

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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MAY 7, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS



A section of the crowd at the May Day Rally called by the Workers League, Young Socialists, and TUALP. See picture spread, page 15.

Just When Labor Can Force Nixon Out--

WHY IS AFL-CIO SILENT ON WATERGATE

BY THE EDITORS

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The Watergate conspiracy exposes the criminal corruption of the ruling class and poses the urgency of a Congress of Labor to prepare an alternative political leadership for the working class through the building of a labor party. This is why George Meany and the rest of the labor bureaucracy refuse to say anything on Watergate.

Every worker must take up the fight to force the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers and all other trade union organizations to immediately convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of mapping out a program and strategy to force Nixon out of office, to smash Phase Three and to build an alternative, a labor party.

This is the decisive moment to actually hold such a Congress, not only because of Nixon's weakness, but because at the very point he is most vulnerable, he is preparing to launch the most vicious and dangerous attacks on the unions and all the basic rights workers have been able to wrestle from the bosses only through over 100 years of struggles.

Never before has the working class in America had such an opportunity to assert its tremendous power—and to assert it politically. Never before have workers faced so many dangers.

Nixon faces the most serious and potentially explosive political crisis in American history. He has been forced to dump or reshuffle most of his inner circle of Cabinet officials and advisers in order to try to rescue his government from the stench of Watergate, but the crisis lingers on.

With their silence, the labor leaders form the main prop today of the Nixon government. They are with Nixon, collaborating in his attacks on workers and the very unions they are supposed to lead. It is their agreement with Nixon's wage controls, and only this agreement, that is responsible for sellouts like the contract in

Historic May Day Rally

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

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This was the first May Day rally ever held in Union Square by the Trotskyist movement, and it brought forward fresh new forces from among the working class and especially the youth ready to take up the fight to construct a new leadership capable of taking workers and youth forward in a political struggle to defeat Nixon's attacks and bring the working class to power.

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, spoke on the meaning of May Day and the tasks which now confront the working class in the US and internationally as capitalism plunges into a new period of profound crisis in which workers will find every basic right challenged.

He explained that the rally was a reassertion of

(Continued On Page 16)

Bulletin Expansion Drive

This week \$5,102.73 was received toward the Bulletin Expansion Drive toward our goal to raise \$50,000 by June 1. This pushed the grand total to \$32,904.82. This is \$400 short of the two-thirds mark.

We now enter the final stage of the drive with a serious situation. A major effort must be made by those branches which did not make their two-thirds mark to send this in by next week. We must receive \$3500 every week from now until the end of the drive.

(Continued On Page 8)

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(Continued On Page 8)

General Strike Wave Hits Japan

BY DIANNE ISAACS

The government of Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka has been plunged into political and economic crisis as a three day general strike began Friday, April 27 in support of wage increases and in defense of the right to strike.

Workers Press correspondent Alex Mitchell reports from Japan that Tokyo is in a virtual state of siege as more than 50,000 police armed with pistols, batons, shields, water cannon and gas are to be stationed in and around the capital as "a defensive measure."

The decision to strike was taken on Wednesday night when last minute talks broke down between the government and unions representing tens of thousands of transportation and communication workers and civil employees. The government refused to accept civil employees' demands for the right to strike for higher pay and declared it would punish any railway worker who went on strike.

Mitchell reports that on Wednesday the Supreme Court ruled strikes by government and public workers were illegal and are "not entitled to the full constitutional protection of the fundamental rights of labor." Union members in the government service would in the future face criminal punishment, the judgment declared, if they initiated labor disputes.

CHALLENGE

Tanaka openly stated to the Diet that the massive strike action is a "challenge to parliamentarianism."

General strike action was preceded by a slowdown of railroad workers which resulted in bloody commuter riots two days before. Mitchell reports that "trains were burnt, stations wrecked, 238 ticket machines smashed and more than 50 railwaymen punched and kicked."

Virtually all public transportation was shut down simultaneously Friday as airlines, telecommunications, docks and railroad unions led the action. The strike spread to all commuter railway lines, and subway, bus, truck and taxi drivers joined the walkout as well as the teachers' union.

Cargo handling operations are still at a standstill as the Japan Council of Port and Harbor Transport Workers Unions extended their 72 hour strike which now threatens to continue indefinitely. Negotiations have completely broken down after management declared the cancellation of all previous agreements which had been concluded.

Workers in private industry who belong to "company unions" will not come out en masse, though they will participate through solidarity action for the duration of the general

strike.

Mitchell states that these developments have encouraged a prompt response from extreme right-wing forces in Japan, some of whom undoubtedly initiated the train riots. Many newspapers, including the huge Mainichi Daily News, are barely concealing their support of these groups. The News stated:

"The masses are usually sympathetic to labor, but the unions must be reminded that Tuesday night's events show that the patience of the masses is running out."

In the face of these sharp developments, the three opposition parties—including the Japan Communist Party—have asked for an urgent meeting with Premier Tanaka "to discuss ways to settle the situation." Included in the opposition pact

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TUC Bows To Tory Pay Laws

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

On May Day thousands of British workers struck in a one day protest called by the Trades Union Congress against the government pay controls. Workers in newspapers, rail, engineering, steel, auto, mines and docks went out.

Despite the growing anger in the working class against the Tories and their attacks, on the eve of the May Day demonstration the leaders of the TUC announced their capitulation to the Tory government in a "reluctant acquiescence in Phase Two of the government's pay policy." Instead of a determined mobilization of the working class to defeat the government, the labor leaders commemorated May Day with an acceptance of the government's Phase Two controls.

The British Communist Party is completely behind the TUC leadership in supporting the government's control of wages and the unions. This is the meaning of their role at the teachers' union recent conference. The CP has capped its history of betrayal with the sellout of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) to the British Tory government's Pay Laws.

This is the latest major union—235,000 members—in Britain to be handcuffed by the wage freeze of Phase Two.

The Stalinists and phony "lefts" of the trade union bureaucracy have shown their complete contempt for the union members in their acceptance of the Tories' Phase Two.

Under Phase Two, workers are limited to a \$2.50 plus four percent increase, while food prices



A demonstration called last week at the Greek Consulate in New York City in defense of democratic right for Greek students fighting against repressions of Papadopoulos dictatorship.

Phnom Penh Nears Collapse

BY MELODY FARROW

The fall of Cambodian puppet Lon Nol is rapidly approaching as liberation troops occupied the village directly across the river from the capital of Phnom Penh. Lon Nol's troops are under heavy attack in other areas only three to four miles from the city.

In a recent interview Prince Sihanouk told reporters that his troops could have taken the capital long ago if they had wanted to. His aim, Sihanouk said, is "to completely isolate Phnom Penh and wait until it falls like a ripe fruit." The rotten Lon Nol dictatorship is only barely hanging on thanks to

massive US air support.

Sihanouk cited the threat of heavy civilian deaths from US bombing that would result if his army took over the city. Declaring that the Khmer Rouge now controlled 90 percent of Cambodian territory, he blamed the United States for hundreds of dead and thousands wounded from air strikes in civilian areas.

B-52's and F-111 jets have

poured bombs, rockets and napalm into densely populated areas around the capital in a futile attempt to oust the liberation troops. On April 28, 20 air strikes were flown along the east bank without success. Heavy bombing raids are taking place within miles of the city.

DESPERATE

Lon Nol, in a last desperate bid to give his regime a semblance of authority, set up a four man High Political Council to include three major opposition leaders. The National Assembly dutifully agreed to abolish itself by taking a six month vacation.

The council members are In Tam, leader of the so-called Democratic Party, Cheng Heng, former governor of the central prison in Phnom Penh, and Sirik Matak who helped Lon Nol in the 1970 coup that ousted Sihanouk.

Yet, three days after the Council was announced no meetings or statements had been made and all power still resides, as it always has, with Lon Nol.

The collapse of the Lon Nol regime exposes the weakness of imperialism throughout Indochina. A victory for the workers and peasants in Cambodia can open up a new offensive in Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia that will deal a decisive defeat to Nixon.

alone have risen as much as 40 percent since the Tories came to power two and a half years ago. A recent TUC document has tried to make a fetish out of "uncovering" the real meaning of the Pay Laws. They have fostered the illusion that there has been no infringement of basic democratic rights and that "unions can lawfully take industrial action to secure whatever settlements they can reach."

It is within the context of these betrayals that the importance of the recent British Young Socialists Conference must be understood. Seventeen hundred young workers, students and unemployed pledged themselves to fight for the transformation of the Socialist Labor League into the revolutionary party.

Young Socialist Student Society members spoke on the role of the Stalinists at the National Union of Students Conference. Brian Prangle, from the Southampton University YSSS, stated that:

"The Stalinists, who still dominate the NUS executive, want to avoid this clash with the Tories. They still believe there is some way of getting higher grants by pleading and crawling before the government."

Another YSSS member stated that it was the Stalinists' policy to keep students and intellectuals as far away as possible from any unity with the working class, and that this policy had allowed the government to use a

section of students as scabs during the 1926 General Strike. The only way this could be prevented today, it was stated, is through the construction of a mass Young Socialists movement in Britain.

It has only been the Socialist Labour League, through its daily paper Workers Press, and the Young Socialists weekly, Keep Left, which have consistently fought the Tory government's Phase Two measures and led the fight for the defense of basic democratic rights won by the working class and to bring the Tory government down and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The Workers League and Young Socialists invite you to a series of classes:

20 Years Of The International Committee

May 6: Spartacist: Radicalism vs. International Marxism.

May 13: The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI.

May 20: The International Committee Today.

Open to all individuals and political tendencies who will observe democratic procedure at the meetings.

Admission: \$1 for each class and unemployed
Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth

50 cents high school students
135 West 14 St. 7th Floor
call 924-0852 for info.



Auto Profits Soar As Wage Increases Fall

BY BRUCE MCKAY

As Ford and General Motors posted record-shattering profit reports last week, Nixon signed the extension of the Economic Stabilization Act which gives him the power to control wages for yet another year.

The enormous profit gains reported by Ford and GM reflect both the worldwide inflation and the vicious speedup being shoved down the throats of auto workers by "productivity" programs like GMAD.

Ford posted a 42.9 percent increase in profits for the first three months of 1973, by far the largest gain in its history. The surge brought profits to over \$360 million, while sales volume jumped 26.4 percent to \$6.1 billion.

GM's profits moved ahead over 25 percent to \$816 million on sales of \$9.6 billion. The brutal speedup imposed under GMAD is graphically recorded not only in these company statistics but in the 19 percent increase in actual production. GM workers in this country and abroad produced nearly 200,000 more vehicles in January, February and March than in the previous three months.

These gains are by no means exceptional. The Wall Street Journal reports that after tax profits of 655 American companies rose by an average of 27.8 percent during the first quarter.

The huge increases in profits and sales are coupled to significant increases in "productivity" throughout industry. The annual rate of "productivity" increase rose to 4.1 percent during the first three months of the year, compared to 3.6 percent in the previous period.

At the same time, the average pay increase granted in contracts signed during these months fell to a meager 4.5 percent, a drop of nearly two percent!

GLOOM

In the face of these apparently bright developments on the corporate scene, gloom continues to reign on Wall Street, where the New York Stock Exchange recorded some of its heaviest losses since the 1970 slump during the last week of April.

The gloom on Wall Street stems from a growing lack of confidence in the credit system and fear of the runaway inflation which now grips the capitalist world. Sections of the ruling class, in particular the bankers, are talking more and more openly of the necessity of putting a "brake" on the "overheated" economy to slow down the inflationary surge in order to protect their existing capital.

A good part of the increase in profits, they recognize, represents inflation and profit margins have still not reached the high levels of several years ago.

Internationally, they are concerned not only about the shaky international credit market, but also the threat to all paper currencies posed by the reassertion of the law of value.

TURNABOUT

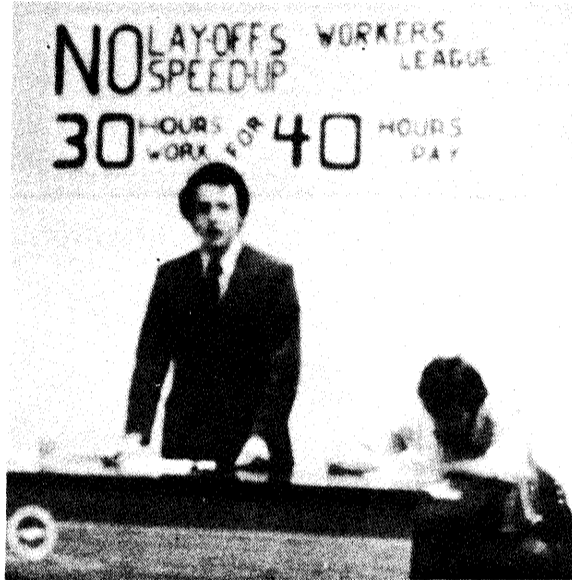
Gold has remained consistently above \$90 an ounce—more than twice the "official" price. The recent turnabout in the trade

relations between the US and Japan and the narrowing of the US trade deficit overall reveals the actual relationship of forces in the capitalist world. It reveals the dependence of the Japanese and European economies upon the dollar and the fact that all currencies will now come under attack from gold.

As Nicholas L. Deak, one of the world's most important currency traders, told the Journal of Commerce recently, "There will be frequent and sometimes quite

sizable fluctuations in the so-called price of gold. In the long term, gold, as always, will retain its value, while state-managed money, along with the countless political promises, will crumble and collapse."

What a restrictive credit policy will actually lead to is a liquidity crisis, the exposure of the many fraudulent speculators like Equity Funding and the explosion of the whole credit bubble upon which the current profits and "recovery" is based.



Bulletin Labor Editor David North speaks at St. Louis May Day meeting.

Open Letter to all working class parties Defend Democratic Rights

Dear Comrades,

The physical attacks opened up by the National Caucus of Labor Committees on the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party and the NCLC's open statement that it intends to physically "destroy" the CP and all organizations which defend it against these attacks poses the most serious dangers to all organizations and tendencies in the working class movement. It is obvious that there are police agents and provocateurs involved. These attacks are anti-communist in character and are a threat to the rights of all political tendencies to openly and freely discuss and fight for their policies in the workers movement.

Clearly this is not just a question of the Labor Committee. Behind it stands the attempts by Nixon and the government to whip up anti-communism and to attack the unions, political organizations in the working class and all basic rights of the working class. We have already seen the beginnings of this in the frame-up of militants, in the police attacks on striking workers and the jailing of trade union leaders. Special secret police in organizations like STRESS in Detroit have been used to terrorize workers and youth. So-called "narcotics agents" have raided and ransacked the homes of workers throughout the country.

Watergate has revealed the methods which Nixon and the government are prepared to use including raids, a whole network of political espionage including the use of police, CIA, and military agents, special secret squads, provocateurs, electronic eavesdropping. If Nixon is prepared to use these methods against the Democratic Party, we know it is clear what he is preparing against working class organizations.

Nixon has sought to create an atmosphere for these attacks with an anti-communist campaign. This began with Jane Fonda's trip to North Vietnam last year. A witch-hunt was whipped up against her with some accusing her of "treason." Nixon took this even further with the return of the

POW's. This has given full rein to open anti-communist attacks.

There is now the physical attacks by the Labor Committee on the CP and the SWP.

In the Tarrytown, New York General Motors plant a leaflet has been recently issued by the "UAW Committee to Stop Communism" which contains a vicious red-baiting attack on Bill Scott, head of the Tarrytown Rank and File Committee and a leader of the Trade Unions for Action and Democracy.

In Dayton, the leadership of UAW Local 696 has issued a red-baiting attack on the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party caucus and its candidates in the union elections.

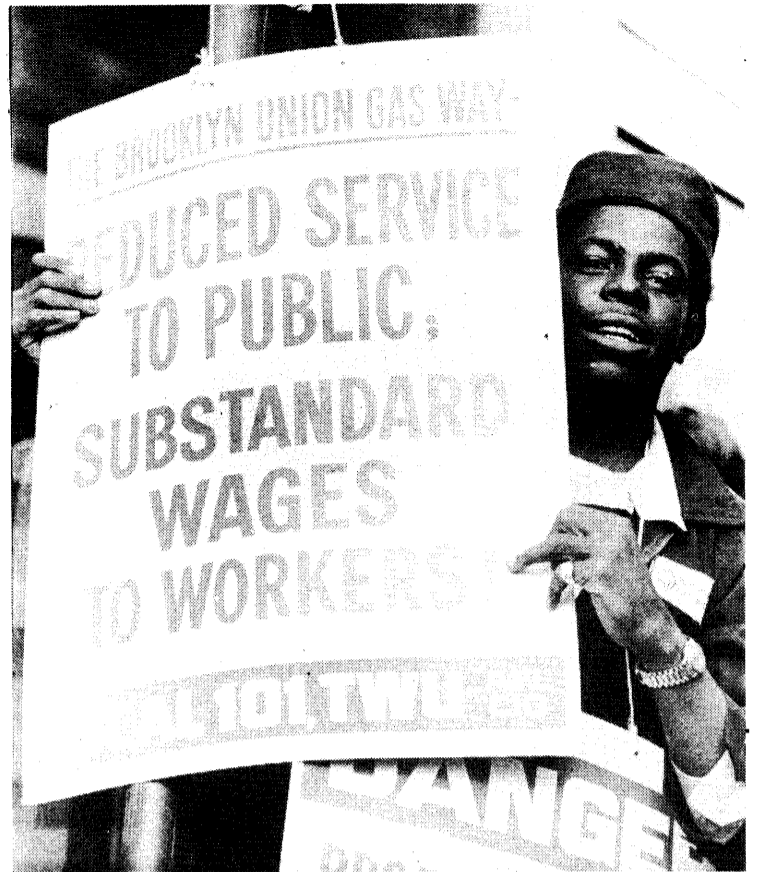
In Minneapolis a supporter of Progressive Labor, together with a right-wing element, has brought formal charges against two supporters of the Workers League in AFSCME Local 1164 attempting to get them expelled from the union for expressing their political beliefs. At the same time, in Michigan similar actions are being taken against supporters of Progressive Labor in AFSCME.

These attacks threaten the very future of every political tendency and the democratic rights of the working class. They are a warning of what is to come from the government. Nixon is trying to create conditions to jail militant trade unionists, socialists and communists.

Though there are deep political differences between the organizations, a joint defense against these attacks and in defense of basic rights is necessary.

In light of these developments and the continuing attacks of the Labor Committee, we feel that a discussion among all working class tendencies is urgently needed. The Workers League proposes that a meeting be called for Friday, May 18, or any other convenient time to discuss these anti-communist attacks, the threat to democratic rights and the question of joint defense.

Fraternally,
Lucy St. John
Editor



Shelle Mays, TWU Local 101 Rank & File Caucus supporter, who was harassed at April 30 membership meeting by Kirrane's goons.

Gasmen Demand 'Strike Now!'

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN, April 30—A mass meeting of 2000 members of Transit Workers Local 101 was held here at the Brooklyn Academy of Music tonight to discuss strike action as their current contract with Brooklyn Union Gas Company expired.

In the face of this militant determination by the ranks, the Kirrane leadership showed their complete arrogance

by not showing up until two hours after the meeting was scheduled to begin.

Hoping to avoid an all-out confrontation with the company, Kirrane had tried to make a last minute deal with BUG. However, all management had to offer was a mere 15 percent increase spread out over 25 months, two percent increase on retirement benefits and absolutely no fringe benefits.

During the delay, hundreds of workers chanted "strike," while many others got up to leave totally disgusted by the contempt of the leadership. Several workers spoke on the need for strike action to fight the attacks.

At this point, Kirrane's goons, expressing the fear of the bureaucracy in the face of the movement of the ranks, tried to beat up the speakers in an attempt to silence any opposition to the leadership. At the same time, they attacked Bulletin salesmen outside the hall in order to prevent the political questions facing workers from being raised.

When Kirrane finally appeared, he presented a two part resolution which called on the membership to reject the rotten offer made by BUG but also asked that the strike deadline be extended. Using this fraudulent maneuver, Kirrane hopes to buy time and avoid a showdown with BUG.

The Rank and File Caucus is demanding that Kirrane call a mass membership meeting by Friday, May 11, to plan immediate strike action if all of the original demands have not been met. At the same time, the ranks must demand that the local put before the meeting of the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO next week the call for a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party as the only way to defeat Phase Three and meet our demands.

UAW Men District 65 Paralyzes Garment Center

Hold Out At AVCO

BY RUTH NELSON

STRATFORD, Conn., April 28—Nineteen hundred members of the United Auto Workers Local 1010 are entering their third week of strike action against Avco-Lycoming Division, manufacturers of gas turbine engines.

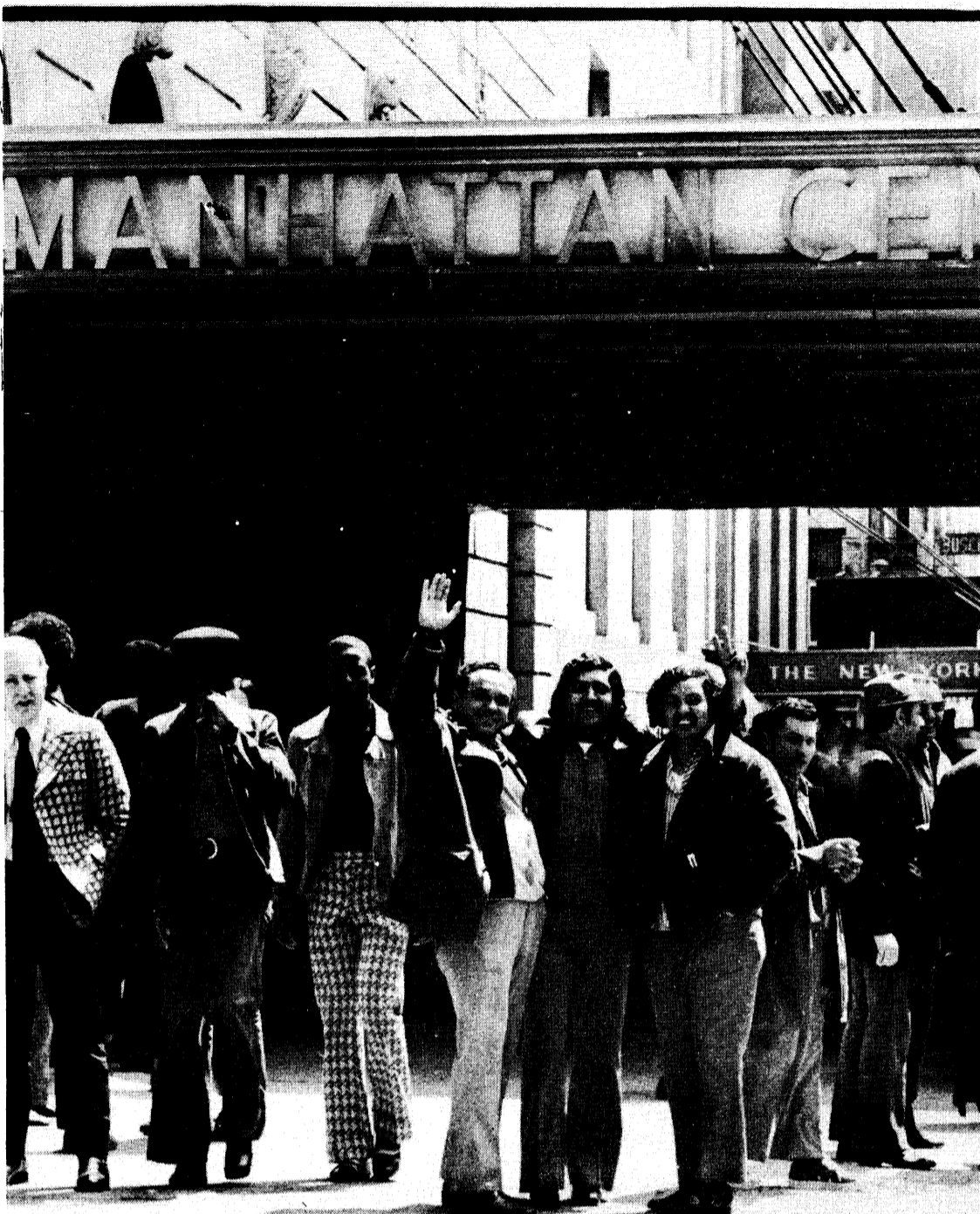
While some of the 2300 non-production employees are manning the machines, fork lifts, and driving trucks, one UAW member stated: "The way they're talking, the company is planning to close the door on the union at Avco."

Last week the company demanded that all production workers hand in their identification badges. The men feel this means a long strike and that the elimination of the union is being planned. Over the last few years, several thousand workers have been laid off at Avco.

Negotiations began over two months ago with the company demanding cuts in sick days and medical benefits and practically no increase in pay. When negotiations broke down just before the strike, the company had offered around 5.5 percent per year on the average wage of \$4.60 an hour.

Negotiations have not resumed and Rus Booth, president of the local, has held no union meetings since the strike began.

Local 1010 has been joined in the strike by 200 members of UAW Local 376, office, technical and professional employees, after being locked out the Wednesday before Easter.



Distributive Workers from District 65, New York City are out on strike for a cost of living escalator and a \$15 per week first year increase. Over 4000 workers packed Manhattan Center for the strike meeting.

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, May 1—Five thousand members of District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America have virtually shut down most of New York City's vast textile industry in a struggle for higher wages and protection against the skyrocketing cost of living.

Picket lines will go up Wednesday in the face of the refusal of all but one of the major employers' associations to meet the union's demands.

Many of the workers are involved in the delivery of materials to garment factories in the city, and union President David Livingston predicted the strike would shut down the industry within a week.

The Knitwear Employers Association has agreed to a three year contract, which meets all the demands, and the union leadership is using this agreement to set the pattern for negotiations with the other employers.

The contract demands include a \$15 per week increase in the first year of the contract and a \$7.50 increase in the next two years in addition to a full cost of living escalator and with a minimum of six percent increase. According to one union spokesman, this will mean a minimum raise of \$12 per week during the second and third years.

DETERMINATION

Over 4000 workers poured into Manhattan Center today in a militant show of their determination to win these demands.

The \$15 per week first year increase proposed by the union leadership exceeds Nixon's 5.5 percent wage limit, which means the struggle to win this demand from the textile employers will bring the union into conflict with Nixon's government.

Workers told the *Bulletin* even this increase is barely enough to make up for the inflation of the last year.

"You're tired of being walked over, of being treated like a peasant," said one worker. "We have families to take care of. We want something we can take home to our families and be proud of."

"With the cost of living the way it is, the way prices are going up and up, they have to give us more money, but they don't want to give us more money," he said. "But I'll walk a picket line till Hell freezes over to get it."

"If we get what we got three years ago, that would be half way fair. Then we got \$17 a week the first year," he said.

Rubber Ranks Wildcat Against 5.5% Sell-Out

BY DAVID NORTH

AKRON, Ohio, May 1—The settlement reached last week between the United Rubber Workers and the Goodyear Corporation is irrefutable proof that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has instructed the leaderships of the unions up for new contracts in 1973 to accept the restrictions from Nixon's Phase Three.

For the first time in more than a decade, the URW has signed a three year contract with Goodyear without a strike. URW President Peter Bommarito has not only accepted the 5.5 percent wage guidelines but he has also abandoned the demand for a cost of living escalator.

While the Goodyear agreement traditionally sets the contract pattern for the entire rubber industry, the settlement has even greater significance this year, because the rubber workers are the first of five million trade un-

ionists in basic industry facing contract battles. The outcome of the URW negotiations has long been seen as a crucial test for Phase Three.

Both Nixon and the AFL-CIO leadership fully intend to hold up the betrayal of the rubber workers as a model for the entire labor movement. Teamsters, electrical workers and auto workers will be expected to adhere to the "rubber formula" in the coming months.

An official of Goodyear Local 2 in Akron, the largest in the URW, told the *Bulletin* that Bommarito had communicated several times with the Nixon Administration during the course of the negotiations.

"I am sure that the International leadership took Phase Three into consideration," Goodrich Local 5 Vice President Sanford Miller told the *Bulletin*. "I don't approve of the contract, but it has set the pattern. No one thinks that Goodrich workers will ask for more than those working for Goodyear."

The fact that the URW leadership decided to accept its worst contract in the union's history, in order to avoid challenging Phase Three, was confirmed by Tom Jenkins, representative of the

Local 2 skilled trades division. "We are very much aware that this settlement was not meant to challenge the guidelines. No one here is kidding himself."

SELLOUT

The new contract is a sellout. In addition to accepting the pay guidelines, Bommarito has gone along with a pension plan which will cost retiring rubber workers over \$100 per month in lost benefits due to a clause which allows the company to deduct 24 percent for each month below the 37 years required for the full benefits.

Furthermore, the president of Local 2, John Nardella, has already signed a supplementary contract which opens the way for a new series of layoffs and speedup. Within a week of the signing of the agreement, national opposition has developed among the URW rank and file. Rubber workers in the plants in Union City, Tennessee and Narysville, Ohio voted down the contract.

A 24 hour walkout occurred in the Union City plant. The ratification vote in Local 2 is not scheduled until Sunday, and union officials admitted that the members were likely to reject

the contract. However, the International has told the local that the contract is already in effect because a majority of the locals have ratified the pact.

Therefore, no matter what the vote, in the largest local in the URW, this sellout is going to go through. "Most guys think the settlement is a sellout," said a 22 year old rubber worker. "No one can understand why Bommarito went along with the 5.5 percent without first getting an escalator clause."

A rubber worker who opposed ratification said that the Local 2 membership would overwhelmingly reject the contract, "if the men don't stay home out of disgust!" "Most men feel as I do," declared an older URW member who works as a rigger in the plant. "I say the hell with the guidelines and you can quote me on that."

It must be clear, however, that the URW settlement is the product of the entire AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Bommarito is a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and he is carrying out the policy of collaboration with Phase Three which the Executive Council decided upon last February when Nixon visited (Continued On Page 16)



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Picket at Rich's Department Store in Atlanta reading the Bulletin.

Southern Workers On The Move

BY MELODY FARROW

ATLANTA, Ga.—For the first time a Bulletin trailblazing team has gone South selling hundreds of subscriptions to workers and youth in the Atlanta Georgia and Birmingham Alabama area. The paper has received a tremendous response in Georgia where workers face another year of wage controls when they are barely able to support their families on what they make now.

The wages in the South are far lower than the North. Most working people here take home only about \$60 to \$85 a week and the majority are not organized in trade unions.

Out of these wages they pay exorbitant rents and prices. One woman told the Bulletin that she pays \$150 for rent and utilities for half of a run down shack in Atlanta on a take home pay of \$60 a week.

Unemployment is also very high. Large companies are moving South to take advantage of the low wages and they try to use the unemployment rate to intimidate workers and weaken union organization. For example, the Kelly pools in Atlanta are agencies which hire the unemployed at \$1.60 an hour on a daily basis while the agency gets paid by the companies \$2.50 an hour for each worker.

Many women who are the sole supporters of their families cannot find jobs and must live on the small welfare grants in bleak prison-like projects.

YOUTH

There is nothing for youth in the South, no decent schools, no jobs, no future. Colleges like Georgia State and Morris Brown College have high tuitions. At every campus, the Bulletin has been received with tremendous enthusiasm by students eager to understand the crisis they face and how to fight back.

At Dekalb Technical College students learn skills that there are no jobs for. As soon as we

arrived, the students began buying subscriptions and wanted to fight to get a Young Socialists club on campus. The administration is extremely reactionary and is so afraid of any political movement among the youth that they threatened us with arrest unless we left the campus.



Young worker and his family in Atlanta. He is fighting to organize his plant with the IBEW.

The conditions workers face in Georgia has unleashed a powerful spontaneous upsurge among all sections of workers to organize in unions. This is shown in the growing strike movement. Many workers are involved in campaigns to bring the Teamsters, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other unions into the plants.

Rich's Department Store, the largest in Atlanta, employs almost 10,000 people, 300 of them Black. There is no union and most workers make around two dollars an hour.

STRIKE

On April 1, the Black workers went on strike to fight for a one dollar an hour raise, equal promotion opportunity and better working conditions. The first

week the strikers took over the building and many were arrested. One of the picket captains told the Bulletin:

"We just got sick and tired and decided we had to do something. I've been driving a truck for Rich's for 18 years and I've never had a promotion. We are passed over when it comes to a promotion even when we have more seniority than the white workers.

"The white workers are supporting us. Most are staying home, they won't cross the picket line. Many of the women here take home only \$75 a week and it's very hard to support a family."

The strikers emphasized again and again that the strike was not just for Black workers. One striker said:

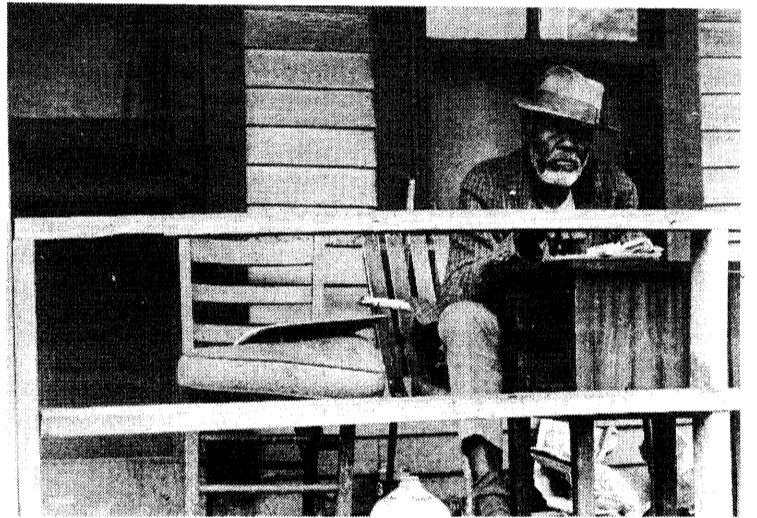
"This isn't only for Blacks. That's not what we're out here for. Maybe the white workers supporting us won't walk the picket line because that's what they think it is. I think it's time we had a union."

Mead's container plant in Atlanta, the largest packaging plant in the world, was also hit by a strike last September.

CONFIDENCE

In these struggles, there is a growing confidence among Southern workers that they will not be pushed back any further, that they can fight Nixon's attacks. The potential to unite Black and white workers in a common struggle is very clear. In many ways the crisis is felt even more sharply in the South, making the situation all the more explosive.

The trade union movement must mobilize their strength in Georgia behind the Rich workers



An old man sits on the porch of a shack which rents for \$120 a month.

and organize the unorganized in the South, many of whom feel helpless to fight back without any organization. The construction of a labor party is critical to unite the workers, unemployed and youth against the government.

One of the biggest developments in the South is the breakdown and bankruptcy of the old protest civil rights movement of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Atlanta has been the center of this movement which depends on getting crumbs from the government by appealing to the liberal Democrats. But today many workers and youth see the futility of protest marches, and are looking for an alternative. The fight for wages and for decent conditions is rapidly superseding the SCLC protest marches.

Hosea Williams, the SCLC leader in Atlanta, is now trying to intervene in the labor struggles to prevent them from becoming a political movement against the government. At Rich's, Williams organized a mule train march to support the strike and put a leaflet out which called for the appointment of a Black store manager and pleaded with Black preachers and politicians to support the strike.

Williams poses it purely as a Black issue, refuses to call on the labor unions to intervene, or even demand union representation,

and reduces the whole fight to begging for a few "meager" demands. These policies only help to keep the white workers from actively joining the strike.

SCLC bases itself on the concept that working people must accept their oppression and only try to modify it. It is this reactionary idea that Southern workers are fighting to break from. One woman told us: "I just don't see what Martin Luther King did that was so great. I mean, nothing has changed."

A construction worker who bought a subscription said: "What we need is a workers government, our own government that people like us can trust. These politicians are all corrupt, they are laughing at us behind our backs."

In this situation, the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party say political questions, the fight for a labor party, cannot be raised now because workers aren't "ready." They gave complete support to Hosea Williams' mule train and bolstered up the policies that the workers themselves are moving beyond.

The construction of the Workers League and Young Socialists, of a new leadership among the workers and youth is desperately needed in the South and we are confident that it will receive, as it did on this trip, overwhelming support.

National Vendor Strikers Dig In

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, April 29—The strike here by 600 members of Local 1345 of the International Association of Machinists Number 3 in St. Louis and another in Branhart, Missouri against National Vendors Company is entering its third week and negotiations have yet to take place.

Last Friday the striking workers received a letter from the president of the company expressing his "complete bewilderment" and that the workers must have been confused as to what he offered. The strikers are not confused and have no intention of accepting the pittance that they have been offered.

One said, "The company had a good year, and we are going to stay out until we get what we want."

The company has offered 38 cents the first year, 22 cents the second year, and 5 cents the third year. One man said, "We'll be right back in the hole again in the last year. Pork chops and meat are still going up." No other demands of the contract have been discussed.

Another said: "The nurse refuses doctor's statements. What we need is a union nurse who will do something for us and not the guys sitting in the office."

The union is also fighting for changes in the vacation policies. One worker said, "After one year we get one week, after three years we get two weeks and after nine years you still get two weeks. That's like working there nine years for nothing."

Other workers complained about harassment and speedup. "It's like working in the city workhouse. We're supposed to be like a machine in that place.

They raised the line speed 20 percent but they sure didn't raise our pay 20 percent. One fellow had to go on an emergency and they docked him two days off his Christmas bonus."

Many workers had choice comments about Nixon. One remarked, "I don't see where Nixon is doing the working class any good. Another said, "How could any one have voted for Nixon, right to work laws and such, they want to go 100 years back."

On Watergate one said, "Nixon knew about it, he probably engineered it." Another replied, "Everybody's got a fall guy, even Nixon's fall guys are going to take the rap."

The stand of the National Vendors Company, who have refused to discuss even a 5.5 percent wage increase, must be a warning to all workers. The period of

automatically gaining concessions to keep up with the cost of living is over. Only through the political independence of the working class, through the construction of a labor party, can the living standards won in the past be maintained. The striking machinists must give the lead in this struggle with the call for a Congress of Labor.

Evanston Drivers Fight For \$1 Hike

BY DEBRA WATSON

EVANSTON, Ill.—After four days on the picket line, 110 drivers and mechanics who work for the Evanston Bus Company are standing firm on their demands for higher wages and increased fringe benefits.

Their resolute stand against a vicious union-busting drive has prompted another Chicago area transit division to set a strike for 12:01 Sunday. Thirty Joliet Mass Transit District drivers were turned down flat on their demand for a dollar an hour increase, which would put their average pay at \$4.47 an hour.

The Evanston bus drivers demand for a living wage, increasing the \$4.49 an hour base pay, has been the center of a week long drive by the Evanston Bus Company, allied with the North Suburban Mass Transit District, the Chicago Transit authority and the Evanston City Council, designed to destroy the Amalgamated Transit Union.

On Monday, as the Evanston Corporation Counsel went before the district court seeking an injunction, the City Council passed a resolution deploring the strike and refusing to allocate funds for the bankrupt company.

The treachery of the ATU Division 241 leadership is clear by their refusal to expose the initial drive against this small local as preparation for attacks on the Amalgamated Transit

Union throughout Illinois. They would not let the drivers strike until the injunction decision was made.

Sherman Carmel, attorney for Local 241, fought the injunction successfully by claiming the Evanston Bus Company is a private corporation and cannot be enjoined under a state law outlawing strikes by public employees. Most Illinois Transit Union members work for public and semi-public firms. The corporation council attempted to use the fact that the Evanston Bus Company receives some public funds in order to extend the power of this reactionary law.

A Local 241 steward told the Bulletin that there was no perspective for pulling out the entire division and that the men could not be united because one part worked for a public corporation and the other a private firm. The ranks must fight this now.

At the heart of the union-busting drive being carried out is an attack on the wage demands of the entire ATU. The Evanston Drivers contract expired last June 30.

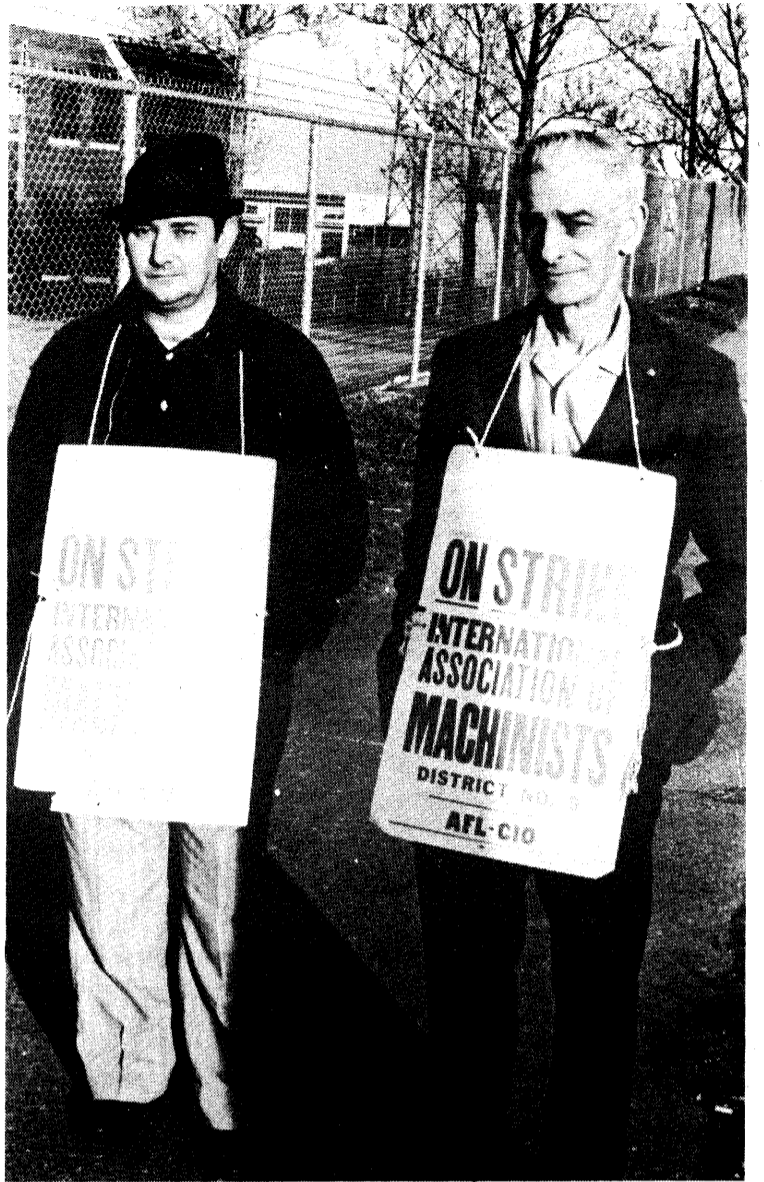
Since that time, working on an extension of the old contract, they have been granted only 19 cents an hour for cost of living increases due, and one bus driver pointed out that this was not retroactive all the way to June 30.

Division 241 members who work for the CTA have been working on an extension of the contract since November 30, and have been granted only 15 cents of their cost of living increments slashed by the Pay Board last June.

In the face of rising taxes, cutbacks in all services and the highest jump in cost of living in the country, the ATU leadership has proposed the Evanston drivers fight for only a 5.5 percent increase and a .7 percent in fringe benefits.

A caucus must be constructed in the ATU around a program demanding full back pay, a 20 percent wage increase and a 100 percent cost of living increment quarterly. Only through calling a Congress of Labor to build a labor party can the working class defend its basic needs.

Midwest News



St. Louis IAM Local 1345: "The company had a good year, and we are going to stay out until we get what we want."

Thorstad Chevrolet Out To Bust UAW

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON, Wis.—Mechanics in Local 443 of the United Auto Workers are facing a May 15 decertification vote as they continue a grueling strike of over seven months at the Thorstad Chevrolet Company. There have been no negotiations for two months because of the company's refusal to bargain.

Now Thorstad is determined to eliminate the union as scabs file for decertification. The company refused to grant even a four percent wage increase and is adamant in dropping the cost of living escalator.

Thorstad's proposal was: continued cost of living the first year of the contract, then a three percent wage hike and the dropping of the cost of living, and the third year, another three percent hike.

A shop steward on strike told the Bulletin: "I figure since the cost of living increase was six percent last year, the company's really trying to negotiate a pay cut."

REFUSING

Thorstad is also refusing to rehire strikers. Even if the union had settled after six months, the company offered to take two men back within a week, and maybe four or five after a month of the settlement. A total of 51 men walked off the job on September 19, 1972. About 20 are still picketing, while many others have been forced to find other jobs over this seven month

period. A full force of scabs is now running the repair division at Thorstad. One striker commented on the lack of training the scabs had: "I wouldn't let the guy who's taking my place take my kid's bicycle apart."

At Thorstad the delivery of 1973 cars was being held up by the Teamsters' refusal to cross picket lines. The scab drivers had become too expensive for C.J. Thorstad. However, when the Teamsters lost a vote to the UAW for bargaining agent in a nearby town, the leadership took it out on the Thorstad workers by strikebreaking. The 1973 cars have now filled up the lot at Thorstad. They were moved in by the Teamsters.

While wide support has come from individual trade union members, the leaderships of the Madison Federation of Labor, the UAW and the Teamsters are directly responsible for allowing this strike to drag on in isolation.

An all-out political defense must be taken up now in defense of wages. There is no UAW member or Madison trade unionist not affected by this inflation. No decent contract can be won by any union today without clearing out the traitors like Woodcock who refuse to unify the unions, build a labor party, and smash Nixon's Pay Board.

A striking shop steward at Thorstad replied: "I think a labor party is a good idea. There is nobody around fighting in politics for us. If labor unions can't keep together it just helps out Nixon."

1,000 Lose Arsenal Jobs

BY A REPORTER

ST. PAUL—The Nixon Administration's slashes in the federal payroll hit the Twin Cities this week with the layoff of 1000 workers from the Twin City Army and Munitions Plant. This is nearly half the work force in the plant, located in the St. Paul suburb of New Brighton.

Operated under government contract by the Federal Cartridge Corporation, the great bulk of those dismissed were members of Machinists Local 459, with members of the operating engineers, office workers, building trades and restaurant workers also being affected.

Jack Hearle, business agent of the Machinists for the arsenal, told the Bulletin that those laid off would get their vacation pay, up to \$500 in accumulated sick

leave pay, and that their pensions would be payable if work was secured for them under a similar arrangement.

Hearle indicated that the union leadership had no plans to fight for jobs for these workers outside of a campaign of writing letters to Congress.

A laid off member of Local 459, who had put in almost seven years in the plant altogether, told the Bulletin that his department had 200 workers before the layoffs and "now there are about four left."

"The week after next they'll probably close the whole place," was his estimate of the situation. "They're cutting out truck drivers, guards, everything." He added that he expected a final shutdown of production facilities in July, with only a handful of office and maintenance workers remaining to preserve the equipment.

BY JEAN BRUST
MINNEAPOLIS—An event of great political importance to all trade unionists and political tendencies within the workers movement is underway in Minneapolis.

A trial has begun aimed at expelling two members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees for exercising their right to support the position of the Workers League within their union.

The Workers League has appealed to other political tendencies within the working class in this area to attend the trial and defend the basic rights of all union members.

This trial takes place at a time when the union is in a bitter battle for its right to exist and win its first contract from a totally hostile University of Minnesota administration. In the face of the continuous refusal of the university to make any concessions in a year of negotiations, Perry and Liz Tilleras have been campaigning within the union for the necessity to prepare for a strike vote in order to win the necessary contract. This fight to mobilize the ranks for a strike has taken place under conditions where the leadership of Council 6 and Local 1164 has proposed no way to battle the administration.

Especially significant in this is the role of supporters of another political organization: Progressive Labor-SDS, which has come forward to block with the extreme right wing and assist them in this red-baiting attempt to expel members for their political beliefs and for fighting for those beliefs within the union.

ATTACKS

Eric Nyberg, supporter of PL within Local 1164, has initiated a series of attacks on the Tillerases and on the Committee for a Decent Contract. Threats of physical attack at the plant were followed with the hooligan spraying of the word "scabbing" on the car of these two members of CDC.

Following the refusal of the members to be intimidated into resigning from the union, Nyberg cooperated with the right winger Tom Grosscup to bring charges before the Executive Committee Board of 1164 asking that these two be expelled for violation of the union constitution. Nyberg makes two charges against the Tillerases. The first charge revolves around a specific grievance several months ago and a special meeting called around this grievance in which Nyberg contends: "They, however, went beyond arguing their views and went around telling their members that the special meeting being called was not an official union meeting."

The second charge involves the fight of the CDC against the proposed sick-out as a way of fighting to gain the contract. Nyberg charges that: "On March 13 they issued a completely unauthorized leaflet—announcing to management the entire nature, time, and extent of our plan of action."

ANTI-COMMUNISM

The real meaning of the attack and the vicious nature of the attack, however, is revealed in the charges of Grosscup, who completely solidarizes himself with

Witchhunters At Work In AFSCME Local 1164



Liz Tilleras standing by car spray painted by Progressive Labor Party.

Letter sent to the Socialist Workers Party:

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are copies of the charges filed in AFSCME 1164 asking for the expulsion of two of our supporters, Perry and Liz Tilleras. We would like to draw your attention especially to the last three paragraphs of these charges.

In this period of the hooliganism of the National Caucus of Labor Committees and their open threats specifically to liquidate the Communist Party, along with attacks and threats on the Socialist Workers Party, we welcome the Militant's statement of condemnation of these activities and call for the defense of the CP and the YWLL.

We now call upon the Socialist Workers Party to condemn the anti-communist attempt to witch-hunt our supporters out of the trade union movement and to instruct your supporters within AFSCME 1164 to attend the hearings and testify against this attack on the right of political tendencies to fight on their program within the trade union movement.

Jean Brust
Minneapolis Workers League

Letter sent to the Communist Party:

Dear Comrade Smith,

Enclosed are copies of charges filed in AFSCME 1164, University of Minnesota workers, asking for the expulsion of two of our supporters, Perry and Liz Tilleras. We would like to draw your attention especially to the last three paragraphs of these charges.

In this period of the hooliganism of the National Caucus of Labor Committees and their open threat to specifically liquidate the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, and their attacks on your members, supporters, meetings and bookstores, it is necessary to defend the right of all political tendencies to openly and freely fight for their program within the workers movement, to defend all tendencies from anti-communist attacks.

We therefore call upon the Twin Cities Communist Party to condemn these charges and use whatever influence it has within AFSCME 1164 to oppose any move to witch-hunt members out of the union movement for their political positions.

Jean Brust
Minneapolis Workers League

Letter to Perr Nyberg of PLP:

Dear Comrade Nyberg,
Enclosed are copies of charges filed in 1164 asking for the expulsion of two of our supporters, Perry and Liz Tilleras. We would like to draw your attention especially to the last three paragraphs of these charges.

At a time when the National Caucus of Labor Committees has threatened the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League, with physical liquidation and has attacked their members, offices and meetings, and at a time when supporters of PL-SDS, as reported in the recent issue of Challenge, are being witch-hunted out of an AFSCME local in Michigan, it is necessary to defend the right of all union members to fight on a political program within the labor movement and to defend every member from anti-communist attacks.

We therefore call upon you to take the action necessary for Eric Nyberg, one of your supporters, to disassociate himself from the right wing anti-communist charges filed by Tom Grosscup and to instruct all members of PLP-SDS within AFSCME 1164 to oppose any moves to witch-hunt members out of the union movement for their political position.

Jean Brust
Minneapolis Workers League

GROSSCUP CHARGES:

"I serve this local...as the appointed chairman of the local's constitutional and legal committee.

"It is not in the latter capacity that I appear before the Executive Board, sitting as the judicial panel of Local 1164 to file charges against Elizabeth A. Tilleras and Perry L. Tilleras, permitted under Article 10, Section 1 of the AFSCME International Constitution, that any member of the federation may file charges against any other member of the federation, but rather by Eric Nyberg and myself as members of Local 1164 AFSCME, AFL-CIO.

"We charge that the Tillerases have violated Article 10, Section 2, Item B, with activity intended to assist the objectives of the Workers League, a competing organization.

"We charge that the Tillerases have violated Article 10, Section 2, Item H, by using the name of Local 1164 to give weight to ideas promoted in the leaflet that expressed the objective of the Workers League and not those of 1164. Under Article 10, Section 15, Item G, we ask expulsion from the union for this politically polluted pair, Elizabeth A. Tilleras and Perry L. Tilleras."

Nyberg and makes additional charges of his own. First: that they (the accused) agitated for the need to prepare a strike to gain a contract. They are further charged with activities to assist the objectives of the Workers League, which is declared to be a rival organization. And he further reveals his real anti-

communism by demanding the expulsion from the union of "this politically polluted pair."

The first charge by Nyberg is simply false and will be proven so in the trial. After clearing up some original confusion and establishing that the meeting involved was indeed an official union meeting, the caucus

members—Perry Tilleras specifically—did everything possible to build the meeting. The date of the proposed sick-out was released because at the March 8 union meeting plans had been announced to publicize this action in the union newsletter and no mention of its secret character was made. Grosscup's

charges, however,—which Nyberg supports—are of a different character and involve the very right of the caucus to exist, to issue leaflets in its own name, and to fight for policies which they consider beneficial to the needs of the workers.

POLITICAL

Every caucus leaflet has borne the name of the caucus on it. None has paraded as official union leaflets, nor were they issued by these two Workers League supporters alone. Grosscup further attacks the right of any union member to support and fight within the union for the position of any political organization to the left of the Democratic Party. That is the real meaning of his attempt to get the Tillerases expelled. It is this red-baiting that the supporters of PL-SDS in the union, led by Nyberg, diligently covered up for.

This comes at a time when the bureaucracy itself, both within AFSCME and the rest of the labor movement, turn toward red-baiting to prevent the building of an opposition leadership within the labor movement to answer Nixon's attacks and when that answer simply has to be fought for. In fact, the recent issue of Challenge, PL-SDS organ, reports that similar efforts are underway to expel two PL supporters from an AFSCME local in Michigan.

This turn to red-baiting by PL supporters comes at a time when the National Caucus of Labor Committees announces plans to physically annihilate the Communist Party. These terrorist attacks on both the CP and the Socialist Workers Party are a real red-baiting drive that has opened their ranks to the violence of police agents and provocateurs, raising the urgency of all political tendencies in the working class to unite in a basic defense of democratic rights within the working class.

The Workers League recognizes that this attack is in no way an isolated attack that interests just the members of Local 1164, the Committee for a Decent Contract, or the Workers League. We recognize, on the contrary, that this is a most dangerous precedent: that these kinds of actions endanger the very existence of the union itself.

Therefore, the Minnesota Workers League has appealed to the other political tendencies in Minnesota in view of the attacks of the National Caucus of Labor Committees on the CP. The Workers League calls upon the Twin Cities CP branches to condemn these attacks and to urge any supporter that they have in the unions to attend the trial and defend the Tillerases' democratic rights. Because the SWP has taken a principled stand on the question of the defense of the CP both in their press and in their action in really protecting CP meetings, we call upon them to take the same action in this case.

In view of the danger of these actions posed to all political groups within the union movement and specifically the charges in Michigan against two of their own supporters, we call upon the Progressive Labor Party to disassociate themselves from these red-baiting charges and to urge Nyberg to drop his unprincipled alliance with the red-baiting Grosscup and defend the Tillerases at the trial. Unable to sway Nyberg, we call on PL to publicly disassociate themselves from his actions and from this entire attack.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Why Is AFL-CIO Silent On Watergate?

(Continued From Page 1)

I.W. Abel's gift to the steel companies of the workers' right to strike.

Faced with these betrayals, workers must realize that Watergate is not just another scandal, that it has nothing in common with the Teapot Dome or the Bobby Baker affair. The break-in and bugging at Watergate and the extensive political spying and sabotage activity of which it was a part represents a sharp break even with the traditions of capitalist democracy which arose out of the struggles of 1776 and the Civil War.

Thus, what the Watergate scandal and Nixon's response to it reveal is far more than the corruption which has permeated capitalism since the days of the robber barons and Boss Tweed. It has exposed the political preparations of the Nixon government for the confrontation with the powerful American working class which must inevitably occur as the big banks and corporations seek to drive back workers' living and working conditions in the face of an unparalleled international economic crisis.

Nixon's real intentions were revealed when he signed the new Economic Stabilization Act last Monday, a law which got through both houses of Congress with the aid of the Democratic majorities.

It was with an utter contempt for the working class that Nixon, just moments before he placed his signature on this document which gives him the power to control workers' wages, could say to working people in his television performance:

"When I think of this office, of what it means, I think of all the things that I want to accomplish for this nation, of all the things I want to accomplish for you."

It was with all the cynicism and lying of the American ruling class that Nixon could claim he was taking the "responsibility" for Watergate upon his own shoulders while openly defending Haldeman and Ehrlichman—"two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know"—and claiming to have known nothing about the involvement of his staff and closest advisers in the spy mission at Watergate.

What Nixon is preparing for workers in the immediate period ahead includes new wage controls and plans to incorporate the trade union bureaucracy even further in the wage control apparatus, anti-strike laws, a new minimum wage law which will form a cheap labor pool out of the millions of working class youth, a drive to eliminate those social services and public welfare programs which have not already fallen to his budget axe and a stepped up "law and order" campaign to launch new attacks on the democratic rights of workers and their unions.

Watergate is not isolated from these attacks. It was an important part of them in the sense that it was part of Nixon's preparations to shed all the trappings of American capitalist democracy in order to attack all the basic rights of workers.

It is not separate, for example, from the bugging of the headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters which was recently revealed.

It is not only the exposure of these preparations in the Watergate scandal itself the ruling class fears. It is putting tremendous pressure on Nixon because the continual political crisis of the past weeks has completely disrupted the government at a time when the international economic crisis is rapidly deepening. As Nixon said in his televised speech:

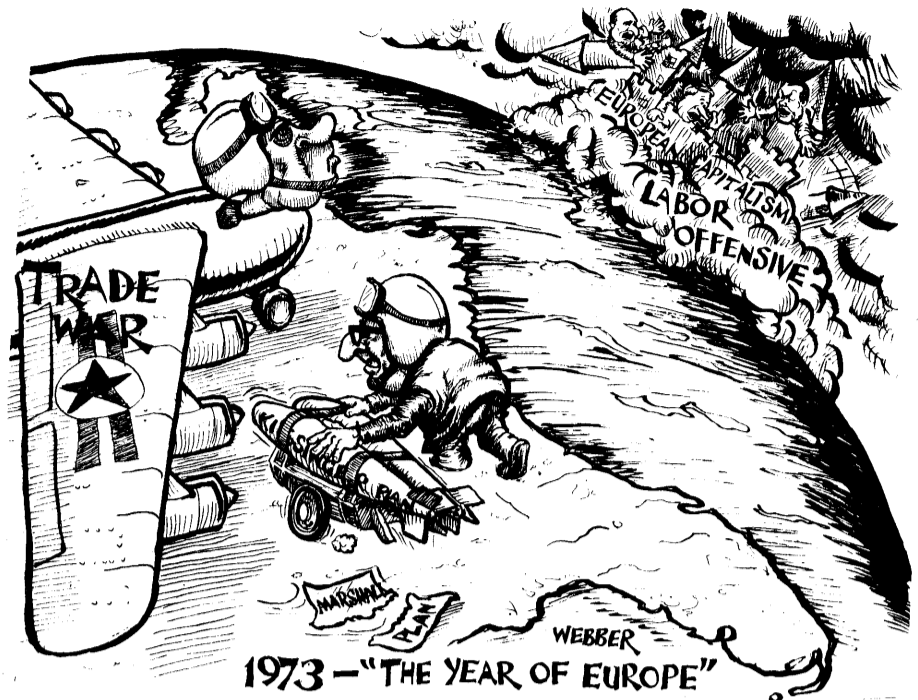
"It is also essential that we not be so distracted by events such as this that we neglect the vital work before us, before this nation, before America at a time of critical importance to America and the world."

This is the meaning of the warning given Nixon by Henry Ford II that the situation must be resolved one way or another because it is undermining the stability of capitalist rule.

In the face of Nixon's tremendous weakness at this point, in the face of this profound political crisis, in the face of the enormous dangers which face the labor movement, the silence of Meany, Woodcock and the rest of the trade union leadership is criminal.

A new leadership must be built in the unions against these traitors in the struggle to convene a Congress of Labor. This leadership must fight on the basis of the program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to develop a political alternative to Nixon and all the corrupt politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Out of the development of this leadership, out of the actual convening of a Congress of Labor and out of the united action of the labor movement which can force Nixon to resign will be created the conditions for the construction of a labor party.



What we think Tasks Of Congress Of Labor

Workers around the country are coming into collision with the betrayals of their leaderships in a fight to defend their basic rights. Abel's no-strike pact has been met with massive opposition among steel workers all over the country. The rubber workers' settlement is being rejected by wildcat strike action in Ohio.

However, the fight against Nixon cannot be carried forward through isolated actions by the unions. What is urgently required today is for the entire labor movement to come together in a Congress of Labor. The fight to defend the basic rights and living standards, as well as all democratic rights which—as revealed in espionage activities carried out during the last election—are under attack, can only go forward if the labor movement adopts a policy to meet these attacks.

This Congress of Labor must map out a strategy to fight against Nixon and the Congress of big business. This Congress must confront the question of how Phase Three will be smashed and living standards defended against. It must confront the question of how Nixon's budget cuts, unemployment, anti-union laws and the attacks on democratic rights can be defeated.

We will propose at such a Congress that industrial and general strike action must be planned to smash Phase Three and abolish the Cost of Living Council. We will propose a fight for an immediate 20 percent wage increase in all the contract struggles as well as a 100 percent cost of living escalator.

To eliminate unemployment, we will propose the fight for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and the immediate restoration of all job training programs eliminated by Nixon's budget cuts. At the same time, we will propose a policy to fight for the restoration of all budget cuts and the tremendous expansion of social services.

Above all, we will fight to have the Congress construct a labor party as the only way to answer the attacks of Nixon. The defense of all the gains of workers today can only be taken forward politically. Therefore, the task facing millions of workers is not to turn away from politics in complete disgust at the corruption of both the Democrats and Republicans but to construct their own political party that will fight in their interests against both parties of big business. Never before in the history of the American working class has the need for workers to have their own party been more urgent and never before has the time been more ripe for creating it as both the Democrats and Republicans stand totally exposed.

In light of the present crisis in the government and the immediate needs of millions of workers, the central

question now before the AFL-CIO Executive Board meeting on May 8 is the calling of an emergency Congress of Labor. The ranks of the unions must demand that this question be put before this meeting.

At the same time it is clear that the union leaders will not call this Congress on their own. They refused to mobilize the unions against Phase One and Phase Two. When Nixon announced Phase Three they welcomed it and have sought to prostrate the unions before Nixon's attacks. They remain silent now on Nixon and Watergate.

The American Communist Party is the main prop for the trade union leadership as they seek to tie the working class to futile protest actions in order to divert workers from all-out strike action against the government.

While they cover themselves with left phrases about the need to fight inflation, they refuse to put forward any alternative policy to actually fight the wage controls. In fact, the trade union bureaucracy is only able to divert the fight of the working class through the conscious intervention of the CP.

Above all, they seek to keep political questions out of the unions. While their superiors in Moscow have maintained silence on the Watergate scandal and choose this very moment to invite Henry Kissinger to Moscow, the American CP has sought to virtually bury the meaning of Watergate and now simply calls for "unified resistance to the peril" it poses.

Today the CP will again come forward to divert the movement of the working class from constructing its own political party. At all costs, they seek to prevent the independent mobilization of the working class in their own party because such a policy immediately raises the question of power.

Thus, in the 1930s, when millions of workers were turning to the question of building their own party, the CP

consciously came forward to channel this action back to support for the so-called progressive Roosevelt.

Today, they attempt to cover their treachery of the 1930s by placing the blame on the working class itself for the failure to construct a labor party. In the April 28 Daily World, they state: "There were many reasons for the decline of the movement in the thirties. One important reason was the swallowing of the movement within the 'New Deal' of Franklin Roosevelt, that appeared to many to be adopting the new party movement's programs."

Contrary to the CP's contention, it was not a question of workers "swallowing" Roosevelt's new deal but of the CP shoving Roosevelt down the throats of workers. Just as in the 1930s, today they come forward to divert the movement for a labor party—a class party—into some sort of progressive coalition with sections of the ruling class. Today, they talk about a "people's party" which will include, of course, the Democratic Party. Furthermore, at the same time that they call for the formation of this new coalition, they continue to support the Democratic Party.

Thus, in the 1930s, it was only through the policies of the Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy that the ruling class was able to divert workers from creating their own party.

In opposition to the CP's conscious attempt to disarm workers and youth in the face of Nixon's attacks, the Workers League, Young Socialists and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party has prepared for this period and will fight to construct a class party—a labor party based on the trade unions.

It has only been the Bulletin which has fought to prepare the working class for the new situation and which is carrying out the fight now, when the objective conditions have never been more ripe, for a Congress of Labor and a labor party.

Over $\frac{2}{3}$ Mark!

This week, at the two-thirds point in the Spring Bulletin Subscription Drive we received 725 subs bringing our grand total to 8100. This means that we have gone over the two-thirds mark in the drive.

The tremendous work of the Bulletin trailblazers contributed to this. The trailblazers' grand total was 1965. We now enter the last stage of the drive to get 12,000 subscriptions by June 1. This means we need 800 subs a week. With the trailblazers back in the areas, the kind of work done on these drives can be done in every area. Those branches which did not get their two-thirds must do so by next week.

The fight for the expansion of the circulation of the Bulletin becomes more critical every day, especially now in light of Watergate and the crisis of the Nixon government.

By Tom Kemp

TROTSKY ON SPAIN



Republican soldiers being transported to the front.

Leon Trotsky's writings on the Spanish Revolution make an imperishable contribution to the theoretical heritage of Marxism. It is timely that they should be made available in English when their lessons again become directly applicable.

As Trotsky wrote to the Spanish youth supporters of the Left Opposition in 1932: 'The strength of Marxism is in the unity of scientific theory with revolutionary struggle. On these two rails, the education of the communist youth should progress.'

'The study of Marxism outside the revolutionary struggle can create bookworms, but not revolutionaries. Participation in the revolutionary struggle without the study of Marxism is unavoidably full of danger, uncertainty, half-blindness.'

'To study Marxism as a Marxist is possible only by participating in the life and struggle of the class; revolutionary theory is verified by practice, and practice is clarified by theory. Only the truths of Marxism that are conquered in struggle enter the mind and the blood.'

It is only from this standpoint that it is possible to grasp and understand what Trotsky was trying to get over to the Spanish, and other, revolutionaries of the 1930s and apply the lessons to the tasks of today.

Failure to heed his warnings resulted in the bitter and complete defeat of the Spanish working class, which has lived ever since under the scourge of the Franco dictatorship, and consumed the revolutionary cadres that he was seeking to shape into a party of the Bolshevik type.

From his exile in Turkey, Trotsky closely followed the unfolding events as the revolutionary crisis opened in Spain in 1930 with the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. In correspondence, articles and pamphlets he sought to rally the forces for

the building of such a party. The supporters of the Left Opposition were, until 1934, working as a faction inside the Communist Parties to bring them back to a Leninist course. A principal task was, therefore, to oppose the disastrous ultra-left policies of the 'third period' which defined all reformist and other trends in the labour movement as 'social fascist'.

In any case, the Communist Party of Spain was small, with less than 1,000 members in 1931. Subject to a rigorous repression under the regime of Primo de Rivera, it was also being torn apart, perhaps more than any other section of the Third International, by the divisions in the Russian Party.

While some of the leaders followed Bukharin and the right, notably Joaquin Maurin and Julian Gorkin, another group around Andres Nin supported the struggles of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. It was upon Nin, in particular, that Trotsky placed his hopes for the revolutionary party in Spain and his struggle against Nin's unwillingness to accept these responsibilities, and alter his slide into the morass of centrism, makes up the most important part of this volume.

It was not until the eve of the Civil War that a hand-picked leadership, devoted to Stalin, came to the fore in the Spanish Communist Party, such as Jesus Hernandez, Jose Diaz and Dolores Ibaruri ('La Pasionaria'). With the exception of the latter, this Stalinist leadership had played no part in the workers' movement and was virtually unknown.

Both Maurin and Nin, on the other hand, were experienced leaders with a background in the trade union movement as well as in the Communist International. Maurin went on to establish a 'Workers' and Peasants' Bloc', based mainly in Catalonia—the most highly industrialized part of Spain and the cradle of the working class.

This group had moved to the right in opposition to the left turn of the Communist

International. Until 1934 Nin was the leading figure in the Left Opposition in Spain, carrying on theoretical work around the review 'Communismo' and in constant correspondence with Trotsky.

Although Trotsky's writings were directed mainly at the Nin group in 1931, he did not despair of the possibility of rallying all the tendencies claiming allegiance to communism into a single party.

In April 1931 he wrote to this effect to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a letter which remained without reply. It began:

'The fate of the Spanish revolution depends completely upon whether an authoritative and combative Communist Party will be constituted in Spain in the coming months.' The building of the revolutionary party was always the key question for Trotsky.

It was complicated by a number of factors specific to Spain which are dealt with in the pamphlet which Trotsky wrote early in 1931 before the downfall of the monarchy and the crisis which accompanied the establishment of the Republic. Trotsky's experience, derived from the three Russian revolutions, enabled him to get to the heart of the Spanish problem in this work.

He discerned the making of a revolutionary situation before even the Marxists on the spot were aware of it.

The accumulating contradictions of the regime and the pressures which the world economic crisis threw on a backward and mainly agrarian economy, but one in which the proletariat occupied a key position, made Spain the weakest link in the capitalist chain, in the same way as Russia in 1917.

Spain's peculiar history and her backwardness 'inevitably weakened the centralist tendencies inherent in capitalism'. Hence the political importance of nationalist and separatist movements, especially in Catalonia and the Basque country. These tendencies posed special problems for the revolution-

aries and a correct approach to the aspirations of these peoples had to be worked out.

The role of the army as a centralizing force and at the same time as a source of instability arose also from the backwardness of Spain and the weakness of the ruling classes from which the officer corps was recruited.

Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was based on the army, but it had failed utterly to solve any of the historic problems of the country. 'It fell,'



Andres Nin

writes Trotsky, 'even without a new military coup; he was simply deflated, like a tyre that runs over a nail.'

What followed could only be a deep convulsion out of which could come either the victory of the working class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a new dictatorship of the property owners, brought to power by the military and resorting this time to the methods of fascism.

In essence this was the struggle into which Spain was plunged in 1930 and which ended in Franco's victory.

Spanish politics, as Trotsky saw, were ripe for revolution. In a few lines he summed up all its main constituent elements which we find time and again throughout the story:

'... the perfidious monarchy; the splinter factions of the conservatives and liberals who despise the king and crawl on their bellies before him; the right-wing republicans always ready to betray, and the left-wing republicans, always ready for adventure; the conspira-

torial officers, of whom some want a republic and others a promotion; the restless students, whose fathers view them with alarm; finally the striking workers, scattered among the different organizations; and the peasants reaching out for pitchforks and guns.'

Meanwhile the industrialization brought about during and after World War I, in which Spain remained neutral, brought new contradictions. High tariffs were imposed to give industry command of the home market, but only by raising prices and limiting consumption. The new industrial capitalists remained too weak to play the same historical role as their counterparts in Britain and France. They remained part of a reactionary bloc with the landlords, the generals, the state officials, the church hierarchy and the bankers.

The growth of industry strengthened the ranks of the working class—but, as Trotsky explains, it did more than that:

'Social life in Spain was condemned to revolve in a vicious circle so long as there was no class capable of taking the solution of the revolutionary problem into its own hands. The appearance of the Spanish proletariat on the historic arena radically changes the situation and opens up new prospects . . .'

'The question of whether the present revolutionary convulsions can produce a genuine revolution, capable of reconstructing the very basis of national life, is consequently reduced to whether the Spanish proletariat is capable of taking the leadership of the national life into its hands. There is no other claimant to this role in the Spanish nation.'

This made a decisive question whether a leadership could be built to take this—the only fully revolutionary and progressive class—to power.

The revolutionaries had to operate in concrete conditions where it was necessary to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This meant not only support for a republic, but also for other

democratic slogans intended to purge society of all feudal vestiges — landlordism, the domination of the church, the oppression of nationalities. But these had to be combined with other slogans of a transitional character — nationalization of the banks and industry, workers' control of industry, state planning of the economy.

'The more courageously, resolutely and implacably the proletarian vanguard fights for democratic slogans,' Trotsky insisted, 'the sooner it will win over the masses and undermine the support for the bourgeois republicans and socialist reformists. The more quickly their best elements join us, the sooner the democratic republic will be identified in the mind of the masses with the workers' republic.'

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The doctrines of the anarchists and anarcho-sindicalists played a pernicious role because they saw the destruction of the state as the beginning and ending of political wisdom.

By opposing participation in the political struggle, and particularly by opposing the party, they disarmed the working class. The role which the anarchists played after 1936 fully confirmed Trotsky's analysis. Rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, they ended up as Ministers in a capitalist government.

Trotsky's perspective for Spain offered the guidelines for successful revolutionary practice. That depended, above all, on the small cadres of the Left Opposition, upon their ability to find a path to the working class and establish a position of leadership. It was increasingly clear that the official Communist Party was bound to the needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy and what Trotsky at this stage still called 'the official centrist faction'.

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revolution, first engaging in diplomacy with the petty-bourgeois nationalist and provincial phrasemonger Maurin, and then hanging onto his tail.'

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The move by Andres Nin and most of the members of the Left Opposition into the Partido Obrero Unificacion Marxista (POUM) in September 1935 marked their passage to a centrist position and the abandonment of the struggle to build a revolutionary party.

parties in an electoral pact based upon a common programme. This was the application to Spain of the Stalinist policy of the Popular Front laid down at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in August 1935 and already in operation in France.

"In Spain", Trotsky wrote forcefully, "genuine revolutionaries will be found who will mercilessly expose the betrayal of Maurin, Nin, Andrade and their associates, and lay the foundation for the Spanish section of the Fourth International."

It was with this perspective that Trotsky continued his polemic against the POUM as revolutionary events rapidly loomed nearer after the electoral success of the Popular Front in February 1936.

The study of the letters exchanged between Trotsky and Nin which appear as an appendix to this volume is necessary to understand Trotsky's struggle against centristism which found its most calamitous form in the evolution of the POUM.

Nin showed his reluctance to break with old friends and to take a stand for the Left Opposition. Instead he entered the Catalan Federation which was dominated by Maurin and strongly opposed 'Trotskyism'. Trotsky demanded of Nin that the Left Opposition 'execute an abrupt political turn to avoid being confused with Maurin any longer—a confusion which has been to his advantage and to our own disadvantage'.

This Nin refused to do, preferring to evade discussion of all the principled political questions which had been raised. Nin's own letters contain a string of complaints and protests in which the political differences were muted over.

Reviewing his relations with Nin in June 1936, Trotsky wrote to Victor Serge, with whom he also had to make a decisive break at a later date: 'Nin was the head of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, and by that fact alone, he had a serious responsibility which he failed to carry out in practice, all the while throwing dust in my eyes... if I am guilty of anything with regard to Nin, it is of having nourished illusions for too long on his account...'

Trotsky held Nin responsible for the passivity and confusion which reigned in the Left Opposition in Spain and the failure to make significant gains.

As the crisis in Spain developed, with the election of the Popular Front and the ferment in the working class, Trotsky did not give up hope of bringing Nin to see sense. The first condition was to abandon his centrist course and take a stand openly for the Fourth International and in opposition to its enemies in the POUM and against the Popular Front — 'the question of questions'.

The outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936, made the question of 'the exposure of the Popular Front one of extreme urgency. It also raised more sharply than ever before in Spain the need to struggle against Stalinism, because it was only in 1936, in the course of the war, that the official Communist Party became a real force in working-class politics in Spain.

From the opening shots, Trotsky warned: 'By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralysing their will to struggle, the Popular Front creates favourable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torments and sacrifices,

if not by decades of fascist terror.'

Tragically it proved to be the latter of these two alternatives which was to be realized in Spain.

In a letter to the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition Trotsky laid bare the nature of the Popular Front, both in France and in Spain. The radicals and 'left' bourgeois parties entered the coalition to represent the bourgeoisie, if only, as he put it later, as their 'shadow'. Such a government could not purge the officer corps because the army was needed as a counterweight to the working class. Nin and his friends, who signed the agreement which brought the Popular Front into existence, had foreseen nothing and they could not invoke ignorance as an excuse.

The 'Civil War began precisely with an uprising of the officer corps led by Franco. But it was the army that the bourgeois supporters of the Popular Front—in France as well as in Spain—depended on to head off the working-class revolution.

It is impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie', Trotsky wrote, 'without crushing the officer corps. It is impossible to crush the officer corps without overthrowing the bourgeoisie.'

It was necessary for the working class to win the support of the soldiers on the basis of a struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords whose sons made up the officer corps. That was the lesson of the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky was writing in order to mobilize the true revolutionaries in Spain for a struggle for power. That did not mean renouncing support for the Republican armies against Franco and the troops of Mussolini and Hitler sent to his aid. It did mean going to the masses with a bold social programme in opposition to the Popular Front policy of victory first, then reforms.

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Palmiro Togliatti, secretary of the Italian Communist Party and one of Stalin's principal agents in Spain. He labeled the Spanish workers' struggle a "national revolution, an anti-fascist revolution."

The new party declared its allegiance to the London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties which was opposed to the struggle to build a new, Fourth International which Trotsky had proposed as an imperative task in the light of the Stalinist betrayal in Germany which had paved the way for Hitler to come to power in 1933.

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The move by Andres Nin and most of the members of the Left Opposition into the Partido Obrero Unificacion Marxista (POUM) in September 1935 marked their passage to a centrist position and the abandonment of the struggle to build a revolutionary party.

The unification with Maurin's workers' and peasants' bloc was an unprincipled alliance which left all the decisive questions unanswered.

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In February 1936, the POUM joined with the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and two 'left' bourgeois

parties in an electoral pact based upon a common programme. This was the application to Spain of the Stalinist policy of the Popular Front laid down at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in August 1935 and already in operation in France.

'In Spain', Trotsky wrote forcefully, 'genuine revolutionaries will be found who will mercilessly expose the betrayal of Maurin, Nin, Andrade and their associates, and lay the foundation for the Spanish section of the Fourth International.'

It was with this perspective that Trotsky continued his polemic against the POUM as revolutionary events rapidly loomed nearer after the electoral success of the Popular Front in February 1936.

The study of the letters exchanged between Trotsky and Nin which appear as an appendix to this volume is necessary to understand Trotsky's struggle against centrism which found its most calamitous form in the evolution of the POUM.

Nin showed his reluctance to break with old friends and to take a stand for the Left Opposition. Instead he entered the Catalan Federation which was dominated by Maurin and strongly opposed 'Trotskyism'. Trotsky demanded of Nin that the Left Opposition 'execute an abrupt political turn to avoid being confused with Maurin any longer—a confusion which has been to his advantage and to our own disadvantage'.

This Nin refused to do, preferring to evade discussion of all the principled political questions which had been raised. Nin's own letters contain a string of complaints and protests in which the political differences were smudged over.

Reviewing his relations with Nin in June 1936, Trotsky wrote to Victor Serge, with whom he also had to make a decisive break at a later date: 'Nin was the head of the Spanish Bolshevik - Leninists, and by that fact alone, he had a serious responsibility which he failed to carry out in practice, all the while throwing dust in my eyes . . . if I am guilty of anything with regard to Nin, it is of having nourished illusions for too long on his account . . .'

Trotsky held Nin responsible for the passivity and confusion which reigned in the Left Opposition in Spain and the failure to make significant gains.

As the crisis in Spain developed, with the election of the Popular Front and the ferment in the working class, Trotsky did not give up hope of bringing Nin to see sense. The first condition was to abandon his centrist course and take a stand openly for the Fourth International and in opposition to its enemies in the POUM and against the Popular Front — 'the question of questions'.

The outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936, made the question of the exposure of the Popular Front one of extreme urgency. It also raised more sharply than ever before in Spain the need to struggle against Stalinism, because it was only in 1936, in the course of the war, that the official Communist Party became a real force in working-class politics in Spain.

From the opening shots, Trotsky warned: 'By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralysing their will to struggle, the Popular Front creates favourable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torments and sacrifices,

if not by decades of fascist terror.'

Tragically it proved to be the latter of these two alternatives which was to be realized in Spain.

In a letter to the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition Trotsky laid bare the nature of the Popular Front, both in France and in Spain. The radicals and 'Left' bourgeois parties entered the coalition to represent the bourgeoisie, if only, as he put it later, as their 'shadow'. Such a government could not purge the officer corps because the army was needed as a counterweight to the working class. Nin and his friends, who signed the agreement which brought the Popular Front into existence, had foreseen nothing and they could not invoke ignorance as an excuse.

The Civil War began precisely with an uprising of the officer corps led by Franco. But it was the army that the bourgeois supporters of the Popular Front—in France as well as in Spain—depended on to head off the working-class revolution.

'It is impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie', Trotsky wrote, 'without crushing the officer corps. It is impossible to crush the officer corps without overthrowing the bourgeoisie.'

It was necessary for the working class to win the support of the soldiers on the basis of a struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords whose sons made up the officer corps. That was the lesson of the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky was writing in order to mobilize the true revolutionaries in Spain for a struggle for power. That did not mean renouncing support for the Republican armies against Franco and the troops of Mussolini and Hitler sent to his aid. It did mean going to the masses with a bold social programme in opposition to the Popular Front policy of victory first, then reforms.

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The Stalinists did not desire a revolution in Spain. The bureaucracy feared such a revolution at a time when its policy was based upon making a counter-revolutionary alliance with Britain.

The arms and material aid sent to the Republican government were intended to shore up the bourgeois social order and to crush the revolutionaries. As Soviet influences increased, so the repressive apparatus of the GPU (secret police) established a branch on Spanish soil with its own prisons and murder gangs. That is why it was necessary to take up the question of the Moscow Trials and expose the role of Stalinism in the midst of the Civil War.

In order to cover up its role in Spain and to convince Communist Party members of the need to support the bour-

geois Republic, the Comintern provided its own 'analysis' of the Spanish situation. The most sophisticated exponent of the Stalinist view was Ercoli, the name used at this time by Palmiro Togliatti, who became one of Stalin's principal agents in Spain and secretary of the Italian CP.

The contrast between Togliatti's position and that of Trotsky is striking. Togliatti took his stand on the fact that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not been carried out in Spain to defend the alliance with the bourgeoisie. He invented a new kind of revolution:

'It is a people's revolution', he wrote in 'International Press Correspondence', the organ of the Comintern. 'It is a national revolution. It is an anti-fascist revolution.'

He claimed that the civil war between 'the people' and the 'reactionary castes', whose power Franco aimed to restore, bringing some capitalist elements and the major part of the middle class into the struggle against fascism.

The Communist Party, in fact, had no real mass base in the working class even during the Civil War period. It grew rapidly as the most energetic supporter of the bourgeois republic, of the army and the police (equipped with the best Soviet weapons) against the revolutionary workers and peasants who, in July 1936, had taken over many factories and public buildings and seized the big estates.

Recruits to the Communist Party, to a large extent, came from sections of the middle class, civil servants who had remained loyal to the Republic and army officers such as General Miaja who, at the end, was to capitulate to Franco. It was to these people, not to the revolutionary workers, that the Stalinists appealed. Togliatti claimed: 'As for the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the vast majority of them are on the side of democracy and the revolution against fascism.'

Togliatti distorts and exaggerates the role of the middle class in order to disguise the support which the Stalinists gave to the bourgeois Republic. In fact in this article Togliatti boasts of the adherence of men whom he describes as industrialists and landowners to the Republic, such as José Giral, 'a fairly big landowner' and a minister in the first Popular Front government.

Togliatti also holds up as an example the support for the Republic by nationalist politicians in Catalonia and the Basque country. It was the alliance of the workers' parties with the Catalonian bourgeoisie which sealed the fate of the revolution in that area in May 1937. It was no accident that Nin had entered the government in Catalonia. Togliatti also omits to mention that the Basque nationalists, although they opposed Franco, also carried out a repression of the revolutionaries in their part of Spain.

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What a contrast between the casuistry of the supple-spined Palmiro Togliatti, Stalin's menial in Spain, and Trotsky's forthright denunciation of the Popular Front!

Taking up an article in 'La Lutte Ouvrière', which supported the line of the Partido Obrero Unificación Marxista (POUM) and the entry of Andres Nin as Minister of Justice in the government of Catalonia, he dealt with the role of the bourgeois ministers like Azana.

These politicians, Trotsky pointed out, did not represent the middle class but were the 'political exploiters of the petty bourgeoisie in the interest of the big bourgeoisie. They remain in the camp of the popular masses like scarecrows—and the crows are the leaders of the Socialists, reformers, and also, alas, the POUMists. They dare not touch private property, and they stoop even to the role of defender of "justice" based on private property'.

This was no doubt a reference to Nin, Minister of Justice in a bourgeois government.

The class-collaboration policy of the centrist POUM 'has terribly paralysed the upsurge of the workers and peasants and piled up defeat on defeat'. In fact, it was the government in which Nin occupied the Justice Ministry which dismantled the workers' committees set up in July 1936. It was the Stalinists and their allies who insisted that this should be done. The POUM and the Anarchist leaders acquiesced. The powers of the regular police and courts were restored. A powerful para-military force for internal security was built up by the Negrin government and armed with Russian weapons, while soldiers at the front fought Franco's legions with World War I rifles, if they had arms at all.

It was in the light of these conditions that Trotsky was bound to draw the necessary conclusions about Nin, 'the Spanish Martov': 'He has impeded the construction of a revolutionary party in Spain.'

Answering questions put to him by the Dewey Commission on the Moscow Trials, Trotsky made his position quite clear:

'The victory of Franco is assured by the present policy of the Comintern', the policy as put forward by Stalin's advocate, Togliatti. As he put it in an article written a few days later, even the military victory of the Stalin-Caballero government 'could not be firm or lasting' and would result only in the final subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie or the outbreak of civil war in the Republican camp.

The proletariat could only hope to emerge victorious from such a conflict if it had at its head a revolutionary party. This consideration necessarily again brought up the role of Nin and the POUM who, after crawling to the Catalan bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, were thrown out of the government and still learned nothing. At that time, only weeks before the May events in Barcelona, the POUM was still trying to persuade the government to take the road of socialist revolution and had not broken with the Popular Front.

Nin was still talking about the workers taking power by peaceful means, while the Stalinists were preparing the shock troops to drive the working class from its last strongholds in Catalonia and

finally establish the supremacy of the bourgeois army and police.

The last hope remaining to the POUM was to break decisively from the capitalist and middle-class parties, from the anarcho-syndicalist leaders. But the present leadership of Nin, Andrade and Gorkin was incapable of making such a break. 'The whole question is in the leadership', Trotsky proclaimed.



POUM banner in a demonstration during the civil war period.

The events in Barcelona in May caught the POUM leaders unawares. In the previous weeks Nin had supported the expulsion of Trotskyists from the POUM. But when the Barcelona working class fought for a genuine revolution they had taken seriously the POUM's revolutionary pretensions and expected it to give leadership. The failure, once again, to act decisively, did not save Nin. Arrested by the GPU unit in Barcelona, he was tortured and then murdered. Stalin could tolerate no opponents on the left, even those as indecisive and vacillating as Nin.

In the May days, the POUM continued to demand the re-entry of its leaders into the government and proclaimed that the working class could come to power without resort to arms.

Trotsky saw the decisive character of the events in May 1937:

'If the Catalan proletariat had seized power in May 1937—as it had really seized it in July 1936—they would have found support throughout Spain. The bourgeois-Stalinist reaction would not have found two regiments with which to crush the Catalan workers. In the territory occupied by Franco, not only workers but also the peasants would have turned towards the Catalan proletariat, would have isolated the fascist army and brought about its irresistible disintegration'.

While this policy did not make victory certain, the policy of the Popular Front—the union of Stalinism and bourgeois reaction which the POUM backed—could lead only to defeat for the working class, whatever the outcome

of the Civil War. As Trotsky put it:

'The Spanish revolution once again demonstrates that it is impossible to defend democracy against the revolutionary masses otherwise than through the methods of fascist reaction. And, conversely, it is impossible to conduct a genuine struggle against fascism otherwise than through the methods of the proletarian revolution.'

'Contrary to its own intentions, the POUM proved to be, in the final analysis, the chief obstacle on the road to the creation of a revolutionary party.'

Trotsky had to strip bare the POUM and expose its role because of the sympathy which it had been accorded by the centrists, both in the London Bureau and among 'platonic or diplomatic partisans of the Fourth Inter-

national', potential Nins in their own countries.

Spain also demonstrated that it was impossible to fight fascism without overthrowing capitalism. The working class was strong enough to conquer power, as it showed in the opening days of the military insurrection and again in Barcelona in May 1937. What was lacking was the revolutionary party.

From the start of the revolution in 1931, Trotsky had to reckon with the fact that the leadership cadre for such a party was small and weak; he had to try to shape it into a Bolshevik leadership. He took Nin as the starting point because of his undoubted qualities and his experience in the Spanish workers' movement.

Looking back in 1939, Trotsky wrote: 'We put all our hopes on Nin, and his policy

consisted of personal manoeuvres in order to avoid responsibility. He played with the revolution. He was sincere, but his whole policy was that of a Menshevik. It was a tremendous handicap, and to fight against this handicap only correct formulas falsified by our own representatives in the first period, the Nins, made it very difficult.'

Nin entered a centrist formation, the POUM, which put a brake upon the revolution and was destroyed while doing so. It fell victim to the contradictions in its own policy.

'It wanted, on the one hand, to participate in the Republican government and to enter as a loyal peace-loving opposition into the general bloc of ruling parties; on the other hand, to achieve peaceful comradely relations at a time when it was a question of implacable civil war. For this reason the POUM fell victim to the contradictions of its own policy.'

The POUM proved to be no match for the Stalinists, who pursued a consistent policy as the 'fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counter-revolution. They wanted to eliminate the need for fascism by proving to the Spanish and world bourgeoisie that they were themselves capable of strangling the proletarian revolution under the banner of "democracy". This was the gist of their policies.'

The apologists for the Popular Front could not unload responsibility onto the GPU, which only acted as 'the most resolute detachment in the service of the Popular Front'. It did, of course, extend the methods of the Moscow Trials and purges into Spain, aimed at all revolutionaries.

It can be added that when Stalin began to turn towards an alliance with Nazi Germany in 1939 he hastily brought to an end the Soviet commitment in Spain. Togliatti and the other functionaries of the GPU made a hasty and ignominious flight, leaving the Republican fighters to their fate and washing their hands of the Spanish working class.

The Spanish Revolution

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Invaluable collection of articles, many never published before in English, records Trotsky's struggle to construct a Marxist leadership in Spain during the period from the fall of the monarchy to the defeat of the working class by Franco. Of critical importance to revolutionaries today are Trotsky's articles on the tasks posed to Marxists during the growth of the mass movement of workers in the pre-revolutionary period before 1936, the role of Soviets, syndicalism, and Stalinism. Includes correspondence with the centrist Andres Nin.

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

On Sunday, over 125 workers and youth attended the third part of a six part series of lectures on "Twenty Years of the International Committee being given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

The scheduled lecture "Vietnam: The SWP's Decade of Betrayal" was postponed in order to more fully probe the questions raised in last week's session: "The Split With The SWP: Balance Sheet On Cuba."

Wohlforth explained the reason for the change: "This lecture series is not simply a matter of formally going through the topics but rather of preparing a cadre to meet the tasks of the new period. To do this, we must, beginning with our new experiences as posited, negate into these the past experiences in order to prepare for the future."

He maintained that the question of Cuba had to be viewed from the standpoint of the Marxist method and from an understanding of the continuity of the Fourth International. He emphasized that last week's discussion had proceeded in a formal, undialectical way because:

"The Cuban question was dealt with abstracted from the fundamental questions of the international perspectives for the construction of a Marxist leadership in the working class. Furthermore, the relationship of the Socialist Workers Party's reaction to the developments in Cuba to the actual construction of the Fourth International was not brought in.

"Therefore, the Marxist method was employed simply in an exemplary way."

PRAGMATISM

Wohlforth explained that pragmatism has reasserted itself in the discussion last week because the question of Cuba was assessed solely from the standpoint of Cuba itself and not placed within the context of a dialectical assessment of the entire world situation and the situation within the international Trotskyist movement.

Therefore, this lecture returned to the Cuban question to view it from the standpoint of dialectics and its relationship to the development of the opposition within the SWP. The period between 1961-1963 was the most critical period in the history of the Fourth International because what was called into question was the very necessity of building independent Trotskyist parties throughout the world to lead the working class to power.

Wohlforth explained that the opposition which developed inside the SWP during that period employed the same method as the SWP majority in analyzing the Cuban question at first. In fact, the opposition itself began as simply a reaction to the SWP's reaction to Cuba.

Thus, the leaders of the opposition issued a document to the 1961 Plenum—written by Shane Mage—which declared that, contrary to the majority's position that Cuba was a workers' state, Cuba had no class character but rather it was in a transitional stage.

At this point, the British Socialist Labour League intervened in the struggle to raise the central issues of the evolution of Pabloism—the deepening of its revisionism—and the nature of the capitalist crisis. It insisted that it was only within that framework that the question of Cuba could be dealt with. Therefore, the SLL said that it disagreed with the minority inside the SWP because they were proceeding with the same pragmatic method as the majority.



Hansen: "...empiricism systematically carried out."

The SLL fought, following the 1961 Convention, to turn the opposition to the fundamental questions confronting the Trotskyist movement—questions which the SWP was using Cuba as a cover to avoid. Within the opposition, a discussion broke out over the theoretical problems raised in the minority document.

While formally agreeing with the SLL that international perspectives must be at the heart of the struggle within the SWP, they still saw the clarification of the Cuba question as their primary task.

It was during the course of this discus-

for the American working class.

In Hansen's article, which was written as a polemic against Cliff Slaughter's *Lenin On Dialectics*, Hansen declared that there was no gulf between empiricism and Marxism. He stated that the "primary task of Marxist theoreticians is to analyze reality with the best tools and to start with the facts."

"Marxism," according to Hansen, is "empiricism systematically carried out." He declared that "Marx brought dialectics out of the blind alley of Hegel by empirically placing dialectics in the material world."

Wohlforth explained that all of Hansen's talk about "supreme sensitivity to facts" was directed at providing a philosophical justification for the SWP's role as the old class relations broke up: that of commentators. "Empiricism systematically

Cuba And The Marxist Method



Farrell Dobbs during a visit to Cuba. The SWP declared Castro to be a "natural Marxist" and used the issue to abandon any perspective for the American working class.

sion that the methodological position which dominated the whole opposition was most consistently expressed by Jim Robertson. Wohlforth explained:

"Robertson said, 'We have a theoretical problem and there is a great danger of revisionism. We have a hole in our theory and it is through this hole that revisionism is able to proceed. This hole is over the question of Stalinism, the nature of the European countries and now Cuba.'

"He revealed his pragmatism when he declared: 'Theory is a series of consistent, empirical, internally logical generalizations.' Robertson had never broken with Shachtmanism theoretically although he disagreed with Shachtman's positions."

Discussing the evolution of the opposition he maintained that: "Its position was a natural one because it had come out of the SWP and Shachtmanism itself. However, the future evolution of the minority was not structured by the theoretical limits of 1961. Rather, it was characterized by attempts to break out of these limits—to go beyond the thinking of the capitalist class."

Thus, the fundamental dispute within the SWP and between the SWP and the International Committee in the 1961-1963 period was over the question of the Marxist method itself. In spite of the SWP's attempts to get around these questions, Hansen was forced to devote a large part of his article "Cuba, The Acid Test," to dialectics itself. Here he used Cuba to actually revive the methods of Burnham in the 1939-1940 dispute within the SWP: that is, to a worship of the given fact.

It was when the Socialist Labour League probed the SWP on questions of the Marxist method that the real reason for Hansen's position was revealed: the SWP was moving away from any perspective

carried out" actually meant for Hansen that thought must be adjusted to correspond to what can be immediately perceived, rather than to change the "given facts"; i.e., capitalism.

Wohlforth pointed out that, according to Hansen, the material world is merely an object which consists of a series of facts. The mind's only role, therefore, is to absorb the "feedback" from these facts. Wohlforth stated that, for Hansen, the subjective was not seen as objective—the classical position of empiricism and its American variant, pragmatism. The logic of this method is to absolve oneself from any responsibility for making an active intervention in the real world to change the existing situation.

Hansen further wrote in "Cuba, The Acid Test" that "matter is the source of motion," which, as Wohlforth insisted, is "metaphysical poppycock which opens the door to philosophical idealism." In Hansen's polemic, he reasserts the old Kantian dualism—skepticism—between thinking and being. As Wohlforth noted:

"Hegel did solve the problem of the relationship between the subjective—that is, man's thought—and the objective world. He showed that it is not a matter of thinking simply adjusting itself to the real world but that thinking and being stand in unity through contradiction. The subjective thought of man is the product of matter and is created in man's struggle with the material world. Of course, it is not actual material. Therefore, there is a relationship of constant struggle between man's thinking and the objective world in man's struggle to change nature."

CONTRADICTION

Hansen seeks to deny this unity in contradiction between thinking and being in

order to justify the SWP's role as a passive spectator, not an active participant in the life and death struggle of classes. Thus, the Cuban question was viewed from an objectivist position: that of standing outside of things. Cuba was not assessed from the fundamental contradictions of capitalism and the struggle of classes, but rather, it was viewed as something to be observed to get points for one's own movement. Thus, Hansen's method of "acceptance of the given fact" leads to the mere contemplation of what is, and, in fact, to a bowing down before capitalism.

At all times, the Cuban question was used by the SWP as a cover to avoid the questions posed by the SLL of international perspectives. As Wohlforth explained:

"The struggle over international perspectives is in fact a concrete struggle over perspectives for fighting your own ruling class. Thus, what was posed was for the SWP to develop a perspective for reaching the US working class as part of the framework of the international perspectives. The tasks before the SWP was to prepare the American working class for the struggle to come."

Because of the intervention of the Socialist Labour League, the opposition fought to stay inside the SWP as long as possible in order to have the fullest possible development of all the differences confronting the international movement. They saw that the continuity of the Fourth International and of Marxism was at stake, which required the sharpest struggle against the SWP. Therefore, the break with the SWP could not be abrupt. Wohlforth insisted that:

"We did not write off the SWP during 1961-1963 as centrist because we were dealing with an historical development which you could not put a period on. Just as Trotsky did not write off the possibility of reforming the Communist Parties between 1928-1933, we saw that this historical experience of struggle against the SWP had to be passed through and then assessed. We saw this as the battle for continuity—for Trotskyism is ONLY developed in its negative, that is, through the fight against revisionism."

In the discussion that followed Wohlforth's presentation, the Spartacist League was offered the floor to make a 20 minute presentation on the question of the dialectical method, its relationship to the building of an international movement and on the question of perspectives for the struggle in the US. Their spokesman began by reasserting the absurd contention, put forward earlier by Spartacist, that Marx "was profoundly anti-philosophical." He declared that Hegel's contributions marked the end of philosophy and that Marxism was just the "science of revolutionary practice."

Thus, like the French revisionist OCI, the SL claims that all that is necessary to lead the working class is a fixed program which is to be raised at all points, in total, inside the working class. They see no need for the continual development of Marxist philosophy in order to probe the continuous changes within capitalism to develop a concrete perspective to ACTUALLY bring forward the working class in STRUGGLE against the government.

In five minutes, the SL wrote off the entire struggle Trotsky took up inside the Fourth International in 1939-1940 against Burnham, Shachtman and Abern. While they claimed that this struggle was solely over the nature of the Soviet Union, Trotsky, quite to the contrary, saw that the fundamental question raised in the dispute concerned the Marxist method itself. Therefore, he wrote *In Defense of Marxism*, in which he returned to the ABC's of dialectics in order to educate and thereby inoculate the American movement against pragmatism.

Just as Trotsky could not assess the revisionism within the SWP without turning to the questions of Marxism, so too, in order to understand the question of Cuba, it was necessary to turn to Marxism. Because of the SL's hostility to theory and to the construction of a leadership based on international perspectives, they proceed in the same manner as the SWP and line up with Pabloism on the fundamental issues.

25 YEARS AFTER DEIR YASSIN MASSACRE

BY MICHAEL ROSS

Israel's commando raid in the very heart of Beirut has ripped apart any illusions that the Zionist government is willing to compromise with the Palestinians or the surrounding Arab states.

The brutal attack is the latest incident in a wave of international terror aimed at decimating the Palestinian leadership and demoralizing the masses of Palestinian refugees. Behind it are preparations for a new land grab by Israeli capitalists who want to cash in on the valuable oil producing real estate in the neighboring Arab countries.

The Israeli government's strategy should be familiar to Palestinians. The new wave of terror recalls the bitter memory of the 1947-1948 bloodbath which resulted in the creation of the Zionist state and the impoverishment and expropriation of the entire Palestinian Arab population. It brings back the memory of the massacre at Deir Yassin twenty-five years ago and it serves as a sharp warning that new massacres are being prepared.

Some two million Palestinians today live scattered all over the earth. The overwhelming majority are in refugee camps in indescribable poverty on the borders of their homeland, now misnamed "Israel" by Zionism.

Zionism, the desperate movement of a section of the Jewish capitalist class unable to retain its hold over the great mass of the Jewish workers and artisans at the turn of the twentieth century, would have remained an isolated, little known sect had not its services become indispensable to imperialism. After 25 years of offering to do the dirty work for imperialism in the Middle East, paydirt was struck by the Zionist leaders in 1917: through the Balfour Declaration, Britain prepared to set up what Winston Churchill called "a Jewish Ulster in Palestine."

The Palestinian Arab masses resisted this attempt to turn their homeland into an outpost of European capital, rioting in 1921 and 1929 and staging a massive general strike and guerrilla warfare campaign from 1936 to 1939. These movements were defeated by combined British and Zionist military forces, as well as by the abysmal leadership given the Palestinians by al-Haj Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

The only political force at that time with any base among both the Arab and Jewish workers was the Stalinist Communist Party of Palestine. Through its blind support to the changing foreign policy of the Soviet Union, it switched from support to the Zionists to Arab nationalism and again back to the Zionists. As a result, the CP alternately lost most of either its Jewish or its Arab members.

Zionism in this period found a base in the Jewish community in Europe with Hitler's rise to power, and the resulting unparalleled persecutions of the Jews. Imperialism shipped these new refugees to Palestine, refusing to allow them to enter Britain and the US and used them to gain more forces to unleash against the Palestinians.

Despite savage persecutions by the fascist forces in Europe, the settlers developed rightist forces of their own: LEHI—better known as the Stern Gang from its founder Abraham Stern—and the Irgun, led first by Vladimir Jabotinsky and later by Menachem Begin.

What disturbed the leaders of the Zionist organizations—the World Zionist Congress and the Jewish Agency—about the Irgun and the Stern Gang was that when their leaders finished speaking, gone were all illusions about Zionism being some sort of peaceful, liberal and even "socialist" movement. Begin and company revealed Zionism to be a colonialist, reactionary force.

And though disturbed, the top Zionist leaders found nothing wrong with using groups like the Irgun to carry out the bloodier ends of conquering Palestine, especially in cases when the members of their own official military force, the Haganah, might prove hesitant.

By 1947, although 94 percent of Palestine was still owned by Arabs and only one-third of the population was Jewish, the

Zionists conspired to partition the country along with world imperialism and world Stalinism. This was to be carried out through the United Nations and through the use of whatever force necessary to drive out the mass of the Palestinians.

To this very day the Zionists and their supporters claim that the 1948 flight of the Palestinians from their country came about because of radio appeals to do so from Arab leaders. Yet no evidence of these orders has ever been produced. The only detailed investigation of these charges was made by Erskine Childers in the May 12, 1961 issue of the Spectator. His



Israeli commandos: training today for Israeli working class as well.

investigation revealed that on the contrary, the only order broadcast over the Arab radio stations were instructions to stay.

Childers then pinpointed the real reason for the mass flight of the Arabs from Palestine: the terror campaign carried out against them by both official and unofficial Zionist forces, culminating in the massacre of the village of Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948.

This massacre, perpetrated by the Irgun and the Stern Gang with the full collaboration of the Haganah, occurred in a village known for its hostility to Arab nationalism. That was one of the primary political reasons it was selected.

What prepared the way for this massacre and the flight of the Palestinians was the work of the world Stalinists, especially the Soviet, Palestinian and American parties in paving the way for the Zionist takeover in Palestine.

In the UN the Soviet delegates became the loudest shouters for partition through their security council delegate, Andrei Gromyko. In the United States, the Communist Party became the willing accomplice of this. The CP's main organ, the Daily Worker, carried Zionist propaganda in virtually every issue of 1947 and 1948. On March 1 it was announced that the CP had become part of a committee to sponsor "Palestine Protest Day" on March 11. The March 5 issue announced a "Conference to Save Palestine and UN." Another article boasted of plans by pro-Zionist (and Stalinist) leaders of the shoe workers, fur and leather workers, wholesale and warehouse, and furniture workers to put 50,000 of their New York area members out on strike on March 11 to back the partition of Palestine.

NAUSEATING

The most nauseating attempts were made by the Daily Worker to whip up pro-Zionist sentiments. A photo of a child and a nurse in a Jerusalem hospital were front

page news on March 8 with the caption: "Orphaned By Jerusalem Blast: A nurse comforts little Rachel Mayauhas in a Jerusalem hospital where she is recovering from injuries in a bomb blast that killed 53 in Ben Yehuda Street. The child lost her father, mother, brother and sister in the explosion for which Arabs boasted responsibility."

The March 10 issue of the Daily Worker ran a banner headline: "Soviets Press For Partition." Inside was announced the slogans for the March 11 rally: "Save the Jewish State! Save the UN! Arms to Haganah!"

On the day of the rally Joseph North ran a front page feature interviewing a Haganah soldier alleging all sorts of Arab atrocities. Issue after issue of the Stalinist press began to attack President Truman for "betraying" partition. The State

village for several days, while the Zionist forces systematically leveled it. He finally got in, escorting several survivors out after seeing the Irgun complete its work.

Complete documentation of the massacre was made by Richard Catling, Assistant Inspector General of the Criminal Investigation Division, in reports he forwarded to the Palestine Mandate Government. These reports, dossier number 179/110/17/GS, contain the following appendix to its April 15 report:

"On 14th April at 10 a.m., I visited Silwan village accompanied by a doctor and a nurse from the Government Hospital in Jerusalem and a member of the Arab Women's Union. We visited many houses in this village in which approximately some two to three hundred people from Deir Yassin village are housed. I interviewed many of the women folk in order to glean some information on any atrocities committed in Deir Yassin but the majority of those women are very shy and reluctant to relate their experience especially in matters concerning sexual assault and they need great coaxing before they will divulge any information. The recording of statements is hampered also by the hysterical state of the women who often break down many times whilst the statement is being recorded. There is, however, no doubt that many sexual atrocities were committed by the attacking Jews. Many young school girls were raped and later slaughtered. Old women were also molested. One story is current concerning a case in which a young girl was literally torn in two. Many infants were also butchered and killed. I also saw one old woman who gave her age as one hundred and four who had been severely beaten about the head by rifle butts. Women had bracelets torn from their arms and rings from their fingers and parts of some of the women's ears were severed in order to remove earrings."

Despite official disassociation from this massacre by the Jewish Agency and the Haganah, they were directly involved from the start. In the April 11, 1948 issue of their paper Ha-Mashkif, the Irgun published a letter they had received from the Jerusalem head of the Haganah just days before the massacre:

"I learn that you plan an attack on Deir Yassin. I wish to point out that the capture of Deir Yassin and holding it is one stage in our general plan. I have no objection to your carrying out the operation provided you are able to hold the village...If foreign forces (meaning Palestinian Arabs—MR) enter the place this will upset our plan for establishing an airfield (on the ruins of the village)."

Throughout this period Magil and the Stalinists continued to back the Zionist conquest of Palestine to the hilt, referring to this conquest as a "liberation war."

Magil wrote on April 28:

"I have information that among the leaders of the Haifa Arab bands are Britons, and fascist Germans, Poles, Yugoslavs and Czechs." Other parts of Magil's dispatch, cheering on the brutal expulsion of 65,000 Arabs from Haifa continued: "The adjutant of the commander of the Haifa Haganah told me that between 80 and 90 percent of the local Arabs want peace with the Jews, but that they had been terrorized by the foreign invaders chiefly the Iraqi." This was less than three weeks after Deir Yassin; obvious to everyone but the Daily Worker who was doing the terrorizing.

But Magil continued to wax eloquent: "A communist party (of Palestine—MR) statement hails the Haifa victory as 'an important achievement in the fight for national self determination.'"

And so this obscene campaign of the Stalinists continued down to the day that most of the Arabs had been driven from Palestine. Never a mention of Deir Yassin.

But despite everything, those who died at Deir Yassin, and at dozens of villages just like it, have not been forgotten. Their murderers and their Stalinist accomplices have also not been forgotten, nor forgiven. The construction of the Palestinian section of the Fourth International is absolutely essential to avenge them.

Department was denounced for not sending arms to the Zionists.

But the Zionists were getting guns and plenty of them. The point of origin: the Stalinist bureaucracy in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The March 29 issue of the Daily Worker was headlined "Arabs Kill 42 Jews In Convoy Ambush." At that very moment the arms the CP was demanding for the Zionists were on their way from Prague to Tel-Aviv, and from there into the hands of the Irgun and the Stern Gang.

Deir Yassin had ten days of life left.

At this time the Daily Worker was able after initial refusals from the State Department to secure a passport to Palestine for its correspondent A.B. Magil. Two years later he returned to the US to write a book *Israel in Crisis*, in which the Deir Yassin massacre is given fleeting mention, along with the lie that the Haganah and Jewish Agency condemned it.

What is more significant is that the readers of the Daily Worker and its allied publications did not find even a mention of the massacre. Magil and the Stalinists consciously refused to detail what had happened, even though it was news in the capitalist press, the Zionist press and the Arab press.

While Magil accused the Palestinian Arabs of atrocities and called their leaders fascists and Nazis, the Irgun and the Stern Gang were surrounding Deir Yassin, launching their attack at 4:30 a.m., Friday, April 9, 1948.

Despite their initial surprise, the inhabitants of the village, armed mostly with antiquated handguns and rifles, defended themselves tenaciously for over two hours before the ammunition ran out and killed four attackers. The Zionist forces then proceeded to kill, loot and rape their way through the village until 254 had been killed with only a handful escaping. Red Cross representative Jacques de Reynier was kept from entering the

MAYDAY '73



Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary.



Vinnie Woodford, ILA Caucus



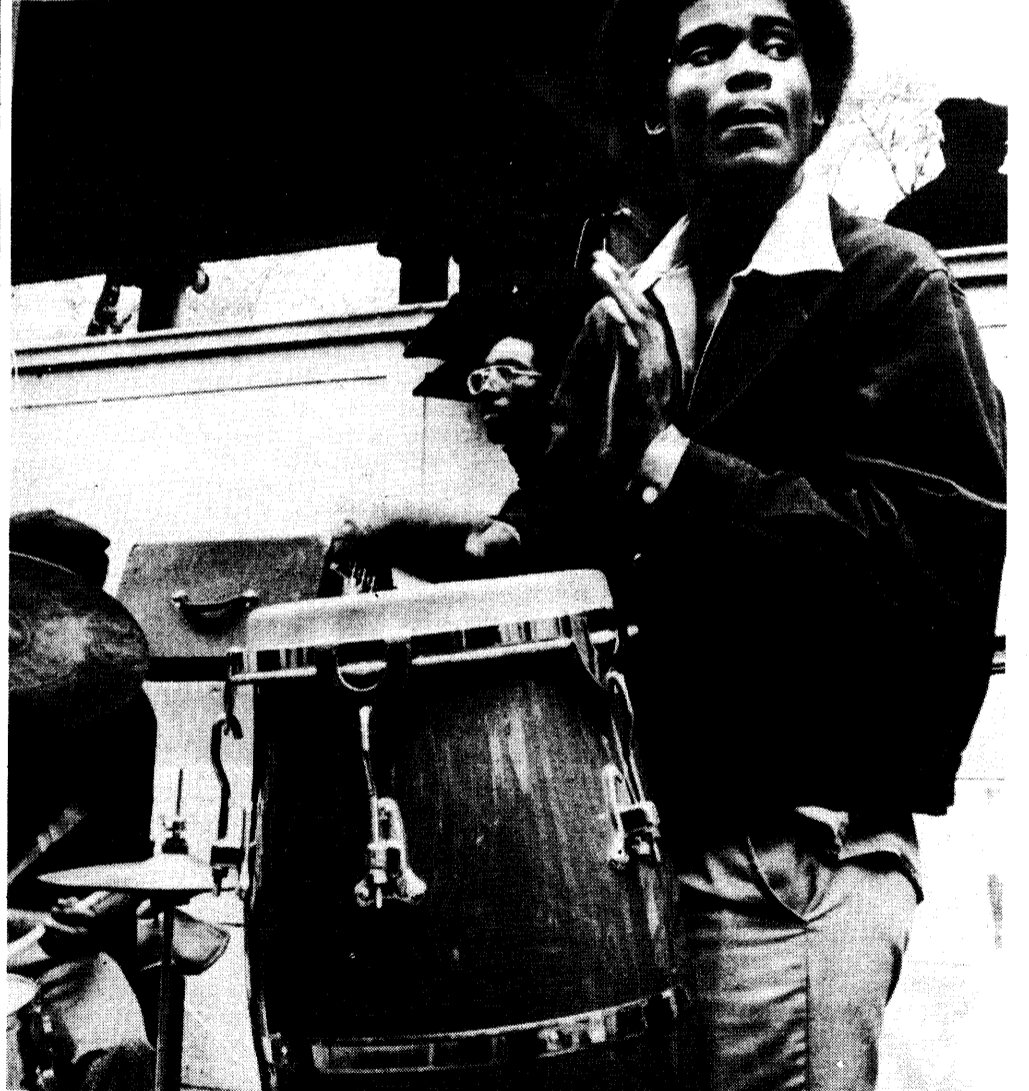
Abby Rodriguez, YS Editor



Geneva Ray, Brownsville



Juan Farinas



Adele Sinclair, YS



John Lloyd, dockworker



Lucy St. John, Bulletin Editor



Fred Mazelis, TUALP

May Day 1973 featured speakers from the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, the Workers League, and the Young Socialists. Entertainment was provided by the Blue Acid from Philadelphia (above) and Greg and the Mystic Souls (left) from Brownsville.

MAY DAY RALLY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
the internationalist traditions of May Day and of Union Square, traditions which developed in the bitter struggles for the eight hour day, to construct the trade unions and to defend working class leaders like the Haymarket martyrs and Sacco and Vanzetti.

The first Trotskyist May Day rally in Union Square is also a blow against Stalinism, he said, which since the 1930s has perverted the traditions of international class struggle embodied in May Day and has transformed the Union Square May Day rallies into passive celebrations and protests dominated by the liberal politicians the Stalinists cultivate as allies.

Saturday's rally, he said, was no mere protest. It was a call to action. It put forward the critical tasks which now confront the working class if it is to defend its unions, its basic rights and its standard of living and working conditions against the brutal attacks of the government and corporations.

He explained the nature of the international crisis which the capitalist class now faces and how it forces Nixon to attack workers in Europe and Japan and in the underdeveloped countries through trade war and workers in this country through inflation, wage controls, unemployment, budget cuts, and laws designed to cripple the unions and take away basic democratic rights.

WEAK

But, he said, Nixon is weak and can be fought and defeated by the power of the American working class. It is the present leadership of the trade unions, the Stalinists and the revisionists, which seeks to prevent this fight.

The Watergate scandal, he said, has exposed this weakness as well as the ruling class' preparations for dictatorship, has thrown the entire government into crisis and has created the conditions for the labor movement to construct its own political party and force Nixon out.

"The face of capitalism has been bared by Watergate, and underneath the working class can see all the intrigue, corruption, arrogance, disdain for democratic rights, hostility toward the democracy established in the struggles of 1776," Wohlforth said.

Workers in every union, he said, must now carry forward the fight for a Congress of Labor which will put forward labor's own solution to the crisis and a program and strategy to defeat Nixon and force him to resign and which will construct a labor party. In the course of this struggle, he said, a new

leadership can actually be developed.

"We must go forward to construct a new party of the American people, a labor party based on the trade unions and dedicated to socialist policies," Wohlforth said.

Other speakers also brought forward these themes and the fighting spirit and anger of the masses of workers and youth in the face of Nixon's attacks.

Geneva Ray, a housewife from Brownsville whose husband is a steel worker, told the audience of about 400 the working class must fight back now to defeat Nixon. She said that while the masses of workers want to fight back, many are afraid and others are discouraged by the unwillingness of the trade union bureaucracy to do anything at all about Nixon's attacks.

"What we need is a new leadership that will fight," she said. "We have to have a leadership now. We have to get ourselves together, because Nixon doesn't love you or anybody but himself.

"This is no laughing matter. We can't take all this sitting down—this is a serious situation we are in. Prices are going up and up, but Nixon won't let wages go up. I don't boycott meat—I can't afford it. Nixon is telling us to eat cheese and fish all day long, when we all know he doesn't eat cheese and fish. He eats steak.

"All of you that came to this May Day rally are here because we want to fight Nixon," she said. "And I say again that we have to get it together and fight. If we don't fight Nixon now, when are we going to do it?"

CRITICAL

Speaking on behalf of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, Fred Mazelis of Hospital Workers Local 1199 said that the critical fight for wages and every other demand of the unions must today be taken forward as a political fight against the government.

He said the hospital workers had to wait 10 months for a seven and a half percent increase because of the refusal of the union leadership to fight the government's Pay Board.

"All along we could have put Nixon on the run and destroyed wage controls," he said. "Finally the leadership threatened strike action and one week later we were told we would get our increase."

Vinnie Woodford, a member of TUALP's caucus in the International Longshoremen's Association, said the fight against Nixon is a fight to defend the basic rights which workers fought and died for in the struggles of the past. Nixon and

the companies are now trying to take every single one of these rights away, he said.

Woodford is campaigning on the TUALP program for the delegates position in Local 1814 now held by Bobby Anastasia, even though the Scotto leadership has disqualified him on a technicality.

A young longshoreman from Philadelphia also spoke and told of how he was framed up by the government because he took up a fight on the docks against the attacks of the companies and government.

YOUTH

The rally was a graphic demonstration of the turn of working class youth toward the Young Socialists and the struggles of the working class. Scores of youth came to Union Square from areas such as Brownsville, East New York, Bushwick and the Lower East Side. Two bands—Blue Acid from Philadelphia and Greg and the Mystic Souls from Brownsville—donated their time to provide lively entertainment throughout the afternoon.

Young Socialist editor Abby Rodriguez said youth must now turn toward the working class and trade unions, calling on them to defend the youth and take up their struggle against the budget cuts and for the right to a decent education, job and standard of living.

In the 1960s, he said, youth in places like Watts "took up a fight against this government to win certain gains for their communities and schools, and now Nixon says all these gains will be destroyed because this is the only way the capitalists can keep going," he said.

Today, he said, a leadership can and must be developed to lead the youth forward against Nixon. This means the development of the Young Socialists, he said, pointing out that the character of the new period opens the way for the real construction of a mass revolutionary youth movement.

"All other groups have refused to turn to the real strength of the working class, namely the trade unions," he said. "This is what we are demanding, calling on the trade unions for strike action against the budget cuts to defend our right to an education, to call

RUBBER . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

them at Bal Harbour.

The conclusion that must be drawn from the URW Pact is that the labor bureaucracy is willing to surrender the basic right of trade unions—to negotiate a decent contract—without even a fight.

With the contracts for electrical workers expiring at the end of the month, every section of the labor movement must be mobilized against the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's capitulation to Phase Three.

When the AFL-CIO Executive Committee meets this Tuesday, the task before it is ending its criminal support for Phase Three and organizing a fight against the Nixon Administration.

This fight must be prepared through the calling of a Congress of Labor to initiate the building of a labor party that will lead the political struggle against Nixon and the Democrats—who only yesterday confirmed in both houses of Congress the extension of the wage control law.

for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party for the very defense of the trade union movement.

"We demand that they take up a political fight for all the working class, all youth and unemployed workers. We call upon all here to attend the First National Conference of the Young Socialists and build a revolutionary youth movement in the United States to defeat this government."

The participation of large numbers of youth in the rally is an extremely significant development for the Trotskyist movement and stands in sharp contrast to the May Day rallies of the Stalinists who have no program to put forward for unemployed youth, young workers and students faced with Nixon's vicious attacks. Above all, these youth showed their determination to fight and to build a new revolutionary leadership.

INTERNATIONAL

Greetings were brought to the rally from workers and youth in Haiti and Canada, and several speakers stressed the international character of May Day and the struggles of the international working class.

Adele Sinclair reported on the massive Blackpool conference of the British Young Socialists and described the critical situation now confronting British workers and youth.

In Britain, inflation is now destroying the living standard of workers and youth at the same time as the Tory government makes it a crime to strike and fight for higher wages and passes laws taking away all the basic rights won by the British working class in 200 years of struggle.

"The critical question in this situation is the question of leadership. Who will lead the fight against the government? It has only been the Fourth International which has led the struggle of the working class," she said.

A Haitian worker described the brutality which workers and peasants in Haiti now face from American imperialism under the Duvalier dictatorship. He said the key to a victorious revolution in Haiti, in Southeast Asia and throughout the colonial world lies in the struggles of American workers to defeat American capitalism at home.

JAPAN . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

along with the CP and the reformist Socialist Party is the extreme right-wing Komeito Party, the political arm of the fanatically anti-communist Soka-gakai Buddhist sect.

This reveals the complete hypocrisy of the American Communist Party's Daily World, which stated that it fully supports the workers' actions, and in fact the East German Stalinists have just established friendly relations with the Tanaka government.

Along with the general strike, Tanaka's Liberal Democratic Party government was given a political jolt in a crucial mayoral election in the huge industrial city of Nagoya, losing to a joint candidate of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party despite Tanaka's personal campaign efforts.

The vote is regarded as a preview to elections next year in the national upper house. A victory for the Socialist Party and the Communist Party would take away the LDP's majority there,

A Haitian singing group received a big response when it performed, singing about the conditions which Haitian workers and peasants face under imperialism and their determination to fight back.

FARINAS

Juan Farinas, who was just released on parole from Danbury Federal Penitentiary for his class opposition to the Vietnam War, said the war must be seen in the context of the international class struggle.

"From the beginning of this fight we have seen the war in Vietnam as a class question—as a war conducted against the peasants and workers of Vietnam. The fight against the war must be a class fight here in the United States. In the same way, we viewed my defense and the defense of any militant who is put in jail because he or she opposed the government—in a class way."

Workers who spoke also called for the defense of workers' struggles in other countries and denounced the Vietnam War.

"Nixon's getting ready for another war," said Geneva Ray. "Who the hell does he think is going to fight it? The working people aren't. He's going to have to fight it himself."

Woodford called on workers to fight Nixon here to end the war. "Workers go over there to Vietnam and fight, and who are they fighting for? They're fighting for Nixon, that's who. It's not in the interest of the working people that that war's going on."

The rally was also addressed by Bulletin editor Lucy St. John, who stressed the critical role of the newspaper in leading the struggles of the working class against the government and corporations and the need to develop the Bulletin as a twice-weekly in the fall to become the fighting weapon of workers within the unions to develop a new leadership. A collection of \$68.54 was received for the Bulletin expansion fund.

In addition to the speakers, the history of the international class struggle was brought into the rally and the struggle of today with the singing of traditional union fighting songs. A group from Columbia University led the audience in a spirited singing of "The Internationale."

which they have maintained for a quarter of a century.

The powerful offensive of the working class occurs in the midst of the most profound economic crisis ever for the Japanese capitalist class as the effects of trade war and the 30 percent revaluation of the yen assert themselves.

Moves by Tanaka to open Japanese industry to foreign investment have further deepened divisions within Japan's own ruling class. While Tanaka embraces Washington with open arms and has already permitted wage increases averaging 30 percent over the past year to Japanese workers, the capitalist class is demanding a war at home against the trade unions and a protectionist policy abroad.

Sections of the ruling class have openly called for the annexation of Manchuria. Tanaka at this point is caught in the vise of this situation and will find it impossible to rule with his present policies, which poses to the Japanese working class very immediate political questions.

Bulletin

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PART II
BY AN SSEU-371
MEMBER

The Committee for New Leadership, SSEU-371 in New York, in its campaign to halt further reorganization, initiated a fight to halt all further movement of staff until the union negotiated a blueprint for the future of all jobs, which was to be ratified by the rank and file. After this policy was passed overwhelmingly at a membership meeting, the Cohen leadership attempted to push through a phony plan for a vote, giving the members only 24 hours' notice before the vote.

The CNL was the only force in the union which mobilized an all-out campaign in those 24 hours to get a "no" vote on the plan. Despite a tremendous strike scare whipped up by the leadership, the CNL won one-third of the union to the opposition.

The Coalition completely collapsed before the leadership's railroading tactics. Sections of the Coalition delegates tried to boycott the vote, thus aiding the bureaucracy, while others in the group went along with the bureaucracy.

The Coalition as a whole could not take a position on the blueprint fight, because they knew it would blow up the opportunist and syndicalist relations which hold it together.

Even in the fight against the time and leave and disciplinary procedures, the Coalition could not take a clear stand. They would not call upon the union president, Bart Cohen, to refuse to negotiate the procedures. Knowing full well that behind the push to implement the procedures was District Council 37 President Victor Gotbaum, they would not insist that Cohen jeopardize his relations with Gotbaum and call off negotiations.

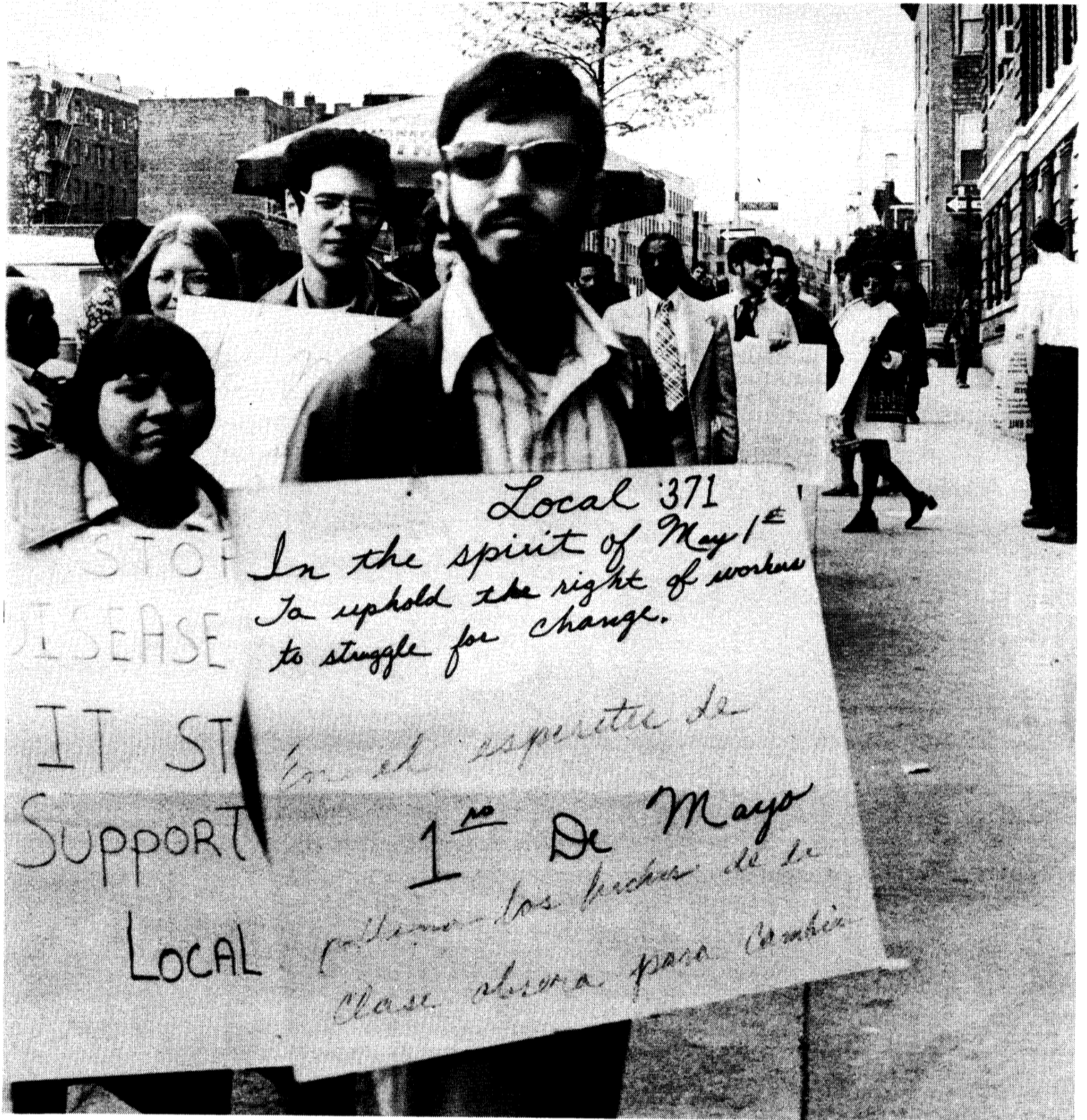
Instead, at the crucial membership meeting called to deal with the question, the Coalition attempted a compromise. Caving in to the bureaucracy's attempts to get agreement to implement the procedures pending city-wide bargaining under Gotbaum, the Coalition proposed that the policy of non-implementation not apply to the training of supervisors for it.

It was precisely over the question of the training of supervisors to implement the procedures, however, that the original confrontation with the City occurred. The further dissolution of the Coalition came when the supporters of the Communist Party openly called for a vote to implement the procedures, supporting the union leadership all the way.

Thus despite demonstrations of thousands of workers against these vicious new policies, despite a week of successful picketing against the training of supervisors for it, the union leadership was able to push through an agreement to cooperate with the aid of the Coalition.

Aside from the job threat now posed in the Welfare Depart-

CNL Fights Welfare Reorganization



Demonstration called by members of District Council 37 at Lincoln Hospital against the threatened layoff of 15 Community Medical Core workers drew union workers, doctors, and won support from the community.

ment, the government's Pay Board has now challenged the January pay raises. The CNL understands that these attacks cannot be fought through simple protests, pressure on liberal Congressmen, or bread and butter trade unionism. Only a political fight in the unions, which goes all the way and confronts the question of the government, can answer the needs of the rank and file.

POLITICS

The policies of Stalinism and centrism, which seek at all points to keep politics out of the unions, only serves to aid the union bureaucracies in their attempts to compromise the interests of the workers. That is why the CNL is taking up the fight now for District Council-wide strike action against the Pay Board, and is calling upon all the bodies of the labor movement in the city to convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of launching a labor party.

Any force in the labor movement which refuses to confront the question of the Democrats and Republicans today cannot

pose the kind of fight which can defend the interests of workers, both in the trade unions and the unemployed.

It is on this political basis that the Committee for a New Leadership has been the only force in the SSEU which has been able to take up a consistent fight against the city. That is why in the Caseworker chapter elections, just over a month ago, the CNL was able to win over one-third of the vote, while the radicals in the Coalition were reduced to supporting the candidates of the union leadership.

As the crisis in the system deepens, and the attacks upon the unions grow sharper, those forces which seek to keep politics out of the unions end up more and more open collaborators with the bureaucracy and with the capitalist class.

PROPOSE

In order to take forward now the fight to preserve jobs and working conditions in the face of reorganization, the Committee for a New Leadership will propose at the next Delegates Assembly and membership

meetings that all further cooperation with reorganization halt. This is necessary in light of the fact that the city's violations of the very blueprint it proposed means that the agreement no longer exists. This becomes doubly necessary under the threat of state takeover.

Further, the CNL will propose that a new blueprint be negotiated and presented to the ranks for a vote, along with the package the union leadership is to negotiate on the time and leave and disciplinary procedures.

ISSUE

Critical issues for the auxiliary titles, such as certification of provisional workers and maintenance of educational opportunities must be part of the package presented to the membership. At the same time in the event of any "quickie" state takeover—cutting wages or benefits, extending hours or attacking rights or conditions of union members in any other way—the union must be prepared for strike action as its very ex-

istence would be on the line.

The fight against the Pay Board, in particular the huge cuts exacted against SSEU members, however, must be taken into the higher labor bodies in the city, particularly the District Council. The SSEU must take into the District Council, as its official policy, the fight for general strike action against the Pay Board and the call to convene a Congress of Labor around the question of the labor party.

It is on the basis of these policies that the CNL is seeking to run a full, city-wide slate in the upcoming Delegates Assembly elections. In order to reach out with its program to the broadest layers possible in the union, the caucus will launch a newspaper in early May.

This paper will seek to more fully develop programs of action for all the various titles represented in the union, as well as sharply bring in the political questions the rank and file must face. It is only in this way that a new leadership can be built in the unions which can carry the fight to defend the ranks all the way through.

Bulletin Trailblazes Through Northwest Unemployment Area



BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

With tremendous response from all sections of the Northwest working class and youth to the Bulletin, and a determination that despite rain and cold weather the 500 sub quota would be met, the Northwest subscription mobilization team completed the entire drive in seven days with a total of over 500 subs.

The drive concentrated in Seattle and Portland, both hard hit by unemployment.

In Seattle, unemployment is far above 10 percent, despite the fact that thousands of families have been forced to move out to try to find work.

Breadlines like those of the 1930s are still being set up.

One Seattle youth told us: "Look, you wait till this summer. I know hundreds of young guys that were counting on the NYC program to give us jobs. I even thought that I could get a job there. But now everything is cut in the budget. Already people are ripping off neighbors because they can't get any money. The last two years of Nixon's term are going to be bad...look at this street. Maybe every third house has someone in it. That's it. Everyone's moved out that could, only there really isn't anywhere to go."

ANGER

Trade unionists were just as angry at Nixon's wage freeze. One Bulletin salesman was telling a construction worker that, "Nixon is attacking the unions" and was interrupted as the construction worker said: "Hell, he isn't attacking the unions, Nixon is absolutely out to bust the unions! With the cost of living going up at this rate and wages being frozen, the big companies still cannot live with the unions."

Throughout the drive our team met hundreds of unemployed workers and people on welfare. One 68 year old widow said, "I remember the depression, way before you were born, son. We didn't just have meatless days, but then we had meatless, wheatless and sweetsless weeks! I worked for 20 cents a day. Nixon hasn't done a damn thing for the working people. Things have always gotten worse when the Republicans have gotten in, but I'll tell you the Democrats aren't any better. Johnson, Humphrey, Kennedy, they're all the same if not worse. They are all for the man with the money and that's it."

YOUTH

The only college that was open was the Seattle Community College. Student elections were being held, and every radical and liberal ran candidates.

Nowhere was to be found a program to stop the budget cuts, only garbage about fighting for photography darkrooms and other liberal programs, while two weeks earlier it was announced that \$37 million had been cut in the budget for the school by the governor and the State legislature.

One student, Laura, said: "I wanted to take the nursing program. This school has a good two year RN program, federally funded, and now I hear that it has been cut. I can get public assistance only for two years of school so I wouldn't be able to

finish now. It's pretty bad. If everything's being cut I could work in a hamburger stand, but what a waste of time, if you're doing that for the rest of your life."

INTEREST

Students from working class families spoke with great interest of the Bulletin's fight to mobilize unions in a political fight against the budget cuts. At a table set up in the lobby of the college, students bought literature on Marxism, subscriptions to the Bulletin and many Young Socialist papers.

In the large projects in Seattle, some of which were built by the International Association of Machinists, whose unemployed members now occupy them, the largest response to the Bulletin was found.

House after house bought subscriptions, each individual being hit either by unemployment or being forced to work for under two dollars per hour to feed his family. Many workers dug out their last dollar to get the Bulletin.

One mother on welfare with three children said, "Look I have about three dollars, but if Nixon stays in office I won't have anything. I want this paper because I need it. You are the only people to ever come through here to fight Nixon, to fight for us."

The unions in both Seattle and Portland are facing attacks as Nixon begins his trade war



Top left: Trailblazers in Seattle housing project. Top right: the Northwest sub mobilization team. Bottom right: breakfast at Seattle campsite, 6 a.m.

against Europe and Japan. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is particularly hard hit.

One dock worker told us: "There is nothing wrong with militancy. Everything we have, even the Constitution, is based on militancy. But Nixon is taking our jobs away. The law says that the government cannot intervene in agreements between two people, but now the Nixon government is stepping into every contract."

The sub drive ended with a real victory, completing the drive in a six and one-half hour campaign in Portland on the only day it didn't rain. One hundred and twelve subs were sold, with 40 single papers sold without subs.

There are now entire streets in Seattle and Portland where every family now gets the Bulletin. But at each point the drive had to be conducted with a day to day assessment of the work done and the changes taking place and how

these changes reflected themselves in the thinking of workers and youth.

A meeting was held with youth in each of the cities where the drive was carried out. New youth were brought into the work helping in the subscription drive despite the bad weather because they were determined to fight back.

The final totals are 510 subs, 1077 papers, \$30.77 for the Fund Drive and over \$25.00 in literature sold.

One retired worker told us at the end of the drive, "I'm 65 and a cripple now. I can't even get around my house. I fought the police in the 30s to build the unions, but I know that it is up to you young people to carry on the fight today. Now you must fight with every ounce of energy to keep the working man up. We must have a labor party, you must fight each day for that. I wish I could do more."

Watergate Spies Framed Ellsberg

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The ever-widening Watergate scandal has spread to the Pentagon Papers trial.

Two convicted Watergate conspirators, G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt have been named in the burglarizing of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

The government is prosecuting Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo for conspiracy for leaking the Pentagon Papers to the public.

The trial has been marked by the flaunting of all legal and democratic procedure, from the bugging of defense attorneys' phones, intimidating potential defense witnesses, and now the stealing of personal medical files.

STOPS

Immediately after the day's court session, Ellsberg speaking at a press conference said, "For the people who work for the President, and the President, all law stops at the White House fence."

The announcement of the burglary was made by US District Judge Matt Byrne with the jury out of the courtroom. The prosecution submitted the information for the judge's private inspection, but the judge ruled it was something he could not receive privately, and then ordered the prosecution to sub-

mit all information surrounding the affair, including under whose employ Hunt and Liddy were at the time.

DISMISSAL

Early in the trial defense lawyers had requested dismissal of the charges against Ellsberg and Russo because of involvement of Watergate conspirators in the case. Ex-CIA agent and leader of the Watergate raiding party, Bernard Barker had recruited nine Cubans to attack Ellsberg in a rally in the fall of 1972. Barker and another Watergate conspirator were identified in photographs taken at the rally.

It was in this same period that Hunt, also an ex-CIA agent was working in an office set up by the White House.

There is also evidence that Liddy proposed to Justice Department lawyers the bugging of the offices of the New York Times to secure information as to who leaked the Pentagon Papers.

The whole case against Ellsberg and Russo has been framed up with the same police state measures revealed in Watergate. The labor movement must demand their release as part of a campaign to defeat this union-busting, conspiratorial government.

Chope Hospital Shutdown Hits Unions, Poor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN MATEO—"We get the people here they send away at private hospitals. If they close Chope down, these people will have no place to go."

These words from a hospital worker at Chope Community Hospital in San Mateo County sum up the situation as the Board of Supervisors moves to close down the hospital next year.

The San Mateo Board of Supervisors have refused to issue \$6,275,000 in bonds for renovation of Chope approved by the voters in 1965.

Instead they have instituted studies to prove that Chope should be closed and replaced by neighborhood clinics.

These clinics would not necessarily use union labor, according to George Pickett, Director of Health and Welfare of the county.

Chope's 430 workers are organized by Local 829 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The county has sought to weaken the union by having welfare clients who are compelled to work 80 hours a month for \$110 do the work of permanent staff. The new budget calls for a decrease in permanent positions and an increase in part-time and extra help, who are non-union.

WELFARE

Local 829 President George Popyack told the Bulletin: "What they are doing is pulling things

out of this hospital and contracting out. Parts of the mental health facilities here have been pulled out and contracted with Peninsula Hospital.

"The workers here have nowhere to go but welfare if they get laid off. But the Board definitely wants to close down the hospital."

The Local 829 leadership has formed an alliance with Venceremos, a local Maoist group, in the form of a "community coalition" to save the hospital.

The whole purpose of this coal-

ILWU . . .

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last contract. Bridges offered to the delegates the illusion that Nixon's trade deals with the Moscow and Peking Stalinists will usher in a new era of booming trade which will return prosperity to the docks.

This time around the dockers are fighting for their lives and there is growing opposition to Bridge's policies.

A retired longshoreman from Local 19 in Seattle summed up the situation facing dockers. "The problem is mechanization. There used to be 20-man gangs, now four do the same job.

"You can still get by if you want to pack 140 pound sacks of flour. Nobody wants to do it. It was alright in the 30's, but not today.

"In San Francisco I used to see all sorts of people working at the



S.F. rally where 3000 unionists demanded an end to rising prices and attacks on unions.

3,000 Workers Rally To Slam Phase Three

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Three thousand people answered the call of the Bay Area labor movement for a mass protest rally against Phase Three.

A significant number of trade unionists were present although far short of the organizer's hoped for 20,000. Organized contingents of construction workers, printers and longshoremen were out in force. The dockers called a stop work meeting and shut the port for the day.

The contributions of the speakers who included Stan Jensen of the IAM, Joe O'Sullivan of the Carpenters, Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and Harry Bridges of the ILWU were in sharp contrast to the spirit of the workers who had come out looking for a lead.

From beginning to end the speakers were determined to make it clear that they had no intention of leading a serious fight against Phase Three.

Thousands of General Electric workers will be striking in May. West Coast longshore contracts expire early this summer. Reagan is now moving to impose a new version of Proposition 22 on farmworkers through the legislature. Bay Area construction workers have just been warned that they face a total freeze on wage increases while in Los Angeles 6500 retail clerks have met to reject 5.5 percent and authorize strike action.

What every worker present wanted to know was how the leadership intended to fight state control over the unions and what exactly would be done to smash government imposed 5.5 percent guidelines on wages.

PRESSURE

These were the questions the speakers refused to address. Right at the moment that Nixon's trade war measures are provoking enormous class battles in Japan they spoke of American jobs being lost overseas. Workers were told that simple demon-

strations of unity could pressure the administration to lower the cost of living.

Harry Bridges was the only speaker to even defend the right to wage increases at the same time refusing to commit his own union to a struggle to break the 5.5 percent guidelines and mobilize labor to its support.

This demonstration was called because the labor bureaucracy knows very well that an enormous explosion is building up as workers determined to defend their standard of living prepare an all-out confrontation with government policy. The purpose of the rally was to blunt and divert that fight into protest.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party played a big role in assisting the bureaucracy in putting across this line by providing uncritical support to the rally and refusing to demand a real fight to break Phase Three.

LESSONS

Trade unionists must confront the lessons of this demonstration. Phase Three will not be defeated with pressure. The 5.5 percent guidelines will only be smashed through strike action around the upcoming contracts which will immediately raise the necessity of mobilizing the entire labor movement in a general strike to defeat the government.

The government drive to impose dictatorship on the unions which is backed fully by the Democratic Party can only be answered with a political struggle. This requires a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party committed to fighting for the power.

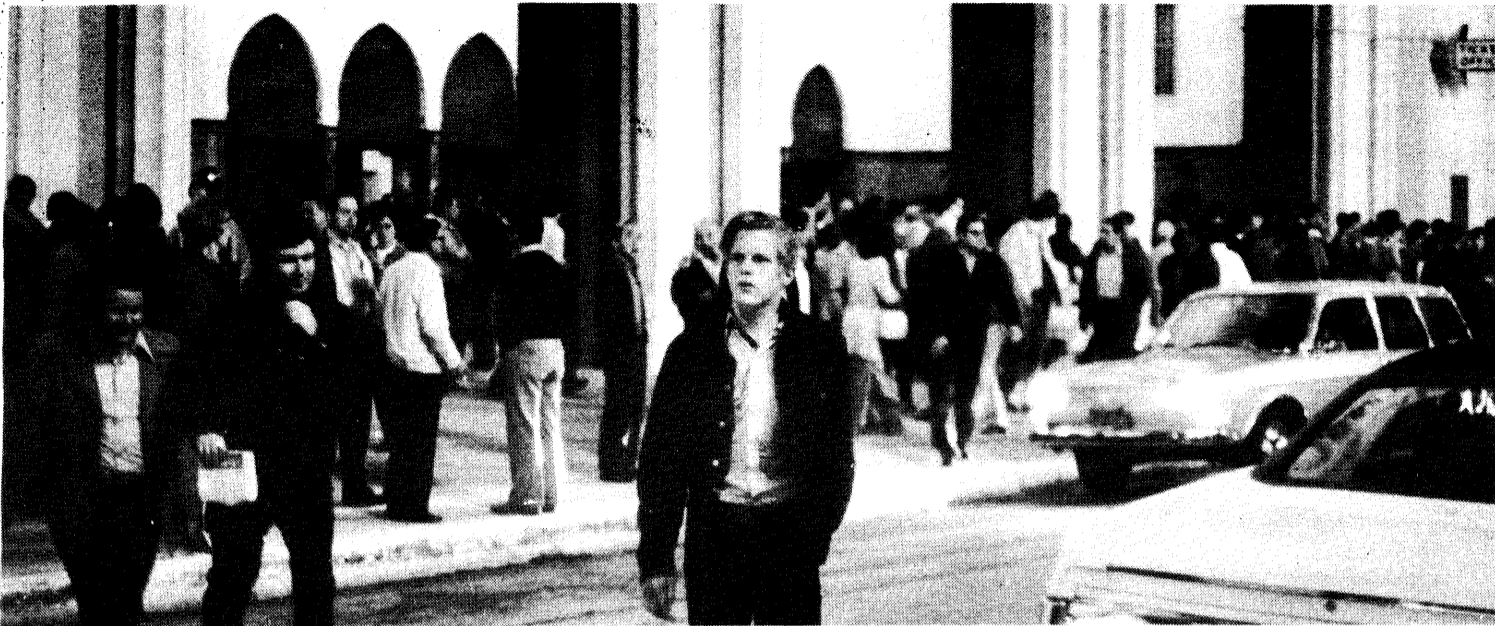
These are the policies the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party are fighting to bring into every union, in opposition to the present labor leaders and their revisionist apologists.

West Coast News

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Phone: 824-4096



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Clerks Demand 21%

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER
LOS ANGELES—As the cost of living soars to record-breaking heights, the huge, 19,000 member Retail Clerks Union has challenged Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines. The clerks who are employed in supermarkets, voted 83 percent to reject a 5.5 percent pay increase and authorized strike action.

The clerks, seeking parity within the San Francisco clerks, want a 21 percent increase. Although the contract will not expire until 1975, a yearly wage reopener is written into the contract.

MEETING

Over 6500 clerks turned out at the union meeting to make it clear to union officials that they have no intention of accepting Nixon's wage controls. Local 770 President DeSilva was greeted with boos when he said, "Nixon is beginning to understand that in this country the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

After the meeting a clerk explained why he booted. "Nixon is not softening up as DeSilva says. He's after all the unions. We should get as much as San Francisco, but it's going to be a hard fight."

Although strike action has been authorized, many clerks fear that DeSilva will cave in. Arnold Poirier said, "During our last contract negotiations DeSilva told us we had to accept the wage freeze, but we are not willing to live with it anymore."

The union will go to the bargaining table this week. No strike date has been set.

Longshore Job Crisis As Convention Meets

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—Addressing the opening session of the Twentieth Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International President Harry Bridges made it clear that he has no intention of preparing strike action and a political fight to smash Nixon's wage controls when the present longshore contract expires on June 30.

In the face of unprecedented attacks by the shippers and the government on the jobs and living standards of dockers, Bridges all but ignored the crucial contract fight coming up, calling only for a short-term contract and a cost-of-living wage increase.

NIXON

Bowing to Nixon's wage guidelines, he posed no specific wage demand and put forward no strategy to restore the 40 hour guarantee.

This convention has enormous responsibilities. In addition to the dock contract, the master warehouse agreements expire on May 31.

These negotiations will take

place under the shadow of uncontrollable inflation, deepening international monetary chaos, and the launching of a full scale trade war against Europe and Japan by the Nixon Administration.

These developments will mean a rapid decline in world trade, which the shippers and the government intend to compensate for by means of stepped up unemployment and speedup on the docks through mechanization, wage freezes, and a big push for compulsory arbitration throughout the transportation industry.

COMPLACENCY

In the face of this perilous situation, Bridges seeks to spread complacency and cover for his treacherous retreat in the

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Editorial

Reagan Pushes Law To Smash Farmworkers

Last November after a big campaign launched by the California labor movement the anti-farmworker Proposition 22 was delivered a crushing defeat at the polls by the voters.

At the time, Governor Reagan vowed to continue the campaign to pass legislation that would make it impossible for the UFW to organize.

The assault now being opened up by the growers against the UFW in the Coachella Valley has been the signal for the renewal of legislative attacks.

Using the collaboration of the Teamsters with the growers in a conspiracy to smash up the UFW, Reagan is claiming that the only way to stop the labor violence in the fields is to legislate "peace."

A farm labor bill now being introduced into the Senate is a virtual carbon copy of Proposition 22 establishing a state board with dictatorial powers over farmworkers and regulations that would make it impossible for the UFW to organize. The bill would also ban the use of the secondary boycott in farm disputes.

The government is determined to make agriculture the number one US export industry and the attacks on the UFW are calculated to maintain brutal conditions and slave wages in the fields to accomplish this.

There can be no question that Reagan and the growers intend to inflame the struggle in the fields to civil war conditions to build up the hysteria for legislating the UFW out of existence. The Teamster leadership is cooperating in this conspiracy which will not stop at the UFW but will be aimed at the rest of labor as well.

The same brutality is being readied for the entire trade union movement as it prepares to defend its conditions and wages.

This development drives home the urgency for labor to answer these attacks by rallying its enormous strength to construct a labor party committed to smashing all legislation against the unions.

SF Teachers Strike Looms

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Over eight hundred teachers here voted overwhelmingly to demand the School Board begin serious negotiations, and to consider strike action next week unless a settlement is worked out.

The School Board has categorically rejected the teachers' demand for a 15 percent wage increase beginning July 1, claiming the school district's financial picture was "unclear." Chief negotiator Lucy Cannarozzi refused to make any counter offer on salaries or fringe benefits and said she had no idea when the picture would be clear enough to do so.

Last year San Francisco teachers got no wage increase at all after union leaders accepted the School Board's plea that it was broke. Two months later the Board admitted it had a surplus of \$8 million.

REVOLUTIONARY

The School Board also rejected as "revolutionary" the teachers' demand for a Master Agreement which would pull all rules and regulations governing teachers and their conditions of work into a single document.

Under California state law,

legally binding contracts between teachers and school boards are banned. Recently a state court voided a contract in Los Angeles won by the United Teachers of Los Angeles after a strike in 1970.

Rank and file teachers are angry over supervisors pulling arbitrary rulings and memos out of their desks to meet any occasion. San Francisco Federation of Teachers President James Ballard proposed the Master Agreement as de-facto contract which would be "morally binding, not legally binding." But the School Board has spurned even this kind of pleading.

ARROGANCE

Many teachers at the mass meeting commented on the unprecedented arrogance of the School Board and school superintendent Steven Morena. The revelations of how badly teachers were fooled by the school district's poorhouse talk

last summer have strengthened their determination to win decent salaries. Starting teachers can take home as little as \$98 a week.

COVER

The union leadership seeks to cover its own betrayal of last summer by claiming the real problem is that teachers do not want to fight. After a national wave of teachers' strikes culminating in the general strike threat in Philadelphia, they put forward the bankrupt notion that a little pressure on the School Board can clear everything up.

Teachers must vote at the next mass meeting for an immediate all-out strike for the full 15 percent and the whole range of demands embodied in the Master Agreement. The School Board can only be defeated through a mobilization of the whole San Francisco labor movement in support.



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