

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWENTY NINE 304

JULY 23, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

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FIFTEEN CENTS

Unions Must Call Congress Of Labor

PRICES OUT OF CONTROL

BY A REPORTER

Nixon's Phase Four is an unprecedented attack on every worker's standard of living. Virtually all controls have been lifted on prices while wages remain frozen at the 5.5 percent limit.

Under the terms of Phase Four, food prices are to be allowed to rise without any limits. After September 12, the current controls on beef prices will be lifted. As of August 12, corporations will be able to raise the prices of their products with the prior consent of the Cost of Living Council.

Nixon has launched this assault—which has the effect of wage cutting—on the trade unions in the midst of the greatest economic and political crisis in postwar history. Under conditions of uncontrollable inflation and the Watergate scandal, Nixon has moved to drive down the basic rights and living standards of the working class.

The AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters must immediately call a Congress of Labor to mobilize the working class politically against this Government. This Congress must construct a labor party as the alternative of the working class to Nixon and his attempts to force the crisis onto the back of the trade unions.

At the same time, the Congress of Labor must rally the entire workers' movement behind a fight to smash the controls and win big wage increases with full cost of living. This means that the Congress of Labor must pledge full support to the struggle of the UAW for a 20 percent wage increase and must prepare a struggle in every union for increases which meet the wild inflation.



On strike since July 13, members of Local 2 of the International Union of Operating Engineers at St. Louis University have had no wage increase in two years. With inflation at 25 percent, the dispute centers around wages.

Nixon Defiance Of Senate Sharpens Constitutional Crisis

BY THE EDITORS

Nixon's arrogant rejection of the Senate Watergate committee request to hear tape recordings he made of conversations with former White House counsel John Dean and other principals in the Watergate conspiracy has brought the Constitutional confrontation between Nixon and the Congress to the breaking point.

Nixon's formulation of the "doctrine of executive privilege" is designed, not only to conceal incriminating evidence in the Watergate case, but to free himself from any kind of restraints placed upon his actions by Congress.

Basing himself on the ambiguities

contained within the Constitution itself concerning the "separation of powers" between the legislative and executive branches of government, Nixon is determined to destroy the power of Congress to "check and balance" the executive and in particular, the Senate's power—very clearly stated in the Constitution—to "advise and consent" and review all the actions of the President.

Determined to stay in office at any cost, Nixon is bent on assuming virtually dictatorial powers, making the gulf between the two branches of government absolute and establishing his own supremacy over the operation of the government—not only as the

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500 Massacred In Mozambique

BY MELODY FARROW

Roman Catholic missionaries who have fled Mozambique, a country on the Southeast coast of Africa, report that Portuguese troops brutally massacred innocent Mozambique villagers.

The Portuguese government of Marcello Caetano has been battling to maintain white supremacist control over three African countries, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, launched in 1964, has been increasingly successful in pushing back the Portuguese Army.

On July 11, the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* published the eyewitness account of the massacre of men, women and children in the village of Wiriyano on December 16, 1972. The name of the witness could not be revealed for fear of reprisals against his family. His statement is as follows:

"The afternoon of December 16, 1972, I was at the San Pedro mission in Tete after a series of bombardments which filled the population with terror; that day helicopters made a foray into the area. With the scenes of looting there were scenes of sadism and butchery which cost the lives of 400 to 500 people. A list of 137 victims was made up with their names, ages and sex.

"A detachment of soldiers forced about 100 people to enter a courtyard forming two groups that they made sit on the ground, men on one side and women on the other, placing them in such a way that the people in one group could see the others fall to the ground, mortally wounded. They were called one by one before being assassinated in cold blood. Numerous infants on their mothers' backs were killed.

"Another group of soldiers amused themselves by shutting people up in their huts and setting fire to it. We know the identity of 34 people, including women, children and even a month old infant who were burned alive."

CHILDREN

He also related incidents in which small children were flung against walls, smashing their heads in, and the slaughter of a pregnant woman and her unborn child.

These massacres, far from being "excesses," are a conscious

strategy by the Portuguese government to terrorize the Mozambique people in order to isolate and liquidate Frelimo. Last year, General Kaulza de Arriaga, commander of the Portuguese forces, was given a last chance by the Lisbon regime to wipe out the nationalist rebellion within two years. Arriaga's six months are now up and Frelimo is stronger than ever, controlling over 25 percent of the territory.

The Portuguese government, now desperate over losing control of its few remaining colonies has decided to murder most of the population if necessary.

The reactionary Caetano regime would be unable to pursue this war without the aid of two critical allies, first the Catholic Church and second, all of the major capitalist countries, foremost the United States.

By far the most important support has come from the United States government. Nixon and every President before him are directly responsible for the massacre.

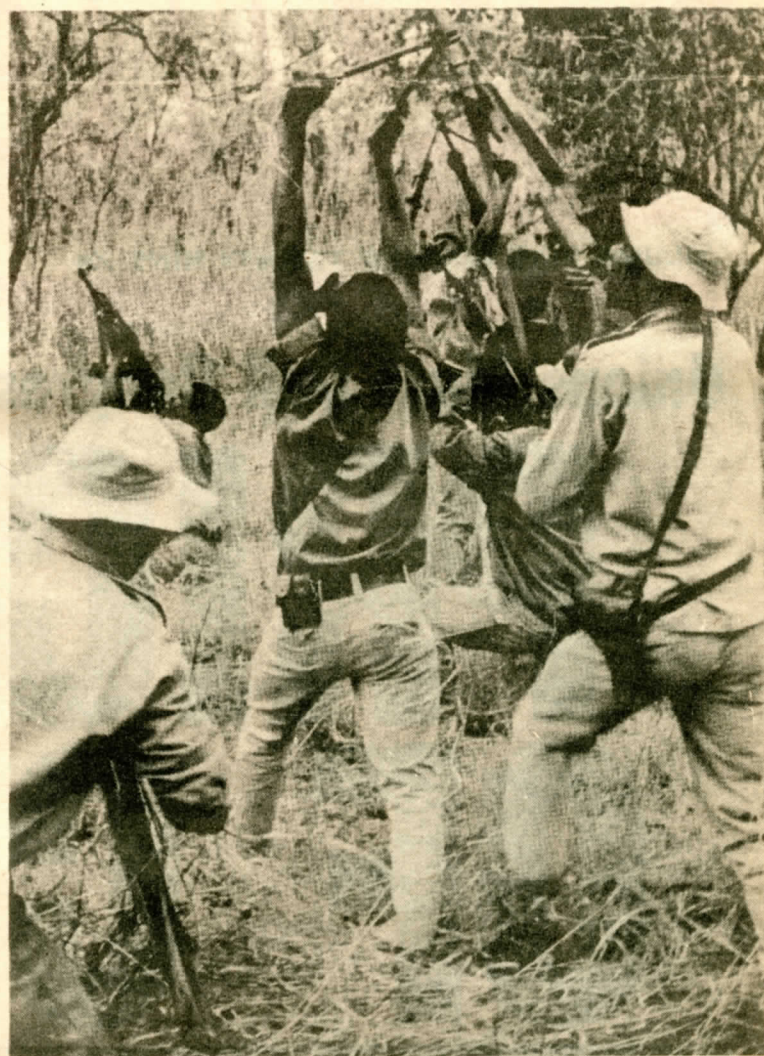
Economically weak and backward, Portugal has relied on the US for huge supplies of guns, trucks, bombs, planes, heli-

copters and napalm. At the end of 1971 the US gave Portugal over \$438 million in aid. Portuguese officers were flown to the United States for special training in fighting guerrilla forces.

This aid has enabled Portugal to keep the Mozambique people in virtual slavery. They are forced to work on Portuguese plantations at starvation wages, picking cotton for Portugal's textile industry. The men are 'rented' out to South Africa, another close ally, to slave in the mines.

The brutal slaughter in Mozambique, like the Mylai massacres in Vietnam, reveal the real face of the capitalist system and what it is prepared to do to maintain imperialism in every part of the globe.

Mozambique is a warning to every worker in the United States. If the US government can knowingly supply arms to aid in the murder of thousands of people in Africa what methods will they use to protect their interests against the working class here? It reveals that Mylai, far from being an isolated incident, is part of US imperialist policy in crushing any opposition to its domination.



Guerrillas in Mozambique warding off helicopters with small arms.

Stalinists End Uruguay Strike

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The National Confederation of Workers (CNT) of Uruguay called off their two week general strike against the military coup d'etat of Juan Bordaberry on July 12, and ordered their members to return to work.

The decision of the Stalinist-controlled labor federation was immediately opposed by many rank and file workers. One construction worker said: "We were getting organized and were ready to hold out." Despite overwhelming opposition, the workers who were unprepared for this open betrayal were forced to go back.

Behind the capitulation of the CNT to the military at the very moment when every attempt by Bordaberry to end the strike had

failed, are the policies of Stalinism. The Communist Party leadership deliberately stabbed the workers in the back, preferring to accept the military dictatorship rather than lead a struggle for power.

A CNT communique called for "peaceful resistance" and stated: "The battle must continue but it is necessary to change the form of struggle."

Bordaberry seized power on June 27, outlawed all political parties, dissolved Congress and banned the 500,000 strong CNT. Efforts to end the strike by forcing workers back at gunpoint and threatening to fire or draft strikers only increased their determination.

The CNT called off the strike just when the regime itself was beginning to crumble and split apart. Thousands of workers and youth had begun to openly

demonstrate in Montevideo while ministers in panic were resigning from the government. Bordaberry was desperately preparing for mass arrests of workers and university students. There was no sign that the strike wave was weakening.

The abandonment of the struggle will open the way for a massive roundup of working class militants and ruthless repression against all those opposed to the regime. Interior Minister Nestor Bolentini arrogantly declared that the dissolution of the CNT is "irreversible" and called for a new labor organization that does not meddle in politics.

Neighborhood councils to include handpicked supporters of the regime, are being established to replace the elected municipal councils. The new Minister of Education's first ac-

tion will be to ban the teaching of Marx and Engels in the universities. A sports stadium in Montevideo has been converted into a huge prison and already holds 500 people. The head of the Resistance Front (Liber Seregni), a coalition of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Christian Democrats and sections of the Blanco and Colorado parties, has been arrested.

As the bitter events in Bolivia in 1970 and now Uruguay show, the Stalinists play an openly counter-revolutionary role in giving capitalism a new lease on life at the point when the working class can overthrow it.

After grudgingly backing the general strike, the Stalinists in the Broad Front coalition supported an alliance with the Blanco Party, a capitalist party backed by sections of the military. Their joint statement calling for new elections and a new provisional government invited the military to join.

The Stalinists went even further and joined discussions with a fraction of Bordaberry's own Colorado Party led by Jorge Battle with the aim of convincing the armed forces to depose Bordaberry. From the beginning the Stalinist leaders used the strike as a lever of pressure to back one section of the capitalists and army against another.

The guerrilla adventurist road of the Tupamaros, who played no role in the general strike and allowed Stalinism to dominate the labor movement, have been exposed as bankrupt.

The end of the general strike does not mean that Uruguayan workers will accept this betrayal. To go forward now will mean the construction of a Trotskyist leadership that can expose Stalinism and mobilize workers independently of the capitalists for power.



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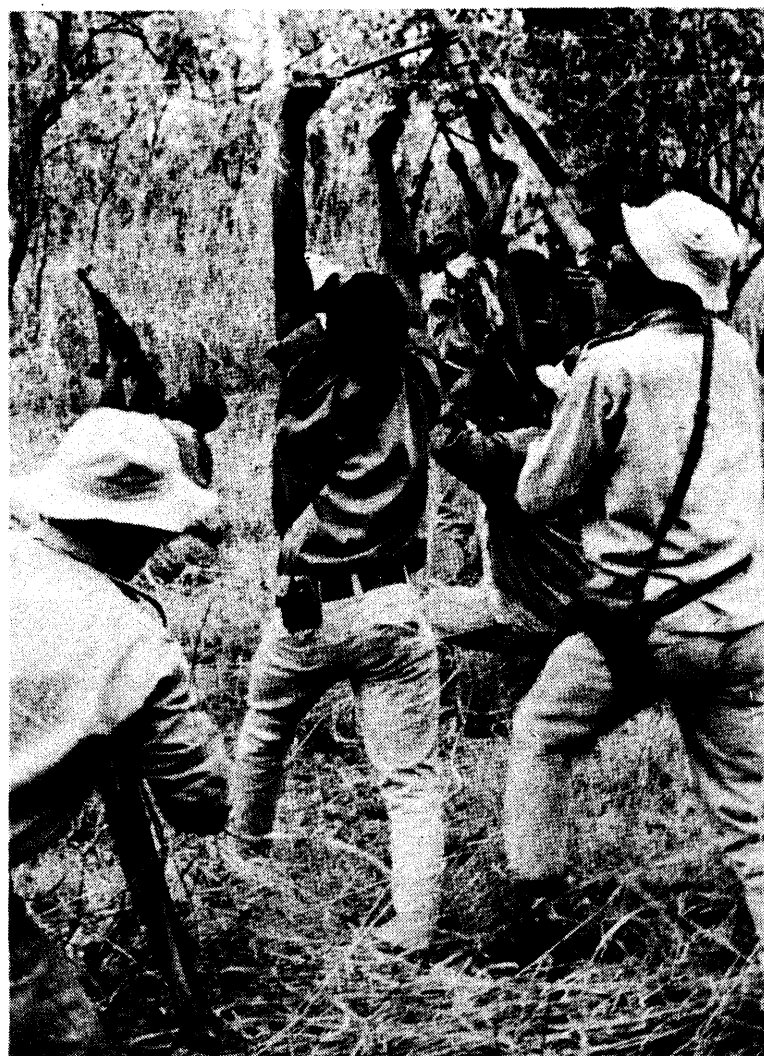
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Dollar Devaluation Heats Up Trade War

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The cancellation of an \$80 million order for French aircraft by Sabena Airlines in favor of cheaper American planes is a sharp expression of the bitter trade rivalries which are beginning to split the capitalist world as the dollar continues to fall on international currency markets despite attempts by central bankers in Europe to save it.

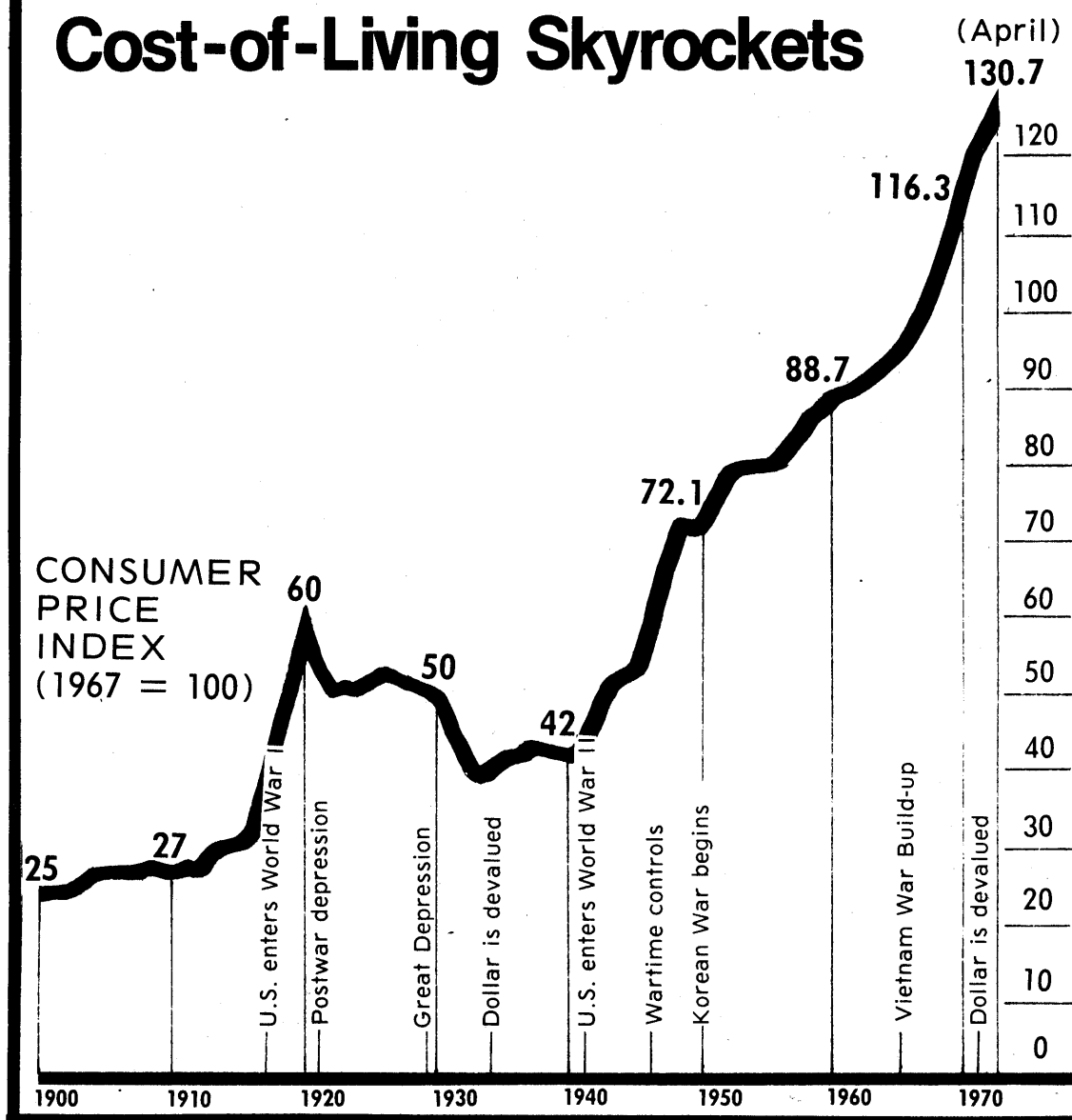
At the same time, recession has already set in within the US economy, with actual downturns in retail sales, steel production and production for the consumer market, driving the American export campaign forward.

All of the monetary and credit arrangements arising from the 1944 Bretton Woods agreements and based on the convertibility of the dollar into gold are now in the final stages of disintegration, and a deep rift has developed between Europe and America, as well as between America and Japan.

The Eurofloat is all but finished, and with it the Common Market. While the European

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Cost-of-Living Skyrockets



The cost of living in the last 73 years has quintupled and since 1955 has shot upward without a decline.

Big Banks Sell 'Hot' Securities

BY A REPORTER

WASHINGTON—Just months after the collapse of Equity Funding, Wall Street is being shaken by the most sensational and far-reaching series of scandals in history.

In addition to a series of fraud charges against individual brokers and companies, witnesses testifying before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations have revealed that the most respected banks and brokerage firms in the world have collaborated with organized crime to help finance the credit explosion of the last two years through outright fraud.

Witnesses have revealed that as much as \$50 billion in stolen and counterfeit securities are now in circulation, propping up a much larger mountain of credit and representing a sizable chunk of the capitalist world's financial resources.

Former mobster Gerald Zelmanowitz, whose testimony in 1970 helped send Mafia chief-tain Angelo DeCarlo to jail, told Senators he bribed Internal Revenue Service agents and cooperated with some of the biggest banks and brokerage houses in the United States and Europe to "launder" stolen and counterfeit securities and put them back into circulation as new capital.

HELP

"Organized crime elements could not function without the help of commercial banks and stock brokers in the United States and their counterparts overseas," Zelmanowitz said.

Among those banks and brokers named by DeCarlo as participating in the multibillion dollar securities fraud are: the Chase Manhattan Bank; First National City Bank; Hayden, Stone, Bache & Company; Eastman, Dillon, Union Securities; Sterling Grace; P. DePosson de Cherisey of Brussels; Societe Bancaire de Geneve and Societe Financiere Mirelis, SA, also of Geneva.

According to Zelmanowitz, Mirelis provided "vast sums of money" to aid the securities racket, while banks in Basel, Geneva and Lausanne, Switzerland, as well as banks and brokers in Belgium "were necessary for our manipulations."

EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY

He told Senators how he created foreign bank accounts for various Mafia figures, including Joseph Colombo and DeCarlo, who is now free because of the executive clemency order issued by Nixon.

In addition, he told of opening Swiss bank accounts for two former assistant US attorneys, who now represent Mafia men Gerald Ca'ena and Sam Decavalcante for a conduit for investment of organized crime money...in legitimate business in the United States."

The Senate Subcommittee has so far barely gotten beneath the surface. As the credit and monetary relations of the boom collapse, all of the fraudulent moneymaking schemes used to prop up individual companies and the entire system itself will stand exposed.

Major Meat Packing Plants Begin Closure

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA—Millions of American workers face the possibility of widespread meat shortages, rationing, runaway price increases and black market conditions in the coming months as farmers restrict supplies and major meat packers begin closing down their plants.

Penn Packing Company, one of the largest slaughter houses east of the Mississippi, closed its plant in Philadelphia in early July, claiming it could no longer make a profit under the conditions of Nixon's price freeze.

This company produced over \$100 million in pork products annually and served over 20,000 stores from Boston to Washington. With its closure, 500 workers were laid off, and six stockyards in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri have been ordered closed.

A Penn Packing spokesman cited the rise in hog prices from a recent 31.5 cents per pound to a record 45 cents per pound and the price freeze which prevents the packing house from passing on its higher costs in the form of higher prices to retailers.

He predicted hog prices will top the unheard of level of 50 cents per pound in the near future and said the company will not reopen unless it can raise its prices by at least 16 percent, literally taking meat off the tables of millions of workers.

SHUT DOWN

Penn Packing is one of numerous meat packing companies which have either shut down already or are considering closing. Its closure was preceded by the shutdown of Klayman and Company, another large Philadelphia packing house and at least 16 others across the country. Major meat packing companies like Armour and

Wilson are reported to be preparing to shut down their operations.

The cutbacks have so far thrown 10,000 packinghouse workers out of a job, while another 5000 are being forced to work reduced hours, according to Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Combined with the price freeze, which has forced meat packers and retailers into a profits squeeze, there are other factors which spell serious shortages in the coming period.

While beef production is expected to rise—at best—only one or two percent in the next year, pork production is fully 20 percent below that of 1971, when overproduction caused farmers to cut back.

Another factor is the enormous rise in animal feed prices caused by growing grain exports, shortages and wild

speculation on the commodities markets. Many animals are now being fattened on ordinary grass, which combined with the ban on the use of the DES growth stimulant for steers, is causing large reductions in production yields.

EXPORTS

The third important factor causing shortages and pushing up meat prices is the rapid growth of the export markets for US beef and other meat products, which until the devaluations of the dollar had been relatively small.

All this adds up to an increasingly difficult situation for workers trying to provide their families with an adequate diet.

This situation is a direct result of Nixon's decision to allow the value of the dollar to continue to fall against European currencies as a trade war weapon and to use runaway inflation at home as a bludgeon to drive down workers' living standards.

Investors Latch On To Silver Coins

BY A REPORTER

With the value of the dollar plummeting on the world's currency exchanges and the major stock exchanges in a slump, investors are anxious to hedge their capital against inflation and change their paper dollars for something of real value.

While some are dumping billions of paper dollars for gold, which is becoming increasingly scarce on the free

bullion markets as governments hoard it, others are pouring their dollars into other precious and non-precious metals and agricultural commodities.

The latest hot items for the investors and speculators seem to be pre-1965 US silver coins—sold in bags with a face value of \$1000—and jewelry.

Some 20 coin exchanges have sprung up in California in the past year to meet the demands of what has become a \$500 million a year business since the government lifted its ban on melting down silver coins in 1969.

With silver prices generally rising with gold, investors are provided with the potential for big profits, while the face value of the coins provides a floor for losses—providing a perfect hedge against inflation for the wealthy individual investor.

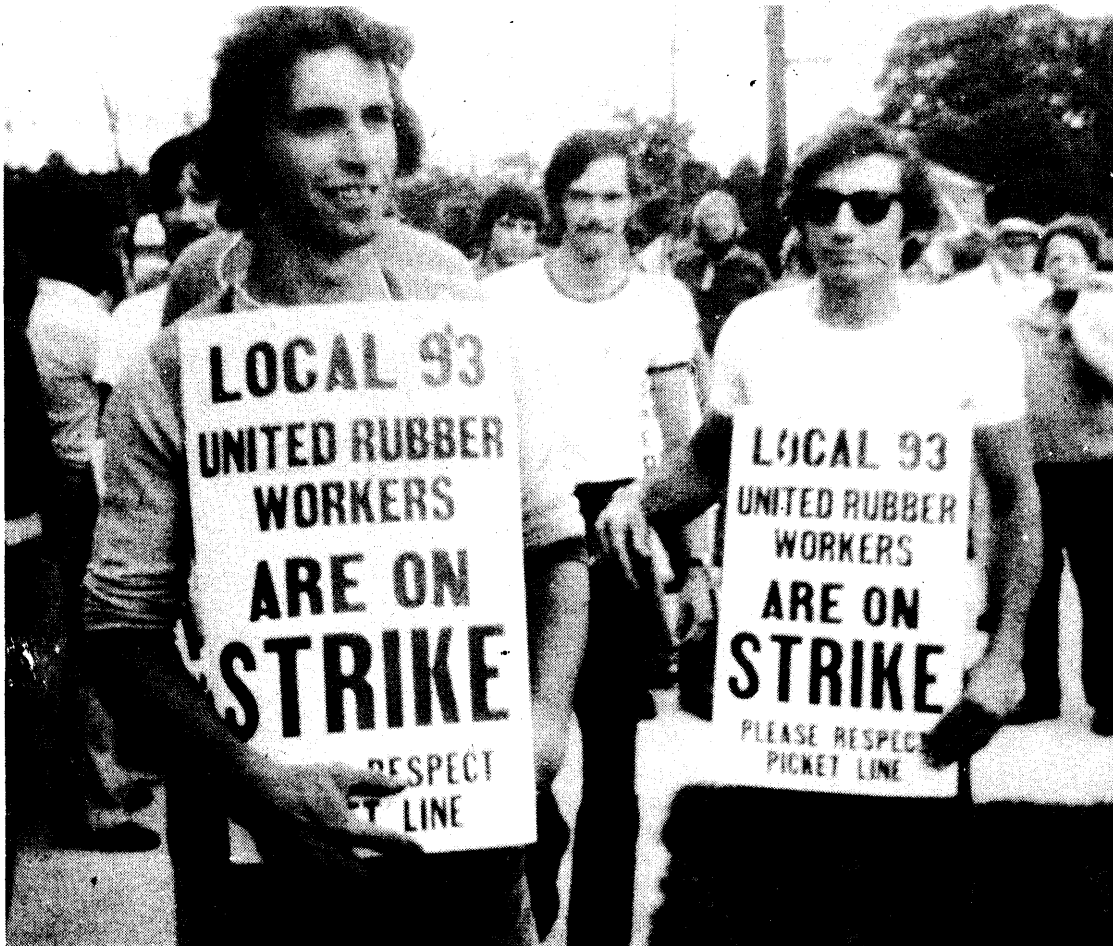
Bags of coins can be purchased on margin, with the coins themselves providing the collateral and the down payment representing the difference between the market and face values.

GEMS

Other investors are buying precious gems. Diamond prices, which are tightly controlled by

an international syndicate, rose 15 percent last year and are expected to increase as much as 40 percent in 1973.

"Business is fantastic," said Daniel P. Ryan of Van Cleef & Arpels in Beverly Hills. "We're selling fine stones of fine quality because they're gaining in value. They've done much better over the last 20 years than the stock market. We've had customers in the last couple of weeks—several of them—who want to invest over \$100,000 and they don't care whether it's one, two or three stones. We never used to sell stones unset, but we are now because there's a demand."



United Rubber Workers Local 93 last week shut down the Armstrong plant in West Haven, Conn., after management offered less than a 5.5 percent increase.

No Action On Postal Deadline

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK—As the strike deadline of July 20 approaches, the leadership of the Metro Area Postal Union, representing mail handlers and clerks, has refused to prepare the union for the strike and is keeping the membership in the dark. Virtually the entire MAPU membership is ready to walk out against the Postal Service's miserable contract offer.

Anger is mounting against the Postal Service's hiring of hundreds of casuals and part timers and the closing of the day tour at GC. The danger in the situation is that Biller will attempt to use his refusal to prepare for strike action to make a settlement behind the backs of the ranks. The ranks must prepare now for strike action and demand that the leadership call the union out on July 20.

Although the offer was approved by the national unions, represented by Rademacher for the Carriers and Filbey for the Handlers and Clerks in the American Postal Workers Union, a number of locals throughout the country have demanded their local leaderships call off all negotiations and strike July 20. Carrier locals in Madison, Wisconsin, Duluth, Minnesota and San Francisco, as well as the MAPU here, have demanded national strike action against Nixon and the Postal Service.

The postal union leadership recognizes full well the significance of a national postal strike in the face of an upcoming auto strike situation. Rademacher, Filbey and especially Biller—who presents himself as a "left" leader—are fearful of such a national confrontation against the government. Knowing full well that such a confrontation would mean the use of troops and pose the question of general strike action against the government, their role now is to keep the lid on, to save face, and to let Nixon off the hook.

The Bulletin interviewed a 60 year old clerk—an MAPU member—who told us frankly that: "As far as I'm concerned, you can't trust any of these leaders. Take Biller for instance. This man talks militant, says we can't get nothing less than what we need. What happens? The union has a mail ballot and half the members

don't get theirs. He doesn't tell us what to do next."

When questioned about the carrier and driver locals, he shook his head and replied: "I feel we can shut this city down

tight. Everyone is ready to walk out.

"Biller had no choice. I believe that if he told us to accept the offer we'd have killed him. But now I'm in the dark."

Puerto Rico Labor Rallies To Support Striking Unions

BY LUCIA RIVERA

PUERTO RICO—More than 70 trade unions participated in the biggest demonstration of the Puerto Rican labor movement in history July 11. The demonstration was called support of the striking electrical workers and firemen and in opposition to the action of Rafael Hernandez Colon, the Governor of Puerto Rico, who called out the National Guard against the strikers.

The strike of the electrical workers that started on Friday, July 6 ended abruptly on the evening of July 11 with a sellout to the strikers. The agreement was accepted by the leadership and the basic demands of the strikers for wage increases were not met.

Following this, a movement began among the ranks of the electrical workers' union (UTIER) to unseat union President Juan G. Marrero and continue the strike. The government had begun demobilizing the guardsmen, but immediately called them again to active duty. The sellout was ratified by the executive board of the union 11 to one in favor of the agreement and the strike ended.

The firemen are maintaining their strike. The president of the union, Melendez Borges, has said that they will continue their strike until all demands are met and until the National Guard is removed from the firehouse.

The courts have issued an order to arrest the strikers if they do not go back to work. The government has declared the positions of the nearly 1500 striking firemen vacant and has started hiring people. With the

severe unemployment situation in Puerto Rico, with nearly one-third of the labor force out of full time jobs, the government is using this to pit sections of unemployed workers against the strikers.

Every attempt is being made to whip up an anti-communist witch-hunt and frenzy against the unions. In Caguas, a demonstration organized by doctors and lawyers against the strike of the electrical workers took place in which they declared that the situation would not be the same in the future. They said they will answer the strikers who "disrupt" their life in a different manner.

El Nuevo Dia, a right-wing paper, recently ran an article entitled "After the strike, WHAT?" in which Ismael Fernandez analyzes the damage and the millions of dollars lost during the strike. He said the root of the problems between labor and management is the "infiltration of Marxist and radical elements in the labor movement . . . The division of the powerful UTIER that controls the majority of workers in an important service like electricity can become the target of infiltration by radicals. "There was a time when the

6,000 At GE To Lose Jobs In Move South

BY DENNIS HAULING

PHILADELPHIA—With the contract having been signed and a strike averted, the General Electric plant at Elmwood is now taking immediate steps to shut down and throw approximately 6000 men and women onto the unemployment line.

One week after the new settlement, the company instituted a compulsory 12 hour day, six day week. This massive speedup is the preparation for the 20 percent layoff which will occur after the two week break in August.

At the time of the announced layoffs, the company ordered welders to be re-examined to see if they are qualified for their job. Some welders have been on the job for 33 years, and one man told the Bulletin, "They have this new code inspector. They're trying to force the old men out and seeking to control the young men. These older men are being paid good money. The men are talking about walking out, but hold no hope in the leadership."

The company has made plans to move to South Carolina. This proposed move is part and parcel of the company's plan to bust the union, create non-union plants and destroy the living conditions of the working people. "When they move, there's not going to be any work. That's why the speedup is on. And another

thing: they don't move you with your job. They'll take wages down and control the men down South."

Strike At West Haven Armstrong

BY A REPORTER

WEST HAVEN, Conn.—The rebellion in the rubber industry that has already seen strikes against Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone flared up again last week as 1000 members of United Rubber Workers Local 93 shut down the large Armstrong plant here.

The action came after the ranks rejected an offer by the company that amounted to even less than what was already won by workers in the major companies.

Due to the betrayals of the International leadership of Peter Bommarito, the larger rubber companies were able to sign settlements within Nixon's guidelines in spite of several strikes and wildcats. Now, Armstrong is trying to impose a settlement which is even below the 5.5 percent figure.

Armstrong is also trying to reduce the payment received by rubber workers when the machine is down.

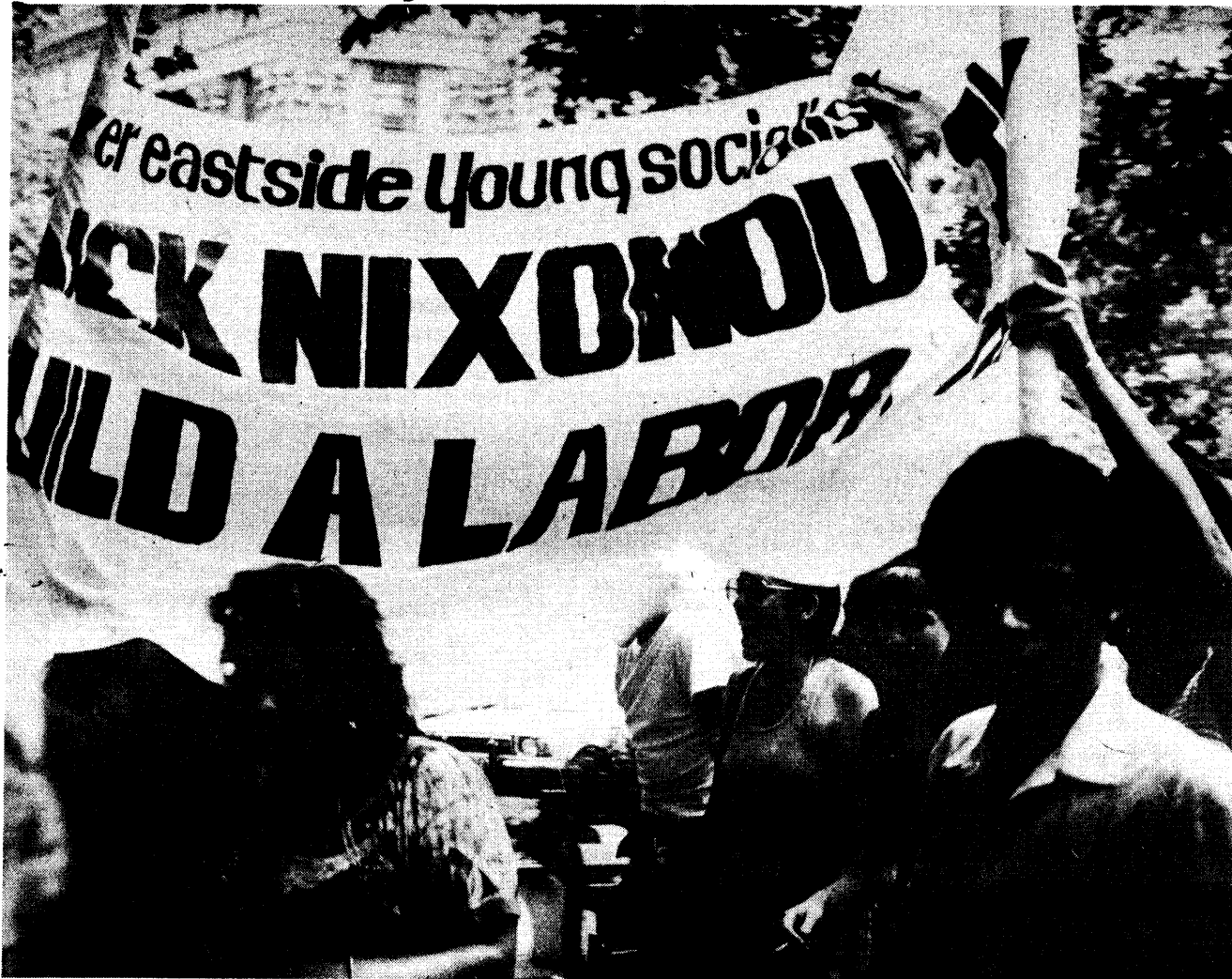
The militancy of the Armstrong workers was demonstrated at Sunday's membership meeting when Local 93 voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike. With workers in the much larger Goodyear plants demanding a reopening of the contract signed in April, the Armstrong ranks must demand that Bommarito call out the Goodyear locals to prepare for an offensive by rubber workers against the entire industry and Nixon's guidelines.



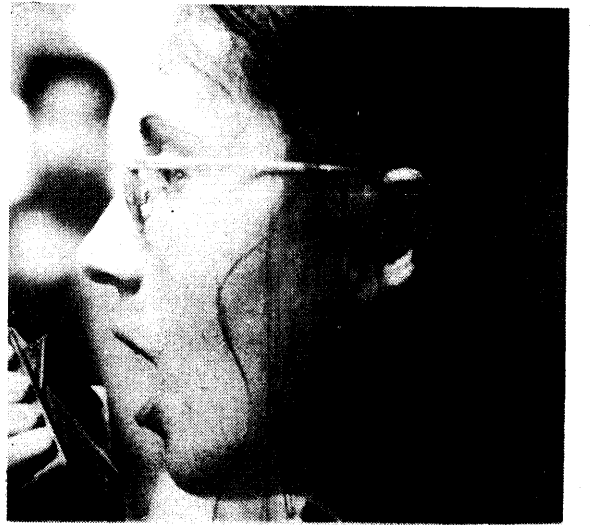
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The Call From YS Jobs Rally: 'Force Nixon Out'



Paul from Queens



Nancy Vasquez for the YS National Committee

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—Hundreds of youth and trade unionists rallied throughout the country Wednesday, July 11 against unemployment and to demand that the labor movement mobilize to force Nixon to resign and call a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party to defend the rights of all workers and youth. Reports on the rallies in Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles are included in the Midwest and West Coast sections of this issue.

Despite pouring rain in New York 300 youth participated in the spirited demonstration in Foley Square chanting "Nixon Out, Jobs Now, Build a Labor Party." Young Socialists from all over the East Coast lined up to speak at the rally. The tremendous hatred for the Nixon government and its attempts to drive the working class back to conditions of the 1930s was expressed in the speeches.

Kiki Mendez, a member of the YS National Committee, opened the rally in New York by saying that millions of youth this summer had been denied jobs because of Nixon's cuts in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. She said that unemployment now faces older workers as well as youth. She emphasized the critical importance of building a new leadership in the unions and among the youth that can defeat Nixon.

Celeste from East New York said: "Things are bad in New York but where I come from in North Carolina a lot of people are forced to eat just beans and rice. Some of the kids can't even get

that, so they starve out in the streets. We've got to do something. We can't live like that. We have to throw Nixon out."

A young worker from Philadelphia spoke on the closing of welfare in that city: "I have just come from another demonstration in Philadelphia where the city has cut off everyone on welfare. They are left with nothing. They can't live."

IMPOSSIBLE

A speaker from Queens discussed the impossible situation facing youth today because they are being denied jobs. "I went to college and I have been looking for a job since January. I am qualified to work in Day Care but everywhere I go to apply for a job there are 10 people waiting for every one job."

Elizabeth from East New York said: "Nixon wants to take the clothes off our back. You go to the store now and a dollar isn't worth anything. If you got a dollar now, next year, you won't even have a cent. Nixon wants that, too."

Nancy Vasquez told the rally that the central question is what

we are going to do. Nixon's budget cuts and his policies of no jobs and no schools for the youth were just the beginning. "The two parties, the Republicans and Democrats, do not represent the interests of the youth and the working people but are the two parties of the capitalist class. We must fight now to construct an alternative, a labor party, and throw Nixon and his Mafia men out. We must demand that the unions take up this fight now."

Adele Sinclair, Editor of the *Young Socialist*, spoke on the importance of the *Young Socialist* which led the jobs campaign and the role it now has in building a new leadership:

"The *Young Socialist* has been the major weapon for organizing youth to come to this demonstration and reaching thousands of youth all across the country. It is the only revolutionary paper fighting to defend the youth, reflecting their struggles and determination to get rid of Nixon."

As part of the campaign to build the rally, a team of Young Socialists went throughout New York into the communities and to the factories speaking to

hundreds of youth and workers about the rally and selling subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*. At the Vietnam Veterans Center in Brooklyn veterans told the YS how they had fought in Vietnam only to return here to be denied a job.

At the Neighborhood Youth Corps centers, which opened a week before the rally, the YS team signed up youth to come to the demonstration. Most of the thousands of youth who lined up at these centers were sent from once center to another all week long and then told there were no jobs.

NAVY YARD

The team received a tremendous response at the Navy Yard in Brooklyn where young workers face low wages and speedup and at Williamsburg Steel where the members of the carpenters union are approaching their contract deadline. Six dollars for the rally was collected at the International Longshoremen's Association hiring hall in Brooklyn. Here unemployment has had its sharpest impact as pier after pier has been closed down.

Speaking at the rally in New York, Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, emphasized the necessity to carry this fight forward. "Despite the difficulties here today, we've got to take this fight all the way. The people here have traveled from as far as Washington, D.C. and Boston because they are determined to get all the Watergate gangsters out and fight for the right to a

job." Abby Rodriguez, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, introduced a resolution demanding that the AFL-CIO act now to fight for full employment by forcing Nixon to resign and calling a Congress of Labor to build a labor party for a new election. Comrade Rodriguez said:

"No other movement has taken up a fight against unemployment. The Communist Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have no program to defend the youth from the government's attacks. Only the Young Socialists have fought in the communities to build a revolutionary movement and to turn the youth to the unions to demand that they act to throw Nixon out and build a labor party. This demonstration is the first step forward to mobilize the unions politically against Nixon's attacks."

This struggle will now take place under conditions of the renewed offensive of the working class on wages. Millions of workers in the trade unions are determined to defend their living standards against inflation. Nixon's Phase Four will mean tremendous increases in prices. The government is not only denying a future to youth through its conscious policies of unemployment but will now use unemployment as a weapon against the trade unions and the offensive by the organized workers to defend their unions and standard of living. The Young Socialists campaign for jobs now gives a lead to the entire labor movement.

Big Turnout For Midwest Jobs Rally

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

CHICAGO—Over 100 youth and workers rallied here at the Federal Building Plaza from six cities for the Young Socialists demonstration against unemployment and to demand that the labor movement take up a fight now to construct a labor party. Youth came from as far as Minneapolis, Madison, Detroit, Dayton and St. Louis and were joined by shoppers, clerks, youth and postal and construction workers who came from the area.

Louis Ladson, Midwest Chairman of the Young Socialists, opened the rally by saying that the economic crisis is forcing the ruling class to drive down the youth in preparation for wholesale attacks on the trade unions, "like in Minneapolis, where the YMCA and the First National Bank have put together a program called 'Rent-A-Kid.' How can a guy with a family to support get a job, when we're working for \$1.65 an hour?"

"We will not allow Nixon to use the youth as scabs against the unions. We know who's responsible for this situation—and we know who's responsible for Watergate, who's dictating all these policies. And that's why we're out to build a Congress of Labor to get Nixon out and a labor party in."

Mike from the Detroit YS said: "The youth are always faced with the police. STRESS in Detroit is a special force aimed at the youth. Dozens of people 14 to 20 years old have been murdered there for nothing, or for things that would usually get under a year in jail."

LAYOFFS

A member of the American Federation of Teachers in Dayton told the rally that hundreds of teachers face layoffs because this system does not have any use for educated youth and that the struggles of the youth and the unions were united. He also brought greetings from the auto workers at Delco-Moraine who are building a caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the fight against Woodcock. "These men are being forced to work seven days a week to stockpile parts that will be used against their brothers at GM this fall. They cannot be here today because of Woodcock's betrayal, but they are fighting alongside us."

Mike from the new YS club in Southeast Minneapolis told about the rally they had held at an unemployment office. "Some guy came down from the third floor and said he had plenty of jobs. Those are jobs? At two dollars an hour, and gone in three months? We can't be living like that! That just made us more sure than ever—we're going to go out and build it bigger and bigger."

Paul from St. Louis spoke about the attacks on the youth which are "more than just about jobs—they're attacking every part of our lives. They're closing schools, and now even our housing. We're building the YS by fighting in the trade unions for defense of these rights,

because if they can close Pruitt-Igoe, they can close all the public housing in the country."

Joseph from Chicago said that the cutbacks in the Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs left the youth on the streets: "That's the reason we have to call a Congress of Labor to get Nixon out, and if we stand on our own two feet and get together with the unions, we can do it."

CONSCIOUS

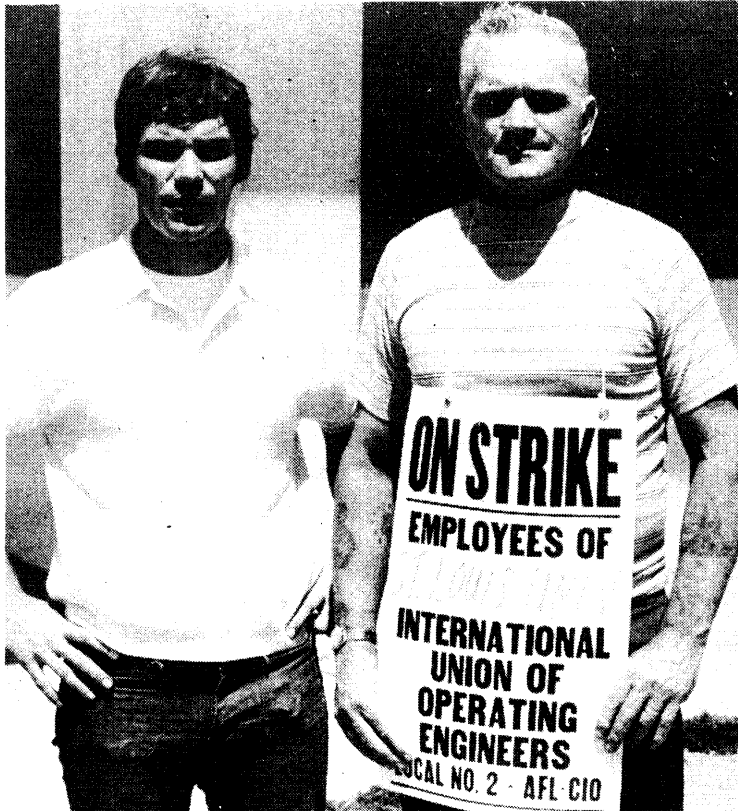
In the evening following the rally a meeting was held featuring a showing of the British Young Socialists film of the "Right To Work Marches" that were held last year.

At the meeting Jean Brust, Midwest Organizer of the Workers League, brought out the importance of the quote from Cromwell in the film: "Give me men, and I will make some conscious of what they do. And I warrant you they will not be beat."

"Besides getting together and placing demands on the trade union movement, in building this rally, we began to build a leadership. The rally was a beginning of the fight to make some conscious. A leadership for the youth will be built only in the day to day battle to build this movement. And it means fighting to understand Marxism."

The collection that followed raised \$325.

Midwest News



Local 2 Engineers picket line has closed North and South campuses of St. Louis University, which claims it cannot afford a seven percent pay increase but is engaged in a \$20 million expansion program.

Delco-Moraine Ranks Prepare For Strike

BY A

LOCAL 656 MEMBER

DAYTON—Due to a complete breakdown in negotiations over a flood of unresolved grievances, a strike vote was taken at a special meeting of UAW members at Delco-Moraine.

Although the result of the vote was not immediately announced, there is little doubt about the outcome. Woodcock's refusal to do anything about working conditions have led to a situation in the plant where there are over 100 disciplinary cases, 27 of which involve suspension and one outright discharge.

Supporters of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party led the fight for national strike action at a membership meeting just prior to the strike vote by introducing a resolution designed to prepare the ranks for

the coming struggle.

Against the embittered opposition of the local bureaucracy, the resolution called for an end to all overtime until the new contract is settled to prevent GM, Ford and Chrysler from stockpiling, and demanded that the Woodcock leadership prepare plans to strike the entire auto industry on September 14, when the old contract expires.

In a display of bureaucratic high-handedness, local President Elmo Parrish declared this resolution out of order. He made it clear, in this way, that the Woodcock bureaucracy has no intention of defending the UAW against Nixon and the corporations.

This betrayal makes all the more necessary the mobilization of the ranks for strike action in a struggle against Woodcock to build a new leadership in Delco-Moraine and all the locals.

Meat Packer Fires 300

BY P. ARNDT

FORT ATKINSON, Wisc.—Some 300 workers at the Jones Dairy Farm packing plant were laid off July 13. Company officials cited Nixon's "price freeze" as the main reason for stopping all operations by July 17.

Milo Jones, company vice president, claimed the freeze on retail prices, but not on live hogs, "has made it uneconomical" to keep the plant going. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters, representing the laid off workers, has made no statement.

Jones is one of the state's largest producers of breakfast sausage, bacon, ham and other pork products.

In Beardstown, Illinois, Oscar Meyer Company, operating the largest packing plant in that state, will close for one day next week. Oscar Meyer spokesmen and officials of Milwaukee packer Fred Usinger Incorporated have stated that further shutdowns were and are quite possible.

Whirlpool Men Defy Speedup

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL, July 16—Workers at the Whirlpool appliance plant have overwhelmingly rejected the company's contract offer. At a union meeting last Thursday, the membership of Teamsters Local 827 gave their executive authorization to strike by a margin of better than 100 to one. The contract expires on July 22.

Years of hatred and resentment are now rapidly coming to a head. "We've come here for one reason," said one worker as he walked into the Prom Center, "and that's to vote NO!"

Whirlpool is attacking on two main fronts: it is offering an insulting 25 cent an hour increase for the first year, then 10 cents and 11 cents for the following two. The company is further seeking to intensify the already vicious speedup conditions and be able to fire workers who fail to meet their brutal and arbitrary production levels.

The present wage scale is one of the worst in the Twin Cities, with the top labor grade making only \$4.63 an hour. One man with 20 years told the Bulletin that his wages have not increased for five years. Whirlpool's offer would give the top labor grade \$5.11 an hour after two years. In the face of the current 25 percent inflation rate, not a single worker in the plant will listen to such a proposal.

Whirlpool is notorious for its efficiency studies. Delise, a young woman who has been at Whirlpool for three years, related to the Bulletin the already hellish conditions she and her fellow workers are subject to:

"One day I got very tired and asked how fast the line was going. I was told that it was at 72 units. I later found out that it was really 92! I asked for a helper and they refused to give me one so I just went home."

"Once a woman hurt her back badly and the foremen stood around and laughed at her. The medical department kept calling her in for work and telling her she could work, but she wasn't able to and left for home. We are going to have to settle this with the company."

The company has a crew of "group leaders" whose job is to pick workers off the line and push the workers to double their output.

Racism is actively pumped in by the foremen to split the ranks.

The leadership of Local 827 has permitted these barbaric conditions to develop for years. Now, as several workers reported to the Bulletin, they are even considering trying to convince the ranks that they should work beyond the expiration date. In the face of the thundering rejection of the company's terms and the overwhelming sentiment for a strike, this betrayal would be their most criminal maneuver.

A new leadership must be built that will fight for a 20 percent wage increase, a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause, no productivity deals or speedup and the building of a labor party.

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Teamster Wildcat Wins Higher Pay Midwest News

BY A REPORTING TEAM

CLEVELAND, July 16—Another strike by Teamsters in Northeastern Ohio was brought to a temporary halt today as members of Local 400 voted by a narrow margin to end their week long wildcat and restore the major food supply lines into the city which had been completely paralyzed.

Though not directly affected by the national contract signed by Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, this wildcat and other strikes by drivers in the Cleveland area express the bitter anger of IBT members throughout the country that could explode against the master freight settlement at any point.

It is significant that the wildcat was ended only after the drivers, who are employed by Seaway, received a wage increase which is above that in the national contract.

It took a highly suspect mail ballot to end the strike by members of Teamsters Local 392, who had been out since June 3 and who had bottled up all moving in and out of Cayuhoga County. The ranks had rejected the settlements reached in two previous secret ballots.

During the strike, there had been considerable talk of an attempt by the state government to challenge the Teamsters and reopen the highways. But no move in that direction was actually made.

However, these threats and the feelings of the ranks give the lie to Fitzsimmons' claim that the Teamster contract is over and done with.

Fitzsimmons knows this himself and is trying to stifle any opposition to the contract through the device of the mail ballot. Teamsters in Minneapolis

spoke out against this bureaucratic maneuver.

"Fitzsimmons doesn't want us discussing his rotten contract. And we don't even have any sure way of knowing whether or not we are going to get an honest count on the ballots. They do the counting," said one Consolidated Freight driver, just in from Milwaukee.

He continued: "It's a hell of a note when we have to read the newspapers to find out what's in Fitzsimmons' package. But I know he's already given too much away, like no more guarantee under eight hours. I've also heard that we won't get so much as a red cent increase for a leg-run (under 120 miles). The longer runs we're supposed to get only four cents a mile increase. And that lousy cost of living bonus amounts to only 11 cents a year. Who the hell do they think they're kidding with the inflation going the way it's been? And then we have to wait another three years for the next contract? Oh, no! We can't go for that."

He explained the real problem over-the-road drivers have of attending their local union meetings, where they can freely discuss the issues and influence union policy: "Except for a few hours at home once a week or so, and some guys don't get home for two, even three months, you're always on the road. I happen to be one of the lucky ones. Even so, I can show you my log book for the last three

weeks: I've worked 67, 69 and 69 and one half hours. How can I attend my union meeting?"

Opposition to the pact is just as strong in St. Louis, where the 2000 members of Local 600 met Sunday to denounce the settlement.

In discussing the national Teamster agreement, one Local 600 member said: "I think it stinks. You get nothing the first year with a 35 cent raise. There's no cost of living the first year, in fact, you're losing money."

Another commented, "The wages are not enough—cost of food alone went up 25 percent last year." Others agreed with this and called for an agreement containing a \$7.50 to \$8.00 per hour wage.

Local issues also came in for a blasting from the ranks. In the new contract, employers can discharge a worker after only one warning letter. It has been through eroding the work rules that the trucking companies have reduced the number of Local 600 members by one-half. "With 300 gallon fuel tanks, companies can run a truck 24 hours. If they start a truck in Chicago, it can go straight through to Springfield, Missouri completely bypassing St. Louis. We have got to have something that deals with this elimination of jobs."

Many of the Teamsters at the meeting told the *Bulletin* they expected a strong "no" vote. "If you want to know, I'm going to fight for a "no" vote from the men I see," one member said.



Larry Sheperdson, Minn. Teamsters Local 544: "I still haven't heard what the terms of the new contract are..."

Woodcock Pleads For Peace In UAW Talks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, July 16—Negotiations for a new UAW contract covering more than 700,000 auto workers began today with the Big Three bosses: General Motors, Ford and Chrysler.

"There's no need for a strike this year," declared UAW President Leonard Woodcock, echoing the corporation heads. "There's not the same feeling of inevitability as there was in 1970 and 1967."

But Woodcock knows that there are more reasons for a strike this year than ever before in history, and his statement reflects not optimism but a desperate determination to sell out the ranks at the negotiating table in order to head off a strike.

First of all, Woodcock will not raise the number one issue facing auto workers: wages. He has said that he will "ignore" the wage board set up under Phase Three and which will remain intact under Phase Four. But he sits on the board's advisory committee and is prepared to sign a settlement within the guidelines.

PERCENT

One top UAW official told the *New York Times*: "The economic settlement? I can give you that now. Around seven percent."

Woodcock has made the main issue "voluntary overtime," which plays into the hands of the

auto companies which are preparing sharp cutbacks in production starting with the 1974 models. At the same time, he is saying nothing about Paragraphs 8 and 117, which give management complete control over production standards.

While the UAW bureaucracy is hoping that everything is "cut and dried" this year, events between now and September 14 are not going to work in favor of a peaceful settlement.

The auto companies, particularly Chrysler, have indicated that they expect a strike and are preparing for one. This is what lies behind the big production drive that is now in progress.

Auto workers must go into action at once to demand a strike vote immediately after change-over and real UAW preparations for a strike.

Auto workers must demand open negotiations. UAW locals must send resolutions on demands to the UAW negotiating team based on the demands of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

This is the only way the UAW ranks can be rallied in order to meet company attacks to protect their rights and standards.

See editorial Page 8.

USWA Signs Dayton Steel Sellout

BY A REPORTER

DAYTON, July 7—After less than a week on strike, the steel workers' leadership at Dayton Walther Corporation (Dayton Steel), not even putting up a picket line at the plant, signed a wage agreement below 5.5 percent.

The membership, who had expressed their determination to fight for a substantial increase in opposition to Nixon's controls, were kept in the dark about the settlement until the ratification meeting. The foundry workers, United Steel Workers of America Local 5028, met Friday. The wage package totals 84 cents with an eight cent cap on the cost of living.

The vote on the contract was said to be unanimous; however, it was a voice vote and a third of the workers had left the hall before the vote was taken.

VOTE

Harry Ballard, president of the Machinists Local 4760, refused to divulge what the settlement was or what the vote was at the ratification meeting held Saturday. He stated to the *Bulletin*: "You will have to get in touch with the

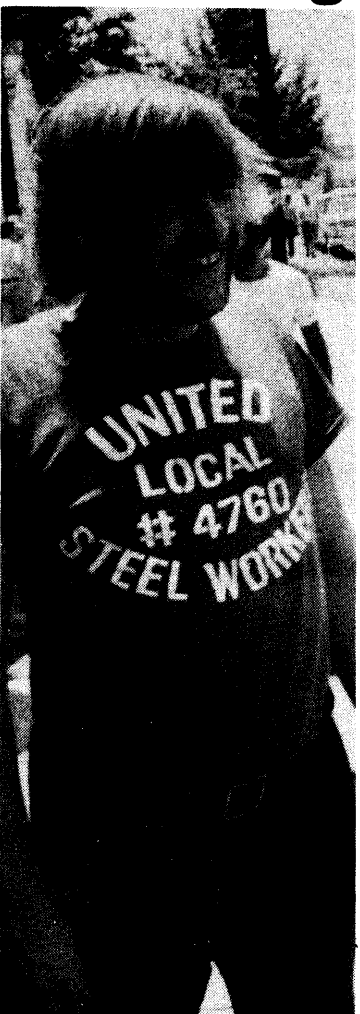
International Representative. I can't give it (the information) to you—he's my boss."

SECRETIVENESS

This secretiveness and knuckling under to the International is well known to the workers. A machinist told the *Bulletin*: "Trying to get information from Ballard or Cox (the local vice president) is like beating a dead horse."

Before the machinists' meeting a worker told us he dreaded going back to work because "we will get the shaft. The way it always is, the company will set the standards up and we'll have to put out more production per hour for the increase."

The sellout agreement comes in a local whose rank and file has been noted for their militancy. The kind of knuckling under to Abel and to Nixon shown by the leadership should be repudiated by the rank and file in a fight for new leadership.



Machine shop workers at Dayton Steel, Local 4760 USWA.

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Auto Workers Must Take The Lead!

Auto workers must now take the lead for the entire working class as United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock begins negotiations with General Motors, Ford and Chrysler.

Woodcock has entered these talks determined to prevent a strike. He wants, above all, to avoid a confrontation with the government which is about to introduce its Phase Four wage controls under conditions of the greatest inflation since World War Two. Woodcock has refused to discuss the economic demands of the UAW, but he has made his own treacherous position clear by remaining on the advisory board of Nixon's Cost of Living Council, which supervises the attacks on the basic right of trade unions to negotiate a decent wage.

For this reason, UAW members must now intervene in these negotiations by fighting to place their own locals on record as demanding:

- Woodcock must immediately end all collaboration with Nixon's wage controls by walking off the present board and mobilizing the UAW against any new controls.

- Woodcock must publicly commit the UAW to the fight for a 20 percent wage increase in the first year of the contract with full cost of living in order to defend the ranks against inflation, and prepare the union for strike action on September 14 if this demand is not met.

- The UAW must rally the entire labor movement in support of this struggle against the government by calling for an emergency Congress of Labor for the purpose of establishing a labor party based on the trade unions as the political alternative to this criminally corrupt and anti-working class administration.

It would be wrong to view the struggle in auto as simply a trade union question that requires nothing more than traditional militancy.

Because of the deepening economic crisis, because of Nixon's wage controls on the trade unions, and because Watergate reveals an unprecedented conspiracy to destroy the basic democratic rights of the working class, every trade union struggle has become a political question.

This is especially the case in auto, where Nixon's Phase Four and his own ability to remain in office will depend on the outcome of the UAW negotiations.

It is by taking the lead in the struggle against wage controls and by demanding that the working class construct its own political party against Nixon and the Democrats that the great strength of the American labor movement can be rallied behind the UAW.

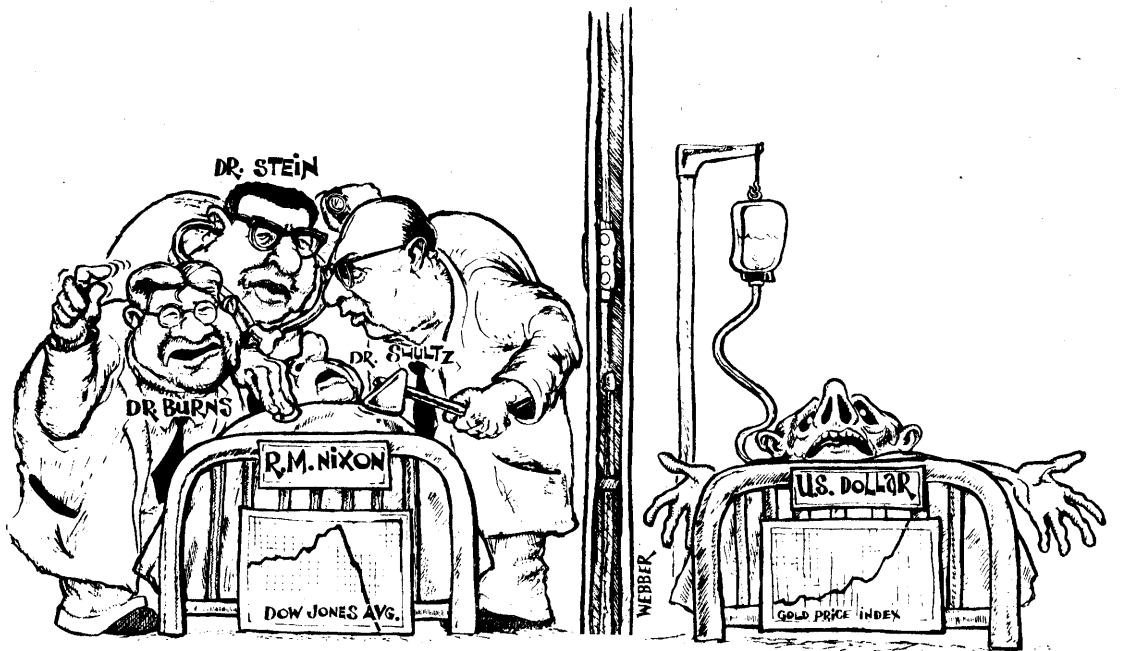
Woodcock, Fitzsimmons and Meany have already shown what it means to keep politics out of the trade union movement today. It means abandoning the fight for decent contracts and for the basic democratic rights of the working class. In short, it means lining up with Nixon.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on all auto workers to fight for these demands in their locals in order to build a new leadership in the UAW that can defeat the auto bosses and Nixon.

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No expiration notices are sent out. You must renew your subscription on your own so you don't miss any issues. The numbers following your name on your address label indicate when your sub expires. All subscribers with the number 7 after their name must immediately renew so they don't miss an issue in August.

The Bulletin will not be published for the next two weeks due to summer recess. The next issue of the Bulletin will be that of August 13, 1973.



IF YOU THINK HE'S IN BAD SHAPE, YOU SHOULD SEE THE PATIENT IN THE NEXT WARD!

What we think Build The Revolutionary Party

The July 1st Conference of the All Trades Union Alliance—industrial arm of the Socialist Labour League—held in Belle Vue, Manchester, represented a major step forward in the construction of the revolutionary party in Britain; and is, therefore, of historic importance to the international working class.

Attended by more than 4000 workers from every section of industry, this conference took place as the British government is being forced by the economic crisis to launch an all-out attack on the basic democratic rights and living conditions of the working class.

This conference posed in the sharpest terms to the entire working class the urgent necessity of building a revolutionary leadership to defeat these attacks and establish socialism.

The very rapid disintegration of the world monetary system is destroying the basis for class compromise in Europe and is creating the conditions for civil war.

The breakup of the system of fixed exchange rates, which is the inevitable outcome of Nixon's decision of August 15, 1971 to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold, means the destruction of the Common Market.

At the same time, as the British pound falls almost as rapidly as the dollar, the English capitalists are deliberately encouraging this devaluation in the hope that its cheap exports will help them recapture their former competitive trading position. But this devaluation of the pound means an unlimited increase in the cost of living under conditions in which the Tories have outlawed the right of trade unions to negotiate freely for wage increases and have imposed strict controls.

The Heath government, whose economic policies are in shambles and whose leading figures are involved in scandal after scandal, has rested on the basis of collaboration with the trade union bureaucracy. While the betrayals of the bureaucracy have allowed Heath to legislate the basic rights of the working class out of existence, the Tories have been unable to actually defeat any section of the working class in battle.

It is for this reason that the

British working class now faces an attempt by the capitalists to impose a new type of government based on dictatorial and police rule in order to physically crush the trade unions.

This is the issue that dominated the ATUA Conference in Belle Vue, and in the course of the discussion the important turn of broad sections of the working class to the political questions raised by this crisis was expressed.

However, what had to be grappled with in this conference is that the crisis develops more rapidly than the changes in the consciousness of the working class. In order for the working class to bridge this gap and overthrow capitalism—as its own survival demands—forces in the trade unions and among the youth must be trained as Marxists.

It is to this task that Gerry Healy, national secretary of the SLL, addressed himself in his reply to the discussion of the Conference:

"The problem today is this: that the crisis is coming far faster than the people are ready for it; that we are far behind the times; that we are still talking about wages and working conditions when every single fight over wages and working conditions is a fight against this government.

"Because every single struggle today poses two alternatives. Either we are prepared to go forward to workers' power and socialism. Or we face the dictatorship of the right and fascism.

"You cannot avoid these consequences because such is the nature of the crisis of the capitalist system. . . .

"We have said for months that the question of revolutionary leadership is the life and death question. For trade unionists it

means the following thing. You cannot proceed only as a trade unionist. You must train yourself in the task for which only the revolutionary party can provide an answer.

"While preparing to defend trade unions, we are preparing simultaneously for the overthrow of the capitalist system. To overthrow the system, we must train a leadership in this work. That is a scientific task.

"That was the task posed before Soviet workers in 1917. That is the task that is going to be posed in every single capitalist country in the world."

The issues raised at Belle Vue are of great significance to workers throughout Europe and in the United States as well. It is the US which stands at the heart of the capitalist crisis, and while the ruling class in this country tries to place as much of the weight of the crisis as it can on Europe, all the conditions exist for a blow-up of the economy in this country.

Against the background of civil war in Europe, the development of wild inflation, growing unemployment and trade war must bring millions of trade unionists whose wages are controlled by the government into direct collision with Nixon. And, as the Watergate Conspiracy has shown, Nixon has been second to none in preparing a full-scale assault on the trade unions and democratic rights.

The struggle of American workers is a political struggle that raises the question of power and socialism. It is in the fight for the labor party as the first step toward establishing the independent political movement of the working class, that we will carry forward the task posed so clearly at Belle Vue—the development of a Marxist leadership in the working class.

Building The Bulletin

A total of 250 Young Socialist subscriptions were received last week bringing the grand total to 894 towards our goal of 3000 by August 15. New York branches got 76 subs in an evening mobilization in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

YS subs are still coming in extremely slowly and all YS branches must use the two week period in which the Bulletin is not printed for daily drives for subs. Many Bulletin subs can also be sold as well as renewal work done. Some 229 Bulletin subs also came in last week which is good but still below our goal of 300 per week.

We can, if we take a turn in this work NOW, effect a major change in the situation with each branch getting two-thirds of their quota in by August 1.

TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM



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

PART THREE

Passing in silence over Trotsky's outstanding record as Commissar for War and builder of the Red Army, the book 'Against Trotskyism' moves to the other major conflict in which Lenin and Trotsky stood on opposite sides.

There is no attempt at any objective portrayal of the period, not even a chronology to guide the reader, who might well be excused for thinking that the only communication between the head of state and his minister for war in the course of two years' bloody conflict consisted of two brief, cryptic and slightly critical telegrams.

These occupy 14 lines of type in all and are the only

documents offered to cover the period from March 18, 1918, to December 20, 1920. The Moscow lie specialists certainly cannot be accused of being overscrupulous in presenting their case against Trotsky. They make no pretence of historical accuracy or completeness!

They fasten on the trade union controversy, which broke out at the end of 1920, with great eagerness after the 'barren years' in between. The trade union controversy occupies almost a quarter of the book and comprises over a third of the material taken from Lenin's works.

The trade union controversy came, as Trotsky points out in his Letter to the Institute of Party History, at a time when war communism had exhausted itself.

'Agriculture and with it everything else had arrived in a blind alley. Industry was disintegrating. The trade unions

had become agitational and recruiting organizations which increasingly lost their independence.

'The crisis of the trade union was by no means a "crisis of growth"; it was a crisis of the whole system of war communism. There was no passage out of this blind alley without the introduction of the New Economic Policy.'

Trotsky admits that his proposals, which essentially aimed at harnessing the trade union machinery to the administrative system of economic management, did not point the way out of the impasse.

Nor, for that matter, did the proposals advanced by Lenin's faction, which presented the unions as defenders of the material and cultural interests of the working class and a school of communism.

Lenin's view carried the day in the party, but it still did not resolve the questions posed by the discussion, which could be resolved only by a new economic orientation, embodied in the retreat of the NEP.

Not only did Trotsky come to see that he had been wrong on this question, he was within a short time in alliance with Lenin against the incipient bureaucracy emerging in the Bolshevik party and the state machine.

Lenin was at pains to point out that the USSR could not simply be labelled a workers' state. According to Lenin it was 'workers' and peasants'

'state' — even more, in a phrase Trotsky was to quote frequently later, it was 'a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations' (translated in 'Against Trotskyism' as 'with a twist in it').

Naturally this book, which is concerned entirely with episodic differences, makes no mention of the most vital policy questions facing the Soviet state. These fall under three main headings: the future of the NEP and how the workers' state could be protected from the danger of capitalist restoration; the nationalities question; the growing bureaucratization of the party and the state.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy involved the regeneration of petty-bourgeois and trade layers in Soviet society who were once again able to engage in trade to a limited extent.

The peasants sold grain on a 'free' market while small capitalists and other exploiters were given greater liberties in order to stimulate post-war reconstruction and provide a breathing space for the USSR.

This policy was universally recognized as a retreat, and it strengthened those tendencies within and outside the Bolshevik Party which represented the interests of the burgeoning middle class.

In addition the opening up of trade with the capitalist countries gave the capitalists

Members of the Left Opposition within the Bolshevik Party on their way to exile in 1928: part of Stalin's attempts to silence opposition to the rightward turns of the bureaucracy.

the hope that they would be able eventually to break the state monopoly of foreign trade and deal directly with peasants and private businessmen.

Had the monopoly been breached, one of the pillars of Soviet power would have been undermined. Lenin was forced to defend the monopoly with all his might alongside Trotsky and against Stalin.

None of this is mentioned in the present book, though its authors are well aware both of Stalin's role and of the alliance between Lenin and Trotsky against him in defence of the foreign trade monopoly.

The following quotations are taken from the already quoted book 'V. I. Lenin, A Biography'. Here is what the Institute of Marxism-Leninism had to say eight years ago about the foreign trade monopoly and Stalin's attitude towards it:

'[Lenin] attached great importance to the foreign trade monopoly as a lever of socialist development. He regarded it as a crucial economic factor and pointed out that nothing but the foreign trade monopoly, coupled with planned government regulation of exports and imports, could safeguard the as yet weak Soviet economy from

an invasion of foreign capital, secure the rehabilitation and development of domestic industry and obtain the profits and gold necessary for the country's industrialization.

He stressed that the monopoly on foreign trade was particularly important in view of the New Economic Policy and the fierce attacks made on it by foreign imperialist and capitalist elements at home.

The issue became doubly acute because some leading Party and government officials came out with proposals to modify, even to repeal, the foreign trade monopoly. Sokolnikov, Bukharin and Pyatakov urged repeal of the monopoly, while Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev suggested modifying it.

Replying to a letter which Lenin wrote to him and M. Frumkin on May 26, 1922, in which Lenin had demanded "a formal ban on all discussion, negotiation and committee work, etc., about modifying the monopoly of foreign trade," Stalin wrote: "I have no objections to a 'formal ban' on measures to mitigate the foreign trade monopoly at the present stage.

"All the same, I think that mitigation is becoming indispensable."

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee on October 6, 1922, which Lenin did not attend, passed an incorrect decision providing for temporary permission "to import and export certain groups of commodities with respect to certain borders".

In a letter to Stalin, who was secretary of the Central Committee, Lenin objected to the decision and pointed out that "it is tantamount to lifting the monopoly on foreign trade".

He noted that "undue haste was shown in putting the matter on the agenda of the plenary meeting" and that "no serious discussion ensued" and suggested postponing the final decision until the next plenary meeting two months hence in order to collect the necessary facts and make a deep-going study of the question.

All members of the Central Committee present in Moscow were consulted, and backed Lenin's proposal. Only a few persisted in their erroneous attitude. In a letter to the political bureau, Bukharin, for one, tried to justify his plan of abolishing the foreign trade monopoly. Stalin too wrote:

"Comrade Lenin's letter has not made me change my mind about the decision of the CC plenary meeting of October 6 on foreign trade [i.e. Stalin still opposed Lenin]. . .

"All the same, in view of Comrade Lenin's insistent proposal to delay implementation of the CC decision I vote for a postponement with a view to the question being discussed again at the next plenary meeting in Lenin's presence." (Lenin biography, p.517.)

In the Institute of Marxism - Leninism's 'V. I. Lenin, A Biography' — published EIGHT years ago — we learn who was Lenin's ally against Stalin on the question of trade policy. On page 533 we read:

"In the evening of December 15, Lenin dictated a letter to Stalin for the information of the members of the CC concerning his speech at the forthcoming Congress of Soviets, in which he opposed procrastination in the discussion of the foreign trade monopoly at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

He also dictated a letter to Trotsky about Trotsky's speech in support of Lenin's point of view on the foreign trade monopoly at the coming plenary meeting.

In his letter to the members of the Central Committee [i.e. including Stalin] Lenin wrote:

"I have now wound up my affairs and can go away untroubled. I have also finalized my agreement with

Trotsky about his defending my point of view on the foreign trade monopoly."

Lenin, in other words, anticipated retiring and leaving the defence of the monopoly of foreign trade in the hands of Trotsky!

This demonstration of confidence was not the last. Faced with the alliance of the two revolutionary leaders, Stalin gave in all along the line. At the December 18 Central Committee the previous vote was reversed. This was, in fact, Stalin's usual tactic when faced with superior opposition.

Lenin, now confined to bed, was delighted. He wrote to Trotsky: 'It seems we captured the position without firing a shot by mere movements of manoeuvre. I propose that we should not stop but continue the attack.'

It was this letter which sparked Stalin's violent outburst against Lenin's wife Krupskaya, in which he summoned her to the telephone and subjected her to 'unworthy abuse and threats' because he believed the sick Lenin was being allowed to find out too much about what the bureaucracy was doing.

This abusive telephone call influenced Lenin to break off personal relations with the general secretary Stalin and to alter his 'Testament' to accommodate the insistent demand for Stalin's removal from his post.

But the monopoly of foreign trade and the rudeness of Stalin were not the only questions on which Trotsky and Lenin fought Stalin in the closing days of Lenin's political activity.

Another very important issue concerned the status of the non-Russian republics which had been established as a result of the revolution and the civil war.

It is the triumphant boast of the — professional liars in the Institute that on all questions Trotsky showed 'he was the spokesman of the petty-bourgeois deviation' (p. 248). Nowhere is the arrant nonsense of this claim more apparent than in the famous discussion on the national question. In this debate, whose echoes still resound in the USSR, Lenin's solidarity with Trotsky against Stalin was unconditional and complete.

For over three decades the Stalinists in Moscow and Britain tried to obscure — nay — obliterate all traces of this discussion and deny that there were any significant differences between Lenin and Stalin. In fact Stalin was consistently portrayed as the 'continuator and defender of a Leninist national policy'. It was only after 1956 that the grisly truth of Stalin's bureaucratic Great-Russian theory and practice on nationalities began to be revealed.

The most comprehensive report and analysis of these differences was published in the already quoted Soviet biography of Lenin which unfortunately for the authors of 'Against Trotskyism' was brought out at the end of the Khrushchev era. On Monday we will reproduce an extensive quotation from this book and make no apologies for doing so not only because it is correct, but because it reveals the enormous dilemma which faces the revisers of Soviet history and the utter hopelessness of their task masters.

Quotations from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism's own biography of Lenin, published eight years ago,



show that the differences were unbridgeable on the 'national' question and that Stalin's acquiescence was only a temporary manoeuvre which was abandoned immediately after Lenin's death.

The extracts do not bring out the essence of the dispute which was the brutal, cynical and autocratic manner which Stalin and Orjonikidze adopted towards the Caucasian communists in particular. Nor do they say anything about Lenin's great — and hardly accidental — reliance on Trotsky during the course of this dispute. The book says:

In the spring and summer of 1922, the central Party bodies of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation requested the CC of the RCP(B) to formalize relations between the independent republics and the RSFSR.² They pointed out that the federative bonds between the Soviet Republics had to be developed and strengthened. In view of this the Political Bureau of the CC RCP(B) suggested to the Organising Bureau on August 10, 1922, that a commission be appointed to prepare the question of relations between the RSFSR and the independent republics for discussion at the next Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee.

J. Stalin, V. Kuibyshev, G. Orjonikidze, Kh. Rakovsky and G. Sokolnikov were made members of the commission, which also included S. Agamali-ogly of Azerbaijan, A. Myasnikov of Armenia, P. Mdivani of Georgia, G. Petrovsky of the Ukraine, A. Chervyakov of Byelorussia,

and other representatives of the national republics.

The draft of the resolution 'On Relations Between the RSFSR and the Independent Republics' was drawn up by Stalin. He advanced the idea of 'autonomisation' of the independent national Soviet Republics, providing for their inclusion in the Russian Federation as autonomous republics. Clause 1 of the draft read: 'The formal entry of the independent Soviet Republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia into the RSFSR is considered desirable.' Accordingly, Clause 2 of the draft suggested the 'formal extension of the competence of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence of the RSFSR to the corresponding central government bodies of the republics listed in Clause 1.'

Stalin's draft was then submitted for discussion to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the various Soviet Republics.

Stalin's idea of 'autonomization' of the independent Soviet Republics was wrong. It conflicted with the Leninist national policy and, in effect, belittled the rights of the national Soviet Republics. Furthermore, it was inconsistent with the task of strengthening the friendship of the peoples, of uniting them, and of promoting co-operation between them in the building of socialism.

Lenin was ill at that time and had gone to Gorki. He was not informed until the end of September of how the preparations of the question of relations between the RSFSR and the independent national re-

publics were proceeding, and had no chance of influencing the work of the commission.

However, Lenin's attitude on this issue was expressed in his works and letters, and in the Central Committee decisions he had helped to frame. Lenin urged a close political alliance of the republics, but called continuously for supreme caution and for respect of the rights and sovereignty of the independent Soviet Republics. . . .

Before the independent republics could be joined in union, Lenin stressed, their peoples had to consent to it, and every provision should be made to secure their complete equality and sovereignty. This would pave the way to greater unity and the coming together of the peoples, lacking which socialism and communism could not be built in a multinational country.

Stalin ignored the principles set out by Lenin on this score and suggested abolishing the independent national Soviet Republics. This was not accidental. In 1920, Stalin had disagreed with Lenin's proposition, which drew a distinction between the federative bonds of Soviet Republics based on autonomy, and federative bonds between independent Soviet Republics. At that time he said in a letter to Lenin with reference to Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions that there was, in effect, no difference between these types of federative bonds. 'There is no difference,' he wrote, 'or else it is so small that it is equal to naught.' Stalin also flaunted the propositions on federation set out in the Tenth Party Congress decision, 'The Current Tasks of the Party on



Above: Lenin and wife Krupskaya with nephew Victor and a worker's daughter Vera in 1922 while Lenin was living in Gorki in the countryside outside Moscow. Left: Stalin at Lenin's funeral.

the National Question'.

On September 22, 1922, in reply to a note by Lenin, who had evidently inquired about the attitude of the CC to the question of relations between the Soviet Republics (Lenin's note is not extant), Stalin set out his point of view and tried to reason the necessity of the 'autonomization' of the independent Soviet Republics. He misconstrued the national policy of the Party, maintaining that the independence of the national Soviet Republics was no more than formal.

Stalin opposed the independence of these republics to the need of unifying them effectively in 'an economic whole'. He contended that the only way to secure the 'actual unity of the Soviet Republics' was to turn them into autonomous republics within the framework of the RSFSR. 'It is my plan,' Stalin wrote, 'to recognize autonomization as desirable with respect to . . . the five independent republics (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia).'

The 'autonomization' plan was approved by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The Georgian Communists opposed it. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia favoured relations based on formal agreement. The Ukrainian Communist Party did not even discuss the project. Earlier, in March 1922, the Political Bureau of the CC, Ukrainian Communist Party, noted in its decision concerning relations between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR that it was acting upon the resolution of the Eighth All-Russia Party Conference 'On Soviet Power in the Ukraine'

which stressed that the Communist Party of Russia 'maintains the view of recognising the independence of the Ukrainian SSR'.

Stalin submitted his 'autonomization' plan to the commission of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee. The commission, which convened on September 23 and 24, with Molotov in the chair, accepted Stalin's draft resolution as a basis. On the following day, September 25, the documents of the commission and the resolutions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia were dispatched to Lenin, who was in Gorki, while the commission's resolution was circulated as a preparatory paper for the plenary meeting scheduled for early October, among the members and alternate members of the CC without Lenin's knowledge and consent.

Lenin studied all the material closely and conversed with Sokolnikov, Stalin, Orjonikidze, P. Mdivani, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, M. Okujava, L. Dombadze and K. Tsintsadze, who were members of the CC, Communist Party of Georgia, and Myasnikov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Armenia. He was strongly opposed to the idea of 'autonomizing' the independent Soviet Republics and levelled caustic criticism at Stalin's proposal. In a letter, 'The Question of Nationalities or "Autonomization"', which he wrote later, he described 'autonomization' as an act of great-power policy and a deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin stressed that the 'whole business of "autonomization" was radically wrong and badly timed. I think,' Lenin wrote, 'that Stalin's haste and his infatuation with pure administration, together with his spite against the notorious "nationalist socialism", played a fatal role. In politics', Lenin added, 'spite generally plays the basest of roles'.

Lenin set out a fundamentally different plan for unifying the Soviet Republics. He based it on the principles of Soviet federalism which he had worked out earlier, and on the summed-up experience of national development in our country, and defined the specific form of union—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — based on the voluntary unification of equal and independent Soviet Republics.

This was a major contribution to Marxist theory and to the practice of socialist construction. He conceived of a new type of multi-national state and, at once, a new type of federative proletarian state—a united multi-national socialist state, a voluntary union of equal and sovereign nations governed by the principles of proletarian internationalism.

On September 26, 1922, in a letter to the members of the Political Bureau, Lenin criticized the commission's resolution on 'autonomization' and set out his own plan for the union of the Soviet Republics. . . . Stalin did not take Lenin's criticism in the right spirit. He was opposed to Lenin's suggestion of unifying

the Soviet Republics on the basis of equality and sovereignty. His letter to that effect addressed to Lenin and the other members of the Political Bureau on September 27, 1922, referred with intolerable rudeness to Lenin.

Although he accepted Lenin's proposal of forming the USSR, the terms in which he couched his consent indicated that it was purely formal. He objected to the idea of a union-wide Central Executive Committee along with the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR and suggested reorganizing the latter into a federal Central Executive Committee. Stalin did not grasp the internationalist substance of the idea of forming the USSR, and qualified Lenin's attitude as 'national liberalism'.

Evidently Kamenev and Stalin exchanged notes at that time (the notes are not dated). In his reply to Kamenev, who wrote, 'Lenin has made up his mind to go to war in behalf of independence,' Stalin said: 'In my opinion we have to be firm against Lenin.'

However, Stalin knew that the Central Committee would back Lenin and did not dare to insist on his own point of view. So he revised the resolution of the commission of the Organizing Bureau of the CC to bring it into line with all of Lenin's proposals.

The new draft, signed by Stalin, Orjonikidze, Myasnikov and Molotov, was sent to the members and alternate members of the Central Committee. The preamble to the draft did not say that it had

been revised in accordance with Lenin's principles and the fundamental difference between the 'autonomization' project and Lenin's plan of forming the USSR was obscured. The preamble said that the commission's resolution on 'autonomization' was 'basically correct and definitely acceptable', but that it 'had to be made more specific in some parts, chiefly those concerning the structure of the union-wide central bodies and partly, concerning their functions'.

The new resolution, the preamble added, was a 'somewhat revised and more precise exposition of the decision passed by the CC commission'.

On October 6, when the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee convened, Lenin, who was indisposed and could not attend, wrote the following note to Kamenev:

'I declare war unto death on Great-Russian chauvinism. As soon as I get rid of my toothache I'll eat it up with all my good teeth.'

'It is absolutely essential to insist,' Lenin added to his proposals of forming the USSR, 'that the Union Central Executive Committee should have as chairman in rotation

- 'a Russian,
- 'a Ukrainian,
- 'a Georgian, etc.

'Absolutely!'

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee ranged itself behind Lenin's proposal. It passed a resolution based on his proposals and circulated it as a CC directive. It also appointed a new commission to draft a law on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was to be submitted to the Congress of Soviets.

For a summary of the relations between Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky on the 'national question' and an irreproachably truthful account of the facts of this controversy, we must turn to Moshe Lewin's book, 'Lenin's Last Struggle' (Faber and Faber 1969).

Lenin, who at the beginning of 1922 supported Stalin against the Georgian opposition of Mdivani because he imagined the Georgian opposition was being unreasonably nationalistic and intractable, soon began to change his opinion on the role of the communists sent from Moscow to help integrate Georgia into the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics (RSFSR), referred to yesterday.

Uneasiness turned into alarm and deep suspicion when he received a letter from Okudzhava, member of the old Georgian Central Committee, accusing Ordzhonikidze of making threats against the Georgian communists.

When the Soviet emissaries Rykov and Ordzhonikidze returned from Georgia in early December 1922, Lenin, who a few days before had already secured an agreement with Trotsky to fight bureaucracy in the Party, questioned them closely. He was outraged by what he discovered, writes Lewin:

'Dzerzhinsky's inquiry naturally corroborated the explanations originally founded by the Secretariat (i.e. Stalin). Ordzhonikidze was whitewashed and all the blame laid once again on the dangerous deviationists. But this time Lenin was more aware of what was going on and he suspected a lie beneath the scaffolding of the official thesis. He was particularly struck by two

facts that Dzerzhinsky was unable to conceal. First, the commission had decided to recall to Moscow the leaders of the former Georgian Central Committee, who were held responsible for everything. Secondly, Ordzhonikidze had lost his temper and gone so far as to strike an opponent, also a member of the Party. Potieva recounts, and Lenin himself confirms, that Dzerzhinsky's account "upset him deeply".

It was these events as much as the deliberate rudeness of Stalin to Krupskaya—Lenin's wife—that impelled Lenin to add to and qualify his 'Testament' with the now famous postscript calling for the removal of Stalin as general-secretary of the Party.

The Georgian events convinced Lenin that the fight against Stalin had to be concluded at the 12th Party Congress—and the official line completely reversed.

For this reason Lenin set up a private commission of three people—two personal secretaries and the secretary of Sovnarkom—to investigate in detail the circumstances of the Georgian episode and in particular the role of Stalin.

The question which faced Lenin, however, was on whom could he rely to conduct the struggle in a final and victorious conclusion if his health failed again—or worse still—if he died? The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, which to this day has not published the results of Lenin's private commission—delivered on March 3, 1923—would, of course, like the Soviet public to believe that that the crisis was amicably resolved, or that possibly it did not even exist.

Lewin's book, however, throws an entirely different and embarrassing light on this question:

"Lenin spurred on the work of his commission; his health was precarious and he wanted at all costs to deliver a memorandum on the national question to the coming Congress. New information might necessitate an extension of the inquiry, perhaps even sending someone to the scene of the incident, all of which would take a great deal of time. "Any delay in the commission's work, he told Potieva on February 14, might ruin its chances of success, and that would be a great

blow to him. There are no notes in the "Journal" from February 14 to March 5. Moreover, the editors of the "Works" [of Lenin] provide no information about these three weeks. Lenin may well have written nothing during this period, and in any case, the secretaries were very busy on their work for the "clandestine commission."

"One thing is known, however: on March 3 the commission presented its conclusion. But the document has not yet come to light. Why has the Institute of Marxism-Leninism not yet made it public? Could it have "disappeared", like Kabanidze's complaint?"

"For the present, nothing is known about it. In any case, the results of the commission's work must have given the last two active days of Lenin's life the character of a major struggle. They must have made Lenin more bitter and more angry with his colleagues than ever and strengthened his conviction that the sorry Georgian affair was merely one symptom of a much deeper sickness.

"But Lenin's declining health did not allow him to live much longer in such a state of emotional and nervous tension. His illness grew rapidly more serious, and owing to a combination of his disturbed emotional state and the steady increase of the sclerosis, he began to feel very ill.

"This was no doubt the reason that drove him, without further delay, to deliver the blows that he had been preparing against his opponents for the past two months, even if it was still a little early to do so. The first three attacks were directed against a single objective: Stalin. Lenin managed to conceal from his doctors the deep emotional stress that he felt when he took these decisions, and told them, Potieva reports, that he was merely dictating a few business letters. About noon on March 5, he called for Volodicheva and dictated two letters.

"The first, which was strictly secret and written in an unusually affectionate tone, was addressed to Trotsky and was to be read out to him at once over the telephone. Here it is: "I earnestly ask you to undertake the defence of the Georgian affair at the Central Committee of the Party. That

affair is now under 'persecution' at the hands of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Indeed, quite the contrary! If you would agree to undertake its defence, I could be at rest. If for some reason you do not agree, send me back all the papers. I will consider that a sign of your disagreement.

"With the very best comradesly greetings,

Lenin."

"Lenin could do nothing without an ally. Trotsky was not only the sole possible ally, he could also be depended on. With the protection of Lenin alive, Trotsky was still unbeatable in the early months of 1923. The form of closing used by Lenin to Trotsky was so warm that Stalin, when forced to read out the letter before the Central Committee in July 1926—by which time his position could no longer be seriously threatened—preferred nonetheless to change it to a mere "With communist greetings". This letter represented a great victory for Trotsky."

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism has claimed though it doesn't mention it in 'Against Trotskyism', that Trotsky refused on the grounds of his own illness to defend Lenin's position on the 'National Question' at the Party's Central Committee and the 12th Congress.

This indicates that they acknowledge Lenin's trust in Trotsky to fight Stalin during the last days of his political life (outlined in Moshe Lewin's book 'Lenin's Last Struggle' [Faber and Faber] which we quoted yesterday). In fact, however, the Institute confirms that a letter from Potieva (Lenin's secretary) to Kamenev exists which refers to the 'pact' between Lenin and Trotsky, showing that the latter had accepted Lenin's brief.

It was in March 1923, also, that Lenin dictated his last articles, 'Better Fewer But Better' and 'On the Workers and Peasants Inspection'. Both these were slashing attacks on Stalin in particular as the

chief representative of the bureaucracy.

Lenin was, in the words of one of his secretaries, preparing 'a bomb' against Stalin. He never finished his preparations, which were undoubtedly aimed at putting an abrupt end to Stalin's career as general secretary and politically exposing his unprincipled manoeuvres.

On March 10 1923, Lenin suffered another stroke which deprived him of the power of speech. His political life was at an end. What emerges with absolute clarity from the documents and letters now available confirms to the hilt Trotsky's version of these events in 'The Stalin School of Falsification'.

For many decades these documents were suppressed by the very Institute which now publishes this book. Circulation of Lenin's testament or of his last articles became a serious offence and the entire period was re-written in Soviet history books to obscure the differences and paint Stalin as 'Lenin's faithful pupil'.

It was not until Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th congress of the CPSU in 1956, a speech which did not long remain secret, that the existence of these damning documents was admitted.

Now the Institute for Marxism-Leninism is belatedly trying to re-enter them in the archives, to enable the falsifiers at the Institute to regurgitate all the lies about Trotsky and Trotskyism.

The final chapters of this book consist of resolutions denouncing Trotskyism passed from 1923 to 1927 by various Stalinist Party organizations and trade union and factory bodies.

It is difficult to imagine who is going to be impressed by reading the opinions of the presidium of the CC of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' trade union in their letter to the Metalworkers' CC in support and approval of the letter of the presidium of the Metalworkers' CC to the leaders of the 'New Opposition'—which is solemnly reproduced here.

Knowing that the same bodies which unanimously condemned Trotskyism in 1927 passed resolutions equally unanimously ten years later calling for the wholesale

massacres of Stalin's opponents, these documents lack any semblance of credibility.

They are presumably included on the principle that if you throw enough mud, some of it must stick, though the documents are all based on the myth of Trotskyism created quite consciously by Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev with the sole purpose of blackening Trotsky's name and preparing the ground for the Stalinization of the Bolshevik Party.

The book goes no further than 1929 when, the editors inform us, Trotsky's expulsion from the USSR, thus finally smashed the Trotsky opposition ideologically and organizationally.

If Trotskyism was smashed 'ideologically and organizationally' in 1929, how is it that in the next sentence they can tell their readers:

"However, under various guises, Trotskyite ideology continues to harm the liberation movement?"

Like all bureaucrats the editors of this book have learned nothing from history, which demonstrates that objective truth is stronger than all their carefully fabricated lies.

Whatever their wishes, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism cannot turn the clock back to the 'Stalin era' they so much loved. Their crisis forces them to attack Trotskyism by every means possible.

That is their particular service, to imperialism in its hour of crisis. But the lies and slanders this volume is intended to sustain have already been discredited even by the liars themselves.

The British pupils of the Moscow lie-machine, among them the Communist Party's Mrs Betty Reid and Monty Johnstone, have already tried and failed to revive the slander campaign of the 1930s against the Trotskyist movement.

The book 'Against Trotskyism' demonstrates how much international Stalinism fears and hates the growth of revolutionary consciousness in the working class and the development of the revolutionary alternative leadership.

CONCLUDED

¹ Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik).

² Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics.

books from labor publications

Labor Publications, along with New Park Publications of England, is embarking on a major publishing program. This will include new editions of Trotsky's basic writings and an expanded series of pamphlets of Marxist classics with new introductions which try to develop a new understanding of these works in light of the international crisis today and the tasks of the Trotskyist movement. This is a giant stride forward in the development of a Marxist publishing house. Be sure to look for our new titles in the coming months!

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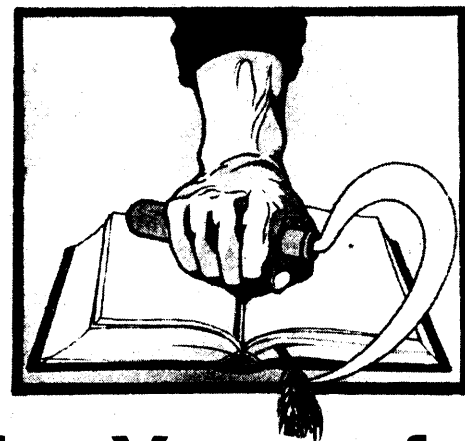
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Fred Mueller books

DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The Formative Years (1933-40). Pathfinder Press, New York, 1973. \$3.95.

This volume includes articles and documents from the first four international conferences of the Trotskyist movement, including many which have long been out of print. It is a record of the continuing struggle for Marxism which laid the necessary foundations for the Fourth International.

The German crisis which resulted in Hitler's seizure of power in 1933 was a decisive turning point for the entire working class and the revolutionary movement. Following Hitler's consolidation of power, the Left Opposition was forced to conclude that its 10 year struggle to reform the Communist International was over, that the Comintern was dead and that a new revolutionary international had to be built.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, which by 1933 had become such a powerful counter-revolutionary force, arose and consolidated its strength out of the reaction following the first successful workers' revolution in Russia in 1917. With the temporary restabilization of capitalism internationally after the First World War, the first workers' state entered a very difficult period of enforced isolation.

The tremendous defeat of the German workers in 1923 was a major turning point in the strengthening of the grip of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. With Lenin's death in 1924 the privileged layers more and more openly sought to subordinate the Bolshevik Party to their own reactionary aims. They sought to protect their relatively privileged position by acceptance of the status quo. This took the form of Stalin's slogan "socialism in one country." Stalin became the spokesman for the bureaucracy and the anti-Marxist formula about the self-sufficient development of socialism became the weapon to justify the complete betrayal of the struggles of the working class all over the world.

OSCILLATING

For 10 years the bureaucracy pursued a centrist course, oscillating between more and more pronounced adaptation to the reformists, the Social Democracy and the petty bourgeois nationalists and, when this policy brought the workers' state to the brink of disaster, abrupt reversals of policy, with ultra-left commands and ultimatums as a substitute for revolutionary strategy.

From 1929 to 1933 the Comintern followed an ultra-left policy which condemned the working class everywhere to disastrous defeat. In Germany as elsewhere the Social Democracy was dubbed "social-fascist." The right-wing bourgeois regimes which preceded Hitler were also equated with the Nazis. Millions of workers who looked to the Communist Party for leadership because of the heritage of the Russian Revolution were disarmed by these suicidal policies.

From February 4 to 8, 1933 the International Preconference of the International Left Opposition met in Paris. This was a period of growth for the Left Opposition, as many advanced workers both in the Soviet Union and elsewhere could see the correctness of its policies and its warnings addressed to the international labor movement.

The Preconference, meeting only one week after Hitler's seizure of power, refused to regard the struggle in Germany as over. It sent the following telegram to the Communist International in Moscow:

"In face gravity German situation and

threat against USSR we demand urgent convocation World Congress Communist International with participation International Left Opposition.

"Invite Comintern to propose united front to organizations—Socialist and Labor International, Profintern, Amsterdam International for common action German and international proletariat against German fascism for defense USSR."

At the same time the Preconference addressed an appeal "to all Members of the Communist Party of Germany, to all Social Democratic Workers, to the entire Proletariat of Germany." This appeal insisted that "the victory over fascism is still possible." In spite of the treachery of the official leaders, the organizations of the German working class were still intact and capable of defeating Hitler. In order to accomplish that, however, a joint



Trotsky at his desk in Buyuf Ada, Turkey.

struggle against fascism was required. The statement, which was the policy for which the German Trotskyists were fighting at this time, called upon every section of workers to take the offensive with the building of a united front of all workers' organizations.

The Left Opposition refused to give up a single position without a struggle. Until the last moment it fought for a change in Germany. The official leaders, however, refused to change their policies. Rather than unite in the struggle against fascism, the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders walked to their own destruction. The Executive Committee of the Comintern, meeting on April 1, 1933, reaffirmed without qualification the previous policy of social fascism, stating that the "establishment of an open fascist dictatorship...accelerates the rate of Germany's development toward proletarian revolution."

These policies enabled Hitler to consolidate his power without any organized opposition. The trade unions and other workers' organizations were dismantled step by step. In July Trotsky wrote an article entitled "On the Need for a New German Party." The plenum of the International Left Opposition declared for a new International at its meeting of August 3, 1933 and it changed its name to International Communist League.

This turn taken by the Left Opposition in 1933 was only possible on the basis of the sharpest struggle within the movement itself. This internal struggle, as documented in this volume, was the very heart of everything.

This was as it had to be. The crisis in the working class found its sharpest reflection in the revolutionary movement, among the tendencies which resisted the changes required by the objective situation. A deepening of the political and economic crisis precipitated a crisis within the revolutionary forces. The task of the leadership was to understand this crisis and fight it out to the end.

Otherwise there could be no training of revolutionary leaders, no struggle against Stalinism and its imperialist masters.

This struggle was taken up at the Preconference in February 1933. The main resolution, "The International Left Opposition, Its Tasks and Methods," made a detailed assessment of the movement itself.

The Preconference probed the objective basis of the problems of the movement. After World War One sections of the middle classes were attracted to the revolutionary movement. These included many different sectarian, anarchist and propagandist elements. Some of these elements entered the apparatus, some left the movement, and some sought to attach themselves to the Left Opposition as the struggle developed in the Bolshevik Party and internationally.

refused to build a movement with roots in the masses on the basis of Marxist principles. The resolution called for a complete break with the Brodigists in Italy, with whom there had been some discussion and collaboration at an earlier stage. For years this group maintained a policy of the complete rejection of all democratic demands and slogans. During the course of the German crisis it rejected the policy of a united front with the Social Democracy against the fascists.

ADAPTING

The Preconference also discussed the situation of the Spanish, German and other sections. It made some particularly serious criticisms of the Spanish Opposition. The leadership was accused of adapting to the petty bourgeois nationalists around Maurin in Catalonia, of failing "to draw the necessary borderline between itself and the Right Opposition," and of turning against internationalism and international experience.

The Preconference Resolution outlined a series of political differences with the Spanish comrades, including their declaration in favor of putting forward their own parliamentary candidates and their changing their name to "Left Communists," as well as their demand that the conference be opened to those who had split or been expelled from the Opposition.

It called for immediate measures to bring all issues in dispute before all the members of the Spanish Opposition. "All the principled questions of the International Left must be placed on the agenda, and sympathies, antipathies and personal insinuations must not be allowed to become substitutes for the taking of clear political positions."

This tendency to begin from subordinate questions of subjective points and prestige reflected the pressure of the middle class against a disciplined, revolutionary and serious international movement. This method was to lead Andres Nin and his group in Spain away from the Fourth International, into the POUM, and into a policy of support for the Popular Front government which strangled the Spanish Revolution after 1936. When the Preconference struggled on the questions of discipline and a firm political line, it was fighting out these life and death questions for the entire working class.

Along similar lines, the Preconference took up the crisis in the German section. Here a group around Roman Well had left the Opposition to join the Stalinists.

The Preconference discussed how the Stalinists had been able to take the political initiative within the Opposition in this way, in the midst of the tremendous crisis in Germany. It accused the leadership of the German Opposition of vacillating in dealing with the Well group, and of blurring the differences between the Opposition and the Stalinists:

"The Left Opposition can open a road to the masses only through the greatest energy, absolute dedication to its ideas, and constant readiness to defend its banner to the end. To tolerate in the leadership those who are vacillating, tired, passive or candidates for capitulation is an out and out crime."

The conference called for various practical measures to strengthen the German section theoretically and politically, including jolting a national conference as soon as possible. It called for a turn to the worker elements, bringing them into the leadership of the movement, and turning the paper into an expression of the struggles of the working class and not only the internal questions of the Communist Party itself.

Without this struggle among all the sections of the Left Opposition, the turn taken later in 1933 toward the construction of the Fourth International would not have been possible. This was a critical point in the training of leaders who would be prepared for all the revolutionary struggles ahead.

TO BE CONTINUED



Westinghouse plant near Pittsburgh in the 1940s.

STALINISM AND THE UE/PART 3

Union Bureaucrats Split The UE

BY DAVID NORTH

Following the re-election of Truman, the CIO began a concerted effort to red-bait the leadership of the UE out of the labor movement and into jail if possible. In UE plants throughout the country, representatives of the Carey faction beat up supporters of the UE—including militant trade unionists who did not like Fitzgerald but who wanted to prevent the destruction of a union in the electrical industry.

One older worker in what is now IUE Local 255 in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, told the *Bulletin*: "I was for keeping the UE here and supported it in the elections. But all one heard all day was communism this and communism that—and a lot of men didn't really know what to make of it. It didn't help the union at all."

The UE put up virtually no defense against the campaign except to expel from the union those it believed to be working with Carey. As the 1949 CIO Convention approached, the UE sought to avoid a struggle with the right wing by threatening to withhold its per capita tax to the CIO if the IUE raiding operation continued.

Had the Stalinists been willing to fight it out in the CIO on the basis of a program to mobilize the American working class against Truman and in that way expose the real position of Murray, the CIO never could have carried out the expulsions. Murray himself had very little support within the working class.

As Art Preis explained in *Labor's Giant Step*, "Murray might have faced the roughest time of his career at this CIO convention. His position was very shaky because of his timid, feeble leadership in the steel struggle. More than 80 percent of the steelworkers were in the fifth week of their strike. Murray had given away their major demands and had committed them to Truman's fact-finding recommendation of a miserable fringe benefit."

But the UE walked out of the Convention rather than fight the anti-communist amendment introduced by their former crony, Mike Quill. This amendment barred from membership on the CIO Executive Board anyone who was either a member or supporter of the Communist Party.

REAL MOTIVES

The debate which followed the departure of the UE was very revealing. While Reuther sought to give the witch-hunt a left cover by listing the betrayals of the CP and UE, Murray was more frank in exposing the real motives.

Reuther accused the UE of betraying "every basic concept which is associated with the Left," but the actual resolution expelling the UE from the CIO made the following points:

"1. The CIO along with the American people support the Marshall Plan as a humane policy of physical and human rehabilitation and reconstruction to stop the spread of totalitarianism and strengthen the forms of democracy.

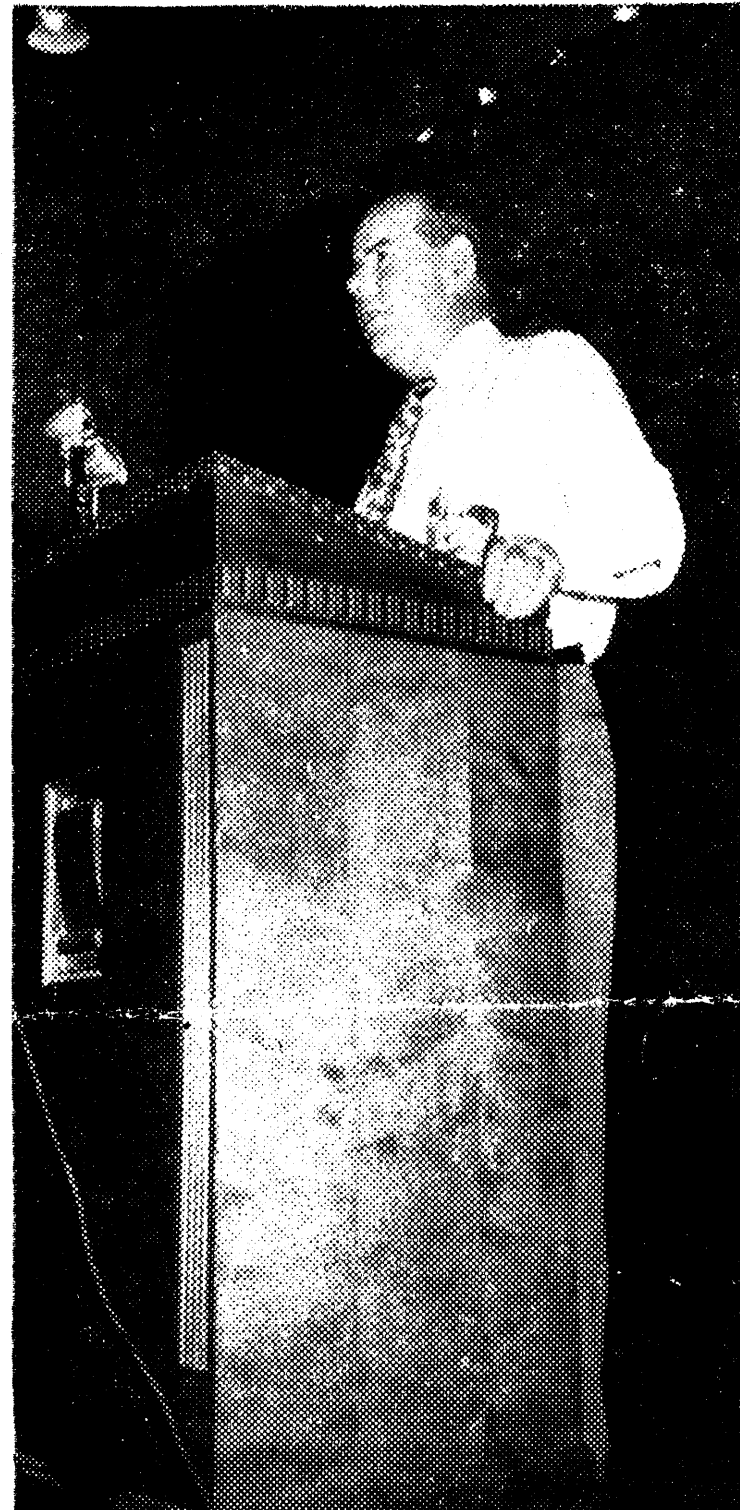
"2. The CIO along with the American people support the Atlantic Pact to prevent any further expansion of the Soviet Union's rule by force and terror."

GUIDED

In short, the CIO bureaucracy was guided only by the interests of American capitalism and was willing to split the labor movement to break down all opposition within the labor movement to the war policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

The gratitude of the administration to the CIO for having gone ahead with the expulsion of the CP was expressed at the first convention of the IUE, held later that November. Greetings were sent to James Carey from Truman and among those invited as special honored guests were Averell Harriman, Stuart Symington—a former president of electrical companies with close connections to the military—and Labor Secretary Maurice Tobin.

Never in the history of the labor movement was any convention—even that of the trade



Albert Fitzgerald, UE international president who capitulated to the witch-hunt by walking out of the 1949 Convention, giving Murray an excuse to expel the UE.

union bureaucracy—so totally dominated by witch-hunting and red-baiting. The Convention even opened with an invocation from one Rev. William Gordon that concluded: "I feel very honored to again associate myself with the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Daily Worker notwithstanding. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Carey, installed as the first President of the IUE, strutted to the podium and declared: "You know every Communist in the world worships what they call the October Revolution. We have reason to believe that they will have concern about the November counter-revolution."

Philip Murray worked himself into a frenzy: "The old UE was a Communist nest, an inferno. They brought into the union every notorious communistic renegade they could employ... So far as I am concerned, those boys are through. Yes, I say to you, my friends, they're through and you are going to see to it that they are through in your industry.

"The issue is purely and unadulteratedly communism..."

ANTI-SEMITISM

The convention voted to organize an all-out drive to capture the UE locals through NLRB elections that were scheduled for December, 1949. For this purpose, the IUE circulated leaflets that added anti-semitism to the

usual dosage of anti-communism.

Headlined "10 Long Years of Communist Rule," one IUE leaflet asked: "Look who runs the union (UE)," and then listed:

"James J. Matles—or Matles Friedman or Matles Freedman or whatever other name he has been known by is a naturalized citizen of the US, coming originally from Romania... He is a Romanian-born alien Communist and as such in his union capacity he exercises a dominant influence in the lives of 2,000,000 Americans."

BOOMERANGED

However, the red-baiting boomeranged in the faces of the Carey forces. In many locals where the IUE had expected a large plurality, it either won by very small margins or lost. Although a prominent UE leader, Julius Emspak, was under a federal investigation that was to lead to an indictment on the basis of witch-hunt laws, the UE maintained a strong base within the electrical industry. The IUE captured 47,486 votes with a majority in 49 GE plants while the UE held 40 plants with 36,683 votes. But the IUE became the main electrical workers union after the Schenectady local went over.

It is important to note that the IUE scored its biggest success in the Cleveland Local 707, where there was absolutely no red-baiting and the Stalinists lost on the basis of their misleadership, to a group of insurgents.

TO BE CONTINUED



The dollar: "The credit system accelerates the material development of the productive forces and the establishment of the world market...At the same time credit accelerates the violent eruptions of this contradiction..."

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

This is the fifth of a series of articles on Spartacist's reaction to the recent Workers League Class Series "20 Years of the International Committee."

We have shown that Spartacist has completely distorted Marx's assessment of the contradictions of capitalism which lead to crisis. Marx insisted that capitalist crisis was brought about by a tendency towards overproduction. Overproduction, Marx pointed out, was not a matter of producing more than people needed but producing more than could be sold profitably within the definite limits of the market. The market is made up primarily of the very workers from whom an extra amount of value is extracted beyond what is returned to them in salaries.

"The criterion of this expansion of production is capital itself, the existing level of the conditions of production and the unlimited desire of the capitalists to enrich themselves and to enlarge their capital, but by no means consumption, which from the outset is inhibited, since the majority of the population, the working people, can only expand their consumption within very narrow limits, whereas the demand for labor, although it grows absolutely, decreases relatively, to the same extent that capitalism develops." (Theories of Surplus Value, Volume II, Page 492.)

It is at this point that the question of the falling rate of profit enters the picture. Spartacist deals with the question in two related ways. First, it asserts that "the root cause of all crises is that capital expands faster than the surplus value that it generates (i.e., the rate of profit falls)." Then we are reassured:

"Currently the WL claims we are in the midst of the worst crisis ever, which has driven the profit rate to 'below the level of zero percent (Bulletin, 12 February 1973), when in fact we are in the middle-to-late stages of a boom which sent profits up more than 25 percent during the first quarter of 1973."

DENY

After having denounced us for insisting that a boom took place in the 1950s and asserting that this violated Trotsky's assessment of the epoch, Spartacist then proceeds to denounce us for not recognizing that a boom exists today! Its purpose, under all conditions, is to deny change, to ignore the seriousness of the capitalist crisis so that the circle operation can proceed as always. Thus crisis is seen as caused by a falling of the rate of profit and it is asserted that no such development has taken place.

Marx's assessment of the falling rate of profit is developed most fully in Volume 3 of Capital although it is also discussed in

the Theories of Surplus Value and other places. It is this process that Marx is alluding to when he discusses the tendency for the demand for labor to grow absolutely but decrease relatively as the capitalist system develops. This in turn is a central reason for overproduction for it means the market, which is made up of workers, cannot possibly be sufficient relative to the expansion of the totality of capital. It is this way that the crisis of overproduction, which can be only comprehended by seeing the capitalist system of reproduction as a whole, is related to the falling rate of profit.

According to Marx, the very heart of capitalism is the production of surplus value. Surplus value comes only from the working class, it is that value created by the worker in the portion of the day left after he produces enough value to equal his own subsistence. Surplus value is thus produced only through man's labor.

The rate of surplus value tends to constantly increase in capitalism through a rise in the productivity of labor. That is, the portion of labor time devoted to the value which goes to the capitalist increases relatively to the portion which returns to the workers as the workers' efficiency rises quite out of proportion to any increase in his subsistence level.

RATE OF PROFIT

However, the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit are quite distinct and their movement is oppositional. This is because capital is divided into two parts—constant capital and variable capital. The former is largely machinery which greatly increases the productivity of labor and raises therefore the rate of surplus value. The latter is wages and it is only out of this section that surplus value itself is gotten. The rate of profit is determined on the basis of total capital. As capitalism develops it becomes more and more mechanized and automated so that while there may be an absolute increase in the total work force, there is actually a relative drop in the employment of labor in relation to capital as a whole and a corresponding drop in the rate of profit.

The rate of profit, contrary to the simplistic thinking of Spartacist, is not the same thing as the aggregate profit an individual capitalist receives. In fact the tendency for the rate of profit to fall is the major factor encouraging the development of larger and larger aggregates of capital so that a greater mass of profit can be realized at the lower rate. This is why the monopolies and cartels stand up better under periods of capitalist crisis and decline than smaller firms. So one expression of the rate of profit to fall is precisely increases in the mass of profit for a period.

Marx writes:

"Thus the same development of social productiveness of labor expresses itself with the progress of capitalist production on the one hand in a tendency of the rate of profit to fall progressively and, on the other, in a progressive growth of the absolute mass of the appropriated surplus

What Is Spartacist Today?

The Role Of Credit

Part Five

value, or profit; so that on the whole a relative decrease of variable capital and profit is accompanied by an absolute increase of both." (Capital, Volume III, Page 223).

Thus the figures which Spartacist quotes—and we might point out percentages are meaningless because the bourgeoisie determines profit on the basis of sales rather than capital and manipulates its profit figures in hundreds of ways—in no sense contradicts the assertion that we have now entered a period where the rate of profit may have reached zero. In fact the mass profits of large corporations is one indication of precisely this.

Marx also points out that while large well established capitalist firms are able to survive through their ability to amass profits, smaller firms and those newly established go under because the rate of profit is a general phenomenon of the entire capitalist system at any particular point of its development. Today we see the rise of conglomerates precisely as a method of amassing profits under conditions of the declining profit rate. These conglomerates tend more and more to move into real estate, various credit operations and other forms of profitmaking of a fictitious character, distant from the source of value in the productive process.

HISTORICAL

We should also note that we must see the capitalist system in its overall historical development. Marx wrote of it under conditions in which it was still capable of expansion of the productive forces of mankind. Crises in his period were more limited in impact and largely of a commodity or commercial nature. Today the overall expansion of capital with its corresponding change in the organic composition of capital producing a falling rate of profit means that capitalism has reached its general historical limit. It is still capable of some limited development here or there as during the 1950s. But this development must be seen within the overall view of a system which has come up against its limit—its barrier—and is in decline. This is why the question of the falling rate of profit is so important to an understanding of the nature of capitalist crisis today.

This is also why questions of the monetary system and credit become so vital as well. As Lenin explained, the epoch of imperialism is a period of capitalist decay in which finance capital triumphs over manufacturing capital. The money form of capital predominates and it is in the money form that the greatest elasticity of capitalism is achieved. This allows the introduction of the most extreme forms of disequilibrium. These, in turn, to use Marx's phrases, are so many mines for the exploding of the capitalist system.

It is therefore very significant that Marx follows up that original sentence which Spartacist had quoted in an attempt to disprove the importance of monetary

crises, with the following parenthetical remark:

"In so far as the development of money as means of payment is linked with the development of credit and of excess credit the causes of the latter have to be examined, but this is not the place to do it." (Theories of Surplus Value, Volume II, Page 515).

The tremendous significance of this qualification can be grasped if we realize that paper currency is precisely a form of credit. Marx calls such currency "a circulating token of credit." (Capital, Volume III, Page 404.)

REPRODUCTION

If we look at the capitalist system as a whole we can immediately see the significance of this. It is a system of reproduction. A profit is made in the productive process but only realized through the circulation of commodities in the process of buying and selling. The movement of capital, which is commodities, is continuously passing through this circulation process both in the form of buying and selling of the goods produced and independently as well (rent, interest payments, loans, etc.).

But the circulation of commodities is not only C-M-M-C, that is, the sale of a commodity for money and the purchase of commodities needed with money, it is also M-C-M, that is, the purchase of a commodity precisely in order to sell it for more money, the movement of money. If forms of credit, of extended credit, are entered into this process both through bank loans and through the introduction of paper currency quite out of proportion to the money (gold) backing of the currency, then we can immediately see how the problem of overproduction can be momentarily overcome and along with the problems related to the falling rate of profit.

Purchasing power is quite artificially created by postponing for a period a reckoning between paper currency and real money, which it is supposed to represent. In the same fashion, fictitious capital is created in order to maintain profit mass and overcome the falling rate of profit. This is why the capitalist crisis, which has its roots elsewhere, as we have discussed, explodes in this period in the form of a monetary crisis.

Marx assesses this in Volume III of Capital:

"The credit system appears as the main lever to overproduction and over-speculation in commerce solely because the reproductive process, which is elastic in nature, is here forced to its extreme limits...The credit system accelerates the material development of the productive forces and the establishment of the world-market...At the same time credit accelerates the violent eruptions of this contradiction—crises—and thereby the elements of disintegration of the old mode of production." (Capital, Volume III, Page 441)

TO BE CONTINUED

WATERGATE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
chief executive but in effect as the sole lawmaker.

This is sharply reflected not only in Nixon's haughty defiance of the Senate investigating committee over the issue of "executive privilege" and the release of White House documents relating to the Watergate case, but in his complete disregard of laws in the Watergate bugging itself, the Ellsberg burglary, the illegal campaign contributions and "dirty tricks," and in numerous White House decisions from the bombing of Cambodia to illegal appointments like that of General Alexander Haig to replace H.R. Haldeman as Nixon's chief of staff.

In this context, and in the context of the international crisis which is forcing Nixon into a decisive clash with Europe and Japan and with the powerful American trade union movement, the presence of Army vice chief of staff and Kissinger

protege Haig in the White House is extremely ominous.

Nixon will not hesitate to use troops against workers whenever it becomes necessary—as the use of National Guard troops in Puerto Rico against strikers demonstrated—and Haig's appointment is Nixon's preparation to call on the military to keep himself in power should Congress move toward impeachment over the Watergate case.

Mitchell, who impudently perjured himself before the Senate in order to hide his own role and Nixon's role in directing the Watergate bugging, clearly revealed Nixon's arrogance toward democratic rights and institutions.

It is men like Mitchell that Nixon has gathered around him to help lead the attacks on workers and their democratic rights.

Mitchell made it very clear he would have gone to any lengths whatsoever to assure Nixon's re-

election—rigging elections and lying was the least of what Mitchell had in mind.

"...I still believe that the most important thing to this country was the re-election of Richard Nixon. And I was not about to countenance anything that would stand in the way of that re-election," he said in response to a question from Senator Howard Baker.

The dangers for the working class have been greatly intensified by the Constitutional confrontation which has developed between Nixon and Congress and by the complete refusal of any section of the trade union bureaucracy to wage even a minimal fight for Nixon's ouster and against his attacks on workers' living standards and democratic rights and trade unions.

The basic democratic rights contained in the Bill of Rights and won through the struggles to build the unions will not be de-

fended either by the liberals in Congress who are afraid to challenge Nixon's claims to "executive privilege" or by the Constitution which is based on the privileges of private property. Workers must defend these rights through their own independent political action.

This defense must be taken up by the unions through the

convening of a Congress of Labor. This Congress of Labor must demand Nixon's resignation and the scheduling of new elections, and it must construct a labor party which will fight in these elections for an alternative both to the bosses' parties and political gangsters and the Constitution by fighting for socialist policies and a workers' government.

PHASE FOUR . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Workers in every trade union must now take the fight for these political demands into their locals by introducing resolutions demanding that the leaders of the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters end their treacherous collaboration with Nixon and call a Congress of Labor.

Labor must now put forward this political alternative as Nixon sets out to destroy the standard of living of millions of workers and middle class people.

Without a labor party that can pose the alternative of socialism to the millions now under attack by this capitalist government, enormous dangers can emerge for the working class.

As inflation skyrockets, there are already indications that a sharp downturn in production has begun. With the development of massive inflation and a fast increase in unemployment, the social conditions for the emergence of fascism are being created.

The initiative now lies with the working class. A Congress of Labor would unite the working class and give a lead to millions who are now looking for an alternative to this hated Administration.

CLASH

The situation that has predominated over the past few months with the settlements in rubber, electrical and trucking

has become impossible. A big clash between labor and the government now looms over wages. A new upsurge of the working class has begun, reflected in the opposition of Teamster and postal locals to their recent settlements. This will now explode with the implementation of Phase Four and the price explosion.

This struggle now takes place under entirely new conditions, when Nixon has been exposed in Watergate and the government shaken by a constitutional crisis. This opens a real opportunity for the unions to deal a fatal blow to the corrupt gang in the White House and to build a labor party which alone can defend the wages, jobs and rights of the working class.

Gas Threat To Denver Workers

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The deepening international economic crisis and the massive upsurges of workers and youth around the world since the mid-1960s when Watts exploded in the first of a series of ghetto rebellions has spurred police and military technicians to develop an ever more sophisticated and deadly arsenal of weaponry for future use against the working class.

One of the most devastating and frightening weapons in the capitalist arsenal is the many varieties of poison gas, which have been extensively battle-tested on the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia.

Poison gases, which found their first military application with the use of mustard gas in World War One, have become one of the most relied-upon "riot control" weapons of the police. Discarding the relatively harmless tear gas (CN) several years ago, police now make extensive use of the much more dangerous CS, nausea gas and chemical "MACE" against workers and youth.

But these are just openers in the deadly hand the American military bosses are preparing to play against workers in the coming period. There are also the nerve gases, such as GB, which killed thousands of sheep in Utah during an "accident" in an Army test.

The Army maintains huge stockpiles of these deadly gases—which kill upon contact with the skin—in several locations, including the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, just 10 miles from downtown Denver.

Although local officials have been repeatedly assured by the Army that the Rocky Mountain Arsenal stockpiles would be either removed or destroyed—in the case of obsolete types of gas—they have now learned that the Pentagon intends to keep a large stockpile of the most recently-developed and deadly chemical warfare agents there permanently "as a deterrent."

This was revealed only after a Pentagon safety board rejected a proposal for a new runway at Stapleton International Airport which would have crossed the arsenal area. One of the reasons given for the rejection was "the poor physical condition" of the arsenal's facilities. A plane crash, they feared, might cause a rupture of one of the gas storage vaults.

The stockpile is enormous, even according to the incomplete inventory the Army provided the Environmental Protection Agency in 1972. Including what has already been detoxified, according to Army records, there are 463,000 gallons of GB nerve gas contained in 21,115 cluster bombs known as M-34s, 5.5 million pounds of mustard gas and 2.6 million pounds of phosgene gas.

State health officials told the *Bulletin* they are completely unprepared for a major "accident" at the arsenal. As the Utah sheep killings demonstrated, once the GB gas gets into the atmosphere, it can travel for many miles and spread over a large area.

Joseph Palomda Jr., assistant director of the state's air pollution division, said there is only enough medication on hand at surrounding medical facilities for 5000 patients.

"We can handle small accidents," he told the *Bulletin*, "but I think if we had a total catastrophe, we would be in a lot of trouble."

He said that although the Army has reinforced some of the storage bunkers with earthen embankments "following the media exposure," many of the facilities are "in a state of disrepair."

Meanwhile, many of the "precautions" the Army has supposedly taken to prevent an accident are classified, and Palomda said the state's request for a complete and updated inventory of gases stored at the arsenal may be turned down for "security" reasons, making it impossible to prepare for an emergency.

TRADE WAR . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

capitalists have the greatest difficulty agreeing upon any common policies outside the framework of their own national boundaries, Nixon is preparing the most brutal assaults against European capital—even at the expense of destroying the huge American investment in Europe—in order to preserve American profits as the economy is thrown into recession.

For workers this means being caught in a vice of runaway price increases—an inflation like none ever seen in this country before—and the growth of unemployment on a massive scale as the bosses and government struggle to drive workers' living standards down to the barest minimum and take a greater share in profits.

Revolutionary confrontations between workers and the capitalist rulers of Europe are rapidly developing as Nixon allows the dollar to continue its downward drift against the European currencies in order to use the trading advantages gained through continual devaluation as a bludgeon against Europe, outpricing European products on the international market and forcing the European bosses to prepare civil war against their own working classes.

Already, the dollar has been precipitously devalued against the major European currencies and the Japanese yen. Dollars now buy 55 percent less German marks than in September 1969, making American goods in Germany that much cheaper. The dollar's depreciation against the

French franc has been 18.7 percent since February of this year.

EXPORTS


The decisive competitive edge which US products are gaining in international trade is just beginning to have an impact, since the American manufacturing industry is not geared for export and is just starting to take advantage of the devaluations.

Already, however, the French aircraft industry has received a possibly mortal blow with the cancellation of an order for 10 Mercure jetliners from Belgium's Sabena Airlines. Sabena instead chose Boeing's 737s—at a 30 percent reduction in price.

This is the type of business disaster which will soon confront large sections of European capital, and European businessmen are becoming anxious about the continued fall of the dollar and are demanding reprisals against American trade war policies such as increased import duties. The political tensions which transform trade war into armed conflict are mounting.

This vicious economic warfare, while it may create a fleeting advantage for American capital at the expense of Europe and Japan, must inevitably deepen the crisis of American capitalism.

The American export drive will result in a glut on the world market in addition to the overproduction which already exists, and both will be sharply exposed by the collapse of the credit boom which has allowed the seemingly limitless extension of markets beyond the normal limits of capitalism.



Behind the Watergate Scandal

by Bruce McKay

Bulletin Pamphlet Series 15 50¢

Exposes how Watergate was part of Nixon's plan to destroy the democratic rights of American workers and reveals how Nixon has been groomed by California and Florida boom capitalists and organized crime since 1946 to lead the attacks on the trade unions. 50¢

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**SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
SYDNEY, June 28—A five week strike of 3000 auto workers at the Ford Broadmeadows plant near Melbourne highlights the massive offensive of Australian workers which is opening up in this period. The workers are demanding a 45 percent wage increase in an agreement which will cover all workers in the automobile industry.**

During a stormy meeting on Monday June 11, the union bureaucrats attempted to sell the management proposal of a five percent increase in the bonus and recommended a return to work. During the voting the meeting broke into uproar.

The union officials stated the vote was in favor of a return to work and instructed the workers to report on Wednesday morning. Ford management prepared for any confusion among the men by telegraphing a section to report on Wednesday at 6:00 a.m. instead of the usual time of 7:30 a.m.

On this morning hundreds of union militants gathered outside the plant, deciding to continue the strike, and set about closing the plant down. The workers responded by throwing rocks, breaking a large number of windows, and turned a fire hose on the building. The police intervened with mounted police and mobilized over 50 cops to defend the building. No arrests were made. The workers who had reported to work before the pickets had been set up, walked out and the strike has continued since that time, forcing the closure of another plant at Geelong, Victoria involving 1200 men.

Of the 11 unions which cover workers in the Australian auto industry by far the majority belong to the Vehicle Builders Union (VBU). This was set up by the companies and the leadership was trained by the CIA at Harvard University. It based itself on strong anti-communism, especially among the Eastern and Southern European workers who migrated to Australia following the Second World War. The VBU leadership was able to win significant gains during the postwar economic boom and its members were the highest paid unskilled workers in Australia.

DESTROY

But that boom is now over and as the major corporations internationally attempt to destroy all the gains of the working class, right-wing leaderships such as the VBU are completely incapable of controlling the working class. It was on this basis that they required the services of Laurie Carmicheal, Assistant Federal Secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (AMWU) and Central Committee member of the Stalinist Communist Party of Australia (CPA). It was his task to sell the workers the five percent rise in the bonus and get a return to work.

The riot at the Broadmeadows Ford plant signifies the opening up of a whole new period of struggle of the Australian working class. The breaking of the gold backing for the US dollar and the announcement of trade war by Nixon on August 15, 1971 has forced the Australian ruling class to step up its attacks on the working class, similar to the situations which have developed in every country throughout the

world and especially in Europe.

Since August, 1971 the Australian dollar has been revalued by 30 percent against the US dollar. The Australian dollar is still tied to the US dollar and the US dollar's continued devaluation in relation to the European currencies is causing much instability in foreign trading arrangements. There is considerable discussion in financial circles about breaking this tie and allowing the Australian dollar to float. Consequently, Australian exports on all markets are at a considerable disadvantage compared with just two or three years ago.

The attacks facing the working class have been most sharply expressed through inflation and unemployment. Prices have been rising at a rate of nine percent annually overall. This is the highest rate in 30 years. The price of land around the major cities has trebled in three years, making it impossible for workers to buy their own home. By the end of 1972, unemployment reached the highest rate since the depression, 1.5 percent.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The Australian working class responded to these attacks by voting in a Federal Labour Government led by Gough Whitlam in the December 2, 1972 federal elections. It was the first Federal Labour Government since 1949, and was brought to power by the working class to fight unemployment and restore their standard of living eroded by inflation.

The movement of workers taking place now is their response to the first six months of this government. The right-wing leadership of Gough Whitlam has refused to confront the problems of the working class. At every point it has moved to defend Australian capitalism. Under a cover of radical rhetoric especially around middle class issues such as abortion and opposition to the French nuclear tests proposed for the South Pacific in the near future, Whitlam is attempting to lay plans for a coalition with a section of the Liberal Party. It was this party which had made up the major coalition partner in the government for the previous 23 years.

No more evident has this been than in the Labour Government's foreign policy. Whitlam has signed treaties with the most reactionary leaders in Southeast Asia, like Suharto in Indonesia and Marcos in the Philippines and is already supplying military aid to Suharto.

In the recent state elections in Victoria, Whitlam openly sabotaged the Labour Party campaign led by the "left" wing. He boosted the Liberal Party leader as a "progressive" and denied any differences between the Liberal Party and Labour Party leaders. Following the victory of the Liberal Party, Whitlam had the audacity to state:

"In fact on the relevant issues—as everybody was saying before the election—there was



The Ford strike: above, fire axles stripped from delivery trucks rolled onto main drive of plant; below, worker uses tire axle to break plant windows.

Australian Labor On The Offensive

little difference between Mr. Hamer (Liberal Party leader), Mr. Holding (Labor Party leader) and for that matter myself."

In the federal Parliament, the ruling class opposition parties hold a majority in the upper house, the Senate. Already the Senate has blocked the most important bill to be presented to Parliament by the Labour Government. This was to remove the Penal Powers against the trade unions. These Powers have allowed the ruling class to bring massive fines against the trade unions when they refused to obey the decisions of the Arbitration Court.

Whitlam has consistently refused to call a Double Dissolution and to fight for a majority in both houses of Parliament in a federal election based on a program of socialist policies to meet the crisis.

At this time the right-wing Labour leadership is openly discussing the introduction of a wage freeze. Frank Crean, the Federal Treasurer, in a recent tour of Europe, was quoted after talks with the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Barber, in Great Britain as saying: "I pointed out to him that we were about to enter into a prices and incomes policy believing in it, while they (the Tories) had entered into one not believing in it."

Mr. Crean went on to speak of the Prices Justification Tribunal which the Labour Government is attempting to introduce now as "the first step to an incomes policy."

The recently held state congresses of the Australian Labour Party in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia have shown the complete capitulation of the left wing to Whitlam's right-wing policies. At none of these conferences did the "lefts" mount a campaign over the basic



questions such as the introduction of a wage freeze or a double dissolution which are fundamental to the defense of the working class.

This situation has now encouraged Whitlam and Crean to go ahead with their completely anti-working class policies. The right wing, especially in New South Wales, are presently mounting a witch-hunt against the left, to expel them from the Labour Party.

But the working class is moving against these attacks in an offensive unprecedented in recent times. The Ford workers are joined with workers in the steel industry, electricity power stations, breweries and building sites. Workers at the electrical power stations in New South Wales are demanding a 35 hour work week and have instituted a ban on overtime in support of their claim.

This has resulted in the closure of four fifths of industry in NSW and brought new blackout conditions. Sydney and most of NSW have not received any beer supplies for nearly three weeks as workers in the breweries are striking against the dismissal of a shop steward. Steel workers

have been carrying out rolling strikes of one day stoppages in support of their claim for a pay raise of \$18.50 per week.

The Australian working class is now testing out its present reformist leadership. This is an essential stage to expose the reformists for what they are—completely incapable of defending the rights of the working class in this period of sharp crisis. On this basis a revolutionary leadership can be built as the only means for the defense of the working class through the struggle for socialist policies.

Only the Australian Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, have prepared for this period in a continuous struggle to defend the working class and within the workers' movement to fight against the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists who try to deny the present economic crisis.

The Socialist Labour League is now in the process of raising over \$10,000 so that equipment can be purchased to improve the quality of their paper Labour Press and increase the frequency of production to a weekly. This will be the first socialist weekly paper in Australia since the 1920s.



Unemployment line at an Oakland center. Left: Unemployed seaman interviewed by the Bulletin.

Layoffs Hit The West Coast

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

"It's bad here. I've been out of work for three months and for everybody it's the same thing. There just isn't any work, there isn't the shipping like there used to be... I've been a seaman for over 20 years now, and it's the worst I've ever seen it, and it isn't going to get any better. If you know any people on the East Coast, tell them they'd be making a big mistake if they came out West."

Lately the federal government and the State of California have been ecstatic with joy because the unemployment figures, at least the adjusted ones, are showing a slight drop in unemployment throughout California.

But behind these figures, which leave out those who have given up looking for jobs and youth fresh out of the schools, are hundreds of thousands of workers being thrown out of work as speedups, layoffs and productivity cutbacks affect every part of industry.

According to the government's figures unemployment has supposedly dropped under five percent for the first time in years. The unemployment rate in the Oakland-San Francisco area is now 4.8 percent. Sixty-six thousand, six hundred workers in the Bay Area are registered for unemployment benefits, and over 284,000 throughout the state. Thirty-seven thousand workers out of the state-wide figures are youth and young workers under 25 years of age who have been registered as unemployed for more than three months.

STANDARDS

At the same time it is getting harder and harder to register for unemployment benefits. Workers are being told that they do not meet all the standards that the state has set up, and are thus ineligible for benefits, for the slightest reason. Far more cases are being held up until a "hearing" can be held to deter-

mine whether unemployment benefits will be given.

One worker who had just been refused unemployment benefits at the San Francisco unemployment center told the *Bulletin*: "I was just fired from the Post Office, and now they tell me here that I can't get anything. They said that I was fired for good reason. I told them right there that no matter what reason you are fired for the company says it's a 'good reason.'"

"I was fired because I didn't call in the couple of days when I couldn't work. I have this bad back that got screwed up in the Army, you see. Before I was driving a mail truck on pick up for over a year, but with the federal cutbacks they told me to do another job."

"The Post Office wanted me to be a letter carrier! Man, I just couldn't do it because of my back. And they told me I didn't have a choice about it, so I tried to do the work. But my back gives me trouble and I went over my sick days, and I usually called in when I just couldn't make it. But they don't even have anybody you can talk to, only a janitor or another carrier, and you sure have to hope that they write something on the supervisor's desk, or you're fired. So a couple of times I guess I didn't call in, or they didn't get the message and they fired me."

"Now they say I can't get any unemployment. Look man, I'll tell you they better give me something or they'll have to put me in jail. You can't live without money."

Another young worker told us he had been fired from United Airlines in 1971 and had not been able to find a job in two years. "I put in a claim when I was fired and then they told me I'd have to make something like \$350 before they'd give me any money. Isn't that crazy? It's been two years now and I haven't found a job yet, so I'm trying to open my claim and get a bit of unemployment money so I can live. But all they do here is give me a lot of bunk. I still don't know if I'll get any money."

REOPEN

After refusing unemployment benefits, the claim workers are being told to make the point that if the claimant can find a job and make a certain amount he then can reopen his claim. What this really means is that hundreds of workers are grabbing low paying jobs, hoping to make the required amount to again be eligible for benefits.

But after anyone makes the required amount they are told that if they have refused any job paying the same that their last job did, they again are ineligible. Workers who were making five dollars per hour and who have taken jobs at two dollars per hour to make the \$350 or so required are told that now they have to work at any job offering the two dollars per hour. And if any worker refuses a low paying job, he's thrown out of any possibility of getting unemployment.

Hundreds of workers are leaving the Bay Area in search of non-existent jobs in other areas. Many workers told us that they were heading East or to the Midwest to try and find something. One seaman, who had not worked in over three months, told us he was going to New Orleans because "that's the only place I know of where there is some work for seamen."

An unemployed federal worker said, "Hell, I've had more jobs in the past year than most people have in a lifetime. I worked for American Can, PG&E, and others. I got fired because I was telling people at work that we had to do something to stop Nix-

on's attacks on us. You know, the cutbacks and all. I think a labor party could do it, at least it would be a hell of a step in the right direction. There's no jobs here. I'm going to the Midwest. Sure, the jobs that are there won't be there after a year or so, but at least there is some work."

Almost without exception every worker we talked to belonged to a union, and was extremely bitter that the trade union leadership has remained completely silent about the unemployment and Watergate. When the federal government announced that it was closing the huge Hunters Point Naval Shipyard in San Francisco, the union bureaucrats issued a protest and have remained quiet for over two months, as 6500 workers are being laid off.

Entire shifts at some of San Francisco's biggest hotels are being laid off, and the leadership of the unions say only that "their business is bad" and that workers must accept the cutbacks in order to save profits. All the major companies are bringing in productivity teams to deepen cutbacks and layoffs.

"I heard that Nixon was going to resign and that his daughter and wife talked him out of it for the 'good of the country,'" said one older worker. "Well he should resign right now. Everyone knows he is a crook and hasn't done a thing for us. Nothing is going to change for the better unless we first get rid of that man. Put a working man in."

SUPERMAN

Older workers are finding it almost impossible to find jobs, even at huge cuts in pay and loss of all seniority. The unemployment office puts out special bulletins and pamphlets for the older workers, all designed to tell them that they simply do not have a chance. They contemptuously tell the older worker to "be a superman" and that "every rejection is one nearer to your acceptance."

Youth face even a sharper situation. Having no jobs they

are not eligible for unemployment benefits, even though they may be out of work for years after leaving school. Thousands of youth are roaming the streets because they have nothing to do and no money to spend.

ARRESTED

One youth was arrested for shoplifting in front of the Mission Sears store after he had told a *Young Socialist* newspaperman that he could not find any work.

You cannot walk down Mission Street, the main street in the barrio, without seeing at least three police cars. Police all over the state have been mobilized to stop youth from meeting on the street corners and parks, in fear that at any point youth will explode against the rotten conditions forced upon them.

One year ago the unemployment rate, according to the government, was 5.7 percent in the Bay Area. With the tightening up of easy credit, massive unemployment is threatened. As the large corporations find it harder to take out large loans at low rates, the first to be cut will be the older workers and youth. The increase in unemployment has already started, regardless of the government's figures.

CUTBACKS

Cutbacks in employment are being carried out in a massive way at all federal jobs, the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard, the San Francisco Hyatt House—where one entire shift was laid off—and in all the other businesses, large and small. The end of all the poverty and youth programs means that youth without any jobs will not be able to find them.

Older workers and young workers and youth are not about to accept for one minute the conditions of massive unemployment. It is for this reason that the *Young Socialists* organized rallies throughout the country demanding jobs at union wages for all, and that the trade unions organize a labor party to throw Nixon and his group of criminals out.

UMW Splits Building Workers

BY A

BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND—The strike-lockout of more than 3000 members of Operating Engineers Local 701 against the Associated General Contractors continued into the seventh week in Southwest Washington and Oregon.

The employers and the government are encouraging the activities of the United Minority Workers, which a few weeks ago closed down the Piedmont Plaza construction site in North Portland demanding that 50 percent of the jobs be given to non-whites.

Nathan Proby of the UMW told the *Bulletin* that he is in competition with the construction unions. He said his group wants to supervise preferential hiring of minorities, screen apprenticeship programs, handle grievance procedures, and negotiate wage demands.

Proby exposed the bankruptcy of his program when he said, "We're pressuring Nixon. He's cutting out a lot of money, but there's a lot that he hasn't cut that nobody knows about. My membership wants to know why we can't have some of the money too."

ANTI-UNION

Both Proby and UMW secretary Mary Jo Ali have made vicious anti-union statements. Proby called the Operating Engineers, "A predominantly bigot organization. I hate 701. White unions have always been hostile to minorities." Ali said that she would side with Nixon to destroy the unions if that would get a few more jobs for Blacks.

Proby has been contacted by the Department of Labor and the Associated General Contractors. A week ago he met with Oregon Governor Tom McCall and Senator Mark Hatfield.

The UMW has also been encouraged by the Socialist Workers Party. The same day that Proby met with McCall and Hatfield, he and Ali were sponsored by the SWP at a Militant Forum called to discuss the "fight for equal employment." SWP members specifically excluded from the forum all members of the Workers League and Young Socialists, who they said were "harassing" the UMW.

The UMW is using nationalism to divert the anger of unemployed workers and youth toward the unions and away from the government and the employers. The fight for jobs for all can go forward now only as a political struggle to unite the working class in a labor party against Nixon.

METAL . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

maximum scaling down to \$3.00 for "helpers."

On Monday 3700 workers voted unanimously to strike. Knowing full well that this could immediately shut down all construction in the Los Angeles area, union leaders are not authorizing pickets on job sites. Instead, fabricating shops will be picketed.

The strike vote makes it clear that the contractors will not find it easy to turn back the clock.



Bay Area Watergate skit presented after the rally.

Union Contingent Joins Bay Area YS Rally

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—For the Watts Young Socialists, the campaign for jobs began immediately after the First National Conference. Through a daily struggle involving meetings, sales of the YS paper, social activities and more. They were able to bring together 75 young workers and unemployed youth July 11 for a highly spirited and serious rally. It marked the biggest leap forward for the revolutionary Trotskyist youth movement in the Southwest, as part of the national and international fight of youth against capitalism.

At 7:30 a.m., the morning of July 11, the Watts YS rented a truck with a 20 foot bed on it. They posted several large, colorful banners stating "Force Nixon Out," "Build a Labor Party," "Join the Young Socialists," and "Rally Today; Will Rogers Park at 4:00" on the truck. From then until 4:00 that afternoon, the truck drove to every corner of Watts, with the YS members calling (with the aid of a bullhorn) on all youth to attend the rally.

They went to Jordan, Locke, and Centennial High Schools, Compton Junior College, through the projects and the entire community. Many new youth jumped onto the truck to help campaign for the demonstration. All the work culminated in the speeches of seven YS members addressing some 75 people.

"You always hear, with a good education, you'll get a good job." But with the tuition going up, and the budget cuts taking away our scholarships and programs, you can't get any education. With no summer jobs, you can't get money to go to school, anyway," stated Dan Johnson, the first speaker on the agenda, dealing with the question of the budget cuts and the crisis in education.

"The Pirus, Cripps, and Bounty Hunters come from no jobs and nothing to keep them off the streets," Mertis Smith said about gangs.

Ramon from Pomona spoke on

the reactionary nature of nationalism and the cutting of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Ernie Lewis drove home the difference between the YS rally and all other rallies: "We base, and have always based ourselves, on the strength of the labor movement. There is no other tendency that can say that today. We are not here to protest or beg a few crumbs from Nixon. We must force the labor movement to take up our demands. We demand jobs. Workers in the unions must call a Congress of Labor in order to build a labor party. There are no short cuts around the mobilizing of workers into this movement. The YS must lead that fight."

Trade unionists from the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party spoke at the rally.

"Our program in auto could, if carried out, open up 3000 jobs at the Southgate plant alone. Thirty hours work for 40 hours pay would mean that all youth would have jobs across the country," stated Rudy Sulenta, Local 216 United Auto Workers.

"We need you young people. Within the next 90 days we will probably be on strike, but we can't win without your support," said Jim from the postal workers.

The rally was a brilliant success. It demonstrated the commitment of youth to fight this government. There is now a leadership in Watts that will not back down. The YS is in the forefront.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Sixty workers and youth rallied with the Bay Area Young Socialists at the San Francisco Federal Building on July 11 in response to the national Young Socialists campaign against unemployment.

The rally began with a picket line demanding the right to work and calling on the labor movement to bring down Nixon and replace him with a labor government.

Speakers for the Young Socialists took up the situation facing the youth throughout the Bay Area.

Ann Lore for the Young Socialists National Committee stressed the enormous opportunity opening up before youth to construct the revolutionary movement and the big responsibility of the youth to turn to the fight to give leadership to the working class.

Bob, a young GI, stressed the deadend future facing most of the youth that leads them to turn to the Army and warned of the dangers in Nixon's plans to set up a professional army.

Brian from San Jose's East Side spoke on the fight of the youth for a decent education. He stressed that the youth were being forced out of the schools and the need to build a movement to defend them.

SLASHES

Katy Lewis from East Palo Alto discussed the lack of future for even those youth getting college degrees and the vicious attacks being made on working women with children through the slashes in child care.

Susan from Oakland spoke on the need to build the Young Socialists in the context of the complete collapse of the Black Panther Party into the Democratic Party and reformism.

Other speakers discussed the meaning of the attacks on farm workers, the drive of the brewery employers to run scabs against striking Teamster

bottlers here, youth unemployment in San Francisco and the responsibility of the Young Socialists to take up the fight for the defense of Ruchell Magee.

Jim Williams, speaking for the British Young Socialists, stressed the international nature of the crisis and the tasks of the youth. He emphasized that the attacks on the workers and youth in Ulster were not only a warning to the British working class but to the American working class as well.

LOCAL 535

A contingent of social workers from Local 535 in San Francisco attended the rally. Their union had voted the evening before to support the demands of the Young Socialists.

A spokesman from 535 stressed the attacks on the unions and the drive of the state to institute forced work programs among welfare clients to destroy the unions.

A skit by the Young Socialists on the Watergate crisis was conducted and greeted with great enthusiasm. A large number of Federal Building workers came over to hiss Richard Nixon, his wife Pat and Bebe Rebozo who starred in the skit.

CONFIDENCE

The Young Socialists who came forward to speak and demonstrate reflected the tremendous confidence and determination of the youth to build a movement that can provide an alternative in this crisis.

The Bay Area Young Socialists pledged at this rally to go to the communities, the unions and the factories to build up support for constructing a labor party and for turning the Young Socialists into a mass movement.

West Coast News

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Metal Workers Demand Shutdown

BY MITCH PATTERSON
LOS ANGELES—"It's going to be one hell of a fight," stated Clyde Ringwood, president of Sheet Metal Workers Local 108 and chairman of the negotiating committee. "Unions are not in the habit of going backward; the men don't pay us for that. I'm 100 percent sure that the men will vote tomorrow to have pickets up on Monday."

On June 30 the three-year contract with the Sheet Metal Contractors Association (SMCA) expired. Since then the ranks have been working without a contract.

On July 2, 3200 men received notices from the SMCA stating that all fringe benefits, (pension, profit-sharing, welfare) would be completely cut out. This meant \$1.74 less in the pay packets immediately. Many rank-and-filers told the *Bulletin* at that time, "We're ready to strike."

UNION-BUSTING

The union shop clause and hiring hall were also thrown out by the SMCA. The contractors have proposed the phasing out of journeymen and apprentices and the establishing of new classifications, accompanied by the imposition of an \$8.00 an hour

(Continued On Page 19)



Pickets of striking Operating Engineers Local 701 in Portland. Strike enters its eighth week, shutting down construction sites in the Pacific Northwest.

Teamsters Vote Strike Of State Agriculture

BY BARRY GREY

PALO ALTO—Teamster cannery workers overwhelmingly rejected the latest offer by the California Food Processors and agreed to strike Thursday, July 19, at 10 a.m. The vote was 3650 to 52 at a meeting of all 13 Northern California locals.

A strike by the cannery workers will have a devastating effect on the agriculture industry. Northern California's 110 canneries are the country's major source of processed fruits and vegetables. The old contract, covering 65,000 workers, expired June 30.

The Teamster leadership and the government have been maneuvering to avert a strike.

With virtual civil war already in the fields, a strike in the canneries could pose a shutdown of all California agriculture. A top level meeting is planned in Washington Monday with the processors and W.J. Ussery,

Nixon's top labor mediator.

Cannery workers suffer some of the worst conditions and lowest wages in basic industry. About 70 percent of the workers earn \$3.15 an hour. Under emergency provisions dating from World War Two, the company has the right to require a 48 hour week including Saturday and Sunday with no overtime.

These brutal conditions and the criminal attacks of the Teamsters leadership on the United Farm Workers Union have aroused tremendous anger,

particularly among Chicano workers who make up more than half the membership.

The Cannery Workers Committee has been formed based on support for the UFW and claims a membership of 5000.

It is fighting the picket line clause proposed by the leadership which would guarantee the right of cannery workers to respect picket lines set up by Teamster unions.

Committee leader Reuben Reyes told the *Bulletin* the Teamster leadership intends to throw up picket lines around the canneries to freeze out UFW-picked produce.

The Cannery Workers Committee is dominated by the Stalinists, who are channelling the anger of the rank and file into nationalism and away from a real fight against the leadership. At a demonstration last week in Palo Alto, the Committee refused to raise any demand for a wage increase.

The Stalinists are fighting tooth and nail against a strike. They tell cannery workers that any strike would "hurt your brothers in the fields."

Actually, a strike by cannery workers would give enormous assistance to the farm workers union. The Teamster leadership bases its collaboration with the growers on their guarantee to police the farm workers and prevent any trouble in agriculture. A strike by Teamster cannery workers would blow this policy sky high and be the first step in a fight to overthrow the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy throughout the International.

The strike must be carried out. Supporters of the Cannery Workers Committee must demand that the Committee fight for strike action, a twenty percent wage increase, a complete shutdown of California agriculture if the government attempts to break the strike, and a Congress of Labor to force Nixon out.

Editorial

Questions The CP Must Answer

The resignation from the Communist Party of Dorothy Healey, former chairwoman of its Southern California District Committee, raises fundamental questions to the rank and file of the party that demands that the discussion suppressed since 1956 must now be carried out.

Healey claims that her resignation is due to the lack of rights provided those with dissenting opinions.

In particular, Healey refuses to go along with the condemnation by the leadership of the book *A Long View of the Left* by Al Richmond, former editor of the *People's World* and now out of the party.

The Workers League has many principled differences with both Richmond and Healey. We intend to take these questions up in a review of Richmond's book that will go into every aspect of his position on Stalinism.

At the same time Richmond in his book and Healey in her support of it are calling attention to issues which the Communist Party has fought to avoid for many years and which can no longer be put off.

Richmond has attacked the CP for its failure to develop Marxist theory and for its history of blindly supporting every twist and turn of Soviet policy.

Richmond while editor of the *People's World*, supported the party position on the Soviet intervention in Hungary but went along with it only after expressing great doubts and reservations.

In his book he raises the tremendous impact of the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin and the purge trials and even quotes Lenin's description of the Soviet regime as "a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions."

In 1968 Richmond condemned in public the Soviet

intervention into Czechoslovakia, supporting the Dubcek regime against Russian tanks.

All of these questions can only be confronted by coming to grips with the Stalinist degeneration that murdered the entire leadership of Lenin's party and destroyed the Communist Party as a revolutionary force. Without ever themselves taking it that far, it is precisely such a discussion that Healey and Richmond have been pointing to in their criticisms.

Today the Communist Party faces the greatest crisis of its history. The counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism is being exposed before millions as Brezhnev, supported by the CP leadership, rushes to the United States to prop up the tottering Nixon regime.

If Al Richmond is expelled from the party for publishing his book and Dorothy Healey is forced out for supporting him, it is because the leadership cannot answer for its own past and cannot defend its present policies before a rank and file that is demanding an explanation.

Only a few weeks ago Carl Bloice, editor of the *People's World*, published a review of the Richmond book that was completely uncritical of it. Will Bloice now be expected to simply line up in condemning the book without a discussion?

These questions cannot be avoided. A discussion on the purge trials, Khrushchev's revelations, the Hungarian Revolution, Czechoslovakia and the most recent events must be opened up in the party. Members of the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League must demand an accounting of the history of Stalinism from the leadership for these developments.

West Coast News

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Metal Workers Demand Shutdown

BY MITCH PATTERSON
LOS ANGELES—"It's going to be one hell of a fight," stated Clyde Ringwood, president of Sheet Metal Workers Local 108 and chairman of the negotiating committee. "Unions are not in the habit of going backward; the men don't pay us for that. I'm 100 percent sure that the men will vote tomorrow to have pickets up on Monday."

On June 30 the three-year contract with the Sheet Metal Contractors Association (SMCA) expired. Since then the ranks have been working without a contract.

On July 2, 3200 men received notices from the SMCA stating that all fringe benefits, (pension, profit-sharing, welfare) would be completely cut out. This meant \$1.74 less in the pay packets immediately. Many rank-and-filers told the *Bulletin* at that time, "We're ready to strike."

UNION-BUSTING

The union shop clause and hiring hall were also thrown out by the SMCA. The contractors have proposed the phasing out of journeymen and apprentices and the establishing of new classifications, accompanied by the imposition of an \$8.00 an hour

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