

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THIRTY-ONE 306

AUGUST 20, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

AMERICAN LABEL 6

FIFTEEN CENTS

SIT-DOWN STRIKE HITS CHRYSLER



Two of the nearly 300 workers who took over Chrysler plant.

UPI

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT, Aug. 15—Police stormed into the Chrysler Mack Stamping Plant this morning to clear out workers who had brought production to a halt with a 30 hour sit-down strike.

Nearly 50 workers were forcibly ejected from the second floor of the plant and two of the sit-down leaders were arrested. The strike had the overwhelming support of the United Auto Workers Local 212 membership. Hundreds of workers who had been locked out by management after the sit-down began demonstrating outside the plant yesterday in support of the men still inside.

All appeals by the UAW leadership to end the plant occupation were rejected by the ranks. A representative of the International quickly labelled the strike "unmanageable."

The sit-down was sparked when two company guards physically assaulted a Chrysler worker, Billy Gilbreth. Having been fired last week for involvement in a work stoppage protesting inadequate ventilation, Gilbreth was attacked when he returned to the plant to find out if he could be reinstated. Four other workers had been fired with Gilbreth for the same job action.

Attempting to force Gilbreth to leave the area of the assembly line, the guards became involved in a scuffle with the workers. Chrysler then locked out the 2050 workers coming in for the morning shift. However, many workers remained inside to start the sit-down.

The strikers had declared that they would not go back to work until all workers were reinstated, complete amnesty and back pay were granted, and no disciplinary action against workers involved in the present struggle was guaranteed.

While Chrysler, hit with the third wildcat strike in less than two weeks, had arrogantly refused to meet the demands, the reaction of the UAW bureaucracy to the strike was just as vicious.

Realizing that its hopes of an easy sellout of the contract struggle is being dashed by the upsurge in the ranks, the Woodcock leadership had publicly denounced the Mack Stamping plant strikers.

Branding the strike illegal, UAW Vice President Douglas Fraser called on Chrysler to refuse amnesty to the workers. "I'm against capitulation and surrender as the

(Continued On Page 16)

Unions Must Smash Phase 4 Plans

BY BRUCE MCKAY

With Phase Four, Nixon and the big corporate bosses have opened up a vicious attack on workers' living standards. The lid on prices has been completely removed, while wages are to be kept within the 5.5 percent limit which has been imposed on workers for over a year and a half.

Workers and their families have already been hit by tremendous freeze on agricultural products was lifted last month, the cost of feeding a family has soared uncontrollably, while acute shortages have developed.

Now, workers and their families face enormous price hikes for a wide range of other basic necessities, including clothing, automobiles, public transportation, housing, fuel, electricity and home appliances.

These price increases, which are now

completely out of Nixon's control, are being consciously used as a weapon to destroy workers' living standards, but there is now tremendous fear within the Nixon Administration that workers will not allow Phase Four to exist for very long.

As one government official quoted in the Wall Street Journal said: "Who knows what's going to happen to labor rates now? Who knows what the Auto Workers will do?" And the Journal commented: "Some government analysts worry that a big break-

through in a major union settlement could bring Phase Four to an explosive finish."

It is only the betrayal of the trade union leadership, which is in open collaboration with Nixon's wage cutting policies, that allowed Phase Four to be brought into existence at all. Workers—particularly in the auto industry where negotiations are underway for a new contract—must now demand that an offensive be launched to smash Phase Four: that the United

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British Pound Plunges

BY MELODY FARROW

British workers are faced with a massive cut in their living standards by the deliberate policy of the Tory government in Britain to jack up prices on food and other basic necessities.

If food continues to go up at its present rate, it will mean a 50 percent rise in the food index in the coming year. In addition to the 25 percent increases on fresh food last year, increases of five percent to 27 percent are expected in the near future.

The government has announced that as part of Common Market arrangements, beef will not be allowed to drop below the price dictated by the most expensive beef producing area in Europe where it is twice as high as in Britain.

The Tories are allowing prices to explode, leading to a drastic slash in real wages, in order to push the cost of the economic crisis onto the working class.

Yet they have ruthlessly enforced the Industrial Relations Act, with the cooperation of the trade union leaders, that allows no more than a 7.5 percent wage increase.

The competitive position of the British economy and the balance of payments continues to decline despite the devaluation of the pound which has made British exports cheaper.

UNCONTROLLABLE

The crisis of the pound has reached uncontrollable proportions. Its value has fallen 18 percent on the foreign exchange markets because there is no longer any confidence in the economy. The downward float of the pound has meant that commodities are exported at below their real value which deepens the payments deficit.

To make up for this, the Tories are passing the cost to the working class through huge price

increases. This is the most fundamental cause of a raging inflation of over nine percent a year.

DEVALUATION

The devaluation has driven the price of all imports up and farmers hit by rising costs and tight credit are clamouring for higher prices. The consequences for the British family can be seen by the fact that half of Britain's food is imported.

At the same time, invisible earnings, which account for over one-third of export earnings, have been sharply cut into by the competition of Germany and Japan.

Every temporary measure the Tories have taken to halt the flight from sterling has failed. The Bank of England has raised interest rates to an all-time high of 11.5 percent and huge sums of Euro-dollars have been borrowed to build up currency reserves.

British financial interests now recognize that the inflationary boom has not led to the needed export growth and is in fact creating even more chaos and instability on the money markets. With all attempts at monetary reform at a dead-end, there is only one way the Tory government can turn. They must launch a savage deflation policy that will abruptly end the "boom" by drying up credit and crippling investment. They are consciously encouraging investors to move their capital out of Britain to low wage countries.

Deflation means an all-out war against the working class. Whole sections of industry will collapse throwing millions of people out of work. Unemployment will

(Continued On Page 16)



An official strike by engineers at a north London factory, in which management is accused by the workers of encouraging racism, has escalated over the past week to include both shifts in the machine shop. The strike began four weeks ago when management informed a trainee press setter that electrician-setters were refusing to continue his training.

Allende Hands Power Over To Army Chiefs

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

President Salvador Allende of Chile has capitulated to the military by bringing the heads of the Armed Forces and the director of the national police into his Popular Unity coalition.

Army Commander General Carlos Prats Gonzalez, whose troops raided factories last week killing a textile worker, will be the Defense Minister. Admiral Raul Montero will head the Treasury and Air Force Commander Cesar Ruiz Danyau will be in charge of Public Works. The head of police will become Minister of Lands and Colonization.

On August 9, over half a million workers came out on the streets in Santiago and all over the country in a demonstration called by the Central Workers Union against the threat of a fascist inspired coup d'etat.

Allende immediately gave the army the task of ending the truck owners strike which is being used by the right wing to topple Allende. Twenty-five military commissioners have been empowered to seize the trucks unless the strike is ended in 48 hours. The Truckers Federation has ordered its members to stand firm.

National police moved into a

crowd of 400 truckers' wives demonstrating in the capital and dispersed them with tear gas, clubs and water tanks.

In another development, 5000 copper miners at El Teniente walked out August 6 in a continuing fight over wages.

In his speech following the Cabinet reshuffle, Allende made it clear that General Prats would be in sole charge of "national security" including internal order, and no other armed groups—a reference to workers defense groups—would be allowed.

He appealed to workers to "understand" the change saying: "This is the last chance. This step is indispensable. It is not a retreat but is putting things in order and an advancement of the revolutionary process."

The military will now use their new power to support the right-wing terror and attack the working class. It is only a matter of time before they move against Allende himself and full scale civil war begins.

Patricio Aylwin, leader of the Christian Democrats, implied this when he said that the military would not be satisfied until they enjoyed "real participation" at every level of government.

While Allende has moved sharply to the right, the Chilean working class has been forced in a revolutionary direction. Hernan Ortega, a young Socialist Party militant in charge of the Cerrillos cordon, one of the workers' defense groups in Santiago's industrial belt, declared that "the class war has already begun..."

SOCIALISM

"At first we believed we could lay the basis of socialism in freedom here, but now we think that a dictatorship of the people is necessary.

"We still support Allende's government, but he's got to take measures against the right-wing forces who are trying to overthrow him."

He added that many Christian Democratic workers were joining the left-wing parties.

The responsibility for the dangerous situation that Chilean workers face lies squarely with Allende and the leaders of the Chilean Communist Party who continue to preach about a "peaceful" road to socialism that does not threaten capitalism. Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP, even welcomed Allende's decision to conciliate with the Army by saying it would "put an end to the wave of terrorism."

The refusal of Allende and the Stalinists to fight for real measures against the right and for a socialist policy to curb inflation has pushed many sections of the middle class and peasants into the arms of the right wing.

The experience the working class has gone through with the Allende coalition government has created a firm foundation for building a revolutionary party to lead a fight for power in the coming showdown.

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EAST COAST: \$60

MIDDLE WEST: \$60

WEST COAST: \$75

All costs include pooled transportation, lodging and all meals. For more information/reservations, write or phone: 7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. (212) 924-0852.



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Nixon Uses 'Big Lie' In Watergate Speech

What we think

Where Mr. Mandel Really Stands

BY DAVID NORTH
In a bitter speech Wednesday night, Nixon launched an attack against the investigations into the Watergate Conspiracy and sought to whip up an anti-communist hysteria while failing to answer any of the charges that have shown his Administration to be the most corrupt and criminal in the history of the United States

Nixon's inability to refute any portion of the mountain of evidence against him and his resort to the "Big Lie" technique shows the tremendous weakness of his government. Furthermore, his continued refusal to release the White House tapes of his conversations with John Dean and others will only reinforce the conviction held by the vast majority that Nixon is guilty up to his ears.

Hanging only by a thread, Nixon now must be forced out of office through a massive campaign in the labor movement for the political mobilization of the working class against the government, spearheaded with a call for a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party as the alternative to Nixon.

The urgency of such a campaign is clearly demonstrated by Nixon's open defense in his speech of his moves to smash democratic rights and toward a Bonapartist dictatorship. He sought to get around the evidence against him not only through blatant lies but also through claiming that he is above the law and empowered to employ virtually any means "against those who would subvert and overthrow" the government.

WIRETAPPING

He actually defended his own use of wiretapping without a prior court order as part of his efforts "to counter the wave of bombings and burnings" of the 1960s.

Referring to himself often in the third person, Nixon threatened both Congress and the press, saying that they were "tying the hands of the President" by overreacting to what "a few overzealous people did in Watergate."

Nixon went on to threaten that "those who would exploit Watergate...will not succeed."

At no point did Nixon weaken any of the evidence against him supplied by Dean or other Watergate witnesses. His argument against releasing the tell-tale tapes—that no one would speak openly to "the President" again if he feared that the utter privacy of those talks might be violated—are patently ludicrous in the light of the fact that Nixon brazenly violated all such confidence by secretly taping everyone who walked into his office and then even allowing his

former chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, to listen to these tapes outside the White House after he had been forced to resign.

Even more unbelievable is Nixon's repeated claim that he had known nothing about the coverup and had always attempted to "discover the facts" when former acting FBI Director, L.

Patrick Gray testified earlier in the month that Nixon did nothing to contact him again after being told early in the winter that a cover-up was taking place in the White House. Nixon says he knew nothing until late March.

It is clear that Nixon hopes that his brazen lies will go unanswered while the Senate investigation is adjourned for the

rest of the summer and that his talk of subversion and "national security" will obscure the main issues.

Workers must now demand that the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters answer Nixon by creating the industrial conditions to force his resignation and building the labor party to replace him.



A New York meat packinghouse. While supermarkets have dwindling supplies of meat, over 20,000 butchers have been laid off within the last month. See story page 14.

Agnew Bribery Charge Hints Dump Nixon Move

BY NANCY FIELDS

With the Federal grand jury set to begin hearing testimony concerning the bribery, extortion, tax evasion and conspiracy charges against Vice President Spiro Agnew, the absolute corruption and complete crisis of the Nixon Administration is nakedly exposed.

Agnew is being investigated in connection with construction kickbacks he reportedly received beginning in 1967, when he was Baltimore County Executive, through his two years as Governor of Maryland and extending into his terms as the Vice President.

What has been sharply revealed in this latest scandal of the Nixon Administration is the total chaos and deep divisions confronting the American ruling class.

On the one hand, the criminal investigation of Agnew has struck a devastating blow at Nixon directly at a time when thousands of workers and youth are demanding that he account for his actions and over 70 percent of the population do not believe that he is innocent of any involvement.

At the same time, it is clear that a section of the ruling class is moving to get rid of Agnew in preparation for getting rid of Nixon himself. The investigation itself was launched by US Attorney George Beall, a Republican and Nixon appointee, and it was the Wall Street Journal, a leading mouthpiece of a section of the capitalist class, that first publicized the charges.

Behind the move of the capitalists to resolve the Constitutional and political crisis created by the Watergate scandal is the deepening

economic crisis which can only be resolved through all-out attacks on the rights and living standards of the working class.

CHANGE

Thus, while the government today stands paralyzed and divided, the latest moves against Agnew make it absolutely clear that the capitalist class is moving rapidly to change that situation in order to be able to confront the working class head-on.

It is in this situation that it becomes absolutely urgent for the trade unions to mobilize the hatred of their ranks in an all-out campaign to force Nixon to resign. The government is at its weakest point in history but its paralysis is only temporary. It is now that the unions must seize the offensive by convening a Congress of Labor to demand a new election and to construct a labor party to win in that election.

The recent moves against Agnew stem from specific charges that Agnew received payoffs of \$1000 while he was Baltimore County Executive and that he had been given a lump sum of \$50,000 in 1970-1971, when he was Vice President, from Lester Matz, a consulting engineer whose firm had long held government contracts in Maryland.

The investigation which led to the exposure of Agnew began late last year with a probe into

the records of William Fornoff—who subsequently pleaded guilty to a minor tax charge. Fornoff was Baltimore County's chief administrative officer under Agnew.

Along with Fornoff, Lester Matz and Jerome Wolff were also investigated. Wolff served under Agnew as the county's assistant director of public works, as the head of the state's roads commission and a major Vice Presidential aide.

Greiner Environment Systems, Inc., which received the contracts for an expressway in Baltimore and massively overran their estimated costs on two bridge projects. He has already testified that Agnew received \$1000 per week from contractors during the time he served as Agnew's aide.

Agnew's closest friends, J. Walter Jones, a banker, real estate man and fund raiser for Agnew and I.H. Hammerman, a mortgage banker, are also under investigation in connection with the corruption charges.

The grand jury is being conducted in an atmosphere of complete secrecy and Agnew's attorneys have been given at least a week's extension on the deadline for submitting his personal financial records. To date, Agnew has refused to say whether or not he will comply with the subpoena, claiming only that there are "complex Constitutional questions" involved.

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In the July 30 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Socialist Workers Party member Dick Roberts, who has been assigned the unenviable task of defending the views of Ernest Mandel, once again is claiming that he and his Pabloite mentor have been misrepresented in the pages of the *Bulletin* and the *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International.

It should be recalled that Roberts authored three articles last May which distorted and attempted to mock the assessments made by the International Committee of the world monetary crisis as it has developed since World War Two up to the present time.

In every one of those articles, Roberts sought to discredit the attention we have continuously given to the money crisis by maintaining that the crisis of capitalism is simply rooted in production and then denying the actual expression of the economic crisis in its immediate and highest form in the process of circulation and reproduction through the disintegration of the international monetary system.

The real purpose of Roberts' polemics, as the *Bulletin* and *Workers Press* subsequently exposed, was to "defend the reformist illusions in the stability of capitalism that are advanced by Ernest Mandel. Roberts' talk about a general crisis in production without examining the specific forms it now takes amounted to an apology for Mandel's theory of "neo-capitalism," which eliminates all living contradiction from capitalism, denies the crisis that is tearing it apart today, and serves as the theoretical justification for the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinism.

Stung by our exposure of the bankruptcy of revisionism and by the very deepening of the crisis that has thrown the dollar to new lows on the money markets, Roberts takes a very different approach now. Suddenly, he informs us, the problem with the Workers League and the SLL is not that they have paid too much attention to the monetary crisis. Rather, according to Roberts, the Workers League and the SLL failed to recognize the monetary crisis until long after it had been diagnosed by none other than Ernest Mandel.

Roberts now claims that in his previous articles he "castigated" the WL and the SLL "for not recognizing the importance of the monetary crisis in postwar imperialist economics until the pound had already been shaken for years. I pointed out that Ernest Mandel, in his Marxist Economic Theory, had long before this correctly pointed to the monetary crisis as the arena in which the contradictions of postwar imperialism would first manifest themselves."

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SSEU Opposition Demands Election As Cohen Resigns

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—Just one month before the opening of collective bargaining for the 1974 contract, SSEU-371 President Bart Cohen has suddenly resigned his post as head of the union and accepted a high-paying position in the bureaucracy of DC 37 AFSCME as its new Assistant Director for Negotiations and Research.

Nothing could reveal more clearly than this act the lying and hypocritical character of not only Cohen but the entire Cohen leadership as well as its hostility toward leading the upcoming contract fight and its contempt for the ranks.

Cohen's resignation has been followed by the SSEU Executive Committee's hasty election of Executive Director Mary Pinket to fill the vacancy left by Cohen.

This appointment is in flagrant violation of the SSEU's democratic traditions and is based on a technicality in the AFSCME international constitution. It has been carried out behind the backs of the SSEU ranks who for the most part were never told of Cohen's resignation.

GENERAL ELECTION

Demanding a new general election to choose a president, Dennis Cribben, chairman of the SSEU Committee for a New Leadership stated that "Cohen's resignation must be seen by every rank and file member as an expression not only of the bankruptcy of Cohen but of the trade union bureaucracy as a whole.

"While he was in office, Cohen refused to lead the massive opposition growing in the union to the vicious attacks on living standards and democratic rights perpetrated by the Nixon government. He led the union down the path of reorganization and lied to the members that their jobs would be protected. Now, when SSEU members are fighting to defend their jobs, Cohen has abandoned the ship."

Cribben pointed out that the SSEU has been handed over to the most reactionary elements in the bureaucracy who have no mandate from the ranks to run the union. Furthermore, Mary Pinket is about to become a candidate of the Democratic Party for the position of city council-

woman from Shirley Chisholm's district.

Behind Cohen's resignation is the attempt by Gotbaum, president of DC 37, to eliminate the SSEU as an independent organization. Combined with threats of state takeovers and other reorganization moves, thousands of members face the danger of being pushed off the city payroll.

The Gotbaum leadership plans to turn the SSEU into nothing more than a mailbox in DC 37 headquarters, like most of the other locals in District 37. The purpose of this is to destroy the ability of the ranks to resist the attacks by Nixon and the city.

According to Cribben, the Committee for a New Leadership is launching an all-out fight for a general election so that the ranks can democratically choose a new President. There is tremendous opposition to Pinket which is expressed not only in the centers but also in the Executive Committee itself where five votes were cast against Pinket.

PROGRAM

The CNL intends to force a new election and to run candidates in this election to fight for the program that is required to defend the SSEU:

- For an end to all further reorganization until the new contract is signed, sealed, delivered and voted on by the ranks.

- For a new contract that guarantees closing the door on the dismantling of the Welfare Department; and wins a 20 percent across the board wage increase with an escalator clause plus payment of all back money withheld by the Pay Board.

- For a call by the SSEU addressed to the entire labor movement for the convening of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party that will mobilize the working class politically in a struggle to force Nixon out of office and to replace him with a labor government.

Davis To Set Deadline On 1199 Pay

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Hospital workers are girding for battle with the Nixon government over the second year of the 1972 contract settlement, now before the Cost of Living Council.

As of July 1, a 7.5 percent pay increase and a reduction of the work week to 37½ hours was due for workers at the major New York City voluntary hospitals. At a union meeting on August 9, Local 1199 President Leon Davis promised to recommend a firm deadline for strike action to the September delegates meetings if the provisions of the contracts are not approved.

Davis' left talk reflects the tremendous anger of hospital workers over rampaging prices and continuing controls on wages. Davis pointed out that if the employers had announced a 25 percent wage cut last year there would have been a general strike. Instead they have introduced a 25 percent inflation.

Hospital workers are ready to fight now. The 7.5 percent increase they received last month was a full year late and had already been completely destroyed by inflation. The second year increase has also been eaten up. But Davis along with all the other union leaders has done nothing about what they are forced to admit is the most



The Lower East Side Young Socialists clinched the New York City summer basketball championship last week by defeating Fort Greene, which took second place in a tie with East New York. The winners will attend the WL-YS summer camp for half price, where they will contend for the national championship.

Strike Looms At New York Dailies

BY BRUCE MCKAY

NEW YORK—A strike against the New York Times, the Daily News and the Post now appears virtually certain in the fall as the three publishers refuse to bargain over the key issues of wages and automation.

Workers at the three major dailies have been working without a contract since March, but the unions have held off on any threats of strike action until after the summer advertising and circulation lull. Only the Stereotypers Union has so far asked for strike authorization.

The publishers are attempting to force the unions to accept the same \$13.85 per week wage settlement negotiated with the ITU Local 6 Mailers Union in March—a meager 5.8 percent increase for the relatively low paid mailers. For other workers, the percentage increase would be even less—an average of 4.6 percent for Typographical Union (ITU) members and five percent for Newspaper Guild members.

MINIMUM

The three big publishers are not only trying to keep wage increases to the barest minimum but have openly moved to

slash jobs in the composing room through the massive introduction of automation.

The publishers at the very least plan to introduce computerized typesetting equipment and may follow the lead of the Detroit News, which has introduced a completely automated system.

At the News, reporters type their stories on a "video display terminal," on which the copy is displayed on a television screen and stored in a computer memory. Editing is done on a similar device, and everything is fed into a computerized typesetting system.

This means the wholesale elimination of jobs in the composing room and an enormous savings in labor time to the publisher.

The automation proposal submitted by New York's three publishers to the unions on May 21 would guarantee jobs to "regular situation holders" employed at the time automation is introduced, but it would allow the publishers to bring in any type of automation and would eventually reduce employment drastically through attrition.

PHASE FOUR

Rank and file union members at the three newspapers must insist that the new contract include a 20 percent first year wage increase to protect them against the ravages of Phase Four inflation and an ironclad guarantee that no jobs will be eliminated—either through layoffs or attrition.

In May, ITU President Bertram Powers said that "the possibility of a successful conclusion (of negotiations) without a confrontation and attendant risk of a strike or lock-out is remote."

The ranks must now demand that their union leaderships pre-

pare to strike all three newspapers and further demand that they take the offensive against Phase Four and Nixon's attacks on the press by calling on the AFL-CIO to convene a Congress of Labor to force the Nixon government out and to prepare for new elections with the construction of a labor party.

Riot Flares In Queens

BY A REPORTER

JAMAICA, N.Y.—South Jamaica erupted last Monday following the brutal murder of 27 year old James Tate by police.

Youth fought a pitched battle against the cops and firebombed patrol cars in the area of Sutphin, Linden and New York Boulevards.

The police claimed that Tate had been attempting to steal a school bus, but youth and residents recalled that the killing was all too similar to that of 10 year old Clifford Glover, whom the cops gunned down last April 27 while the boy walked with his stepfather.

Although official reports listed injuries to only three cops and seven civilians in the fighting, residents claimed that there were several deaths.

UNION LABEL 6

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

U.S. Destroys Cambodian Villages

BY A
CORRESPONDENT

Right up until the August 15 cutoff date for the bombing of Cambodia, Nixon resorted to his favorite tactic of saturation bombing in a final desperate attempt to prevent the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge liberation forces.

Terror bombing against Phnom Penh—passed off by military spokesmen as "accidental"—has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of civilians. Significantly, much of the so-called accidental bombing has been directed against the soldiers drafted in the puppet army as Nixon has evidently concluded that these recruits are on the verge of rebelling against Lon Nol.

But in spite of the heaviest bombing raids in Indochina since the Christmas air attacks

against Hanoi, the puppet regime of Lon Nol barely is able to keep its grip on the capital city at this point. The liberation forces actually penetrated Phnom Penh several times during the past week, twice to blow up 70 percent of the city's

power supply.

Reports by correspondents in Cambodia have already disproven military claims that the bombing of civilians and soldiers was accidental. In Neak Luong, where 400 soldiers and their families were killed, the mili-

tary spokesmen claimed that the deaths had been caused by one stray bomb. But investigation revealed that the town had been subjected to pinpoint bombing which destroyed its center and left about 30 craters.

One peasant woman told the

press that the American planes actually dived at them and fired rockets.

Claims by the American military that these bombings were accidental are being taken at face value by no one, particularly in the light of new evidence that former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird approved the falsification of bombing reports to cover up Nixon's secret decision to order B-52 bombing raids against Cambodia in 1969.

Laird denied these reports but now has been exposed as a liar by documents which bear his signature. These documents sanctioned the 3630 B-52 raids which were made against Cambodia between March 1969 and May 1970.

According to reports from Cambodia, the demoralization within the Lon Nol regime has reached the point where its top generals admit that it is only a matter of time until the government collapses.

Sihanouk's latest declaration that he refuses "to meet with Mr. Kissinger or any other emissary of Mr. Nixon" is still another blow to Nixon's hopes that the Peking Stalinists will be

(Continued On Page 16)



Up to August 15: the heaviest bombing raids ever by the US. Reports from correspondents have already disproven military claims that the killing of 400 soldiers and their families was accidental. Despite the US raids, Lon Nol is barely able to keep even the capital city.

NDP Convention Avoids Break With Trudeau

BY A REPORTER

VANCOUVER—The Seventh Convention of the New Democratic Party, the Canadian Labor Party, held in Vancouver July 19-22 and attended by over 1000 delegates was marked by the break-up of the alliance between the NDP and the liberal government of Pierre Trudeau.

The Convention opened only days before railwaymen walked off their jobs and machinists at Canadian Pacific Airlines threatened to strike.

This summer prices in Canada, especially on food, have soared. Potatoes have doubled in price since last year and meat and green vegetables have shot up. Inflation in the last month was a full one percent, an annual

rate of 10 percent. The Conservatives, led by Robert Stanfield, are demanding that Trudeau impose a 90 day wage and price freeze.

CRISIS

It is the economic crisis hitting Canadian capitalism and the movement of the working class that forced David Lewis, leader of the NDP, to open the Convention by stating:

"I can't tell you when the next election will take place but I find it difficult to imagine being able to tolerate the Trudeau government very much longer."

The NDP has held the critical balance of power in Parliament since the last election when the Liberals failed to win a majority. But rather than use this power to force a new election and form an NDP government, Lewis has cooperated with Trudeau.

Israel Pirates Lebanese Jet

BY A REPORTER

The Zionist regime has escalated its aggression against the Arab people with the hijacking of a Middle Eastern Airlines commercial plane on August 10 en route from Beirut to Baghdad.

The plane, with 81 aboard, was intercepted by Israeli military aircraft shortly after takeoff in Lebanon and was forced to land at a military air base within Israel. All the passengers were then forced out at gunpoint, searched and interrogated.

The Israelis were looking for George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and three others who had cancelled their seats on the flight at the last minute.

Moshe Dayan, Israeli Defense Minister, arrogantly declared that Israel would continue such actions "to hit the terrorists at their crossroads."

The seizure of an Arab airliner over Arab territory is a

flagrant provocation of war. It follows on the heels of a series of assassinations against Arabs in Europe.

On July 21, Ahmed Bouchiki, a Moroccan, was murdered by an Israeli extremist group called Wrath of God in Norway because he was thought to be a leader of Black September. The Norwegian Foreign Ministry revealed that a number of those arrested were in contact with Israeli diplomat, Yigal Eyal.

TRIAL

An Israeli military tribunal will try 10 Arabs captured during an Israeli raid into Lebanon last September for allegedly being members of the guerilla movement despite the fact that they have never been in Israel.

The Zionists are stepping up their attacks even to the point of instigating war to deflect the growing economic and social crisis within Israel. The real terrorists and murderers are not the Palestinian people who are defending their land but the Dayans and Meirs.

This alliance can no longer last. The liberals must now turn increasingly to direct attacks on the unions and on wages. While Lewis threatened to withdraw his support from the Liberals, he opposed any attempt from the floor to discuss a campaign to mobilize the labor movement to force Trudeau out.

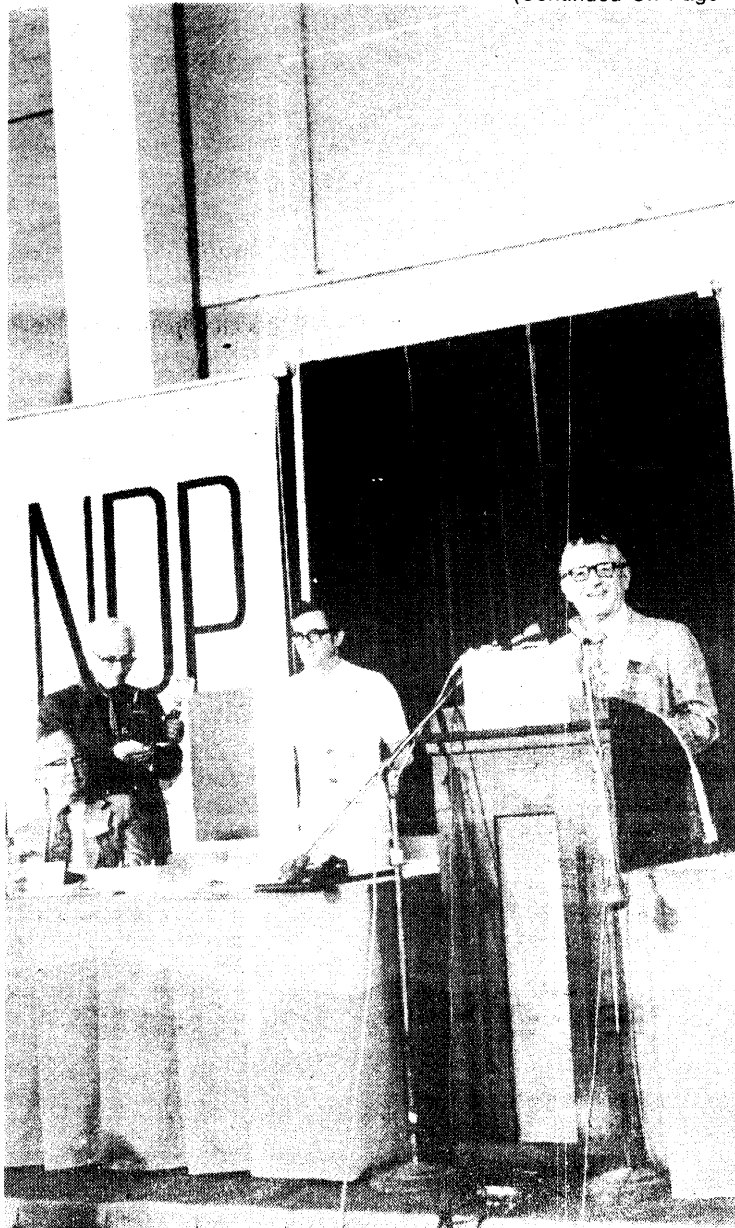
NO SOLUTIONS

The resolutions of Lewis offered no independent solutions to the problems of inflation, wages or unemployment.

On prices, Lewis has called for rollbacks and a Food Prices Review Board, already established by the Liberals.

Wage controls were rejected by the Convention on the grounds of being "too simplistic." NDP provincial premiers, Allan Blakeney and Ed Schreyer, stated their support for some form of wage controls.

A motion calling on the NDP caucus in Parliament to oppose back to work legislation against the railwaymen was ruled "out of order." Not one word was said about unemployment or nationalization of basic industries.



The New Democratic Party Convention in Canada: not one word about unemployment or nationalization of basic industry in the midst of uncontrollable inflation and a call for a wage freeze by the Conservatives.

The League for Socialist Action, the Canadian section of the Unified Secretariat, a member of the official Left Caucus of the Ontario NDP, made two major interventions at the Convention, women's rights and opposition to the demand for workers control without compensation, which they claimed would "alienate" the NDP delegates.

What is urgently posed by the NDP Convention is the need for

alternative leadership in the working class. The retreat of the labor leaders, faced with the collapse of capitalist stability, is proceeding at breakneck speed. Sections of the NDP would clearly like to join the Conservatives in an attack on the fundamental gains and rights of Canadian workers. Lewis must be fought and exposed in a struggle to bring the NDP to power and demand socialist policies be implemented to deal with the crisis.

Fitzsimmons Pressures Whirlpool Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL, Aug. 13—IBT Local 827 has refused to accept the 5.5 percent wage offer from the Whirlpool Corporation. The four week old strike by 1500 workers against the appliance giant is a direct challenge to Nixon's wage controls. Even though it has been reported that International President Fitzsimmons has ordered the local to settle or face complete isolation, Don Heils, head of 827, has not even dared to put the latest offer to a vote.

One worker at Whirlpool for seven years told the *Bulletin*, "We're gonna hurt this company badly. Even when we win I'm gonna be the last man going back in."

Whirlpool has cut all its payments to the medical and dental plan, forcing this burden on the strikers' backs. Instead of demoralizing the ranks, this has only fueled their determination to win.

Last week, workers at Lull Engineering, which is also represented by Local 827, won a dollar increase in the first year. The workers want to carry this victory through in Whirlpool. The union is demanding a 50 cents increase in the first year which amounts to a 14 percent raise.

From the start of the strike the ranks have fought to extend the struggle. Whirlpool makes all the freezers for the Sears retail chain. Many were stockpiled at a downtown warehouse. A picket was thrown up at the warehouse which the courts declared to be illegal. While the Local 827 leadership complied with the court ruling, a worker parked his car across the railroad tracks servicing the warehouse. Attempts to herd scabs in were stopped by a wall of baseball bats.

However, office workers and foremen have been allowed to cross the picket line. It was reported that the foremen attempted some minor production. The picketers would like to see the plant closed tight but the local officials have refused to take this step.

Fitzsimmons enters the situation now to undermine the clearly demonstrated strength of Local 827. He is fully aware that the winning of a 14 percent raise at Whirlpool will open up the struggle to completely smash Nixon's Phase Four controls in every union now in contract negotiations—such as 3M and Ford in St. Paul. This fight must lead to a direct confrontation with Nixon and take on an open political character—thus immediately endangering Fitzsimmons' cozy relationship with Nixon and exposing his bankruptcy before the ranks of the entire Teamsters union.

Aware of the grave danger posed by Fitzsimmons' pressure, a movement has started to build a caucus in Local 827 demanding that Don Heils and

the entire leadership of Local 827 stand firm. They must demand full support from the International until the full 50 cents increase is won. The demand is being raised for a one year contract, no productivity deals, and an end to the speedup.

In addition, Local 827 must call upon the International and the entire labor movement to organize a Congress of Labor.

Speculators Make A Killing On Commodities Market

BY WILL ROEMER

CHICAGO—The vicious moves by the government to drive prices still further out of the reach of working class families stand revealed in the recent decision of the Chicago Board of Trade to remove penalties previously placed on sellers who defaulted on their contract and did not deliver the commodity.

For the first time ever, this penalty, which can reach \$2500 per contract, was not imposed when 154 July contracts for pork bellies went unfilled because sellers could not or would not buy the necessary hogs.

These contracts were made during Phases Three and Three and a Half and delivery of hogs was supposed to be made after the freeze had been lifted. What actually happened is that the Board has guaranteed that unprofitable contracts can just be ignored.

Pork bellies become bacon ultimately, and the unfilled contracts for July totalled 5,544,000 pounds of meat that will never reach the supermarkets. Buoyed by the assurance that they can back out of unprofitable deals, speculators pushed pork belly prices up 11.3 cents within 24 hours to 84 cents a pound. This is likely to reach a projected retail price of \$1.70 or more.

This move along with the growing attempt to remove ceilings placed on the amount which commodities can rise during a market day, indicates that the speculators are being given full rein to escalate prices at a phenomenal rate. Wheat,



St. Louis Young Socialists at a picnic where Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth spoke on "Watergate and the Defense of Democratic Rights." The YS is raising \$500 to attend the summer camp.

America's staple grain, continues to set new record highs.

On August 6, the September wheat contracts broke over \$4 per bushel, closing at \$4.04, a rise of 40 percent since Phase Four was announced. The previous record was \$3.25 a bushel, set in May, 1917.

CORN

Corn prices in July rose at a rate of 27 percent threatening to boost meat prices some 43 percent according to the calculated rate between feed grain and its conversion to livestock. The rise in wheat prices is already forcing the price of bread to jump three to four cents a loaf, and bakery sweet rolls are up as much as five cents apiece.

This summer's sharp increases on the commodities market are a result of a conscious move by the bankers and financiers to reap fantastic profits through speculation, as the dollar's value is being drastically undermined. Contracts to deliver 5000 bushels of wheat, or given amounts of other commodities, are bought and sold months in advance of when the crops reach the market and even in advance of when the crops are harvested.

While millions of contracts are exchanged each year (over three million so far this year, representing cash transfers of \$70 billion), less than two percent are actually held until delivery.

The other 98 percent represent exchange of cash, rather than commodities.

Family farmers are being wiped out in this process. Last summer, tons of wheat rotted before it could be shipped out of the Midwest and sold, due to limited elevator space and a lack of railroad cars. Many corporate farms built private elevators over last winter and now they are holding their crops in order to "play the market" and sell when the prices are the highest.

Small farmers, unable to build their own elevators, have been forced to sell their crops to the large elevator operators often months before the harvest in order to come up with the cash needed to meet expenses.

These middlemen are now selling wheat at record prices, but they pay the farmer at rates determined as long as six months ago. For the farmer, the drastic price rise means only that he will have to pay higher and higher prices for any feed and seed grain he has to buy, and for his family's groceries.

A leadership needs to be built in the unions to lead a fight for full cost of living clauses and wage increases of 20 percent in every contract. The unions must call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party based on socialist policies—to nationalize the food industry and all basic industries under workers' control.

Oscar Meyer Fires 150

BY PRUE ARNDT

MADISON, Aug. 13—At the Oscar Meyer plant here, where the contract expires September 1, 150 workers were laid off two weeks ago due to the beef shortage. While those workers who do wieners have been working tremendous overtime and some Saturdays as well, those who work on beef can at best only receive straight hourly pay rather than working for bonuses. The threat of mass layoffs or closure is real, and one reason the company has still been able to work on tremendous amounts of pork products is because many hogs were gotten from companies which have closed down.

A seven cent increase received just three weeks ago hardly touches the tremendous reduction in real wages due to inflated prices on food, clothing and cars. One unionist remarked on the increase: "That's nothing! That's about \$2.90 a week, and what will that buy?!"

Frank Urschiltz, president of Local 538 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America at Oscar Meyers, refuses to even disclose what kind of wages are being negotiated. Wages are particularly critical in this contract fight because the cost of living escalator clause was lost in the last contract.

PERSPECTIVE

Urschiltz' perspective is clear: "If we get it from the company, the Cost of Living Council will have to consider approving it then." There has been no strategy put forward by the leadership for fighting it out against the Oscar Meyer company, which recorded record profits in 1972, for anything close to the wage increases needed.

OUT OF BUSINESS

Food prices are skyrocketing, including important dairy products which have traditionally been lower in Wisconsin, one of the nation's top five dairy states and the largest producer of certain cheeses. Eggs went from 65 cents for medium to 89 cents in one month. The effect of Nixon's ruthlessness hits not only shoppers but farmers as well. In Juneau County alone small farms went out of business at the rate of 30 a day in July.

Thus the necessary fight of the packinghouse workers to smash Phase Four and demand a Congress of Labor to map out a strategy against Nixon expresses the needs of these small farmers as well.



Teamsters Local 618 joined striking mechanics of Machinists Local 777, IAM District 9 after the Greater St. Louis Automobile Dealers Association locked out all 2000 workers at 91 garages. The dealers have offered a 1.8 percent raise.

St. Louis Auto Dealers Lock-Out IAM Mechanics

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, August 11—Mechanics of Machinists Local 777, International Association of Machinists, District 9, struck 14 different new car dealer shops in the St. Louis area. The Greater St. Louis Automobile Dealers Association responded by closing down all 91 garages,

leaving 2000 workers on the street. The contract expired on July 31 and picket lines were set up last Monday.

The union is demanding 35 cents the first year, 30 cents the second, and 30 cents the third. The union demands are within the 5.5 percent guidelines. The dealers have offered a meager 9 cents (1.8 percent annually)

raise, with any fringe benefits coming out of that 1.8 percent.

One striker said of the dealers, "They have offered nothing, and they even admit it. They told us that the last contract was a good one and they weren't about to offer us anything that good this year."

TEAMSTERS

The Mechanics have been joined by Teamsters Local 618, as their contract expired on the same day, and at any rate, they found themselves locked out.

Mechanics on the east side of the Mississippi went on strike the same day and came to an immediate agreement with the St. Clair-Madison County Dealers Association that they would agree to any package accepted by the St. Louis dealers.

As struggles are breaking out in the auto industry, the dealers are forced in this period to cut back on all their employees in order to maintain their high profits. This is why they choose at this point to wage battle against the mechanics and why they refuse to negotiate.

Wildcat In Chrysler Halts UAW Talks

BY ED SMITH

DETROIT—Negotiations between the Big Three auto companies and the UAW virtually collapsed last week in the wake of a wildcat strike by 1400 in Chrysler's key Dodge Forge plant here.

Talks were suspended for one day Monday as UAW heads toured Detroit plants to head off the rebellion against working conditions and also to retaliate against Chrysler's cancellation of the previous Wednesday's talks. The company had said it cancelled the session to protest the UAW's "inability to enforce the contract."

Although the Dodge Forge wildcat has been temporarily halted, relations between the UAW and the auto bosses further deteriorated with the statement by International Vice President Douglas Fraser that wages—not fringe benefits—may become the central issue in the negotiations because of the wild inflation.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock has called a special Executive Board meeting in Milwaukee on August 21 to announce a "target company" for the contract expiration date on September 14.

These developments are a shattering blow to the UAW bureaucracy, which had entered into these talks convinced that there would be "no obstacle" to an easy settlement of the contract.

Now, it is growing more likely by the hour that the most bitter strike in the history of the auto industry will begin on September 14—if the deepening anger of auto workers against price increases, work conditions, and the betrayals of Woodcock does not succeed in bringing matters to a head even earlier.

The members of Local 47 at Dodge Forge struck to demand the elimination of dangerous working conditions that make mutilation of workers a common event at the plant. The ranks also made clear that they were fighting harassment and discrimination.

The dismissal of 12 men on August 6, the same day a supervisor who had been caught stealing was restored to his position, touched off the wildcat that began the following day. In the face of threats to fire 40,000 workers, the wildcat continued.

While the ranks wage this struggle despite an injunction against the strike, the Woodcock bureaucracy did everything in its power to end the action. At a meeting of Local 47 last Sunday, Fraser stated that the men had to return to work.

"I suppose you can understand a court order," he declared. "I suppose you can understand a court order. You have only an individual right to withhold work because of safety. I can't make promises but I'll use my considerable powers of persuasion. You can't solve anything outside. You'll have to go back into the plant."

An angry worker declared: "This scene has degenerated to the point where it takes a wildcat for the International to see the conditions."

Although Local 47 officials claimed that a motion to return to work pending an official strike vote Friday was carried, the ranks claimed that they had voted to continue the strike by at least a margin of two to one.

Chrysler's use of Nixon's courts in order to end the strike demonstrates that the Big Three are working hand-in-glove with the government to defeat the auto workers this year.

It is this fact that shows how criminal Woodcock's policies of collaboration with Nixon actually are. The head of the UAW bureaucracy remains tied to Nixon through his personal participation on the labor-management advisory board of the Phase Four Cost of Living Council.

In spite of the viciousness displayed by Chrysler and the sweeping demands being made both by General Motors and Ford concerning work rules—particularly over the issue of absenteeism—Woodcock still clings to his hope that a strike can be avoided.

What frightens Woodcock above all is that a strike this year will mean a confrontation with this government which is determined to keep the auto settlement within the Phase Four guidelines.

The only way to break with Nixon and defeat his attacks on the working class is to open up a new political road for auto workers and the entire trade union movement through the building of a labor party.

Woodcock's refusal to back the Chrysler ranks in Dodge Forge is proof that he is preparing to retreat all the way before the auto bosses of GM and Ford in September.

Auto ranks must prepare for strike action by demanding that the UAW pledge full support to the Chrysler ranks if they go out again and insisting that the negotiating committee of each local be committed to a new contract that includes a 20 percent first year wage increase, full cost of living escalator, provisions barring any layoffs, the establishment of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, provisions halting all speedup and guaranteeing union control over production, and the removal of all restrictions on strike action to enforce contract provisions.

The fight for this program—for victory in the contract fight—requires a fight against Woodcock and the building of a new leadership in the UAW around the fight for the program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the struggle for a new contract, a Congress of Labor and a labor party.

Illinois Construction Strikes

BY HOWARD WEST

EAST ST. LOUIS, August 9—All highway construction sites as well as many building sites have been shut down for over a week in the Southern Illinois area because of strikes by carpenters, laborers, and lathers. All strikes are centered around wage demands.

Over 500 members of the Madison County Carpenters District Council walked out on Monday, August 9, in support of their demands for a 3.6 percent increase in rates on commercial sites as well as increases in fringe benefits. Earlier, 50 members of the Lathers Union Local 64 set up picket lines around a number of major commercial construction sites in the East St. Louis area. The strike for a 5.5 percent wage increase has con-

tinued since their old contract expired August 1.

The closure of construction sites was stepped up when members of the Southwestern Laborers District Council covering 54 locals in 12 counties struck August 9. In a contract presently being drawn up, the Southern Illinois Contractors Association is attempting to reduce overtime pay from double time to time and a half in the Madison and St. Clair counties.

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George Meany And The Face Of Fascism

George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, speaking about Watergate at his August 1 press conference, said:

"Frankly, I saw the mentality of American fascism right on the witness stand. I saw it every day that Ehrlichman was on the stand" and added:

"Whenever they feel the interests of national security are threatened, that can justify any crime."

Meany is right when he accuses the Nixon administration of being responsible for the soaring inflation and the attacks on democratic rights.

Nixon and his men set out to win the 1972 election by fraud, slander, spying and burglary for one purpose: to launch a ruthless attack on workers' wages, to rip up every social program for the youth, unemployed and poor and to destroy the right of unions to free collective bargaining.

Nixon hired the most right-wing, reactionary enemies of the working class, CIA agents, Cuban exiles and even Nazis to achieve his aims. He has established a secret circle of men including Army General Haig who run the government completely independently of Congress or the working people. He arrogantly declares that he is above the law.

In true Nazi tradition, Haldeman and Ehrlichman drew up plans for an anti-communist witch-hunt against leftist organizations, even seeking to provoke violence to provide a justification for police state measures.

Now a right-wing section of the ruling class is out to dump Agnew as a prelude to forcing Nixon himself out. They seek to bring in a man who will deal with the economic crisis by a crackdown on the working class and its living standards.

While Meany talks about fascism, at the same time he supports Nixon by refusing to take a stand on whether he wants Nixon to resign, simply saying that "Nixon will have to make that judgment."

The only road forward is to demand that Meany convene a Congress of Labor of all unions to launch a campaign to force Nixon to resign and call a new election. This Congress must immediately begin the construction of a labor party to throw out the Democratic and Republican parties. This demand must be placed on the floor of every union meeting in the country.

In the 1930s Hitler rose to power and smashed the German labor movement because the Social Democratic leaders, Scheideman and Ebert, who led the unions, continued to collaborate with the capitalist parties.

If Ehrlichman represents the "mentality of American fascism" then Meany surely represents the mentality of the Scheidemans who refuse to heed the warning signals and prepare for the struggles ahead.



John Gelsavage

What we think

(Continued From Page 3)

This is quite a switch. Roberts is going all out to falsify the real content of his previous articles. One of the main points he had tried to make is that the International Committee has made much too much of the monetary crisis. He even compiled a number of headlines from issues of the Workers Press which warned the working class of the latest developments of the crisis over the past decade simply to deride—in the manner of a philistine—the significance of such events as the decline of Sterling in the middle sixties and the more recent rise in the price of gold.

Reviewing these headlines, Roberts snidely wrote: "Every report on U.S. or British trade or payments balances, or stock market swings, or gold price changes (whether up or down), receives the same treatment until the word 'crisis' becomes virtually meaningless."

It is true that Roberts, in his earlier articles, did refer to Mandel's opinions on the monetary crisis. These opinions have been answered extensively in the pages of the Bulletin and the Workers Press. Roberts now seeks to cover up the manner in which he used Mandel's writings on inflation in his last series and also distorts the views actually held by Mandel.

In an eclectic manner, Roberts had quoted Mandel in the May articles not to demonstrate how he had first perceived the revolutionary significance of the monetary crisis but to mock the International Committee as "panic-mongers."

For Roberts to claim that Mandel ever understood the significance of the monetary crisis is ludicrous. First of all, Mandel rejects Lenin's conception of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism—that is, capitalism in its death agony—and considers imperialism to have been superseded by "neo-capitalism." Within the framework of "stable" neo-capitalism, inflation is held by Mandel as a measure of the ruling class' strength—not its crisis and fear of the working class.

As Mandel considers a hallmark of "neo-capitalism" to be state intervention in the economy, his views on inflation are a capitulation to Keynesianism. Having abandoned Marxism and the struggle to construct a Trotskyist leadership, Mandel has always expressed the greatest confidence in the capitalist's

ability to make whatever adjustments are required to preserve "neo-capitalism."

Mandel's views on inflation and gold are too well known for Roberts to argue plausibly that the International Committee owes its assessment of the monetary crisis to this leading Pabloite theoretician. To his own misfortune, Roberts actually quoted in his earlier articles Mandel's comments on De Gaulle's proposal to return to gold as the basis of the monetary system. At that time, Mandel insisted that inflation was the means through which the capitalists could avoid the "suicide" of De Gaulle's proposal. In other words, Mandel did not see capitalism as being forced toward a gold standard because of the inflation that was destroying all paper currency. He ruled out the objective crisis or at least made it absolutely subordinate to the subjective interests of capitalists armed with inflationary policies.

As Mandel wrote at the time: "What capitalist government in the United States, for instance, would risk having fifteen or twenty million unemployed for the sake of 'fighting inflation' or 'going back to the gold standard.'" This absurd statement, which can lead only to the absolute disarming of the working class, ranks with Mandel's more famous assertion that European capitalists will never resort to fascism again because they "burned their fingers" with it during the 1930's.

But it is only during the last month that the leader of the French Pabloites, Alain Krivine, was thrown into jail by the Pompidou regime which is openly abetting the growth of the fascist movement.

Falsifying his own articles and then covering up for Mandel are only two elements of Roberts' latest article. There is another which shows most sharply how far revisionism stands from Marxism and how hostile the Pabloites are to the fundamental tasks of the Trotskyist movement.

In concluding his article, Roberts reverts to his old theme by attempting to mock the Bulletin for having warned the working class of the dangers of economic collapse when the price of gold reached \$95 per ounce and for having warned again in more urgent terms when the price reached \$130 in July.

"Perhaps the Healyites,"

writes Roberts, "are banking on the notion that the monetary system will collapse one day and when it happens, the crash will have been predicted in the previous week's Healyite newspaper—since it has been predicted there virtually on a weekly basis for the past five years."

For Marxists, it is not a matter of predictions, but of assessing at each point of the class struggle the actual development of the crisis and fighting for the construction of the revolutionary party through the struggle for the perspectives in the workers movement.

This responsibility is rejected by Mandel and the Socialist Workers Party. Roberts can now cynically write—after having stated just the opposite only recently—that Mandel knew all along of the decisive importance of the monetary crisis because these so-called "predictions"—including those made after the event—pose no concrete tasks in the working class to the revisionists.

Having turned their backs on the struggle for Trotskyism, the Pabloites have proceeded for 20 years only with their impressions of the radicalization of the middle class.

Defending these Pabloite conceptions, the SWP has not been able to prepare for this period—in which the working class will be thrown into decisive struggle against the capitalists and the most favorable opportunities will emerge for the building of a Trotskyist leadership. Without any perspectives, the SWP is paralyzed by the economic crisis and the political crisis which it has spawned. The Watergate affair and the latest developments around Agnew—which have crippled the government and show the urgency and opportunities to force Nixon out and carry forward the fight for the political alternative of the labor party among millions of workers—finds the SWP embracing the liberals with its "Sue Nixon" campaign.

Only the International Committee, through its 20 years of struggle against Pabloite revisionism, has assessed the crisis throughout its development. The perspectives with which we now fight in the working class are not a collection of predictions—as Roberts sees it—but represent the theoretical capital of that struggle.

Building The Bulletin

Some 215 Young Socialist subs were gotten this past week bringing the grand total to 1788. Most of these came from outside the New York area where some serious work is finally beginning. A number of subs were recently gotten during a week's drive in the Cleveland-Lorain-Oberlin area. New York has fallen back and this must now be reversed.

We propose that an all-out drive be conducted this week to go over the two-thirds mark in August. Then we can extend the drive into September to complete our original target of 3000.

Only 139 Bulletin subs came in this week, for a grand total of 1447 for the summer period. This must be stepped up in preparation for the Fall sub drive which is now scheduled to begin October 1 as part of the launching of the twice-weekly.

FRANCE: THE DANGER OF PROVOCATION

On June 21, the Ligue Communiste and other French leftist organizations clashed with police who were protecting a meeting against foreign immigrants called by the fascist New Order movement. Immediately after, the Ligue Communiste, which is in solidarity with the United Secretariat, was banned by the government and its leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset illegally arrested. Last week Alain Krivine was finally released on bail after the government's attempt to overturn the court order failed.

The following series of three articles are reprinted from the Workers Press, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League in Britain. They detail how the June 21 events were a government staged provocation to destroy democracy, the moves toward dictatorship and fascism and the role played by the Stalinists and the Pabloites of the Ligue Communiste. We have already issued a statement of support for the lifting of the ban on the Ligue in the July 9 issue of the Bulletin.

BY JOHN SPENCER

Behind the ban on the French Ligue Communiste and the arrest of its leaders is an extremely dangerous provocation mounted by the crisis-ridden Pompidou government.

Sensing the rapid deterioration of the economic situation of world capitalism and the rising wave of militancy in the workers' movement, the Gaullist regime has swung the helm sharply to the right.

The ban on the Ligue Communiste and the invocation of the Loi Anti-casseurs (anti-reckers law) against its secretary-general Alain Krivine places all working-class organizations in France in extreme danger.

Krivine faces up to five years' jail for having allegedly reconstituted the banned Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (the Pabloite youth organization banned with 11 other left-wing organizations in 1968).

But he may also—under the anti-wreckers law—be held financially responsible for all the damage caused on the night of June 21, whether caused by his own members, outsiders, fascists or, of course, the police themselves.

This law was brought in by the Gaullists with the specific purpose of terrorizing their opponents on the left and giving the police the widest possible powers to repress demonstrations.

But the aim of Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin, an old collaborator of the Nazis who stood to the right of de Gaulle, went far beyond merely using the anti-wreckers law.

A trap

Marcellin effectively laid a trap for the Ligue Communiste—and they walked into it. He set out to strengthen the pro-fascist wing of the police which has lately been recruiting heavily among the younger policemen.

At the same time he wanted to weaken the hold of the main trade union confederations within the police force in preparation for further attacks on the basic organizations of the working class.

These unions, which organize a considerable proportion of police officers, have been protesting more and more openly against the use of huge bodies of police against workers on strike and in dispute.

Prior to the Ligue Communiste demonstration, the police have been used in different

parts of France on a whole series of occasions to beat up strikers. This treatment was meted out in the past few weeks to Lip watchmakers occupying their factory in Besançon, to immigrant workers at Fos-sur-Mer, striking in defence of democratic rights and to workers at Peugeot, St Etienne, where police collaborated with professional strike-breakers.

One of the factors which decided Marcellin to mount the provocation against the Ligue Communiste was the distribution in some police stations of a leaflet issued by the CFDT, a trade union confederation to which only a small number of police belong.

The leaflet attacked the use made of the police by Marcellin against 'the most exploited social categories — workers, immigrants, schoolchildren, students'.

On the day of the demonstration Marcellin was in Vannes, Brittany. He spoke in reply to this leaflet which he had banned from the police stations. He said there had been 83 demonstrations in Paris alone since the beginning of the year and under these conditions he had no option but to use the police for tasks of repression.

Marcellin knew perfectly well that by allowing the openly racist meeting of the fascist organization Ordre Nouveau to go ahead he was creating a provocation which would draw the left-wing organization into street battles with the police.

The fascists knew this too. Their meeting was a provocation from start to finish. They based themselves on the strategy developed by the Italian fascists of the Italian Social Movement.

They aimed to stir up as much tension as possible in the knowledge that the police would protect them. Their meeting—directed openly against immigrants—was authorized by the Prefect of Paris without the least difficulty.

Naturally enough, the Prefect was acting on the instructions of Marcellin and Prime Minister Pierre Messmer, who were well aware of the 'plot'. Here was a golden opportunity both to hit out at the 'anti-fascist' tendency inside the police force and to create a precedent for demolishing all democratic rights.

This was not the first time Marcellin had used this strategy. In February 1971 demonstrations in favour of a schoolboy imprisoned for allegedly attacking a policeman had been severely repressed.

Protests inside the police force reached a peak when union delegates—the equivalent



Demonstration in defense of the Ligue Communiste.

of shop stewards—went into the streets and handed out over 250,000 leaflets denouncing Marcellin's repressive policy.

Five days later the Interior Minister allowed a meeting of Ordre Nouveau at the Sports Palace, which was heavily protected by police. There were violent counter-demonstrations.

Inside the hall at this fascist meeting, held on March 9, 1971 were a group of thugs armed with rifles and revolvers and provided with grenades from army stores.

The group of thugs were composed of Indo-China and Algeria veterans headed by Gilbert Lecavalier, the leader of the Ordre Nouveau stewards' organization.

In itself this would be no surprise. But a secret police official who was also present in the Sports Palace reported the existence of this commando to his superiors and decided to speak to the Press.

This man, named as inspector Raymond B, was accompanied by another policeman in plainclothes, Michel Chevret. The armed fascists were never arrested, though the police knew perfectly well they were there.

Chevret—in his official capacity of undercover agent—later joined another fascist group called the Nationalist Action Group, which specialized in attacks on left-wing groups and organization of bombing raids.

No action was taken against this group either, though the police opened an investigation which led nowhere.

A group of fascists headed by one Pierre Despradels was actually arrested in Bordeaux

carrying 45 kilogrammes of dynamite. They intended to carry out bomb attacks against political opponents.

Despradels was held for a few hours by the police then set free. Today, six months after his arrest, he is in Paris, a free man.

At the June 21 meeting in Paris, the same elements were to be seen standing shoulder to shoulder with the police against the Ligue Communiste and carrying hand grenades.

There was also the peculiar affair of the van which the government alleged was carrying weapons to the left-wing demonstrators. This van figured in the decree banning the Ligue Communiste.

But those who saw it say that far from carrying weapons for the Ligue Communiste demonstrators, its occupants were in fact firing tear gas against the anti-fascist demonstrators.

There was another van, a yellow vehicle hired from Hertz, which was parked outside the Mutualité Hall, within the police cordon, and was filled with weapons and Molotov cocktails. It was taken to the police station together with Ordre Nouveau leaders, who were promptly released.

This van was not mentioned in any of the official accounts of the incidents.

Plainly the banning of the Ligue Communiste was the result of a well-laid plot by the Interior Ministry, in which the fascists played out their role just as Marcellin wanted them to.

Challenges

They even went as far as issuing provocative challenges

to the left-wing groups, saying they should stick to words and not try and challenge Ordre Nouveau in the streets. When they had finished their racist meeting, the Ordre Nouveau fascists marched in military style back to their headquarters, accompanied by a large force of police.

The most glaring provocation, however, was the affair of the rifles. According to Krivine, an unknown man arrived at the Ligue Communiste headquarters about a week before the demonstration and brought in with him two service rifles.

These rifles were supposed to have been taken out of the headquarters by the Ligue Communiste guards, but this was not done. Internal disciplinary measures have been taken against those responsible, Krivine said.

As a result of this provocation and the incredible attitude of the Ligue Communiste and its leaders towards it, 14 members of the organization are facing charges of having broken the firearms law and the government was given a perfect opportunity to portray them as plotting against state security.

This carefully-planned and organized provocation was the first in a series of blows aimed at hamstringing the workers' organizations and systematically preparing for dictatorship in France.

This is made necessary by the rapid worsening of the international economic crisis and the growing struggle of the working class. Where Pompidou leads, the British ruling class cannot be far behind.

In a government-planned provocation on June 21, left-wing demonstrators, including the Ligue Communiste, clashed in Paris with police protecting a fascist meeting. Immediately Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin banned the Ligue and arrested two of its leaders. A correspondent assesses the Paris scene since then.

Repression in France

SATURDAY, July 14, Bastille Day, and that part of the French nation which could face the presence of para-military police celebrated the anniversary of the storming of a prison which symbolized the brutally repressive nature of the ruling class in 1789.

In working-class areas the dancing and fire-works began on Friday night, but in a very limited way. Since May 1968, the government has curbed popular rejoicing for fear of revolt.

But on Saturday morning, the Pompidou administration, with a great deal of pomp and intimidation, showed off its military strength. Jet fighters raged across the Paris sky, tanks rolled in the streets and the army, navy, air force, and of course, the Foreign Legion paraded down the Champs Elysées.

The significance of this show of military force by French capitalism on a revolutionary anniversary is not without an added irony this year, for Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset are still in prison.

And why is Krivine still in prison? His lawyer, Yves Jouffa, made a demand for his release. The examining magistrate in the case, Judge Bernard, after a careful study of the file, accepted the request of the defence.

Krivine should have been released immediately. But the state, and Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin, having decided on arbitrary repression aimed in the first instance against the Ligue Communiste and for the future against the entire working-class movement, have obstructed Krivine's release.

This intervention of the state into the judiciary is not too infrequent these days.

In any event, even by the standards of bourgeois legality,

Krivine should never have been arrested. He was only held, according to Judge Bernard, because he refused to answer any questions in the absence of his lawyer.

That is his strict legal right. The file of the judge, which is based on police reports, contains three negative pieces of evidence on Krivine:

● That he was hostile to his own movement's demonstration on June 21 and that on this point he was in the minority within the executive group of the Ligue Communiste.

● He was not in attendance at the two preparatory meetings of June 16 and 19.

● On the very day of the demonstration he was in Nice—about 400 miles from Paris.

Krivine naturally refuses to



THE STALINISTS'

accept the first point and declares himself in complete solidarity with the action of his movement. Even so, there is no justification for his arrest.

It is now clear from all the evidence that Marcellin had laid a very sinister trap for the Ligue Communiste and the Ligue fell into it with all the adventurism at its disposal.

Police aware HURLED BOMBS

Not only does it emerge that the police are well aware of what occurred at Ligue policy-making meetings but that on June 21 their men, dressed as

militants, were hurling Molotov cocktails to get the whole thing going. Police radio messages were intercepted and form the basis of proof.

What does the ex-Ligue Communiste now think of its June 21 demonstration? Their paper 'Rouge' of June 27 states:

'The demonstration against the Ordre Nouveau racist meeting suffered indisputably from the passivity of certain organizations. Passivity which deprived it of a more impressive mass character that it could have had. We had to wait until the last minute before receiving a communique from the MRAP (Movement against Racism), and one from the CP. Neither the PSU nor Lutte Ouvriere deemed it right to associate themselves with a street initiative.

'Therefore the demonstration was called by the Cause du Peuple, Humanité Rouge, Alliance Marxiste-Révolutionnaire, the Proletaire Ligne Rouge, Révolution and the Ligue Communiste . . .

A more unprincipled and dangerous alliance could perhaps not have been conceived even as a provocation by the provocation-minded Minister Marcellin.

The Ligue Communiste must have known that the French CP would refuse to join with them. So in going ahead with only the most irresponsible, undisciplined, adventurist groupings—all of them self-appointed Maoists—the Ligue Communiste committed one of the more serious, political errors in the 20 years of errors of Pabloite revisionism.

Nor has there been any attempt up to now to analyse the mistake.

To put into jeopardy their entire organization at a time when the organizational centre of the revolutionary movement must hold firmer than ever before under the impact of Bonapartism, the growing economic crisis, the growth of fascist movements and the penetration of the state apparatus by fascists, seems not to preoccupy the leadership of the ex-Ligue. They content themselves with boasting:

'From 10 o'clock in the morning, the morale of the fascists had been badly shaken. The arsenal which they were preparing to place at the Mutualité had been seized by a group of militants instructed by the experience of the Palais des Sports in March, 1971 . . .

Now the Pabloites must make

FRANCE'S FASCIST UNION

A fascist union, backed by big employers and enjoying the sympathy of many Gaullist deputies, is trying to win recognition in France.

Known as the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT), its origins go back to the fascist leagues of pre-war days when renegades from Stalinism like Jacques Doriot built up a certain following in the working class, backed by employers' money.

During the Vichy period, from 1940 to 1944, the forerunners of the CFT enjoyed the support of Marshal Petain's government which drew up a corporatist programme known as the Charte du Travail (the Labour Charter). The Charter was accepted by a number of trade union bureaucrats who were 'purged' after the Allied occupation of France.

In 1949 these former collaborators began to raise their heads, joining with some of General de Gaulle's supporters and a few renegades from the Communist Party to form a confederation of 'independent' trade unions. Their aim was to build an organization which could stamp out the 'Marxist' trade unions, preaching class-collaboration and a return to the corporate state.

The CFT had very little sup-

port in the working class and the only factories in which it secured any influence were those in which it became a virtual company union, backed by the employers.

In the 1950s a number of employers set out to smash the Stalinist-led Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) with CFT strong-arm men. The most successful venture was that organized by Simca where the so-called 'independent' trade union became part of the disciplinary apparatus of the factory.

Simca was able to reduce the CGT and other unions to impotence within a few months. In 1956, 1,600 workers were sacked, including all the leading trade unionists and militants. The management refused point-blank to discuss with the workers' trade unions. The CFT became the only recognized negotiating body.

A veritable reign of terror was installed and those who did not submit were sacked. When de Gaulle came to power it was significant that two of the leaders of the Simca union were elected as Gaullist deputies.

When Chrysler bought out Simca it inherited this set-up, which no doubt it would like to see extended to Britain. In France the example of Simca was followed by Citroën and a few other big firms.

Advantage was taken of the fact that many of the workers recruited in the 1960s were immigrants with no tradition of trade union organization who were afraid of losing their jobs and having to return to a life of poverty in the countries from which they had come.

In a few factories, therefore, the CFT has acquired a position of dominance and, in effect, it forms part of the management structure. To get a job in such places it is necessary to pay a subscription to the CFT and obey its officials in the plant. Anyone showing any support for the CGT or other unions is liable to be sacked.

In the rare cases where workers in a factory in which the CFT is strong dare to go on strike it moves rapidly into action, as it did at the Citroën factory at Rheims last May. The CFT strong-arm men virtually took control of the factory while others went round to put pressure on the strikers' families.

The CFT is frankly modelled on the syndicates in Mussolini's Italy and present-day Franco Spain. It preaches co-operation between management and workers, opposes free collective-bargaining and is against strikes. Its organization is built around strong-arm gangs, ready to use violence

against trade unionists or workers who get out of line.

Apart from the hard core of former right wing and fascist officials and members, the CFT does not have much numerical strength. It claims 400,000 members, but this is a highly inflated figure; it may not have more than 40,000, many of them dragooned into joining as the price of getting a job.

So far the CFT has not been accorded official recognition as a representative trade union. The CGT and the other unions oppose such rights being given to 'yellow' trade unions.

There is no doubt that the Gaullist government would recognize it if it dared, but it cannot do so in the present relationship of forces. A number of Ministers have spoken out on its behalf, including the Minister of Industry, Jean Charbonnel and the Minister of Labour, Christian Poncelet. So has the secretary of the Gaullist Party, Alain Peyrefitte.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to dismiss the CFT as of little importance, confined to a few factories. It is, in embryo, a fascist-type syndicate ready to harness the working class to the corporate state as in the Vichy days. It is a vicious enemy which has to be defeated and driven out of the factories.



Below: Communist Party meeting from which the Ligue Communiste was banned. Center Left: Police protect a meeting of the fascists.

AND PABLOITES' REACTION

PARIS NOTEBOOK

BY ANNA TATE

it clear to the working class whether it is upholding the principle of urban-guerrilla warfare in an alliance of dubious groupings as being the mode of struggle against fascism.

Not only content with street-veteran boasting the Ligue Communiste is using emotion to justify its actions. Gérard Filoche, who was a leading member of the now banned Ligue Communiste and who is still on the editorial group of 'Rouge' says in an interview he gave to the Maoist paper 'La Cause du Peuple':

... it is the duty of the avant-garde to take initiatives which, on a terrain such as racism, permit the consciousness of the most advanced workers to progress, to sound the alarm on the danger. And in the face of fascism there is not a shadow of a problem: our families perished through the acts of the Nazis only one or two decades ago, fascism must be crushed in the bud by all the means possible before it develops ...

Apart from a certain contempt for 'the consciousness of the most-advanced workers', Filoche is making an apologia for any means of action whatsoever. He is on dangerous ground with this total rejection of Marxism.

What is more, in France, at the moment, when it comes to street-corner bashing the fascists have the lead. Theirs is the strategy of plastic-bombings, theirs the ideology of individual violence.

Only the combined strength of the working-class behind a truly Marxist leadership will stem the flow of fascism which gains root in this grave crisis of the capitalist world.

As for the position of the French Communist Party, 'Rouge' and all the other ultra-leftist papers have confined themselves to denouncing the fact that the Stalinists did not mobilize on June 21 and that they banned the ex-Ligue Communiste members from speaking at the mass meeting on July 4.

Stalinist role DUBIOUS

There has been no serious analysis of the Stalinist role, which has nevertheless been a dubious one.

On July 6 'Rouge' limited itself to the view that the French CP talks democrat when it is with democrats and talks revolutionary when it is with revolutionaries. This is an incomprehensible and facile way of viewing developments. The implication is that in

demanding the release of Krivine the CP is being revolutionary.

The reality is somewhat different.

The Stalinists are behaving in a totally opportunistic manner. While they have now been obliged to recognize and state in their tracts that there is in fact a difference between Trotskyism and fascism, they are merely bowing to temporary circumstances.

Had the bureaucracy of the French CP refused at this juncture to draw a line between Trotskyists and fascists they would have been seen to adopt precisely the stand of Marcellin.

The French working class would not have swallowed that. Thus we have the politics of expediency and opportunism. What is more, there are many branches of the CP which are continuing with the 'old' policy which is the 'real policy' of the Stalinists.

The local branch in this area of Paris put out a tract which is interesting as a reflection of the Party line prior to the meeting at which Duclos, speaking on behalf of the CP, called for the release of Krivine.

The gist of it is this:

'For several weeks those in power have been leading a widespread campaign against rights in our country, rights which have been acquired in the course of struggles by our people. (Already there is the slightly nationalistic tone which is not infrequent with the French Stalinists given their electoral dreams.)

'Such a campaign stems from the desire to silence all opposition to the present policies, to subject Frenchmen to the reactionary and oppressive views of a regime founded on exploitation, to install a veritable MORAL ORDER ...

One might point out that due to the CP's own grand omission (or as Lenin would have said, not so much omission as wish to omit) of any analysis of the present crisis of capitalism they are obliged to see the situation as being one in which, for reasons of executive weakness (their very words), the Pompidou government turns to morality as its prime weapon!

'Its promises having flown out the window, those in power show themselves incapable of responding to existing problems and to the urgent needs of the popular masses ... there is no explanation as to why this should be.

'They want to bring our country to heel. They will not succeed. It is for this reason that

about 20 organizations, political, syndical, Christian, artistic and among them our party, organized a first reply on June 20 which brought together throughout France hundreds of thousands of workers (120,000 in Paris) ...

Why then with its hundreds of thousands of political, syndical, Christian and artistic comrades has the CP managed this week to raise a deafening silence on the banning of the Ligue Communiste, on Krivine's continued, unwarranted detention and on Pierre Rousset's continued imprisonment?

On Sunday morning July 15, the Stalinists were out in the market here selling their paper, which has a beautiful cover in colour and the words of the poet Eluard: 'Liberty, I write your name.'

Inside such a cover one might have hoped to find a word on Krivine or Rousset. But no, just total silence. Not a word. And this in the week which has seen the judge accept the demand for the release of Krivine and the refusal of the state prosecution to free him.

The Stalinists cannot be trusted. Yet again this is clear. So why does the July 13 'Rouge' address an open letter to the CP appealing for a united front, not on any principled basis but on a vague desire for unity and an obvious belief that the Stalinists can be politely asked to change their ways? How can Henri Weber, director of 'Rouge', write?

'Comrades, we congratulate ourselves that the time has passed when "Humanité" labelled revolutionaries as "Marcellin-

ultra-leftists" or as "left-wing fascists". But one must go further, not only to leave the calumnies in the cloakroom but to abandon the exclusion of the revolutionary ultra-left.'

Does Weber really believe that in appealing to the Stalinists they will leave the calumnies in the cloakroom and embrace Trotskyism? The Ligue Communiste have long abandoned Trotskyism. Perhaps if they move any further into the mire of centrism and control their anarchist fringe there will indeed be some place for them with the Stalinists.

The Communist Party is hostile to the Ligue Communiste. That has not changed in any respect whatsoever. They will use the present events only in so far as they suit their own electoral designs, and the stab-in-the-back is just around the corner.

To come back to the local Stalinist tract their opinion of the June 21 events has been expressed:

'Ultra-left' IRRESPONSIBLE

'Let us make things clear: one must not accord more importance than there is to the minor fascist group in question ... certain ultra-leftist organizations, in deciding to counter-demonstrate in a manner which was at best irresponsible and unconvincing, assured it an unhelped of publicity ...

'The communists condemn such methods which play the game of those in power.'

Is the CP merely condemning the methods used by the Ligue Communiste and its allies?

Certainly not. What it is implying is that fascism is not a danger and should be swept under the carpet.

It sees Ordre Nouveau as being weak in numbers. What an un-Marxist and blind way of analysing the present situation in France! What, one must ask the 'numerical' pragmatists, do you Stalinists make of the fact that the extreme-right paper 'Minute' now has 100,000 readers? Is that also only a 'minor group' to whom no importance is to be accorded?

The Ligue Communiste led itself into a blind alley on June 21. It is now leading itself into a blind alley with the Communist Party.



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In 1949 these former collaborators began to raise their heads, joining with some of General de Gaulle's supporters and a few renegades from the Communist Party to form a confederation of 'independent' trade unions. Their aim was to build an organization which could stamp out the 'Marxist' trade unions, preaching class-collaboration and a return to the corporate state.

port in the working class and the only factories in which it secured any influence were those in which it became a virtual company union, backed by the employers.

In the 1950s a number of employers set out to smash the Stalinist-led Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) with CFT strongarm men. The most successful venture was that organized by Simca where the so-called 'independent' trade union became part of the disciplinary apparatus of the factory.

Simca was able to reduce the CGT and other unions to impotence within a few months. In 1956, 1,600 workers were sacked, including all the leading trade unionists and militants. The management refused point-blank to discuss with the workers' trade unions. The CFT became the only recognized negotiating body.

A veritable reign of terror was installed and those who did not submit were sacked. When de Gaulle came to power it was significant that two of the leaders of the Simca union were elected as Gaullist deputies.

When Chrysler bought out Simca it inherited this set-up, which no doubt it would like to see extended to Britain. In France the example of Simca was followed by Citroën and a few other big firms.

Advantage was taken of the fact that many of the workers recruited in the 1960s were immigrants with no tradition of trade union organization, who were afraid of losing their jobs and having to return to a life of poverty in the countries from which they had come.

In a few factories, therefore, the CFT has acquired a position of dominance and, in effect, it forms part of the management structure. To get a job in such places it is necessary to pay a subscription to the CFT and obey its officials in the plant. Anyone showing any support for the CGT or other unions is liable to be sacked.

In the rare cases where workers in a factory in which the CFT is strong dare to go on strike it moves rapidly into action, as it did at the Citroën factory at Rheims last May. The CFT strong-arm men virtually took control of the factory while others went round to put pressure on the strikers' families.

The CFT is frankly modelled on the syndicates in Mussolini's Italy and present-day Franco Spain. It preaches co-operation between management and worker, opposes free collective-bargaining and is against strikes. Its organization is built around strong-arm gangs, ready to use violence



THE STALINISTS' AND PABLOITES' REACTION

PARIS NOTEBOOK BY ANNA TATE

accept the first point and declares himself in complete solidarity with the action of his movement. Even so, there is no justification for his arrest. It is now clear from all the evidence that Marcellin had laid a very sinister trap for the Ligue Communiste and the Ligue fell into it with all the adventurism at its disposal.

Police aware HURLED BOMBS

Not only does it emerge that the police are well aware of what occurred at Ligue policy-making meetings but that on June 21 their men, dressed as

militants, were hurling Molotov cocktails to get the whole thing going. Police radio messages were intercepted and form the basis of proof.

What does the ex-Ligue Communiste now think of its June 21 demonstration? Their paper 'Rouge' of June 27 states: 'The demonstration against the Ordre Nouveau racist meeting suffered indisputably from the passivity of certain organizations. Passivity which deprived it of a more impressive mass character that it could have had. We had to wait until the last minute before receiving a communique from the MRAP (Movement against Racism), and one from the CP. Neither the PSU nor Lutte Ouvrière deemed it right to associate themselves with a street initiative.

Therefore the demonstration was called by the Cause du Peuple, Humanité Rouge, Alliance Marxiste-Révolutionnaire, the Proletaire Ligne Rouge, Révolution and the Ligue Communiste.

A more unprincipled and dangerous alliance could perhaps not have been conceived even as a provocation by the provocation-minded Minister Marcellin.

The Ligue Communiste must have known that the French CP would refuse to join with them. So in going ahead with only the most irresponsible, undisciplined, adventurist groupings—all of them self-appointed Maoists—the Ligue Communiste committed one of the more serious, political errors in the 20 years of errors of Pabloite revisionism.

Nor has there been any attempt up to now to analyse the mistake. To put into jeopardy their entire organization at a time when the organizational centre of the revolutionary movement must hold firmer than ever before under the impact of Bonapartism, the growing economic crisis, the growth of fascist movements and the penetration of the state apparatus by fascists, seems not to preoccupy the leadership of the ex-Ligue. They content themselves with boasting:

'From 10 o'clock in the morning, the morale of the fascists had been badly shaken. The arsenal which they were preparing to place at the Mutualité had been seized by a group of militants instructed by the experience of the Palais des Sports in March, 1971 . . .

Now the Pabloites must make

it clear to the working class whether it is upholding the principle of urban-guerrilla warfare in an alliance of dubious groupings as being the mode of struggle against fascism.

Not only content with street-fighting, they have now been obliged to recognize and state in their tracts that there is in fact a difference between Trotskyism and fascism, they are merely bowing to temporary circumstances.

Had the bureaucracy of the French CP refused at this juncture to draw a line between Trotskyists and fascists they would have been seen to adopt precisely the stand of Marcellin. The French working class would not have swallowed that. Thus we have the politics of expediency and opportunism. What is more, there are many branches of the CP which are continuing with the 'old' policy which is the 'real' policy of the Stalinists.

The local branch in this area of Paris put out a tract which is interesting as a reflection of the Party line prior to the meeting at which Duclos, speaking on behalf of the CP, called for the release of Krivine.

The gist of it is this: 'For several weeks those in power have been leading a wide-spread campaign against rights in our country, rights which have been acquired in the course of struggles by our people. (Already there is the slightly nationalistic tone which is not infrequent with the French Stalinists given their electoral dreams.)

'Such a campaign stems from the desire to silence all opposition to the present policies, to subject Frenchmen to the reactionary and oppressive views of a regime founded on exploitation, to install a veritable MORAL ORDER . . .

One might point out that due to the CP's own grand omission (or as Lenin would have said, not so much omission as wish to omit) of any analysis of the present crisis of capitalism they are obliged to see the situation as being one in which, for reasons of executive weakness (their very words), the Pompidou government turns to morality as its prime weapon!

'Its promises having flown out the window, those in power show themselves incapable of responding to existing problems and to the urgent needs of the popular masses . . . there is no explanation as to why this should be.

'They want to bring our country to heel. They will not succeed. It is for this reason that

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Below: Communist Party meeting from which the Ligue Communiste was banned. Center Left: Police protect a meeting of the fascists.

ultra-leftists" or as "left-wing fascists". But one must go further, not only to leave the calumnies in the cloakroom but to abandon the exclusion of the revolutionary ultra-left.

Does Weber really believe that in appealing to the Stalinists they will leave the 'calumnies in the cloakroom' and embrace Trotskyism? The Ligue Communiste have long abandoned Trotskyism. Perhaps if they move any further into the mire of centrism and control their anarchist fringe there will indeed be some place for them with the Stalinists.

The Communist Party is hostile to the Ligue Communiste. That has not changed in any respect whatsoever. They will use the present events only in so far as they suit their own electoral designs, and the stab-in-the-back is just around the corner.

To come back to the local Stalinist tract their opinion of the June 21 events has been expressed:

'Ultra-left' IRRESPONSIBLE

'Let us make things clear: one must not accord more importance than there is to the minor fascist group in question—certain ultra-leftist organizations, in deciding to counter-demonstrate in a manner which was at best irresponsible and unconvincing, assured it an unhoped-of publicity . . .

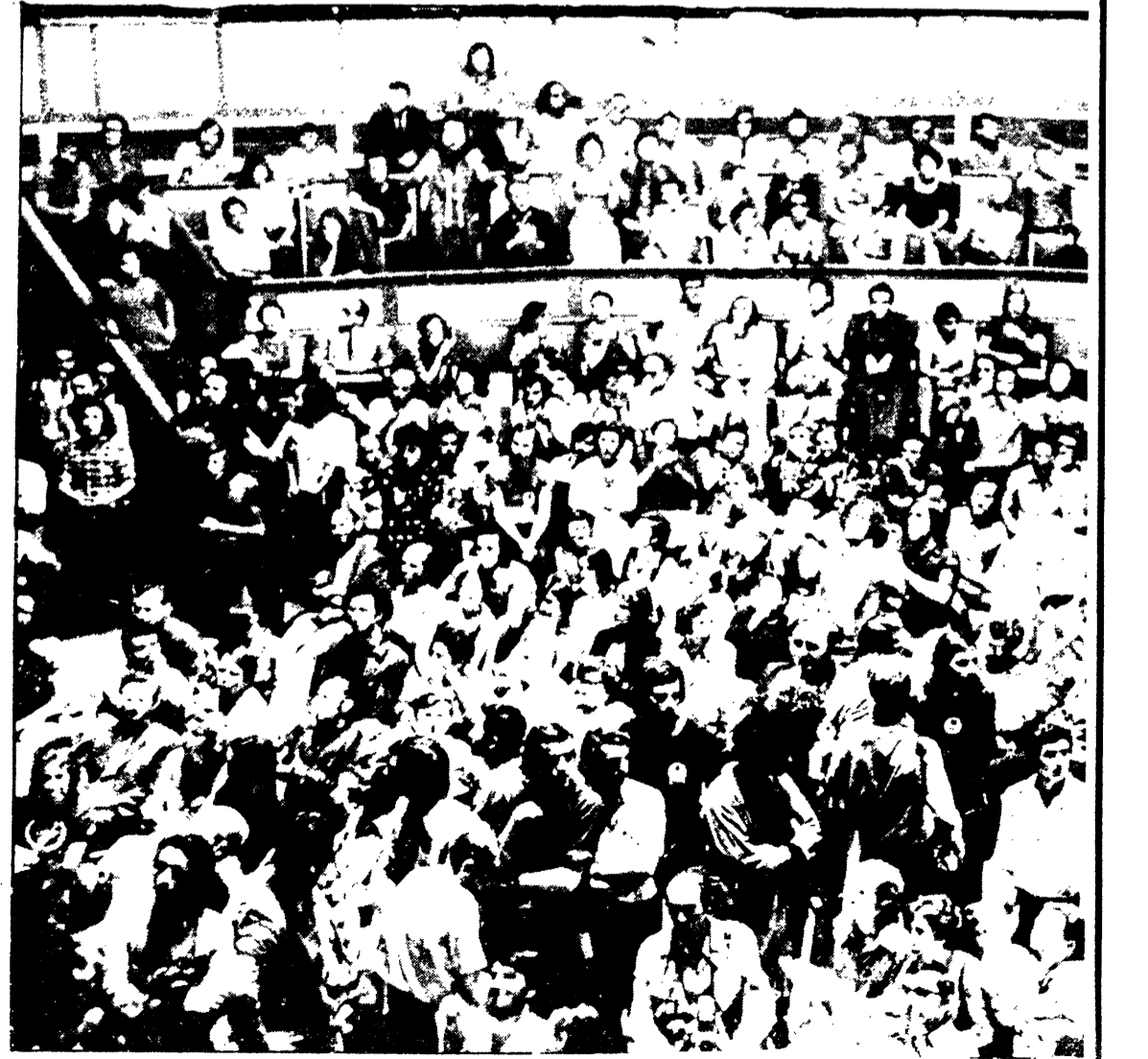
The communists condemn such methods which play the game of those in power.

Is the CP merely condemning the methods used by the Ligue Communiste and its allies?

Certainly not. What it is implying is that fascism is not a danger and should be swept under the carpet.

It sees Ordre Nouveau as being weak in numbers. What an un-Marxist and blind way of analysing the present situation in France! What, one must ask the 'numerical' pragmatists, do you Stalinists make of the fact that the extreme-right paper 'Minute' now has 100,000 readers? Is that also only a 'minor group' to whom no importance is to be accorded?

The Ligue Communiste led itself into a blind alley on June 21. It is now leading itself into a blind alley with the Communist Party.



FROM ANNA TATE IN PARIS

The French Communist Party has condemned the June 21 counter-demonstration of the Ligue Communiste against the fascist Ordre Nouveau on the basis that Ordre Nouveau is a minor grouping of no importance, to whom no attention should be given.

In doing so, the Stalinists deliberately ignore a mountain of evidence to the contrary.

There are the ever-increasing bomb attacks against the local headquarters of left-wing movements (including the Saint-Denis centre of the French CP itself), the constant intimidation and brutality exercised against militants (including a savage attempt to break up a CP dance), the drowning three weeks ago of a Portuguese immigrant and the recent violent assault on North Africans at Grasse, to cite but a few fascist provocations.

Fascist propaganda of the most racist variety decks the walls of Paris.

SLOGANS OF ULTRA-RIGHT

Left-wing poster-stickers are harassed by the police and their posters soon disappear, but somehow the city retains for weeks the sick slogans of the ultra-right.

Are they so unimportant, so negligible—these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements who have been launched into frenzied activity by the growing pressure of the economic situation in France?

The answer must be NO and the failure to alert the working-class to the danger must be condemned. For who are Ordre Nouveau and who are the fascists in France?

Over on the right bank of the Seine in that area near the Champs Elysées which is inhabited or frequented only by the rich, at No. 49 Avenue Marceau, is the office of 'Minute', the respectable, extreme right-wing weekly paper with a circulation of over 100,000.

Theirs is a grand and elegant building with tall, light windows discreetly curtained.

There is a menacing guard-dog in the front office and menacing literature on the tables, for 'Minute' is the legal, acceptable facade behind which lurk Ordre Nouveau, the National Front and all the thousands of fascist sympathizers of France.

What has 'Minute' to say on Ordre Nouveau? It is, of course, outraged by the ban against a party of 4,000 members 'born from resistance to the dictatorship which the extreme left attempts to impose in the universities'.

'Minute' is proud to announce that Ordre Nouveau in its last campaign against the wild-cat invasion, i.e. the illegal penetration into France of Africans and non-Africans, broadened its audience, stimulated popular consciousness of a dramatic situation and gained for itself new members and new support.

To sum up, Ordre Nouveau was an hysterical anti-communist, bigoted movement based on racism and aimed at the worst prejudices of the French petty-bourgeois.

The account of 'Minute' continues: 'In the week which preceded its dissolution . . . it received an average of 150,000 old francs (£150) a day in contributions . . . In addition Ordre Nouveau had

Who Are The French Fascists?



a monthly and a weekly paper. The meeting which it organized on June 21 had been authorized by the Prefecture of Police and all assurances had been given on its outcome.'

So we know that the Pompidou government was in complete agreement with the holding of this fascist meeting, but through the pages of 'Minute' we are also to know a deal more because, naturally (and here the Stalinists show their wilful ignorance), Francois Brigneau, head editor of 'Minute' happens also to be a member of the ex-Ordre Nouveau.

BRAINCHILD OF PETAIN

'Minute' has now become the strident, open voice of Ordre Nouveau, as it always was its supporter. The voice of over 100,000 readers.

And what does Brigneau think of Marcellin, the Minister of the Interior?

Well, they came up through the same ranks as the brainchildren of Marshal Pétain. A long history in common and Brigneau, much to the embarrassment of the highly respectable Gaullist Minister, insists on reminding people of this.

In any event, even now, there is probably very little that separates the two men politically, but only 15 years ago they were soul-mates serving together on 'France Indépendante'.

With them was Beaudouin, chief of Press of the Pompidou administration! And why, asks Brigneau, should Marcellin and I not have been side by side for 'were we not two former soldiers of the Marshal (Pétain)?'

Of course, says Brigneau, Marcellin had a higher rank as head of the secretariat of the Institute of Corporative Studies, which was directed by Pétain himself. At that time Marcellin made this oath: 'I donate my person to Marshal Pétain . . . I commit myself to serving his disciplines and to remaining faithful to his person and to his work.'

He was also one of the leaders of the 'French University'—a fascist, Vichy institution dedicated to teaching the doctrine of Pétain. As Brigneau says: 'With his Pétainist past, his past as an independent and his present

as an anti-communist, it was fated that our paths should one day cross . . .'

So where does the borderline between certain stalwarts of the Gaullist party and the fascists begin and end today?

One thing is sure, they overlap and interlink more and more closely.

Let us take CDRs (Committees for the Defence of the Republic), which raised their dubious heads from the heart of the ranks of de Gaulle. What are they up to now?

Their publication 'Citizens 73' condemns the growth and force of ultra-leftism and puts it down to trained agitators of whom it publishes a list.

The list includes only Jews. It is an anti-Semitic tract. A call for race violence. I quote:

'If stardom has returned in the form of a young agitator unknown till now, one Michel Feldschuh, known as 'Michel Field', it is also worth recognizing the other manipulators in our schools and among specialized workers:

Ligue Communiste: Daniel Ben Said, Alain Krivine, Charles Michaloux, Henryck Weber.

Révolution: Isaac Joshua, Henri Maler.

AJS: Daniel Shapira, Charles Stobnicer, Jean-Pierre Zalewski.

AMR: Nicholas Baby, Maurice Najman, Simon Rotentzajn.

Is there any difference between this and Nazi propaganda?

The extreme-right could hardly do better. Brigneau, the fascist, recognizes it and congratulates the CDR on their stand.

The basis of an alliance in the face of a militant working class is already there.

'Minute' is only the avant-garde of fascism in France. Others, more 'respectable', hide in the body politic. And with what does 'Minute' fill its pages?

Criticism of the Gaullist leadership forms a big part. After all the membership can easily be lured away in these times of social and economic upheaval, for there is little to hold them to the Gaullist image but sentiment and respectability.

The rest of the paper is a constant, weekly vomiting of racism and demented anti-communism.

For the moment, Alain Krivine constitutes target No. 1 for their lying, sick denun-

French fascists, armed and helmeted, guarding their meeting headquarters, and their newspaper, inset.

ciation. In headlines large as the lie they tell 'Minute' claims:

'Dozens of Salaried Militants . . . 800,000 Old Francs in Rent . . . A Villa in the South of France . . . Krivine, a Red Bourgeois Financed by Castro.'

A stream of disgusting insults follow: 'Alain Krivine is 31 years old and has all his teeth. Teeth which are long and sharp. For a myopic man he is long-sighted . . .'

And they have done their research, these fascists, so we are treated with the most intimate disclosures on Krivine—his father, his uncle, his brothers and so on.

They are trying to whip up hysteria on Krivine, whom they label 'the little, shy Jew with the long teeth'. Brigneau, their head editor, goes the whole hog:

' . . . the organizers of the riot which shook Paris last Thursday—that is to say Sartre the Tape-Worm, Krivine the Snake in glasses with frizzy negro hair and Geismar the Oscillating Guzzler who lives off the national insurance, should be in prison today—and for a very long stretch.'

And as that is not enough to quell his spleen, Brigneau continues:

'Little sewer-rats, even with your iron screws—doubtless the only ones you'll ever touch in your lives—your flame-throwers, your iron bars, even with the strange complicities which are your very own, even with your modern techniques of eternal savagery, you do not frighten us because you only know how to kill, to "bring down" as you put it, or to debase.'

'I hope for my country that you will not be allowed to carry on, and that you get your faces soundly beaten.'

'But should the contrary happen, should it prove that Monsieur Krivine makes the rules and imposes them, then I would feel, and several million Frenchmen with me, that self-defence was our right.'

And in self-defence one shoots on sight.'

Brigneau is openly advocating that, should Marcellin release Krivine, he himself and millions like him will see that just punishment follows. And he has gone much further than he usually dares to go—the call is for the gun.

Can the French CP still not see that Ordre Nouveau is not just a minor group to be ignored? Will Krivine have to be gunned down, and after him militants of the working class, before the Stalinists open their wilfully shut eyes?

Overney is already dead. That too was a gunshot and the French Communist Party were not at his funeral . . .

And if Ordre Nouveau, 'Minute' and the CDR are not enough evidence of the dangerous growth of fascism in France, what of the National Front which took part in the general election here?

Jean-Marie Le Pen, president of the NF fascist group used the pages of 'Minute' to publicize a manifesto to all men of the right who are not actively involved in politics to join the ranks of his party, where there is certainly action on the following problems, listed according to priority:

- Foreign immigration.
- Military service and national defence.
- Intellectual, physical and moral formation.
- Relations with the Third World.
- Social justice.
- National independence.

These were questions which somewhat preoccupied Hitler. And now that Ordre Nouveau has been banned, its bigoted followers can be found in the ranks of 'Minute', the National Front and the CDR. A home from home.

'Come down from your ivory towers', cries the president of the National Front to all 'good' Frenchmen of the right.

The cry could apply in other quarters. Let the French Stalinists now speak on fascism.

Fred Mueller books

The Continuity Of The Marxist Movement



Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Russian Revolution.

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

PART III

The Fourth International was founded "somewhere in Switzerland" on September 3, 1938. The Founding Conference successfully completed the work it had set out to accomplish, despite the Stalinist campaign of terror and assassination which culminated with the murder of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, the leader of the International, and of Rudolf Klement, secretary of the Bureau for the Fourth International. He had with him the main report to be delivered to the Conference.

Meeting on the eve of the imperialists' preparations for the Second World War in Europe, the Conference brought together the best elements of groups that had broken from the Stalinist Third International and various centrist formations on the basis of a five year struggle for Marxist perspectives in the workers' movement.

Meeting in strictest secrecy and allowing only one day for plenary session, the Conference adopted Statutes of the Fourth International as well as the founding document, the *Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International (Transitional Program)*. It adopted a manifesto "Against Imperialist War," as well as resolutions on "The War in the Far East and the Revolutionary Perspectives" and "The World Role of American Imperialism." It adopted a Resolution on Youth and created a new Youth International. It reviewed and made decisions on the work of many sections, notably the French, Canadian, British, Greek, Mexican and Polish. And it elected an International Executive Committee.

The adoption of the *Transitional Program* represented the culmination of

the long period of struggle to reestablish the continuity of Marxism and Bolshevism by Trotsky and the Left Opposition. This document was based on the lessons derived from the entire history of the workers movement, embodying the experiences of the working class and the Marxist movement gained in the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution and the period of working class defeats under Stalinism in the 1930s.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

These lessons, which were consciously developed in the struggle for perspectives that took place in the early years of the Communist International, had to be translated into a program of action for the international working class. The Communist International did not develop such a program until the Sixth World Congress, by which time it had come firmly under the grip of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The program issued by the Comintern, written by Bukharin, already reflected the political and theoretical degeneration of the Comintern, wiping out the continuity with Lenin and Bolshevism.

The struggle for these perspectives developed in the early years of the Communist International and was carried on by Trotsky and the forces that came together to build the new International.

The program was written by Trotsky, but it was by no means the product simply of Trotsky as an individual. Trotsky, the co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, was the vehicle of powerful historical forces which chose him to be the living link between the previous generation of Bolsheviks who had led the working class to power, and the new forces in the working class who began to look for an alternative leadership in a generation of betrayals and defeats.

Trotsky's long struggle, successfully culminating in the founding of the Fourth International and the adoption of the *Transitional Program*, maintained the continuity of the Marxist movement, which no amount of fascist and Stalinist terror could destroy because this movement took its strength from the movement of the working class internationally, and began at every point from the economic crisis of capitalism and the crisis in Stalinism. This grasp of the objective importance of the Fourth International is stated in the *Transitional Program*:

"The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus. No matter

how the methods of the social betrayers differ—from the 'social' legislation of Blum to the judicial frame-ups of Stalin, they will never succeed in breaking the revolutionary will of the proletariat..."

TEST

Only a year later came one of the greatest tests of the new movement with the beginning of World War Two. Stalin signed his notorious pact with Hitler and the Nazis invaded Poland. The beginning of the war immediately precipitated a new and serious crisis within the international movement. In the Socialist Workers Party, the American section, a minority behind Shachtman and Burnham challenged the International's position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Their theory of bureaucratic collectivism, of a new class society in the Soviet Union, became the path by which this middle class tendency went over to imperialism. This group reflected the pressures of the "democratic" imperialists, whose policies they subsequently adapted.

Shachtman and Burnham and their supporters had an accidental majority on the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, which had been moved to the US with the outbreak of the war. This did not accurately reflect the positions of the sections of the movement. The Brazilian and British members of the IEC, who were functioning in the US at this time, had absolutely no authority from their sections to side with the minority.

The Shachtmanites demanded the right to continue the debate on all the disputed questions after the April 1940 convention in the public party press. They rejected the decisions of that convention, launched an independent press, and split from the movement.

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International met from May 19-26, 1940, on the initiative of the US, Canadian and Mexican sections, to reorganize the international leadership as well as to assess the perspectives of the movement and the work of the sections.

Under the most difficult conditions, with communication almost impossible between both sides of the Atlantic, the conference reported serious growth in many sections, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. It adopted a manifesto, "Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" which was written by Trotsky. It condemned the Shachtman-Burnham tendency and

adopted a resolution on the struggle inside the SWP.

With the publication of this volume, Pathfinder Press has performed a service to the workers movement. But those in the Socialist Workers Party behind its publication cannot understand what that service is. The old guard of the SWP, Hansen, Dobbs, Novack, can no longer understand the movement that they were part of for many years. They have long since betrayed every principle fought for by Trotsky and the Fourth International. To them, the movement is the sum total of the apparatus and the individuals within it, which carried on certain work, wrote some documents, etc. What was living in the Fourth International in the 1930s and lives today in the International Committee, the continual struggle for Marxist principles in the fight to build an alternative leadership in the working class against its bureaucratic and centrist misleadership, no longer has any meaning to them.

The SWP today sees the history of the Fourth International simply as the activity of certain people who chose to rally around correct ideas. They do not see in the construction of the movement the work of history itself, the movement of the working class, which selects individuals to carry out the fight for the tasks posed by historical necessity.

Hansen, Novack and Dobbs made a big mistake in identifying the movement they participated in with its surface appearances—with the apparatus, the people, the documents, conferences, etc. When the historical forces that gave rise to the particular form of the movement changed, after Trotsky's death and the postwar boom, these "orthodox" Trotskyists were unable to respond to the new conditions and change the movement. They tried to maintain the dead shadow of the movement against its living content, by defending "orthodox Trotskyism" instead of developing Marxism in a struggle against revisionism. They quickly turned into the opposite of what they began as—into a clique of opportunist enemies of Marxism. This book is not a series of documents from the past to be dissected and commented on by historians, as the SWP conceives. It is a history of living struggle for Marxism which must be studied in order to prepare the building of a revolutionary movement today grounded in the theoretical capital developed by the Marxist movement.

CONCLUDED

Packinghouse Closures Hit 20,000 Workers

BY PERRY IVERSON

MINNEAPOLIS—As Nixon's Phase Four continues attacks on the living conditions of every American worker, well over 20,000 meat cutters and packinghouse workers across the country have been laid off. The future of thousands of others is uncertain. In one week alone, 60 packing plants closed their doors completely and many others severely curtailed their beef kill.

Every day, from Philadelphia to Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, and Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin, more and more packinghouse workers are being thrown onto unemployment lines as a direct result of Nixon's economic policies. Bud Simonson, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Director of District 2 in Iowa, says between 10,000 and 15,000 packinghouse workers in Iowa alone have been laid off because of the freeze on beef.

By the end of July, John Morrell & Company, G. Bartusch Packing Company and Morris Rifkin Company had completely shut down all killing operations in Minnesota. The giant Wilson Packing Plant in Albert Lea, Minnesota, has already closed most of the beef kill. One worker from Morrell reported to the *Bulletin*:

"You check around throughout Minnesota, all the plants are closing. Production is shut down and about 30 are laid off at our plant. Now the main thing is they

can't even draw unemployment. The company is using every angle in the book. They are really supposed to get unemployment but the company lies and says that because they are keeping the plant open with five of us, the rest can't draw benefits. We did a few odd jobs last week but I'm not sure what's going to happen Monday. Sure I'm working, but I'm not satisfied when the younger ones are out of work because if they do that to them, they'll pull something else."

The shortages of beef are causing layoffs in retail as well as packing. Last week, supermarkets across the country were receiving about 40 percent below their normal supplies of beef. This week and next will be worse. Already, the meat counters in many supermarkets are empty. As a result, meat cutters are being laid off or sent on vacation early.

A meat cutter from a St. Paul Red Owl store and member of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America Local P-114 reported that the swing crew for St. Paul Red Owl stores had been laid off:

"Some of them had just started working here. They were laid off before when Johnston Supermarket closed. For the rest of us, it's hard to say what next week will be. It's really a day to day operation. We can't get any ground beef and we'll be out by next Friday. I know for a fact that many restaurants in the area are going to close. What's

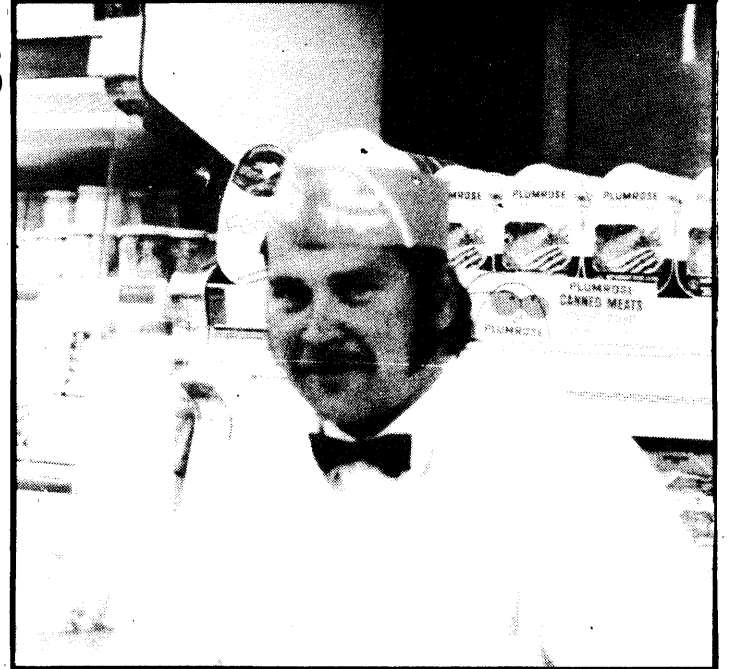
going to happen to the people who've been working there? It's bad for everybody. And you're absolutely right. It's political. Nixon's responsible."

Nixon's Phase Four beef price ceiling is causing cattle feeders and farmers to hold their animals on their feed lots, farms and ranches until the Phase Four freeze on retail beef prices ends. Morris Rifkin normally received 250 to 300 cattle per day. On the last day of operation, 65 head were killed. However, there is an actual shortage of livestock for slaughter. Hog production is down 20 percent from 1971 and beef production is not expected to rise more than one percent this year.

Finally, the packers complain that the price of cattle available now is too high to allow a profit under the freeze. Rather than produce beef at limited profits, they close their doors.

Although most of the recent layoffs in the meat industry are the immediate result of the beef price ceiling, conditions in packing and retail will not return to normal after September 12. Meat industry sources have indicated that by October, beef prices will be 100 percent higher than they are now. But millions of workers on controlled wages cannot afford meat at present prices. By autumn, meat will be a luxury few workers can afford.

Moreover, those packers that will resume operations have absolutely no intention of rehiring everyone who was laid off. Their drive for profits in a decreasing market forces them



Butcher interviewed by the *Bulletin*.

to attempt to get more work out of fewer workers.

In spite of these layoffs and the obvious threat to every packinghouse worker and meat cutter in the country, the union leadership has completely accepted every attack without even a word of protest.

The *Bulletin* talked to Queen Harris, St. Paul packinghouse worker and member of Local 653B. "Morrell is supposed to provide us 35 hours work or pay after they announce layoffs. They refuse to do it. That union won't do a thing unless we get on them. We have to go down to the union hall and make it clear we aren't asking them to fight, we're demanding. That's what we're paying them \$10 a month for..."

"I told Utecht that he's buying this whole business and just accepting it. He says there's nothing he can do. I'm saying there is something. It's in the contract. I asked him if he's working for the people or not. The point is we have to have a leadership.

IMPEACHED

"The more Watergate comes out, the more I believe Nixon should be impeached. My mother always taught me to think about the good first, the bad will come out by itself. But the more I've thought about Nixon I know that if ever a man deserves to be impeached, he's

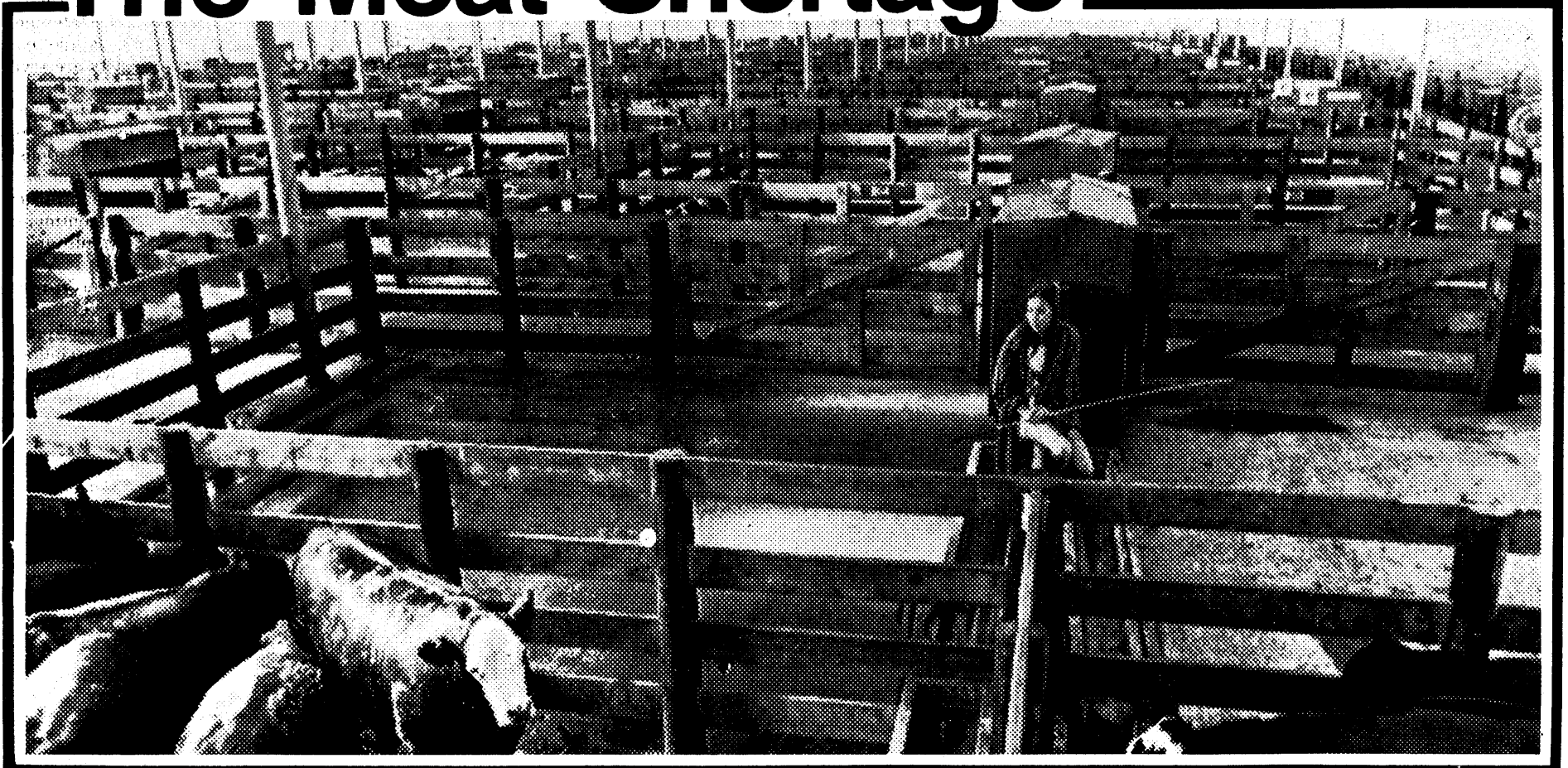
the one. We can't build a labor party fast enough for me."

For three weeks the international leadership of the AMC&BW has been in national contract negotiations for packinghouse workers with the very companies that have been laying off union members. As of now, even the membership cannot find out the contract demands. What is being faced by the union was recently spelled out in a public statement by Armour Local P-4 President John Dettwiler:

"Never before can we recall the tactics Armour has been using prior to negotiations: threats, suspensions, speedups, etc. The present contract is now being ignored. We have found that this tactic is not only being used locally, but in most other plants as well. Collective bargaining has gone. Grievance procedures have become a farce. Common sense no longer prevails."

Packinghouse workers and meat cutters must demand the breaking off of negotiations and a shutdown of the entire industry until every worker is rehired. The union must call on the entire labor movement to set up an emergency Congress of Labor to map out plans to force Nixon to resign, call new elections and build a labor party pledged to the nationalization of the food industry.

The Meat Shortage



Juan Peron Returns/Part 2

Road To The Corporate State



Demonstration of Peronist youth.

BY MAXIMILIANO
ARANJUEZ

In order to understand the real nature of Peronism and the great dangers posed to the Argentinian working class by Peron's return we must examine Peron's history and how he became the champion of Argentinian capitalism.

Probably Peron's first participation in Argentine politics took place in the military coup d'etat of September 6, 1930 that overthrew President Hipolito Yrigoyen. By this time Peron had already risen to the rank of officer of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and as such must have played some role in the organization of the rebellion.

This coup d'etat was led by conservative Army officers who feared a social revolution. Peron, however, was critical of the lack of support from the majority of the officers and the lack of popular support for the new regime. He began organizing a secret group within the officer corps called the Grupo Obra de Unificacion—GOU (Group for Unifying the Army). This was formed by strongly pro-Axis and anti-Communist officers and reflected a tremendous fear of the working class as an independently organized force:

"It is one thing to be a politician and another to understand politics in order to protect the Army against the serious evil which politics can cause. This is the modern duty of the soldier. That way communism could have been avoided in Russia and the civil war in Spain. In reality, in both (countries), generals and officers, as they do here, shut their eyes and repeated: 'I'm not getting involved in politics' before the red danger devoured them." During the late 1930s and early 1940s there was such an upsurge of militancy in the working class that by 1942 there were double the number of strikes of any year going back to 1936. This greatly worried the military. One of them, General Sosa Molina, commented after the mass working class demonstrations in Buenos Aires on May Day, 1943:

"An enormous mass, carrying red flags, fists held high, singing the Internationale, augured a really tragic future for the Republic confronted with that danger..."

Molina called for a "national revolution" based on "social justice." The man to carry this out, Juan Domingo Peron, had already begun to do his work.

On June 4, 1943 President Ramon Castillo was overthrown. General Farrell, a member of GOU, became Minister of War with Peron as his chief secretary. The formal leaders of the new regime had no real program and Peron was able to gradually maneuver himself into a position of power. First he gave the Presidency to Farrell and he himself took over the Ministry of Labor.

Peron used his position in the Ministry of Labor to introduce a series of social reforms and wage increases in order to gain the support of the masses. He also led the drive to unionize sections of the working class that had previously been unorganized, such as the packinghouse and sugar plantation workers. At the same time, every opportunity was used to build up Peron's image as the friend of the working class. Peron and his wife, Eva, visited disaster areas and during an earthquake in 1944 turned the Ministry of Labor into a center for collecting money and relief for the victims. By this time Peron had already dissolved the GOU, which had become critical of Peron's power-seeking and his publicity stunts with Eva.

With these measures Peron won the backing of the trade union bureaucracy, which did nothing to defend those trade unions that did not accept Peron's leadership. Those unions that refused to accept Peron's leadership were repressed. The government closed down the General Confederation of Trade Unions (CGT) led by the Communist Party, on the grounds that it was "communist dominated." At that time the labor movement was divided between the CGT-1, formed mainly by the conservative railroad unions, and the CGT-2, led by the CP.

The CP was completely incapable of challenging Peron, even though it had organized and led the building trades workers. The CP, under the leadership of the Stalinist veteran Arturo Codovila (who had taken an active part in the suppression of the revolution in Spain), entered the anti-Peron Democratic Union. This "democratic" formation embraced everyone from the Radical Civic Union to the Conservative Party and even the sugar plantation baron Patron Costas.

STALINISTS

This was the Argentinian variety of the Popular Front. At the same time the Stalinists called the Peron supporters "Peronazis" and claimed that the "organized labor movement would never follow such a demagogue"; that instead, it was the "lumpen" elements who followed Peron. These policies of the CP only allowed Peron even more to turn the trade union movement into his own

political machine.

While Peron granted certain concessions to the working class in order to get its support, he never ceased in assuring any worried businessman about his profound belief in capitalism. This belief had been strengthened by what he saw during his two year stay in Mussolini's Italy. Peron's plans were for the establishment of a corporate state that would shackle the trade unions to the state and destroy them as independent working class organizations.

Perhaps the best description of Peronism, as a movement to chain the working class, was given by Peron himself in a speech before the Chamber of Commerce in 1944:

"In order to avoid that the masses that have recently received the necessary and logical social justice do not go over in their pretensions, the first remedy is the organization of those masses so that, forming responsible organizations, logical and rational organizations, they do not seek injustice... This would be the assurance, the organization of the masses. The State would organize the re-assurance, that is, the necessary authority so that nobody gets out of place, because the State has the instrument so as to, if necessary, by force put things in their place and not allow them to get out of course."

DEFENDER

He finished his speech by reassuring his audience that under his rule there would be no threat to capitalism:

"It has been said, gentlemen, that I am an enemy of capital, but if you take a look at what I just said you will not find a defender, let's say, more decisive than me, because I know that the defense of the interests of businessmen, of industrialists, of merchants, is the defense of the State itself."

In October, 1945, Peron was overthrown by a group of military officers opposed to his growing power. But he was freed by massive demonstrations mobilized by the CGT in his support. The leaders of the CGT and other unions proceeded to form the Partido Laborista (Labor Party) in order to provide the necessary backing for Peron in the 1946 elections. The party guaranteed a minimum wage, the expansion of industry and the favoring of small landowners. In reality it was nothing more than an electoral vehicle for Peron and in four months it became the most important party in Argentina, defeating the Union Democratica in the elections.

During the elections US Ambassador Spruille Braden openly supported the Union Democratica—of which the Argentinian CP was part—and published a

Blue Book on Peron's relations with the Third Reich. This was just what Peron needed, since he was able to put up an anti-American imperialist pose and to taunt the left:

"The communist and socialist parties are serving the interests of capital. Who votes for the program of the communists and the oligarchy votes for Braden."

Three months after the elections Peron dissolved the Labor Party and organized his own National Party of the Revolution. Between 1946 and 1951 there was a purge of nearly all those trade union leaders who had helped to elect Peron. All those who opposed the dissolution of the Labor Party were eventually jailed. One, Cipriano Reyes, who was the leader of the packinghouse workers and vice president of the Labor Party, opposed Peron for two years as a deputy in Congress. After his term ran out he was thrown into prison where he stayed for almost seven years until the overthrow of Peron.

CORPORATISM

Also in October, 1945, Peron's Law for Professional Associations was passed. Under this law trade unions had to be recognized by the government in order to be able to bargain with employers. Previously unions had been legally independent of the state. Peron used this law in order to destroy any union that opposed him. Using this law, he outlawed and destroyed the shoeworkers union, the taxi drivers union and also intervened in the bank workers union, the graphic workers and the sugar workers union.

From then on wage negotiations themselves became concentrated in the government's Labor Department, where the joint union-employer councils worked out their deals. At the same time, the CGT bureaucracy was given the power to intervene in unions in order to oust elected officials and put their own agents in charge of the unions. Anyone who opposed these policies was either imprisoned or exiled.

Peron was able to establish his Bonapartist government and his hegemony over the labor movement with a combination of limited concessions and ruthless destruction of any independent organization of the working class. He was aided in this by the lack of any revolutionary leadership to the militancy and revolutionary potential of the working class that he and the rest of the military feared so much. The Popular Front policies of the Argentine CP played a key role in this.

The CP was thrown into a crisis when Moscow changed its line in relation to Peron. In 1944 a Soviet statement declared that "Argentina is the country where the German fascists are trying to establish themselves most firmly." By June 1946, however, the Soviet Union decided to "establish full-scale diplomatic, consular and commercial relations with the Argentine Republic." Peron was able to use this blessing around Argentina while at the same time continuing his purge of communist and militant trade unionists.

In 1955, when he was overthrown by a military revolt, Peron preferred to lose power rather than arm the working class. In this he showed his true colors as a bourgeois nationalist who above all feared the working class and the threat of a working class revolution.

The history of Peronism and of Peron's rise to power show clearly the dangers posed to the Argentinian working class by Peron's return. It is not just that he will attempt to institute anew his Bonapartist policies in his attempt to save capitalism, but that under the new conditions of the deepening crisis of capitalism he will literally have to resort to civil war and fascist policies. This is the real Peron of today and why he was called in by the military to accomplish a job they could not do.

TO BE CONTINUED

AGNEW . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Only 48 hours after the announcement of the criminal investigation, Agnew, who had consciously remained silent throughout the Watergate scandal, arrogantly attempted to seize the offensive by calling a press conference to denounce the charges, stating that he had no intention of standing by while he was "skewered" by unnamed "sources close to the investigation."

In a move calculated to cover himself with phony sincerity about his complete innocence while at the same time differentiating himself from Nixon,

who has evaded any discussion of Watergate, Agnew turned to his old enemies, the "liberal news media," denouncing them for "irresponsible reporting."

He further lashed out at his former friends and aides saying, "other people under investigation have found themselves in very deep trouble and are looking to extricate themselves from this trouble."

When questioned about the truth of the charges, Agnew brought forth his famous right-wing demagoguery to declare:

"I'm denying them outright, and I'm labeling them—and I think a person in my position at a

time like this might be permitted this departure from normal language—as damned lies."

Following this press conference a sharp split between Nixon and Agnew has been revealed. It has been reported that Nixon was absolutely opposed to any press conference, demanding that Agnew follow his lead and evade any discussion of the charges.

One source in the Agnew camp described recent relations between Nixon and Agnew as "a cold war" and went on to state that the two hour meeting before Agnew's press conference was a "historic confrontation between a President and his Vice President."

Further, it has been reported

that when Nixon demanded that Agnew remain silent, he refused, stating: "I'm not getting much support around here anyway." And, following his press conference, he has consciously spread the story that the only reason he is hesitating in handing over his bank records is that Nixon has objected strenuously.

At the same time, it is becoming clear that Nixon has every intention of either asking or forcing Agnew to resign. Thus, White House staffers are now circulating rumors that they are preparing a contingency list of vice presidential prospects at this point.

Behind Nixon's moves is his fear that Agnew may turn over his financial records in order to

cast himself as the only "uncorrupted" politician in the Nixon Administration. Such an action by Agnew would expose Nixon's refusal to turn over his tapes, or any evidence to the Senate Watergate investigating committee by claiming executive privilege, as a complete fraud.

In this situation of all-out war threatening to rip apart the executive, the deep divisions within the ruling class itself and with the government now completely exposed as being made up of common crooks and gangsters, the unions can and must mobilize a massive campaign to force Nixon out and replace him with a labor party that will defend the rights and gains of the working class.

CAMBODIA . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

able to impose an eleventh hour deal on the revolutionary forces in Cambodia as they did on the National Liberation Front earlier this year.

Because of Sihanouk's statement, Kissinger has been forced to cancel his scheduled trip to Peking. Sihanouk is keeping himself conspicuously absent from Peking. He is presently in North Korea and will return to Peking only briefly before departing to a conference in Algeria at the end of the month.

In a cable to Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield, Prince Sihanouk stated that "the only conditions for the peace in honor are the complete and definitive halt to aerial bombing and all other direct or indirect United States military intervention in Cambodia and the complete and definitive end to all military aid to the self-styled Khmer Republic."

There is no truth whatsoever in the latest claims by the Lon

Nol regime that it has been able to push back the Khmer Rouge forces which have encircled the city. Observers noted that the liberation forces organized an orderly pullback from the most advanced positions on the outskirts of Phnom Penh in order to prepare for another offensive as soon as the American bombing ends.

Completely dependent upon Nixon's armada of B-52's, Lon Nol will have nothing more than 100 outdated propeller-driven planes to count on against the Khmer Rouge if Nixon adheres to the August 15 bombing deadline.

Nixon has declared that he will continue military support to Lon Nol after the bombing cutoff. The Saigon government has threatened intervention after the bombing deadline, but Thieu is hardly in a position to offer serious support to Lon Nol. The position of the Saigon puppets continues to deteriorate as the NLF continues its struggle in spite of the Paris treaty.

SIT-DOWN . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

price for vacating the plant," he declared. "This is the action of a minority."

With this statement, the Woodcock leadership has assumed the role of strike-breakers in solidarity with the auto bosses.

Workers supporting the strike said that conditions in the plant are inhuman. One said: "That place is hot, dirty and dangerous and the union won't do anything about it." Another worker complained: "Most of the stewards right now are standing around talking with the guards and management."

PHASE FOUR . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Auto Workers must demand a first year increase of 20 percent with a full cost of living escalator and that the UAW, the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of forcing Nixon and Agnew to resign, to demand new elections and to construct a labor party which can defend workers' living standards by fighting for socialist policies.

RAISE PRICES

Under the Phase Four controls, companies with less than \$100 million in annual sales may raise prices immediately without notification. Larger companies must submit requests to the Cost of Living Council and can then put them into effect after 30 days if no objection is raised by the Council.

Already, most of the country's major steel producers have announced they will seek reinstatement of price hikes held up by the imposition of the price freeze. These include increases of about five percent in the price of sheet metal, which is widely used in the auto industry and by appliance manufacturers.

This in turn will eventually lead to substantial increases in the cost of many consumer items. Already, the automakers are announcing the first in what is believed will be a series of price hikes on 1974 autos. According to the Wall Street Journal, the total increase could amount to \$150 per car for the 1974 models.

COTTON

A world-wide shortage of cotton and most man-made fibers is expected to lead to enormous increases in the cost of many clothing items.

Soaring mortgage interest rates and inflated land values are pricing workers' families out of the home market, while at the same time leading to higher and

Chrysler plants could be forced to close soon because this stamping plant produces the chassis used at the main assembly plants.

With the wildcat at the Chrysler Forge plant hardly over and threatening to resume shortly, the current negotiations between the UAW and Big Three auto companies are falling apart and a full scale national auto strike is on the agenda.

The tremendous movement now taking place among auto workers in Detroit expresses the tremendous hatred among all sections of the working class for

the discredited and criminal Nixon government, which has policed wages while allowing prices to skyrocket; and which has encouraged the corporations to launch a brutal drive for profits through speedups and every form of harassment.

Now is the time for the UAW to prepare for the strike by mobilizing the entire working class behind the auto workers in the fight to defeat the bosses' and government's attacks by calling for a Congress of Labor in order to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the political alternative to Nixon and the Democrats.

higher rents.

Workers in Northern cities will face not only higher prices this winter for heating fuels but difficulty in obtaining them.

At the same time, the cost of feeding a family will continue to rise rapidly out of sight, while shortages of meat, canned goods and other food items persist.

BEEF FAMINE

With the beef price freeze remaining in effect until September 12, breeders are continuing to withhold their cattle from the market, causing a spreading beef famine and the closure of packing plants throughout the country.

The slaughter of cattle for the second week in August was still down 29 percent compared with the year before, according to the Meat Institute, and 80 percent of the New York City area's wholesale plants were reported closed or had introduced sharp curtailments of production.

Herbert Bienstock, Bureau of Labor Statistics' chief for the Mid-Atlantic states, recently provided a picture of what food price increases have already meant for workers. According to Bienstock, the cost of a roast beef or chicken dinner for a family of four rose during the past year 17 percent, while the average factory worker's paycheck increased only 5.4 percent.

Bienstock's figures do not reflect the enormous food price increases over the last few weeks, but they nevertheless provide graphic evidence to refute the claim of Nixon and the bosses that rising prices are caused by "excessive" wage demands.

The runaway inflation now hitting at workers' pocketbooks has, in fact, not been caused by rising wages but by Nixon's export drive and by the runaway expansion of credit and currency which has been consciously used by the bankers and speculators to postpone the crisis and keep

themselves afloat awhile longer atop an unprecedented artificial boom.

Individual governments have become helpless in the face of this credit explosion and the resulting upward march of prices and the growing shortages of vital commodities. They are instead falling into the most vicious trade and monetary warfare as they move to protect their own national economies.

With inflation out of control and an increasing volume of money pouring into pure speculation, a competitive interest rate war has developed, pushing the bank rate in England to 11.5 percent and Eurodollar rates to near 12 percent. This in turn has pulled speculative dollars out of the gold market—sending the price of gold down to near the \$100 an ounce mark—and back into the credit market.

Far from easing the international monetary crisis, however, this will soon intensify the pressures on the dollar by creating an even larger pool of dollar credit abroad to set the stage for yet another and more serious attack on the dollar's value.

The speculative fever is pulling money not only out of the gold market but out of productive investment itself, where the tremendous uncertainties of long-term commitments are outweighed by the high short-term profits to be realized in money-lending and speculation in commodities, currencies or real estate.

This outflow of money and credit into pure speculative investment is creating the conditions on an international scale for a real explosion in prices and the intensification of the trade war, while at the same time it is completely undermining the capitalist financial system and setting the stage for a collapse of all monetary and credit relationships.

BRITAIN . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

become the Tory weapon to divide the working class and drive down wages to the lowest in Europe.

Tory leader Edward Heath has made it clear to trade union officials that state control of wages will be maintained in Phase Three scheduled for the fall. Heath has engaged the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in a series of "discussions" to secure their cooperation in holding down wages in anticipation of an explosion of strike struggles in the coming months. Following these talks Heath smugly declared:

"There is no suggestion of confrontation by anyone, nor is there any desire to have one, nor does anybody wish to see industrial unrest of any kind in the 'orthodox' autumn or in the winter."

The TUC has even dropped its demand for free collective bar-

gaining and union independence, abolished by the Industrial Relations Act. They have agreed with Heath's ruthless price policy.

Heath is using the trade union leadership to create a phony atmosphere of reconciliation while, together with big business, he draws up plans for civil war and dictatorship.

In the fall, British workers will go on the offensive at a time when the demand for higher wages cannot be won without a fight to bring down the government.

This immediately raises the need for a struggle against the collaboration of the trade union leaders and a policy to force Heath to resign and elect a Labour Party that must implement socialist policies, including immediate nationalization of the food industry to protect the living standards of the working class.

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STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Northern Ireland: After The Assembly Elections

The so-called Assembly installed by the Northern Ireland election on June 28, 1973, is nothing more than an instrument of British imperialism in Ireland, sustained by its Unionist and reformist allies in the north and the "Green" Tories and coalition Labourites in the south.

In this Assembly, the role of Gerry Fitt and the reformist Social Democratic Labour Party is to give a flimsy "democratic" and "power-sharing" image to the imperialist occupation, so that the south can then enter the projected Council of Ireland.

The latter would be nothing other than a final open recognition by the Irish bourgeoisie of imperialist rule in the north, while the British, on their part, would acknowledge the safeness and guarantee the future of the Fine Gael and Labour politicians and of any future Fianna Fail government.

What are the reasons for these constitutional adjustments?

On the one side, the world economic crisis and entry into the European Economic Community necessitate a framework of joint action by the capitalist class.

OCCUPATION

On the other, the working class north and south is moving into militant actions which threaten to cut across sectarian divisions and which link directly with the movement of the British working class against the Tory government.

In the north, the wretched reformists and liberals of the SDLP participated in elections under military occupation and with hundreds of legitimate representatives of the oppressed people incarcerated in internment camps! Such is the true measure of their "republicanism."

Like the old republican parties, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, they have ceased to represent in any way the legitimate aspirations of the Irish people for national unity and independence from British imperialism. These tasks can be accomplished only by the Irish working class in a socialist revolutionary struggle at the side of the British workers and led by a revolutionary Marxist party.

The official IRA offers recognition of the Assembly provided the internees are released. This is, in effect, a step towards the present position of the SDLP, which made exactly the same stipulation early in 1972, only to drop it within the few months. The meaning of this offer is that given any sign of a concession to help them save face, the Officials will accede to direct rule and participation in its institutions, just as the SDLP does.

Behind the Officials stand the Stalinists of the Irish Communist Party. They are the inspirers of the complete capitulation to

the British occupying forces. They have always condemned opposition to the occupation. During the elections, they blamed the violence in Northern Ireland on the Provisionals instead of on the British imperialists.

From their ludicrous "Withdraw the troops to their barracks" and a fake "Bill of Rights" they have progressed to talk of "demilitarization" and a changed role (?) for the army. They support participation in the Assembly and will welcome the Council of Ireland as a carrying through of their own proposals for a Constitutional Conference of all the rulers of Ireland!

These are the political tendencies which must be fought against above all in the Irish workers' movement, north and south. Their role is to divert the working class from the real political tasks and struggles which face them. Those fighters against imperialism who remain in the ranks of the Provisionals must fight to break from the nationalist ideology which dominates that movement and which in the end can only lead to exactly the same point as it has in the Official wing.

Traditional nationalism, plus a military campaign, is not only inadequate to defeat the imperialists; it obstructs the essential political tasks of building a new revolutionary leadership to unite the working class against imperialism.

All the struggles of the Irish working class, north and south, must be unified into a single fight to defeat imperialism and Toryism. Instead, the Stalinists and their allies separate and damp down these struggles, in the interest of safeguarding the supposed progress towards a Council of Ireland and the entirely false "unity" promises in the future. The only unity which the British imperialists have in mind is unity of reaction north and south brutally to suppress the working class.

In point of fact, the Irish working class faces unprecedented opportunities as well as grave dangers. Irish capitalism, like its British master, is extremely weak and particularly exposed to the collapse of the world monetary system and uncontrolled inflation. Only the most brutal suppression of the working class could provide the conditions for barest survival of Irish capitalism. Never were the services of the reformists and Stalinists so indispensable to the imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie.

The Assembly elections demonstrate beyond all doubt that the latest phase of the economic crisis, the most serious yet, coincides with the open and acknowledged collapse of any possibility of unity among the Unionists. At this point, where the traditional way of exerting political power over the working class in Northern Ireland ever since Partition is crumbling, the working class, if

united under revolutionary leadership, would be in a powerful position.

CLASS UNITY

The 50 years of exclusive Unionist control is over, because the problems brought by the economic crisis burst the bonds of the Unionist strait-jacket of controlling the working class. The Catholic minority can no longer be held down, and the

will come together when necessary for ruthless repressive measures against both Catholic and Protestant workers.

The extreme right Unionists look to the Powell and Monday Club tendency in the Tory Party and hope that their political fortunes will improve as the class struggle forces the British Tory government to the right.

Those Catholic votes which

proposed Council of Ireland and of the Tory government in Westminster, is their response to the awful prospect of the coalescing of the struggles in the north and the south and in Britain.

In the south the National Wage Agreement is the focus for a series of great struggles in industry and in the unions, struggles which can only be against the government. At the same time the Protestant workers in the Belfast shipyards enter the industrial struggle under conditions where they must clash with the same enemy as do the Catholic workers.

As the ruling class prepares to deal with the merging of the struggles of the working class, so the great responsibility of Marxists is to pose the question of unity of the working class, north and south, in Ireland and in Britain, to bring down the Tory government and all its allies. To win the vanguard of the Irish working class to this political understanding is the most important task facing the Trotskyist movement.

It is a sure sign of the depth of the capitalist crisis that the result of the Assembly elections shows the Unionists completely split and the imperialists forced to use as their main prop the fake republican socialists of the SDLP.

The constitutional experiments of the imperialists and the crude deceptions of the Stalinists will very soon be exposed by the development of the crisis and the real preparations of the imperialists for massive repressions will be revealed.

The mass of the people understand very well that they have had to bear the brunt of imperialist exploitation and repression even in the course of the Assembly elections. With their great revolutionary traditions, the Irish workers will learn how to dispose of the traitors who seek to deliver them peacefully into the hands of their exploiters and oppressors. They will unite with the British working class for the overthrow of British Toryism and British imperialism.

The preparation for this struggle for power is the task now in front, a task which can and will be realized in unity with the British working class, under the leadership of the Workers League (Ireland) and the Socialist Labour League.

No recognition of the fake Assembly, instrument of military rule!

Down with SDLP which supports the Assembly and British imperialism!

Free all political prisoners in Ireland, north and south!

Down with the fraud of the "Council of Ireland"!

Break Labour from the Cosgrave coalition and its agreement with Heath!

No National Wage Agreement! Unite the Catholic and Protestant workers, north and south!

Unite the British and Irish working class in struggle against the Tory government and its allies in Ireland!

Down with Stalinism in Ireland! Build the Workers League, Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

July 7, 1973



problems of the Protestant workers now demand, in real life struggles, class unity with all Irish and British workers, not the traditional alliance with the bourgeoisie!

This is the objective logic which has disrupted all the old political relations in Ulster. There is no way that the new Assembly can deal with these problems any more than Stormont could. The only function of the Assembly is to bemuse the working class while the bourgeoisie makes its real preparations for even more brutal dictatorship.

Behind the new Assembly are the army on the streets, the open cynical campaign of anti-working class terrorism and murder by the extreme Unionist right, the interments, the Diplock recommendations. Against these the working class is determined to fight, Assembly or no Assembly.

The relationship of forces in the Assembly signifies the death and insolubility of this political and constitutional crisis. Neither the Faulkner nor the Craig wings of the divided Unionist party is homogeneous. Sections of them

were cast were polarized almost completely in the SDLP. The same basic problems which produced this polarization will equally rapidly expose this wretched gang of collaborators. They will emerge as open advocates and executors of "law and order" against the working class, north and south, in the name of preventing disruption of their constitutional collaboration.

The southern Irish bourgeoisie, having now virtually accepted the partition of the country through agreement to the Council of Ireland, hopes in this way to assure British backing against its "own" proletariat.

Liam Cosgrave, the Eire Prime Minister, has spoken explicitly against the withdrawal of troops from the North. He carries on uninterrupted the collaboration of Jack Lynch and his Offences against the State (Amendment) Act of 1972.

Nothing can prevent the build-up of an all-out confrontation between the working class and the ruling class in both north and south. The coming together of Cosgrave and Faulkner in the

Printing Crisis Sparks Revolt At ITU Convention

BY JOHN WERNER

SAN DIEGO—Revealing the sharpness of the attacks on the printing trades brought about by the economic crisis, the International Typographical Union convention erupted into the biggest revolt against its international leadership in years. The economic and political crisis has hit the ITU workers head on, and all the old relations in the union are now being torn apart by the attacks.

Watergate, Phase Four, the technological and runaway shop attack on the printers has forced the Pilch leadership into all kinds of band-aid type patching. Years overdue, the delegates voted overwhelmingly for merger talks with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union. Talks will begin in the fall in Colorado. The fraternal insurance has been caught up in the job-destruction crisis of automation. Facing bankruptcy of the fund, the very bureaucrats who lean heavily on the pensioners for their election rammed through a proposed drastic cut in fraternal pensions (40 percent in three years).

The union's traditional factions (called "Progressive Party" and "Independent Party") have been exposed as irrelevant. Aping the "two-party system," neither put forth a program to meet the crisis. President Pilch, selling out the "Big Six" Local's (New York Local No.6) fight against a runaway shop, is a member of the "Progressive Party" faction. The leader of the opposition to his sellout of the "Big 6" is Bertram Powers (President of Local No.6, New York) and a member of the same faction.

Watergate and Phase Four came to the forefront the first day of the convention. President Pilch was forced to acknowledge: "We are still collared by a united effort on the part of the government and the employers to hold us down to the paltry 5.5 percent." But a great part of the first session was devoted to giving a platform to the politicians of the very party that constructed the "horse collar," the Democratic Party.

INSULTED

California Democratic Assemblyman Deddeh insulted the delegates' intelligence by disclaiming all Democratic Party complicity in the four wage freezes, stating:

"I am sick and tired of all this Phase One, Phase Two, Phase Three and Phase Four fiasco and farce. Our wages and our salaries are frozen and I do not need to make a speech to make you feel it. ...It is important now that we start now with Phase Five. Let me tell you my interpretation of Phase Five very briefly. Phase Five should see organized labor, that is you, join hands with your true and trusted friends and march together into the political arena."

What the delegates know and

Deddeh neglected to mention is that it was the Democratic controlled Congress that passed the Wage Stabilization Act that gave Nixon all the phases.

Watergate and its dangers for the working class were partially broached by the Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, John Hennings, who stated:

"Political 'conservatism' means unprecedented profits for American industry at a time when the average American is at the mercy of market forces over which he has absolutely no measure of control. Political 'conservatism' means that the 'legitimate' security functions of

bureaucrats came in support of Local No.6's (Big 6) appeal against President Pilch's sell-out of the International's pledge to give Local No.6 jurisdiction over the runaway shop in Trenton, N. J. Powers told the delegates:

"130 men and women, members in good standing of the New York Typographical Union, had their jobs stolen from them and it has worked out this way. Triangle Publications, their employer, is owned by Walter Annenberg.

"Walter Annenberg as you know is the ambassador to England, a very powerful man, one of the richest publishers in the



New York Local 6 President Bertram Powers...opposition to the sellout. Below, delegates in San Diego.

agree to Local No.6 being the bargaining agent for the new plant.

President Pilch granted Local No.6 jurisdiction over a "relocated Morning Telegraph plant ... or over a racing form paper should it be published at the printing facility at Hightown, N.J. That is the official decision of the executive council." Powers pointed out that this decision in practice has been re-

national and no recount has been made.

In a significant development delegates Kronovits, Sallas, and West of Chicago Local 16 introduced a proposal for a four day week, not to exceed eight hours a day. They declared in their resolution:

"... Whereas automation is further taking away work and jobs from printers and mailers ...Whereas printers and mailers



this government, vested in the CIA and the FBI can be turned against any man who dares to differ with the government of the day...(it) means that our traditions are not safe, that our future is in the hands of those who will not hesitate in any manner to burglarize, forge documents..."

New York delegate Bertram Powers, President of Local No.6, stated to the Bulletin that 57 Democratic Senators came out for a freeze on wages and prices, after prices had already skyrocketed, and that though he was a "life-long Democrat," he was "beginning to have doubts" about them. His local had earlier taken a cut in their negotiated pay hike, the Pay Board whacking it down from 11 percent to eight percent.

The biggest vote against the

United States ... Annenberg was able to get a temporary restraining order against our local union at the plant in New York City that he owns and was extended and lasted for six months. ...We picketed in front of the Morning Telegraph plant in New York City. The police ran over us with horses and injured our members severely. ... Even now we are picketing at the Jersey plant in Hightown. We are severely limited in the way we picket."

Powers went on to point out that Pilch knew about the runaway plant as early as 1969 and so informed Local No.6. The company's plans for the completely automated plant in New Jersey were delayed by construction difficulties and Local No.6 was able to get a new contract that forced Annenberg to

versed, Pilch welching on his commitment to the 130 ITU workers in New York.

DEBATE

This sharp appeal was followed by a pro and con debate from delegates mainly from the "Big 6" and the runaway shop, now dubbed part of Trenton Local 71. A New York delegate Dodd called for a secret ballot and this was opposed vigorously by Pilch. The crucial vote for the secret ballot was defeated 183 to 121. The appeal itself was defeated 209 to 119. Later this reporter was told by delegate Henry F. Vitale of Boston that he considered this a victory against the leadership in that the opposition had shown tremendous strength.

The recount was hamstrung by direct intervention of the Inter-

should share in the benefits of this increased productivity ... Resolved that delegates to the 115th ITU Convention go on record as favoring the principle of the four day week not to exceed 8 hours during each work day and further that delegates to this convention make a concerted effort within their local unions to make the four day week a reality."

The bureaucrats' committee gave an "unfavorable" recommendation to this proposal and it was voted down. Clearly the delegates from Chicago are pointing the way forward for the ITU. But the fight for a short work week and against all the attacks on the workers must be tied to the call for an Emergency Congress of the trade unions and the formation of a labor party.



Bay Area Young Socialists held a picnic and discussion of Marxism and the economic crisis to prepare for the summer camp.

SEIU Seeks Binding Arbitration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—As the impact of Phase Four begins to rip workers' pay checks to shreds San Francisco city workers face a conspiracy by their union leaders and the city to reduce their unions to appendages of the government.

Local 400 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) now represents a majority of city workers. This has come about through a movement for unity that brought over 6000 members of the Civil Service Association into the ranks of the SEIU.

For the last three years city workers have received wage increases totalling less than 12 percent. Social Service employees now face automation and the destruction of their jobs through a federal takeover of their department. In addition the city with the assistance of the press has opened up a vicious campaign aimed at destroying wage parity rights won by city construction workers.

Under these conditions the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees has begun a jurisdictional dispute with the SEIU over the rights to the CSA membership. This is aimed at returning city workers to isolated warring factions precisely at the point that they face the sharpest attacks.

In an attempt to maintain its dues paying structure the SEIU leadership has now come forward to advocate a management written Employees Relations Ordinance which would in effect set up a compulsory arbitration board, give up the right to strike and turn the workers over to the tender mercies of a city which has imposed a wage freeze even below the Nixon guidelines. In return for this the SEIU would receive recognition



SEIU picket line during past wage struggle.

as the bargaining agent. This leadership has actually gone to the point of circulating a petition among city workers demanding support by the city for the ordinance.

POLICEMAN

While the AFL-CIO leadership continues to sit on Nixon's wage board and the UAW leadership desperately runs about seeking to drive striking auto workers back to work, the SEIU leadership is carrying this logic further by stepping forward to proclaim itself openly for the role of policeman over the ranks demanding legislation to back it up.

An entirely new situation now faces city workers. To give up the right to strike today means to give up the right to eat and live. This is the meaning of the current agreement for a four percent increase with food prices rising by over 20 percent. The drive to incorporate the union into the state must be smashed.

A big fight must now be taken up by every section of city workers to repudiate this ordinance and force the union to a policy of complete opposition.

There must be one union of city employees. The splitting tactics of AFSCME can only be fought through a campaign to defeat the ordinance and for a policy of preparing to take on the city for a big wage increase and a written contract which will require a massive strike to shut down the city. A new leadership must be built to carry this fight through.

The SEIU bureaucracy acts today as the entire AFL-CIO leadership will act tomorrow. The fight to defeat state control of the unions requires a complete break with the capitalist parties and the construction of a labor party through the calling of a Congress of Labor.

Hundreds Fired In Memorex Crisis

BY BARRY GREY

SANTA CLARA—Hundreds of employees of Memorex Corporation, a huge computer equipment manufacturer, have been laid off over the last two months. The entire work force, until recently 3000 strong, face being thrown onto the streets over the next several months because the multi-million dollar firm is on the verge of economic collapse.

Memorex is one of the hundreds of electronics, defense and space technology companies in the Santa Clara Valley which have grown bloated with paper profits on the basis of the easy money and spiralling credit policies of the boom period, plus a vicious anti-union policy which enabled these firms to hold wages down to a minimum. Assemblers at Memorex start at three dollars an hour.

Now this entire section of American industry, including such giants as Lockheed, Fairchild, and Hewlett-Packard, are being undermined by the breakup of the boom.

CRUNCH

The credit crunch which is developing at a dizzy rate has caught Memorex, and hundreds of similar growth companies, with huge debts which have accumulated over the years and no liquidity to meet payment deadlines.

Memorex has been in existence for only a little over a decade. In that period it underwent spectacular growth. At its height in 1970, Memorex stock was selling for over \$173 a share. As of last month, stock was going for under \$5 a share. Today the company owes over \$200 million in senior debt, \$130 million of it to Bank of America, plus \$75 million in 5 1/4 percent bonds, due 1990.

This past spring Bank of America announced it would not loan Memorex the funds it needed to continue operations. The company had requested an additional \$79 million in loans.

Memorex, unable to meet its debts, attempted to work out a deal with Singer Corporation, whereby the latter would gain

voting control over Memorex in return for \$15 million. Memorex's creditors would convert their claims to preferred stock.

Under this proposal, Memorex would write off \$85 million worth of assets, which would mean a huge loss for the company's creditors, especially Bank of America.

The purpose of the deal was to

temporarily keep the company's net assets above zero. However, Singer backed out and the company is facing the imminent prospect of bankruptcy.

The imminent collapse of Memorex is a foretaste of wholesale bankruptcies on the agenda as the boom gives way to wild inflation and international slump.

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¢

Order from: Labor Publications, Inc.
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Beer Dealers Push Open Shop Drive

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—More than a thousand Teamster beer drivers in Northern California entered the second month of their strike against distributors. Local 888 is facing a union-busting drive spearheaded by the Adolph Coors Brewing Company.

Coors is a stronghold of the open shop, maintaining the only large non-union brewery in the country near Denver, where it supplies a market of eleven Western states. In ten of these states Coors is the largest seller.

Coors is moving to extend its non-union scheme to its distributors. At several warehouses in Northern California, drivers and helpers have been pressured into voting to decertify the Teamsters by a carefully planned propaganda campaign waged around the corporatist slogan "Think Coors, Talk Coors, Act Coors."

Picking on isolated workers in smaller towns like San Rafael is not enough—the company is now

seeking to smash the strong shops in the big Bay Area cities.

The beer distributors association provoked the strike by demanding a clause in the new contract guaranteeing no union retaliation against distributors who succeeded in decertifying the union. A similar clause was forced on the Los Angeles local recently.

Association spokesman Lertner has announced that there would be no further negotiations over a wage increase or the companies' proposal to remove load limits. As the picket captain at the Olympia warehouse in San Francisco put it, "Lertner is Coors' attorney, and he is the attorney for the association, so you know who they are taking

their lead from. It's union busting."

The Teamsters picket lines are being crossed every day by shopkeepers, bar and liquor store owners protected by company security guards who outnumber the pickets. Scab trucks have been run through the lines in Vallejo, Hayward, and Fremont. The union leadership has no plans to cut off the supply of scab beer and instead has called for a boycott of Coors.

Pickets are furious at having their hands tied. One driver told the *Bulletin*, "We used to be able to get them down on their knees. Now the courts are all against us. We got this injunction, no more than three pickets to a door. Here in San Francisco there'd be holy hell to pay if they tried to run trucks through, but these shopkeepers, we can't do anything about them." At Hayward the picket at Coors must stand a block away from the barn.

Last week a settlement was reached in San Mateo and Santa Clara counties which union officials hope to use as a pattern for the rest of the area. The contract was accepted by the rank and file 400 to 55 only because the leadership could propose no way to defend the union.

A Schlitz driver said, "We only make \$42.96 a day, and no sick leave, which is way behind other drivers. I was in the minority on the vote. We don't have any cost of living. That's mostly why I voted no."

SCAB

Most ominous of all is that Coors in San Jose is holding out against settlement and intends to reopen an entirely scab operation. The other distributors are hoping that skyrocketing inflation will demoralize the strikers so they can break the union later on.

These developments are a grave warning to the unions. The attack on the farmworkers which the Teamster leadership is endorsing will not remain restricted to farmworkers. At stake is the very right to have a union. This open shop drive is now being conducted against the most powerful union in the state and in the Bay Area, the heart of trade union strength in California.

There must be a complete break with the union leadership's suicidal policy of boycott and protest. The strength of 100,000 Northern California Teamsters must be mobilized with mass pickets to shut down every distributor.

It is the government and its courts which are openly helping to break the union. This drives home the urgency of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.



Teamster brewery workers and beer drivers have been on strike for seven weeks against employer moves to bring the open shop into the Bay Area.

Corruption In Engineers Local Pretext For Probe

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The business agent of Operating Engineers Union Local 3, one of the most powerful and, in fact, the largest union local in the country, is being investigated by the Justice Department for using the union employees' pension fund, which he administers, to finance a quick million for his own private company in an exclusive housing development being built by the union.

There is no question that the government, which recently slashed third-year wage increases which fell due to the membership of Local 3, is using the rotten corruption of Al Clem, the business agent, as a pretext for stepping into the union in order to break its strength.

The San Francisco newspapers have been running a series of exposes on the union, paving the way for the government to step in. Clem himself supported Nixon and Reagan in the last elections, so there can be no doubt the government's investigation is aimed at the union, and for this purpose it is willing to dump Clem along the way.

The most insidious aspect of the whole situation is the role being played by Norris Casey, who ran against Clem in the local elections last year.

Reflecting the tremendous hatred of the ranks for Clem, who has collaborated at every point with Nixon's wage controls, Casey polled the majority of votes outside of Hawaii. However, a huge majority for Clem in Hawaii swung the election the

other way.

Casey charged Clem with massive vote fraud in Hawaii and appealed to the courts and the Labor Department. As a result a complete re-run of the elections has been scheduled for November.

Now Casey, posing as an alternative to Clem, has turned once again to the government. This at a time when big movements against Nixon's wage controls can be mobilized and directed politically to drive him out. In fact there is tremendous sentiment in the California construction trades to defy the recent wage cuts.

A recent article in the San Francisco Examiner quotes Casey's lawyer in support of the federal investigation.

It is clear Casey seeks to play the same role as Miller in the mineworkers, to channel the legitimate hatred of the ranks for a corrupt leadership right into the government's plans for state control over the unions.

This is the role of centrism in the unions today, to beat back any movement toward a political struggle against Nixon and for a labor party, and therefore hand the unions over to the government.

Editorial

Break All Talks, Defend The UFW!

The shooting of two young United Farm Workers pickets near Delano opens up a new period of civil war in the grape fields. The growers can no longer be satisfied with arrests and intimidation by sheriff's deputies, which have failed to defeat the farmworkers.

The growers must now revive all the methods of the 1930s, when right-wing para-military forces like the American Legion and the California Cavaliers established police-state rule in towns like Salinas and Stockton.

All of Cesar Chavez's pleading to the nuns, the priests, and the consciences of the growers is powerless to hold back the explosion between classes. So as the crisis reaches its sharpest, Chavez has carried out the logic of his pacifist policies to the point of open betrayal.

While his own members were being shot down for defending their basic right to a union, Chavez began talks with the Western Conference of Teamsters leadership in Burlingame.

The farmworkers have nothing to discuss with the Teamster leadership. Their struggle to defend the UFW will be decided in the fields and in the political fight to rally the rest of the labor movement behind them, not in friendly talks with the growers' agents.

These talks have only one purpose—to confuse and mislead the farmworkers while the growers prepare the most savage assaults upon them. This was made clear when three days after the talks began, the Delano grape growers announced that they were signing contracts with the Teamsters.

Chavez was forced to break off the talks because of the farmworkers response to this treachery by the Teamster leaders. But there is no doubt he intends to reopen them as soon as possible. Already Teamster organizer William Grami apologized for the Delano signings, saying they were unauthorized and would be repudiated. This is a ploy to cover for Chavez's return to the talks.

Farmworkers must take warning. A new leadership must be built in the UFW pledged to all-out strike action and the calling of a Congress of Labor to defend the union and organize a labor party.

The first step in the construction of this leadership must be the fight to force Chavez to renounce any further talks with the Teamsters, and to immediately organize self-defense squads to defend the picket lines.

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