longer possible and the Peron regime fell.

The backdrop to the elections is the desperate crisis of the Argentine economy. Unemployment has soared to over one million and industry is operating at only 60 percent capacity. Prices have skyrocketed up to 50 percent while workers' purchasing power has fallen. Last year the International Monetary Fund denied a loan to Argentina on the grounds that it was not holding down wages.

The Argentine working class has changed and grown more powerful since the days of Peron. In the 1950s it was a very new working class coming from the peasantry, concentrated in extractive industries like mining and oil. It was open more to the populist nationalist demagoguery of Peron.

During the late 1950s and the early 1960s after the rebuilding of Europe, capitalism sought new areas to realize surplus value, extending capitalist investment into Latin America for manufacturing. This created industrial areas like Cordoba with its large auto plants and an expanded working

class.

Cordoba in particular has been the scene of strike movements since 1969. In September of 1971 five and one-half million workers went on strike in February and March. In February and March of last year the whole country was halted by a two day general strike.

INABILITY

It is in this situation and the inability of the military dictatorship to defeat the working class that Lanusse has turned to the Peronist leaders. Lanusse is striving to present an appearance of "democracy" while at the same time preparing for brutal repression against the working class. This is the meaning of the cold-blooded massacre of the political prisoners at the Trelew prison last September. This is what Lanusse is preparing for the entire working class as it now enters into new struggles for wages. Rather than being a new period of democracy and parliamentarism, this election is preparation for civil war.

What is posed before the Argentine working class is not, as many trade union militants in Cordoba who have denounced Peron see it, a question of trade union militancy, but a question of the preparation for the struggle for power. This means a fight to break the workers from Peronism and to construct a Trotskyist leadership as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, against the Stalinists and centrists who have served as a prop for the trade union bureaucracy.

This is the criminal role played by the Argentine Socialist Party led by Nahuel Moreno and enthusiastically supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. Moreno formerly led the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP). The RWP split into two factions, one led by Moreno and another—which maintained the name RWP—whose military arm, the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP) is involved in

guerrilla warfare. The ERP is the official section of the revisionist United Secretariat.

Last Fall Moreno liquidated his group into the Socialist Party (Coral faction) which was almost defunct. This liquidation into the social democracy is the logic of Pabloism. Moreno himself has openly stated that the Transitional Program of the Fourth International is no longer relevant and that his perspective is the building of a centrist movement.

Moreno and the PSA have entered this election with a slate of candidates under the "Workers Front." While criticizing the Peronists, the PSA has refused to fight to break the working class from Peronism, to pose the necessity to construct a revolutionary leadership and to prepare for power. When Peron returned to Argentina the PSA demanded that his party run 75 percent of their candidates from the working class and offered support on that basis. When the Peronists refused, they organized their own slate. In November the PSA was invited to a meeting called to elaborate a basis for the "national reconstruction" of Argentina with Peron. While the PSA declined, stating it was not an open meeting, it stated: "We are willing to carry on in common any concrete action against imperialism for the defense of the fatherland and for the defense of the democratic liberties..."

In the February 14 issue of their paper *Avanzada Socialista*, the PSA has an article which compares the Peron of yesterday to the Peron of 1973. While they attack the candidates of the Justicialist Party and their attacks on the working class, the PSA counterposes this to what Peron did when he was in power, boosting illusions in Peron himself. Not a word is leveled against the Peronist program. The PSA states: "A vote for Campora is not a vote for Peron; it's a vote for a split government with the radicals and is to

(Continued On Page 16)

New Massacre Plan

FBI & Army Encircle Wounded Knee

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota by supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM) has reached a critical stage with the government's mobilization of its military might in order to crush the Indian rebellion.

The meaning of Wounded Knee should be very clear to every worker and youth: Nixon and the class he represents must seek to smash every stirring of the working class as the international crisis plunges the capitalist world into a new collapse.

The government has made its intentions very clear. Wounded Knee is ringed by a force of 300 heavily armed federal marshals and FBI agents backed by armored personnel carriers and the 82nd Airborne Division, which is being readied at its Fort Bragg, North Carolina base for an invasion of the town.

The government has announced its intention to starve the Indian insurgents into submission and to bring events "to some kind of logical conclusion," pointedly leaving open the possibility of an invasion of the town and a repetition of the massacre which brought the final subjugation of the Plains tribes in 1890.

Coupled with these preparations for military action, the Justice Department has convened a Grand Jury in Sioux Falls to investigate the occupation and return indictments against all those participating.

At the same time, a witch-hunt campaign has been launched by Interior Secretary Rogers Morton in an attempt to whip up fear of AIM among the middle class and to divide the Indians from the rest of the working class by branding them as

"criminals."

"On the fringe of all this," Morton said last week, "there has grown up in the wake of the Black militant movement in this country a revolutionary Indian movement. Dramatic violence is its pattern. Some are renegades, some youthful adventurers, some have criminal records...They believe that the pursuit of their cause transcends their criminal methods, and they do not represent a constituted group with whom the government can contract or serve."

What has been posed most sharply as the government steps up its preparations for attacking Wounded Knee is the crisis of leadership in the working class.

The leadership of AIM has driven a nationalist wedge between the Indian struggle and the struggle of the working class as a whole to defend itself against Nixon's attacks and is leading the fight into a liberal death trap by relying on "public opinion" to save the occupation force from the government's courts and bullets.

Above all, the AIM leadership sees the fight of the reservation Indians as a simple extension of the battles of the last century.

FATE

But while the heroic battles of the last century were waged in a futile effort to preserve the nomadic existence of the Plains tribes, like the Oglala Sioux, against the expansion of capital westward, the fate of reservation Indians today is bound up in the fight of the entire working class to replace the capitalist system with a workers' state.

The struggle between Indian tribes and the US government was never simply a battle between the Indian and white man. It developed as a conflict between different productive systems.

The primitive agricultural and hunting

existence of the Eastern tribes early came into conflict with the small farmers and big land owning class in the South and with the young, expanding capitalism of the North.

In 1830, the fate of the Eastern tribes was sealed with the passage of the Indian Removal Act, which resulted in the forced emigration of almost all Indians to areas west of the Mississippi River.

STRUGGLE

It was at this stage of the struggle that the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which still serves as the instrument of government subjugation, was formed as a part of the War Department in 1824.

The long series of Indian Wars between the US Army and the Plains Indians, such as the Kiowa, Apache, Cheyenne, Comanche and Sioux tribes, commenced after the Mexican-American War and the discovery of gold in California and silver in Colorado.

These fiercely independent tribes waged a bitter fight against the growing westward expansion of capital, a battle which was lost only with the growth of the railroads and the extermination of the bison upon which they depended for food.

Their decline coincided with the development of monopoly and imperialism and with the growing movement of the American working class, which was increasingly asserting its tremendous industrial power.

Just one year after the last great Indian victory at the Little Big Horn, the great railroad strikes of 1877 swept the country, and during the next period a whole series of enormous clashes took place between capital and labor.

These developments had a decisive meaning for the Indians, and the original Wounded Knee massacre on December 29, 1890 was an historic turning point for their struggle. Culminating a religious move-



ment which was centered on a ghost dance designed to bring back the old way of life, the massacre of over 200 men, women and children by soldiers and Indian police marked the definitive triumph of capitalism over that way of life.

By completely subjugating the American Indian to the requirements of the capitalist system, it irrevocably tied their destiny to the future of the American working class.

Thus, the attempt of AIM to establish an independent Indian nation at Wounded Knee and to call in the United Nations to investigate offers no solution to the oppression of the Indian and in fact, represents a reactionary perspective.

The struggle at Wounded Knee, however, is a reflection of the movement of the working class as it becomes necessary to defend every right and gain against Nixon's attacks, and it is toward this movement and the struggle for a Marxist leadership in the working class which Indians must now turn in order to end their historic oppression.

Above all, this means joining in the fight within the trade unions for a Congress of Labor which will construct a labor party to unite all sections of the working class in a fight for socialist policies.

Madison CWA Out Over Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON—Members of the Communication Workers Local 5530 are on strike against WISC, Channel 3, a CBS station here. The men have been out since January 17 and the company still refuses to settle. It is clear that the company is bent on eliminating the union altogether.

The union's first contract, which took eight months to get, expired on August 31, 1972 and had been extended. On January 16, General Manager George Stennis terminated the contract and refused to honor any the union would propose.

The union is fighting for a 5.5 percent increase and a setting down in writing what had been company practice for 12 years. This included the scheduling of shifts by seniority and specific job assignments.

COUNTERPOSED

When the union's new contract was offered, the company counterposed one of its own. It had 100 changes in it. "It

Koch Refining Flies In Scabs From Kansas

BY B. WILLS

PINE BEND, Minn., March 10—Strikers against Koch Refining are face to face with the company's brutal plan to starve the men out and reopen the refinery without a union. One worker told the *Bulletin*: "They'll hire these Hell's Angels types and pay them two dollars an hour." Another man added, "If they defeat us here it will set the unions back 100 years."

Scabs from Wichita are being flown into the plant by helicopter and herded into the front gate by cops. "Everybody knows that Koch bought the place to smash the union."

Support from other Twin Cities' unions has been coming in. Thousands of dollars are pledged from several locals. There is a growing awareness that these men stand on the front line against the government's assault.

"You can have all the rallies you want," one man said, "but as long as that oil goes out they won't mean a thing." One striker felt that if an anti-scab law would be enacted by the state legislature, Koch would be forced to negotiate. But another countered, "It would be full of so many loopholes that it wouldn't stop anything."

Several of the pickets felt that the strike had come to an impasse and that a general strike was the only way to go forward. One said, "If they break the local at this peanut outfit, they'll be trying it at all the big places."

A resolution calling for a massive rally of the Minnesota AFL-CIO and the demand that the day be set for a one day general strike will be presented at the upcoming union meeting. Several men have begun to gather support in the local for this resolution.

amounted to retrogression after retrogression," one worker told the *Bulletin*. "It's comparable to speedup in the factories."

The company wants a ten hour day with no overtime and a five day week. They also want swing-shifts, scheduled according to competency, a decreased travel allowance (the one they have presently is below national standards). They only want to pay one-half of the hospitalization benefits instead of a larger amount.

On the eve of the strike, the union made tremendous concessions but Stennis refused to accept them."

One worker, Tom, said: "There's a surplus of communications people around, so they felt they could get enough people to cross the lines. They were right because the next day there were new cars in the lot. They were training people beforehand."

SUSPENDED

The station has been preparing for some time to break the union.

The company suspended two men two weeks before the strike. One, Bob Kushnick, earned cameraman's pay and was given one dollar for each show he directed (10 shows a week). When he complained, he was suspended.

The other, Ed Malcheski, farm director, did an editorial on the air condemning Nixon's wheat deal because it tricked a lot of farmers out of needed earnings. Grain dealers protested and Stennis suspended Malcheski.

The union has filed an unfair labor practices suit against the company because of several incidents of harassment by armed company guards who had been waving guns at the strikers and because scab cars entering the parking lot have injured pickets.

Midwest News



Communications Workers of America on the picket line in Madison, Wisconsin against CBS.

ILA: A Second Pay Cut?

BY AN ILA MEMBER

CHICAGO—On April 1, 2500 members of Local 19, International Longshoremen's Association here are due to receive the second raise of their three year contract package.

Last year's increase was slashed 15 cents to 55 cents by a last minute ruling of the Pay Board. Although the contract was signed in August, the Board refused to rule on the increase until February, when most men were not working with the Chicago ports which were closed for the season. The Board did not rule at all on the second and third years.

The original contract itself, which covers all Great Lakes ports, was a capitulation by the ILA leadership to the company's need to maintain profits by holding down wages. The \$2.27 per hour increase over three years was inadequate to bring the longshoremen up to the standards of other skilled trade unionists.

CONFRONTATION

Basic pay now stands at \$4.92 per hour. Even with this the contract was not signed until August. For five months the union leadership backed off from a confrontation with the company on

the new contract.

Although the union leadership is still trying to keep the negotiations as secret as possible, it is certain that the company is proposing a reduction of gang size and institution of a system of rotating men back and forth between jobs in order to cut the total work force.

STRIKE FORCE

The union leadership must, at the March membership meeting, pledge immediate strike action if any of the 15 cents due last year and any of the increase due, is not in the first paycheck or if the

shippers violate work rules, gang size, or rotation.

The union leadership must make immediate preparations for reopening the contract on July 1 along with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in order to unite longshoremen with a common contract and a common expiration date.

Local 19 must take the lead and call a Congress of Labor to mobilize American workers in general strike action against Phase Three and to construct a labor party.

Phase 3 Budget In Illinois

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—The state budget for 1974 has been presented by Illinois Democratic Governor Dan Walker, who won election on the basis of demagoguery about protecting the interests of the "tax-payers."

The budget was cut by \$617 million, which means slashes in state construction work, aid to higher education and the public aid program, freezing state employees' wages and subsidies for the collapsing Chicago mass transit system.

Walker is using the new Federal revenue sharing program as an excuse to slash all state aid programs. He is freezing the levels of local tax shares. He is ending all state aid to the blind, aged and disabled and cutting \$19.2 million in Aid to Dependent Children funds.

FORMULA

A new state aid formula yet to be released is supposed to result in more state aid to elementary and high schools. But state colleges will get less than half the construction funds they requested, and only about 75 percent of the operating revenue.

In addition, Walker backed out of the contract agreement made with teachers for the state to take over total pension payments by calling for a new "study," and not appropriating any new funds.

There is no money allotted for pay raises to state employees, but Walker announced that he will "consider it" after six months for any agency that has

managed to cut expenses to below the budget level.

The largest cutbacks, however, are in the fields of capital spending, chiefly bond issues for college buildings, prison and mental health care facilities, and roads. Added to the decline in private industry building and Nixon's cutbacks, this means massive unemployment in the construction unions.

KINSHIP

In his address to the state legislature, Walker revealed his basic kinship with Nixon. "There will be those seeking more for their special programs—even though that means taking money out of the pockets of tax-payers...But, I urge you, do not listen to the strident voices...I ask you to turn a deaf ear to the special interests and listen to the voices of the overburdened tax-payers."

But it is not "special interests" that Walker and Nixon are attacking, but the whole standard of living of the working class—the right to higher education, to public transportation, to security, to jobs. Nixon and Walker must be fought politically through the construction of a labor party.

PROGRAM FOR THE AUTO STRUGGLE 1973

7:30 p.m., March 23, 1973

Veterans Memorial Building Polar Bear Room 514

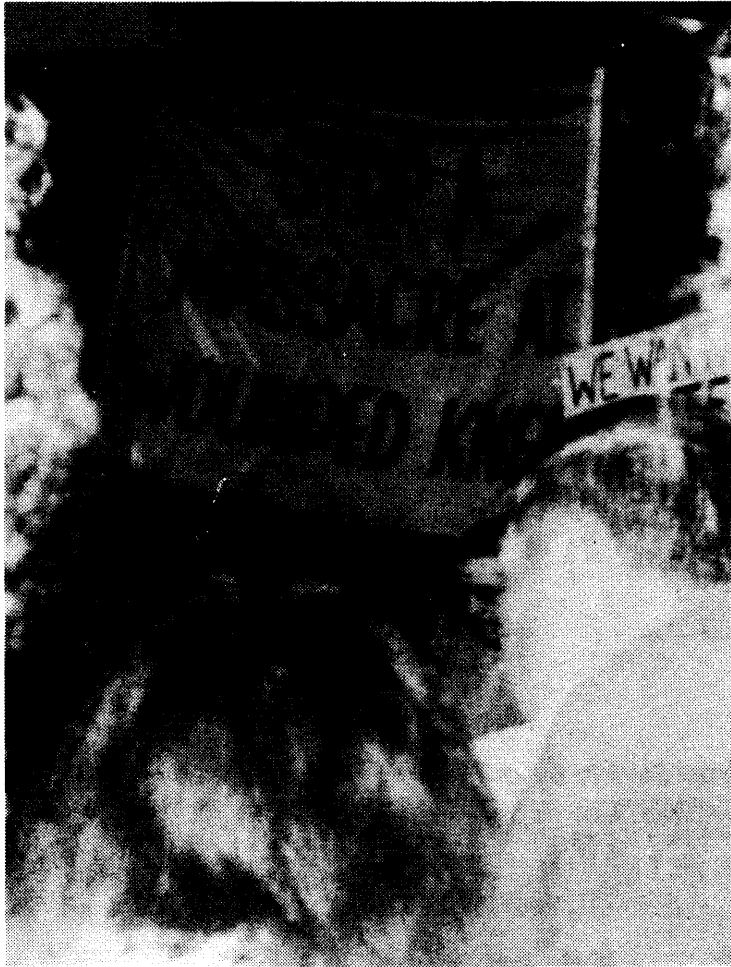
next to Cobo Hall

Speakers:

Jim Lawrence, UAW Local 696, Dayton

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of Workers League

Midwest News



Rally in Madison in support of Indians at Wounded Knee.

St. Paul Cab Drivers Strike

BY A REPORTER

ST. PAUL, Minn.—At 12:01 Monday morning 300 St. Paul cab drivers, members of Teamsters Local 120, went on strike against Yellow Cab Company and Radio Cab Corporation after a breakdown in contract negotiations.

The refusal of the companies to grant the demands of the drivers for disability and pension benefits provoked the strike. The determination of the men to win their demands, is evident.

"If a taxi comes out that door, it'll be too battered to drive by the time it reaches the street," a

picket promised. The drivers of the two unionized cab companies in Minneapolis are honoring the strike and refusing to pick up passengers in St. Paul.

A third Minneapolis cab company has a company union, but as one St. Paul driver remarked, "They're too scared to come over here."

Chrysler Ranks Wildcat Over Discipline Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—An injunction against the wildcat strike which shut down the entire Chrysler Jefferson assembly plant on March 7 was served on United Auto Workers Local 7 on March 12.

The wildcat began in the engine department on the second shift when the company refused to rehire a department worker who was fired the week before for participation in a one day wildcat against speedup. Twelve others were also given time off and warning.

On Friday, the wildcat spread to the morning shift. The following Wednesday layoff notices were sent out to at least eight workers, including known militants. Wildcats have also broken out in the past week at Chrysler's Dodge Main plant.

CAMPAIGN

The United Justice Caucus has urged workers to stay out until all workers are rehired. The Local 7 leadership launched a back to work campaign with leaflets and sound trucks, but many workers failed to even show up at the plant last Wednesday.

Last December, a foreman was shot and killed by an assembly line worker. Physical clashes between foremen and workers are frequent.

The company's storage lots are bulging with new cars. Two weeks ago, overtime was cut and layoffs are expected soon.

Only a political leadership prepared to fight against Nixon can take the UAW forward.

A caucus meeting to fight for this leadership in the UAW will

be held during the UAW bargaining convention on Friday March 23, in the Polar Bear

Room, Rm. 514 of the Veterans Memorial Building next to Cobo Hall.

Wisconsin Indians Rally To Support Wounded Knee

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON—Delegates representing every Indian reservation in Wisconsin and supporters rallied in the State Capitol Building Friday, March 9 in a demonstration of about 200 to defend the Indian takeover at Wounded Knee.

Par Decorah, a Winnebago from the Wisconsin Dells Region, spoke about the conditions that force Indians to live in some of the worst poverty across the country.

"The situation is very ripe for a 'Wounded Knee' in northern Wisconsin. The Bureau of Indian Affairs runs under colonial rule. It boils down to real estate and money. The economic situation of the American Indian is one of desperation. Federal funds are a farce, they mean absolutely nothing. You should be born with the right to have money, but you are not."

Another Winnebago explained that the only work the men could get was seasonal, like picking cranberries in the marshes, or pulping wood during the winter. These jobs pay according to the work done, but come out to less than the minimum wage. "Since all the Indians are stuck in one place, by the time they can get to a job opening, it's gone."

The government has promised through treaties to provide education and housing for the Indian families. "But they turn around and make the people work for what they promised to give them."

The amount of rent a Native American pays depends on his family size and amount of income and the plan is that the family can pay off the cost of the house after a number of years of paying rent. But as this Winnebago woman pointed out, "the houses are made of cardboard, and by the time they're paid for, they've fallen apart."

Governor Lucy spoke to the Indian demonstration here of "humanity and compassion" for the American Indian. This is just so much hogwash. There is nothing that liberal politicians will do to protect the rights of the working class today.

These will be won by a fight to unite the working class in a labor party.

The Politics of Revolutionary Union

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—For all its left phrases and militant poses, the Revolutionary Union is dead against the fight for the independent political mobilization of the working class against Nixon and his Democratic Party allies. It has no policy to fight Phase Three which threatens the basic rights of the trade unions.

Rather, it deliberately carries out the policies of the Communist Party under a left cover. The RU actually prepares the ground for the entrance of the CP itself into the Dayton labor movement.

All the viciousness and treachery of Stalinism, with its 50 year history of betrayals of the working class and physical violence against Trotskyism have surfaced in this Maoist group. The RU, which was formed in California out of the old SDS, puts out literature in which they not only excuse Mao's support to the Shah of Iran, General Numeiry of the Sudan and the like, but justify the bloodbaths in Bangla Desh and Ceylon.

Recently, the RU in the Dayton area was the leading group in a coalition supporting the sellout peace treaty in Vietnam. They circulated a leaflet to the workers supporting Nixon's "peace with honor." The latest issue of their paper, the Dayton

Workers' Voice, is headlined with "Peace Treaty Signed—Let's Make It Stick." This occurs at a time when Hanoi is forced to reveal the threatened butchery by the Thieu government of 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam for whom their "treaty" made no provision, when the bombing continues in Cambodia and Laos, and when Nixon reveals his every intention of reescalating the war as soon as the American prisoners are released.

SINISTER

The RU has a sinister chant that goes "A chicken in every pot, an icepick in every Trot." Recently, during the strike of food service workers at Antioch University, Bulletin reporters at Yellow Springs were threatened by two students from the RU who dominate the part-time workers union at Antioch. They told the Bulletin reporters: "All we have to say to you is 'Get out of Yellow Springs.'" The RU then proceeded to threaten them with physical violence.

Not able to deal with the Workers League on the basis of theory or program, the RU resorts to threats of violence, a longtime practice of the Stalinists. The Dayton Workers' Voice carried a special article in which they distorted the Bulletin's position on national strikes to defend the rights and gains of the workers and the

necessity of forming a labor party.

In a "Note To Our Readers," the Dayton Workers' Voice attempted to "explain" the Bulletin and their differences with the Workers League. Like all Stalinists they oppose the building of a labor party now.

They say that perhaps sometime in the future a labor party would be alright but not now.

The RU's Workers' Voice states: "They (The Workers League) especially push the labor party. Now we don't think a labor party is a bad idea. But we do know that if a labor party were formed today it would be run by the same labor bosses who sell out our strikes and struggles any chance they get."

BUREAUCRACY

The RU is well aware of the fact that the bureaucracy is totally opposed to the fight for a labor party. It is only in a bitter struggle against the bureaucrats and the Stalinists that a labor party will be built.

At the St. Louis Labor For Peace Conference, it was the bureaucrats who fought against the Workers League supporters' fight to bring a resolution for a labor party to a vote. And it was the Stalinists and centrists who blocked with the bureaucrats against this resolution. Again at the Stalinist Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy

Conference, they barely mustered enough votes against the resolution for a labor party sponsored by Workers League supporters in the unions.

STALINISTS

The RU paper glorifies the role of the Stalinists in the 1930s in their article "Our Unions Must Fight" under the sub-heading "Communists In The Labor Movement." They state: "The communists were always the hardest workers and the most militant fighters...Their ideas were an inspiration to many and a driving force behind the workers' movement." The CP, following Stalin's line of support to the Democratic Party, destroyed the growing movement for a labor party in the 1930s and in the upsurge after World War Two. They threw their whole weight behind the Democrats in the 1930s and 1940s against the political independence of the working class. They have followed this policy since.

The RU, following the Communist Party's line of the 1930s, has formed an organization called the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee which attempts to divert the militancy of the workers into dead-end reform campaigns which create the illusion that "we can win with a little pressure."

For the last five months, the group in Cincinnati and Dayton have been collecting signatures

on a petition for the purpose of pressuring the reactionary state legislature, which has been slashing all social services, to change their law to grant a permanent 13 week extension in unemployment benefits. They plan to take the signatures to Governor Gilligan.

In the last two weeks, Gilligan laid off 250 workers in the State Unemployment Services. Now, applicants report only once every two weeks and thus the processing of their applications and receipt of checks is slowed up.

In January, the courts turned down the appeal of the Inland Manufacturing (General Motors) workers for the unemployment compensation they were denied in 1970 when they were laid off because of a strike in other divisions of General Motors. Right now there is a bill before the legislature to deny food stamps to striking workers.

The fact that unemployed workers are supporting the RU's campaign shows their willingness to fight back against unemployment and to defend their standard of living. Instead of giving leadership to this militancy, in a fight for political independence from the two capitalist parties, RU once again follows the labor bureaucrats in tying the workers to the two parties by creating the illusion that they will grant reforms. The unemployed workers will find no solution in pressure campaigns.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon Defies Congress

(Continued From Page 1)

either during their tenure in government or at a later date."

The responsibility for mobilizing the trade unions, whose millions of members have consistently demonstrated their determination to defend their standard of living, rests with its leadership. However, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which must shoulder the blame for the fact that Nixon is in office today, has done everything possible to compromise with Nixon.

As if Nixon could be compromised with when the existence of his class is threatened. If European capitalists could win no concessions from Nixon during the talks on the money crisis, what must American workers expect?

The vicious policies that Nixon is planning for the working class were expressed in his bloodcurdling call for the re-establishment of the death penalty, in which he declared:

"There are those who say that law and order are just code words for repression and bigotry. That is dangerous nonsense. Law and order are code words for goodness and decency in America."

As every teacher in Philadelphia knows, law and order were the code words used by Mayor Rizzo to break picket lines and throw strikers into jail.

The turn toward dictatorship by the government is an expression of the extreme weakness of the ruling class. Nixon realizes that the working class will resist his attacks on their rights, and that the government cannot defeat it with democratic methods.

In an article published Saturday, William Buckley rhetorically posed the question: "What are the mechanics...to intimidate several hundred thousand resolute mutineers?" The traditional method, he answered, "happens to be fascism."

It is one thing for Nixon and Buckley to recognize that dictatorship is required to crush the working class. It is quite another thing for such a policy to be carried out.

But the danger posed to millions of workers by Phase Three—whose guidelines and budget cuts can be enforced only through an all-out assault on the working class—must be met with a program that rallies millions of trade unionists against the government is a political struggle.

The Meanys and the Woodcocks refuse to challenge the guidelines because they know that such a challenge would be a confrontation with the government.

But compromise with Nixon will lead nowhere. He has laid his position on the line. The task before the working class today is the defeat of Phase Three through general strike.

However, winning mass support for this program within the working class requires the construction of a Marxist leadership in all the trade unions fighting for the calling of a Congress of Labor that will prepare general strike action and construct a labor party that will fight for the establishment of a labor government pledged to socialist policies.

Building the Bulletin

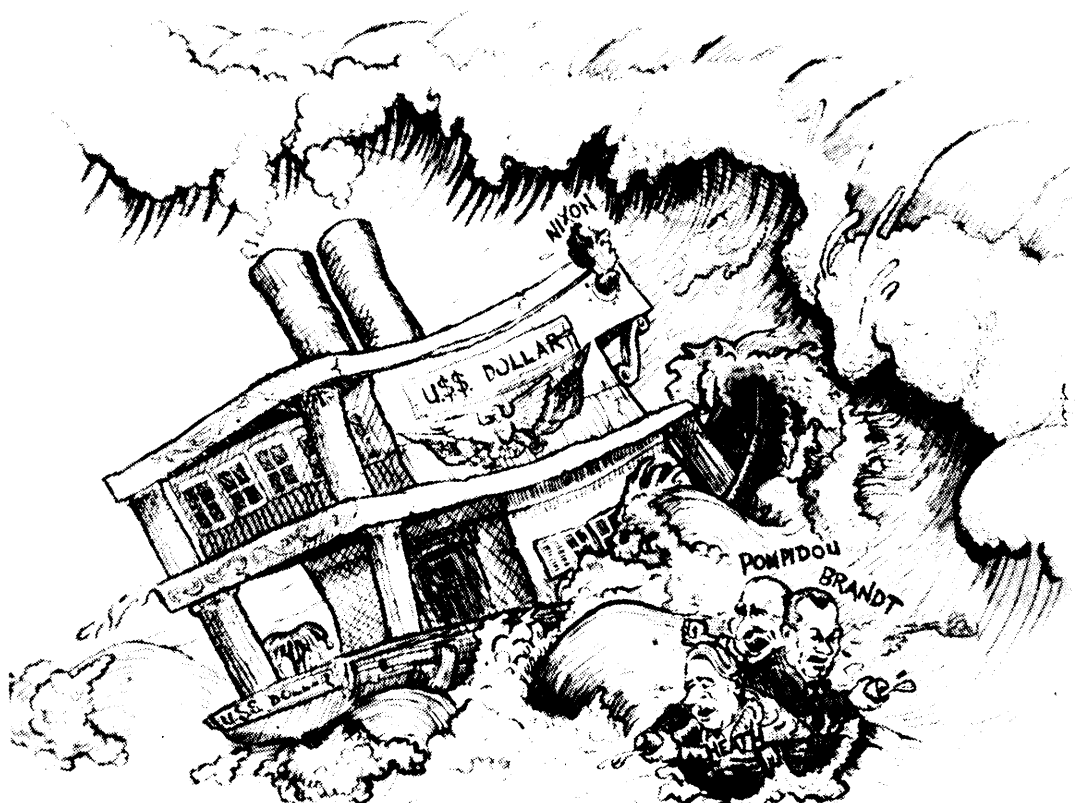


Sub Drive Spurts Ahead

The Spring Bulletin Circulation Drive took a spurt ahead this week with 492 subs, bringing our total to 3341 on a goal of 12,000. If we maintain this level we can achieve our goal of 5000 by the one-third mark of April 1.

Washington led the way with 47 while Baltimore was barely behind them with 43. Brownsville, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Northfield, Bronx and Detroit all did well, getting 20 subs.

This pace must now be sustained and surpassed as we enter better weather. Full day mobilizations must take place in those branches which have not done so yet. With the aid of our four trailblazing teams and continued improvement in street sales we can reach our goal of 25,000 paid circulation by June 1, laying a basis for the twice weekly Bulletin this Fall.



WE'LL JUST HAVE TO FLOAT BY OURSELVES!!

What we think

Marx On The Monetary Crisis

Just five weeks have passed since The Militant published an article by Ernest Mandel entitled "An End to the International Recession" in which the Pabloite leader pontificated: "The international capitalist recession seems to have ended. All the imperialist countries except Italy foresee accelerated growth in 1973. The three key countries of the international capitalist economy—the United States, West Germany and Japan—are experiencing a clearly ascending phase in industrial production. The time has come to sketch out a preliminary balance sheet of the 1969-72 recession..."

A great deal of water has burst through the dam since Mandel put those thoughts on paper. The dollar has been devalued, the price of gold has hit \$95 an ounce, the system of fixed exchange rates has all but collapsed as every major European currency is floating, foreign exchange markets have been shut down for the second time in less than a month and are not due to open until next week and the stock market has fallen nearly 100 points. The reserve assets of the American banking system have been dangerously depleted by the currency speculation, and the sudden rise in interest rates is placing a menacing squeeze on every section of industry.

The question immediately arises: how was it possible for Ernest Mandel, the author of two fat volumes on economics, to be so utterly wrong in his assessment of the economic trends? Why did he have such extraordinary confidence in the future of capitalism just days before the entire system was plunged into financial chaos?

The answer is that Mandel decisively broke from Marxism 20 years ago. He rejected dialectical materialism in favor of the crudest empiricism and abandoned the struggle for an understanding of capitalist society from the standpoint of contradiction. Blinded by the superficial characteristics of the post-war boom, Mandel concluded that Lenin's assessment of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism was incorrect. Through a revision of every basic tenet of Marxism, he arrived at the theory of neo-capitalism which seeks to wipe contradiction out of the capitalist system.

But the eruption of the present monetary crisis is a powerful confirmation of Marx's analysis of capitalism, for the economic up-

heavals are rooted in the contradictions of the economic system which Marx explained more than a century ago in the Grundrisse:

Turning to this volume, which marked an important stage in Marx's preparation for the writing of Das Kapital, we can begin to understand that the crisis is the most fundamental in the history of capitalism because it strikes at the jugular vein of the entire economic system: the process of exchange.

The capitalist manufactures commodities for the purpose of making a profit. The value of each commodity is based upon the amount of human labor required for its production. This is the source of the struggle that takes place in every plant every minute of the day. The ruling class makes a profit by expropriating from workers an ever increasing amount of the value their labor produces.

This value, however, must take a material form separated out of the commodity for the capitalist to realize this profit. It is only when the commodity is exchanged for money that the capitalist realizes his profit.

It is in this way that Marx explained the function of money: "The definition of the product as exchange value necessarily entails that the exchange value lead a separate existence, severed from the product. This exchange value which is severed from the commodity and is yet itself a commodity is—money."

As Marx explained, a contradiction must exist between the commodity and money because their development necessarily proceeds independently. But this independent development has assumed monumental proportions because of the strength of the working class. Unable to impose the conditions of the 1930s upon the working class by destroying the trade unions and therefore unable to raise its profits in the process of production, the bosses have allowed money—which should represent value created by labor—to grow completely apart from the productive process.

The effect of this is that money—which now consists of masses of paper dollars masquerading as value—strangles the process of exchange for the capitalist cannot accept worthless paper for the real value of labor embodied in the commodity.

It is in this contradiction that Marx explained the power which money seems to hold over the productive process itself.

"But as the exchange value grows," wrote Marx, "the power of

money grows too; that is, the exchange relationship established itself as a force externally opposed to the producers, and independent of them.

What was originally a means to the furtherance of production becomes a relation alien to the producers. The more the producers become dependent upon exchange, the more exchange seems to be independent of them; and the gap between the product as product and the product as exchange value widens."

If one examines the development of capitalism since Bretton Woods, one finds that the contradiction within this exchange relation has been carried to the most wild proportions. Through the massive inflation of paper currency used to erect mountains of credit, the commodity can find no means to realize its exchange value.

Fearful of a confrontation with the working class, the capitalist used money as a means of overcoming his inability to drive back the working class at the point of production. Inflation represented a political decision by the ruling class to avoid the battle with the working class required by the productive process itself. In this way, the contradiction between money and real value has reached its limits and threatens to destroy the capitalist system.

Marx explained that "as soon as money becomes an external thing alongside commodities, the exchangeability of commodities for money is immediately attached to external conditions which may or may not occur; it is the victim of external conditions." Marx clearly stated that this "violent contradiction" raised "the possibility of trade crises."

In explaining this contradiction in the process of exchange, Marx outlined the anatomy of today's developments. As the capitalists dump billions of dollars and begin the rush into gold, they are expressing their panic at the fact that money in the form of inflated paper currency is antagonistic to exchange value. Because exchange value can no longer be realized, the capitalists are forced to cease the production of commodities entirely.

Thus, the very contradictions that Mandel and all the revisionists sought to ignore now emerge to threaten the working class with mass unemployment, starvation, and fascism.

It is only through the fight for the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class, based upon an understanding of contradiction, that the anarchy of capitalism can be abolished.

RENEGADES IN ACTION— THE IMG

PART ONE

The following is a series by Jack Gale reprinted from the Workers Press on the British section of the revisionist United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the International Marxist Group.

In 1963, the Socialist Workers Party in the United States reunified with the Pabloites in the United Secretariat. They refused to discuss the split with Pablo's forces in 1953 and the principled differences at the root of this split. Today the Pabloites approach their World Congress in a tremendous crisis. This series examines this crisis and its source.

The disintegration of revisionism

The crisis of the Unified Secretariat today reflects the break-up of middle-class revisionism throughout the world, as the working class moves into action.

Their hey-day was the era of liberal-protest, 'confrontation' and student demonstrations which preceded the big class battles now under way.

The Socialist Workers Party (which, for legal reasons, cannot be an actual member of the Unified Secretariat) wishes to abandon working-class struggle altogether. It seeks middle-class respectability, concentrating on electoral campaigns and presenting a 'reasonable' image. That is why its leadership sent a message of condolence to President Kennedy's wife when he was assassinated in 1963. In a word, it is 'opportunist'.

Their opponents in the Unified Secretariat have swung the other way—to guerrillaism and adventurism.

These two 'opposites' i.e. opportunism and adventurism are connected. They both reject the building of a principled revolutionary party based on the working class as the social force for historical change.

This conflict reaches its highest point in Britain because the International Marxist Group is a completely artificial creation of both factions. Money has been poured into Britain, particularly from the United States, in order to fight the Socialist Labour League.

All kinds of publicity seekers and adventurers—like Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn—were pulled in with no regard as to whether they agreed or not with principled political questions.

Alliances were forged with Stalinists, state-capitalists and any political organization which would agree to denounce and smear the Socialist Labour League. Deliberate provocations were staged—like the so-called 'Tate Affair'—to which the revisionists constantly refer.

For example, in their 'Unified Secretariat' statement of October 29 'Healyites Smear Bala Tampoe' they say: 'The smearing of Bala Tampoe, a leading Ceylonese Trotskyist, in this way is on a par with the beating that stewards of the SLL inflicted on Ernest Tate, a leading British Trotsky-

ist, while Healy looked on.'

This refers to an incident in November, 1966.

Everyone who was present on that occasion knows that Tate deliberately set out to provoke a steward and that the steward was absolutely wrong to fall for his provocation. The SLL leadership was not involved, except when they intervened to stop the incident. The purpose of this deliberately-staged provocation was to label the SLL as 'violent'—in order to appeal to the anti-communism of the liberals, reformists and anarchists.

The Socialist Labour League had no choice but to take legal action to force a complete withdrawal of the lying allegations being spread by our opponents in order that in no future court case initiated by the capitalist class could the state quote the Tate 'incident' as a precedent against us.

The revisionists drag out this slanderous falsehood today in order to divert the attention from their own crisis. The Unified Secretariat is being blown apart as the working class moves decisively onto the stage of history.

Hardly had the dust settled on the cover-up job done on behalf of the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) (LSSP(R)) following the 1969 report of the Unified Secretariat's Ceylonese Commission, than yet another crisis blew up in the faces of Mandel, Maitan, Frank and Hansen.

The November, 1971, Unified Secretariat meeting was forced to appoint a 'Fact-Finding' commission to investigate the situation in the International Marxist Group (IMG), their British section.

Of all the revisionist organizations, none is more fond of denouncing the Socialist Labour League as 'degenerate', 'dictatorial', 'undemocratic', etc, etc, than the IMG.

Now we can expose exactly how 'democratic' these self-appointed defenders of revolutionary morality actually are. The Report of their own International Commission reveals that the IMG leaders had:

(1) Censured a member of their Socialist Workers Party minority tendency and circulated this censure to the entire



Pat Jordan's "rent-a-demonstration service"

membership without (a) ever presenting charges to him, (b) even informing him that the matter was to be discussed by their National Committee or (c) giving him any opportunity to state his side of the case.

The member concerned learned of his censure two weeks after the event when he read it in the nationally-circulated IMG 'Letter to the Membership'. (Pages v and vi.)

(2) Behaved in relation to the ownership and control of the journal 'Socialist Woman' in a way that could 'only lead to a public scandal highly detrimental to the interests of the IMG'. (Page vi.)

(3) Attempted to force a group of members of the minority tendency in Nottingham to sign a public statement which they claimed contained a lie. (Page vi.)

(4) Created a 'provocative climate' in the Scottish branches and carried out suspensions and expulsions which were 'in all cases tainted . . . by the generally provocative climate'. (Page vii.)

(5) Imposed from outside supporters of the leadership on branches which had sympathies with the minority. (Page vii.)

(6) Bureaucratically excluded minority supporters from regional and national bodies. (Page vi.)

Some of the finer details of the climate within IMG, which are referred to several times in their document, include:

(1) After drinking in a pub, a group of majority supporters in Glasgow—which included four IMG National Committee members—demanded admittance to a party being held by

other IMG members. When they were turned away, one NC member threw a beer bottle through a glass panel in the door. (Page 2.)

(2) In Edinburgh, supporters of the IMG leadership held darts matches where the central target was a picture of Joseph Hansen. (Page 2.)

(3) A 'committee' of supporters of the leadership visited the home of a member of the minority tendency in London and sought to intimidate him into not selling 'Intercontinental Press' at IMG-sponsored meetings. He was told that any protest would be useless as it would only be verbal testimony. (Page 2.)

(4) Leading IMG members denounced other leading IMG members as 'male chauvinists' at an IMG public meeting the subject of which was 'The Nature of the Soviet Union'. Non-members present, the report tells us, were 'bewildered'. (Page 4.)

In addition to the main report of the 'Fact-finding' Commission are separate statements by its individual members. This was necessary because, like its predecessor on Ceylon, the commission was split.

We refer to these statements, for obvious reasons, as A, B, C, and D.

Irrevocable split:

It is clear from the first paragraph of Statement A that IMG is irrevocably split. The paragraph reads: 'I signed the final report of the Fact-Finding Commission because on the level of the facts presented I am in agreement with the document as a whole. This does

not mean that the document will help resolve the internal problems of the IMG.' (Page 1.)

This statement declares that 'provocative actions or actions without political justification were taken against the minority,' but makes it clear that this reflects an international split within the Unified Secretariat, involving also the American Socialist Workers' Party (Page 1.)

Statement A blames 'the irresponsible attitude of the leadership of the SWP and the LSO/LSA' for exacerbating the crisis in the IMG and calls on the SWP to 'cease all criticism of the IMG' saying that the American leaders had criticized the IMG leadership to IMG members behind its backs.

The statement also calls on the IMG leadership to 'stop the polemic' with the Socialist Workers' Party. (Page 1.)

Statement B said the leadership of IMG was 'a mixture of irresponsibility, incompetence and just plain bureaucratic arrogance'. It went on to claim that 'moral authority and mutual confidence . . . (do) not exist in IMG. The moral authority of the leadership is seriously compromised . . . it simply does not exist.' (Page 2.) This refers, of course, to people such as Pat Jordan and Tariq Ali.

Statement C says that the central leadership 'initiated organizational chaos' in Scotland and goes on: 'There is ample justification, in my opinion, for anyone with minority views in Glasgow believing that the leadership created . . . "mistakes" for narrow factional ends to obscure serious political

differences.' (Page 3.)

The author of Statement D, however, is on the other side. He claims that the minority were just as provocative as the majority and therefore equally to blame for the catastrophic state of affairs within the organization. Although forced to agree with the conclusions of the Commission in relation to the IMG leadership, statement D claims it is 'one-sided'.

This statement clearly recognizes that the IMG split mirrors, an implicit split within the United Secretariat as a whole: 'There are links between the tendency [the minority within the IMG] and the minority within the Fourth International'. (i.e. the Unified Secretariat—this minority is supported by the SWP). (Pages 3 and 4.)

This is clearly true, as the Fact-Finding Commission was told by the former secretary of the SWP that 'the IMG leadership has declared war on us' while Joseph Hansen, in International Information Bulletin Number 3 (April 1971), had written that some IMG leaders felt happiest 'in a red T-shirt adorned with their totem'.

But, if the IMG conflict reflects a Unified Secretariat conflict, what conclusion must be drawn when the IMG split proves to be irrevocable?

And this the Unified Secretariat's Commission clearly considered it to be. In addition to Statement A saying that the Report couldn't help the IMG, Statement D says: 'There are political differences on almost all internal political points, and Comrade A from the Glasgow tendency . . . told us there are even more political differences than have been seen up to now. (Page 3.)

'It appeared to us [the Commission] that almost the only agreement between both sides rests in being members of the Fourth International and therefore being members of the British section of the world organization.'

In fact everyone knows the IMG represents no-one. The only Trotskyist section in Britain is the Socialist Labour League.

Statement D goes on to claim that in the IMG, the Unified Secretariat: 'do not face a tendency of a traditional nature inside one of our organizations, we face the roots of two organizations, both linked to currents inside the Fourth International.' (Page 3.)

This is an open admittance of a state of political civil war within the revisionist international.

An unprincipled cover-up
How do Mandel, Maitan, Frank and Hansen deal with the virtual civil war within the Unified Secretariat? By conducting an honest political discussion in which tendencies come out into the open? That would be the method of Bolshevism even if the result were to be a split.

But it is not the method of the revisionist gentlemen. On the contrary, they seek to do a little organizational 'clean-up' job while studiously avoiding all the political questions.

The 'Fact-Finding Commission' into the International Marxist Group (IMG) in Britain was specifically instructed in November 1971 to find the 'facts' and ignore the politics. As if, for a Marxist, 'facts' could exist as things in themselves, apart from their political setting.

Yet the Commission members say: 'We were asked very explicitly not to enter into the political differences between

the IMG majority and the tendency [minority] and we did not do so.' (Page 3.)'

The reason for this is obvious. To deal with the politics would have split not only the IMG, but the Unified Secretariat as well. As it was, two separate statements were issued by members of the Secretariat following the Commission's report. One—signed by eight members of the Secretariat (including Mandel, Frank, and Maitan)—defends the IMG leadership. (Page 7.)

It declares:
 '2 Most of the considerations included in the Fact-Finding Commission's report start from the assumption that the main responsibility for upholding the principles of democratic centralism inside a Leninist organization lies with the leadership. There can be no dispute about this. But it cannot be applied in a mechanical way, without taking into consideration concrete circumstances.'

To put the blame for all the organizational incidents on the majority in a one-sided manner, judging not on the basis of a concrete examination of the mechanics and background of each incident, but rather on the basis of the general abstract rule that on principle the main responsibility lies with the majority, does not permit an understanding of the real internal process inside the IMG.

There is no doubt that the IMG leadership has made many mistakes in regard to the minority and that most of the sanctions taken are indefensible. But there is also no doubt that minority comrades have behaved in a provocative way in several instances.

When the leadership of the minority states that it would not recognize suspensions decided by the majority, such a statement clearly challenges the right of the leadership to lead the organization. When a leader of the minority takes the initiative of setting up a political book service without the previous agreement of the party leadership, this again indicates a very clear attitude towards this leadership.

Under these circumstances the question whether the formal rules were or were not broken can at the very least not be the only one posed. One can easily acknowledge that the minority has operated more capably within these rules. Whether they respected the general principle of majority rule and abstained from any provocation towards a young and still partially immature leadership—that is an entirely different matter.

Minority alleges 'bureaucratic arrogance'

But five members of the Secretariat would not go along with this. And they would certainly have the support of Hansen. In a separate statement they declare: (Pages 8-9.)

'Our statement is intended merely to indicate where we disagree with the criticisms levelled against the report of the Fact-Finding Commission by Walter, Pierre, Livio, Petersen, Kurt, Delfin, Pia and Ghulam.'

One side consisted of a minority seeking through political argument to gain a majority to its views. The other side consisted of a majority that represented more than a grouping inside the IMG; it held responsibility for leadership in the organization as a whole, and in this position it held the power to impose organizational measures besides arguing for its group



Direct SWP intervention in the IMG came through Alan Harris and his concern, Leader Books. Jordan instructed Harris to



Harris to merge his concern with the IMG "Red Books" store on Pentonville Road.

views.

As the leadership of the IMG, the majority held a special responsibility to safeguard the democratic rights of the minority. The majority leadership did not safeguard the democratic rights of the minority. It imposed organizational measures. Moreover, these measures constituted gross violations of the norms of democratic centralism.

The Fact-Finding Commission cited three flagrant instances, and presented major pieces of evidence concerning them. The Commission thus came to its conclusions not because of a 'general abstract rule that on principle the main responsibility lies with the majority'. It based its conclusions on a series of specific instances all involving concrete violations of the norms of democratic centralism which the majority was duty bound to uphold.

3. In their statement, Walter, Pierre, Livio, Petersen, Kurt, Delfin, Pia and Ghulam seek to excuse the abuses committed by the majority leadership of the IMG on the grounds that the IMG is 'a very young organization', that it has a 'young and still partially immature leadership', and that an 'important part of the leadership has been in the organization only a short time'.

The truth is that an important part of the IMG majority leadership is well seasoned; it has been in the Trotskyist movement for a long time. This sector failed to oppose the violations of the norms of democratic centralism. In fact the evidence gathered by the Commission shows that this sector was chiefly responsible for initiating the measures that were in violation of the norms of democratic centralism.

4. The main criticism levelled by Walter, Pierre, Livio, Petersen, Kurt, Delfin, Pia and Ghulam is that although two members expressed views on the question, the Fact-Finding Commission as a whole did not investigate or indicate the political background to the 'sanctions' taken against the minority. However, such matters were beyond the scope of inquiry set for the Commission, as indicated above.

A much more important area of inquiry—if the Commission's work were to have been expanded—would have been determination of the character of the organizational measures employed against the minority and the meaning of this for the Fourth International.

On the face of it, it is absolutely clear that the actions taken against the minority were alien to the norms and traditions of the Trotskyist movement. In what category, then, do they fall?

One of the members of the Commission, Comrade Diego, who has had some 40 years' experience in the Trotskyist movement, put it down as 'a mixture of irresponsibility, incompetence and just plain bureaucratic arrogance'. In the procedures followed in the Scottish cases, he was struck by their resemblance to 'the kind of small-time bureaucratic fakery well-known in the labour movement the world over'.

Indeed, to what school belong such practices as demanding that comrades sign a public statement containing what they consider to be falsehoods, as entrapping members of a minority (Scottish cases), as removing the leadership of a branch solely because it was won over to a minority position, as censoring members for the way they voted at a National IMG Conference,

as censoring members without filing charges against them or giving them a hearing, as engaging in acts of physical provocation?

We do not believe that the leaders of the IMG majority consciously borrowed from the school of Stalinism. We think that they did not grasp the meaning of what they were doing. Nevertheless a most disturbing question remains: How is it to be explained that the majority leadership in a Trotskyist organization fell into such a pattern?

And how could Walter, Pierre, Livio, Petersen, Kurt, Delfin, Pia, and Ghulam reach a position of trying to rationalize mistakes of such magnitude on grounds of the inexperience, immaturity, and lack of capacity of the majority leadership, and—still worse—on grounds that 'minority comrades have behaved in a provocative way in several instances'? Are the victims to be blamed for violations of their rights because they 'provoked' the authorities?

Yes, some very big questions are raised by a careful reading of the evidence assembled by the Fact-Finding Commission. However, they are not of the nature suggested by the statement of Walter, Pierre, Livio, Petersen, Kurt, Delfin, Pia and Ghulam.

The Secretariat unmasked.

What we have here is not only a split between totally irreconcilable positions within the IMG—but an 8-5 split in the Secretariat itself.

But what do these highly-principled gentlemen do about it? They seek to gloss it over. As in Ceylon, unpleasant facts are swept under the carpet, political principles ignored and all hands turned to the well-known routine—finding an organizational formula which will allow everything to proceed as before.

Accordingly, the Unified Secretariat combined to send a unanimous letter to the IMG which totally ignored the political questions and principles involved. After exposing a mess of right-wing political developments inside their section—which was dealt with not politically but by manoeuvre and evasion—the revisionist leaders simply appeal to all concerned to work together and avoid political conflict. (Page 4.)

We publish this letter. Rarely can such an unprincipled document have been issued by an international leadership claiming to be Trotskyist to one of its sections:

To the International Marxist Group.

Dear Comrades,

While we have differing evaluations on the attribution of responsibility reached by the Fact-Finding Commission (see our separate statements attached to the report p.7), we unanimously urge you to implement the following recommendations:

1) that all the charges laid and disciplinary actions taken against tendency comrades, including suspensions and censures, be rescinded. This includes, among others, the censure of Comrade A.H., the charges and actions taken against Comrade A., and the charges and actions taken against the Nottingham minority women comrades.

2) That the IMG leadership make every effort to aid the integration of tendency members into meaningful political activity—especially defence work, the expansion of British circulation of 'Intercontinental Press', and the abortion-

contraception campaign—where their specific opinion cannot come into conflict with efficient and enthusiastic engagement. This would help assure a fraternal atmosphere inside the organization in which all minority political contributions are treated as the completely normal exercise of membership rights under the norms of democratic centralism.

3) That the majority assure the tendency that the rules on recruitment of new members be uniformly applied and that the basic organizational units of the IMG be composed in such a way as not to isolate minority comrades within the organization.

4) That within this framework of democratic rights, the IMG minority sincerely respects and applies party discipline and recognizes the right of elected leadership to lead the organization in day-to-day activity, and that it participates in public IMG activities even though there are many with which it disagrees.

The implementation of these recommendations is in the interest of the development of democracy and political clarity and is in the interest of both the IMG as a whole and the Fourth International.

We urge the leaders of the world movement to collaborate in this effort.

The Unified Secretariat
April 16, 1972

The Socialist Workers' Party of the United States has been moving rapidly to the right since it refused to carry out a principled discussion with the Socialist Labour League, particularly in the years 1960-1963.

Following this, in 1963, it declared its political solidarity with the Pabloite Unified Secretariat (for legal reasons it could not become an actual member) with absolutely no discussion of the political basis of such a reunification.

The SWP leadership prostrated itself before Castroism and—abandoning the basic Trotskyist thesis of the need for a revolutionary party—turned its attention to middle-class liberals such as C. Wright Mills in the 'Fair Play for Cuba' organization.

So anxious were the SWP leaders to establish their respectability in such circles that when President Kennedy was assassinated, they rushed to send a telegram of condolence to the widow of the man who had deliberately and cold-bloodedly murdered hundreds of thousands of people in Vietnam, and who had sought unsuccessfully to overthrow the Cuban revolution.

Today the SWP pays lip-service to the creation of an American Labour Party, but in practice holds back this development. During the recent election campaign it called for a separate 'Black' Party.

The reason for this is that the development towards revolutionary consciousness in the American working class undermines the SWP's middle-class, revisionist road.

This is also the basis of the hostility of Hansen and company towards the Socialist Labour League. It was to fight the SLL that the International Marxist Group was formed in Britain, almost entirely as an external exercise by the Unified Secretariat and the SWP.

It has been, from the beginning, an adventurist, publicity-seeking group. Its national

differences.' (Page 3.)

The author of Statement D, however, is on the other side. He claims that the minority were just as provocative as the majority and therefore equally to blame for the catastrophic state of affairs within the organization. Although forced to agree with the conclusions of the Commission in relation to the IMG leadership, statement D claims it is 'one-sided'. This statement clearly recognizes that the IMG split mirrors, an implicit split within the United Secretariat as a whole: 'There are links between the tendency [the minority within the IMG] and the minority within the Fourth International' (i.e. the Unified Secretariat—this minority is supported by the SWP). (Pages 3 and 4.)

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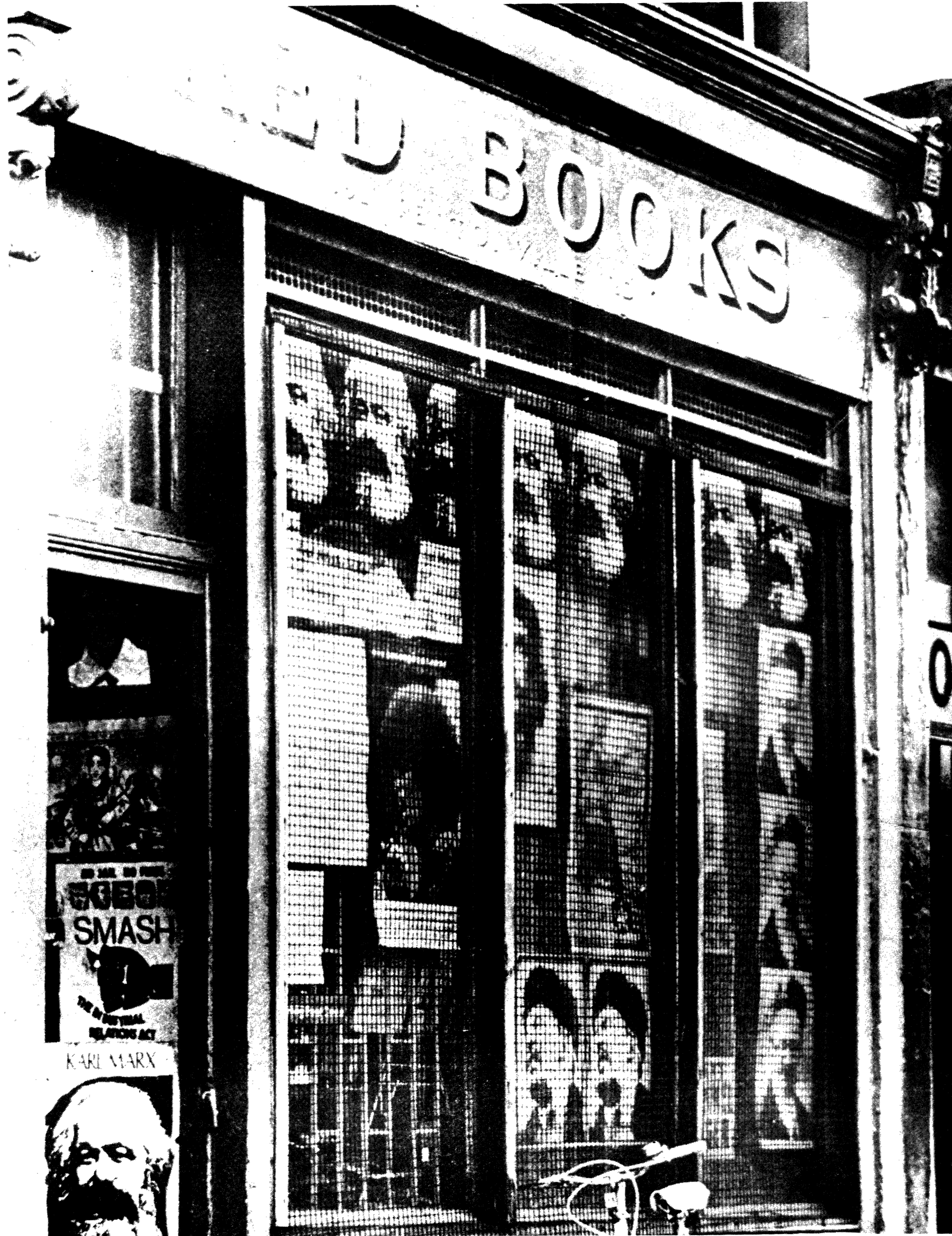
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We publish this letter. Rarely can such an unprincipled document have been issued by an international leadership claiming to be Trotskyist to one of its sections: **To the International Marxist Group.**

Dear Comrades, While we have differing evaluations on the attribution of responsibility reached by the Fact-Finding Commission (see our separate statements attached to the report p.7), we unanimously urge you to implement the following recommendations:

1) that all the charges laid and disciplinary actions taken against tendency comrades, including suspensions and censures, be rescinded. This includes, among others, the censure of Comrade A.H., the charges and actions taken against Comrade A., and the charges and actions taken against the Nottingham minority women comrades.

2) That the IMG leadership make every effort to aid the integration of tendency members into meaningful political activity—especially defence work—the expansion of British circulation of 'Intercontinental Press', and the abortion-

contraception campaign—where their specific opinion cannot come into conflict with efficient and enthusiastic engagement. This would help assure a fraternal atmosphere inside the organization in which all minority political contributions are treated as the completely normal exercise of membership rights under the norms of democratic centralism.

3) That the majority assure the tendency that the rules on recruitment of new members be uniformly applied and that the basic organizational units of the IMG be composed in such a way as not to isolate minority comrades within the organization.

4) That within this framework of democratic rights, the IMG minority sincerely respects and applies party discipline and recognizes the right of elected leadership to lead the organization in day-to-day activity, and that it participates in public IMG activities even though there are many with which it disagrees.

The implementation of these recommendations is in the interest of the development of democracy and political clarity and is in the interest of both the IMG as a whole and the Fourth International.

We urge the leaders of the world movement to collaborate in this effort.

The Unified Secretariat
April 16, 1972

The Socialist Workers' Party of the United States has been moving rapidly to the right since it refused to carry out a principled discussion with the Socialist Labour League, particularly in the years 1960-1963.

Following this, in 1963, it declared its political solidarity with the Fabioite Unified Secretariat (for legal reasons it could not become an actual member) with absolutely no discussion of the political basis of such a reunification.

The SWP leadership prostrated itself before Castroism and—abandoning the basic Trotskyist thesis of the need for a revolutionary party—turned its attention to middle-class liberals such as C. Wright Mills in the 'Fair Play for Cuba' organization.

So anxious were the SWP leaders to establish their respectability in such circles that when President Kennedy was assassinated, they rushed to send a telegram of condolence to the widow of the man who had deliberately and cold-bloodedly murdered hundreds of thousands of people in Vietnam, and who had sought unsuccessfully to overthrow the Cuban revolution.

Today the SWP pays lip-service to the creation of an American Labour Party, but in practice holds back this development. During the recent election campaign it called for a separate 'Black' Party.

The reason for this is that the development towards revolutionary consciousness in the American working class undermines the SWP's middle-class, revisionist road.

This is also the basis of the hostility of Hansen and company towards the Socialist Labour League. It was to fight the SLL that the International Marxist Group was formed in Britain, almost entirely as an external exercise by the Unified Secretariat and the SWP.

It has been, from the beginning, an adventurist, publicity-seeking group. Its national

secretary, Pat Jordan, achieved temporary notoriety during the time of the 1968 Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (now long dead and buried) by giving wildly irresponsible interviews about 'instant demonstrations'.

One of its leading members—Tariq Ali—became a standing joke because of his love of television cameras. People were recruited with no regard to fundamental questions. Robin Blackburn, for example, argued in 'Red Mole' that there was no difference between a Labour government and a Conservative government.

The excesses of this type of leadership alarmed the SWP leaders. There is now conclusive evidence that the SWP intervened directly in the IMG's internal affairs. This was done by building up a faction, led by people who were virtually SWP agents and who were provided with resources by them.

This has caused a total breach of all fraternal relations between the leaderships of the IMG and SWP. The main storm-centre has been a man called Alan Harris and the American book service—Pathfinder Press.

The row broke into the open when, following a meeting of its National Committee in July, 1970, the IMG sent the following letter to the SWP:

The Political Bureau
Socialist Workers Party
NY

Dear Comrades,

The following resolution was passed at the last meeting of the National Committee of the IMG (held over the weekend of July 25/26 1970):

The National Committee censures Comrade Alan Harris for his unilateral action re Leader Books and requests the Unified Secretariat to investigate the matter immediately because it will otherwise result in a serious deterioration of relations between two sections of the International. The NC empowers the Secretariat (IMG Secretariat) to carry out an amalgamation of Leader Books and Red Books under the control of the IMG.

N.B. Bearing in mind the legal position of the SWP it should be pointed out that this resolution in no way implies that the SWP is affiliated to the Fourth International.

We must explain that this resolution was passed after the committee had received a report of the informal discussions on Leader Books between Joe Hansen and comrades Ali and Jordan.

We cannot accept that there is any problem in 'explaining to Pathfinder Books' that Red Books would be taking over distribution of its publications from Alan Harris. This being the case we are confronted with a position where the SWP refuses to supply publications to the official bookshop of the British Section, but instead insists on supplying them direct to a member of the minority tendency of the IMG.

We would ask you to consider a hypothetical case: Suppose that the IMG, as publishers of a large number of books by Trotsky, etc., refused to supply them to the SWP but insisted that these be distributed in the United States via a minority tendency (which for instance might take the position that the YSA should advance the slogan 'Victory to the NLF' on mass demonstrations).

We think that in a case like this that you could be understood if you thought that the IMG was trying to support a minority—politically

and with resources—of the SWP. We think that you could be understood if you considered this to be a gross violation of the democratic centralist norms and an attempt to get round the democratic procedures and processes of the SWP.

We do not accept the argument that a book distribution centre (we do not want to get into semantic arguments about bookshops and import-export agencies) is not a political centre. Selling books, having an address list and a manned office amounts to having a political centre. This has always been recognized as such by the movement. This is why the IMG national committee resolved—just prior to its National Conference—that its bookshop would be completely under democratic centralist norms (it should be added that this position was approved by the conference).

We ask you to fully cooperate with us in implementing the above resolution. We want to avoid confusing political issues with an organizational wrangle and would ask you to help us to remove this organizational difficulty. We would point out that such affairs as the creation of Leader Books is in complete violation of the decision of the National Committee of the IMG and makes more difficult an objective political discussion. We hope that no one thinks that the minority tendency of the IMG will be strengthened by such actions. Quite the reverse: this tendency will become even more isolated the more it appears to be trying to circumvent the democratic norms of the IMG.

We should point out that this tendency is widely considered to be in solidarity with the SWP's criticisms of the majority position in the International. We would recall to your attention that this tendency first manifested itself when its leader, Comrade Susan Williams, appealed to the British delegation at the last world congress to be seated for the discussion on China in order to cast her vote against the majority. Furthermore it is well known that: (a) about half the members of the tendency are ex-members of a section which supports the minority position in the International; (b) that leading comrades sent from North America to participate in the work of the International played the leading part in founding the tendency; and (c) that Alan Harris is a member of the Unified Secretariat designated by the previously mentioned section. Taking into account all these circumstances we think it would be in the best interests of a clear political discussion to avoid any action which could be construed as using organizational means to support a political minority.

We should add that we are going to pursue this matter in the Unified Secretariat because relationships between Trotskyists in different countries is involved.

We would ask for the earliest possible reply to the questions we have raised in this letter. We are going ahead with plans for the amalgamation of Red Books and Leader Books under the political control of the IMG. An early reply from you could help clarify things but we will be obliged to operate our democratically-decided decisions as soon as possible. We cannot procrastinate because of the serious state of affairs (our political opponents are well aware that Leader Books operates independently from our organization).

We intend to pursue this



Pat Jordan as photographed by the British capitalist press

matter in an extremely serious manner: The British Trotskyist movement has suffered in the past from lack of understanding of the meaning of democratic centralism as applied to the task of building a mass section of an international revolutionary party. We would be failing in our duty of helping to construct a mass section of the FI in Britain if we did not take im-

mediate and decisive steps to nip this situation in the bud.

We ask you to give us an undertaking that you will supply our bookshop with your publications without insisting that we purchase them from a concern which has been set up in violation of our democratically decided decision.

Revolutionary greetings,
Pat Jordan

¹ All page references throughout these articles are to the 'Report of the Fact-Finding Commission of the Unified Secretariat on the Internal Situation within the International Marxist Group', dated March 12, 1972.

² A Canadian 'Trotskyist' tendency which supports the SWP/Unified Secretariat.

Continued Next Week



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Books

Steve Lewis

The Defense Of October



Trotsky addresses a crowd in Moscow

YEAR ONE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Victor Serge.

The first year of the socialist revolution in Russia can be called the year of October. This year, beginning with the October Revolution in which the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky led the working masses to power, was the first year of workers power, consolidated through a tense struggle with internal enemies—monarchists, capitalists, and pseudo-socialists—and with external enemies of Russia's workers—the German and allied capitalists who intervened to destroy the Soviet Republic.

The working class and poor peasantry carried these struggles through heroically against White terror, tremendous famine, and foreign intervention. The proletariat won its first victories with a Bolshevik leadership.

INTENTIONS

Victor Serge's 43 year old book, just translated into English, recaptures this year. Serge's intentions are made clear in the beginning:

"My chief aim has been to display, for the benefit of the proletarian classes, those lessons which can be drawn from one of the greatest and decisive epochs of class struggle in modern history: with this in mind, I could express no other point of view but that held by the proletarian revolutionaries."

Serge was a French anarcho-syndicalist who became a Bolshevik after the successful workers' revolution in Russia. Coming to Russia in 1919, he took part in the civil war to defend the Soviet republic. This defense was extended when Serge later joined Trotsky and the opposition in 1923 to fight against the Stalinist clique whose policies threatened all the gains of the October Revolution.

Though Serge later deserted the banner of Trotskyism during the difficult foundation years of the Fourth International, he spent many years of dedicated struggle against Stalinism, and it was in the course of this struggle that he wrote this book. It was repressed by Stalin. Victor Serge spent years in exile for this "crime."

PARTY

Very much at the center of Serge's vivid narrative is the role of the Leninist party. This party was a burning necessity,

without which the revolution would not have been possible.

"The rebel masses of Russia rose to a clear consciousness of their necessary tasks, of their means and the objectives, through the organ of the Bolshevik party ... It is the Bolsheviks who, owing to their accurate theoretical appraisal of the dynamism of events, became identified both with the laboring masses and with the necessity of history. 'The Communists have no other interests distinct from those of the working class as a whole,' said the Manifesto of Marx and Engels. This sentence, written in 1847, now appears to us as one of fantastic foresight."

On October 25, 1917, the Bolsheviks took the Winter Palace, the last stronghold of the bourgeois Provisional Government in Petrograd. The Congress of Soviets—to which the proletariat had elected a majority of Bolsheviks—met at that very moment, announcing the seizure of power. Lenin came to the rostrum early in the morning. Serge writes:

"His appearance set off an immense acclamation from the whole hall. He waited for it to end, looking out calmly over the triumphant crowd. Then quite simply, without any gesture, his two hands resting on the stand, his broad shoulders leaning forward slightly, he said: 'We will proceed to construct the Socialist order.'"

COUNTERREVOLUTION

Now that the ruling class and its "socialist" friends had been thrown out of power, the counterrevolution began to organize resistance which would have to be decisively broken for the defense of the proletarian revolution. These White Russians sabotaged industrial production and food production in an attempt to deliberately intensify an already devastating famine. Monarchists were assembling armies.

One of the first acts of defense of the Soviet regime was a demand for a democratic peace, with which they could rally the international working class to their defense and expose the world bourgeoisie:

"This first symbolic act of the revolution meant that from its very first day it possessed an international character. It was a gesture of defiance to the old order; an appeal directed daringly towards the peoples, over the heads of the old society, an appeal that was bound to reach the ears of men in very distant places. Immediate peace, without annexations or indemnities! Compare this to the war aims of the two imperialist coalitions."

While the Mensheviks and the SR's were allying with reaction to restore a bourgeois dictatorship, Lenin was preparing to implement an agrarian program liberating the peasantry from the big landowners of the bourgeois and the feudal aristocracy: an agrarian program which the Socialist Revolutionary party had paid

lip service to, but had refused to implement when in power. This was a major blow to these "socialists of the counterrevolution," as Serge calls them, for it joined huge sections of the peasantry to the working class, breaking them from the petty bourgeois SR's—a prime necessity for proletarian victory.

DANGEROUS

This was only the beginning. This first year provided the most dangerous trials for the working class. A German invasion threatened, famine was deepening, and the civil war began.

The tenseness of the situation was reflected in the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations. Here the revolution confronted its most dangerous enemy—world imperialism—in an attempt to stave off an armed intervention while the German imperialists were threatening. Though revolution was threatening in Germany, which would prevent a German intervention, the Soviet government was in no way prepared for a defensive war with Germany to protect the revolution. The revolution was forced to retreat in the face of temporary German superiority. Any other policy would have sacrificed the Russian revolution while the German revolution had not yet erupted.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed literally at the point of a gun—German forces advanced into Russia until they forced the Soviets to sign the treaty. This was a tremendous burden. Because of the occupation, Soviet territory was reduced, and consequently industrial production and agriculture.

The Seventh Party Congress met in the aftermath of Brest-Litovsk, at a worsening situation for Soviet power. Soviet existence hung on a thread—every day threatened new advancements by the Germans, new attacks by the counterrevolution, and intervention by the Allies. During this period, party democracy could not have been greater. All questions were brought before the Congress and fought out to achieve Bolshevik clarity and leadership. Progress could only be made by overcoming all resistance to revolutionary policy.

One of the most important resolutions of the Congress was that of establishing the Red Army, an army which could defend the Soviet Republic—an army which was created in the middle of a civil war out of nothing. This was a question of the life or death of the revolution. This task fell to Trotsky.

While the Red Army was still experiencing its birth pains, it was confronted with its most acute crisis.

"The months of July and August 1918 were the most critical for the revolution ... The Soviet Republic, which had experienced the full force of German imperialism, now underwent the shock of Allied intervention in the very heart of the

country ... The Republic was in effect reduced to the area of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, just as in the fifteenth century."

Workers and the sons of workers streamed from factories and cities all over the country to the front lines. Defeat was turned into victory. As the Red Army grew, the Whites and the imperialists were gradually driven back.

GERMAN REVOLUTION

Lenin and Trotsky had counted heavily on the success of the German revolution as necessary for the existence of the Russian Revolution. When the German revolution, and revolutions all over Europe were defeated, the Soviet Republic remained in isolation. Socialism in Russia alone was unthinkable, even while the working class held power. Successful revolution in the advanced industrial countries was an absolute necessity. The Bolsheviks understood this from the beginning. "For the Allied powers would be attacking Bolshevism with all the more energy now that the menace of the German proletariat had appeared. The triumph of the working class in Germany would achieve the united front of the workers of Europe against the capitalists of the world. The destiny of humanity was now at stake."

In Germany, revolutionary movements were being created. German workers were in open rebellion. But the German workers lacked a revolutionary leadership. This was the reason for the defeat of the German revolution.

Serge recounts: "After this explicit abdication by the leading organizations of the working class, the sole opportunity for the revolutionary proletariat lay in an insurrectional initiative. If it had been organized and led by a Communist party, it would without doubt have been strong enough to win this crucial battle ..."

During this first year, witnessing the defeat of the German revolution, the Allied and German interventions and civil war, the Soviet Republic made gains which were essential to its survival within capitalist encirclement. The conquest of production by the working class state, the creation of a powerful Red Army determined the existence of the Soviet state after the defeat of the German revolution.

As a result, "The proletarian Republic ... is still alive. In Russia, the working class has shown itself capable of exercising power, of organizing the economy, of vanquishing its enemies within and without, and of persevering in its historic mission: all this in the most promising conditions."

Allied intervention and civil war did not stop the Russian working class. "Such are the vast designs now being hatched in the ministries of Paris and London, where the defeat of Bolshevism is taken as assured. And it is here that the statesmen make their biggest mistake, for it has still not dawned on them that a new era had begun."

ON THE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE FRENCH WORKERS MUST REJECT POPULAR FRONT

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International:

The workers of France are being called upon to vote into office a coalition of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and a wing of the Radical Party.

Through this alliance, the Stalinists and social democrats are once again working to tie the French working class to the capitalist order, at the very moment when this order requires wholesale suppression of the working class, and when the working class, through a struggle for its own political independence, has a great opportunity to go forward to the conquest of power.

International Stalinism depends upon preserving its relations with imperialism. As it showed in 1968 (both in France in May-June and in Czechoslovakia in August) it acts as the main obstacle to proletarian revolution in order to preserve these relations, which it calls 'peaceful co-existence'.

Now, when the world capitalist economy reaches the most acute crisis, and when the imperialists confront each other in hostile trading blocs, the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies, and the communist parties which follow them, are pursuing policies which are designed to guarantee a free hand to each national ruling class.

In this framework, the French Stalinists, through their 'common programme' with the Socialists and Radicals, come forward as the 'reformers' of the European Common Market, not as a working-class leadership fighting to make a breach in capitalist power and move forward to the Socialist United States of Europe.

They give assurances every day that their future coalition government would not step outside the constitution of the Fifth Republic and the bourgeois order which it defends.

While in 1968 large sections of the middle class in the towns were prepared to support the workers who showed their great strength in the General Strike and the factory occupations, today the Stalinists and social democrats deliberately handcuff the working class to the limits imposed by the most decadent representative of this worst side of this middle class, the capitalist Radical Party.

Every independent demand and action by the working class will be sabotaged and attacked on the grounds that it upsets the Radical 'allies' in the government and opens up the danger of a right-wing reaction. This is the meaning of the repeated guarantee by the (Stalinist) CGT trade federation that it will not embarrass a left coalition government and its attacks on any other unions who intend such action.

As envisaged by the Stalin-

ists and the opportunists, therefore, the left alliance is an instrument for preventing the independent mobilization of the working class on the road to power. Yet it is precisely such a mobilization that is demanded by the capitalist economic crisis and the bankruptcy of Gaullism.

It is only because the Stalinists are recognized as willing tools of the state that the social democrats temporarily drop their vicious anti-communism. To reassure their traditional supporters and their capitalist masters, they continually press their Stalinist allies for 'assurances' that they would not use their position in a coalition government to take power for themselves along the lines of the Czechoslovak 'coup' in 1948. This is the purest cynicism. Stalinism's role in 1968, in France and in Czechoslovakia, is the real 'assurance' of the role of the Stalinists in 1973.

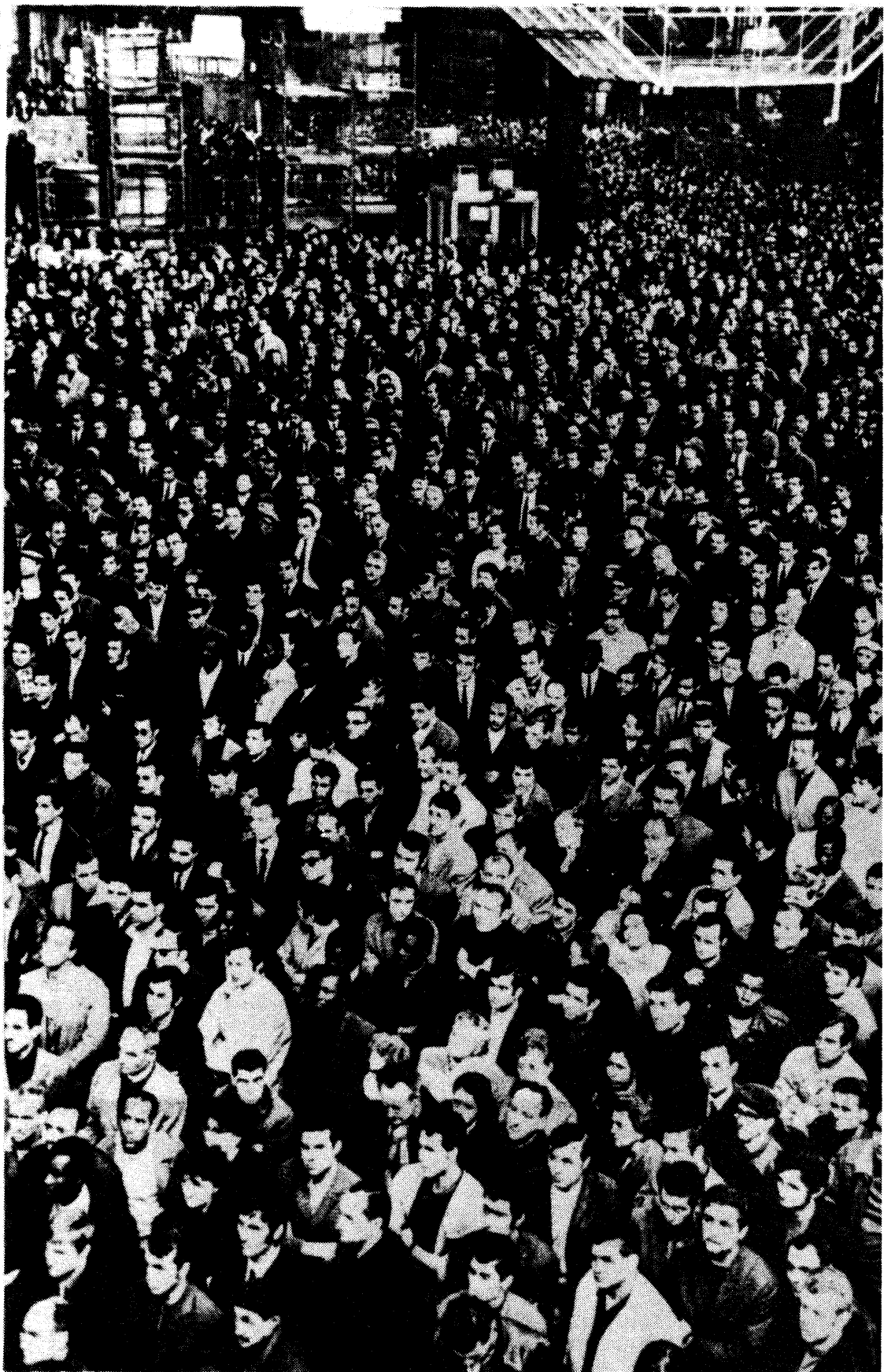
REVIVAL OF POPULAR FRONT

The keynote of all the election propaganda of the left alliance is to play down any independent demands by workers and guarantee the sanctity of private property, national independence and parliamentary democracy. Already the French ruling class, through Pompidou himself as well as others, has demonstrated that every one of these things will be turned against the working class and socialism.

Fundamental questions are involved in the Stalinists' attempt to revive the treacherous politics of the 'Popular Front'. At a time when bourgeois democracy is thoroughly corroded, its economic foundations totally undermined, where the ruling class is faced with effecting a transition from the Bonapartism of de Gaulle to a much more effective right-wing dictatorship in which 1968 could never recur, the Stalinists tie the working class to the remnants of bourgeois democracy!

At the point where the middle class faces ruin at the hands of inflation and the power of the monopolies, and reaches the bursting point of anger against the fraudulent 'democracy' which it thought guaranteed it against such ruin, the Stalinists seek its support to preserve parliamentary democracy!

In this way the 'Common Programme' prepares the disillusionment and disintegration in the middle class which is the breeding ground for fascist movements. It is upon this that Pompidou and Prime Minister Pierre Messmer are banking when they openly threaten to continue to rule despite the election of the left alliance with a majority in the March elections.



Messmer declares: 'It is inconceivable that the President of the Republic, faced with a completely hostile Assembly, should appoint a government which would pursue a policy opposed to his. He has said himself that it would be a betrayal of his mandate, as well as a surrender of his prerogative as President.'

From such statements it is perfectly clear how the working class must prepare. Pompidou, with the Radicals as the instruments of his pressure, will receive guarantees of open capitalist policies from the left coalition, or he will appoint a government of top civil servants, businessmen, police and generals.

The so-called 'parliamentary road to socialism', even with the Radicals in tow, is a deception and a lie, full of the most acute dangers for the working class, which is led up to the point of a confrontation over power without any revolutionary preparation and bound hand and foot to the radical bourgeoisie.

All the Stalinist-Socialist talk about reforms to limit the powers of the President is part of this treachery and deception. The ruling class intends to preserve and extend the inroads into democracy made in 1958 and after.

The struggle for alternative revolutionary leadership in France cannot take place in a

vacuum, isolated from these political experiences. At this stage, an electoral victory for the traditional workers' parties (Socialist and Communist Parties) could be a great gain. It would give an impetus to the independent workers' struggle and bring the class face to face with the need to remove the reformists and Stalinists, who will demonstrate in practice their subservience to capital.

Workers should vote Communist in the first ballot in every constituency, and then for either Communist or Socialist candidates, whichever appears on the second ballot against the ruling Gaullists.

On no account should workers vote for the bourgeois Radicals. Balloting in this way would be a first big step, a rejection by the workers of the bourgeois alliance made by their leaders. Everywhere workers must demand that the CP and SP form a government of their own, with no Radicals included. A coalition with this capitalist party would be the grossest betrayal.

Meanwhile, the election campaign, it must be recognized, is only one of the preparations of the class enemy. The trade unions and the workers in the factories, as well as the workers' political parties, must build joint organizations, before the election,

to fight in every town and industry for the independent demands of the working class, with rights for all the working-class political tendencies to fight for the leadership.

The thoroughly reformist and bourgeois programme of the electoral coalition will not solve a single problem of the French workers and will pave the way for the extreme right in the Gaullist movement to deal blows of an unexampled viciousness and suddenness against the working class.

GAULLISTS PREPARE CIVIL WAR

Faced with the monetary and trade onslaught of the American monopolists and the stubborn resistance of the working class, the French bourgeoisie will not hesitate to prepare civil war and organize a new version of the Generals' Revolt of 1958.

In this sense the Algerian events of 1958-1961 can be considered only as a dress rehearsal by finance capital and the armed forces for the coming French revolution.

Before unleashing civil war, however, the ruling class will exploit to the utmost the weakness, corruption and reformist passivity of the Com-



munist Party-Socialist Party leaders and their Radical bedfellows.

They will seek first of all to demoralize and disorientate the working class through the mechanism of the Popular Front government.

At the same time they will seek to turn the frustrations and anger of the impoverished farmers and urban middle class, whose savings are caught in the vortex of the inflationary spiral unleashed by the monopolies and the government, against the trade unions and left parties.

These reactionary plans cannot be frustrated by the policies of reformism and Stalinism. While a government of the CP-SP—shorn of the Radicals—can be considered an important tactical gain of the working class, it can in no sense be considered a guarantee of victory over the capitalist class.

Support for a CP-SP government must be qualified and accompanied by a determined struggle to build a revolutionary party and to demand of the reformist government leaders that:

- 1) They abrogate the Bonapartist constitution of the Fifth Republic in favour of a constitution based on a system of Workers' Councils.
- 2) They dissolve immediately the military, air, naval and police forces; they sack the

reactionary officer caste and create an armed workers' militia.

3) They withdraw all troops from Germany and overseas territories like Chad; withdraw from NATO and the Common Market.

4) They expropriate monopoly capital in industry and banks under workers' control. Nationalize, without compensation, the land and provide cheap credit, fertilizers etc. to the small farmers.

As the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International (1938) states:

'It is impossible to take a single serious step in the struggle against monopolistic despotism and capitalistic anarchy—which supplement one another in their work of destruction—if the commanding posts of banks are left in the hands of predatory capitalists. In order to create a unified system of investments and credits, along a national plan corresponding to the interests of the entire people, it is necessary to merge all the banks into a single national institution . . . the single state bank will be able to create much more favourable conditions for the small depositors than could the private banks.'

'In the same way only the state bank can establish for farmers, tradesmen and small merchants conditions of fav-

Workers occupied the Renault plant in May-June 1968, left, receiving support from students, right.

ourable, that is, cheap, credit. Even more important, however, is the circumstance that the entire economy—first and foremost large-scale industry and transport—directed by a single financial staff, will serve the vital interests of the workers and all other toilers.'

The failure of the 1871 Paris Commune to expropriate the Bank of Paris and the catastrophic consequences of this mistake must serve as a sombre warning to the French working class.

Today, however, such an omission would not be a mistake, but a conscious perfidy of Stalinism, for which the working class will pay a much heavier price than even the Communards.

Just as de Gaulle pulled the reactionary sections of the middle class on to the streets in June 1968, so Pompidou will attempt to mobilize the same groups against the working class during and after the elections.

This is the meaning of the anti-communist onslaught launched by Pompidou. What he fears is not the Stalinists, but the working-class struggle that would be unleashed by a left victory in the elections.

Not one of the revisionist tendencies in France can elab-

orate a correct policy for the working class in the election campaign.

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) remains incapable of really posing the question of breaking the French working class from the Stalinists, who command the majority support. Thus they will not give the clear line of voting communist whenever possible.

Behind this is their total underestimation of the crisis of international and French capitalism. While condemning the Stalinists and social democrats' concessions to the Gaullist constitution, the OCI is now posing the question of some 'progress along the road of democracy' which requires repeal of the constitution: ' . . . in order to resolve the social problems of today, it is necessary to repeal the constitution'.



Messmer, the French Prime Minister, under a blow-up picture of President Pompidou. They both openly threaten to continue to rule even if the SP-CP alliance is elected with a majority.

All the dangers of the OCI's adaptation to the social-democratic bureaucracy, and their refusal to take on the question of Stalinism, here come to fruition. Instead of the revolutionary preparations and warnings, the spelling out of the true nature of the class forces and their objective requirements, we get from the OCI what amounts to pressure on the Socialists to go one step beyond what they propose.

Moreover OCI support for a CP-SP government and its opposition to the Radicals is not based on a revolutionary struggle for leadership in the French working class. This is confirmed by the fact that the same OCI leadership categorically refused to demand in May-June 1968 that the CGT and Force Ouvrière leaders continue the strike until the de Gaulle government fell and was replaced by a CP-SP government based on councils of action.

This demand was condemned by OCI leader Pierre Lambert as 'criminal' and instead OCI members were instructed to call for a 'central strike committee'. This was a syndicalist evasion of the question of government power. Today the OCI leaders call for a CP-SP government only because such a government—with or without radicals—would be a reformist substitute for Pompidou.

Only the ruthless criticism of the CP-SP programme and a consistent struggle to build a revolutionary party on Marxist theory in the French labour movement can give a revolutionary content to the demand for a CP-SP government. This is completely lacking in the OCI campaign.

Having defended bourgeois democracy in Bolivia against genuine Soviet power, it is logical that the OCI revisionists should become the greatest defenders of bourgeois democracy in France as well as Stalinist-SP reformism.

The positions of the Pabloite 'Ligue Communiste' and its electoral ally 'Lutte Ouv-

rière' are even worse. To unbridled opportunism—support for the left front despite its bourgeois components—these two organizations add 'leftist' adventurism with the nomination of 300 candidates.

Not only does this intervention obstruct the main immediate task of defeating the Gaullists with a massive vote for the workers' parties; it confuses and totally misleads the most-advanced workers about this and every other principled question, and prepares an atmosphere of disillusion and impotence.

'Lutte Ouvrière' and 'Ligue Communiste' differ politically on the most basic questions, above all on the question of whether the Soviet Union, China and eastern Europe remain workers' states, deformed and degenerated, but still to be defended against imperialism. Further Lutte Ouvrière accuses the 'Ligue Communiste' of subordinating itself to the bureaucracy of the Catholic trade union federation (CFDT).

'Ligue Communiste' has characterized the CFDT as 'a new centrism with a labour base and a revolutionary syndicalist ideology'. But 'Lutte Ouvrière' occupies a similar position in relation to the CGT. What is worse is that 'Lutte Ouvrière' accepts a joint electoral front with the 'Ligue Communiste' on the grounds that the differences between them are 'incomprehensible in the eyes of workers'.

It was precisely because of the 'Lutte Ouvrière's' rejection of the continuous independent struggle for Trotskyism against spontaneity and all varieties of opportunism and revisionism that the International Committee expelled 'Lutte Ouvrière', then known as Voix Ouvrière, from the proceedings of our Third Conference in 1966.

THE MAIN IMMEDIATE TASK

The working class of France faces an immediate future of even greater struggles than those fought so heroically in the past. Just as the betrayals of the Stalinists and social democrats in 1958 and 1968 could not break the strength of this class, despite exposing it to enormous dangers and delays, so today the French working class can strike a blow on March 4 and 11 which can bring nearer the day when the Stalinist and social democratic time-servers can be removed and a genuine revolutionary leadership replace them.

The first prerequisite, and the main immediate task, is to make the CP and SP form a government totally independent of the Radicals and to mobilize the whole strength of the working class, its unions and parties to stifle the counter-attack being mobilized by the French ruling class.

- No acceptance of the Fifth Republic, the Presidency, and the Constitution!
- Reject NATO and the Common Market!
- No coalition with the Radicals! A CP-SP government, with the workers' organizations mobilized to enforce a socialist programme!
- Vote Communist Party in the first ballot, and then CP or SP against the Gaullists in the second.
- Preparation in every country for solidarity with the French workers in their struggles!
- For the Socialist United States of Europe!

International Committee of the Fourth International, February 21, 1973.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Closed Circuit

The revenue sharing money which Nixon is giving the municipalities in exchange for its cutting out of the federal programs is getting appropriated this week in Pennsylvania. Lower Merion, the wealthiest county in Pennsylvania, is planning to spend a portion of its funds on installing closed circuit TV in their sewerage systems. They say that they want to keep a count on the number of rats.



Haldeman at home

Pleasure Principle

Everyone will be happy to hear that Mrs. Henry Ford, II is "still ebullient and vivacious" after eight years of marriage to the head of the Ford Motor Company. Mrs. Ford, who before her marriage was active in the international jet set, was particularly "ebullient" in an interview with the New York Times about "her pleasure in having money."

"I take pleasure in it because I didn't have it before. Money is to make people happy...I hate people who keep their money, who don't spend it or give it to anyone...they are the most selfish people."

Her husband, unaffected of course by the wage freeze, has recently upped his six figure salary a few thousand more.

Home Movies

Richard Nixon has gathered a group of men around him who come out of the apparatus of the big corporations, conglomerates and some out of the CIA.

One of these is Harry Haldeman, Nixon's Chief of Staff, an avowed right winger. Haldeman's two buddies are Dwight Chapin and Charles Colson who recently "retired" after their work in the Watergate Affair. His is Nixon's righthand man and decides who sees the President and who doesn't. He is singleminded on his job and one Republican remarked that, "He's got ice water in his veins and a pump for a heart."

According to Newsweek, Haldeman's ideal of pleasure is showing home movies of Richard Nixon.

SLL PAGEANT...

(Continued From Page 2)

class on the defensive.

The capitalist press is already howling over the fact that the 24 hour strike of railwaymen and the consequent relaxation of parking regulations made it easy for the bombs to be left in crowded streets inside parked automobiles.

This comes on the heels of information that the Heath government is preparing the most detailed plans ever for the eventuality of a general strike. This includes plans for strike-breaking on a huge scale, the

stockpiling of large amounts of coal, preparation for the army to man unregistered ports, and mass recruitment to the Territorial and Army Voluntary Reserve, which has added almost 15,000 men in the last 18 months in order to deal with "national emergency."

The Tories are preparing to deal with the unions along Ulster lines, exactly as the man in charge of Tory direct rule in Ulster, William Whitelaw, warned two weeks ago.

URGENT

That is why the building of a

ECONOMY...

(Continued From Page 3)

worthless American paper dollars, the actual effect of floating will be to completely smash up the Common Market as national rivalries are intensified beneath the weight of the United States' attack on Europe.

The most important effect of the floating currencies will be to further undermine all confidence in paper money. The orderly transaction of business is impossible under conditions when exchange rates vary from day to day. Even more critical is the growing realization that all paper currency is worthless.

Therefore, the next stage of the crisis will see a massive rise in the price of gold accompanied by a full-blown commercial crisis with sudden bankruptcies. Hundreds of thousands of workers will be threatened with unemployment.

The inability of Europe to develop a united policy to stand up against the US was clearly exposed last week. After nine hours of intensive negotiations with George Shultz, the Europeans received no assurances that the United States was prepared to take any action to prevent the outflow of dollars, let alone absorb part of the \$80 billion that is in Europe now.

Above all, Shultz could give no commitment that the US would agree to restore some measure of convertibility of the dollar into gold.

ARGENTINA...

(Continued From Page 5)

accept all the conditions imposed by the army and Lanusse to stay in power.

This is not surprising coming from Moreno, who in the period from 1957-1964 put his movement "under the discipline of General Peron and the Peronist Supreme Council." But this poses the gravest dangers to the working class as the Peronist leaders collaborate with Lanusse.

Where Moreno, who has based his movement in the middle class, has anything to do with the working class, it is to ride the

revolutionary leadership and a mass revolutionary party is so urgent in Britain today. In the face of the Tory onslaught, the leaders of the Trades Union Congress are following a hopelessly inadequate policy.

The Special Congress of the TUC, held on March 5, was an historic betrayal of the working class. The leadership, behind Victor Feather, brought in a policy document which did not even mention the capitalist crisis, and which promised only that it could consider giving support to unions on strike against the Tory Pay Laws. In Feather's own words:

"To suggest that the unions are claiming the right to run the country is too silly for words... We have to deal with governments and they have to deal with us...there is only one government at a time and we have always tried to maintain a working relationship with that government, whatever its political colour."

These are the words of a leadership which is desperately afraid to recognize the new situation brought about by the economic crisis and the tasks it poses to the trade unions. But Feather was not alone in his betrayal. The so-called left union leaders played a crucial role in providing a cover to the TUC lead-

The only positive thing European spokesmen could say about the talks was that Treasury Secretary Shultz was less vindictive in his personal conduct than his predecessor, John Connally.

While Europe is unable to stand up against the US, Nixon has at this point no real policy to meet the crisis. His administration is deeply split over the implications of the monetary crisis.

Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, who accompanied Shultz to Europe, is known to disagree vehemently with the Treasury Secretary's belief that dollar devaluations are an easy way to deal with the US trade deficit.

WARNED

During the past month, he has repeatedly warned that the continued instability of world currencies could undermine world trade. Burns has called for sharp restrictions on the money supply and for a big increase in interest rates.

The split in the Nixon Administration as well as the growing conviction among European leaders that there can be no real solution to the monetary crisis reflects the capitalists' enormous fear of the power of the international working class.

They realize that there will be powerful resistance to the massive layoffs and wage cutting that is now required by the crisis. The ruling class in grappling with

backs of its struggles and use them to perpetuate illusions in spontaneity and simple trade union militancy. The basis for the Workers Front is not a program for power for the working class but the fact that the slate is 75 percent workers' candidates.

Above all Moreno and the PSA seek to divert the working class from the revolutionary tasks posed by the crisis. At a time when the military is preparing the most vicious attacks and brutal repressions against the working class, the PSA's perspective in

ership.

PAY LAWS

Many workers know better. Everywhere workers fighting against the Pay Laws have expressed anger and disgust with the one day strike as a substitute for all-out action to defeat Heath. One gas worker told the Workers Press, daily organ of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League: "The one day effort is a waste of time. What's that going to show? What we want is two bloody weeks. We want something really strong."

Last October, the All Trades Union Alliance, the industrial arm of the SLL, called for the transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party. The absolute correctness of this call is being borne out every day, as the SLL, the ATUA and the Young Socialists fight to make it a reality.

The ATUA organized a highly successful lobby of the Special TUC Congress. The 1500 workers on the lobby were mobilized behind the call of the ATUA for a general strike to force the Tories out of office and replace them with a Labour Government pledged to carry out socialist policies.

The meaning of the struggles in Britain must be brought home to the working class in the US.

the problem of meeting the working class in battle and its conclusions are expressed with chilling clarity by William F. Buckley, the leading American conservative whose brother, James, sits in the Senate.

Writing from London, Buckley asks: "What happens when defiance is on a national scale? Is it possible, in a country like England, to intimidate several hundred thousand resolute mutineers? Hitler used to cope with the problem of massive resistance in the occupied territories by the simple expedient of taking a few leaders at random and hanging them in the public square. England has got out of the habit of that kind of thing. What does she do?"

Going on to assert that the same problem will arise in the United States—"Consider the teamsters," he writes—Buckley declares that the working class, in its ignorance, demands economic gains at a time when they cannot be given.

"But the state will have to devise ways of coping with the inflamed ignorance of the people," concludes Buckley. "The traditional remedy, unfortunately, happens to be fascism."

While Buckley is not a fascist, he shows the direction in which his class in turning as it realizes that the only road open to the capitalists is that which leads to the destruction of the trade unions and all the democratic rights of the working class.

the campaign is to push a new era of parliamentarism and reforms through the workers and middle class pressuring the government.

In an interview with the SWP's paper *The Militant* (October 20, 1972) Moreno stated: "Argentina has no doubt entered a pre-revolutionary situation, as indicated by the confusion and crisis among the exploiting classes, the left turn by the middle classes, and the large mobilizations of the working class and the populace."

In this pre-revolutionary period, Moreno and the PSA see the question as one of constructing not a Marxist party, but a centrist party which does "educational work."

The SWP has given great publicity to Moreno in his campaign as they likewise open a social democratic electoral race to divert the working class from a fight with Nixon and the construction of a labor party. The next article will deal with the role of the SWP in the developments in Argentina.

FRANCE...

(Continued From Page 2)

for bold leadership and a real change.

The "red scare" speech was consciously aimed at frightening the middle class with talk of strikes and "disorders" to create a crisis atmosphere in which dictatorial rule and emergency decrees can be imposed.

Every single struggle of the French working class will now pose the question of power, of the necessity of a workers government. The Stalinist and reformist leaders of the workers must be exposed and their policies in the construction of a revolutionary party defeated in order to carry forward a fight for power in France.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME _____

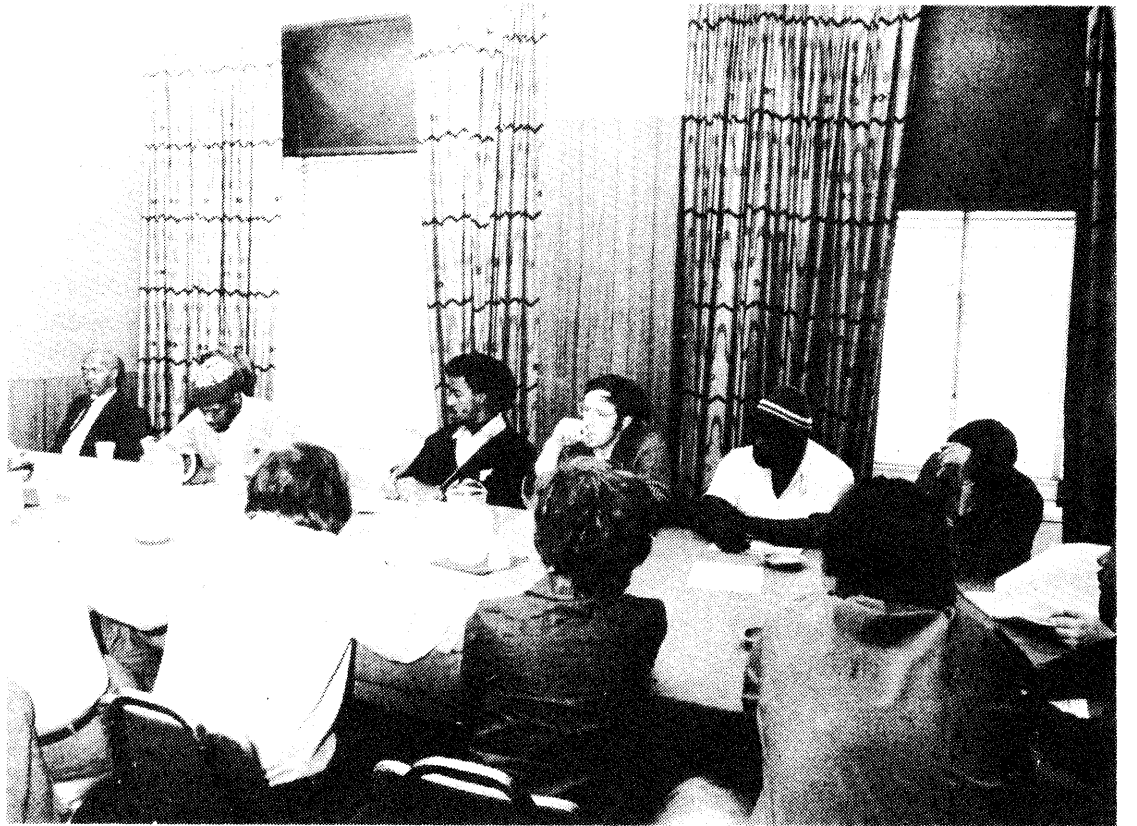
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Decisions Of The St. Louis Conference Programs For 1973



Very important steps were taken in the auto workshop to build a caucus in the UAW with a campaign for a 20 percent wage increase in the upcoming contract.

Printed below are the programs for auto and basic industry that were developed in workshops held during the Emergency Meeting of the Continuations Committee February 18 in St. Louis.

Heavy emphasis was placed on the wages struggle, particularly by the trade unionists in auto and the electrical industry who are up for new contracts in the coming months.

In the meeting of the auto workshop, an important discussion was held on the role of centrists in the United Auto Workers like the United National Caucus leadership, which refuses to fight for the building of a labor party.

Following the workshops, the delegates to the St. Louis meeting reassembled and unanimously endorsed these programs, calling for the building of caucuses of the Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party to lead millions of workers into struggle against Phase Three.

United Auto Workers

WAGES: The ranks must win a 20 percent increase for the first year of the contract to defend their living conditions against the big inroads already made by inflation over the last three years. There must also be a full cost of living escalator clause which compensates the ranks on a monthly basis for any rise in prices.

JOB SECURITY: The contract must include a provision barring any layoffs. All UAW members currently laid off must be called back and new jobs must be opened up for young workers by establishing the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

SPEEDUP: The speedup must be ended by winning a contract in which the UAW and the companies set a national standard on time, cycle and jobs. The amount of jobs performed by each worker per hour is not to exceed 40. There must be the abolition of the 1970 contract's Paragraph Eight, which gives management complete control over production standards in the plant.

GRIEVANCES: The 1973 contract must give the ranks the right to strike over all contractual violations. Paragraph 117, which strictly limits strike action

to production standards, must be abolished. The contract must guarantee a speedy grievance procedure. There should be no more than two weeks between the filing of a grievance and final action.

OVERTIME: All overtime must be voluntary, with double-time on weekdays and triple-time on weekends and holidays. By allowing Ford and GM to keep the men in the plants up to 58 hours per week, Woodcock has let the lives of auto workers be disrupted and permitted the companies to stockpile in preparation for layoffs and the coming struggles.

PENSION: There must be a real "30 and out" without any age qualification and with full pension benefits of \$650 per month. A cost of living escalator must be incorporated into the pension. Social security benefits are not to be considered part of the \$650. Every auto worker must become eligible for full benefits 30 days after he begins work.

HEALTH and SAFETY: The new contract must provide for adequate medical facilities within the plant under the supervision of a doctor appointed by the UAW and whom the ranks may dismiss if he shows partiality to the company. There must be unlimited medical absences with full pay. There must be a national safety code enforceable in each plant through the shutdown of production with full pay until the management corrects all violations.

HEALTH CARE: There must be a national health plan in which the auto companies provide full medical coverage for every UAW member and his family. All medical expenses, from hospital care and therapy to ordinary visits to the doctor, must be met by the company.

VACATIONS: Paid holidays must be increased to 18 days per year plus a two week vacation after one year and four weeks after five years.

WORKERS' RIGHTS: The elimination of 42 shop rules imposed arbitrarily by GM upon all workers for discipline. No discipline to be assessed without due process of law: right to face the accuser; all pertinent information to be made available upon demand; guilt must be proven before discipline is

assessed.

All shop committeemen are to be full time and function without any restrictions and to be fully paid by the union in order to remove them from under the influence, control, harassment and intimidation of management.

Members to have unrestricted right to recall any committeeman not doing his job. Full accountability of each grievance.

Basic Industry

Communications Workers of America

1. 30 percent wage increase, with escalator clause and provision for no layoffs. Two year contract.

2. Restoration of three man street crew with no added workloads.

3. No productivity deals. No cooperation with efficiency experts.

4. Merger of all CWA locals. Common expiration dates for contracts and joint negotiations.

5. One sick day per month.

6. That the entire CWA support the New York local in its struggle against the million dollar fine imposed during the last strike. For general strike action against the fine as part of the struggle to build a labor party to defend the unions.

General Electric

Unity in action of GE and Westinghouse Workers' Unions to achieve the following program:

1. Seventy-five cents across the board wage increase for each year of the new contract.

2. Full cost of living clause covering wages and pensions.

3. A national, uniform pension plan.

4. An inequity program to wipe out the variations in job rates between plants, based on the principle of the rate for the job.

5. Wipe out all wage and job discrimination against women and minority workers.

6. A four day week with five days' pay.

7. An organizing campaign to unionize the Southern plants.

8. One paid sick leave day per month.

9. Five hundred dollar pension

after 30 years (per month); one-half pension after 20 years.

10. Twelve paid holidays per year.

11. Maintain 10 percent night differential at plants where it exists and extend it to those plants without it.

12. Company paid dental care plan.

13. No introduction of productivity clauses.

14. Committees be established in GE and Westinghouse plants to fight for this program, and to fight for the unions to call a Congress of Labor and build a labor party as the means of realizing this program.

Around this program, the broadest possible fighting unity can be built up among GE and Westinghouse workers. The main organ for the building of this unity will be the Bulletin, as well as such shop and plant papers that it is necessary to issue.

Steel

WAGES: With skyrocketing inflation, we call for a national steel strike to renegotiate the present Abel contract for an immediate increase of two dollars an hour plus a 50 cent an hour increase during the second and third years of the new contract. A 100 percent monthly cost of living escalator clause to start the first day of the contract.

PRODUCTIVITY: Abolition of all existing productivity committees and clauses. No more forced speedup or job cutting. No cooperation with any productivity scheme. One hundred percent compensation to the workers for all productivity increases.

DEMOCRATIC GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES: Repeal the no-strike clause from the contract. Without the right to strike on the local level, any grievance procedure is meaningless. Scrap the present grievance system. All grievance men and shop stewards to be elected democratically, with immediate power of recall by those they represent.

Mandatory 30 day settlement of all disputes or automatic settlement in workers' favor.

RACISM: Wipe out all discrimination against Black, Spanish speaking, women and youth in upgrading or in any other area of working conditions.

DEMOCRATIC CONTRACT FIGURES: Full disclosure to the rank and file of the content of all negotiation meetings with management. Contract ratification only after full discussion among rank and file and on a one man, one vote basis.

PENSIONS: Thirty years and out, regardless of age, at \$500 a month with a 100 percent monthly cost of living escalator clause, to begin the first day of the contract.

VACATIONS: One week's paid vacation for every year seniority; up to a full month vacation for all members of the United Steel Workers of America employed in any factory under its jurisdiction.

RESTORE FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING: A general strike to smash Nixon's Economic Stabilization Act and Phase Three.

Nationalization of all steel industry under workers control through a labor party government pledged to socialist policies.

Construction

1. Full reimbursement of all wages cut by the Pay Board.

2. Twenty-five percent wage increase with full cost of living escalator figured monthly.

3. One dollar an hour vacation pay.

4. Thirty hour week at forty hours pay. No overtime until full employment.

5. No destruction of job classifications.

6. Union control of safety. 100 percent medical care program.

7. Federal funding of programs for mass construction of housing, hospitals and schools.

8. Union scale on all federally funded projects.

9. No discrimination in hiring.

10. Open apprentice programs to all youth.

11. National pension fund to provide 75 percent of top scale after 20 years, with full hospitalization coverage.

12. Strike action against the use of scab labor coupled with a stepped up organizing drive.

13. National strike against Phase Three and all laws against construction unions.

14. Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party that will fight to nationalize the industry.

West Coast News

Recognition Fight Shuts San Jose Hospital

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—Hospital workers, members of Service Employees International Union, Local 250, went out on strike last week against San Jose Hospital, the second largest private hospital in Santa Clara County, and its two satellites, Park Alameda Hospital and The Oaks convalescent hospital.

Three hundred pickets ringed San Jose Hospital on Friday, at the start of the strike. Over 400 non-professional workers, about 85 percent of the staff, are out. The strike has the full sanction of the Santa Clara Central Labor Council. Teamsters Joint Council 7 in San Francisco has stopped all deliveries, crippling the functioning of the hospital.

This strike marks a giant step forward in the struggle of hospital workers in Santa Clara County for union recognition. The workers at San Jose Hospital, who face intolerable working conditions and starvation pay, responded to the organizing drive of Local 250, which began last January, by signing up 80 percent of the staff within four weeks.

The administration of San Jose

Hospital and the Association of Hospitals of Santa Clara County are preparing an all-out drive to break the strike. They understand, as do the workers, that a victory for Local 250 at San Jose Hospital will open the way for unionizing every hospital in the county.

FIRING

On Saturday the union issued a letter to the strikers informing them that the administration will send out notices of firing to all strikers on Monday. The union is mobilizing a mass picket to counteract the hospital's scare tactics.

The strikers are determined to stay out until they break the resistance of the hospital and win union recognition.

One woman, a picket captain, told the *Bulletin*: "This is a cold-blooded situation. We have the

right to organize. The patients aren't being taken care of properly. We don't have proper staffing. This is supposed to be a non-profit hospital, but it's on the same cost level as the rest of the hospitals."

Another woman said, "We'll stay out until we're recognized."

Local 250 has already begun the drive to organize the other hospitals in the Association. For the first time they have received support from the California Nurses Association, which backed up their appeal to the Central Labor Council for strike sanction.

There must be no backing down in this struggle. The Local 250 ranks must insist that any attempt to break the strike, including an injunction, be met by the leadership with the call for all-out solidarity action by the Santa Clara County labor movement.



Picket at San Jose Hospital demanding unionization. Backing strike are Santa Clara Labor Council, Teamsters and Nurses Association.

San Jose Eviction Threatens Thousands

SAN JOSE—Last week the Leo Maes family who live on San Jose's East Side received an eviction letter from the San Jose Housing Authority. Mr. and Mrs. Maes and their four children, like hundreds of other families on the East Side, receive a rent subsidy from the federal government. Mr. Maes, 63 years old, is a retired barber and a member of the barbers union. The family has been receiving welfare as well as the rent subsidy.

The Maes are accused by the Housing Authority in the letter of "willfully and intentionally violating" the rental agreement by failing to maintain their house.

HOUSING INSPECTOR

Mr. Maes explained to the *Bulletin* what happened the day the housing inspector came to his

house. "When the woman from the Housing Authority came, she comes over and tries to walk right in, saying 'How are you feeling?' I told her we just painted the house for the second time because we like to live in it. She went right ahead and went through the whole house. I got so mad I went outside."

Mrs. Maes said, "She was looking under the rugs, and we hadn't

been able to mop the floors because we were all sick with the flu. They were just like they are right now, just daily dirt, but presentable. But she degraded us and said they wouldn't pass.

ILLNESS

"I don't think that little bit of dirt was my fault because of the pressure of my husband's illness. ahead and cleaned and painted the place because we love this home. We've been here five years."

VACATE

Mr. Maes continued, "Then she said we had 30 days to clean the house. She didn't say we had 30 days to vacate the house. In the letter she asked for the keys. If I was working I wouldn't care, but now I don't know how we're going to get another house."

SQUEEZE

Recently other Housing Authority tenants have been evicted. Nixon's budget cut-backs are putting the squeeze on local housing, and it is clear that thousands of evictions are being prepared. The notices being sent out on uncleanness are all a fraud to cover for the destruction of public housing by the government.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists are taking up a campaign to rally the East Side community in defense of the Maes and other tenants similarly threatened. A mass meeting is planned to form a tenants' committee to fight evictions and cuts in subsidies.



Leo Maes family of San Jose faces eviction on trumped-up charges. This will be a test case for thousands of evictions.

GUILD . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

nion, most writers don't make \$20,000 a year. The average yearly earnings are about \$5000." Unemployment among the guild members runs as high as forty percent.

RERUNS

Several of the picket signs at 20th Century Fox and Universal Studios demanded, "No Reruns." The guild is demanding eradication of the reruns. Until three years ago, a television series would run for thirty nine weeks; this has been cut down to fifteen. Writers receive minimum compensation for the reruns. They are asking for payment of 100 percent of the original fee if a show is run between September 1 and April 1.

A guild official said, "We're asking for a lot, because we want to make it too expensive for the producers to continue showing reruns. It's not fair that the public should be forced to see the same show over and over."

Pay TV, cable TV, and cassettes are hurting the writers' pockets. The guild wants to negotiate its own terms for work

done on shows which are sold to pay TV or used for cassettes.

Attempting to whip up sentiment against the striking writers, Billy Hunt, head of the AMPTP said the strike "could have a disastrous economic effect on the industry and create a crisis threatening the jobs, the welfare and interests of every person working in the motion picture community."

SLUMP

But as most writers see it, the slump in the film industry is causing a disaster for them, and they cannot afford not to fight for job protection.

The writers are predicting a long strike. This is the first industry-wide writers strike since the 1960 walkout which lasted 22 weeks. Individual members of the actors union and the craft union are supporting the strike, but the international IASTE claims it cannot call out the entire membership because of a "no strike clause" in the contract. With the film industry seeking to boost its profits at the expense of all sections of workers in the industry, the isolation is extremely dangerous.

Laborers Blast Union Corruption

BY ROBERT CADE

SAN BERNARDINO—The membership of San Bernardino County Laborers' Local 783 set up a picket outside their union hiring hall last week in opposition to corrupt dispatch procedures and the failure of local officials to enforce union regulations against open shop contractors.

The International leadership refused to sanction a new local election although verifiable proof exists of election fraud. As stated by one picket, "We've repeatedly sent letters and petitions with several hundred names to the international leadership to no avail. That's why we're picketing. We're tired of this."

The revolt of the ranks in Local 783 has become so open that the present union officials have hired two policemen to guard the union meetings.

Driven to despair by mounting

unemployment a section of the

LABOR DEPT.

membership turned to the Department of Labor in their battle against incumbent officials.

This move to enlist the aid of the Labor Department is extremely dangerous because it opens the door to Nixon's drive for government regulation of union procedure. It is the government and Nixon whose elimination of funds for Federal subsidized construction that will cost 23,000 California construction workers their jobs. It is Nixon who stands behind the mounting unemployment.

Mothers Rally To Defend Child Care

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Despite rain and cold, more than 500 people marched on city hall last Saturday and rallied against cutbacks in federally funded child-care services.

New rules scheduled to go into effect March 19 will disqualify every working mother earning more than \$253 a month. Up to now 30,000 working wives and single parents in California have been able to use federally subsidized childcare centers while they worked. The new rules are consciously tailored to force them either to give up their jobs or else find expensive private arrangements which run to \$100 a month or more.

FORWARD

The rally marks the coming forward into political struggle against the government of a whole new layer of the working class. Many women commented that they had never before been to any kind of protest, but that now they were faced with a lifetime on welfare if the cuts go through.

A strong section of day-care workers organized by the American Federation of Teachers came to the rally to oppose the threat to their jobs. San Francisco AFT president James Ballard lined up with the politicians and the professional protesters in urging pressure on Nixon as the strategy to fight the cuts. The planned cutbacks "may be nothing more than a trial balloon," said Ballard, and

anyway the local school board would pick up the slack. "There is enough money in this country, in this state, and in this city," he claimed.

COVER

All the radical and reformist groups from the Stalinists to the Black Panther Party to the revisionist Socialist Workers Party came forward to cover for Ballard.

This was expressed most sharply by a long-time SWP supporter who spoke at the rally to warn "our representatives" that they had better wake up and become responsive.

The economic crisis is driving Nixon to take away every hard-won right of the working class. The labor movement is now forced to come forward and lead mass struggles against the budget cuts.

But the labor leadership seeks to hold back that fight. What is required is the most ruthless exposure of the labor bureaucrats and of the radicals who seek to spread complacency about the strategy of protest.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists fought at the rally for strike action by the teachers union against the cutbacks, backed up by mobilization of the entire labor movement in general strike action and a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

Fontana Steel Caucus Formed

BY A CORRESPONDENT

FONTANA—Members of the United Steel Workers of America Local 2869 and Local 7451 formed a caucus last Saturday when they met to discuss the ten-point program for steel put forward by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The central discussion was on wages and the inability of unionists to keep up with rampant inflation. According to one Kaiser worker, "When we negotiated the contract in 1971 some guys thought we got a good deal, but that was before prices started skyrocketing."

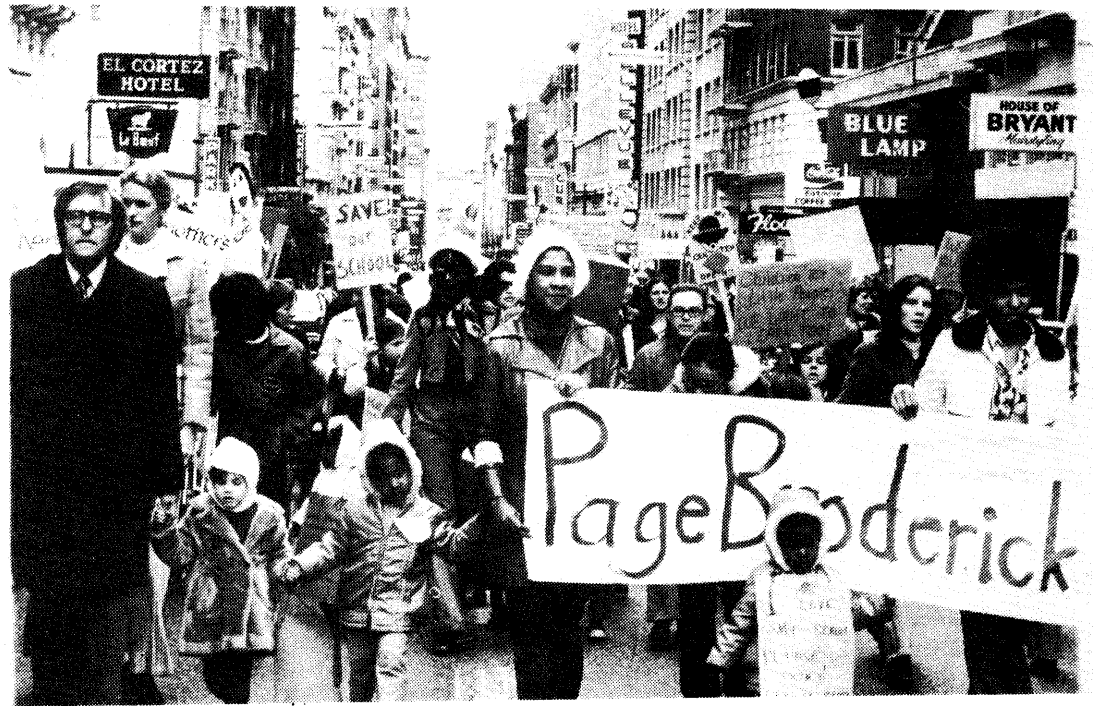
Productivity was also under discussion. Kaiser Steel is destroying the present grievance system by overloading it with hundreds of 2-B grievances. Of the sixteen zones in the plant, numbers one and sixteen have refused to cooperate with the Kaiser-Abel productivity meetings. The caucus plans to

fight for the other fourteen to stop cooperating.

One 7451 member said that layoffs at the Kaiser Fabrication Plant now numbered 400 out of 450 employees. "Nixon said he would break labor and this is the way he is trying to go about it."

Members of the caucus all agreed that a new leadership in the union is a necessary step in making the TUALP program the basis of the next steel contracts.

The next caucus meeting will be held at 4 p.m., March 18, at the Local 7451 Union Hall. Steelworkers from all locals in the Fontana-San Bernardino area are urged to attend.



Mothers and teachers marching against day-care cutbacks in San Francisco.

New Automated Ships Slash Longshore Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—With the West Coast longshore contract expiring in July, the dangers to dockers are completely ignored by the union bureaucracy.

The threat to longshore jobs was driven home with the introduction into San Francisco of the American President Lines' new freighter, the President Jefferson.

This vessel carries 1186 35-ton containers and will cut three days' sailing time to Japan. The new ship requires virtually no preparation time for loading and unloading. It is in and out of a port in less than fifteen hours.

Three more sister ships are due to be introduced by the end of the year. These ships will do all loading and unloading at Southern California and Bay Area ports in just five days. To emphasize this the Jefferson was welcomed by Mayor Alioto and the president of APL and was off on her maiden voyage to Japan in less than a day.

Meanwhile Matson Lines has announced the introduction of two giant 24,000 ton "Ro-Ro" ships to the Hawaii container trade to begin in 1973.

FIRST

These will be the first roll-on, roll-off vessels on the Pacific service. Each ship will carry different sized trailers equivalent to 268 40-foot trailers, including 100 refrigerated trailers and space for 238 automobiles.

Freight is never touched from the shipper's warehouse to the consignee's warehouse and is simply driven on and off the ship without the use of any shoreside cranes.

While Oakland is driving ahead to expand container facilities to a total of 300 acres including twelve container berths and fourteen cranes, the port of San Francisco plans four new container berths at Pier 94 and is drawing up blueprints for an additional twenty berths.

UNEMPLOYMENT

All of this chaotic drive to containerize threatens vast overproduction of facilities and mass unemployment. The Bridges' bureaucracy supports these measures and poses only its frau-

dule "guarantee."

The complacency of this leadership is summed up in the comments of one ILWU official who stated that he anticipated no great difficulty in reaching agreement with the shipowners but that the government would lop off another thirty cents from the contract.

Dockers must prepare for the fight of their lives at the expiration of the contract.

Automation will only be answered by a strike of all ports and a refusal to handle any new equipment without a forty hour guarantee with no strings for all longshoremen and an agreement that the present size of the longshore force will be maintained.

This must be combined with a fight for wages and a full cost of living escalator that will rally the entire labor movement in strike action to smash Phase Three.

Doctors Union Leads Action Against Health Cutbacks

BY TED BAKER

MARTINEZ, Cal.—The Contra Costa County medical director George Degnan and county mental health director Leonti Thomas were fired last week for leading action by the newly formed AFL-CIO Physicians Union against cutbacks in medical care for the poor.

Union doctors have stopped signing Medi-Cal and Medi-Care forms, which are used to obtain state and federal funding for programs at the County Hospital. The work action is costing the County over \$100,000 a week.

The union was formed last December in response to the consolidation of all welfare and medical services into a Human Resources Department under Robert Jornlin, formerly head of welfare, and a determined enemy of free public health care.

According to Dr. Charles Phillips, union secretary-treasurer, Contra Costa Hospital had led the state in expanding its services to the working class and the poor. Jornlin's new policies have shifted a greater percentage of the cost of care onto the backs of the patients.

DANGEROUS

Many patients, faced with skyrocketing charges, have stopped coming to the hospital for treatment. Dangerous health conditions are being created in the County because of hundreds of victims of infectious diseases

like tuberculosis who are now without care.

County administrators claim these policies are unavoidable because of the continuation of Nixon's Phase Two guidelines for medical care. Negotiations were broken off March 1, and the work action began the same day.

The union is now demanding that Dr. Degnan and Dr. Thomas be reinstated with full autonomy, and that the hospital institute a prepaid medical program for the poor similar to the Kaiser system. All county medical staff are being called on to rally at the County Board of Supervisors, which is meeting to consider the firings.

The economic crisis is driving even the best paid and most highly professionalized workers such as doctors to take up a struggle against the budget cuts. The only way forward is the nationalization of all health care, to be provided free to all. This can only be accomplished by the unionization of all medical personnel, and the construction of a labor party to fight for political power.

Join the Young Socialists

___ I would like to join the YS.
___ Please send me information
___ YS activities in my area.

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ADDRESS _____
PHONE _____

Young Socialists 135 W. 14th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

Phone: 824-4096

Editorial

Reagan Prepares New Philadelphia

The California Assembly research office has released figures outlining the devastating impact Nixon's budget cuts will have on California.

Higher education will be slashed by \$113 million while federal assistance to elementary and secondary education will be cut \$251 million.

Housing and anti-poverty programs will lose \$251 million. Employment and social services programs will each lose over \$200 million.

Almost \$650 million will be removed from agricultural, environmental and water resource programs.

In addition charges to the elderly in medicare fees will rise by \$114 million.

Even the most optimistic estimates of new aid from the federal revenue sharing program shows the state sustaining a net loss of \$1.2 billion in federal support.

At least 20,000 persons now working in state and city jobs directly funded by the federal government will lose their jobs while the overall impact of the cuts will mean over 95,000 workers thrown onto the unemployed lines.

These brutal attacks on the youth, the elderly, teachers and whole sections of city and state workers are preparing the ground for the sort of confrontation with the labor movement that developed in Philadelphia.

With his eye on the near general strike in Philadelphia Governor Reagan recently addressed a meeting of university and college professors to state his absolute opposition to collective bargaining rights for public workers.

"Collective bargaining eventually involves the right to strike and you cannot strike against the people." He added that no arbitration board can have a higher right than the officials elected by the public. Who else does this mean but Nixon and Reagan?

These arrogant demagogic appeals mean that Reagan is preparing to take the lead of Nixon and Rizzo in Philadelphia to smash the labor movement.

Every retreat now by the union leadership in the fight for decent wages and against the budget slashes only strengthens his determination to press ahead with the attacks.

The Communist Party now plays the most dangerous role in spreading the illusion that protest action and pressure on liberal politicians can still salvage reforms.

The urgent requirement now is for a leadership that is prepared to take up a fight to defeat the government.

This means a leadership that will not stop short of the necessity to call out labor in a general strike when a section of workers is under attack and that will fight now for a congress of labor to map out a strategy for a general strike against Phase Three and the budget cuts combined with the construction of a labor party to take political power.



A Writers Guild picket line in Los Angeles against 5.5 percent wage offer.

Magee On Stand, Indicts Court Plot

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—Ruchell Magee took the stand today in his own defense and turned his trial for murder and kidnapping in the Marin Courthouse shootout of August, 1970 into an indictment of the entire system of bourgeois justice."

Magee is basing his defense on the fact that every attempt he made to reverse his illegal conviction for kidnapping and robbery in 1963 through the courts was sabotaged by the courts, which do not apply the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to poor people and minorities. Having no other recourse, Magee was justified in seeking to escape from prison in August of 1970.

Magee stated in the courtroom: "Something kept telling me that someone was trying to kill me, someone in a judge's uniform, slinging racist insults at my manhood. I began to think that the only way I could get out of jail was to break out."

Magee entered the courtroom with a large stack of legal briefs, notes, and a transcript of his 1963 trial. Since his original conviction Magee has waged a continuous battle in the courts to prove that the transcript of that trial upon which he based his unsuccessful appeal in 1965 was fraudulent. In the 1963 trial Magee made a motion to dismiss his lawyer, who had pleaded him guilty against his will. No record of this motion exists in the official transcript.

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his arrest in 1963 the police attempted to beat a confession out of him, sending him to the hospital.

Magee's principled and heroic defense is in sharp contrast to the liberal defense mounted by the Stalinists for Angela Davis. To this date the Communist Party's organ on the West Coast, the *People's World*, has refused to stand with Magee. They side with Magee's liberal lawyers, Carrow

and Ramsay Clark, and are desperately afraid that Magee will expose before millions of workers and youth the true nature of bourgeois justice.

In a period in which every worker who fights to defend his standard of living and trade union rights against Nixon's wage dictatorship is branded a criminal, and is subject to arrest, the defense of Magee can and must be taken up by the entire working class.

Writers Guild Walks Out On 5.5% Offer

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Television and theatrical writers walked off their jobs this week, rejecting a 5.5 percent a year pay increase offered by the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers (AMPTP). The strike is joined by writers in New York.

The last time members of the Writers Guild of America received a pay increase was in 1959. A writer for the *Manix* television series told the *Bulletin*, "With the rate of inflation going up as fast as it is, we've got to get a good pay increase. We demand a share; that is what this strike is all about."

Minimum pay scales are a big issue. Also, the going rate for writing scripts has not changed in fourteen years. For a one hour television show, a writer gets \$4400. The WGA is demanding \$12,000 and management is offering only \$5000.

According to Alan Rifkin of the WGA, "Contrary to public opi-

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• No slashes in education, no layoffs or cuts in loan and work-study programs!
• Defend the right to an education!
Fight unemployment!
• No cuts in job programs!
• Jobs for all! 30 hrs. work for 40 hrs. pay!
Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party!

SAN FRANCISCO
Saturday, March 31 2 PM
Women's Clubhouse (across from Tresidder Union)
Stanford U. \$1 includes dance
824-4096

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, March 24 noon - midnight
Embassy Auditorium
839 S. Grand Ave. (near 9th St.)
\$2 includes dance 678-3528

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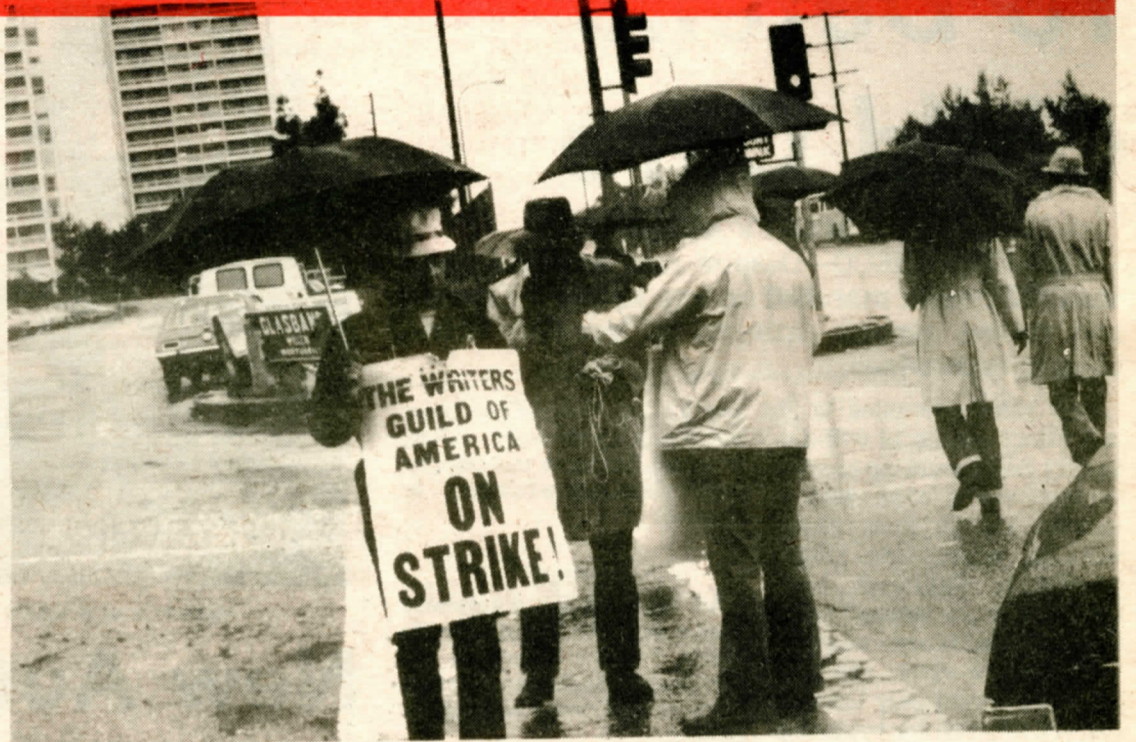
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