

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWENTY-TWO 297

JUNE 4, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

## Labor Must Demand

# NO COVERUP ON WATERGATE!



**Young Socialists First National Conference**

Adele Sinclair, Editor of the Young Socialist newspaper, delivers the International Report at the First National Conference of the Young Socialists at Hunter College in New York, May 26-27.

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We have received only \$1955.74 this week, giving us a grand total of \$46,770.06. There is only one week left to complete the Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive by going over our goal of \$50,000. We know that many branches

and supporters of the Bulletin have postponed their contributions until after the recently concluded Young Socialists Conference. The change in the thinking of youth reflected in that Conference shows us what we can

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BY THE EDITORS

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"The prosecutors have told their superiors that evidence justifies questioning the President about how members of Nixon's innermost circle could perpetrate a massive obstruction of justice without his knowledge," Justice Department sources are quoted as saying.

The story further says that the "prosecutors' theory of the case holds that the Watergate coverup was undertaken by the White House to prevent disclosure of a covert program of illegal activities conducted by the Nixon Administration..."

In fact, the coverup was and is aimed at preventing the disclosures of the government's master plan for the creation of a political police agency and the introduction of police state measures, a plan contained in the documents John Dean pilfered from the White House and turned over to Judge Sirica.

Senate investigators are now trying to hide the content of these documents and either want to suppress them altogether or issue a "sanitized" summary.

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## Fighting Erupts In Ireland

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The British Tories and their administration in Northern Ireland have unleashed a new wave of terrorism, brutality and shootings against Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster.

On May 17, a 21 year old Catholic, Thomas Friel, was hit in the head at close range by a rubber bullet during fighting in the Cregan Heights area of Londonderry. Seven hundred workers marched to the police station and staged a sit-in in protest of the attack. Five days later Friel died of his injuries.

His death touched off an explosion among young Catholic workers in Londonderry who seized buses and cars and set them afire to use as barricades against the hated British troops. British soldiers again launched rubber bullets and nausea gas against the youth.

The week before, a 19 year old member of the outlawed Irish Republican Army was killed in a shootout with British troops 50 miles from Belfast. At the same time, a young Catholic welfare worker was seriously wounded by Protestant extremists and another was shot in the head when gunmen invaded the nursery where he worked.

The British government, which rules Ireland, and William Whitelaw, Northern Ireland Secretary of State under Direct Rule, have deliberately planned and provoked this terror campaign as part of their preparation for a military police state. The wave of shootings comes at a time when the North Ireland Emergency Provisions Bill has just become law.

### LEGALIZE

This Bill will legalize the use of torture, frameups, and internment without trial which the Tories have used to maintain their hold over Ireland. The Bill will abolish trial by jury, turn the courts into open tools of the government and grant sweeping powers of unlimited detention.

The Bill is aimed firstly at wiping out the Irish Republican Army, the only organization to oppose the White Paper, and secondly and most importantly, against the rights of Irish workers. Its purpose, like the White Paper, is to consolidate British Direct Rule, encouraging the right-wing and fascist forces in the Protestant para-military Ulster Defense Association against the working class, and covering these designs with so-called reforms.

Young Socialists in Ireland have been increasingly harassed and interrogated for their activities in Ulster.

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## Scandal Rocks British Tories

BY MELODY FARROW

Two of Britain's top Ministers, Lord Lambton, Under Secretary of Defense for the Royal Navy and Lord Jellicoe, leader of the House of Lords, were forced to resign last week in the wake of a major scandal of near Watergate proportions that threatens to topple the conservative government of Prime Minister Edward Heath.

Lambton and Jellicoe's resignations May 23 and 24 follow on the heels of another scandal involving Lonhro, a mining industrial company. In court hearings on the company, it was revealed that its directors received generous payments through tax free islands and rent free homes worth \$875,000.

Jellicoe and Lambton were regular patrons of a call girl agency whose clientele was exclusively among top businessmen, politicians and diplomats. What made the affair so explosive was the connections of the London ring with a similar West German operation which was interested in establishing an

international call girl network. Lambton was also accused of possessing dangerous drugs.

As the *Workers Press*, daily paper of the British Trotskyists, points out, this is not a case of the isolated philanderings of a couple of eccentric Lords. Lambton and Jellicoe are top Ministers in Heath's government. Jellicoe was the man who chaired the security committee which Heath set up to smash the 1972 miners' strike.

### DEMORALIZATION

This scandal reveals the complete demoralization of the capitalist class involving the Cabinet, Scotland Yard, the press and the City of London. They are all involved in one form of scandal or another, reflecting the decay of British capitalism. This is not just another "sex scandal" but reflects the complete breakup of a ruling class which is gripped with the insolubility of the economic crisis.

The chain of events in this scandal began when one of the call girls, Norma Levy, while being questioned by police on another matter, casually dropped the names of several Ministers. This information was casually passed on by a detective to the British Security Service, D-5, which quickly began an investigation.

Their investigation confirmed that Lord Lambton was involved and three weeks later surveillance of the prostitutes im-

plicated Lord Jellicoe.

The affair has exposed the complete collusion of the British police with high crime figures. The chief of Scotland Yard's Flying Squad, Kenneth Drury, has resigned following the revelations that he was wined and dined throughout the year by James Humphreys, known as the "porno king" of London.

Following the resignations, Heath told Parliament that "there were no grounds for supposing that any other Minister or any member of the Public Service is involved." Heath is now afraid that the revelation of more names will force his entire government to resign at a time of unprecedented economic crisis.

The explosion of this scandal, coming on the heels of Watergate and financial scandals in France, reflects the decay and corruption of a ruling class that is unable to cope with the crisis of its system.

These scandals surface now because of a growing split within the ruling class on how to deal with the economic crisis. Sections of big business which profit from the inflationary boom are forced into conflict with more powerful banking interests that seek drastic deflationary measures and all-out trade war, a policy that bankers in London are now coming over to.

Last week, the government announced huge cuts in the budget, meaning a slash of 500 million pounds next year in every area of

public spending.

These deflationary policies will lead to an uncontrollable slump, meaning industrial collapses, an enormous rise in unemployment and a further erosion of confidence in the dollar. But these attacks will produce tremendous class battles by British workers.

The only thing that keeps Heath in office is the cowardice of the Labour and trade union leaders. Harold Wilson, head of the British Labour Party, rushed to the aid of Heath, accepting his excuses and double talk about the affair.

### NEW ELECTION

The Jellicoe-Lambton scandal has shaken Heath at the very moment when he seeks to prepare the conditions for a snap General Election, in order to win a "mandate" for dictatorial repression against the trade unions. These plans have been dealt a vital blow. The British workers must now seize the opportunity to demand a new election and return a Labour Party to power that will fight for socialist policies.

The Socialist Labour League is now making preparations to transform the League into a revolutionary party in the fall. The All Trades Union Alliance, the SLL's industrial arm, is preparing a mass rally in Manchester of trade unionists and youth to take forward this campaign. The center of this rally will be the fight to bring down the Heath government.

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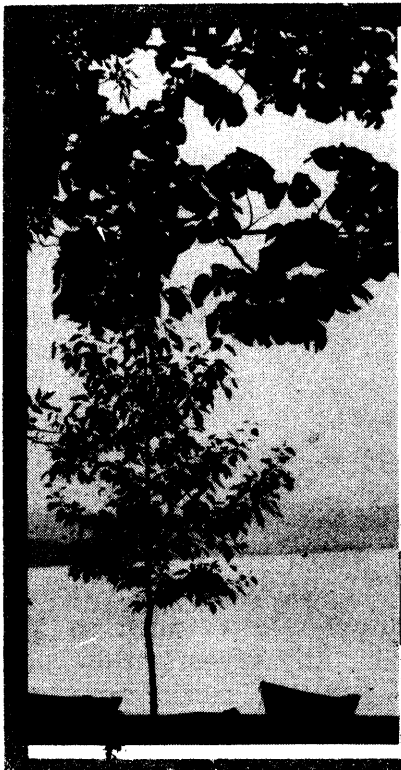
Recreation includes everything from boating and basketball to hiking, fishing, and Canadian broom ball. Special trips will be arranged to Montreal for sight-seeing.

EAST COAST: \$50

MIDDLE WEST: \$60

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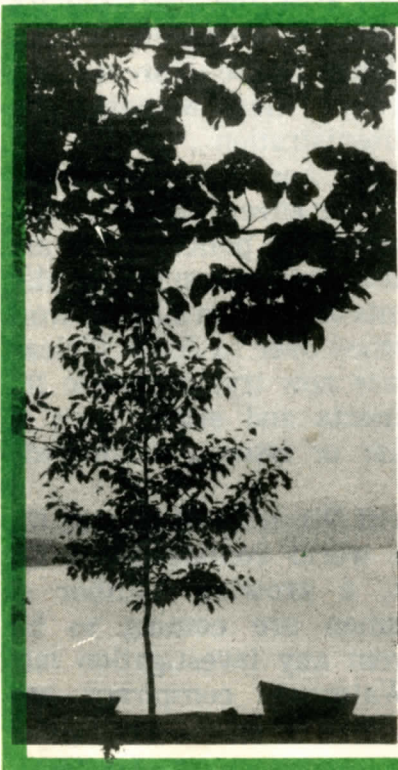
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# CIA Aides Fascist Plot In Italy

BY OUR FOREIGN  
CORRESPONDENT

With the center-right coalition of Premier Giulio Andreotti on the verge of collapse, the CIA is functioning in close collaboration with the neo-fascists in order to smash the powerful Italian working class.

Extreme right-wing forces have carried out a spate of bombings, recently as part of a campaign to create the conditions for a fascist coup d'etat.

One person was killed and 40 others injured two weeks ago in Milan when a grenade thrown by Gianfrano Bertoli exploded at a ceremony attended by top government officials.

Bertoli has long established links with both the fascists and the CIA. As far back as 1954 he joined the anti-communist organization called "Peace and Liberty" headed by a monarchist count, Edgardo Sogno.

The Count was connected with the CIA during World War II and later worked for NATO. "Peace and Liberty" is known to have conducted anti-trade union ac-

tivities, especially around Fiat factories in Turin.

## ORDINE NUOVE

Bertoli, who posed as an anarchist after his arrest, has been exposed as a member of "Ordine Nuove," a para-military fascist organization. He took part in attacks on workers on strike and demonstrations of left-wing groups. Although his name was given to the police on several occasions, no action was ever taken against him because he probably had police connections.

It has been the policy of the Andreotti government to turn a blind eye on neo-fascist activities. His coalition depends on the support of the neo-fascists of the MSI in Parliament.

Several important questions concerning Bertoli's action remain unanswered. Just before arriving in Milan, he had made a long journey via Marseilles to Israel. He had been a member of a kibbutz called Karmyah, near Gaza, for two years, where he was noted for his anti-communism. Where did he obtain the money for the long trip to Milan? How did he know that the ceremony commemorating police chief Calabresi's assassination was to take place that day?

As the Watergate investigations have made clear, the CIA has been increasing activity against all radical movements all over the world. Particularly in Italy, where the bourgeois democratic government is so weak, the CIA has sponsored the activities of the neo-fascists. According to the New York Times, the CIA stopped financing the Christian Democrats six years ago.

Although the Italian working class is prepared to finish off the fascists for once and for all, their Stalinist leaders are opposed to any determined action. The only response of the Communist Party to the bombing was a half hour "general strike" in Milan.

This will hardly intimidate the fascists, who are being encouraged by the most ruthless sections of the Italian bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists issued a joint statement with the anti-working class parties in Tuscany calling for the defense "of the institutions originating from the Resistance" instead of calling for independent working class action to bring down the government which aides the fascists and take power.

Events in Italy show the desperation of the capitalists and exposes the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinists which open so many dangers to the working class.



The victims of Milan bombing where Gianfrano Bertoli, member of fascist group "Ordine Nuove," injured 40 and killed 1 at top government ceremony.

## IUE-UE Postpone GE Strike

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK, May 29—Three days have passed since the contract expired and there has been absolutely no progress toward a settlement during the 10 weeks of negotiations. But the leadership of both the International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Electrical Workers are refusing to set a strike deadline against General Electric.

More than 100,000 electrical workers are being kept in the plants while talks between the company and the union leadership continue indefinitely. Rather than terminate the contract which would have led to a strike last Saturday, the IUE has simply "modified" the contract. Now, before there can be a strike, the union must give 10 days notification.

The IUE has said that it has no plans to issue such a notification. According to Denis O'Donnell, an IUE spokesman, it is "entirely possible" that the IUE ranks in General Electric will still be working after the Westinghouse

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# Deflation Moves Threaten Massive Unemployment

BY DAVID NORTH

A return to the massive unemployment that brought suffering to millions of workers during the 1930s is threatened by the development of strong deflationary pressures in all the major industrial countries.

Frightened by the runaway inflation that foreshadows a total collapse of the world monetary system and the destruction of their wealth, the most powerful sections of finance capital in the United States, Germany and Japan have raised their voices to demand that the boom produced by easy credit and money policies be ended.

Where the government has been reluctant to act—as in the United States—the bankers have taken matters into their own hands. The Chase Manhattan Bank of the Rockefeller family has increased the prime lending rate to seven and one-quarter percent, its highest level in nearly three years. The aim of the tight money policy is to discourage investment and prompt manufacturers to cut back

production.

In the words of one analyst, "A higher charge is one way to scare away borrowings."

Similar measures are being taken in Germany and Japan. The Brandt government is bowing to pressures from the liberals in the coalition to raise credit rates and at the same time institute savage cutbacks in social welfare programs.

Japanese Finance Minister Kiichi Aichi announced several days ago that the Central Bank will increase its loan charge some time this week.

## DIVISIONS

The turn toward sharp deflationary policies which leading sections of capitalists are demanding is producing major divisions within the ruling class,

reflected most clearly in the Watergate scandal.

Lambasting him daily over this issue, the New York Times—spokesman for the major East Coast banking interests and Wall Street brokerage houses—has now denounced Nixon's economic policies, or rather lack of a policy, in the strongest terms.

In an editorial published May 21 entitled "Avoiding Boom-Bust," the Times accused Nixon of following "too stimulative a fiscal policy too long." Stating that wage controls had to be stiffened, the Times declared that: "The time has come for him to face up to the necessity of putting more fiscal restraint upon an economy that has boom-

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# State Takeover Prepares War Against SSEU

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—A bill providing for state takeover of New York City's welfare system, long sought by Governor Rockefeller and aimed at wiping out thousands of welfare jobs, was passed Monday night in an eleventh hour session of the New York State Legislature.

In addition, the bill provides for the introduction of a massive computerization program which will be started in New York City, which is to be used as a "demonstration project" and then extended statewide.

It has been revealed that bidding by various electronics firms for a computer system contract with the state is already underway. The new equipment for this system, which has already been introduced in the state of Maine, was prominently displayed at the recent National Conference on Social Welfare in Atlantic City. It can wipe out 80 or 90 percent of existing welfare clerical and social service staff.

Even more ominous is the new bill's provision for plans leading to the placing of the state's entire

welfare system in the hands of a so-called "public benefit corporation" whose purpose would be to carry out the firings, layoffs and demotions that the new system will entail.

The greatest danger in the situation is the complete complacency in the face of these threats of the leaders of New York City welfare unions.

Just days before the passage of this bill, the Cohen leadership of Social Service Employees Union Local 371, representing 15,000 Social Service workers, told the membership that the bill was dead for this session. Meanwhile, the leadership of Clerical Local 1549 has virtually told its members to get ready for layoffs because there is nothing the union can do.

Only the SSEU Committee for New Leadership has warned and prepared the welfare workers against this threat. It has done this with the demand that all reorganization—which has been nothing but a preparation for this takeover—be frozen until the entire future picture for welfare workers including takeover was negotiated with the union and by demanding strike action be prepared in the event state takeover should hit, reducing wages, benefits, conditions of civil service or union protection or rights in any way.

## 15% Won By REA Ranks

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—More than 12,000 workers employed by REA Express, Incorporated have won wage increases that break through Nixon's Phase Three guidelines.

The 15 percent increase for the first year of the contract guarantees the members of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks pay parity with Teamsters in other shipment firms.

According to the terms of the settlement, ratified last week, the workers will receive 10 percent increases over the last two years of the contract.

While the full settlement hardly meets the needs of the ranks under conditions of rampant inflation, it is unlikely that the Nixon Administration will permit the increase to go through the Cost of Living Council.

The ranks must demand that the union leadership prepare for strike action with full support of the AFL-CIO if Nixon cuts the contract.



Chicago Young Socialists book sale raises money for youth from Cabrini Green Housing Project to attend Young Socialists First National Conference in New York.

## 250 Longshore Jobs Chopped In Brooklyn

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

BROOKLYN—Last week over 250 longshoremen were thrown out of their jobs as the shippers closed down the Breakwater pier here. The men in the 15 gangs that worked this pier will now be forced to join the growing unemployment line at the hiring hall.

This closing takes place at a time when the shippers are using the "flexible" contract signed by ILA President Anthony Scotto to attack the Guaranteed Annual Income.

As one ILA member put it: "These men have not been to the hiring hall for 10 years. Some of them have worked on the docks over 15 years. Right now they don't know what has hit them. I worked on Pier 8. They closed that down last year."

"The union leaders haven't done anything to stop this. During the election that just ended, Scotto talked big about fighting for the men. Then right after the election they closed Breakwater."

In January, three Brooklyn piers were closed down as the shippers more and more move to utilize the new container berths in ports like New Jersey. At the same time, men in Brooklyn with 15 years seniority are being sent through the Prior Day Order system to Staten Island and to jobs out of their job categories. The shippers are using this to force more and more men off the guarantee.

COMPLICIT

The recent election for officers and delegates in the ILA took place in a situation of increasing attacks on the wages, jobs and working conditions. The Scotto leadership has been completely complicit with the shippers and

the Nixon Administration in their attacks on longshoremen and the ILA.

Scotto openly supported Nixon in the last election and is now silent on the Watergate conspiracy. It was Scotto's fear of the growing opposition in the ILA to the leadership and his fear of a program which can now mobilize the ranks of the ILA against the shippers and Nixon that led to Vinnie Woodford, the candidate of the ILA Caucus for Delegate A, being disqualified in the election.

The leadership refused to allow a write in vote for his candidacy. Woodford and the ILA Caucus fought in the election for a program to reopen the contract and they demanded an end to the "flexible contract," defense of the Guaranteed Annual Income, a 20 percent wage increase and a political fight against Nixon through the building of a labor party.

In the elections on May 16, the "Unity Ticket" received over 30 percent of the vote. This vote expresses the growing opposition in the ILA to the policies of the Scotto leadership.

The "Unity Ticket," which is headed by Pete Bell, a supporter of the policies of the Communist Party, refused to raise a program to mobilize the ranks against Scotto and the contract. This group, which refused to oppose the contract, holds the position that the contract cannot be fought but must be worked with.

As the program of the ILA Caucus states: "The fight to keep the GAI, save jobs and win a big wage increase requires a political struggle against the Nixon Administration which stands behind the shippers. This is why the ILA Caucus demands that the AFL-CIO call a Congress of Labor to unite all workers in strike action and to smash Phase Three and to build a labor party."

The ILA Caucus will fight at the membership meeting on June 4 for a resolution calling for the reopening of the contract to defend wages, jobs and the GAI and for the ILA to demand the resignation of Nixon, a new election and the calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

## Politicians' 60% Raise

The New York State Legislature is working overtime these days. After axing the school budgets, proposing tuition for the city university, as well as state takeover of welfare, meaning the loss of thousands of jobs, they sat past midnight on Memorial Day to vote on a bill they assured us was needed to "retain our independence" from well-financed special interest groups.

The bill passed 94 to 59 in record time and with—amazingly—no debate. Passed in order to "encourage idealistic men to remain in the legislature," the bill raises their salaries 60 percent, from \$15,000 to \$23,000 a year.

UNION LABEL 6

UNION LABEL 6

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
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## NLRB Backs Up Gazette

BY BRUCE MCKAY

ALEXANDRIA, Va., May 29—The National Labor Relations Board has ruled against The Newspaper Guild in the two month old Gazette strike here.

The Guild had brought charges of unfair labor practices against the paper's publisher for her refusal to seriously negotiate and for replacing one Guild member who has been ill throughout the strike—all the strikers have since received replacement notices.

The NLRB not only threw out the Guild charges but charged the union with mass picketing. Aside from the first few days of the strike, there have only been a handful of pickets on the line.

This decision reflects the totally uncompromising position the Nixon government is assuming toward the unions as it steps up its attacks on workers' rights and living conditions.

Members of Baltimore-Washington Local 35 must reject the bankrupt policies of their leadership, which relies on the courts and Nixon's government boards to bail them out of the Gazette strike. The union must be forced to mobilize real mass picketing to win this strike and call on all the printing craft unions and the entire area labor movement to prepare strike action if necessary against any attempt by the police and courts to break the strike.



# Gibbons Forced Out In St. Louis

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS May 24—Harold Gibbons announced his resignation as secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 688 here last night. It has been reported that he will give up all offices except that of vice president of the International. He has held this position with Local 688 for over 30 years.

This action followed the forced resignation of three other top officers of Local 688: President Ernst Neidel, Vice President Levi Sanford, and Recording Secretary Ron Borges last Friday.

While union officers refused to comment to the *Bulletin*, reports here indicate that a faction in the bureaucracy, supported by International President Frank Fitzsimmons, has forced this action. Gibbons resigned instead of deciding between facing charges alleging inattention to affairs of the local union, or taking the issue directly to a membership vote. Gibbons believed in either case Fitzsimmons would place the local union in trusteeship.

This action by Fitzsimmons expresses his fear of being unable to control the Teamster rank and file in the upcoming contract negotiations. A number of Teamsters reported to the *Bulletin* they felt this was a power struggle within the bureaucracy with neither faction willing to face the struggles confronting the ranks over wages and working conditions.

"It is a power struggle, we need someone who can fight for a decent wage to keep up with the cost of living." Another said, "They don't involve the membership, it's a power thing between two fat cats. They don't care about us."

Gibbons has made a national name for himself, firstly through the building of such programs for Local 688 members as the Labor

Health Institute, apartment blocks for retired workers and the health and medical camp on the outskirts of St. Louis. His involvement in national political campaigns in support of liberal Democrats, the antiwar movement, and community issues such as the citywide public housing rent strike brought him into prominence as a leader of the liberal section of the trade union bureaucracy. This reached its high point when he travelled to Hanoi along with two other trade union leaders as part of a "peoples peace" delegation.

The ouster of Gibbons is part of Nixon's drive to line up the trade union bureaucracy behind his plans to break the independence of the unions and for trade war with every other country in the world. It shows the complete and utter inability of this "progressive" section of the trade union bureaucracy, so highly praised by the Stalinist Communist Party, to defend the gains of the working class and to give a lead against the further attacks of wage freeze, layoffs and increased productivity.

This poses the urgent task of building a Marxist leadership in the unions that will give a lead to the ranks. A teamster caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party fighting for a decent contract will mobilize the ranks against the Fitzsimmons sellouts and can give a lead to the rest of the labor movement by initiating a call for a Congress of Labor for the construction of a labor party.

## University Offers AFSCME 2 Cents

BY AN 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—In spite of continuing mediation and "threats" of arbitration the University of Minnesota is arrogantly moving on the offensive in its drive to destroy the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1164 and prevent the union from organizing the 8000 university workers.

After 12 months of negotiations, the administration offered a two cent across the board increase and a \$365 minimum monthly salary for University of Minnesota workers.

The present leadership of 1164 and Council 6 (state employees union) refuses to mobilize the ranks of the hospital in preparation for a strike. That is the only reason the administration is able to get away with two cent pay raises. Instead of fighting for strike authorization, the leadership and the supporters of Progressive Labor-SDS decided to

have a picnic.

But the university's hostile position makes it very clear that a strike will be necessary to win a contract and a decent wage at the hospitals and to organize the rest of the University of Minnesota into AFSCME.

As one food service worker reported, "They'll only begin to listen when we begin to walk out."

A strike for a contract and wage increase means a direct confrontation with Democratic Governor Wendal Anderson as well as Richard Nixon and his 5.5 percent wage control law. The supporters of PL-SDS in 1164, the leadership of 1164, and the bureaucracy of Council 6 run in fear of this political fight. In order to prevent a confrontation with the government, they are doing everything possible to keep hospital workers from fighting for what they need.

EXPULSED

That is the reason the Executive Board of 1164 upheld the phony charges brought by Eric



Members of Local 43, Amalgamated Meatcutters Union at Superior Tanning Company in Chicago where employers threaten closure rather than install pollution devices and repair safety violations.

## Teamsters Dump Atlas Strike

BY B. WILLS

MINNEAPOLIS, May 27—The strike at Atlas Disposal Company employing some 50 drivers and inside men at two locations in the Twin City area is now in its third week.

The company has refused to recognize Teamsters Local 975 as the bargaining agent for the workers despite the fact that some 90 to 95 percent of the men at the New Brighton plant and about 70 percent of them at the Savage plant struck on May 9 for union recognition and a contract.

One of the pickets described the miserable conditions under which they have been forced to work: wages considerably below union standard, no sick benefits, no holiday pay, no pensions, a poor vacation plan, paternalistic and discriminatory company treatment in an effort to promote friction between the men, and

only one driver per truck despite backbreaking barrels that often have to be loaded by hand. He also reported that about a year ago, Atlas was bought up by a Houston based conglomerate, Browning Ferris Industries. This same conglomerate also bought up another rubbish disposal company in the Twin Cities called Haul-A-Way, already organized by Teamsters Local 120.

SCABBING

When workers at a number of big plants from which Atlas hauled rubbish refused to allow their scab trucks onto the premises, Browning Ferris simply sent their Haul-A-Way firm to service these sites. In other words, union drivers at one company were scabbing on their fellow workers from another company, both of which were owned by the same corporation.

The same picket then added: "The business agents from the Teamsters have justified this rotten scabbing by claiming that it would be a secondary boycott, and thus illegal for them to order the Haul-A-Way drivers to refrain from picking up rubbish formerly hauled by Atlas."

He also stated: "These business agents from the Teamsters are breaking our own strike. One of them was on the picket line last week and told us he didn't think we had a chance to win our strike. Right then and there three of our pickets left the line and went into the company office and are now scabbing."

This militant worker told the *Bulletin* that, as a result of the treacherous policies followed by the Teamster bureaucrats, half of the original 50 men have already gone back to work for the company and another group have quit to take other jobs.

## Watch On Cabrini-Green

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—The proposal to implement a model security program in the Cabrini-Green housing area in Chicago points out the desperation of the government as it faces a working class determined not to give back one thing won in the boom.

Public housing conditions across the country have deteriorated to the point where thousands of people move into the low rent projects only to leave as fast as possible. The vacancy rate at Cabrini-Green is 12 percent. The government has tried to fill these by rent decreases in the past month, but this cannot erase the fact that these places were never built to be homes, and under today's con-

ditions become intolerable.

"When we first moved in here, it was nice," said Rose who attends Waller High School, "but now you are afraid to be out too late."

Unable to provide decent housing, jobs and decent schools, the Nixon Administration now desperately takes repressive measures and seeks to turn the projects into prisons. The Federal Crime Commission approved a program last week which calls for closed circuit television cameras and other electronic devices to monitor public areas, elevators, and hallways. Although the commission has not stated at which four buildings the program will be implemented, it is specifically designed as a model for the rest of the country.



# 1st National Conference Young Socialists Pledge Fight For Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

**NEW YORK, May 27**—Three hundred and fifty youth attending the First National Conference of the Young Socialists voted unanimously today to found the Young Socialists as a national organization and to adopt the YS Draft Program. The conference voted to begin a massive campaign this summer to mobilize youth in a fight against unemployment.

The Conference brought young workers, high school and college students and unemployed youth from all over the country, from as far away as Watts. The participation in the Conference reflected the changes among masses of workers and youth under the impact of the Watergate revelations and the development of the economic crisis.

The founding of the revolutionary youth movement in the US takes place at a time of the greatest economic and political crisis in history. The decisions made at this Conference show that the youth will be the major force in leading the struggle for socialism in the US and building a new leadership in the working class.

It was this crisis and the role of the Young Socialists in leading the fight to force Nixon out and build a political alternative to the Democrats and the Republicans that was at the center of this Conference.

Abby Rodriguez, Editor of the *Young Socialist*, opened the conference with a report on perspectives and the draft program of the YS:

"This is without a doubt the most important meeting of youth held by the revolutionary movement in this country and the decisions made here will play a major role in the lives of thousands of youth.

"In the recent months we have seen a growth of attacks against the standard of living of every youth and against democratic rights. It has been most clearly seen in Nixon's budget, the Watergate scandal and in the monetary crisis which has forced the price of gold to shoot up to \$128 an ounce. It is these political and economic developments which we must turn to and study because they are all related and are the main reasons why we understand that there is no future for young people under this system."

## WATERGATE

Comrade Rodriguez discussed the meaning of the Watergate conspiracy, which has revealed that sections of the ruling class are moving towards new forms of rule in order to destroy democratic rights and any movement within the trade unions and the



Newly elected National Committee of the Young Socialists: Top Row, left to right: Ken Weston, Mich.-Ohio; Nancy Russell, Madison-Chicago; Louis Ladson, Minn.; Ronnie Roy, State College-Pittsburgh; Raoul Rizik, Washington, D.C.; Ronnie Horowitz, Balt., Md.; Ernie Lewis, Los Angeles; Larry Roberts, Bethlehem-Allentown; Kathy Barnes, New England; Dennis Grant, Philadelphia; Bottom Row, left to right: Ann Lore, San Francisco; Adele Sinclair, New York, Editor of the YS; Abby Rodriguez, New York, National Secretary; Nancy Vasquez, New York; Kiki Mendez, New York, Treasurer; Paul Zafferion, St. Louis.

youth. He said that Watergate has shown that at the head of this government, starting with Nixon, is a small group of the most corrupt individuals who will go above the law to preserve the interests of big business at the expense of the working class.

"These criminals," Rodriguez said, "developed a plan to destroy the right to free democratic elections which go back to gains made by the working class since 1776."

He said that the methods of Watergate reveal a tremendous fear of the working class and the role which youth can play in politically leading the struggles of the working class.

"This is why Nixon originally organized his secret police which later broke into Watergate. Nixon has confessed that in 1970 because of the wave of demonstrations by youth against the war in Vietnam and the clear determination of the youth to fight back, he organized a secret police force to spy and break up any movement of the youth. This group was allowed to illegally burglarize, wire tap, and fabricate evidence used to frame

up militants like Angela Davis and the Panthers."

Comrade Rodriguez pointed out that the political crisis which has been precipitated by the Watergate investigation shows the weak position of the capitalist class which is now divided because of the economic crisis and the powerful strength of the working class and its unions.

He said that Nixon has launched the most vicious attacks on the youth. The budget cuts have made it impossible for youth to get a decent education. Thousands of youth will be unable to attend college next year. "Education," Rodriguez said, "is once again becoming a privilege for the rich. The right which the labor movement won years ago to provide free public education is threatened."

In the communities nearly every poverty program, job program, recreational center, face elimination. The youth have literally nothing left. Housing is in complete decay while rents soar. In this atmosphere the government encourages the use of drugs to enslave the youth.

"This summer the ruling class

is preparing to launch the greatest attack of unemployment since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The fight for the right to a decent job is becoming the fight for the right to live for masses of youth and young workers. Because of the elimination of the job programs and the growing unemployment this summer will be the most explosive ever seen in years. The situation is so tense that any incident will spark a rebellion throughout the cities. But this will not be a repeat of the rebellions of the 1960s because they are taking place during a stage in the crisis of capitalism which is much deeper and because the Nixon government cannot just take on the youth. It must now seek to destroy the trade unions and the most powerful working class in the world. This is the meaning of Phase One, Two and Three."

The youth, Comrade Rodriguez said, must be in the forefront of building a revolutionary leadership in the working class by demanding that the unions defend all sections of the working class through a political fight

against Nixon. This means demanding that the trade unions force Nixon to resign and call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

## GOLD

Rodriguez emphasized that behind all the attacks was the international crisis of capitalism. Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971, which halted the convertibility of the dollar to gold, marked the end of the boom period and the class relations which existed since the Bretton Woods agreement in 1944. The inability of the ruling class to confront the working class after World War Two forced them to turn to the printing press and create false value to postpone a confrontation. However, the objective laws of capitalism, the law of value, has reasserted itself by demanding the real expression of value—gold. To get real value now means driving down wages, creating unemployment and moving to smash the unions and set up dictatorships. This is the way the ruling class is moving in Europe and







Singing of the "Internationale at closing of YS Conference. America.

There is no turning back from this crisis now. The most critical question is the preparation of a new leadership to turn the youth toward the unions and a political fight against Nixon.

The trade union leaders have completely capitulated to Nixon, refusing to mobilize the unions against the attacks on wages, jobs and conditions and to now force Nixon out and construct an alternative.

The dangers facing the working class is that it is politically unprepared for the battles ahead. A revolutionary movement must be built for the purpose of preparing the working class in a fight against the present thinking of workers and youth. This means a fight against pragmatism which is reflected in radicalism and trade union militancy. Comrade Rodriguez said:

"Radical thinking will lead to the defeat of the working class, because it never raises the political questions. With this thinking youth can only take the struggle to the point of pressuring the government instead of bringing the working class to power. There is a great danger in



Tim Wohlforth

the way youth are looking at the coming months. Many will turn to militant, spontaneous rebellions and protest demonstrations which will only lead to pressuring the liberals in the Democratic Party.

This is why we must turn to a study of Marxist theory to fight against bourgeois thinking in the workers' movement. This means a fight against those tendencies which call themselves Marxist but seek to keep the workers and youth at the level of protest and simple militancy. The YS must deepen its fight with the Stalinist Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League that refuse to mount an opposition to the union leaders, who attack the demand for a labor party and keep the workers and youth tied to the Democratic

Party. The revisionist Young Socialist Alliance agrees with the Stalinists that radical demonstrations are enough to pressure the government and make gains. They have no understanding of the crisis and can mount no defense for the masses of youth.

The YS is the only force which



Dany Sylveire, British YS.

has prepared for this crisis and developed a program to mobilize youth politically now against the government.

"We are preparing a movement which will train youth in Marxism as leaders of the working class. The program presented here must be taken out to masses of youth to organize them to meet the attacks. The YS must open a campaign throughout every neighborhood this summer demanding the right to a job. There must be demonstrations for the purpose of turning the youth towards the unions. Through the demand for a Congress of Labor and labor party pledged to socialist policies, we will take the first step in breaking the working class from the stranglehold of the ruling class and raise the question of power."

The discussion on the perspectives and the program was lively and continuous as youth spoke on their experiences and the impact of the crisis.

**WATTS**

A number of youth spoke from the Watts, Los Angeles Young Socialists. It was here that the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s exploded, which marked the first expression of the developing crisis and the movement of the working class and youth. Michelle from Watts said: "I think that it is not just a question of getting Nixon out. Who'll replace him but someone like Agnew? I say that we have to change the whole system, put in socialism and throw out capitalism."

All the attacks facing the youth were discussed—unem-

ployment, the budget cuts in education, racism and repression.

Bernard from the East New York Young Socialists said: "Unemployment is a very big problem in this country. In New York City the administration has the audacity to say there will only be 15,000 jobs when there are a half million youth looking for jobs. Older workers are being laid off. The YS is the only organization to move workers forward now."

Jeff from Fort Greene said: "The youth aren't going to be pushed back onto the welfare rolls. Factories are closing and unemployment is getting worse. We have to build the YS."

A youth from Allentown where steel workers are threatened with massive layoffs said: "Nixon has cut out jobs. He used to put Black, Puerto Rican and white against each other. Now



Abby Rodriguez, National Secretary

were being forced out of their jobs. He said if we did not throw Nixon out now, "there would be nothing left."

A youth from Watts spoke on the decay in the schools where students do not even have books or supplies. He said that gangs develop because there are no

back to their history. He warned about the danger of capitulating to the tools of capitalism which are used to oppress youth, like racism.

Students from many campuses spoke on the budget cuts that are now denying the basic right to education and on the struggle the Young Socialists had taken up for joint action by students and teachers and the building of a labor party. A member of the Brooklyn College YS said that this fight meant taking up a struggle against the nationalists, the Stalinists and the YSA, who wanted to limit the struggle to protest.

Peter from Palo Alto spoke on the changes now taking place since Watergate: "Youth who never thought about politics before in their lives are now willing to take up this fight."

Young Socialists from St. Louis and Chicago spoke on the decay



Andy, Fort Greene YS.

we see Nixon's against us all and we have to get him out."

Brad from the South Bronx said that he had recently been to Camden, New Jersey: "Police are holding shotguns to people's heads. The Camden police said on TV about a man they shot, 'if he acts like a dog, shoot him down like a dog.' The people there are in a panic. There are no jobs and nothing to do. In the South Bronx drugs and gangs are a big problem because there is nothing for the youth."

An older longshoreman from Brooklyn where 250 men have recently been laid off their jobs spoke about the job cutbacks for youth at the same time that older workers like those on the docks

jobs for the youth. Michele from East New York also spoke on the situation in the schools:

"In my school, the students were told that we weren't going to get any pictures for graduation and that we are going to have to use our own money for the senior prom. There are no jobs and I sure would like a job because I don't have anything to do."

**RACISM**

A number of youth spoke on the question of racism and how Nixon was using it to try to divide workers and youth. Robert from Bushwick spoke on the need to fight the nationalists by going

in housing.

In the discussion it was necessary to confront the problem of relating the understanding of the crisis and the political tasks ahead to the actual experiences of the youth in order to raise the level of consciousness. This is critical in preparing a leadership for the struggles. It was necessary to fight the tendency to turn away from questions of theory, simply calling for action and turning away from the fight on the campuses and the struggle against revisionism.

Ann from Palo Alto said that the Young Socialists must grapple and understand the developments in the crisis. Only in this way could the youth develop a program of action to defeat the attacks. This meant a break with radicalism and a fight against those tendencies like Spartacist who refuse to confront these questions and say that the crisis has not changed since 1914, that there has always been budget cuts and unemployment.

**IDEOLOGY**

The central importance of theory was raised by a member of the Columbia YS who read a resolution stating in part: "The history of American students is one of radicalism, of protest demonstrations and intellectual propaganda groups. Their basic ideological precepts are those of the middle class. Their ties to this ideology—the philosophy of 'common sense' or pragmatism—hold them back. For what this period requires is a break from these methods of thinking; the source of radicalism." The resolution points out how the Stalinists and revisionists are united in their hostility to "the fundamental philosophy of Marxism—dialectical materialism. It is this philosophy that is the es-

(Continued On Page 16)



Raffles being drawn for color television sets and dinner.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## No Coverup!

(Continued From Page 1)

quelching any talk of resignation or impeachment. Publishers are softening their editorial criticism and beginning to play down new disclosures about the case whenever possible. And the Justice Department has announced Nixon will not, after all, be called upon to testify before the grand jury because of a supposed Constitutional prohibition.

Nixon himself has begun to fabricate a cover of "national security" to justify the Watergate break-in and the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, as well as to provide a smokescreen for all of the illegal police operations of which Watergate was only a part.

"The minute we heard what the President had to say about 'national security' we recognized that it was intended for the grand jury. It gives everybody, including the President, a cover," one Justice Department source is quoted as saying.

"National security" was the theme of Nixon's May 22 statement in which he all but admitted setting in motion the Ellsberg and Watergate break-ins. It was the theme of his speech before POWs and their families last week. It was also the theme of testimony from both James McCord and Bernard Barker before the Senate committee.

With the cover of "national security" Nixon hopes to whip up a patriotic hysteria and hide the real character of Watergate and the secret police activities of which it was a part. More importantly, Nixon intends to justify the continuation of such activities and to launch an anti-communist witch-hunt against any political leadership in the working class.

The preparations for both the coverup and the witch-hunt are well underway. McCord testified that the offices of the Democratic National Committee were bugged in order to find out if McGovern's campaign was linked to "violence-oriented" groups, and he specifically named the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Barker said the purpose of the raid was to uncover links both between the McGovern campaign and radicals and to foreign subversives and the Castro government.

Jack Anderson revealed in his May 29 column that the FBI is currently investigating VVAW members who worked in McGovern's campaign, and particularly those who worked in his veteran's affairs office in the Watergate, desperately trying to establish links between McGovern or the VVAW members who worked for him and alleged VVAW plans for violent demonstrations at the Republican Convention.

According to one veteran interviewed by Anderson, FBI agent David Rarity "asked me if any planning was done out of the Watergate for demonstrations at the Republican National Convention. He also asked a lot about the Socialist Workers Party—if there were any people associated with them around the office."

These are expressions, not of Nixon's strength, but of his weakness before the movement of the working class and of the necessity for him to try to prevent this movement from developing into a political offensive against the government.

Watergate was a manifestation of the growing lack of confidence in bourgeois democratic forms of rule by the group of speculative capitalists around Nixon and their movement toward Bonapartism, their reliance on the military and the police.

The explosion of the political crisis generated by the exposure of the Watergate conspiracy has come at a point when the international economic crisis is coming to a head and the powerful commercial bankers and the industrialists are preparing for recession and mass unemployment—at the very point when the ruling class requires a strong government to take on the American trade unions and the working class internationally and when the big banks and corporations themselves would like to turn toward dictatorial rule.

But instead of a strong government, they have a government in crisis which is paralyzed before the movement of the working class. They have a government whose preparations for dictatorial rule are being exposed before the masses of workers throughout the world. And they have no way of replacing that government without precipitating an even greater crisis. So they must cover up for Nixon.

No coverup would be possible without the assistance of the leadership of the trade unions. The conditions have been created for bringing down Nixon, and it is only the labor bureaucracy—the silence and inaction of the Woodcocks and Meanys—that keeps Nixon in office. The criminal support these self-satisfied bureaucrats are now lending Nixon poses the greatest dangers for the working class.

Workers must fight to develop a new leadership in the unions by placing resolutions before their locals demanding that their union call upon the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers to immediately convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of preparing strike action to force Nixon's resignation and a new election and to construct a labor party as an alternative to both corrupt capitalist parties.



## What we think

### Brezhnev Rushes To Nixon

While refusing to campaign for action by the labor movement to force Nixon out of office and instead endorsing Brezhnev's upcoming visit to the White House, the American Communist Party has recently published several articles in its press which raise the question of the labor party.

We state bluntly that these articles are frauds designed to cover the sharp turn to the right by the Stalinists in this country and internationally.

The May 24 issue of the Daily World quotes Ernest DeMaio, District 11 director of the United Electrical Workers, in support of an "independent political party of labor and its allies..."

An editorial appearing the same day entitled "Out of the two-party stable" notes that the Watergate affair has led to "proposals for the formation of a labor party, a People's Party and the like." It goes on to say that: "It would be futile to wait on some all-embracing, finished national effort. It would be equally futile to accept 'leftist' independence potions whose main characteristic is 'independence' and isolation from the people."

The Daily World raises the question of the labor party as a cover for its conscious policy of collaboration with Nixon. It is nothing less than an outrageous fraud to speak about a labor party while denouncing as "futile" the struggle for the political independence of the working class.

The CP declares itself against a "national effort" to construct a labor party because it is opposed to a collision with the trade union bureaucrats who are in the present leadership of the American working class.

This editorial which supposedly calls for an end to support for the bi-partisan system is in fact an attack on the fight of the Workers League for the labor party. Only the Trotskyist movement has developed forces within the trade unions to fight for the labor party against the bureaucracy and has demanded a national Congress of Labor to prepare this alternative of the entire American working class to Nixon.

The fact is that the CP is opposed to a labor party. The Daily World uses the term "Labor" and "People's" Party interchangeably in a deliberate attempt to leave the door open to

continued collaboration with the Democratic Party.

Ernest DeMaio, whom the Daily World quotes, was a bitter opponent of the labor party when the call for its construction was raised at the TUAD conference last July.

In the same vein, George Morris—Daily World labor editor—wrote during the 1972 Democratic Party Convention: "There are, of course, sectarians and 'r-r-revolutionary' phrasemongers who are blind to the realities taking place. They shout for an abortive 'labor party now' and denounce the pro-McGovern movement seeing nothing new in it. But true Marxists and constructive progressives who work actively within the great new political stream are concerned far more with the millions in it than with those who lead it."

The position of the American Stalinists on the labor party has not changed. It is being raised in the Daily World because the support given so openly by the CP to McGovern last year and its present backing for Brezhnev's treacherous trip to Washington later this month has deepened the crisis within the American Stalinist movement.

The real position held by the American Stalinists and their mentors in the Kremlin on the political independence of the international working class is expressed most sharply in an article concerning Brezhnev's visit to West Germany which appeared in the May 23 issue of the Daily World.

Justifying Brezhnev's declaration of support for the capitalist government of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, Tom Foley writes: "To put it another way, which is preferable: to have West German steel corporations selling steel pipe to the USSR for gas pipelines, or forging gun tubes for

West German artillery? To having to build Soviet auto plants, or putting together tanks to attack the USSR? Few—if any—Soviet citizens would have difficulty choosing here..."

"That is also why normal US-Soviet relations are being striven for. And that is why Brezhnev visited Bonn and will visit Washington."

Here Foley gives away the whole bankrupt logic of "peaceful coexistence," the later-day version of "socialism in one country." At a time of the greatest crisis of capitalism, when the Soviet Union feels the pressure of imperialist preparations for World War Three, the Kremlin bureaucrats hope for deals to persuade the capitalists to maintain friendly relations.

Claiming that the imperialists can be bought off with trade deals which will make war against the Soviet Union unnecessary, the Stalinists are repeating their disastrous policies of the 1930s. Stalin thought Hitler could be bargained with and signed the "Non-Agression" Pact with the Nazis. But, just as in the 1930s, the economic crisis forces the capitalists to take the offensive against the workers' states to reconquer them.

It should be pointed out that the same May 24 issue announces that Gus Hall, general secretary of the CP, has been awarded the Dimitrov medal. It was the old Stalinist Dimitrov who at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International made collaboration with imperialism the basic tenet of all Stalinist parties.

The Stalinists reject the political mobilization of the international working class against the capitalists in their own country for the defense of the USSR because the ensuing struggle would sweep the Kremlin bureaucrats from their privileged positions.

## Building the Bulletin

As we feared the subscription campaign has continued to lag because so many Bulletin supporters were travelling to the National Young Socialists Conference. This week only 309 subs have come in, giving us a grand total of 10,597. We have only one week to go. We can make our 12,000 goal on time with an all-out last minute drive NOW!





## The Battle To Organize California Agriculture/ Part Two

# CESAR CHAVEZ: THE LIBERAL ROAD

BY BRUCE MCKAY  
AND MARTY MORAN

IN THE EARLY 1960s, the postwar boom began showing very definite signs of breaking up, and inflationary policies had to be relied upon to an ever-greater extent in order to prolong it. This resulted in the growth of US balance of payments deficits and an outflow of US Treasury gold of massive proportions.

Along with the Black workers in the Southern civil rights demonstrations and later the ghetto uprisings in Northern cities, farm workers in California were one of the first sections of the powerful American working class to come into movement in this period.

After several years of isolated struggles and organizing efforts, the anger of farm workers—frustrated in years of attempts to unionize the fields—exploded in 1965 in Delano when the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and Cesar Chavez' National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) struck the grape industry.

The stage for this eruption was set when the Kennedy-Johnson Administration was forced to allow the bracero program to lapse, not out of pity for the plight of farm

workers caused by the program, but because it was necessary as one in a series of measures implemented during that period in an effort to stem the flow of dollars and gold from the US.

Certain sections of the American capitalist class decided they could no longer afford the luxury of imported cheap labor. Dollars earned by Mexican agricultural workers and taken back to Mexico at the end of the harvest were ultimately transformed into claims on US gold supplies by Mexican banks. Thus, Congress decided not to extend Public Law 78 in 1964.

The legal clubs of deportation and government-enforced slave labor contracts were taken out of the hands of the growers, although the huge pool of illegal aliens and "green carders" remained as a strikebreaking weapon in the growers' arsenal. The struggle which erupted with the end of the bracero program began in the vineyards in the central valleys of California in the late 1950s.

Workers in the grape fields, unlike most other agricultural workers, are needed all year round for the intensive hand cultivation required by grape vines. As a result, over half of the vineyard workers in central California live there permanently and presented a much more favorable target for organizing than the vast army of migrants who follow the crops and now form the bulk of agricultural labor in the US.

### AWOC

In 1959, in Stockton, the AFL-CIO set up the AWOC and soon enlisted several thousand workers, even in the face of the bracero program. Although the AWOC never won a union contract, its impact was felt throughout the state's agricultural industry. It was the first time

since the CIO's attempts to organize farm workers in the 1930s that organized labor as a whole had played an active role.

The response to the AWOC was immediate. Thousands of workers joined, and through a series of successful strikes and the threat of more, agricultural wages in many parts of the state were raised to the highest levels in the country—from 80 cents to \$1.10 an hour.

In the Delano area, where the struggle was eventually concentrated, the AWOC organized the thousands of Filipino workers under the leadership of Larry Itliong and eventually brought 90 percent of them out on strike in September 1965.

It was in 1962 that Cesar Chavez formed the NFWA in Delano independently of the AFL-CIO. The NFWA was aimed primarily at Chicano workers and was designed to serve not only as a union but as a community service organization.

To understand the character of the NFWA and the role which Chavez was later to play as the leader of the United Farm Workers, it is necessary to turn to Chavez' own history as well as the development of California agriculture and the struggle of its workers against capitalist oppression.

All of the traditions of struggle of the American labor movement are found in Chavez in a conflicting unity with the reformist and nationalist traditions of the American labor bureaucracy and Chavez' own religious pacifism and dependence on the Catholic Church.

The reformist, pacifist perspective with which Chavez now tries to hold back the enormous upheavals threatening to erupt among farm workers throughout the country was formed during the 1950s when he worked for the Community Service

Organization (CSO), a "self-help" group of predominantly Spanish-speaking workers set up by Saul Alinsky and based on his middle class radical theory that the system could be reformed to the betterment of the poor and minorities through militant community organizing.

Chavez did not begin in the CSO. He spent all of his early years following the crops, as a migrant farm worker, joining in some of the union movements of the 1940s. His father and uncle joined in the CIO's drive to organize the dried fruit industry in San Jose in 1939, and Cesar himself enlisted in the National Agricultural Workers Union when he was 19.

But in 1950, he met Father Donald McDonnell in San Jose, and soon began the career which has been steeped in the reformist traditions of compromise and reliance on Democratic Party liberals which so characterized the union leader Chavez says he most admires: Walter Reuther.

McDonnell introduced Chavez to CSO director Fred Ross, as well as instilling in him the idealist religious pacifism of Ghandi which is now used as a weapon to tie the hands of the union by big growers who have no reservations about the use of violence against farm workers.

Chavez became a CSO organizer, forming chapters throughout California and Arizona, and developing the strategy of middle class protest which now dominates his leadership of the UFW. By 1958, Chavez was CSO general director.

Increasingly, Chavez became involved in efforts to organize Chicano farm workers, and these efforts eventually led to his break with the CSO in 1961, when its middle class board members called a halt. To his credit, Chavez understood that farm workers could go forward only by be-



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But while he broke with the CSO, Chavez  
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The strike movement which eventually  
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After the abolition of the bracero  
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Many growers, anxious to keep the im-  
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bed the scene in *Huelga: The First Hun-  
d Days of the Great Delano Grape  
ike*:

'September ninth. The action grows,  
l the bitterness. The police are out in  
ce now. They drive back and forth past  
office all day, as if they expect a  
olution to break out. More Filipinos  
lk out—2000 men on strike now. We  
r, and read in the papers, of men being  
cted from their camps, men who had  
d and worked there for twenty years,  
rely because they asked for a twenty-  
it-an-hour raise. At one camp the men  
locked out just before dinner; they are  
ced to cook alongside the road. A cop  
nes along and kicks their cooking pot  
r. Suitcases and other gear are dumped  
on the road; workers are afraid to  
urn for their cars for fear of being ar-  
ted for trespassing. At other camps all  
utilities are shut off, but the de-  
mined strikers stay in the camps; if  
y leave they will have no place to go,  
l if the boss can fill the camp with scabs  
strike is endangered; they decide to  
k it out in the face of the threats of  
ned security guards, one of whom has  
eady shot at a striker who did not move  
t enough."

n the face of these brutal attacks by the  
wers on the AWO workers, Chavez  
everything possible to avoid bringing  
the NFWA in a full scale strike, while  
he same time supporting the AWO.  
September 10, the NFWA called on its  
mbers to honor the strikers' picket  
s, but it was not until September 16,  
r tremendous pressure from the  
ks, that a strike vote was taken and  
y the following Monday, September 20,  
t the strike began in earnest.

n September 19, Chavez met with



Cesar Chavez leading pacifist march through Delano during grape strike (page 9). Above, demonstration shows militancy of farm workers during the

AWOC head Al Green for the first time,  
and the two agreed to unite their struggles  
around the same demands, setting the  
stage for the later merger of the two un-  
ions into the UFWOC.

#### "NON-VIOLENCE"

From the very beginning, Chavez, unlike  
the AWO, insisted on "non-violence" in  
the conduct of the strike, leaving union  
members exposed to the most vicious phy-  
sical abuse while he appealed to priests  
and groups like the Migrant Ministry in-  
stead of organizing defense guards.

The strike, nevertheless, grew to  
massive proportions. On September 26,  
over 1000 workers marched through the  
streets of Delano in the biggest show of  
labor's power ever seen in the area. After  
two weeks, 4000 workers were on strike.

"We have almost emptied fields, and we  
have become aware of a new phenomenon  
now: just because the workers don't leave  
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them don't return to work next day,"  
wrote Nelson.

As the strike progressed through Oc-  
tober, the grapes began rotting in the  
fields—and with them the profits of the big  
growers. Schenley Industries' 4500 acre  
ranch was shut down by mass picketing  
and became the first strike in the valley to  
be certified by the Labor Department as  
an official labor dispute.

The growers responded to the success of  
the workers with police harassment, phy-  
sical attacks and anti-communist witch-  
hunting. Scabs were recruited from the  
outside. Children were pressed into scab  
duty under the watchful eyes of sheriff's  
deputies.

As the unions stepped up their  
picketing—even blocking the freeway ex-  
ists to stop the influx of scabs—the big  
growers were forced to recruit strike-  
breakers from as far away as Arizona and  
El Paso, in addition to the legal and il-  
legal labor imported from Mexico. Even  
these workers were forced to pay their  
own travel expenses.

At the very moment when the entire  
California labor movement could have

been brought forward to decisively defeat  
the growers—who were already suffering  
tremendous losses—and their Demo-  
cratic and Republican political allies,  
Chavez began a full scale retreat into the  
arms of the churches and liberals.

Increasingly, Chavez relied on the  
liberal ministers, politicians like Robert  
Kennedy, civil rights groups like CORE  
and the Student Non-violent Coordinating  
Committee (SNCC), and "left" labor  
bureaucrats like Walter Reuther.

#### BOYCOTT

The retreat, which has led the UFW to  
its present vulnerable position, was from  
the beginning especially characterized by  
the consumer boycott policies which have  
become Chavez' trademark. On December  
12, 1965, SNCC called a national boycott of  
Schenley products and Delano table  
grapes and was soon joined by CORE and  
Reuther and various middle class protest  
groups. The boycott was soon adopted by  
Chavez and the leadership of the AWO as  
their central strategy and concentrated on  
Schenley's products and the giant Califor-  
nia wine industry.

This consumer boycott was launched at  
a point when the two unions' earlier ef-  
forts to mobilize rank and file Teamsters  
and longshoremen began to really pay off.  
Nelson reports:

"On November 15 young Tony Mendez  
and his wife, and Sergio Tumbaga of  
AWOC go off to San Francisco to organize  
the picketing on the Embarcadero...A  
shipment of Pagliarulo grapes arrives at  
Pier 50, and the night of November 16 they  
picket all night in the rain...Next morning  
when a van arrives to unload at the dock it  
is surrounded by protesting longshoremen  
and teamsters who have rallied to the  
cause of their brother workers. All San  
Francisco watches on TV as a mysterious  
thing occurs: in a matter of moments the  
scab truck's tires go flat, 'SCAB' is  
scrawled over its sides, it is rendered im-  
mobile. And on the docks the long-  
shoremen refuse to move a single box of  
scab grapes destined for Hong Kong. The  
ship sails without them, as a wild cheer of  
victory goes up from the workers."

It was this support, especially from



dockworkers, and the determined efforts  
of the strikers, which eventually won the  
strike in the wine industry and the con-  
tract with Schenley's which was signed in  
April 1966—not the consumer boycott led  
by the liberals and church fathers and  
middle class radical groups.

But Chavez abandoned the campaign to  
bring forward the ranks of the powerful  
California trade union movement.

The turn in his policies was reflected in  
his invitation to Reuther to lead a march  
through Delano on December 16. The  
president of one of the largest and most  
powerful unions in the country, Reuther  
pledged the two farm workers' unions a  
meager \$5000 per month (about a dollar  
for each striker), called for a Senate in-  
vestigation and called on liberals in Con-  
gress to enact a two dollar an hour mini-  
mum wage, unemployment benefits and a  
provision including farm workers under  
the National Labor Relations Act.

After the meeting, reports Nelson,  
"Reuther is whisked off to an unpre-  
cedented secret meeting with growers ar-  
ranged by Delano's mayor, Dr. Clifford  
Loader..."

But the movement of farm workers  
which had erupted in the grape fields was  
not to be deterred by these early attempts  
by Chavez and other union leaders to com-  
promise the struggle to avoid a real con-  
frontation with the growers.

Following the agreement with  
Schenley's in April, the NFWA and AWO  
launched one of the most powerful dis-  
plays of union strength ever witnessed in  
the state. On April 11, farm workers  
climaxed a march from the vineyards to  
Sacramento—more than 200 miles—with a  
rally of 10,000 workers on the steps of the  
State Capitol.

What could have been turned into a cam-  
paign to mobilize organized labor for a  
drive to decisively crush the anti-union at-  
tacks of the growers and unionize all of  
California agribusiness was turned by  
Chavez and the rest of the labor bureau-  
cracy into another knee-bending appeal  
for help from the liberals in state govern-  
ment, led by scores of priests and liberal  
ministers.

The agribusiness interests, however,





...e strike, while Chavez relied on the churches. left, Walter Reuther joins Chavez and Larry Itliong.

were thrown into a panic in the face of this demonstration and the continued determination of farm workers on the picket lines. Next came the biggest prize of all. DiGiorgio, one of the leading stockholders in the San Francisco based Bank of America and the primary family in the grape industry, was forced to agree to hold a representation election among its 2600 workers. This was an especially important victory, since the DiGiorgio family has been the center of efforts to smash unionism in the agricultural industry for 40 years.

#### TEAMSTERS

The growers were now desperate as the rebellion among farm workers grew, and at this point, when the two unions were near victory, the corrupt leadership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) was brought forward to bail the growers out.

In the first three weeks of June, IBT officials signed sweetheart contracts with eight growers. DiGiorgio called its representation election for June 24 and mounted a campaign to force workers to vote for the Teamsters.

The Teamsters' leadership had intervened on the side of the growers from the beginning. In the early days of the strike, when rank and file Teamster members refused to deliver scab grape shipments, they were ordered to relinquish their trucks to company men who then drove across the picket lines.

In response to widespread intimidation from both the company and Teamster goons, the NFWA and AWOC boycotted the election and organized for another one. The state labor department, fearing an explosion among the state's angry farm workers, intervened to hold a new election, which the NFWA overwhelmingly won.

After this victory, pressure grew from among the ranks of both the NFWA and AWOC for unity between the two organizations. But Chavez distrusted the traditional, conservative bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and still viewed the NFWA as more of a community service organization than a trade union, while the AWOC

and AFL-CIO leadership distrusted Chavez as a "radical" and resisted merger to the last.

Merger, however, took place as the momentum of the rebellion in the grape fields gathered force, and the NFWA and AWOC became the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee under Chavez' leadership.

The signing of DiGiorgio and Schenley's and the formation of the UFWOC touched off a strike wave throughout the central valleys of California as UFWOC organizers set out to unionize the rest of the big wine vineyards.

The Teamsters leadership was now brought forward by the growers in the most open strikebreaking campaign since that of the AFL in the 1930s. After a nine day strike in August 1966 by the UFWOC, Perelli-Minetti signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters bureaucrats.

A consumer boycott was launched which eventually drove Perelli-Minetti wines off the shelves of more than 1200 supermarkets, and in July 1967, the IBT agreed to a jurisdictional truce, giving themselves the right to organize shed workers—who were closely linked to their traditional sphere in the canneries, and giving the UFWOC a clear right to organize all field workers.

Perelli-Minetti signed a UFWOC contract and the other growers—including the largest, Gallo wines—soon followed.

The struggle in the wine industry, however, really remained unresolved. The contracts signed by the unions had no successor clause, which meant that if the vineyards were later sold, the new owner could refuse to honor the contract.

This is what happened. Butte Oil and Gas later bought out Schenley's White River Farms, began to introduce mechanical grape pickers, and refused to bargain with the union. This led to a militant strike in October 1972, when workers initiated mass picketing on their own before Chavez rushed to the scene, organized a "non-violent" pray-in and sat by while 150 pickets were arrested and the picket line was broken up.

After the victory over the wine companies, the UFWOC immediately launched

an offensive against table grape owners. On August 3, 1967, 2500 workers struck Giumarra vineyards, the giant of the industry, in Delano. In this strike, which soon caught fire throughout the Delano area, Chavez took a decisive turn away from pitting the power of the unions against the growers and moved further toward the perspective of middle class protest and the consumer boycott.

Giumarra began recruiting scabs in large numbers and shipping under the labels of non-struck growers. As the strike spread, the union refused to organize effective mass picketing—unlike the early days of the grape strike in 1965.

As the ranks became fed up with the union's lack of action, a number of incidents broke out between pickets and grower goon squads. As he would do in the future, Chavez reprimanded his followers for violating the dogma of "non-violence." He began a one month fast against violence, like all pacifists lumping together the violence of the working class against its oppressors with the violence of the capitalist class seeking to preserve its power.

As the strikers faced starvation and the brutal attacks of the growers and their hired goons, a real explosion threatened to rip apart the quiet valleys around Delano as the strike continued through the fall and winter of 1967-1968.

In order to prevent this explosion and a battle with the agribusiness industry, Chavez launched a national consumer boycott of California table grapes. Teams of strikers were sent to every major metropolitan area to rally support from the labor movement and student groups to organize the picketing of supermarkets and publicize the strike.

Instead of mobilizing mass picketing at the ranches, the shipping terminals throughout the country and on the docks, the struggle became almost entirely diverted to the picketing of large supermarket chains and appealing to liberal circles and workers alike to stop eating grapes.

The campaign among the ranks of the Teamsters and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

was similarly diverted from a struggle to win their support in stopping grape shipments, opening the way for the later drive of the IBT leadership to destroy the UFW.

Whole sections of the California labor movement, and especially the students, who had previously been mobilized on the picket lines around Delano and at shipping points throughout the state and in support activities for the strike such as collecting food, clothing and money, were now rallied in an energetic campaign around the boycott.

Among the most enthusiastic supporters of this turn away from the real power of the labor movement was the Communist Party, which at that time was thoroughly submerged in the California Democratic Party and Young Democrats.

The grape boycott enjoyed a certain degree of success. In 1968 and 1969, grape sales in New York City declined by over 50 percent, and similar reductions were recorded in industrial cities and major college towns throughout the country. But at the same time, the very success of the boycott completely disarmed the struggle of farm workers in California, Arizona and later, Florida in the period to come.

#### UPHEAVAL

The relative success of the table grape supermarket boycott can be found entirely within the period in which it took place, a period marked by the tremendous upheaval on American college campuses, the May-June 1968 General Strike in France and the beginning of big movements among American workers. Moreover, it was still the period of the postwar boom, when employers could still afford to grant some concessions in order to avoid head-on clashes with the unions and millions of American workers.

Nevertheless, even the grape boycott was limited in its effects, and the government intervened directly to offset it with the Pentagon authorizing huge purchases of grapes from struck growers.

It was because they feared a real clash with the thousands of California farm workers that growers eventually began signing up with the UFWOC. In May 1969, the grape strike hit the smoldering expanses of the Coachella Valley, and the growers began a decisive retreat. In June, 10 of them began negotiations with the union—with the mediation of a group of Catholic bishops.

On March 31, 1971—almost a year later—the first Coachella grower signed a UFWOC contract. On May 21, 1970, the first of the Delano table grape growers came to terms and the Bianco Corporation signed a contract.

The boycott movement now gained a really effective lever, and a campaign was launched to promote grapes sold under the union label. On July 29, 26 growers signed with the union in Delano, including Giumarra.

The UFWOC now had over 20,000 members and the allegiance of thousands more throughout the California and Arizona fields. Once again, the growers turned to the Teamsters bureaucracy as the UFWOC began a new organizing drive in the vegetable fields and a new explosion became imminent.

On July 23, 1970, the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association of Salinas signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters, a contract which gave farm workers little more than the right to pay dues to the union. The contract sanctified the institution of farm labor contracting which doubly exploited farm workers and made them virtual slaves to a master. The UFWOC had done away with these parasitic labor contractors, establishing the hiring hall system.

Wages under the contract were 20 cents under the already low UFWOC rates, and Teamster functionaries and hired thugs policed the lettuce fields for the growers against UFWOC organizers.

Nevertheless, with the tremendous victory in Delano immediately behind them, farm workers poured into the UFWOC demanding an all-out fight against the rotten Teamster bureaucracy and the sweetheart contracts. On August 8, Freshpick, a division of Purex Corporation, was struck by workers in rebellion against a Teamster agreement.

The Teamsters leadership once again agreed to bargain and signed a jurisdictional agreement leaving field workers



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Cesar Chavez leading pacifist march through Delano during grape strike (page 9). Above, demonstration shows militancy of farm workers during the strike, while Chavez relied on the churches.



Walter Reuther joins Chavez and Larry Iliung.

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**"NON-VIOLENCE"**

From the very beginning, Chavez, unlike the AWOC, insisted on "non-violence" in the conduct of the strike, leaving union members exposed to the most vicious physical abuse while he appealed to priests and groups like the Migrant Ministry instead of organizing defense guards.

The strike, nevertheless, grew to massive proportions. On September 26, over 1000 workers marched through the streets of Delano in the biggest show of labor's power ever seen in the area. After two weeks, 4000 workers were on strike.

"We have almost emptied fields, and we have become aware of a new phenomenon now: just because the workers don't leave while we are there doesn't mean we don't have our effect; we have discovered by checking the next morning that many of them don't return to work next day," wrote Nelson.

As the strike progressed through October, the grapes began rotting in the fields—and with them the profits of the big growers. Schenley Industries' 4500 acre ranch was shut down by mass picketing and became the first strike in the valley to be certified by the Labor Department as an official labor dispute.

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As the unions stepped up their picketing—even blocking the freeway exists to stop the influx of scabs—the big growers were forced to recruit strike-breakers from as far away as Arizona and El Paso, in addition to the legal and illegal labor imported from Mexico. Even these workers were forced to pay their own travel expenses.

At the very moment when the entire California labor movement could have

been brought forward to decisively defeat the growers—who were already suffering tremendous losses—and their Democratic and Republican political allies, Chavez began a full scale retreat into the arms of the churches and liberals.

Increasingly, Chavez relied on the liberal ministers, politicians like Robert Kennedy, civil rights groups like CORE and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and "left" labor bureaucrats like Walter Reuther.

**BOYCOTT**

The retreat, which has led the UFW to its present vulnerable position, was from the beginning especially characterized by the consumer boycott policies which have become Chavez' trademark. On December 12, 1965, SNCC called a national boycott of Schenley products and Delano table grapes and was soon joined by CORE and Reuther and various middle class protest groups. The boycott was soon adopted by Chavez and the leadership of the AWOC as their central strategy and concentrated on Schenley's products and the giant California wine industry.

This consumer boycott was launched at a point when the two unions' earlier efforts to mobilize rank and file Teamsters and longshoremen began to really pay off. Nelson reports:

"On November 15 young Tony Mendez and his wife, and Sergio Tumbaga of AWOC go off to San Francisco to organize the picketing on the Embarcadero... A shipment of Pagliarulo grapes arrives at Pier 50, and the night of November 16 they picket all night in the rain... Next morning when a van arrives to unload at the dock it is surrounded by protesting longshoremen and teamsters who have rallied to the cause of their brother workers. All San Francisco watches on TV as a mysterious thing occurs: in a matter of moments the scab truck's tires go flat, 'SCAB' is scrawled over its sides, it is rendered immobile. And on the docks the longshoremen refuse to move a single box of scab grapes destined for Hong Kong. The ship sails without them, as a wild cheer of victory goes up from the workers."

It was this support, especially from dockworkers, and the determined efforts of the strikers, which eventually won the strike in the wine industry and the contract with Schenley's which was signed in April 1966—not the consumer boycott led by the liberals and church fathers and middle class radical groups.

But Chavez abandoned the campaign to bring forward the ranks of the powerful California trade union movement. The turn in his policies was reflected in his invitation to Reuther to lead a march through Delano on December 16. The president of one of the largest and most powerful unions in the country, Reuther pledged the two farm workers' unions a meager \$5000 per month (about a dollar for each striker), called for a Senate investigation and called on liberals in Congress to enact a two dollar an hour minimum wage, unemployment benefits and a provision including farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act.

After the meeting, reports Nelson, "Reuther is whisked off to an unprecedented secret meeting with growers arranged by Delano's mayor, Dr. Clifford Loader..."

were thrown into a panic in the face of this demonstration and the continued determination of farm workers on the picket lines. Next came the biggest prize of all. DiGiorgio, one of the leading stockholders in the San Francisco based Bank of America and the primary family in the grape industry, was forced to agree to hold a representation election among its 2600 workers. This was an especially important victory, since the DiGiorgio family has been the center of efforts to smash unionism in the agricultural industry for 40 years.

and AFL-CIO leadership distrusted Chavez as a "radical" and resisted merger to the last. Merger, however, took place as the momentum of the rebellion in the grape fields gathered force, and the NFWA and AWOC became the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee under Chavez' leadership.

**TEAMSTERS**

The growers were now desperate as the rebellion among farm workers grew, and at this point, when the two unions were near victory, the corrupt leadership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) was brought forward to bail the growers out.

In the first three weeks of June, IBT officials signed sweetheart contracts with eight growers. DiGiorgio called its representation election for June 24 and mounted a campaign to force workers to vote for the Teamsters.

The Teamsters' leadership had intervened on the side of the growers from the beginning. In the early days of the strike, when rank and file Teamster members refused to deliver scab grape shipments, they were ordered to relinquish their trucks to company men who then drove across the picket lines.

In response to widespread intimidation from both the company and Teamster goons, the NFWA and AWOC boycotted the election and organized for another one. The state labor department, fearing an explosion among the state's angry farm workers, intervened to hold a new election, which the NFWA overwhelmingly won.

After this victory, pressure grew from among the ranks of both the NFWA and AWOC for unity between the two organizations. But Chavez distrusted the traditional, conservative bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and still viewed the NFWA as more of a community service organization than a trade union, while the AWOC

and AFL-CIO leadership distrusted Chavez as a "radical" and resisted merger to the last. Merger, however, took place as the momentum of the rebellion in the grape fields gathered force, and the NFWA and AWOC became the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee under Chavez' leadership.

The signing of DiGiorgio and Schenley's and the formation of the UFWOC touched off a strike wave throughout the central valleys of California as UFWOC organizers set out to unionize the rest of the big wine vineyards.

The Teamsters leadership was now brought forward by the growers in the most open strikebreaking campaign since that of the AFL in the 1930s. After a nine day strike in August 1966 by the UFWOC, Perelli-Minetti signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters bureaucrats.

A consumer boycott was launched which eventually drove Perelli-Minetti wines off the shelves of more than 1200 supermarkets, and in July 1967, the IBT agreed to a jurisdictional truce, giving themselves the right to organize shed workers—who were closely linked to their traditional sphere in the canneries, and giving the UFWOC a clear right to organize all field workers.

Perelli-Minetti signed a UFWOC contract and the other growers—including the largest, Gallo wines—soon followed. The struggle in the wine industry, however, really remained unresolved. The contracts signed by the unions had no successor clause, which meant that if the vineyards were later sold, the new owner could refuse to honor the contract.

This is what happened. Butte Oil and Gas later bought out Schenley's White River Farms, began to introduce mechanical grape pickers, and refused to bargain with the union. This led to a militant strike in October 1972, when workers initiated mass picketing on their own before Chavez rushed to the scene, organized a "non-violent" pray-in and sat by while 150 pickets were arrested and the picket line was broken up.

After the victory over the wine companies, the UFWOC immediately launched

an offensive against table grape owners. On August 3, 1967, 2500 workers struck Guimarra vineyards, the giant of the industry, in Delano. In this strike, which soon caught fire throughout the Delano area, Chavez took a decisive turn away from pitting the power of the unions against the growers and moved further toward the perspective of middle class protest and the consumer boycott. Guimarra began recruiting scabs in large numbers and shipping under the labels of non-stuck growers. As the strike spread, the union refused to organize effective mass picketing—unlike the early days of the grape strike in 1965. As the ranks became fed up with the union's lack of action, a number of incidents broke out between pickets and grower goon squads. As he would do in the future, Chavez reprimanded his followers for violating the dogma of "non-violence." He began a one month fast against violence, like all pacifists lumping together the violence of the working class against its oppressors with the violence of the capitalist class seeking to preserve its power.

was similarly diverted from a struggle to win their support in stopping grape shipments, opening the way for the later drive of the IBT leadership to destroy the UFW. Whole sections of the California labor movement, and especially the students, who had previously been mobilized on the picket lines around Delano and at shipping points throughout the state and in support activities for the strike such as collecting food, clothing and money, were now rallied in an energetic campaign around the boycott.

Among the most enthusiastic supporters of this turn away from the real power of the labor movement was the Communist Party, which at that time was thoroughly submerged in the California Democratic Party and Young Democrats.

The grape boycott enjoyed a certain degree of success. In 1968 and 1969, grape sales in New York City declined by over 50 percent, and similar reductions were recorded in industrial cities and major college towns throughout the country. But at the same time, the very success of the boycott completely disarmed the struggle of farm workers in California, Arizona and later, Florida in the period to come.

**UPEHAVAL**

The relative success of the table grape supermarket boycott can be found entirely within the period in which it took place, a period marked by the tremendous upheaval on American college campuses, the May-June 1968 General Strike in France and the beginning of big movements among American workers. Moreover, it was still the period of the postwar boom, when employers could still afford to grant some concessions in order to avoid head-on clashes with the unions and millions of American workers.

Nevertheless, even the grape boycott was limited in its effects, and the government intervened directly to offset it with the Pentagon authorizing huge purchases of grapes from struck growers.

It was because they feared a real clash with the thousands of California farm workers that growers eventually began signing up with the UFWOC. In May 1969, the grape strike hit the smoldering expanses of the Coachella Valley, and the growers began a decisive retreat. In June, 10 of them began negotiations with the union—with the mediation of a group of Catholic bishops.

On March 31, 1971—almost a year later—the first Coachella grower signed a UFWOC contract. On May 21, 1970, the first of the Delano table grape growers came to terms and the Bianco Corporation signed a contract.

The boycott movement now gained a really effective lever, and a campaign was launched to promote grapes sold under the union label. On July 29, 26 growers signed with the union in Delano, including Guimarra.

The UFWOC now had over 20,000 members and the allegiance of thousands more throughout the California and Arizona fields. Once again, the growers turning to the Teamsters bureaucracy as the UFWOC began a new organizing drive in the vegetable fields and a new explosion became imminent.

On July 23, 1970, the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association of Salinas signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters—a contract which gave farm workers little more than the right to pay dues to the union. The contract sanctified the institution of farm labor contracting which doubly exploited farm workers and made them virtual slaves to a master. The UFWOC had done away with these parasitic labor contractors, establishing the hiring hall system.

Wages under the contract were 20 cents under the already low UFWOC rates, and Teamster functionaries and hired thugs policed the lettuce fields for the growers against UFWOC organizers.

Nevertheless, with the tremendous victory in Delano immediately behind them, farm workers poured into the UFWOC demanding an all-out fight against the rotten Teamster bureaucracy and the sweetheart contracts. On August 8, Freshpet, a division of Purex Corporation, was struck by workers in rebellion against a Teamster agreement.

The Teamsters leadership once again agreed to bargain and signed a jurisdictional agreement leaving field workers



to the UFWOC but providing that the original contract could be voided only with the consent of the growers. On August 24, every grower under contract with the IBT was struck after refusing to void their cheap sweetheart agreements.

The strike was the most powerful demonstration yet of the power of farm labor in California. No significant number of scabs could be recruited by the growers. Within a few days, Freshpict and Interharvest, a division of United Fruit Company and the giant of the vegetable industry, caved in and signed up with the UFWOC.

The other growers called on the courts to ban all picketing and uphold the Teamsters contracts. The police were brought in and mass arrests and beatings of strikers followed. Just as in 1936, the forces of law and order began a reign of terror against farm workers.

Chavez' pacifist policies and reliance on the Church and the middle class now became a mortal threat to the union. Rather than organize self-defense guards to protect pickets and mobilize the ranks of the powerful California labor movement, Chavez called off the strike and resorted once again to the consumer boycott tactics he has always used to avoid a confrontation with the growers.

This boycott continues to this day, despite injunctions and other attempts by the growers to end it. It has failed, and the UFW is now fighting for its very life as agribusiness magnates, aided by Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, have begun a campaign to destroy it.

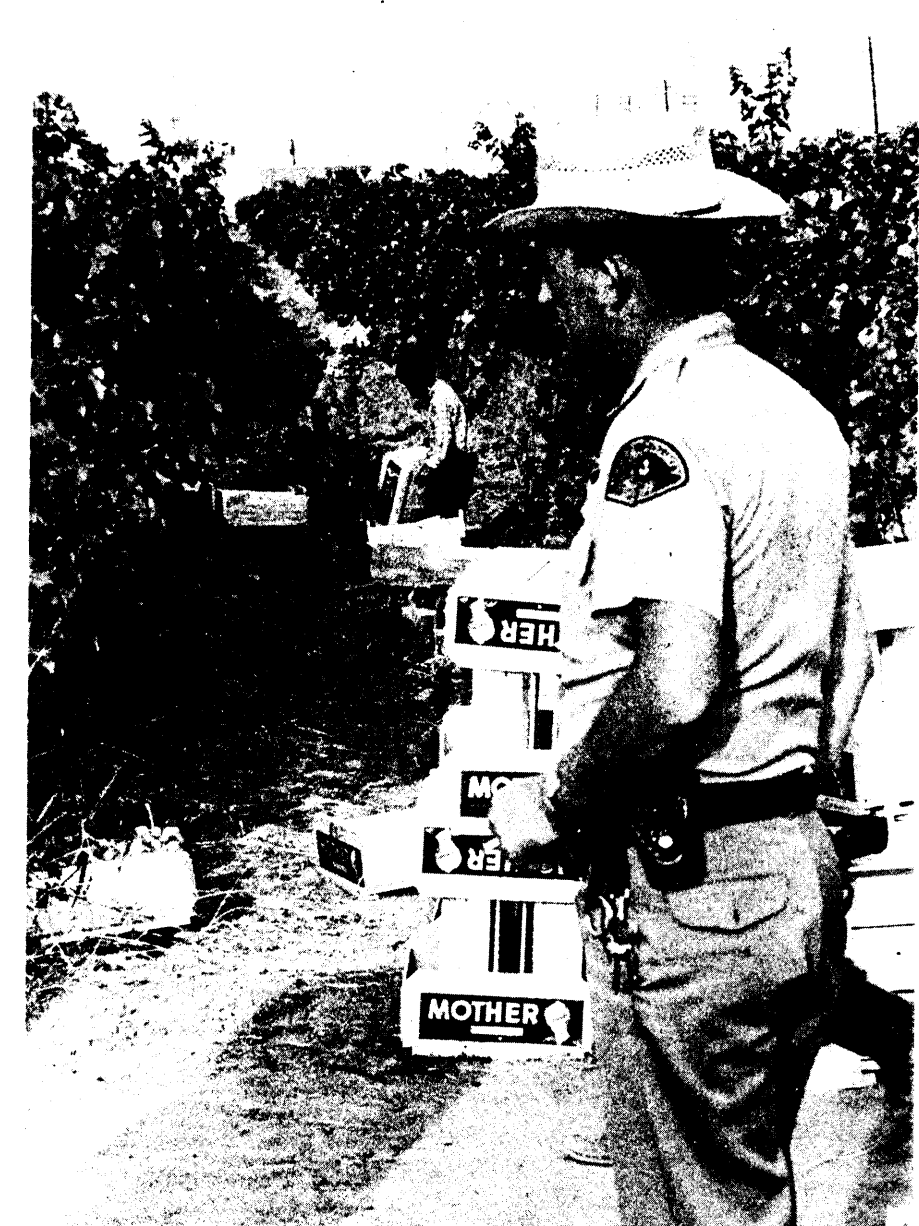
The UFW was built at the very end of the boom period and is a powerful expression of the strength that the working class accumulated during 25 years of relative prosperity. At the same time, it is a sharp expression of the crisis of leadership within the trade union movement, of the contradiction between the anger and militancy of the millions of American workers and the betrayals and refusal to fight of their leadership.

The lettuce boycott has failed—despite endorsements from most unions and even the liberals at the Democratic Convention—because the employers, especially those in agribusiness, can no longer afford to give away any concessions.

Instead, facing an unparalleled international crisis, they must try to grab away all the gains workers have won in the past and smash the powerful unions they have built.

**SPEARHEAD**

Agriculture is to serve as the spearhead of Nixon's trade war with Europe, ripping apart European agriculture with cheap



Desperate growers force children into slavery as strikebreakers under the watchful eyes of Sheriff's deputies.

American produce and driving small producers there into bankruptcy. In this schema, there is no room for unions, decent wages and working conditions or even the small farmers who have traditionally been the backbone of American agriculture.

Thus, the agribusiness magnates and their political allies are turning toward the destruction of the UFW, the mechanization of "stoop" labor wherever possible and the bankrupting of small farmers through the end of subsidies.

They are turning toward the methods of the 1930s to smash the UFW—mass arrests, the open use of the courts, using the state to pass anti-union laws and the development of fascist forces like those who attacked the UFW headquarters in

Poplar a few months ago during the White River Farms strike.

In May 1972, the growers pushed a bill through the Arizona state legislature which established a corporate state style Agricultural Labor Relations Board with powers to ban strikes, picketing and boycotts. Even carrying a sign saying "Boycott Lettuce" was punishable by a year in prison and a \$5000 fine.

The ALRB, like Nixon's Pay Board, was composed of one-third industry, one-third labor and one-third "public" members who were nothing more than industry representatives in disguise.

To Chavez' credit, the UFW refused to sit on the board, whose labor representatives were to have included the Teamsters leadership, openly scabbing on

the farm workers. With the support of the state AFL-CIO, the UFW opened up a campaign to recall Gov. John Williams.

At the same time, California agribusiness interests put a similar proposal on the fall election ballot as an initiative after a campaign riddled with fraud and corruption. Proposition 22, as it was known, would have virtually outlawed the UFW much in the same way as the measure in Arizona. The UFW and AFL-CIO mounted a political offensive against the initiative, organizing mass demonstrations in Los Angeles and San Francisco and putting forward the necessity of defending the rights workers have won through their trade union organizations.

The potential for independent political action by the trade union movement, organized in a labor party, was brought to the surface in these campaigns, which evoked an enormous response from workers. The recall campaign in Arizona garnered over 150,000 signatures—far more than enough to force a recall election—and Proposition 22 went down to a crushing defeat.

But Chavez refused to carry forward this offensive. His alliance with Democratic Party liberals strangled any effort by farm workers to break out into independent political actions.

In order to maintain his ties to middle class liberal groups and the priests and ministers, he called off a strike and boycott against Napa Valley wineries in the middle of the anti-Proposition 22 campaign, and he put his faith in Democratic Secretary of State Edmund Brown Jr., against the massive fraud which characterized the growers' campaign for the Proposition.

In Arizona, where the recall petition was successful, Chavez is putting forward two-time Democratic Congressional loser Jerry Pollack against Williams in the recall election, at the very point when an independent labor candidate could win and give tremendous impetus to the formation of a labor party in the US.

Chavez' continual backing away from a real fight against the growers and an independent political offensive by the labor movement—to get rid of not only Williams and California Gov. Ronald Reagan, but Richard Nixon—has now jeopardized all the gains the union has been able to win.

Pollock can be expected to carry out the same pro-grower policies as Williams—if he wins; Reagan has introduced what is essentially the same proposal as Proposition 22 into the California legislature; measures designed to outlaw the union hiring hall are being pushed in the Florida legislature; and Frank Fitzsimmons has openly sided with the growers against the UFW.

Fitzsimmons appeared at the national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation—the organization of the growers—to pledge his unwavering support to their campaign aimed at "destroying Chavez" and has turned over the pages of the International Teamster to the most vicious slanders, distortions and attacks against the UFW.

The Teamsters bureaucrats have now moved back into the Coachella Valley, have signed up all but two Salinas Valley vegetable growers and have capped it all off by signing a contract with the National Farm Labor Contractors Association covering 150,000 workers and guaranteeing their continued bondage under the hated contractor system.

The determination of farm workers to fight these attacks and the sweetheart policies of Fitzsimmons is clear. Chavez must now be forced by the movement of the ranks to break with his liberal friends and pacifist policies and take up the offer of support from the AFL-CIO to launch a mass campaign to smash the growers' offensive and win the support of rank and file Teamsters against the criminal betrayals of Fitzsimmons.

Above all, a new leadership must be developed within the UFW to carry forward this struggle to defend the union and to mount a political offensive for a Congress of Labor and a labor party which can defeat proposals like Proposition 22 permanently and throw Williams, Reagan and Nixon out of office and replace them with a labor government pledged to socialist policies.

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## Books Jack Gale

**RUSSIAN REBELS. 1600-1800.** By Paul Avrich. Allen Lane. The Penguin Press. To be released.

The four great rebellions which shook Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were those led by Bolotnikov (1606-1607), Razin (1670-1671), Bulavin (1707-1708) and Pugachev (1773-1774).

Each time the revolts spread like wildfire as tens of thousands of peasants and townfolk were joined by native tribesmen from the Volga and the Urals only to be ruthlessly crushed by government forces as they approached the centers of state power.

Bolotnikov was able to command a force of 12,000 men which marched on Moscow as two armies.

Early in his campaign Stenka Razin could muster a force of 7000 fighters—and when a government army of 2600 men was sent to intercept him, it arrested its commander and agreed to join Razin “to kill the masters, officials and other ranks of noblemen.”

At the peak of the movement there were hundreds of thousands of insurgents behind Razin, who was to become a folk hero.

Kondrati Bulavin could lead an army of over 7000 against the troops of Peter the Great and Emelian Pugachev threw a similar force against Catherine.

### NOBILITY

These revolts were never aimed against the Czar but against the nobility. (True, Pugachev claimed that he was the rightful Czar and he sought to overthrow Catherine, but the institution of Czarism was not challenged.)

Thus Razin, who claimed to fight “only the boyars and wealthy lords,” put forward the slogan “For God and the Prophet, for the Sovereign and the Cossack host.”

But Razin’s claim that he was “Come by order of the Great Czar to put to death all the boyars, nobles, senators and other great ones” did not save him, after his defeat, from being tortured by the Czar Alexis in person and executed “for betraying the great Sovereign Czar.”

Bulavin’s manifesto of 1708 read: “We have no quarrel with the common people. Our quarrel is only with the boyars and

those who do injustice. You barebacks and poor folk, come all of you, come out of your towns, on horse or on foot, naked and bare foot. Come, have no fear.

“There will be horses and guns, clothing and money for you. We have stood for the old faith and the house of the Blessed Virgin, and for you, for all the common people.”

Nearly 70 years later Pugachev declared: “I know that the common people will greet me with joy once they hear of my coming.”

In the path of his army, Pugachev issued a flood of proclamations releasing the serfs from their masters and announcing free distribution of salt and exemption from taxes and recruitment.

### SOCIAL PROGRAM

Pugachev’s rebellion, being the latest, was also the one to get closest to a developed social program.

Pugachev awarded his “subjects”: “...the villages, the old cross and prayers, heads and beards, liberty and freedom, always to be Cossacks, without recruiting levies, soul tax or other money taxes, with possession of the land, the woods, the hay meadows, the fishing grounds, the salt lakes, without payment or rent, and we free all those peasants and other folk hitherto oppressed by the malefactor gentry and the bribe-takers and judges in the towns from the dues and burdens placed upon them.”

His proclamation concluded: “Those who hitherto were gentry in their lands and estates, those opponents of our rule and disturbers of the empire and ruiners of the peasants—seize them, punish them, hang them, treat them in the same way as they, having no Christian feeling, oppressed you, the peasants.”

Paul Avrich’s book is valuable and informative. However, for a deeper analysis of these mainly peasant risings, one must turn to the first chapter of Trotsky’s *History of the Russian Revolution*.

Here Trotsky has this to say of the Pugachev Rebellion: “Fifty years before the great French revolution there developed in Russia a movement of the Cossacks, peasants and worker-serfs of the Urals, known as the Pugachev Rebellion.

“What was lacking to this menacing popular uprising in order to convert it into a revolution? A Third Estate. Without the industrial democracy of the cities a peasant war could not develop into a revolution, just as the peasant sects could not rise to the height of a Reformation.

“The result of the Pugachev Rebellion

## Peasant Rebellions Of Russia



Pugachev

was just the opposite—a strengthening of bureaucratic absolutism as the guardian of the interests of the nobility, a guardian which had again justified itself in the hour of danger.”

### SLOW DEVELOPMENT

The slow development of Russia meant that the peasants in Russia could not play the role which the Third Estates had played in France. In fact, it was their implacable enemies, the nobility, which, from the time of Peter on, sought to “Europeanize” Russia.

The Dekabrist rising of 1825 was an attempt of the aristocratic intelligentsia to limit the power of the Czarist autocracy by a military conspiracy.

But this intelligentsia could not turn to the peasants for mass support because their own privileges depended on the continued domination of the peasants.

It was a later generation of bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals who sought to “go to the peasants.”

Lenin had to fight to go beyond this toward the working class. In his monumental *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Lenin showed that it was the working class which was the only class that could lead a revolution.

It was only behind the working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, that the peasant masses of Russia could throw off the yoke of oppression.

Avrich’s book deals with an essential part of Russian history, but one which could only find its culmination with the development of the modern proletariat and the scientific theory of socialism—Marxism—which forges the class into the instrument to end Czarism in Russia and capitalism throughout the world.

## Film Lou Belkin

**SCARECROW.** Directed by J. Schatzburg. Photography by V. Zsigmond. Starring G. Mackman, A. Pacino, E. Wedgeworth.

*Scarecrow* represents still another attempt on the part of Hollywood to team up big names in the role of oddball characters whose adventures will tell us things about ourselves we might possibly have never known.

Max (Gene Hackman) has served time in San Quentin and is hitchhiking to Pittsburgh. He comes across Frances Lionel (Al Pacino) who is hitching to Detroit in order to see his son, born after he deserted his pregnant sweetheart. They decide to team up and enter into partnership to set up a carwash in Pittsburgh. Of course, the partnership remains just a utopian scheme and grand idea but

their travels are at once amusing and breathless, filled with lots of real life dialogue and soft focus color set ups that have been the mainstays of Hollywood since the mid-1960s.

Max is taciturn and humorless, a bear of a man who’s known nothing but the skids and feels deep despair when he finds his old hobo haunts have given way to a gigantic industrial park. Frances has been at sea for five years. He is as weak and naive as he was in Detroit when the responsibilities of fatherhood proved too much for someone who never fully absorbed his Catholic school upbringing.

Yet they manage to get along very well, constantly teasing and fighting with each other but maintaining a valid relationship on the basis of their shortcomings. The sequences in each part of the country are entities in themselves and provide vehicles particularly for the acting talent of Gene Hackman, who is superb. Two sequences reveal Hackman’s depth at once.

In one, Max and Lionel have come to live with a former girlfriend of Max’s whose friend, voluptuously played by

Esther Wedgeworth, takes up with Max. The night before they are to head for Detroit to see Frances’ child, they get drunk.

Max gets into a fight and they land in jail. The honor farm is something to behold. One of the older inmates takes a fancy to Frances who suspects nothing.

The homosexual inmate traps Frances one evening. Frances refuses to oblige and is brutally beaten. Subsequently Max and this man land in the hogfield together.

After calmly explaining the details of hogfarming, Max lures the man into his pen, tosses him over the fence and beats him silly.

Upon release from jail, they land in another Midwest bar. Max again picks a fight and Frances urges caution. Max proceeds to gesture toward the man and hands him his coat. Whereupon the huge bulky Max proceeds to do a comic striptease that is very well executed and hilariously ironic.

But outside of certain sequences and genuinely funny bits of dialogue, everything is very disjointed, very abstract in the sense that nothing really hangs together and we don’t really get to

know very much about the characters—who in fact are more like caricatures. The final sequences in which Frances’ sweetheart, who has married a banana vendor, and who lyingly tells Frances that his son, now aged five, died in childbirth because he wasn’t around to help her when she slipped on the ice, are a bit much.

Frances tells Max that his son is fine and they proceed to the park. Frances proceeds literally to disintegrate before our eyes, lapsing finally into catatonia. Max looks at the mannikin-like figure on the hospital stretcher and seeks to revive it. He makes his way to the bus station, buys a round trip ticket to Pittsburgh and vows to come back to help his pal.

*Scarecrow* gets its name from Frances’ remark that crows are not afraid of scarecrows, they are just so amused by scarecrows that they fly away convulsed in laughter. Frances and Max are indeed scarecrows, amusing characters who confound us with their abilities, which in the case of Hackman, are considerable. Only Frances’ remark that “all things change, even us, but we can’t do anything about it” roots anything in the real world.

## Crows In Flight



## 20 Years of the International Committee

### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

The seventh and final lecture of the series "20 Years of the International Committee" was held last Sunday before a large audience of workers and youth in Labor Hall.

Speaking on "The International Committee Today," Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth declared that the relation of the Marxist method to the development of revolutionary perspectives had been the central question raised throughout the seven week discussion on the history of Trotskyism since the split with Pablo. He said that it is through a struggle for perspectives that Marxists are able to pose what must be done to develop the consciousness of the working class.

"But perspectives are not fixed," stated Wohlforth. "They must be developed and changed with the changes in the material world. Just as everything is in motion—and dialectics is the study of this process—we must grapple with the problem of perspectives from that standpoint."

He asserted that revisionism is marked by the abandonment of the Marxist method. "Therefore, the revisionists have no perspective and cannot answer the question: 'What is to be done?'" The dispute with Pablo, Wohlforth said, was over the question of perspectives.

The relation to the struggle for Marxism and the development of perspectives is expressed particularly in the career of James P. Cannon and in the Socialist Workers Party. While noting the great difficulties confronted by the Fourth International during the war years due to objective conditions, Wohlforth stressed that after new opportunities opened up after 1946 it was unable to develop perspectives.

#### EUROPE

This was seen in two ways. First, the SWP handed the responsibility for the leadership of the Fourth International over to those in Europe who had little experience. "The SWP turned its back on the international movement," declared the Workers League's National Secretary. "It said that it would concern itself with American problems."

Wohlforth pointed out that the SWP then produced the *American Theses*, which "were wrong because they were formulated by ignoring international developments." One of the strengths of Cannon was that he saw the revolutionary potential of the American working class; but, declared Wohlforth, his *Theses* refused to assess the relation of Europe and America which is vital to an understanding of how the working classes on both continents will develop.

While Cannon noted that capitalism appeared to be restabilizing itself in Europe, he concluded that revolution was on the agenda in the United States anyway.

In examining that period, Wohlforth emphasized that the Stalinist American Communist Party was a very large organization, in contrast to the SWP which remained relatively small. He recalled that the CP was the backbone of the Henry Wallace campaign of 1948 which won more than one million votes. In New York City, one of the members of the City Council was in the CP. The Stalinists also had a supporter in the Congress. Therefore, in the period just before the witch-hunts, the Stalinists still had considerable influence in the working class.

"But the SWP refused to confront that strength," Wohlforth stated. "It assumed the position that it would be possible to bypass both the Stalinists and the labor party. The *Theses* maintained that without breaking the working class from the Stalinists and labor bureaucracy, the SWP could become something called a small mass party with broad support in the working class and capable of leading a



Cannon speaking at the 1940 convention of the Socialist Workers Party. His *Theses*, written in 1946, refused to assess the relation of Europe and America and thus led him to conclude that revolution was on the agenda in the US just before the McCarthy period.

revolution.

"In the history of all the documents ever written by the SWP, this was the most wrong," he said.

As a consequence, the SWP was completely disoriented after 1946 and entered into the difficult period of McCarthyism badly demoralized. This opened the way for the demoralization of the Party cadres and the emergence of a right-wing tendency around forces like Bert Cochran who maintained that America was exceptional for the reason that there would never be a socialist revolution here.

#### TROTSKY

Wohlforth said that by refusing to confront the issue of the relation of Europe and America, Cannon was avoiding the question that had been central to international perspectives since 1914. This, said Wohlforth, can be seen by turning to the writings of Leon Trotsky in the 1920s.

"It was particularly Trotsky whose task it was to develop the perspectives around which the Communist International was centered. He gave the main international reports during the first five years of the Third International, and these years constitute one of the richest chapters in the history of the Marxist movement. By 1921, Trotsky devoted a great deal of attention in these reports to the relation of Europe and America."

Wohlforth quoted from a report given by Trotsky to the Third Congress of the Comintern on the economic crisis and the development of the revolution which helps us understand the present developments:

"The revolution has three sources which are interconnected. The revolution's first source is the decline of Europe. Class equilibrium in Europe was maintained first of all by England's dominant position on the world market. Today this dominant position of Europe has been completely lost, and irretrievably so. Hence the inevitability of powerful revolutionary paroxysms which can terminate either in the victory of the proletariat or in Europe's complete downfall.

"The second source of the revolutionary struggle is in the severe spasms of the entire economic organism of the United States: an unprecedented boom, elicited

by the European war, and next—a cruel crisis engendered by the drawn-out consequences of this war. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat can under these conditions acquire the same tempo, unequalled in history, as the economic development of the United States in recent years.

"The third source of the revolutionary struggle is the industrialization of the colonies, above all, India. The basis for liberationist struggles of the colonies is constituted by the peasant masses. But the peasants in their struggle need leadership. Such a leadership used to be provided by the native bourgeoisie. The latter's struggle against foreign imperialist domination cannot, however, be either consistent or energetic inasmuch as the native bourgeoisie itself is intimately bound up with foreign capital and represents to a large measure an agency of foreign capital. Only the rise of a native proletariat strong enough numerically and capable of struggle can provide a real axis for the revolution."

#### CYCLES

In his reports, Trotsky noted that there are cycles inherent in capitalism between boom and recession that last about nine years. However, he said that this was a surface expression of the uneven and anarchic development of capitalism. What Trotsky emphasized as an indication of the deepening crisis of capitalism was the lengths of the ups and the depths of the downs.

"By 1914," explained Wohlforth, "a shift had taken place. The down was no longer a valley within a mountain of peaks. What had formerly been panics now became depressions. It was this crisis of the entire social system that was expressed most violently in the outbreak of the First World War."

He pointed out that after World War One, Europe remained in a depression which lasted through the 1940s, with only temporary revivals. In the United States, the boom continued through the 1920s with the American capitalists fully emerged as the most powerful imperialists.

From this standpoint, Wohlforth said that one must turn to perspectives for the

present period. As World War One disrupted the general pattern of cycles, so did World War Two disrupt the general depressionary situation but only for the United States. Europe remained in a severe depression. It was only through vast American investment in Europe that capitalism could be saved and revived there.

Wohlforth stated that there was an upward turn in the US and Europe that ran into the 1950s, at which point the policies which had produced the boom began to shape the crisis which emerged from the very attempt of the capitalists to get around the problems which originate at the point of production.

The crisis of capitalism is not simply one of over production and a lack of demand, stated Wohlforth. Since the war there has been an overproduction of capital which demands more profits from the labor of the working class than it is possible for the working class to give.

"Capital grows in geometric proportions," he asserted, "but what is actually produced by man is limited. Capital coming against the limits of human labor is what is known as the falling rate of profit."

"The capitalist class seeks to get around this problem by postponing the problem, and therefore it makes use of credit. Thus capital is maintained through credit which amounts to borrowing on the future labor of man."

#### PAPER CURRENCY

Wohlforth explained in greater detail the role of paper currency, which is used to represent value which can be reproduced in massive proportions independent of the productive process. Unlike gold, paper currency does not require in its production an appreciable amount of labor.

"Over the entire past period, the ruling class has allowed money to get out of whack with gold and therefore with the entire productive process. This created the conditions for a crisis which could be suppressed only as long as money could be accepted confidently as the equivalent of gold."

The capitalists were desperate to avoid an all-out clash with European and American workers after World War Two. Wohlforth noted that they were unable to go to war against the Soviet Union or hold down the wage offensive; and it was their weakness which was the source of the credit expansion and inflation of the dollar.

Such policies as the Marshall Plan were instrumental in the export of capital and the revival of Europe. The expansion of credit combined with an actual upward turn in production in the late 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. But the reversal began, explained Wohlforth, later in the same decade as America experienced for the first time since the turn of the century a debtor relation with Europe.

Wohlforth pointed out that after World War One, "Everyone owed America money and everyone had to pay. The gold of the world moved into the US. The dollar was triumphant as the British pound declined. Where formerly bankers said 'The dollar is worth one quarter of a pound,' they would say after the war that the pound is worth so many dollars. America became the banker of the world in the 1920s.

"But during the 1950s a deficit appeared in the balance of payments and this led to the outflow of gold. And the balance of trade deficit which emerged over the past few years began to undermine the dollar even faster."

He noted that by August 1971, more than \$70 billion had accumulated in Europe and this sum has grown since then to \$80 billion. These dollars, which are no longer convertible into gold, represent claims on production. The undermining of the dollar will have disastrous consequences for Europe, Wohlforth said.

"Here is where every revisionist gets lost because they do not understand that the boom in Europe is based on the dollar. The amount of capital that has been ex-



# Committee Today

ported into Europe since the war is larger than the wealth of any single European country. Therefore, the very growth of Europe is a reflection of the growth of America.

"An additional factor of great significance is the dependence of Europe on the American market. The fact is that Europe is more subordinate to the US than it was in the 1920s. One can only describe as fools those who insist that the crisis taking place today is the result of the great competitive strength of Europe."

Referring once again to the question of cycles in capitalism, Wohlforth stated that world capitalism entered into a cycle of decline just in the period when the balance of payments deficit became the decisive factor in the development of the economic crisis.

It is important to understand, he

had revealed the critical stage that the crisis had now entered. There is runaway inflation, gold is at \$120, and the conditions have been created for massive unemployment. This will hit the working class youth first of all.

It is for this reason, he said, that the Young Socialists First National Conference will be an important preparation for a big campaign against unemployment.

He concluded his talk by emphasizing that an American perspective cannot be developed without examining the relation of Europe and America. It is necessary, he said, to understand how American investment makes Europe more dependent, how America will try to make Europe bear the brunt of the crisis, and how this will bring about a revolutionary movement by the European working class.



Trotsky addressing the Third Congress of the Comintern. In his reports on perspectives, Trotsky devoted a great deal of attention to the relation of Europe and America.

declared, that attempts to offset the crisis become the cause of greater difficulties. The inflationary policies of the past three years which have been used to sustain the boom are the source of important divisions within the ruling class. These divisions are reflected in the Watergate affair.

## FINANCE CAPITAL

Wohlforth noted that the spokesmen of finance capital—the bankers and the brokerage houses, and the *New York Times*—have expressed growing fear over the consequences of the inflationary boom. They are now advocating that Nixon put on the skids because the collapse of the world monetary system would wipe out their assets. Fictitious capital destroys real capital, and therefore finance capital is demanding a restriction of credit and a tightening of the money supply, even if this means shutdowns and an enormous growth in unemployment.

"But another force around Nixon are the speculators, credit men, crooks, real estate men, and the mafia with Anglo-Saxon names from places like UCLA, men who have become millionaires overnight and who own San Diego. They are the real Nixon people who think anything goes. They represent the most ruthless elements in the capitalists class, like the German industrialists of the 1920s who turned to speculation for quick wealth and then turned to Hitler.

"These men have made their money through inflation and are scared of stopping the inflation.

"So, one section of the capitalist class is scared everything might blow up and the other section is scared everything will blow down."

Wohlforth said that the recent events

had revealed the critical stage that the crisis had now entered. There is runaway inflation, gold is at \$120, and the conditions have been created for massive unemployment. This will hit the working class youth first of all.

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Pabloite *Intercontinental Press* which attacks the economic perspectives of the International Committee.

"Your analysis is wrong," said a Spartacist member, "because the crisis of capitalism must be rooted in production, not circulation. We must wait for the crisis in production." He dismissed August 15, 1971 as merely an event that expressed "weakness" rather than understanding Nixon's decision to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold as the collapse of the Bretton Woods arrangements and therefore a new stage in the world capitalist crisis.

There was considerable confusion in the statements made by the speakers from Spartacist. One of them declared that we are presently living under a boom while others stated that there has not been a boom since the war ended.

When it was pointed out by a speaker from the Workers League that Spartacist agreed with the SWP on all fundamental questions as is seen in their support of Dick Roberts' polemic against the SLL and Workers League, a Spartacist member asked: "How can you say that we agree with the SWP because we think Roberts is correct against you?"

Harry Turner of the Class Struggle League opened his contribution by saying: "I happen to agree with certain criticisms of Spartacist against the Workers League and certain criticisms of the Workers League against Spartacist."

Another Spartacist speaker said that the Workers League constantly spoke about a crisis because it holds the position that a revolutionary movement should be built only when there is a crisis and not during a boom.

A supporter of the Workers League pointed out that the revisionists always deny that there is a crisis in order to be able to avoid doing anything. "You're trying to get away," she said, referring to Spartacist. "You don't want to fight."

## MARXIST METHOD

In his summary, comrade Wohlforth stated that the central problem raised in the discussion is that of the Marxist method. It is important to clarify these problems, he said, because they reflect the difficulties in the thinking of the working class as a whole. With this understanding, the Workers League had held this class series as preparation for the next stage of work.

Wohlforth declared that the theoretical issues involve the relation of the objective to the subjective; how the thinking of the working class develops in collision with the changes in the material world.

"The position of Spartacist on this question becomes almost ludicrous because they do not really care," he said. "They ask how we can say that Spartacist is like Dick Roberts only because they happen to agree with him on the economic crisis. For Spartacist, perspectives are secondary; the question of economics is unimportant."

Referring to Spartacists' claim that the Workers League speaks of a crisis only because it holds the position that a Marxist leadership should not be built during a boom, he replied:

"That is, of course, untrue. I personally was building a movement during a boom; but I can tell you there is a difference between building a movement during a boom and during a crisis. If we had used some of the tactics back in the 1950s that it is necessary to employ today, we would've been destroyed in 30 seconds.

"But in 1952, we had to grapple with the question: will the boom continue? There were those who said it would last forever. It was necessary to grapple with this question because there is a relation between thinking and being. The thinking among masses is developed fundamentally by the objective conditions. Consciousness is the product of objective forces. Or do we or do we not stand on materialism?"

"If we want to understand thinking, we must understand the objective world." He added that while Marxists fight for such an understanding under all conditions in

order to change the objective world, it is not possible under all conditions to build a mass revolutionary movement.

Wohlforth stated that the contribution of Harry Turner was interesting from the standpoint of method. "On the one hand, Turner says the crisis is in circulation and on the other hand, there must be a crisis in production. What he cannot understand is dialectical movement in which development is not all-sided and even at once."

## PETTY BOURGEOIS

The method of Turner, declared Wohlforth, recalls the petty bourgeois method of Proudhon, which Marx exposed in *The Poverty of Philosophy*. In that book, Marx showed how Proudhon, hostile to contradiction, assessed everything from its good side and its bad side. Both Turner and Spartacist agreed—along the lines of the SWP—that while there may be problems in circulation, there is nothing to worry about as long as production continues.

But they cannot understand that it is precisely the crisis in circulation that looms most important now," declared Wohlforth. "For in order to be able to continue producing, the capitalists created a severe disequilibrium in circulation."

At this point, Wohlforth quoted from Trotsky's report to the Third Congress of the Third International on the role of credit:

"On the whole, as Europe kept growing poorer and poorer—as she has to this very day—she became and is still becoming encased in ever-thicker layers of paper values, or what is known as fictitious capital. This fictitious capital—paper currency, treasury notes, war bonds, bank notes, and so on—represent either mementos of deceased capital or expectations of capital yet to come. But at the present time they are in no way commensurate to genuine existing capital. However, they function as capital and as money and this tends to give an incredibly distorted picture of society and modern economy as a whole. The poorer this economy becomes, all the richer is the image reflected by this mirror of fictitious capital."

Wohlforth said that the crisis in circulation is driving down production and holding back man's struggle against nature. "This can be seen in one way by the Skylab fiasco," he said. "At the highest point of man's struggle against nature, the capitalists are resting on the old methods, hardware and research." The spacecraft had been assembled on an austerity budget which left it completely inadequate for the assignment.

Concluding, Wohlforth declared that the Spartacist League does have certain disagreements with the SWP but only over secondary questions. "We've given Spartacist time in every lecture to speak, but they haven't been able to say one word about perspectives. They reveal only utter confusion. One of your speakers says that there's never been a boom—which is wrong—and then he calls us crisis-mongers. Then another speaker says the opposite and still calls us crisis-mongers.

"One can only conclude that what is happening in the economy, in Watergate, the danger of unemployment does not matter to you because you will not do anything about it."

Responding to the claim of a Spartacist League member that its Revolutionary Communist Youth was a real youth movement, Wohlforth said that Spartacist believed that building a youth movement involved only putting different buttons on its members.

"We don't find building a youth movement that easy," he said. "We think that a youth movement should have something to do with youth. Because the youth face a future without schools and without jobs. And we know that what's happening to youth has something to do with the price of gold and the crisis in circulation.

"We agree with the Communist International that there has to be a big youth movement which will play a leading role in building a Marxist leadership in the working class."



## YS FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

sential foundation upon which a revolutionary movement can be built."

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, who brought greetings to the Conference, took up this question:

"We disagree with those who want to turn away from the struggle of students, because it represents a turn away from theory. We cannot fight back without theory. Activity without theory is expressed in two ways, first in trade union militancy, and second, in those youth who say let's go out and do something and in the students who say let's protest. We must face the fact that the student movements of the 1960s were a failure and that the Watts rebellion was a failure. The youth who are here from Watts today know this as they face conditions which are even worse now. There must be a turn to Marxism. The struggle against capitalism becomes political. This means a fight for a change in thinking. Groups like the CP and the SWP express the limits of the thinking of the past. They refuse to study change. The fight on the universities is largely centered on this theoretical struggle. Those who say stay away from the campuses seek to keep us enslaved in our present level of consciousness."

In his greetings Comrade Wohlforth said that the youth must confront the history of the difficulties of past student and youth movements in this country. "This conference is the reestablishing of the traditions of Trotskyism in America. We must state very clearly here that we are not building another protest movement but a Marxist, revolutionary and international

movement.

"The central task of the Young Socialists' program is to turn the American working class to politics, to building its party. This is not an easy task. To build such a movement we must take up a study of Marxism and turn the branches to the question of the economic crisis. It is this crisis which determines everything and now explodes through Watergate. Only by understanding the crisis can we confront the question of consciousness and thinking. There will be big movements now as millions of workers face contract struggles and as youth in the neighborhoods will not accept conditions of unemployment. It is not enough just to act. It requires the intervention of trained Marxists, an understanding of the history of the US and the working class and the international movement. We must understand in order to lead."

### TRAINING

Comrade Wohlforth said that the training of a new leadership among the youth will take place as the YS fights to defend the youth against capitalism. The youth at the Conference must now turn out to reach other youth and build the YS branches.

As central to building this leadership, a critical part of this Conference was the turn of the youth to a discussion of the international crisis and the construction of an international movement. Greetings to the Conference were brought by Dany Sylveire from the British Young Socialists and the Central Committee of the Socialist Labor League. Featured at the Conference was the film *Road To Workers Power*, which showed scenes from the Pageant of

Labour History which was given by the SLL last March and attended by 10,000 workers and youth. The film showed the participation of workers and youth in acting out the history of the struggles of British workers for their rights that are now threatened by the Tory government. It showed scenes of the fight of Marx and Engels to build the First International. The film received a tremendous response from the audience.

Dany Sylveire in her greetings said:

"The founding of the Young Socialists takes place in an historic period when throughout the world the enormous crisis of capitalism begins to rock the system at its very foundations. It takes place at a point where we begin now to see all the signs of the breakup of the system which now manifest themselves in the surface of society. The Watergate crisis expresses openly the breaking point of the crisis of capitalism.

"The youth have a major role to play in the building of a revolutionary party. This can be seen from our experiences in Britain, where the YS is the oldest independent revolutionary youth movement which has continuously struggled for principles since its foundation 10 years ago in 1964, when the YS was expelled from the British Labour Party. From that day, under the leadership of the Socialist Labor League, we fought to lead the working class at each point of the development of the class struggle.

"The building of the Young Socialists in Britain was the bridge to reaching masses of trade unionists as the crisis developed. It laid the foundations for the daily paper, the *Workers*

Press.

Comrade Sylveire discussed the present political developments in Britain: "We have our own Watergate scandal now developing in Britain with the uncovering of corruption and decadence among sections of the ruling class. Tory Ministers and even sections of the aristocracy have been photographed with call girls in compromising positions. Lord Lambton and Lord Jellicoe, both top Ministers in the Heath Tory Cabinet, have resigned and this is only the beginning of the breaking out of the scandal—even higher up leading Tory heads will roll. In fact the conditions now exist for bringing down this Tory government.

"This weekend we are holding our National Pre-Conference in London to found the revolutionary party which will be founded at the end of October this year as we transform the SLL into a revolutionary party. We are founding this party right on time as the whole world economic crisis now disrupts the political situation in Britain."

An International Report was given by Adele Sinclair. She pointed out the reactionary role of the US internationally against the working class.

"The United States is at the center of the international crisis. It is the economic, military and political mainstay of every reactionary regime in the world, supporting fascist and military dictatorships in Spain, Greece, South Vietnam, Africa and Latin America.

"We must take up a fight for Marxist theory to deepen our understanding of the economic crisis in order to decisively beat back Nixon's attempts at whipping up a patriotic frenzy against European and Japanese workers.

"The Young Socialists must lead a fight in the US against all those nationalists of the so-called

left who try to keep the working class divided at the point of Nixon's greatest crisis."

There was extensive discussion on the struggle for internationalism. Resolutions were presented condemning the role of US imperialism in Haiti, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Middle East. A resolution was also passed on the conditions facing Mexican American workers and the attacks by the Immigration Department on so-called "illegal aliens." One youth spoke on the necessity to defend the Oppositionists in the Soviet Union who are under attack by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On Saturday participants in the Conference demonstrated in front of the Peruvian mission to the United Nations against the jailing of the Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista.

This Conference now sets the stage for transforming the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement. This was the central task addressed in the report by Nancy Vasquez on the organization of the YS. Comrade Vasquez presented the constitution, which was approved unanimously, along with plans for a mass recruitment drive this summer. Kiki Mendez gave a presentation on the YS paper, emphasizing that the *Young Socialist* is now the central weapon for building the revolutionary youth movement. She proposed a subscription campaign for June and July.

A total of \$1,106.73 was raised for the *Bulletin* Fund Drive. A dance was held Saturday featuring the "Rare Experience."

The National Committee elected at the Conference met afterwards to map out plans for the unemployment campaign this summer.

## ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

ed faster than expected."

The editorial concluded: "There is, to be sure, some risk that more fiscal restraint now could deepen a recession that may already be in the works. But there is a greater danger that the boom will be allowed to run on until it is too late—and give way, not to minirecession, but to a disastrous collapse."

For workers in every capitalist country, the development of the economic crisis to this point has placed their right to employment in enormous danger. Even in those industries where the boom appears to be at its most feverish pitch, a sudden break in production in the coming months is now becoming likely.

In the auto industry, for example, where overtime and sales have reached record levels, there are no plans for the construction

of new plants and all current plans for plant expansion are being reconsidered.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*: "Auto makers have concluded that business has gotten too good to stay good. And the last thing Detroit wants is to be caught with brand-new plants started or half-built just when the new-car market goes flat or, worse yet, takes a nose dive. For investment in facilities is one of the biggest costs auto makers have, and the prospect of plants standing idle is enough to give Detroit financial men nightmares."

These are the conditions which make so urgent the struggle within the trade unions for a political alternative to Nixon through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies to defend jobs and living conditions.

## IUE-UE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

contract expires on June 10 and a strike occurs there.

Reliable sources have told the *Bulletin* that General Electric has rejected every proposal put forward by the unions at the start of the negotiations. It has specifically refused to accept a closed shop clause and has so far refused to make any offer on wages.

### INTENTION

While the IUE and UE have declared that they are seeking big wage increases in order to compensate for the rise in the cost of living, their willingness to postpone a strike indefinitely can only mean that the leadership has no intention of fighting GE.

All the negotiations have been held in the greatest privacy, with the UE and IUE participating in a news blackout proposed by the company. Since the rubber workers' strike began last month, virtually every trade union bureaucrat is reluctant to say anything about negotiations.

Behind their fear of strike action is the fact that the anger of the ranks over inflation and mounting layoffs in the electrical industry makes an explosive confrontation almost a certainty. Particularly over the question of wages, the leadership of both unions have too often committed themselves to win 29 cents an hour increase to make up for inflation, a substantial increase on top of that, and a cost of living escalator without a cap to back down easily once a strike is called over that issue.

Furthermore, neither the IUE nor the UE is willing to directly challenge the government's pay guidelines. In San Francisco three weeks ago UE President Albert Fitzgerald said that if the union won an increase above 5.5

percent, "We'll have plenty of time to worry about getting the government to go along with us."

The ranks in the UE and IUE must demand that the leadership stop postponing strike action and shut down GE.

## IRELAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

torship, has been seized upon by all the reformists as an opportunity to join with the Tories. New local elections at the end of May, which the Labour Party is participating in, will become the vehicle towards actual coalition with the British imperialists.

### COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party in Ireland has joined the Social Democrats and the liberals in demanding that the Provisional IRA cease its activities and give up its arms as a condition for the release of prisoners or any relaxation of Tory repression.

The Stalinists in Ireland are now willing to aid the Tories by accepting British occupation and keeping the workers divided.

The British government and its most reactionary elements see Ireland as a testing ground for the methods that will be used against the British workers. It is their training ground for fascism.

Only the Irish Young Socialists are taking up a fight to unite Irish workers around a program to throw out the British troops and the Irish ruling class and to unite British and Irish workers in common struggle against the Tories.

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BY ED SMITH  
PART III

# The CP's Perfect Bureaucrat

By the 1972 UAW Convention Woodcock was running into real difficulties. Enormous dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy's retreats over the issues of unemployment and the Pay Board, particularly in aerospace, forced Woodcock to let his West Coast regional director, Paul Schrade, be thrown to the dissident wolves.

The convention itself took place under the shadow of the Lordstown, Ohio strike against the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), the forerunner of a whole series of struggles against the new GMADs and in the shadow of the coming presidential elections.

The approach of the UAW bureaucracy and Woodcock to the election took two forms. On the one hand, there was the complete surrender of the UAW bureaucracy to the Wallaceite racist poison being pumped into strong UAW areas like Michigan. This disgraceful retreat continued right up to the day of the assassination attempt on Wallace that removed him as an effective force from the campaign.

The bureaucracy then headed full steam ahead into the McGovern campaign. It is well known that Woodcock's name was on McGovern's "final list" of vice presidential possibilities along with such luminaries as Tom Eagleton, Sargent Shriver, and TV newscaster Walter Cronkite.

While the major section of the labor bureaucracy headed by Meany took the position of supporting neither capitalist party in the election, Woodcock played the major part in attempting to prop up labor's political alliance with the Democratic Party.

It should be noted that Woodcock's activity in the McGovern campaign cemented an alliance with what may seem an unlikely friend: the Stalinist Communist Party. Woodcock had come full circle from being Reuther's hatchet man who had studied Machiavelli under Emil Mazey's tutelage back in 1948 to assist in routing the Stalinists, among other radicals, to now forming an alliance with the CP. Here is how the CP's Daily World reported Woodcock's speech to the 1971 United Electrical Workers Convention:

"Woodcock talked briefly about the split in the labor movement 20 years ago when the CIO, succumbing to a red-baiting drive in the nation, drove out the UE, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the other militant and progressive unions from their ranks.

"We should never have been split asunder. We in our union helped in the splitting of the labor movement." However, he emphasized labor's need today is unity."

The CP sees in Woodcock its ideal trade union bureaucrat, with a "progressive" cover of "making capitalism work better" and in no way challenging the viability of the system. When Woodcock counterposed a "new, creative coalition" to support McGovern to the fight for a labor party, the CP had its man. Woodcock was interested in a "progressive" people's front type coalition that would tie the working class to



capitalism.

Because of this, he discarded his red-baiting tactics and turned to the CP. In turn, the CP continues to tout and cover over for Woodcock despite all his betrayals, which now include the most shameless overtures to Nixon.

By the end of the campaign Woodcock was making fervent speeches in favor of the parties of capitalism. He told the UAW delegates in Los Angeles: "I'm opposed to a labor party. I think we can do everything through the Democratic Party. We don't need a labor party like in other countries. If we had a labor party, it would kill all the liberal Democrats."

In the closing weeks of the campaign, the struggle against GMAD began to boil over the plants. After the Norwood, Ohio GMAD plant returned to work with major grievances un-

resolved following a gruelling 174 day strike, Woodcock moved to head off the developing movement for a national GMAD shut-down with the "Apache strategy": two or three day strikes that would "disrupt" GMAD production at little cost to the UAW.

Woodcock's justification for the "Apache strategy" is revealing. In response to demands from the Workers League for a national GMAD strike, he stated: "Workers join unions to protect themselves, not to start a revolution and a national strike would be an invitation to disaster."

The "Apache strategy" was called off without making any dent in the GMAD speedup machine. With many of the ranks taking up the demand for a national GMAD strike, the November elections certainly showed Woodcock's "new, creative coalition" to be a disaster: McGovern was swamped

by Nixon, while 46 percent of the nation's voters did not vote at all.

Thus, Leonard Woodcock entered the year 1973, the year crucial contract negotiations will once again take place with the Big Three auto makers.

Out of his salary (\$32,907 a year in 1970) Woodcock pays \$382 a month for a two-bedroom corner apartment on the 22nd floor at one of Detroit's most exclusive addresses: 1300 Lafayette East, site of a former slum area knocked down by urban renewal.

One ex-UAW International Representative said, "Leonard is a cold, calculating figure; there's no other way to describe him." Another source in the UAW said, "He has such cruelty in him. I shouldn't say that. In fact, I'm sorry I said it. But I think there is that tendency." Woodcock described by still another UAW associate: "The best intellect...the most widely read guy in our union."

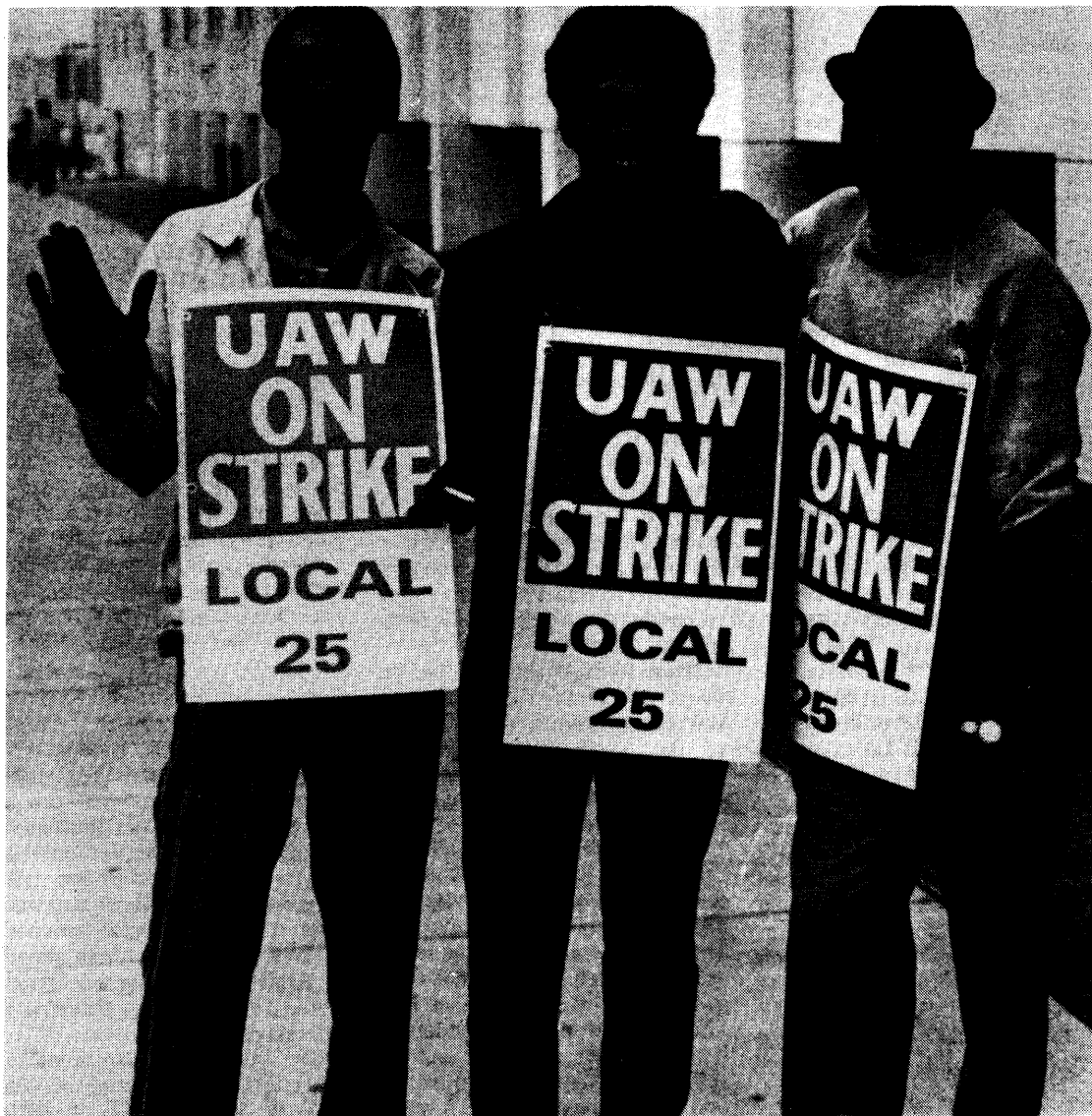
Woodcock's philosophy is revealed in the following statement: "Social change can be brought about only by peaceful means. Violence is counter-productive. If there is growing disorder on the left and violence, countered by disorder and violence on the right, and the American people have to choose between seeing that escalate and accepting repression, they'll accept repression."

In 1970, immediately after being elected to replace the late Walter Reuther, Woodcock flew to Atlanta, Georgia, to take part in a "march against repression" organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to maintain the Reuther reputation for social activism. On the march, Woodcock startled observers by joining Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy in throwing up a clenched fist salute. "He must have practiced doing it in the mirror," one Detroit journalist snickered.

Behind this somewhat ludicrous incident, however, stands a sinister reality. At the top, directing the vast UAW bureaucracy weighing down upon the 800,000 rank and file, stands a man who has been bred to the labor bureaucracy and its cunning ways for over three decades. Both competent and intelligent, he is above all a deeply conscious agent of class collaboration and an enemy of Marxism in the labor movement.

Woodcock has come a long way from his Socialist Party days. He has even moved a bit from October 1972 when he was saying: "I think we can do everything through the Democratic Party" to March 1973, when he boasts of "having no difficulties in our pragmatic relations with the Nixon Administration."

The sooner such a man is removed from the leadership of the UAW, the better for the UAW rank and file. But this is no automatic process. It must begin with the struggle of the UAW ranks to defend their interests in the 1973 contract negotiations around the program of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. Such a struggle is directly opposed to the whole history and method of Leonard Woodcock and the bureaucracy he represents. Such a struggle will lay the basis for a new leadership in the UAW that will finish off Leonard Woodcock and what he stands for—the union bureaucracy and its opportunism—once and for all.



Woodcock—considered up to the last moment a vice presidential possibility for McGovern—speaks from the podium in support of McGovern. Below, ranks of St. Louis UAW Local 25, which during that period voted for national strike action against GMAD.



**BY MARTY MORAN**  
**The Watergate scandal is bringing to light Richard Nixon's unmatched history of political skullduggery. In the sewer of capitalist politics he has been singled out as Tricky Dick for good reason.**

Big sections of the capitalist class are after Nixon's head now because they fear he is too discredited to carry out the attacks on the working class they need. As a result, the press is casting aside the normal "after all, he's the President" deference, and beginning to rake up every scandal in his scandal-ridden past.

Nixon's campaign for governor of California in 1962 shows how the Watergate team was assembled and trained for the day when they would be called to power by the crisis-ridden capitalists.

Nixon ran against incumbent Democrat Edmund G. Brown, trying to recoup his political fortunes after his defeat in the 1960 presidential elections.

This campaign brought together for the first time the hard core—H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Ron Ziegler, Maurice Stans, Herbert Kalmbach, Caspar Weinberger,—who made up Nixon's inner circle during his rise to power in the 1960s, and who launched the Watergate adventure.

#### BLIND LOYALTY

The only qualifications for Nixon's staff were fanatical anti-communism and blind loyalty to Nixon. Nixon's campaign strategy was the same that had won him victories in the forties and fifties—red-baiting, attacks on the unions, and allegations that his capitalist opponents in the Democratic Party were consorting with enemy agents.

In his first major address of the campaign, Nixon claimed there were 35 known Communists in the Democratic Party apparatus, harbored there by Brown and other party officials. He concentrated his attack on the California Democratic Council (CDC), a pressure group of middle class liberals within the Democratic Party who favored admission of China to the United Nations and foreign aid to the Soviet bloc.

In early October 1962, the polls showed that the old methods were not working and his campaign was in serious trouble. Nixon then established a front group called the Committee for the Preservation of the Democratic Party with offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

#### CLAIMED

The Committee claimed to be a group of Democrats opposed to the "leftist" CDC but independent of the Republicans. They sent out a postcard questionnaire to 500,000 Democrats asking their opinion of the CDC and its "takeover" of the Democratic Party.

Under the guise of conducting this poll, the Committee really peddled Nixon's smear charges against Brown—every question was slanted against the official Democratic slate. For instance, voters were asked to consider whether they would "support a Republican candidate rather than support the Party and the state government to CDC objectives."

In a thinly disguised rehash of Nixon's campaign theme, the Committee said: "The CDC's leaders even refused at the last Democratic convention to let the party adopt a resolution to bar Communists from the party organization—the last straw...Some Republicans have commented that this move probably will result in electing a Republican ticket. This as Democrats we regret, but if this is the only way, we are willing to make this sacrifice."

Since the Committee's

and a \$35,000 check from the Nixon for Governor finance committee.

At the same time the Committee was issuing blustering denials of any connection to the Republican Party, the trial judge later found: "All statements for the work performed by the defendants Joseph Robinson and Robinson and Co. (the printers of the questionnaire) for and on behalf of the defendant committee were sent for payment to H. Robert Haldeman, campaign manager of the Nixon for Gover-

Haldeman approved the plan and project as described above and agreed that the Nixon campaign committee would then finance the project...Mr. Nixon felt this poll would be very important."

So important that all told the Finance Committee spent over \$70,000 on it, the largest single expenditure in his campaign. The chairman of the finance committee was Maurice Stans, later Secretary of Commerce and chairman of Nixon's Finance Committee to Reelect the President in 1972. He controlled the

establish a few points for the record. They abided by the rules of the game and did not press criminal charges—which could have been brought against Nixon.

This was because they were up to the same tricks. At one point in 1962, a group of Democrats was passing out leaflets in Watts quoting phony anti-Negro statements by Nixon while another was passing out just the opposite material in conservative white areas.

In 1972, when much of the facts about Watergate had already surfaced before the election, the 1962 incident was completely buried even though the entire Democratic Party leadership was aware of it. They did not bring it up because it was such a clear precedent for Watergate and would have pointed the finger straight at Nixon.

It is clear from the 1962 campaign that Haldeman always carried out his dirty work in the closest consultation with Nixon. The implications for Watergate are obvious.

The Democrats fear the full exposure of Nixon's role in Watergate as much as Nixon because it would undermine the ability of the two capitalist parties to run the government. Like Nixon, they want a strong president able to do the will of big business in carrying out attacks on the working class.

Nixon and his political henchmen have always had nothing but contempt for the forms of capitalist democracy. Watergate was prepared by a whole history of sabotage, lies, red-baiting, and illegal activities going back to the 1940s.

The capitalist press now rakes up this history in order to cover up the fact that Watergate is a crisis of the whole political system, not just of Nixon. True, Nixon's personal characteristics made him the perfect man for a Watergate. But it was precisely these qualities that made him the choice of the big bankers and industrialists to run the government.

Forced by the economic crisis to take on a working class they desperately fear, the big money men required a vicious anti-communist, hater of the labor movement, without any scruples about methods. It is a measure of the capitalists' own bankruptcy that they have been forced to resort to such an agent.

#### TRAINED

And it is no accident that the man they chose to attempt the role of a Bonapartist dictator was trained in the political arena of Southern California. Los Angeles is the area where the contradictions of capitalism, which were sharpened, not lessened, by the boom of the 1950s, are most clearly expressed.

Side by side are the most rapid growth of industry and of the labor movement, and the most fanatical open shop employers, led by the Los Angeles Times. Every sort of financial crank and swindler thrives in the "sky's the limit" atmosphere. Los Angeles was the center of the billion dollar Equity Funding collapse.

Every kind of right-wing, fascist, and anti-labor group has roots here, and for years politics has been a jungle of red-baiting and smear campaigns. At one time three members of the John Birch Society were members of the House from the area.

Next week the Bulletin will probe further into Nixon's political career in Southern California and his original rise to office in the 1940s.

TO BE CONTINUED

## The Nixon School Of Dirty Tricks



Nixon-Eisenhower cabal in 1960.

members were busily organizing Democrats for Nixon clubs, this apparently was not too much of a sacrifice.

Apart from their direct mailing to Democrats under false pretences, the Committee also tried to give the impression that a big swing to Nixon was developing by publishing results of their phony poll. Just as Nixon aides did last year in engineering fake responses to the polls over the mining of Haiphong Harbor, in 1962 they created public opinion in a back room.

After getting a few "representative" returns from carefully selected conservative Democrats, the Committee announced overwhelming opinion against the CDC. A press release claimed that "the most important opinion poll in American history" had revealed a virtual repudiation of Governor Brown by rank and file Democrats.

The Democratic Party immediately sued the Committee for unauthorized use of the party name and obtained an injunction against the mailing of more questionnaires or the publishing of results.

William Marlin, executive secretary of the Committee, denounced the Democrats for "political censorship" and issued still another press release claiming "financial support has been pouring in from all over the state. The voice of the rank and file Democrat is now being heard."

\$35,000

The financial support that was "pouring in" amounted to \$368.50 from rank and file Democrats—

nor Campaign Committee."

Litigation on the case continued for two years after the election. A number of top Republican officials gave sworn depositions which are still secret, ten years later. Among these were Haldeman and Caspar Weinberger, then Republican state central committee chairman, now Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Nixon's chief budget cutter.

In these statements the Republicans admitted that the entire scheme to set up the phony organization and take a poll had been cooked up by Haldeman and Leone Baxter of the Whitaker and Baxter political campaign consultants to keep the CDC issue alive.

Baxter designed the questionnaire under Haldeman's guidance and hired Robinson and Company, a San Francisco firm, to handle the printing and mailing.

Nixon himself was involved in every step of the establishing of the phony committee, the design of the questionnaire, and the massive and fraudulent publicity about the results of the poll.

#### APPROVED

According to the decision of the judge, "This poll was reviewed, amended and finally approved by Mr. Nixon personally in the form attached hereto as Exhibit A (the questionnaire)...Nowhere in Exhibit A or letter mailed by defendant Committee was it stated that the defendant Committee and its mailing of Exhibit A were supported and financed by the Nixon for Governor Finance Committee. Mr. Nixon and Mr.

secret cash fund used to pay the Watergate conspirators. He is now under indictment in New York for accepting an illegal \$200,000 cash contribution from financial wheeler-dealer Robert Vesco which went to the secret fund.

Two other Nixon men tied up in Watergate were involved in the 1962 case. Herbert Kalmbach was an aide to Haldeman in that campaign. In 1972, as Nixon's personal lawyer, he served as a courier bringing the payoffs to the captured Watergate burglars which were supposed to buy their silence.

Ron Ziegler, who as Nixon's press secretary, has spent the last year denying all connection between the White House and Watergate, broke in as a campaign press agent in 1962.

Nixon agents were at work in 1962 with even cruder tactics. A pamphlet called "California Dynasty of Communism" (CDC of course), written by Karl Prussion, a self-proclaimed "FBI counterspy within the Communist conspiracy," was circulated to denounce then state controller Alan Cranston, now a US Senator, as a Communist sympathizer. In the pamphlet a picture of Governor Brown cooing over a young polio victim was printed with the child cropped out and a bogus quotation added of Brown expressing his great love for Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

The Democrats also went to court to bar distribution of this pack of slanders. But in both these cases and others like them, the Democrats were content to get temporary injunctions and



# Police Gun Down San Jose Worker

BY JAMES BREWER

SAN JOSE—The killing of Henry Dillard, a 30 year old Black factory worker, is the latest in a chain of murders by San Jose police. Conditions on the East Side will be impossible this summer, and the police are preparing to use terror tactics on the widest scale to beat back any resistance.

A witness to Dillard's shooting told the **Bulletin**: "It was senseless. They had 14 cars blocking the streets off. The police were all excited, shooting all over the street. If it were two hours earlier, when all the kids were walking around, they could have been shot. I stepped out my front door, and this cop told me 'Get your butt back in the house before it gets shot off.' They were all trigger happy."

The police claimed they came to Dillard's house because neighbors complained of gunshots being fired. One neighbor said she did not hear anything except his tape deck which was playing loudly in his car while young people danced to the music in the street. Dillard was described by everyone as quiet and perfectly normal.

## GUNFIGHT

When the police arrived a gunfight began which left Dillard's house riddled with bullets. Dillard was not hurt, however, and managed to escape, commandeering a passing car, and flee to a nearby friend's house. There the police caught him in an ambush. An eyewitness claimed that when Dillard got out of the car and saw he was trapped, he threw his gun down. Police then opened

fire.

One young worker who viewed Dillard's body in the morgue told the **Bulletin** that in addition to the shotgun blast that first brought him down there were at least two dozen bullet holes from police revolvers.

To carry out this savage assault the police flooded the whole area in what was clearly a military training exercise. Dillard's next door neighbor said, "I've lived in the South all my life, and I never did see anything like this. Those policemen were marching up and down the street like soldiers, with their rifles slung over their shoulders."

Only a month before, a San Jose patrolman pulled a Black man over in his car and shot him to death. Police said his gun fired accidentally. There have been several similar incidents.

Dillard's body was left lying on a lawn for more than three hours while the police waited, hoping to provoke an all-out massacre of East Side youth.

More than 300 people attended Dillard's funeral, most of them youth. Most expressed a tremendous frustration and desire to hit back. This determination can only be taken forward through the construction of the Young Socialists as a mass movement on the East Side.

# Mt. Diablo Teachers On Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CONCORD, Calif.—Most of the 2200 teachers in the Mt. Diablo school district are on strike against the School Board's offer of a 1.7

percent wage increase. The Board has rejected the teachers' demand of 6.7 percent on the grounds it has run a deficit the last two years.

Over a thousand teachers

# Carpenters Council Accepts Nixon Pay Cut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee has cut the May 1 increase due the 80,000 carpenters in Southern California from 85 cents to 55 cents. The 85 cents was due as the last year increase of a 5 year contract negotiated in 1968.

The cut took place with the complete cooperation of the Los Angeles District Council of Carpenters. Accepting the legitimacy of Nixon's wage controls, William Sidell, General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and Gordon McCullough, head of the District Council, operated with the strategy of "negotiating for as much money as

possible."

In the May 22 meeting of Local 25, downtown Los Angeles, the executive board gave its recommendation to vote in favor of accepting the cut and sabotaging the fight for an alternative, tabling and ruling out of order all opposition motions. The motion to accept the cut passed by a voice vote. Many of the members walked out of the meeting in disgust before the vote.

A motion sent to the executive board by a supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calling for strike action and the convening of a Congress of Labor to remove Nixon from office was not even read as required. Another motion introduced by the Rank and File Committee for a one day protest work stoppage was ruled out of order and prevented from coming to a vote.

Expressing the mood of many members present, one carpenter stated: "I'm sick and tired of Kenny Scott ruling out of order and accusing of disruption anybody who does not agree with his program."



Watts Young Socialists leaving California for First National Conference in New York.

# San Diego Mayor Bans City Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—Over 5000 city employees here are being threatened with the loss of their jobs if they go on strike. Mayor Pete Wilson has brazenly stated that, in the event of a strike, a letter will be sent to all full time workers informing them that they may consider themselves terminated, and that they will be replaced with applicants who are on extensive waiting lists.

In other words, the hundreds of persons who have been working for the city under federally financed

programs which are being phased out for lack of funds, such as the Public Employment Program (PEP) and Model Cities, as well as the more than 1000 county workers who will soon be out of work, plus those people on the regular waiting list, are to be used as scabs and strike-breakers.

Both the Municipal Employees Association (MEA) and Local 127 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, who represent the majority of the city employees, have rejected the city's latest pay offer of about a 4.4 percent increase.

For weeks now, Local 127 has threatened a strike against the city if union demands for pay raises of at least 10 percent are not met. Now however, although the membership of Local 127 has overwhelmingly voted to strike for wage increases, the union leadership is doing everything possible to back away from a walkout.

## ROTTEN

They are offering to compromise with the city if the City Council approves the "memorandum of understanding" recently worked out by union and city negotiators. This rotten agreement, if adopted, would only serve to further weaken Local 127's bargaining power. The agreement includes a "no strike" clause and a provision for "advisory" arbitration for settling disputes.

But union officials, hailing this as a great victory, now say they will call a strike if the City Council does not approve this sellout agreement. No mention is now

made of the dispute over pay raises.

Last month the city circulated a bulletin to supervisors in City Hall in which it declared:

"In California, the law regarding strikes by public employees is, 'A public employee has NO right to strike.' The only exception is where the governing body has passed an authorizing statute permitting employees to strike."

The bulletin did not cite an authority or law banning public employees strikes. The state's labor codes do not authorize or prohibit strikes by public employees. However, the bulletin noted four court cases in which judges ruled that since state law does not specifically grant public employees the right to strike, such strikes are illegal.

At the same time, the council unanimously approved a resolution asking county supervisors, councils in the other 12 cities of the county "and other major governmental agencies and private industry to take note" of its controversial inflation fighting pay policy.

The city administration's complete hostility and willingness to challenge the workers at this point is clearly revealed in the statement made by one of the councilmen that San Diego's climate will make up for any lag in salaries.

Since the union leadership will not take up the necessary fight for wage increases to meet inflation, a new leadership must be developed around the understanding that this is a political fight that necessitates strike action, backed up by the AFL-CIO and all labor in San Diego, and the call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

Phone: 824-4096



Fifty delegates from the California American Federation of Teachers vote to convene a Congress of Labor.

## Teachers Support Congress Of Labor

BY IRVING HALL

LOS ANGELES—At least a quarter of the delegates at the annual convention of the California Federation of Teachers here last weekend voted in favor of a resolution in support of an emergency Congress of Labor to bring together the organized and unorganized working class, repudiate all labor ties with both the Democratic and Republican Parties, and begin a wage offensive and general strike action to smash Phase Three.

The 50 delegates voting for this motion clearly favored the original version which called in addition for the building of a labor party. This motion was passed unanimously by Oakland Local 771 and was introduced at the convention by a supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party from that local.

The call for a labor party was deleted from the resolution in a subcommittee meeting on the motion of a supporter of Progressive Labor Party, who provided desperately needed assistance to the CFT leadership.

The resolution was a repudiation of the central political strategy of the current leadership which is to rely on "Young Turk" Democratic legislators in Sacramento. The convention was orchestrated to that strategy from the keynote address of Democratic State Senator George Moscone, who made a speech boosting his own candidacy for governor.

The union leadership delayed discussion of the resolution to the last 40 minutes of the convention and then tried to have it tabled or referred to the executive board. A majority of delegates voted against the leadership and insisted on hearing the resolution and voting on it.

The leadership's tactics confirmed the suspicions of dozens of delegates who earlier expressed support for a labor party but doubted the leadership's willingness to have it openly discussed at the convention.

Every other political tendency backed up the leadership's opposition to taking up political questions. "There has been a complete lack at this convention

of any discussion of Nixon's moves to crush the labor movement, Watergate, or the economic crisis," declared a delegate from Local 771, in support of the Congress of Labor resolution.

The only tendency beside the TUALP which even actively participated in the convention was the International Socialists, who shared the reformist perspective of the present leadership. They opposed an amendment offered by the TUALP to demand that Nixon and Agnew resign and the AFL-CIO declare the elections void by reason of wholesale electoral fraud.

According to IS, "Watergate confuses the labor party issue," and, "We don't want the bureaucrats to build a labor party," and, "The labor party won't be built very soon anyway."

Although IS sees the labor party as only an "agitational point" and not as a vital necessity for the working class, they were forced to give it formal support because of the fight waged by TUALP.

Despite their forces, almost a dozen delegates, their role was to put radical obstacles in the path of the labor party fight, calling for "mass rallies" to "pressure" the state legislature. They seek to provide a left cover for the liberal leadership. This support will be a crucial prop in the coming year, as IS managed to elect one supporter as a vice president of the state federation.

Teachers are in a particularly good position to understand the need for a political fight by the unions.

### LEAD

All across the country they have been forced to take the lead in fighting the government and

breaking the law in strikes for wage increases, against cutbacks in educational funds, and against the constant deterioration of public education. Other trade unionists will be learning these lessons very soon, as leaders like I.W. Abel of the steel workers try to sign away the right to strike.

The Workers League literature table gained a great response. Over 100 copies of the *Bulletin*, 20 subscriptions and \$50 in literature were sold, and a big mailing list built up.

The real support for a Congress of Labor and a labor party from the teachers here has laid the basis for the emergence of a state-wide caucus based on the program of the TUALP and the sharpest fight against all those forces that seek to hold back the development of a labor party and the fight of the working class for power.

## Newton Endorses Cop For Mayor

BY DENNIS BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Just two weeks before the runoff for mayor of Los Angeles, Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party gave his endorsement to Tom Bradley, a twenty-one year veteran of the Los Angeles Police Department.

Newton made the statement at a press conference in a plush residence in the exclusive Tursdale Estates in Beverly Hills. He said, "We the Black Panther Party support Bradley and are sure he will enjoy a great victory."

For the tens of thousands of youth and workers in Los Angeles who face conditions worse than those that led to the 1965 Watts rebellion, a victory for Bradley or for Sam Yorty is

anything but a victory for them.

The whole campaign by Yorty and Bradley has been based on "law and order," each claiming to be a bigger supporter of the law and the police. Bradley has proudly paraded his credentials as a policeman, with the rank of lieutenant at the time of his retirement.

### RACISM

Yorty has used vitriolic racism and anti-communism, on a scale not seen since Richard Nixon's campaigns of the forties and fifties, trying at every point to tie Bradley to the Communist Party, Gus Hall, and Black militants. Bradley has denied all these charges, claiming he is as anti-communist and anti-militant as Yorty.

For this reason, Bradley rejected Huey Newton's endorsement, claiming it was "a desperate stunt by Yorty because he was trailing so badly in the polls. He stated, "I did not seek, do not want, and I reject the endorsement." He went on to say that Newton had in the past supported a philosophy of violence. "I have always been opposed to such a philosophy," he said.

Bradley does not oppose the violence of the police in areas such as Watts. During the riots, Bradley supported the actions of the police and national guard in murdering Black workers and youth. When the police launched raids and several all-out battles against Panther headquarters several years ago, Bradley kept silent as Yorty led the cheering.

## Editorial

### Labor Bureaucrats Scuttle Right To Strike

The more the crisis of the Nixon government is exposed and the more urgent it becomes for the labor movement to act to remove this government and construct a labor party as an alternative, the more abject is the betrayal of the labor bureaucracy.

Leading trade union bureaucrats will meet in San Francisco June 7 and 8 to demonstrate their willingness to surrender the right to strike and pave the way for a corporate state.

A two day forum sponsored by the Institute for Collective Bargaining and Group Relations of New York will have as its sole topic "Is the Strike Outmoded?"

Among the labor bureaucrats who will be on the panel of "experts" are Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO National Secretary-Treasurer; I.W. Abel, President of the United Steel Workers of America; Matthew Guinan, transport workers; Albert Shanker, teachers; Morris Weisberger, sailors; and John Henning, California state AFL-CIO chief.

Abel recently signed a five year no-strike contract with the steel bosses in return for a piddling three percent wage offer. This contract has been hailed by all the bureaucrats led by George Meany as a model settlement. The purpose of the forum is to prepare the way for a whole host of union officials to follow Abel's lead.

Meeting with the union leaders will be officials of the most vicious labor-hating corporations and Nixon's own hatchet men. These include: John Dunlop, head of the wage-cutting Cost of Living Council; W.J. Usery, head of federal mediation; prominent labor mediators Theodore Kheel, Sam Kagel, and Ronald Haughton; James Hodgson, former Nixon Secretary of Labor and personnel director for Lockheed; and Virgil Day, vice president for personnel of General Electric.

The union leaders at this conference will be conspiring to hand over the very rights that built the unions. Every single one of these bureaucrats owes his comfortable position to the struggles of the working class in the great strikes of the 1930s and 1940s.

The press release for the forum arrogantly states: "Out of this forum may conceivably come the beginning of the biggest change in labor relations since the Wagner Act of 1935. If the discussion leaders can show that strikes are not necessary, it is certain the findings will be carried across the nation."

The labor bureaucrats exaggerate their own strength. It is one thing for a few dozen bureaucrats in a room to agree that strikes are too disturbing to their peace of mind; it is another to make millions of workers give up their trade union rights.

This mass repudiation of the bureaucracy must be taken forward through the construction of an alternative leadership around the program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, for a Congress of Labor to force Nixon to resign and to build a labor party.



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Meeting with the union leaders will be officials of the most vicious labor-hating corporations and Nixon's own hatchet men. These include: John Dunlop, head of the wage-cutting Cost of Living Council; W.J. Usery, head of federal mediation; prominent labor mediators Theodore Kheel, Sam Kagel, and Ronald Haughton; James Hodgson, former Nixon Secretary of Labor and personnel director for Lockheed; and Virgil Day, vice president for personnel of General Electric.

The union leaders at this conference will be conspiring to hand over the very rights that built the unions. Every single one of these bureaucrats owes his comfortable position to the struggles of the working class in the great strikes of the 1930s and 1940s.

The press release for the forum arrogantly states: "Out of this forum may conceivably come the beginning of the biggest change in labor relations since the Wagner Act of 1935. If the discussion leaders can show that strikes are not necessary, it is certain the findings will be carried across the nation."

The labor bureaucrats exaggerate their own strength. It is one thing for a few dozen bureaucrats in a room to agree that strikes are too disturbing to their peace of mind; it is another to make millions of workers give up their trade union rights.

This mass repudiation of the bureaucracy must be taken forward through the construction of an alternative leadership around the program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, for a Congress of Labor to force Nixon to resign and to build a labor party.