

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THIRTY FOUR 309

SEPTEMBER 10, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

FIFTEEN CENTS

**Vetoes  
Minimum  
Wage,  
Defies Courts**

# Nixon Lashes Out At Workers

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

**Nixon is preparing to open a full-scale offensive against the American working class. This was the message outlined in his Wednesday news conference.**

To restore confidence in his regime among big business circles, Nixon made clear he is ready to go to war with the unions. This is the meaning of his statement that he would veto the minimum wage bill which he claims would "give an enormous boost

to inflation."

This bill has been the main project of the leadership of the AFL-CIO, particularly George Meany, for the past two years. The veto is an open slap in the face not only to Meany but the unions. Nixon is saying that the days of compromise are over. The time has come for a direct assault on the unions.

Nixon knows that the main

question facing the capitalist class is the clash with millions of workers who are now demanding wage increases to meet the soaring cost of living. The job the capitalists want done is the defeat of the working class in its wage struggles, the destruction of its basic rights and standard of living.

Nixon is desperately seeking to carry this out now. To do it he has made it clear that he is prepared to attack all the democratic rights the working class has won. He is attempting to rise above the law and the Constitution and assume dictatorial powers if necessary to try to defeat the offensive of the working class.

Nixon arrogantly rejected the order from Judge Sirica to turn over the Watergate tapes to the court. This will now go before the Supreme Court, bringing the Constitutional crisis to a head. Nixon, during his press conference, lashed out at Congress and made clear he was prepared to violate the laws to protect the "national interest," the interests of the capitalist class.

A new stage is now reached in the crisis which has shaken this government. Nixon is fully aware that sections of the capitalist class who backed his election are prepared to dump him now if he is incapable of pursuing the attacks on the working class that they demand to protect their system shaken by the greatest economic crisis in history.

Nixon is saying he will remain in power and attempt to win back their support now by striking out at the working class.

## TASKS

This raises the most urgent tasks before the labor movement. Nixon's veto of the minimum wage bill is a warning that the collision between this government and the unions can no longer be avoided. George Meany denounced this as a "callous and cruel" blow aimed to "make the poor of this nation the frontline troops in the war against inflation."

In his Labor Day message, Meany said that the problem was Nixon's economic policies. But these policies are not the policies of a single man or a single capitalist party but of the capitalist class as a whole.

Meany has said that if Nixon does not turn over the tapes to the court he should be impeached by Congress. But the real question before Meany and the entire labor leadership is the calling immediately of a Congress of Labor. This Congress must answer Nixon with a massive political offensive by the unions to back the wages struggle of the auto workers with action by the entire labor movement and to construct a labor party. The construction of this party is now the immediate task before the working class as the only means by which the unions can be defended and the attacks of this government defeated.

All local unions must mandate that the calling of a Congress of Labor be put before the upcoming convention of the AFL-CIO.

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## National Conference Votes To Launch Twice-Weekly Oct. 1st

The Fifth National Conference of the Workers League has decided unanimously to proceed immediately with the launching of the twice-weekly Bulletin. The first issue of the twice-weekly will appear October 1.

The twice-weekly Bulletin will be greeted with a large rally in New York City on October 4 and with rallies in several other cities shortly thereafter.

The Conference based this decision on an assessment of the new situation facing the working class in the United States and internationally. Capitalism as an international system has reached its limit in the development of the productive forces of man. In each country, the capitalists today are driving against the living and working conditions of the masses through a conscious policy of inflation and speedup. The actual standard of

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# Tory Bomb Hysteria

BY MELODY FARROW

The Tory government in England has seized on the rash of bombings in London to whip up a hysteria among the middle classes to pave the way for repressive legislation against the democratic rights of British workers.



Prime Minister Heath

Prime Minister Edward Heath has not only sent out an "alert" to all government agencies and nationalized industries but there are reports that the British Army has also been put on alert.

On August 29, two bombs exploded in and near Birmingham and August 31 a blast shook London's Marble Arch.

The police have deliberately created a panic atmosphere by bombarding rail stations and the financial district with special bomb warnings over loudspeakers and clearing out large department stores and movie houses.

The Chief of Detectives of Scotland Yard has been given full powers to launch intensive surveillance of the Irish Republican movement and left-wing organizations in Britain through phone taps, mail covers and other means.

Now the London Times, knowing the aim of the Tories, has written an editorial that discusses the possibility of recalling Parliament to pass laws not only against the IRA but against the rights of Irish people living in Britain.

## BLAMED

Since the bombing began on August 18, Heath and the Tory press have continually blamed the Provisional IRA despite the fact that the IRA has denied this and no proof exists that they are involved.

The strongest possibility exists that the entire bombing campaign is actually a provocation organized by the government to rush measures through Parliament to grant Heath dictatorial powers.

The direct precedent for this are the bombs set off by British intelligence last December at the Irish Trade Union Congress hall in southern Ireland which allowed the Lynch government to pass an emergency bill outlawing the IRA.

The Tories have every reason for attempting a similar move in England at this time. First, the Littlejohn affair last month exposed the activities of criminals hired by Tory Ministers to bomb and assassinate in Ireland.

Then on August 21, the cor-

oner of Londonderry in North Ireland released his report on the "bloody Sunday" massacre on January 30, 1972, when British troops gunned down thirteen unarmed protest marchers. His conclusion, confirming that it was "sheer, unadulterated murder," is another blow to the Tories.

## CONFRONTATION

Today the Tories aim to use the brutal methods of their occupation of Ireland against the British working class. They desperately seek to maintain the credibility of their "law and order" forces in preparation for a confrontation with British workers fighting to defend their living standards and trade union organizations.

British workers will be demanding big wage increases this fall to compensate for the gigantic rise in the cost of living. This struggle will bring them into open conflict with the Tories' plans to impose Phase Three of their state control of



Gery Lawless of the IMG.

wages.

It is because the Tories must take on a powerful working class at a time when they have never been so weak and discredited that a section of the capitalist class advocates a vicious crackdown and destruction of democratic rights. Any repressive laws passed against the IRA would immediately be used against workers.

## WITCH-HUNT

The present bomb witch-hunt is geared to winning the support of the middle classes for such a move and creating an amalgam between the IRA and socialist organizations.

The move towards dictatorship in England is the result of the crisis of capitalism that is expressed in the inflation that is now soaring out of control in every country.

The action of Nixon in defying Judge Sirica's order to hand over the tapes and to set himself up above the Courts and Congress, the enormous network of spies and secret security measures represent the same danger to the American working class. Nixon as well as Heath seeks to weaken the working class and rob their basic right to a living wage and a job.

The task in England and in the United States is to remove these governments from office and unite workers for the struggle for power.



Canadian rail strikers enter Parliament building as government prepares legislation to end strike. Photo: Worker lunges at plainclothes policeman inside building.

# IMG Aids Tory Bomb Witch-Hunt

The International Marxist Group (IMG) of Britain has been at the very center of repeated allegations that the Irish Republican movement is responsible for the bombing in London.

This organization is part of the United Secretariat, led by Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank, and is in solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

The IMG which falsely claims to be "Trotskyist" has violated every basic principle of the revolutionary movement. Their actions have directly aided the Tory witch-hunt and have opened the door to a police crackdown on all left-wing organizations, including their own.

On August 19, Gery Lawless, a leader of the IMG and a member of its Irish Commission, says he received a telephone call from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau claiming the IRA was behind the bombing and warning that more bombs were scheduled to go off at major department stores.

## RELEASED

Within two hours, Lawless had released this information to the Press Association and to the police. Lawless says he was "satisfied that this statement came from the Provisional Republican movement" without explaining how he was able to identify the caller.

In his statement in Red Weekly, the IMG newspaper, Lawless explains that he then contacted the police information service like "any journalist" to "check the claim."

But this was not enough for Lawless. The next day he went on Radio London and in his own words "challenged the authorities to explain why they still denied the political significance of the bombings."

That same evening, he quickly cooperated when detectives at Scotland Yard called him in for an interview.

When he did not get enough attention from the police he went to the reactionary anti-working class newspaper—the Daily Mail—and granted an interview

with pictures complaining that his information was not being taken seriously enough. The Daily Mail titled this story "The Man Who Tipped Off The Yard," and ran a screaming front page headline: "Bombs Hunt For Marxists."

Thus, Lawless has emerged as a man who has called on the

The Editorial Board of the Bulletin demands that the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, co-thinkers of the British International Marxist Group, immediately make clear their position about the very serious allegations against the IMG. We await their reply.

police to take even harsher action against the IRA, a movement which in Ireland is persecuted and jailed by the British government.

There is no question that Lawless greatly contributed to the Tory press campaign to whip up an hysterical backlash against the IRA and instigate police surveillance of all socialist organizations.

The most sinister aspect is that Lawless has continued on this path despite the fact that the Provisional IRA in Dublin has repeatedly denied they issued the press release and have called it a "hoax."

The Provisional IRA is preparing a statement on the allegations after a thorough check of their command structures in Northern Ireland, Southern Ireland and in Britain.

The only proof cited by Lawless is a statement printed in a bourgeois paper—the Irish Press—on August 22 which

quotes unnamed provisionals in Belfast as claiming responsibility. But Lawless conveniently ignores the fact that the next issue of the paper was forced to write:

"Sources close to the Provisional leadership in the city said that they had not accepted responsibility for the current campaign in Britain..."

So the only statements implicating the IRA come from Scotland Yard and the IMG.

Any principled revolutionary organization by this time would have thrown Lawless out. Not the IMG. Not only is he still a member but his actions have been endorsed and defended by Bob Pennington, National Secretary of the IMG, and Tariq Ali, a publicity seeking adventurer also in the leadership.

At a press conference August 23, Pennington declared Lawless had a right to "go to the police to protect himself" on the grounds that this would protect him from being charged as an accomplice after the fact.

When questioned by the Workers Press, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, about the Daily Mail interview, Tariq Ali replied: "You have to have an attitude on this. You either talk to the bourgeois press or not. We do."

Pennington also stated that: "It seems there is enough evidence that the IRA or a wing of it is involved," but when asked what evidence he meant he refused to comment.

The IMG is now being used by the Tory government to attack and isolate left-wing movements in preparation for an offensive against the working class.

## Thieu Jails Labor Leaders

The Thieu dictatorship's complete lack of support among South Vietnamese workers has been revealed by the jailing of three labor leaders on September 3.

The three men, Nguyen Thua Nghiep of the Petroleum Workers, Dang Tan Si of the Bank Workers and Nguyen Van Cung of the Electrical Workers were sentenced to 18 months in jail for allegedly acting as accomplices of a "communist plot" to "subvert" the Saigon labor movement.

The true reason for their arrest last April was their open support for a strike of railroad workers. All strikes in South Vietnam are illegal.

A fourth labor leader, Pham Van Hi, was tortured to death in prison shortly after his arrest.

# Harrison School Teachers Strike

BY DAVID NORTH

HARRISON, N.Y., Sept. 6—Only a skeletal staff opened the schools here today as more than 250 teachers began strike action to defeat an attempt by the Board of Education to dictate contract terms that would mean the destruction of the union.

Following the lead of Nixon's full-scale attack on teachers and education, the Board is trying to force roll-backs in nearly every vital area of work conditions while offering a wage increase of only two percent.

Refusing to negotiate with the teachers, the Board has made use of the union-busting Taylor Law to destroy every vestige of collective bargaining and has presented an ultimatum to the union.

For a reported fee of \$8000, the Board obtained the services of a notorious professional negotiating outfit called Thalen Associates. This firm then drew up a list of proposals which the Board—in its legal capacity as a legislative body—declared to be the new contract.

The union, which rejected this "unilateral" contract, was served yesterday with an injunction which could lead to the jailing of its leaders as early as September 11.

In addition to abolishing all provisions for collective bargaining, the terms open the way for mass layoffs by granting the Board unlimited powers to fire teachers without due process.

The Board is also demanding the elimination of substitute teachers, the combining of classes and the lengthening of the school day.

"I hate to strike," said one teacher who has been at Junior-Senior High School for 35 years, "but I feel that this is absolutely necessary if we are to keep what we have."

Pete Kazura, an industrial arts teacher at Junior-Senior High School, told the **Bulletin**: "If we go along with this contract, we would be subject to whatever the Board wants. We're victims of this inflation. I have the same mortgage to pay, I eat the same

meat, and pay the same bills. I can't live with no increase."

Paul Fuller, president of the local, said that the fact that the Town Council recently came under the control of the Democrats has not helped the teachers at all.

"Fundamentally, people feel there's no difference between the parties. If you dig deep enough, you find they all do the same thing."

All the teachers' unions must unite to meet this attack through the call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party to defeat the government.



Empty stockyards in the Midwest. Nixon's ultimatum: pay higher prices or don't eat meat.

# Inflation Takes Wages From Workers' Pockets

BY BRUCE MCKAY

Nixon made it clear at his press conference Wednesday that he intends to "control" inflation by taking money out of the pockets of the working class.

Workers' wages will be limited to 5.5 percent increases or less. The minimum wage will be held down to \$1.65 an hour, while millions of workers remain uncovered. And prices will be allowed to get further out of control.

Everything possible is being done to hide the extent of the inflation and the real nature of these policies from workers. Price figures are manipulated, misleading statements and out-

right lies are put out by Nixon and his economists and workers are continually assured that inflation is being brought under control.

Workers see their wages robbed by inflation every time they go into the supermarket or store. Prices are soaring almost daily.

Here is the situation now:  
 •In New York City, the official weekly "market basket" of food for an average family now costs \$54.53.

•A loaf of ordinary white bread

costs 52 cents.

- Bacon costs \$1.87 a pound.
- Eggs costs \$1 a dozen.
- Pork chops cost \$1.72 a pound.
- Chicken costs 74 cents a pound.
- Price "frozen" ground chuck costs \$1.18 a pound.

The list of outrageous prices faced by workers and housewives in the supermarkets is endless. But the worst is yet to come.

In the months ahead, the rising interest rates and uncontrollable creation of credit and paper money being deliberately encouraged by Nixon will push prices into a violent runaway upsurge.

**The Bulletin is beginning a survey of how inflation is actually affecting working class families across the country. We appeal to our readers—workers, housewives, unemployed and youth—to write in and describe price increases in your area and how inflation has forced you to cut back in the family budget.**

The index of prices received by farmers, for example, rose 20 percent last month alone. It now stands 62 percent above a year ago. Prices for individual food commodities have risen even more.

Meat prices were up last month 24 percent, notwithstanding the freeze on beef prices. Wheat prices soared almost 50 percent last month and now stand about 200 percent higher than last year, spurred to higher and higher levels by the speculative dollars being poured into the commodities markets.

At the same time, prices for non-food commodities are also on the brink of a price explosion. Fall clothing is expected to register at least a 15 to 20 percent price increase. All metals prices have been rising on the world commodities markets, and the major steel producers have announced a five

percent increase in the cost of sheet steel.

The government is increasingly trying to hide the real implications of this inflation from the working class. The so-called Consumer Price Index, for example, showed that prices increased at an annual rate of only eight percent during the height of this year's inflation, while they stand only about six percent higher than a year ago. Similarly, a survey by the Associated Press claimed that food prices had gone up only seven percent in the last six months.

In the same vein, Herbert Stein, who heads up Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, recently claimed that "real disposable personal income" has risen five percent in the last year. His purpose was to give the impression that workers' wages now buy five percent more.

Every worker knows these are lies. "Real disposable personal income," for example, includes the rents, interest and dividends received by the ruling class. While wages are being slashed, the income of the capitalists is soaring.

This means the real impact of inflation is being consciously hidden from workers and housewives. But at the same time, every worker or housewife who goes into the store or tries to draw up a family budget sees the immediate effects of price rises.

The question of wages is now beginning to dominate every contract dispute, just as it has in the Detroit teachers strike.

Workers must now take the offensive against inflation by fighting for a Congress of Labor and a labor party. Inflation is now the policy of the capitalist class. Workers can defend their living standards only by throwing this government out of office and forming a workers' government to implement socialist policies.

Greet the Twice-weekly

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**SIT-DOWN STRIKE HITS CHRYSLER**



Thursday, Oct. 4

7:30 pm

Debs Hall

Martin Luther King Labor Center  
 (Local 1199)

310 W. 43rd St. (near 8th Ave.)

\$1.50, 75¢ HS students & unemployed

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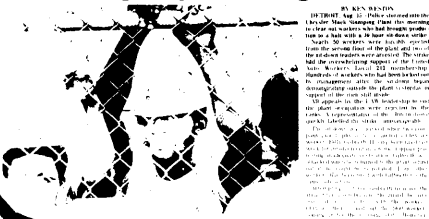
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# Trade Talks Doomed

BY A REPORTER

The last faint hopes of averting a catastrophic trade war are being shattered by the deepening differences between the United States, Europe and Japan on the eve of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff talks, scheduled to begin in Tokyo on September 12.

A leading Japanese trade official, Naohito Amaya, told a press conference Monday that his government would line up with Europe in opposition to American proposals for a liberalization of trade terms in agriculture.

He bluntly accused the US of hypocritically demanding that European and Japanese markets be opened up to stiff competition from American agriculture while at the same time arbitrarily cutting off its vital supply of soybeans.

Amaya said that the US was acting in bad faith when it called for a curtailment of all restrictions on farm imports.

In retaliation, the US has complained about the plans of the Common Market to implement a system of fixing minimum import prices for processed fruits and vegetables.

The emergence of extreme economic nationalism, which is reflected in the increasingly bitter disagreements, is a warning to workers in every country that a trade war cannot be avoided and that the ruling class will move rapidly toward an all-out attack on living conditions and jobs.

## AFSCME Rejects Tillerias Appeal

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 24—The Executive Board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 6 of State Employees, which served as the trial body for the appeal of Perry and Liz Tillerias from AFSCME Local 1164, continued the witch-hunt begun by the local bureaucrats.

They voted to change the union's penalty from permanent expulsion to a one year's suspension from membership and barred the two for two years from the right to hold an elected office.

This decision and the entire frame-up reveals the tremendous fear of the bureaucracy of the mobilization of the AFSCME ranks against the attacks on their standard of living. The bureaucrats are desperately attempting to keep the political questions facing the workers out of the union struggles.

Last May the Tillerias were expelled from AFSCME 1164 (University of Minnesota Employees Union) by the local Executive Board on the basis of charges filed by Eric Nyberg, a supporter of the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party.

As one worker said, "Perry and Liz Tillerias were attacked because of their political beliefs. We were the people who wanted action, who wanted to win decent wages, and they were doing nothing. The administration has never had it better."



Morgantown, W. Va. Newspaper Guild workers continue their strike amid wide support despite court injunction against picketing.

## Picket Ban Hits Guild Strike

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MORGANTOWN, W. Va., Sept. 4—Seventy-five members of the Mountaineer Guild are in the sixth week of their strike here against the Dominion News and Post, refusing to be defeated by a per-

manent court injunction against picketing.

Broad support for the strikers is being mounted by trade unionists from the area who have denounced the injunction as the most severe limitation on picketing in memory.

Railroad workers and truck drivers have refused to deliver supplies ordered by the newspaper which has been forced to cut its press run down to 10,000 from the pre-strike figure of 22,000.

On two occasions, workers walking the picket line had been threatened by management strikebreakers who drove their automobiles through the picket

line at high speeds.

The guild members are fighting for their first contract with the Dominion-News and Post. Talks have broken down several times over the issue of wages and job security.

Another issue being raised by the union is the management's insistence on farming out

workers, which the union strongly opposes.

As in a number of other strikes by the Guild, police have been used to harass picketers and limit their effectiveness. But the strikers have been strengthened by the intervention of steel workers who have driven in from Pennsylvania to support the strike.

## Court Injunction Hits Printers Union


BY A REPORTER  
NEW YORK—Led by the New York Times, the publishers of the

three major dailies here have launched an offensive to enforce a job-cutting settlement on the printing unions.

In the latest action, the Times has obtained a temporary injunction against Typographical Local 6 barring any "interference" with production through the use of stop-work chapel meetings.

The central issue is not the chapel meetings, which the union was using in an effort to pressure the publishers into serious negotiations. At the heart of the Times' action is a move by the publishers to tie the unions indefinitely to their old contract.

The unions have been working without a contract since March 30. Now the Times is contending that the unions are still bound to the terms of the old contract until a new one is signed.



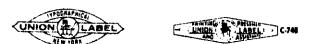
### Behind the Watergate Scandal

by Bruce McKay

Bulletin Pamphlet Series 15 50¢

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

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# US-Canada Spies Fail To Bust YS Camp

**BY BRUCE MCKAY**

**The first annual summer camp held in Canada by the Workers League and Young Socialists faced all of the police state methods used by Nixon in the Watergate bugging and the Ellsberg break-in.**

Police agents from the United States and Canada kept a continual watch on the activities of the camp, using airplanes, unmarked police cars, electronic bugging devices and agents disguised as fishermen and campers.

On three occasions, Quebec Provincial Police attempted to enter the camp under orders from "American authorities" in an effort to disrupt it and intimidate the workers and youth who traveled as far as 3000 miles to participate.

Quebec police visited the camp's main gate on the last day on two different occasions, hoping to be able to force their way in and create some sort of provocation. In the afternoon, one squad car pulled up to the gate. The police said they had received a report of "prowlers" at the camp.

Later in the evening, camp guards were confronted by six patrol cars and the unmarked car of a plainclothes police official who said they were looking for a stolen car. This time the police admitted they had been sent by US government officials to search the camp.

**CAMERA EQUIPMENT**

At one point, they appeared ready to storm the gate. Instead, they used special camera equipment to photograph the license plates of all the cars in the parking lot and threatened to get a search warrant and set up roadblocks to prevent anyone from leaving the camp.

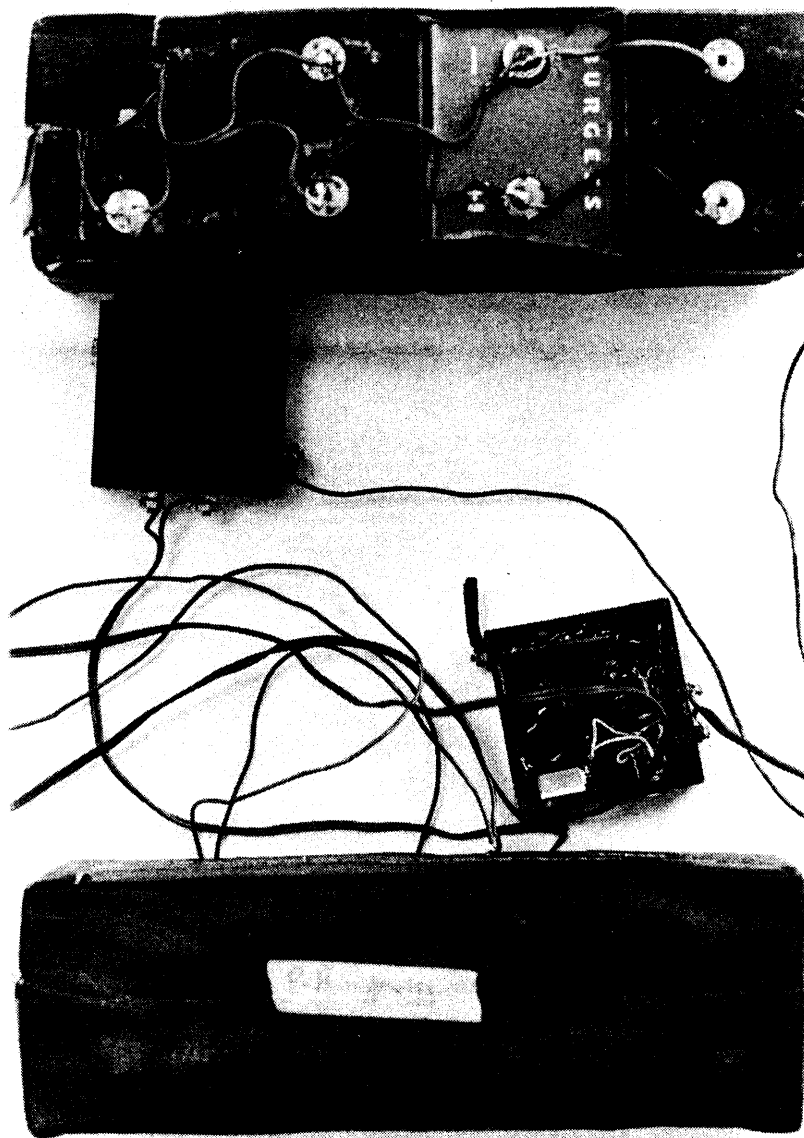
The security of the camp was maintained and all of the activities took place as scheduled only through the constant vigilance of Workers League and Young Socialists supporters who established an effective 24-hour guard system and unanimously agreed to the discipline necessary to thwart the efforts of the police and any provocateurs who may have infiltrated into the camp.

The activities of the Quebec police were only the most visible part of the campaign against the camp. Behind the scenes were all the "plumbing" efforts of Nixon's political police.

The camp was virtually surrounded by police agents loaded down, no doubt, with sophisticated electronic and photographic equipment.

Midway through the camp, an important part of the spy gear was discovered.

Electronic listening devices were located in both the gymnasium and the dining hall,



**Top: Discussion being held in gymnasium at Workers League-Young Socialists summer camp. Above: Two microphones and two batteries, discovered in gymnasium.**

where classes and meetings were held throughout the camp.

These bugs were capable of picking up anyone speaking in these large rooms as well as speakers on the stage or at the main speakers' table in the dining hall. Signals were then transmitted either to FM radio receivers in unmarked cars patrolling the nearby road or to a retransmitting device located within the camp itself.

Both of the "bugs" were small black boxes containing a sensitive miniature microphone, an amplifier and FM radio transmitter. Each was connected to a large battery pack capable of keeping them in operation for at

least two weeks.

The Bulletin has been able to determine that both of the devices were American made. They were manufactured for the government without any identifying marks, although a date scratched on one indicates it was made in April 1971.

In addition, signals from other police transmitters in and around the camp were picked up, although the transmitters themselves were not found.

Undercover agents posing as local residents passed back and forth by the camp incessantly in cars. At night camp guards reported hearing cars continually pulling off into the sur-

rounding woods.

A camper and a motorcycle parked directly across from the camp late one night and stayed until nearly noon the next day when the camp owner told them to move. During this time, one of the "campers" left on the motorcycle for a long period of time.

**"FISHERMEN"**

Two "fishermen" parked their cars across from the camp and pretended to fish for several hours on another afternoon, leaving two mysterious packages on the rear window ledge of their car pointed directly at the camp. They did

not catch any fish.

More obvious were the two planes which circled overhead every day—a seaplane and a small red and white plane which made numerous passes directly overhead. On the last day, when the police attempted to directly intervene, these planes circled the camp virtually all day.

The obsession of the police with the activities of this camp demonstrated very clearly the real character of this period as the international inflationary crisis drives the capitalist class in every nation toward dictatorship and revolutionary struggles with the working class.

The camp was held as industrial unrest erupted in massive movements of workers internationally. A national rail strike gripped Canada and Parliament was recalled to legislate its end. The specter of the military rule which was used to break the general strike in Quebec was ever present.

The camp met right after the first sit-down strike in an auto plant since the 1930s had taken place in Detroit and as wildcat strikes spread throughout the American auto industry as the national contract deadline drew near. At the same time, strike movements were exploding in the German and English auto factories.

The surveillance and intimidation used by the police in an attempt to destroy the camp were nothing short of a vicious attack on all the basic democratic rights of the working class in the US and Canada.

The political police apparatus used by Nixon in the Watergate bugging, the Ellsberg burglary and countless other political espionage adventures is now directed squarely at the trade unions and any potential political leadership of the working class.

This means that all workers' organizations must now collectively prepare to defend themselves against all forms of electronic surveillance, political spies, police provocateurs and outright attacks by the police and their agents.

We call on all workers' organizations to take immediate steps to organize a common effort to expose and defeat these attempts to destroy the basic democratic rights workers have won through decades of struggle against the bosses and their government.

Every worker must now understand that the ruling classes of the US, Canada and every other capitalist country are consciously preparing for dictatorship and creating the conditions for the emergence of a fascist movement from the ranks of the middle class.

Workers must prepare for a revolutionary struggle to defend their democratic rights and their living standards. The strength of the working class and its trade unions must now be brought forward politically against Nixon's attacks in a Congress of Labor to demand the resignation of the Nixon government and new elections and to construct a labor party to bring the working class to power.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## UAW Must Call National Auto Strike!

We warn every auto worker that Chrysler speaks for every auto employer. All are united in their determination to impose savage wage cuts on their workers.

Chrysler's offer of a three percent increase amounts to legalized robbery. While wages are held down by law, prices are skyrocketing. Farm prices have risen 62 percent in one year. Workers are already paying these increases in the supermarkets.

This is what Nixon means when he talks about "controlling inflation." The auto companies are now leading the drive to slash wages so profits can be maintained.

Nixon and the auto bosses care nothing for the lives of the auto workers. Inflation makes it impossible for workers to buy the basic necessities for their families. Now the head of General Motors is threatening a cutback in production in 1974 which will throw thousands of auto workers out of their jobs.

Auto workers must follow the lead of the Detroit teachers who have struck demanding a 9.7 percent wage increase and a cost of living clause.

UAW members must demand that a national strike against all the major auto companies begin on September 14 when the contract expires.

They must demand that the full strength of the union and the entire labor movement be mobilized. This is a showdown not only with the giant auto corporations but with Nixon himself.

As the Detroit teachers have shown, this is the only way to defeat the wage cutting and job cutting plans of the employers.

This means a collision with the leadership of the UAW. UAW President Leonard Woodcock has said this week that the union will settle for a wage "increase" within Nixon's guidelines. Woodcock is prepared to go along with the vicious wage cutting plans of Chrysler and the auto corporations in order to avoid a political confrontation with Nixon.

This fight cannot be put off. Nixon has made it clear in his press conference this week that he is prepared to open war on the unions. This is the meaning of his statement that he would veto the new minimum wage bill.

The fight for this bill has been the major activity of the AFL-CIO for the past two years. In his statement, Nixon said it is the workers who must pay for the inflation consciously created by the government.

Nixon announced to the capitalists that he is ready to do the job to protect their profits. He is ready to defy Congress, the Courts, attack democratic rights and assume dictatorial powers to do it.

Auto workers must take a sharp warning from the struggle of Ford workers in Germany where the government has called out the riot police to beat up strikers. Nixon will do the same. Already in Detroit, teachers are being threatened with injunctions.

The auto workers' struggle is the fight of every worker. It is political. The fight for a 20 percent wage increase with full cost of living means smashing the wage controls. It requires the rallying of all workers in a Congress of Labor to mobilize the entire labor movement against Phase Four and to construct a labor party which alone can defend the basic rights of the working class. This labor party must be built now to unite the working class around the fight for socialist policies.



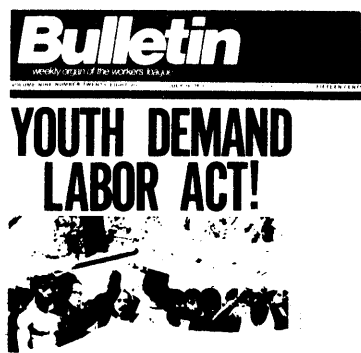
## What we think Twice-Weekly On Oct. 1!

(Continued From Page 1) living of masses of workers in the United States is falling under the impact of this attack. This is happening in Europe as well, while in the colonial countries mass starvation is taking place.

Direct attacks are now in preparation against the trade unions. The capitalist governments will do everything in their power to prevent the trade unions from winning wage increases equal to what is taken away by inflation. At the same time they will defend the

Bulletin is so essential. The twice-weekly Bulletin will fight in every struggle for American workers to construct a labor party to replace Nixon. The twice-weekly will fight for a labor party to adopt socialist policies to answer inflation and unemployment. It will fight for the great industrial might of America to be owned and operated by the workers themselves so that production can go forward to provide employment and a decent standard of living for all. The twice-weekly will be at the center of constructing a new leadership in the trade unions to replace the bureaucrats who bow before Nixon. These bureaucrats prepare the way for the dictatorship of the large corporations just as such bureaucrats did in Germany in the 1930s.

features. There will be a regular column on the labor movement by Labor Editor Bruce McKay. There will be a regular column in the Spanish language by Lucia Rivera on problems facing



### Unions Must Build Labor Party To Drive Nixon Out!

The bourgeoisie of the United States is now in a state of panic. The bourgeoisie is trying to prevent the workers from organizing a labor party to drive Nixon out of office. The bourgeoisie is trying to prevent the workers from organizing a labor party to drive Nixon out of office.

massive profits of the large corporations.

Nixon's decision to veto the minimum wage bill, sponsored by the AFL-CIO, indicates that we have reached this new stage of direct attack on the trade unions. Nixon hopes to rally major sections of the bosses to him through a tough line against the working class.

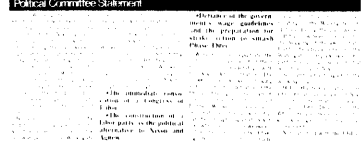
There is no way to compromise this situation. The masses of workers must and will fight to defend their living standards. The large corporations will use their government against the trade unions. Every struggle now is political. Right-wing and dictatorial forces will continue to strengthen themselves within and without the government. They aim to preserve profits through the destruction of the democratic rights of working people who resist their attacks.

This is why the twice-weekly

The new Bulletin will not be just a weekly coming out more frequently. It will be a major step in the direction of publishing a daily Trotskyist paper in the United States. It will be open to all workers fighting at every point to defend all workers. It will report what actually takes place in the factories, what the real extent of



But as soon as credit is shaken and the phase of recovery always appears in the modern industrial cycle - all the real wealth is in the hands and suddenly transferred into money, into gold and silver - a mad demand which however grows necessarily out of the system itself. And all the gold and silver which is supported in safety these enormous hoards amounts to but a few millions in the vaults of the bank.



inflation is, what the capitalists are preparing in other countries, what they are conspiring to do in the government, what we must do to fight back now. The Bulletin will be a 12 page paper with a number of new



What we think Nixon's Labor Lapdogs

Spanish speaking workers. Trade union news will be expanded from both the West Coast and Midwest. Reporters will develop on the spot reports from all over the country.

A final \$50,000 Fund Drive is now in progress and will be completed December 1. These funds are vitally needed to complete equipment purchases and other costs for the twice-weekly.

A special circulation drive will begin simultaneously with the first issue of the twice-weekly on October 1. At that point, we will go over to monthly drives to bring in 3000 new subs and renewals each month. In addition to this, six two week trail-blazing subscription tours will take place during the month of October to bring in 3000 additional subs and 600 YS subs.

These tours will cover San Diego, the Pacific Northwest, Western Ohio and Michigan, Eastern Ohio, the Northeast, and the South. We urge all our readers to support the twice-weekly. Plan to come to the twice-weekly rallies. Contribute to the Fund Drive and help solicit subscriptions from your neighbors and shopmates. Write us your suggestions as to what you wish to see in the twice-weekly.



# Defending Stalinism From Outside The CP

## DAVID NORTH REPLIES TO DOROTHY HEALEY

This article is a reply to the interview with Dorothy Healey which appeared in last week's issue of the Bulletin.



Lenin and Trotsky

BY DAVID NORTH

The resignation of Dorothy Healey from the Communist Party after having been its main spokesman on the West Coast for 20 years brings into public light the extreme crisis now wracking American Stalinism. She leaves the CP at the very time when another leading member in California—the former editor of the *People's World*, Al Richmond—has been expelled from the CP for the publication of his memoirs, *A Long View From the Left*.

Both Healey and Richmond have been forced by their struggle within the Communist Party to raise the issues of historic significance within the international workers' movement. Healey has left the CP primarily over the issue of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the lack of party democracy. She also admits that her differences with the national leadership date back to the days of Earl Browder's reign as Party boss, when the CP supported the 'no-strike' pledge and actually liquidated itself into an education association.

These differences within older layers of the CP—who, like Healey and Richmond, existed for a long time within the Party while publicly critical of many of its positions—reflects the crisis of Stalinism as it comes into collision with the movement of the working class against capitalism.

As they seek to hold back this movement and actually lend assistance to the counter-revolutionary preparations of the ruling class internationally, the Communist Parties in every country under the wings of the Kremlin must stand on the entire sordid history of the crimes and betrayals written by the Stalinists since

the 1920s. But in order to carry out their reactionary role today, they seek at every point to suppress and distort the history of Stalinism.

Under these conditions, the differences that Healey raised long ago over Czechoslovakia can no longer be tolerated by bureaucratic martinets like Gus Hall. This is because the raising of any historical questions—whatever the intentions or the political positions of those who bring them forward—have the effect of a bombshell exploding in the Stalinist movement.

Every question of policies and perspectives that must come to the fore of the labor movement as the working class defends its democratic rights and living conditions against the unprecedented attacks of the Nixon government now becomes linked to the historic issues posed by Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism—issues which can only be fought out in the construction of a revolutionary party of the working class.

### HISTORY

It is in this light that we must examine the role of those like Dorothy Healey, who, as they leave the Communist Party, raise disagreements with certain policies but never question the foundations of Stalinism. The interview published last week in the *Bulletin* makes clear that Dorothy Healey will not confront the history of Stalinism, continues to accept its theoretical and political conclusions, and—above all—remains bitterly hostile to Trotskyism.

As a so-called "Communist without a party," Healey now plays the role of attempting to prevent those forces within the labor movement and in the Communist Party and particularly the Young Workers Liberation League from coming to grips with the central issues raised by the history of Stalinism.

Dorothy Healey seeks to turn these forces away from the Trotskyist movement, and—through a monstrous distortion of Marxism and its history—on to the liberal road of hostility toward the task of building the type of revolutionary party that Lenin actually created.

After 30 years in the Communist Party, she prefers to view her disagreements isolated from any of the historical issues raised by Trotsky's struggle—with which she is very familiar. As far as Healey is concerned, there is Czechoslovakia and party democracy—burning issues, to be sure—but these have nothing to do with the Moscow Trials, the defeat of the working class in Germany and Spain, the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and other events right up to Brezhnev's trip to Nixon, the be-

trayal of the Vietnamese Revolution, and the CP's support for the Democratic Party in 1972.

To these crimes, Healey still gives her approval. While leaving the CP, she would like to sweep as much history as she can under the rug and, beyond that, place a question mark over the very fight for a revolutionary party of the working class.

Healey makes the remarkably revealing statement that her resignation from the CP was motivated by her feeling that "My very presence was becoming not conducive to the health of the party itself."

What else can this admission mean except that Healey resigned in order to serve the interests of Stalinism. Her primary concern remains assisting the CP, and therefore hopes that her departure from the leadership will ward off a discussion of history that would draw the attention of the ranks and prove so damaging to American Stalinism.

### REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

It is possible to understand the full significance of Healey's vicious slanders against Trotsky and the Fourth International only within the framework of her position on Lenin's conception of a revolutionary party. The stance that she maintained throughout the interview—that Trotsky was the "mirror" of Stalin because they both accepted the "narrow limitations" of Lenin's definition of the party in *What Is To Be Done?*—places her squarely in the camp of all the enemies of Marxism who hold Stalinism to be the fruits of Bolshevism.

This utterly fraudulent position allows Healey to evade the central historical question of how Stalin destroyed the Bolshevik Party in the period after Lenin's death and then declare—with a cynical shrug of the shoulders: "Trotsky would have done no differently."

But the question remains: Why was it that Trotsky began in the 1920s a struggle against Stalinism? Why was it that the consolidation of power of the Stalinist apparatus over the Bolshevik Party was accompanied by a persecution of Trotsky that led to his own murder and the deaths of thousands of his supporters in the bloodiest purge in history? Why was it that Stalin, in order to carry out these acts, ordered the grossest falsification of the historical record—as even Krushchev admitted in the *Secret Speech* of 1956.

Answering none of these questions, Healey's discovery of the root of all evil in *What Is To Be Done?* constitutes an

open attack on Lenin and serves to abolish from history the actual political struggle which broke out during his final illness (1923) between the revolutionary tendency within the Bolshevik Party represented by Trotsky and the revisionist tendency led by Stalin, which finding its social base in the growing caste of privileged bureaucrats, developed into a counterrevolutionary force destroying the Bolshevik Party on the perspective of "socialism in one country."

### DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

In her opening remarks to our reporter, Healey maintains that Lenin changed his mind on many of the arguments he had advanced in *What Is To Be Done?* Citing an article entitled "Twelve Years After" from Volume 13 of the *Collected Works*, Healey claims that Lenin warned revolutionaries against taking his book as a model for constructing a revolutionary party because he had been writing under conditions of illegality in Tzarist Russia and also because he had exaggerated the dangers of a revisionist tendency known as "Economism" which capitulated to reformism. According to Healey, Lenin played down his earlier emphasis on democratic centralism in order to prevent any constraints on free discussion within the Bolshevik movement.

She then declares: "What I find ironic is that all of the Trotskyist movement, have, without being aware of it—one of those imperceptible things that gradually becomes a principle—accepted the most Stalinist definitions of democratic centralism."

### LENIN

To this Healey adds: "What is supremely ironic is that not just the Communists but the Trotskyists as well, have all ignored his (Lenin's) specific warning as to the narrow limitation of *What Is To Be Done?*, in terms of the definition of a party; and totally ignore his attempt to narrowly define even the circumstances for the rest of its validity in this later article "Twelve Years After."

Here we have a complete distortion of Lenin's real position; and it must be said immediately that Healey's arguments are not even original. Every revisionist and opportunist who is opposed to the struggle for Marxism in the working class, who denies the need for a conscious struggle by the revolutionary party against the spontaneous pragmatic thinking of the



working class has his knife out for **What Is To Be Done?** Healey is not the first who seeks to pit "Twelve Years After" against one of Lenin's most imperishable contributions to the development of Marxism, **What Is To Be Done?**

The fact is, however, that Lenin directed the article "Twelve Years After" not against those who tended to place too much weight on **What Is To Be Done?** but precisely against those like Healey who sought to diminish the importance of the struggle against opportunism and all forms of bourgeois thinking within the workers' movement by latching on to certain formulations which deliberately "exaggerated" a number of points concerning organization in order to pose the theoretical struggle in the sharpest possible terms.

Criticizing those who attacked **What Is To Be Done?**, Lenin declared that events subsequent to the book's publication had proven its correctness. He wrote: "Unfortunately, many of those who judge our party are outsiders, who do not know of the subject, who do not realize that today the idea of an organization of professional revolutionaries has already scored a complete victory. That victory would have been impossible if this idea had not been pushed to the **forefront** at that time, if we had not 'exaggerated' so as to drive it home to people who were trying to prevent it from being realized."

Many people who had at one point been in the Communist Party found in the theme of "democracy" a good way of avoiding a serious assessment of Stalinism while appealing to every middle class and philistine hatred of Bolshevism. Against the measure of an amorphous democracy, they concluded that Trotskyism had nothing more to offer than Stalinism. What was characteristic of all these individuals was that they refused to examine the question of party democracy from the standpoint of pro-

gram and the historical development of the party.

In the same vein, Healey would like to portray Stalinism as the working out of an incorrect conception of democratic centralism, rather than the opportunist principles and counterrevolutionary practice of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which under Stalin destroyed democratic centralism in the Third International and transformed its sections into appendages of the Kremlin.

#### CP-USA

The most rotten product of the degeneration of the Comintern under Stalin was the American Communist Party, which committed crime after crime against the working class on the basis of instructions cabled from Moscow.

Without an assessment of this degeneration of the Comintern under Stalin, Healey's talk of party democracy means only her desire for personal independence from any responsibility to construct a revolutionary party. Her position is that the solution to what she calls Stalinism is no party at all. And Healey claims to be "A Communist without a party."

Dorothy Healey's refusal to make this assessment of the history of Stalinism cannot be attributed to any lack of information on the subject. By her own admission, she finds the "Cult of Personality" theory of Stalin's crimes advanced by Khrushchev to be totally inadequate, and at the same time she states that she has read almost every work by Trotsky available in English.

For these reasons, Healey's malicious attacks on Trotsky and the Fourth International—which grow ever more vehement in the course of the interview—can be explained only by her hatred of the political movement that fights Stalinism in the labor movement as it constructs the revolutionary leadership required by the

working class in this period.

Even as an ex-member of the Communist Party, Healey tries to lend a helping hand to the desperate Stalinists within the leadership of the movement who want to hide from their members and advanced workers the real contributions made by Trotsky to the October Revolution and the world Marxist movement. Within an amorphous milieu of radicals and "leftists," Healey will seek to contain the struggle against Stalinism within the most narrow limits while doing everything possible to discredit Trotskyism—and that includes cynical lying.

Healey told our reporter: "My dislike and contempt (of Trotskyism) is not based on whether the right thing was done in Germany 1923 or the Anglo-Soviet trade talks or China or on the question of whether or not you can build socialism in one country. None of that."

#### DECISIVE ISSUES

She could not have stated the matter more bluntly. Whether or not Trotsky was correct on the most decisive questions of the 1920s—the issues which shaped the fate of the working class internationally for decades—is of no importance to her.

But whether Healey cares to ignore these issues or not, it was precisely around these issues—Germany, England, China and the so-called "Theory of Socialism in One Country"—that the struggle between the tendencies known as Trotskyism and Stalinism developed. It was because of Trotsky's struggle against "socialism in one country" and the Stalinists' betrayal of great revolutionary opportunities in Europe and Asia during the 1920s that he was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and then exiled from the USSR.

If Trotsky was right on these questions—as indeed he was—then what remains of the Stalinist case against Trotskyism except the vile lies of the usurping

Soviet bureaucracy which ruthlessly revised Marxism and falsified history in order to preserve its special privileges against the interests of the Russian and world proletariat.

Because Healey does not dare face up to these historical issues, she tries to palm them off as "tactical" differences. We quote her again: "The fact that there are tactical alternatives by Trotsky that are different than Stalin's doesn't mean anything as far as methodology. Tactics can be this today, and with the wave of the hand, that tomorrow."

Does Healey expect anyone to believe that two tendencies could share the same methodology and still manage to have tactical differences of such magnitude as to persist for a half century as the historic foundation of a struggle that has involved the lives of millions in every country of the world?

One might just as well call the class struggle an unfortunate misunderstanding between labor and capital.

The analogy is not used for dramatic effect. Unless Healey openly proposes to abandon the materialist conception of history, the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism can be understood only as representative of opponent class forces within the international labor movement.

#### SELF-CRITICISM

Healey's refusal to address herself to these issues makes a mockery of her assertion that: "We communists went through a period of deep self-criticism and analysis of our history, and some communists maintained a grasp of what those weaknesses were—including what Stalinism represented on a world-wide scale."

We ask Healey point-blank: Where is the evidence of deep "self-criticism" anywhere in the Stalinist movement. Has it produced even one volume that actually gives a factually correct account of



Czechoslovakia 1968

the history of the Bolshevik Party? Has it produced one volume that repudiates the Moscow Trials in toto and rehabilitates all the Bolsheviks who were shot in the cellars of the GPU prisons as "agents of Hitler"? The answer is no.

We ask Dorothy Healey to give us the slightest evidence of such "self-criticism" within the American Communist Party. Surely, she cannot be referring to the kangaroo trial of Earl Browder in 1945, who was the fall guy for Stalin's collaboration with Roosevelt and the punching bag for a lot of CP leaders trying to save their necks.

Has this so-called "self-criticism" produced an admission by the CP that it served as an accomplice of the GPU in the murder of Trotsky? No. Healey remains silent on this, but she was a member of the CP at a time when the American Stalinists played an important part in infiltrating the Trotskyist movement with murderers. It was the CP that provided the GPU with the contacts which made it possible for the assassin Ramon Mercader to gain access to the villa in Mexico and murder Trotsky.

Nor has Healey condemned the role played by the CP in supplying the Roosevelt government with evidence to frame the leaders of the SWP in the 1941 Smith Act trial. The CP assisted the government in the plot of sending the Trotskyists to jail in order to facilitate Roosevelt's entrance into World War II.

The fact is that the Communist Party has brutally suppressed every movement within its own ranks for an honest accounting with the historical record. Dorothy Healey knows that the Gus Hall faction consolidated its power through the suppression of the debate within the CP that was sparked by the "secret speech" and the invasion of Hungary.

It is precisely through her own distortion of history and refusal to undertake the task of "drawing conclusions

from all of it" that Healey seeks to cut off whatever efforts are being made by individual members of the Communist Party and YWLL to break through the lies of their leadership to arrive at a true understanding of Stalinism and the real revolutionary perspectives being fought for by the Fourth International.

Healey herself will not make her position clear on Hungary, admitting that she doubted the correctness of the invasion but then letting herself off the hook with the statement: "How the hell am I going to judge it, all these miles away?"

Her statement that "The Trotskyists have yet to go through that kind of evaluation and examination of their history, and of drawing conclusions from all of it" has not the slightest basis in fact. The history of the Trotskyist movement from its origins as the Left Opposition through the Founding of the Fourth International to the activities of each of its sections up to the present day: all this is an open book to the international workers' movement.

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The conception of "socialism in one country," which had no foundation in Marxist theory, expressed the desire of these conservative forces to have done with the revolutionary struggles of the earlier period. It was, above all, a pragmatic outlook—one which saw the backwardness of Russian society as a limit which had to be accepted. Within those limits, the bureaucracy strived to defend its own interests at the expense of the international working class.

Stalin became the spokesman within the Bolshevik Party of this privileged strata not because he originally desired to play a counterrevolutionary role. Rather, it was his own limitations as a pragmatic thinker that led him to adopt conclusions which expressed the interests of the bureaucracy.

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Nothing so exposes Healey's defense of Stalinism as her continued support for the Moscow Trials. After having decided to pass over the crucial historical issues that lay at the heart of the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism, Healey says the following in relation to those trials:

"I still take the same position about the 1930s, which will really horrify you. That as horrible as those things were—the execution of two-thirds of the Central Committee of the Congress of Victory elected in 1934, the execution of the Politburo of the Bolshevik Revolution itself, the murder of peasants, of workers during that period, the reign of terror that operated; as horrible and outrageous as that was, I would still say, in the long eye of history, of how history will judge one or two hundred years from now, my party with its slogan to defend the Soviet Union was more principled, more correct, than the Trotskyists who were always for defending socialism except where it was—whose slogan 'Defend the Soviet Union' meant absolutely nothing."

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Czechoslovakia 1968

working class has his knife out for **What Is To Be Done?** Healey is not the first who seeks to pit "Twelve Years After" against one of Lenin's most imperishable contributions to the development of Marxism, **What Is To Be Done?**

The fact is, however, that Lenin directed the article "Twelve Years After" not against those who tended to place too much weight on **What Is To Be Done?** but precisely against those like Healey who sought to diminish the importance of the struggle against opportunism and all forms of bourgeois thinking within the workers' movement by latching on to certain formulations which deliberately "exaggerated" a number of points concerning organization in order to pose the theoretical struggle in the sharpest possible terms.

Criticizing those who attacked **What Is To Be Done?**, Lenin declared that events subsequent to the book's publication had proven its correctness. He wrote: "Unfortunately, many of those who judge our party are outsiders, who do not know of the subject, who do not realize that today the idea of an organization of professional revolutionaries has already scored a complete victory. That victory would have been impossible if this idea had not been pushed to the forefront at that time, if we had not 'exaggerated' so as to drive it home to people who were trying to prevent it from being realized."

Many people who had at one point been in the Communist Party found in the theme of "democracy" a good way of avoiding a serious assessment of Stalinism while appealing to every middle class and philistine hatred of Bolshevism. Against the measure of an amorphous democracy, they concluded that Trotskyism had nothing more to offer than Stalinism. What was characteristic of all these individuals was that they refused to examine the question of party democracy from the standpoint of pro-

gram and the historical development of the party.

In the same vein, Healey would like to portray Stalinism as the working out of an incorrect conception of democratic centralism, rather than the opportunist principles and counterrevolutionary practice of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which under Stalin destroyed democratic centralism in the Third International and transformed its sections into appendages of the Kremlin.

#### CP-USA

The most rotten product of the degeneration of the Comintern under Stalin was the American Communist Party, which committed crime after crime against the working class on the basis of instructions cabled from Moscow.

Without an assessment of this degeneration of the Comintern under Stalin, Healey's talk of party democracy means only her desire for personal independence from any responsibility to construct a revolutionary party. Her position is that the solution to what she calls Stalinism is no party at all. And Healey claims to be "A Communist without a party."

Dorothy Healey's refusal to make this assessment of the history of Stalinism cannot be attributed to any lack of information on the subject. By her own admission, she finds the "Cult of Personality" theory of Stalin's crimes advanced by Khrushchev to be totally inadequate, and at the same time she states that she has read almost every work by Trotsky available in English.

For these reasons, Healey's malicious attacks on Trotsky and the Fourth International—which grow ever more vehement in the course of the interview—can be explained only by her hatred of the political movement that fights Stalinism in the labor movement as it constructs the revolutionary leadership required by the

working class in this period.

Even as an ex-member of the Communist Party, Healey tries to lend a helping hand to the desperate Stalinists within the leadership of the movement who want to hide from their members and advanced workers the real contributions made by Trotsky to the October Revolution and the world Marxist movement. Within an amorphous milieu of radicals and "leftists," Healey will seek to contain the struggle against Stalinism within the most narrow limits while doing everything possible to discredit Trotskyism—and that includes cynical lying.

Healey told our reporter: "My dislike and contempt (of Trotskyism) is not based on whether the right thing was done in Germany 1923 or the Anglo-Soviet trade talks or China or on the question of whether or not you can build socialism in one country. None of that."

#### DECISIVE ISSUES

She could not have stated the matter more bluntly. Whether or not Trotsky was correct on the most decisive questions of the 1920s—the issues which shaped the fate of the working class internationally for decades—is of no importance to her.

But whether Healey cares to ignore these issues or not, it was precisely around these issues—Germany, England, China and the so-called "Theory of Socialism in One Country"—that the struggle between the tendencies known as Trotskyism and Stalinism developed. It was because of Trotsky's struggle against "socialism in one country" and the Stalinists' betrayal of great revolutionary opportunities in Europe and Asia during the 1920s that he was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and then exiled from the USSR.

If Trotsky was right on these questions—as indeed he was—then what remains of the Stalinist case against Trotskyism except the vile lies of the usurping

Soviet bureaucracy which ruthlessly revised Marxism and falsified history in order to preserve its special privileges against the interests of the Russian and world proletariat.

Because Healey does not dare face up to these historical issues, she tries to palm them off as "tactical" differences. We quote her again: "The fact that there are tactical alternatives by Trotsky that are different than Stalin's doesn't mean anything as far as methodology. Tactics can be this today, and with the wave of the hand, that tomorrow."

Does Healey expect anyone to believe that two tendencies could share the same methodology and still manage to have tactical differences of such magnitude as to persist for a half century as the historic foundation of a struggle that has involved the lives of millions in every country of the world?

One might just as well call the class struggle an unfortunate misunderstanding between labor and capital.

The analogy is not used for dramatic effect. Unless Healey openly proposes to abandon the materialist conception of history, the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism can be understood only as representative of opponent class forces within the international labor movement.

#### SELF-CRITICISM

Healey's refusal to address herself to these issues makes a mockery of her assertion that: "We communists went through a period of deep self-criticism and analysis of our history, and some communists maintained a grasp of what those weaknesses were—including what Stalinism represented on a world-wide scale."

We ask Healey point-blank: Where is the evidence of deep "self-criticism" anywhere in the Stalinist movement. Has it produced even one volume that actually gives a factually correct account of

from all of it" that Healey seeks to cut off whatever efforts are being made by individual members of the Communist Party and YWLL to break through the lies of their leadership to arrive at a true understanding of Stalinism and the real revolutionary perspectives being fought for by the Fourth International.

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this moment the destruction of the democratic rights of American workers and who will in the next period prepare the bombing of Moscow as he did the bombing of Hanoi is now being defended in the pages of Pravda. And this has led the Daily World to drop from its pages any call for Nixon's resignation or impeachment.

All this under the banner of "Peaceful Coexistence," the contemporary version of "Socialism in One Country."

Healey can hardly speak of the CP having gone through a period of "self-criticism" when she—who has left the party for being unable to raise her differences with the leadership—will not face up to the history of the movement of which she was a member for 30 years. Furthermore, as we have pointed out, much of what she says are merely the compilation of the old slanders.

Without this honest assessment, Healey remains not a "Communist without a party" but rather a Stalinist outside the CP. Healey has left the CP only to better be able to carry out policies that would produce defeats even more terrible for the working class than those of the 1930s.

In the course of the interview, Dorothy Healey told our reporter that she plans to spend a good deal of time writing "on the theoretical questions that I think are the most challenging and important."

This is quite significant because it is in the sphere of theory that Healey emerges so clearly as the defender and apologist of Stalinism. In her attacks on democratic centralism, her espousal of skepticism in relation to the knowability of the real world, and her hostility toward the struggle against idealist thinking both within the revolutionary party and the working class, Healey advances a pragmatic position that justifies the opportunist policies of the Stalinist CP.

Attacking **What Is To Be Done?** and democratic centralism, Healey argues favor of a party that accepts the consciousness of the working class as it spontaneously develops within bourgeois society. What she rejects is the struggle for dialectics against its immediate consciousness which is pragmatic.

While she covers these arguments with the references to party democracy which have already been discussed, Healey is really taking aim against the struggle of the Trotskyist movement for a revolutionary program in the working class. In particular, she wishes to justify the refusal of the Stalinists to fight for the construction of a labor party in the US in order to break the working class from the Democratic Party.

The battle for revolutionary perspectives in the working class brings the party as the conscious opposite in that class into conflict with its immediate thinking, and therefore poses the task of training as Marxists the new forces brought into open struggle by the crisis. What Healey denounces as "commandism" is precisely our fight against the pragmatic thinking dominating the workers' movement, and which has held it back from establishing its own party.

Healey attempts to portray Stalinism as a branch of Marxism by stating that "there are 57 different interpretations of what objective reality is, each one proclaiming themselves to be Marxists." But, as Lenin often wrote, the truth is concrete and therefore not determined by this or that interpretation but by the laws of motion governing the development of human society which were penetrated by Marx and Engels.

By stating that objective reality cannot be grasped, Healey takes an idealist stand against Marxism. Knowledge of the real world is derived by the Marxist movement grappling with the living contradictions of the class struggle through the constant fight to build the revolutionary leadership.

Instead, Healey "chooses" an interpretation which is then the yardstick against which all the facts—drawn arbitrarily from this or that impression—are measured. But these lifeless facts which flow from a conception of the world that excludes contradiction binds whoever thinks this way to the limits of the existing system.

It leads to the pragmatic practice of the opportunist, who sees capitalism as something indestructible and the thinking of the working class as something unchanging. Therefore, Healey calls "an ultimatum" those policies which pose the objective situation to the working class and conflicts with its present level of thinking to bring about a change in the practice of the working class.

Healey tells us: "You don't have the practice because you are unable to project a political line that is commensurate with what at any one point are the main trends among workers." In other words, the fight for the labor party cannot be taken forward because at this point workers vote Democrat.



Stalin

Not only does Healey ignore the tremendous changes actually taking place among workers, but she also would like to overlook the actual role played by the Stalinists in tying the workers to the capitalist parties. She openly lies when she states that the policy of the CP has always been for the labor party. No other force in the labor movement has led such a conscious struggle against this development as the Stalinists.

Dorothy Healey was a member of the CP during the period in the 1940s when the Stalinists pursued a policy of consciously liquidating the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota into the Democratic Party. In his recent pamphlet, **A Lame Duck in Troubled Waters**, Gus Hall openly admitted that the CP set out to destroy this independent organization and rebuild the shattered Democratic Party in the state. Hubert Humphrey owes his early political successes to the support given to him by the CP.

In 1948, the CP derailed the powerful movement for a labor party against Truman through its campaign for Roosevelt's ex-Vice President, Henry Wallace.

From every election between 1952 up to the last campaign, CP members actually canvassed for the Presidential candidates of the Democratic Party.

Healey herself was at the forefront of the pro-McGovern movement within the CP last year. She offers every Stalinist rationalization for not building a labor party, particularly the argument that the Democratic Party, while "national capitalist" in form, is to be supported because its content is the working class which remains under its influence.

We are dealing not with someone misguided by innocent misconceptions, but rather an individual who though outside the CP is still peddling the politics of Stalinism. In the midst of the greatest political crisis in history, Healey sets out to defend policies that could lead to the destruction of the working class.

Growing more vehement against the labor party, Healey dismissed the dangers revealed by Watergate. She seeks to use the very conspiracy that has now been exposed as an argument in favor of bourgeois democracy. Disagreeing with our reporter's statement that Watergate showed the preparation for dictatorship, Healey replied:

"A big, important section of the ruling class said to Nixon... 'No, no one-man dictatorship. No pro-fascist dictatorship from you, buddy.' We didn't expose Watergate. The left did not expose Watergate. That is why the left can't do a goddamn thing about it. In a moment of political crisis, the kind that this country

hasn't known, the left is impotent."

The lessons of Watergate are quite the opposite. Because of the enormous economic crisis, the ruling class is determined to smash the democratic rights and living conditions of workers in order to save the profit system. It is the weakness of the ruling class that lies beneath these preparations. But it is this weakness that creates the greatest dangers for the workers' movement because the capitalists now seek to rule in a different way.

It is the strength of the working class, not the dedication of the racist Senator Sam Ervin to "democracy," that has thrown the Nixon regime into its most profound crisis. But nothing would be more dangerous than to see the Watergate conspiracy as a finished chapter. The situation now facing the working class is more urgent than ever.

Nixon is preparing to defy the courts over the issue of the secret tapes. He has already defied the Congress by impounding funds and refusing to answer questions before the Ervin Committee. The role of the military has been expanded within the government by bringing General Alexander Haig directly into the White House.

It is at this critical juncture that the Communist Party drops its campaign against Nixon and ex-member Dorothy Healey sings the praise of the Democrats—who control the Congress but have done nothing to bring Nixon down.

It is the movement that Dorothy Healey was part of for 30 years that committed the greatest crimes against the working class—portrayed as "communist" policies by crass bureaucrats who spent most of their time persecuting revolutionaries and militants. To a large extent, the very political difficulties which the working class experiences today in breaking from its trade union bureaucracy and building a leadership that can defeat Nixon and put an end to the capitalist system are the products of the betrayals consciously engineered by the CP. McCarthy and Nixon were able to exploit "anti-communism" only because millions of workers associated the CP with the "no-strike" pledge, cynical sell-outs, and strong-arm tactics in their unions.

It is because the development of the labor movement in the United States occurred under the dominant influence of pragmatism, that the traditions of radicalism which express the influence of the middle class within the workers' movement have been very strong. The great upsurge of the working class in the 1930s represented a powerful movement to break beyond these limitations through the establishment of an independent political party based on the newly-formed industrial trade unions.

The Communist Party intervened in that period to destroy that development and to reinforce the pragmatic methods that held the working class back from a direct political struggle against the capitalist government. Healey, who lived through much of that era as a leader of the CP, defends pragmatism in order to prevent the working class from breaking from the influence of middle class radicalism and taking the historic step

forward of building a labor party.

In this light, it is significant that Healey bitterly denounces the Trotskyist movement for having in the 1930s worked within the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas in order to win over the best forces particularly among the youth from reformism to revolutionary politics. Her hatred of Trotskyism flows from its struggle against the influence of reformism within the working class.

Healey recalls this fight by the SWP in the 1930s because she is opposed to the struggle to destroy the influence of the reformist trade union bureaucracy within the labor movement today. She stands united with the Stalinists who prop up the very bureaucrats like Leonard Woodcock who collaborate with Nixon and betray the working class.

Now that the movement of the working class against the bureaucracy and Nixon is coming to the fore, Healey feels threatened as a middle-class radical and consciously belittles these struggles. Speaking to our reporter just days before the wildcats and sit-ins among Detroit Chrysler workers that have thrown the UAW negotiations into a crisis, she declares:

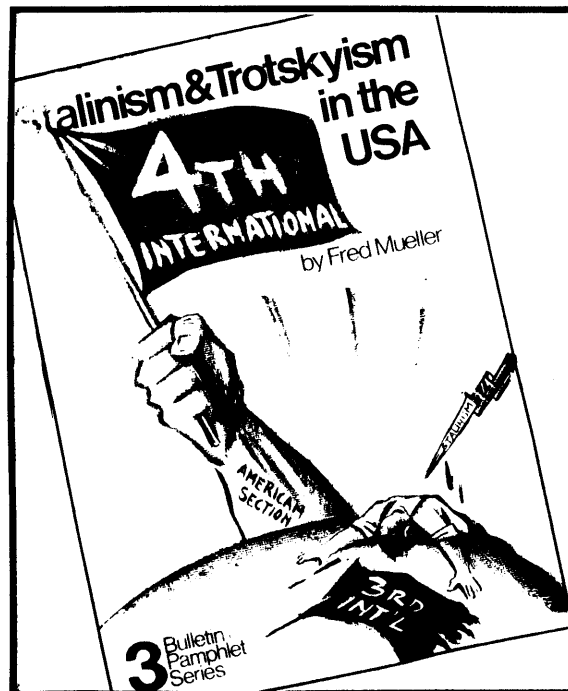
"Rank and file rebellions all over—where? Workers moving into struggle—where? Don't you think that the little activity which is happening today will be absorbed back into the labor movement under the dominance of the present labor bureaucracy?...There were more strikes in the 1950s than there are today."

Healey's outburst echoes those of the Socialist Workers Party, which she attacks for its roots in the history of Trotskyism. Her present pragmatic methods as a revisionist organization she shares. Like the SWP which has abandoned Marxism, Healey turns her back on the movement of the working class and opposes the struggle to construct the revolutionary leadership that is required by the crisis only to permit the Stalinists to carry out policies designed expressly for the purpose of defeating the American working class.

Dorothy Healey knows that this period is not the same as the 1950s. Her diatribes against Trotskyism are the product of her understanding that this crisis and the struggle of the working class brings to the surface all the great historical issues posed by the struggle against Stalinism that the Soviet bureaucracy and its agents in every country have tried to suppress for a half century.

These issues must arise today because they are linked to the fate of millions of workers in the United States and internationally. But they are being fought out today under conditions completely different from those of the 1930s, when defeat and the brutal grip of the Stalinist apparatus dominated the workers' movement. Now the undefeated strength of the international working class has placed world Stalinism in its deepest crisis.

It is under these conditions that the Workers League carries forward the fight for the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, at every point in that battle training a Marxist leadership through a relentless exposure of Stalinism and those, like Dorothy Healey, who defend it today.



**Stalinism & Trotskyism in the USA**  
by Fred Mueller \$ .75

Exposes the role of Stalinism in the United States through an examination of the historical questions which the memoirs of former CP member Al Richmond deliberately avoid. Also contains a section on the assassination of Trotsky with evidence linking the CP to the crime.



**Lou Belkin film**

**Lust For Oil**

**OKLAHOMA CRUDE.** Directed by S. Kramer. Photography by R. Surtees. Starring F. Dunaway, G. C. Scott, J. Mills and J. Palance.

One of the slickest films to emerge from Hollywood in the recent period is Stanley Kramer's *Oklahoma Crude*. Kramer manages to create a highly successful satire on women's lib and a revealing insight into the practices of the oil monopolies during the early years of the twentieth century.

Lena Doyle, very well played by Faye Dunaway—who gets stronger with each picture—is like thousands of other city people who make their way to the Oklahoma oil fields in the hope of striking it rich. Orphaned and raised by tight-fisted people, she is solid as granite, workmanlike and capable of mixing it up with the most rugged men around. She tends her solitary oil well, jerry-built and held together by a lot of faith.

The Pan American Oil Company, which has forced hundreds of oil drillers and settlers off their lands with intimidation, threats and actual brutal terror wants her rigging. Bu. they can't budge Lena.

Mase, played by George C. Scott, is an itinerant worker-hobo, basically part of a declassed section of society that settled the mining camps and oil operations, selling themselves to the highest bidder and capable of doing anything. Mase sees the opportunity of enriching himself, but also knows that he must settle for anything he can get. Like Lena, he is stubborn and physically powerful. Nothing phases him except being cheated. And then there is Lena, who has a bone to pick with all the men in the world. It is their relationship which dominates the picture, and it is one hell of a relationship.

The agent for the Pan American Company is played by the very talented Jack Palance. He is a sight to behold, absolutely ruthless, ferocious, clever and able to manipulate because of the fantastic amount of capital at his disposal. He travels with a posse of vigilantes recruited from the hobo camps and back areas of the South. It is this private goon squad which the oil barons needed to expand their territories and ensure an ever greater control of the petroleum market.

**USURP**

While it seems almost fantasy that Lena and Mase are able to withstand Palance's first attempt to capture the oil operation by using grenades to force the hoodlums back down the hill, eventually Palance reckons that as soon as oil gushes forth he will simply usurp everything and outbid the competitors.

But Kramer stops short of exposing the

real nature of capitalism in *Oklahoma Crude*, never relating the characters depicted in the movie to social forces and classes. The period of expanding American capitalism created the robber barons who drove settlers off their land, wiped out whole peoples and conquered fantastic amounts of land and resources. Kramer never ventures beyond the remark of a lawyer, retained by Lena to fight Pan American Oil, that they "own the courts."

Nevertheless, the story line is excellent and the tension very high. In *Oklahoma Crude* is some of the funniest dialogue we've heard and some real insights, particularly into the parasites who live off the labor of others.

Ironically, Palance later recruited men from the same hobo camp Mase came out of. At the picture's end Mase faces his cohorts and no one wins. The oil rigging proves a bust, and Lena and Mase, who by now have gotten very close if only in order to survive, decide to trek down to Mexico because the drilling is so good. What they were to eventually realize was that Pan American Oil, Southern Oil and the other monopolies were all over Mexico, South America and half the world.

It is this expansive period of American capitalism to which film makers today turn and while Kramer only touches the surface he presents the viewer with a very imaginative and funny yarn.



Above left: Lena Doyle. Top: rush to the gusher; inset, Pan American's agent played by Jack Palance. Bottom: Lena and Mase defend their oil.

**Alan Coombs film**

**HAIL TO THE CHIEF** Directed by Fred Levinson. Produced by Roy Townshend. Starring Dan Resin and Richard Shull.

*Hail to the Chief* is a highly sophisticated view of the hopelessness and despair of middle class radicalism. Winner of the first prize in the Cannes Film Festival in 1969, the film has not been allowed to be shown in this country until now, and with good reason.

The film is a scene by scene revelation of Nixon's—"Mr. President's"—scheming maneuvers to eliminate Congress, suspend elections, assassinate political enemies and place left-wing radicals in concentration camps. We are treated to these revelations through the experiences of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The Secretary first appears as a sincere man, slowly disillusioned and frightened by each new revelation.

First, he discovers that one of his Vista sites has been turned into a concentration camp for left-wing student

radicals. Extremely upset, he is assured by Nixon that there are and will be no others, only to later discover a transformation of yet another Vista site into a concentration camp. Before the Secretary's eyes, we learn that the President ordered the assassination of a Supreme Court Justice who was falling in with hippies and smoking pot.

But who is opposing the President? The film makes absolutely clear that it is not the working class, but only the middle class radicals. The working class is portrayed in only two contexts. The first is a scene where, during a protest against Nixon, students are physically attacked by construction workers with American flags on their hats. The only other context in the entire movie that the working class is seen in is as the President's personal servants who are either Black or Chinese. Nixon persistently makes racial slurs against them and their only retort is a stupid smile.

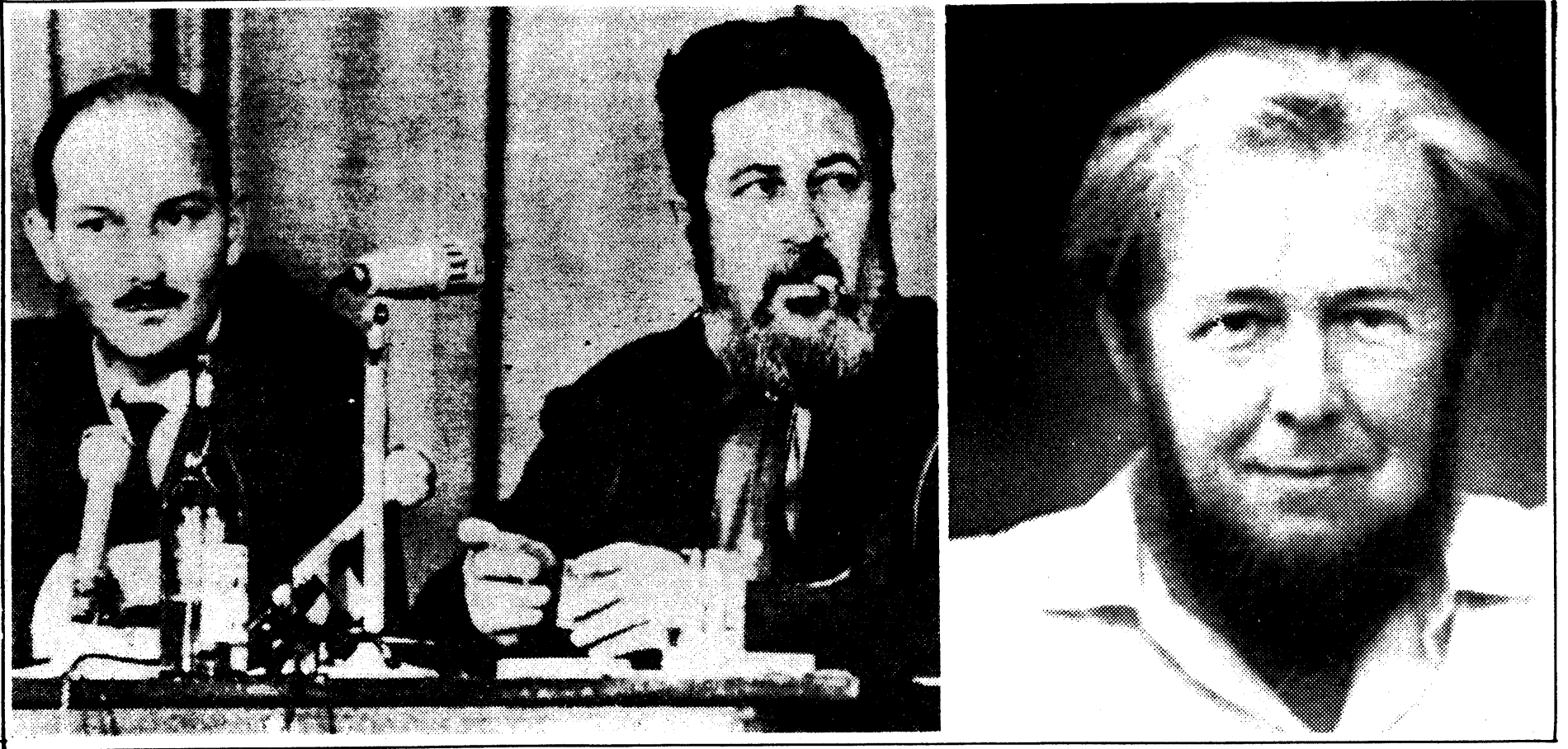
This vicious and reactionary view of the American working class is complemented by the impotency of the radicals against the all-powerful Nixon. We are treated to one scene where some of the radicals in a concentration camp are hypnotized into being the willing slaves of Nixon. This technique, which is pictured as completely successful, creates a police force of spies and federal troops who, for the most part, control the radicals. In another scene, the left-

**Radical Despair**

wingers are duped into negotiating with Nixon and as a result expose themselves to a raid at night by federal troops who exterminate a good number of them.

Who then is left to defeat the President? Yes, you've guessed it, the poor disillusioned Secretary of HEW. His own daughter, who is one of these radicals, is almost killed in the raid, and this helps him be convinced by Nixon's entire Cabinet that he must assassinate Nixon and then become the President himself. As it turns out, however, the scheme is just a trick by Nixon to catch the Secretary in an attempted assassination, implicate him in a grandiose plot of left-wing radicals to have this done, and then use this as an excuse to become dictator. But the Secretary fools him. He never fell for the trap. The bomb was not where it was supposed to be—in his briefcase. The Secretary makes an indignant speech before Nixon's Cabinet. As a sign of his indignancy he leaves his plastic leg, which was signed by Nixon, on the desk. With the help of his aides, he quickly hustles out of the room. The bomb, of course, is really in the leg. The President, as well as his entire Cabinet, is blown up.

But the thorough cynicism of the film leaves one with no illusions about the Secretary. As his helicopter leaves for the White House, we are treated to perhaps one of the most cynical laughs in motion picture history. It is quite clear that the dictatorship has been achieved, not by Nixon but by the Secretary of HEW.



Left: Viktor Krasin and Pyotr Yakir. Right: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

# Reviving Stalin's Show Trials

BY DAVID NORTH

The campaign against opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union took an ominous turn last week with the sentencing of two leading dissidents, Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, to three years each in a labor camp to be followed by another three years in remote exile.

During the week-long trial of the two men, all the monstrous procedures of the Moscow Trials of the 1930s have been recalled. Yakir, who has been held incommunicado by the secret police for over a year, has reportedly confessed to being associated, along with other dissidents, to a neo-fascist emigre organization that supposedly "supervises" all dissident activity within the Soviet Union.

Combined with the Soviet press' hysterical persecution of physicist Andrei Sakharov over the past few weeks and the latest official actions against novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the brutal reprisals against Yakir and the fabrication of an amalgam of dissidents and fascists is clear proof that the Kremlin bureaucracy is planning the most massive purge since the death of Stalin.

According to the confession attributed to Yakir, all the major dissident groups—particularly the Human Rights Committee headed by Sakharov—work under the wing of former Nazi collaborators called the NTS (Russian initials for People's Labor Union).

Yakir allegedly told the Soviet court that the program of the dissidents "was drafted by Garinin, one of the NTS leaders. It was in the NTS that the term 'democratic movement' was

born."

It is reported that Yakir went on to say that the Frankfurt based emigre organization had recruited agents from within the dissident movement to overthrow the Soviet Union.

## MOSCOW TRIALS

As the Stalinist bureaucracy moves to crush all opposition, it does not hesitate to revive the methods of distortion and fabrication that were developed during the bloody Moscow Trials. Before his arrest in June of 1972, Yakir, a 50-year-old historian, had told supporters that if they heard of any "confessions" on his part, they could assume he had been broken by imprisonment and systematic torture.

The very fact that the secret police violated Soviet law by holding Yakir without trial beyond the limits of the legal code makes it very likely that physical force was used to extract this confession—if he actually made it.

Yakir, whose father was the great Soviet general summarily executed in the blood purge of June 1937 as an agent of Hitler and later rehabilitated by Khrushchev, spent his entire childhood and early manhood in a prison camp for striking a member of the secret police when they came to arrest his father. Yakir was not released until after Stalin's death 16 years later.

It is against the background of Yakir's trial, which was given unusual publicity, that the press has orchestrated a vicious campaign against Sakharov, long known as the leading developer of the Soviet H-bomb.

## WARNING

The latest campaign began after Sakharov defied an August 16 warning by the Kremlin not to discuss the wave of repression within the USSR. Declaring that he did not recognize the "institution of warning" as practiced by the KGB, Sakharov went ahead with his press conference.

At this conference, Sakharov spoke out against the detente between the United States and the Soviet Union because "it might lead to very hard consequences inside the country and contaminate the whole world with the anti-democratic peculiarities of our society."

Sakharov's remarks show that he has dangerous illusions about capitalist democracy, to which he appeals as a moral force against the bureaucratic despotism of the Kremlin clique.

Like many other courageous dissidents who have been cut off from the real history of Bolshevism by decades of Stalinist rule, Sakharov idealizes bourgeois democracy instead of recognizing that the restoration of democratic rights for the Soviet working class can be achieved only through the overthrow of the parasitic bureaucracy in a political revolution. This task requires the construction of a Marxist party in the USSR as part of the Fourth International.

Therefore, when Sakharov deplores the deals between Nixon and Brezhnev on the grounds that they might lend moral support to the repressions of the bureaucracy, he turns the real meaning of the "detente" upside-down.

The Soviet Stalinists, who are presently entertaining Prince Philip and other members of the British royal family in Moscow, are not persecuting Sakharov because of his false and confused notions about bourgeois democracy. Rather, Sakharov has become the number one target of the bureaucracy's wrath because he has linked the collaboration of Brezhnev and Nixon to the stepped-up repression of dissidents.

Because it is able to preserve its privileges only through serving the interests of imperialism with the policies of "peaceful coexistence," the bureaucracy lashes out at any threat to those policies. It fears that Sakharov's outspoken criticism of detente—however con-

fused—will open the way for the development of politically directed opposition within the Soviet Union to the Kremlin's collaboration with world imperialism.

## BUREAUCRACY

Through its policies of "detente" and "peaceful coexistence," the bureaucracy maintains itself by serving the interests of imperialism. These policies involve the strangling of revolutionary movements internationally by the Stalinists and therefore brings them into conflict with the interests and movement of the working class in every country, including the Soviet Union.

It is the very depth of collaboration between the Stalinists and imperialism, reflected particularly in Brezhnev's visit to the arch-criminal Nixon, that lies behind the repressions against Yakir, Krasin and Sakharov himself.

The case of Sakharov posed special problems for Brezhnev because of the brilliant physicist's stature. As a member of the prestigious Academy of Sciences, the Kremlin has been hesitant to move against him. Furthermore, it feared that action against leaders of the Soviet scientific community would recall damning parallels to the crimes committed by Stalin against the greatest Russian scientists.

However, during the past months, Sakharov has been increasingly isolated. Two other leading scientists, the physicist Valeri Chalidze and the geneticist Zhores Medvedev, have been recently deprived of their passports while abroad. Both men were active in Sakharov's Human Rights Committee. The Kremlin would now like to eliminate Sakharov as the last leading scientist functioning openly as a dissident.

## DANGER

The danger to the very lives of Sakharov and all oppositionists are reflected in the letter-writing campaign organized in the

Soviet Press. One such letter said: "We will not permit (Sakharov) to eat bread, the product of our difficult labor, and to serve the sworn enemies of our motherland, the enemies of peace and happiness for all simple people on the earth."

It was with letters such as that one that Stalin flooded the Soviet press whenever he prepared a new wave of purges.

Solzhenitsyn, who two weeks ago was barred from living in Moscow, has called public attention to the murderous preparations of the Kremlin's secret police.

Referring to the fact that he is under constant surveillance by the police, Solzhenitsyn told the Associated Press:

"If for example, a letter that reaches me by post blows up, it will be impossible to explain why it didn't explode before in the hands of the censor.

"And since for a long time I have not suffered from serious diseases, and since I don't drive a car and since because of my convictions under no circumstances of life will I commit suicide, then if I am declared killed or suddenly mysteriously dead, you can infallibly conclude, with 100 percent certainty, that I have been killed with the approval of the KGB or by it."

## DESPERATION

The preparations for these crimes, which reveal the desperation of the Stalinist bureaucracy as it seeks to carry out its betrayals in the face of powerful resistance by the international working class, are openly supported by the American Communist Party.

In the Daily World of August 29 and August 30, the CP uncritically reprinted the charges levelled against Yakir and Sakharov. The question that must be now raised is whether the leadership of the Communist Party will defend these latest witch-hunts as it did the Moscow trials, the fraudulent "Doctors Plot," the murder of Czechoslovak communists in 1952, and every other Stalinist crime.

# Police, Fascists Attack German Strikers

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The giant Ford plant in Cologne, West Germany, is now being patrolled by armed riot police in the wake of last Thursday night's full-scale attack on striking workers.

More than 200 auto workers had been injured by 1000 riot police who co-ordinated their bloody assaults with another 1000 plainclothesmen and fascists.

Immigrant workers from Turkey, who had played a leading role in the wildcat strike which had erupted last week, were hit with broken bottles and iron bars.

Completely deserted by the trade union bureaucracy, the plant's eleven-man strike committee is in prison. The Social Democratic government of Willy Brandt plans to deport the seven Turks on the committee and put the four German members on trial.

The attack on the strikers was prepared at a secret meeting of industrialists which was attended by Brandt. An hysterical witch-hunt atmosphere has been generated by the press, which has repeatedly charged that outside agitators are responsible for the wave of wildcats that have swept across the industrial heartland of West Germany.

Already engaged in fruitless attempts to end the four-month-

old work action by pilots, the Brandt government is terrified by the prospect that the wildcats will lead to a general strike situation by the time the national contracts of the major unions expire this winter.

Behind the spontaneous strikes is the wild inflation of close to 10 percent annually that is ripping into the living standards of German workers. The Ford workers are fighting for an increase of one mark an hour.

While this series of wildcat strikes—which also involves 19,000 workers at Opel and several thousand other members of the I.G. Metall union—now must transform the political situation in Germany, the implications of the auto workers' strike is international.

It is part of an international offensive by the working class against an uncontrollable inflation that is international in scope.

Just as events in Cologne were unfolding, Ford workers in the Dagenham plant in Great Britain battled management personnel and occupied offices at the plant as they demanded payment for a full shift.

And in the United States, tre-



Top: German workers demonstrate outside Ford plant in Cologne, West Germany, as police aided by fascist thugs (bottom photos) attack strikers.

mendous pressure is building up among auto workers at Ford, General Motors and Chrysler for a national strike on September 14 to defend living conditions that are being torn apart by Nixon's deliberate use of inflation against workers' standard of living.

All the strikes in Germany have been characterized by tremendous solidarity between native born and immigrant workers. Employers are especially alarmed by the fact that the immigrant workers from Turkey are leading strikes in spite of threats to withdraw their visas.

The wildcat strikes are unusual for Germany, where the trade union bureaucracy has worked so closely with the Social Democrats to hold back the militancy of the ranks. However, the rebellion against the bureaucratic apparatus now brings German workers into direct conflict with Brandt who is under tremendous pressure from his liberal partners in the coalition to enact new laws against

the unions as well as wage controls.

The role of social democracy is clearly exposed by Brandt. He was placed in office with the unprecedented support of the German working class which has defended him time and again against efforts by the right-wing opposition—the Christian-Democratic Union (CDU)—to force him out. In April 1972, spontaneous political strikes swept the country when the CDU tried to force a vote of no-confidence in Brandt through the German parliament.

But it was precisely this massive political strike in defense of the Social Democrats that has prompted Brandt to move rapidly to the right, strengthening the police and blaming the strike movement on "outside agitators."

## FRENZY

The reactionary German press is in a virtual frenzy over the wildcats. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, a leading CDU newspaper, wrote last week:

"Wildcat strikes are sinister: they cannot be foreseen; they are outside the control of the wages policy. That is why both the trade unions and the employers fear them.

"In the process of erosion, radical elements could decisively determine wages and social policy. Their aim is not social progress in the framework of our liberal economic system, but rather the overthrow of the existing order."

Brandt is now engaged in secret negotiations with business leaders in Frankfurt and Bonn. In his collaboration with the same capitalist class which financed Hitler's march to power, Brandt is emulating the notorious policies of the Social Democrats in the days of the Weimar regime.

The task before German workers is to force Brandt to break up the coalition with the liberals, establish a Social-Democratic government, and implement socialist policies as the only solution to the economic crisis.





# 100 Million Face Starvation In India

BY MELODY FARROW

Two years of drought, soaring prices and now floods in northern India have brought death by starvation to the poor peasants and laborers, creating revolutionary ferment throughout this vast country.

The drought hit 100 million people with famine and not only wiped out last year's crop but made it impossible to plant the next one in the parched earth. The monsoon floods have left hundreds dead, ten million homeless and destroyed over five million acres of land.

Food riots have swept Bombay and Bhopal where last month eight people were killed by Ghandi's police.

The suffering of the Indian people, 40 percent of whom live below the poverty line, is not due to natural disasters but to the refusal of Ghandi's Congress Party to break the grip of the large landowners and capitalists who keep the masses in feudalism for their own profit and privilege.

The situation is so serious that one of the government's top leaders, Giri, declared that conditions were worse than those which existed in the prisons of British imperialism during the struggle for independence.

## HOARDING

The half hearted action of the government last October to take state control of the sale of wheat, rice and other basic commodities in order to eliminate hoarding and speculation has changed nothing.

In doing this, Ghandi answered her "left" critics by declaring, "I am determined to lead the country on the path of socialism but the conception that socialism can only be built by nationalization is completely outmoded."

The well to do farmers have gotten around these measures by moving their commodities from the "ration shops" where rice is supposed to sell at 1.75 rupees per kilogram to the open market where it is sold for as high as 3.50 rupees per kilogram. Prices have gone up 20 percent this year.

Because of hoarding and the black market the government's target of a daily food ration of 4 ounces of rice and 3 ounces of wheat per person hasn't materialized. When the estate owners did release their produce, the government allowed them to sell it at 2.10 rupees per kilogram.

This has led to a situation where the poor of India must survive on a handful of rice a day and where the basic resource, drinking water, is sold at two to three rupees a pot. The "untouchables," the bottom rung of a caste system which Ghandi has done nothing to alter, are not even allowed to use water from the wells of the higher castes.

In the arrogant words of one wealthy landowner: "If you improve the lot of the peasants, you will have no more laborers."

The much trumpeted "Green Revolution" in agriculture has only benefited a small percentage of middle class peasants but most cannot afford the expensive investment in the high yield seeds, fertilizers and equipment that are necessary. This program has in fact forced tens of thousands off the land, transforming them into landless agricultural workers.



Thus, less than two years after the Bangladesh war which won Ghandi a resounding re-election victory, her popularity is at its lowest. The Congress Party faces the greatest crisis in its history.

On August 15, when Ghandi spoke on the occasion of India's national holiday, crowds greeted her with signs saying "We want rations, not speeches" and "Down with Poor People" a sarcastic twist on Ghandi's campaign promise, "Down with Poverty."

On August 9, 1000 children were organized to demonstrate in front of Ghandi's home against the rise in food prices.

In a local election in Tamil Nadu in the south, a Congress Party candidate only received two percent of the vote. The provincial governments in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa have collapsed.

The contempt for the Con-



Top: Relatives of landless laborers—untouchables—who were murdered in village of Chouri, in Bihar, northeastern India. Villagers say landlords hired police to kill the four men. Left: Infants in India get their meager rations.

gress Party was summed up by one poor peasant, struggling to stay alive during the famine who said: "They come to see me when they need my vote in elections but there is no longer anyone to give me work when I am hungry."

## REVOLT

Amid this suffering and misery, a new wind is sweeping India. Today the young laborers, peasants and unemployed are rising up in revolt against centuries of backwardness and poverty imposed by capitalism. The new situation is starkly expressed by the events last May in Chouri, a town in the northeastern province of Bihar.

In Chouri, out of 200 families, only 25 belong to the upper caste and own more than 500 acres of fertile land.

Landowners hired the police to kill four young landless laborers who tried to organize the peas-

ants to demand one acre of land instead of one half acre and a larger payment of food. Two of the young workers had just returned from the large cities where they failed to find work.

The mother of one of the youth, Lal Mohar, explained what happened: "He ran, he begged for water, he was bleeding. I said my son, my young one, what have they done? They put a knife to his throat. He died."

The incident created such an outcry that the Cabinet in New Delhi pledged to send an investigating team but the people of Chouri say that no one ever came.

## STALINISTS

This regime has been propped up at every point not only by the landowners but by the faithful servility of the Indian Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy. Even now, the

Stalinists can only manage the slightest hint of reproach at Ghandi's policies.

It is not, as the Stalinists claim, that Ghandi is just a victim of foreign imperialism. She has consciously refused to make even modest land reforms because it would challenge the parasitic interests of the landed aristocracy. As part of the weak Indian bourgeoisie she is totally dependent on foreign capital and allows the economy to be controlled by foreign companies who make fantastic profits by exploiting the Indian people for their cheap labor.

## CHANGE

The most fundamental democratic and economic changes can only take place through socialist revolution in which poor peasants and workers can be united by a revolutionary party.

As an activist in Bihar told a reporter: "...People are saying Chouri will not be an isolated incident, that more and more of the landless will demand something decent for their lives... Perhaps some of these people have reached the limit of their endurance."

# IBT Keeps St. Louis Papers Shut

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—The treacherous role of the Teamsters bureaucracy is being revealed once again in the strike of 200 workers of Local 610 against the city's two major daily newspapers.

Fitzsimmons has stuck with Nixon through thick and thin. During Phase Two he was the only union bureaucrat to remain on the Pay Board with corporation and government representatives

and he donated funds to Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. Today, Charles Colson, one of the chief organizers of the Watergate bugging conspiracy, is still employed by Fitzsimmons at \$20,000 per year.

## 400 Teachers Cut Out In St. Louis

BY A REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 4—The School Board here has eliminated 400 teaching positions in a cost cutting drive which is literally destroying the school system.

All of the eliminated positions were held by teachers who retired or resigned last year.

Already, in some city schools like Summer High, programs such as music have been cut. In Soldan, Beaumont and Vashon, where the paint is peeling from the ceiling and classes of 35 and 40 are common, these new cuts, which include slashes in building funds, will make it impossible for anyone to get a decent education.

St. Louis teachers are also afraid the School Board's budget cutting binge will mean the loss of a \$400 a year raise promised after the six week teachers' strike last winter. The increase was supposed to begin this semester and teachers here are anxiously awaiting their first paychecks.

Other points in the contract won in the strike are also in dispute and strike action could follow a refusal of the school board to pay the salary increase.

The recently signed Teamsters pact covering over-the-road drivers, negotiated by Fitzsimmons, allowed a 4.3 percent annual increase. At the time, the most conservative government figures indicated an overall inflation rate greater than nine percent annually and it is rising even more rapidly.

Although this pact covers directly only over-the-road drivers, this settlement is the guideline followed by many contracts with Teamsters. In St. Louis, over 1500 members of Teamsters Locals 610, 618 and 688 have been on strike or locked out in a struggle to defend their living standards during July and August.

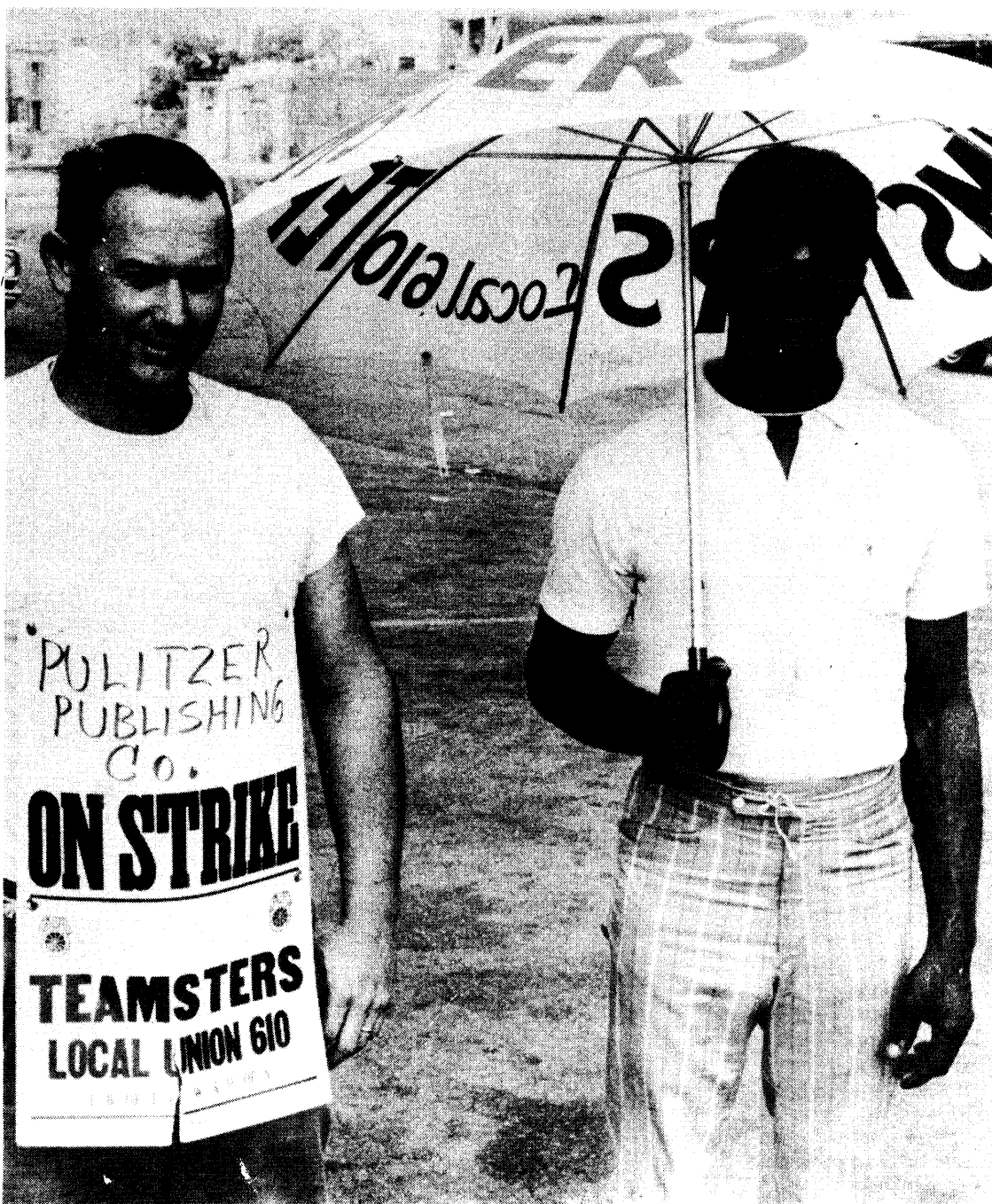
### SHUT DOWN

Production of both major daily newspapers in St. Louis has been shut down for over two weeks when 200 members of Teamsters Local 610 struck over a contract dispute. The dispute centers over the manning of the loading dock where 26 men are presently working.

In the new contract, the Pulitzer Publishing Company, owner of the St. Louis Post Dispatch and printer for the St. Louis Globe Democrat are demanding that these men be removed from the jurisdiction of Local 610.

"This is to enable the company to start laying off men," reported one of the Local 610 pickets to the Bulletin. "They want to do this all over the plant as soon as they get the bugs out of the new presses."

The Pulitzer Publishing Company has recently installed very modern offset presses and moved into new premises in St. Louis County. The company will be trying to lay off as many as they can in all sections of the



St. Louis Teamsters strike to defend their living conditions. Fitzsimmons' betrayals have permitted unprecedented attacks by companies and government over the summer months.

plant. This move against the Teamsters is the first attempt to break the unions in the printing industry.

Although all the 2200 Post Dispatch employees are locked out, the Teamsters 610 leadership have refused to give any lead to unite the 20 odd unions covered in this shop against the attempted union busting taking place, or even to expose the clear intentions of the company to their own members.

### SECRECY

The negotiations are taking place with a federal mediator in the utmost secrecy. All the union bureaucrats interviewed by the Bulletin refused to comment on any of the demands of Local 610. This secrecy will only aid the company in winning its demands.

Other sources have reported that the union is demanding a \$1.25 per hour wage increase over three years, as well as

some improvement in fringe benefits. The company has offered 95 cents, but is demanding drastic revisions of the jurisdiction of Teamsters Local 610.

Other members of this local were on strike against four independent grocery warehouses, including Tomboy and IGA. Here the dispute centered on wages. Traditionally these members have followed the over-the-road drivers covered by Local 600 in St. Louis.

In 1970, Local 610 drivers did not receive the full wage increase won by Local 600 drivers after the wildcat strike. This year the Local 610 men were demanding a catch-up increase over and above the 95 cents settled for by Local 600.

The smaller grocery chains, fighting for their life in this period of massive food price rises, attempted to hold out against this increase and the Local 610 members went on strike for over two weeks.

No opposition within the Teamsters Union has been able to match Fitzsimmons' bureaucratic maneuvering. Harold Gibbons, Teamsters International Vice President and former Secretary-Treasurer of Local 688 in St. Louis, was considered his main opposition within the bureaucracy. Because of his reformist ideology, Gibbons threw all his support behind McGovern in the 1972 elections and openly embraced many of the popular liberal movements such as the peace movement.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party and the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party gave their support to this "left" bureaucrat. But Gibbons' pro-

gressive cover was quickly removed when Fitzsimmons organized a faction in Local 688 which threatened to expose Gibbons' own bureaucratic maneuvers if he did not resign. Gibbons was ousted from his own local without even a whimper. He had no basis to mobilize his own members for his defense.

A number of centrist tendencies have attempted to organize opposition caucuses. These include Teamsters Union Rank and File (TURF), organized mainly in the Southwest, as well as Rank and File Team in St. Louis Local 688. Based on no program except an opposition to the high wages of the union bureaucrats, they only provide a left cover for the present leadership. All these caucuses have been disbanded or are in disarray.

The defense of the Teamsters Union can only be carried forward by building a new leadership in the fight against the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy and their betrayals. Only the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for this perspective as part of the struggle for a 20 percent wage increase in every contract to meet the massive price rises and a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay to fight against unemployment.

Teamsters must be mobilized not only in militant struggles but in a political struggle against Nixon and the Democratically controlled Congress which has approved each of Nixon's phases. This requires the convening of a Congress of Labor including the UAW and all the AFL-CIO unions, as well as the Teamsters, for the task of constructing a labor party.

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# Teachers Strike Detroit Schools

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT, Wednesday, Sept. 6—One day before the official opening of Michigan public schools, more than 25,000 teachers have gone on strike, including 10,500 in the Detroit area. Yesterday morning, Detroit teachers went directly from a mass meeting of over 4000 to throw up pickets around every school in the city. Many more strikes across Michigan are expected by the end of the week.

At the center of the dispute are the teachers' demands for a 9.7 percent wage hike the first year and a cost of living clause. Teachers are also demanding a limit on class size.

The teachers, whose last wage increase was six percent in 1971, are also resisting the School Board's attempt to put through

## IAM Local Demands Labor Congress

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO—The Tool and Die Makers Union Local 133 of the International Association of Machinists has sent a statement to Floyd Smith, president of the IAM, urging him to "call a conference of as many big unions as possible to deal with the outstanding issues facing the labor movement."

While the resolution does not call for a labor party, it states: "Labor can have no confidence in either political party, but can only go forward through its own resources."

The movement of the working class is shown in what the bureaucrats themselves have to say about what they consider to be "union problems." One business agent explained that "for various reasons" a "consensus crisis" had arisen in the unions over the past several years. This was shown in "the tendency of the membership to automatically reject anything we propose regardless of the merits of the issue."

In discussing the problems of unity within the union at a recent stewards meeting, directing business agent Victor Horvat made an extraordinary confession of the problems he faces.

"Do you think all of our shops are friendly? I walk into some shops and it's like walking into a snake pit. It's like black death walked in the door. They hate me. They hate me like no one else in the whole world."

an "accountability" clause, which would give arbitrary powers of discipline and dismissal to the Board over teachers.

The Board attempted today to open schools, but Detroit Federation of Teachers President Mary Ellen Riordan declared the strike to be 95 percent effective.

In the face of possible court action against the strike, teacher unity is strong despite attempts by the reactionary Black nationalist religious group, the Shrine of the Black Madonnas, to persuade Black teachers to scab on the strike.

The Shrine, dominated by middle-class Blacks, is lining up with the School Board, falsely claiming that the strike is against the interests of Black children and teachers. In fact, the teachers are demanding more money and teachers for Detroit's decaying school system.

The School Board is attempting to activate the reactionary Public Employees Act, which prohibits strikes by city employees. Conditions are rapidly being created for a sharp confrontation including mass arrests of teachers, such as happened in the Philadelphia teachers strike.

Tom Turner, President of the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council, said Wednesday: "If they try to keep the schools open by bringing in scabs, we will apply basic principles of trade unionism. This is a labor city." Marcellus Ivory from Region One of the UAW was also present at a meeting with the School Board.

The School Boards are not merely trying to hold wages down. In nearby Hamtramck, the city fathers are trying to bust the Hamtramck teachers union, which won the first negotiated contract in the state after a 4-day sit-down strike in 1965.

With an auto strike imminent in Detroit's Chrysler plants over the same issues of wages, working conditions, and job security, the UAW and AFL-CIO have the responsibility to support the teachers in action. Under these conditions, the need for a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party against the labor-hating Democrats and Republicans is clearly posed.



St. Louis Young Socialists.

## Illinois Teachers Demand 10 Percent Wage Increase

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO, Sept. 5—Local 1274 of the American Federation of Teachers picketed for the second day today, blocking the opening of high schools in suburban Niles, Illinois. Picket lines at the three high schools at 7 a.m. Tuesday were 93 percent effective against the planned Teacher Preparation Day.

Niles teachers joined those in many other Illinois districts in disputes centered on key demands. Teachers in Alton, an Illinois suburb of St. Louis, and Jerseyville, struck for two days before reaching agreement.

Teachers in Mascoutah were out five days. Teachers in Peoria are back to work temporarily under a circuit court injunction brought by the Peoria School Board after picketing last week. Negotiations in Niles township broke down Sunday night.

The dispute, according to Charles Burdeen, information officer of the union local, centers around grievance procedures, additional duties for teachers, and salary increases. The union is demanding a 10 percent wage increase the first year, and raises equal to the cost of living for the next two years.

The Board's offer is eight percent the first year, and three percent plus one half of the cost of living increase above three percent for the remaining years. The Board's offer also eliminates paid supervisors for non-classroom periods and proposes that teachers take these responsibilities.

Today was to be the first day of school for the 7600 students that attend Niles North, East and West High Schools. But Mrs. Shirley Gardner, School Board President, said: "We won't try to open the schools until the teachers come back."

Nationally, thousands of teachers are on strike under the impact of savage budget cuts and the summer's record inflation. The AFT and the National Education Association must unite all teachers now in national strike action in order to defend job rights and the very right to free education.

## Dayton Workers Demand Fight

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON, Ohio—As the negotiations proceed nationally in the United Auto Workers, International Union of Electrical Workers here are very much affected by the upheavals taking place in auto.

Workers at Chrysler Airtemp, a member of IUE Local 775, which makes air conditioners for Chrysler autos, are fed up with the speedup and layoffs that have been occurring at the plant for the last year and a half. Now, faced with skyrocketing inflation, the workers are expressing their willingness to fight back and are eagerly following the developments in Detroit.

Robert Preston, president of IUE Local 755 at Delco Products, which makes accessories for General Motors cars, who earlier said wages will be way down on the list of local demands, is now forced to issue a statement placing a "substantial wage increase" at the top of the list, but he still remains vague as to what that "substantial" demand will be.

The situation at Frigidaire, a division of GM, (IUE Local 801), is again erupting with re-escalated speedup while Arnold Thompson, president of the local, refuses to confront the effects of the wage cut and the split it brought about between the automotive and appliance workers who make up the local.

In the confrontation that is bound to come between GM and the workers in spite of Woodcock's attempt to postpone that conflict, automotive workers will need the support of the appliance workers, who have been battling GM's speedup.

In the appliance section, workers are being driven to the wall not only by the intense speedup, but by the wage cut and the cessation of any cost of living increases for almost two years.

In the meantime, Frigidaire rushes to produce a "bank" of V.I.R. valves, used in the compressors for GM auto air conditioners. At present, 20,000 units a day are being put out, with plans to increase to 28,000 a day. An extension to Plant 1 south (Moraine) is being built. Workers are on rotating overtime, putting in six to seven days a week, 12 hours a day.

A Frigidaire automotive worker told the Bulletin the UAW should be striking GM first since it controls the auto industry. The high seniority workers who make up the auto division refuse any attempts to speed them up. These workers will not accept the government wage limitations when overtime is ended.

The tremendous force of the two sections of Frigidaire must be united and brought forward along with the militancy of the Chrysler and Delco workers in a political struggle with the government that has to develop in the auto struggle which is now coming to a head.