

Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THIRTY EIGHT 313

OCTOBER 5, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

FIFTEEN CENTS

Stoppage Cripples Chrysler



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EXCLUSIVE TO THE BULLETIN

BY DAVID NORTH

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Minutes after the strike officially began, however, a settlement was announced by the International, which had assumed control of the negotiations after the deadline had passed.

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As they stormed out the plant, the Huber Foundry ranks were keenly aware of their ability to defeat the company.

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has created explosive conditions in the plants and is bringing thousands of rank and file workers into open conflict with the Woodcock bureaucracy.

A powerful movement is now developing within the ranks for a strike against the contract terms not only in Chrysler but in Gen-

(Continued On Page 9)

Bulletin Twice-Weekly Fund \$19,872 Starts Fund Drive

We are happy to announce that we have gone over the one-third mark on our fund drive with a grand total of \$19,872.61 towards our \$50,000 Bulletin Twice-Weekly Launching Drive.

We wish to thank the following branches: all New York branches, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, New Haven, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minnesota branches, Dayton, Detroit, Bay Area branches, Portland, and Claremont.

We must now fight for \$33,000 by November 1 in order to ensure the great strides forward now being

made by the twice-weekly Bulletin. This requires \$3500 per week from now on in.

In The Midweek Issue

Special feature on the history of the betrayals of Stalinism and revisionism in Ceylon and the lessons of Chile. Also, a special report on the historic meeting held by the Workers League to launch the twice-weekly Bulletin.

WORKERS WAGE DOWN \$3.15

BY OUR ECONOMIC
REPORTER

Nixon and the employers have begun the most determined wage-cutting offensive since the 1930s.

Led by Chrysler, the employers are trying to enforce a three percent wage limit. Nixon and the courts stand behind them with the government's own 5.5 percent wage limit and with anti-strike injunctions.

Meanwhile, the Cost of Living Council has announced its approval for a wide range of new price increases, with many more to follow.

Rising prices have already cut the worker's average weekly paycheck by \$3.15 since October 1972, in terms of what it will actually buy.

Combined with this attack on wages, Nixon and the bosses are making plans for widespread layoffs leading to unemployment in the tens of millions and the most brutal speedup for those remaining in the plants.

Workers cannot allow this attack on their living standards to continue. A new leadership must be developed in the unions to fight back.

A Congress of Labor must be called immediately to construct a labor party to force Nixon and Agnew out of office and fight for political power on socialist policies which will defeat the bosses' offensive.

The Cost of Living Council this week announced it is allowing increases in paper and paper products of from 4 to 17 percent. Soaps and detergents will rise in price over 9 percent, while tires can now increase up to 4.9 percent.

In addition, Volkswagen is upping its prices an average of 14 percent, due to Nixon monetary policies, making the Beetle 31 percent more expensive now, at \$2625, than at the beginning of the year, when it cost \$1999.

Even greater increases are in store, since the worldwide inflation has caused enormous increases in the prices of raw materials.

GRAIN

Grain prices increased at an annual rate of 834 percent in August, and feeds shot up over a thousand percent at an annual rate. Farm prices in September.

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Daily World Slanders Trotskyists To Cover Betrayal In Chile

The American Communist Party has opened a vicious slander campaign in their press against Trotskyism. The purpose of this campaign is to cover the conscious betrayal of Stalinism in Chile.

In the September 29 issue of the *Daily World* the CP prints a cartoon shown here attempting to link the *Bulletin* and Soviet opposition to the CIA.

Over half of this same issue is devoted to a defense of the criminal role of the Chilean Communist Party and the Popular Unity government. The editorial states:

What We Think

"Those who now attempt to use the grievous wounds suffered by the Chilean people and their organizations to serve so-called 'revolutionary' ends are, in fact, sabotaging the cause of

anti-imperialism.

"Déclaration of 'revolutionary' phrases—whose main target is the Communist Party of Chile—is not anti-imperialist, but simply counterrevolutionary.

"The make-believe that imperialism can be defeated by 'leftist' grouplets with guns but without people—the main content of today's 'revolutionary' phrasemongering—is at best, mindless 'revolutionism.' The doctrine that the struggle against imperialism and for socialism requires guns but not people is a fraud."

The stark reality of the struggles in Chile is that the Stalinists deliberately engineered the defeat of the working class, as they will seek to engineer the defeat of workers throughout the world.

This is what the Stalinists did in the 1930s in Germany and Spain. This is what the CP is desperately trying to hide with its lies.

The betrayal in Chile was consciously carried out in the interests of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. This bureaucracy bases its survival on its expropriation of the political power of the working class in the Soviet Union and on peaceful coexistence with world imperialism.

It was only a few months ago that Brezhnev traveled to the US to embrace Nixon, the man who ordered the coup for imperialism.

The bureaucracy fears and hates the working class whose revolutionary struggles now threaten to disrupt "peaceful coexistence."

Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, and the Moscow Trial



"THIS JOB IS VERY EASY... PART OF THE 'LEFT' IS DOING OUR WORK FOR US!"

Cartoon from the *Daily World*.

style confessions of Yakir have been launched since the bureaucracy's open moves towards an alliance with Nixon and US imperialism.

The betrayal in Chile was prepared by these attacks. They are fully supported by the CP.

From the very beginning, the bureaucracy in Moscow bolstered the capitalists in Chile. Allende and the Stalinists disarmed the working class politically through the Popular Front and its cabinet, preventing the independent struggle of the working class for power.

Allende and the Stalinists disarmed the working class physically by sending the army, police, and Stalinist strong-arm squads into action against workers who were seeking to prepare to fight the counterrevolution.

Even after the brutal murder of thousands of workers, the CP defends the strategy which led to the defeat. In the September 29 issue the CP says:

"As of November 1972, the Chilean military leaders were still loyal to the constitutional Government. Allende took into his Cabinet three leading officers. This move proved to be decisive in putting an end to the seditious offensive."

One of Allende's last statements was to threaten to jail anyone spreading the "baseless rumor" about military preparations for a coup.

The American CP defends the Popular Front, defends an alliance with capitalist parties on the basis

of the defense of the capitalist state against the workers.

The CP's counterposing of "guns without people" to the peaceful road to socialism is a complete fraud. What the Stalinists oppose is the independent struggle for power by the working class.

So even after the defeat in Chile which was organized by Nixon, the CP calls for a "united struggle to compel the White House to retreat from its support to the junta and to compel the US Congress to speak out against the fascist coup."

The Socialist Workers Party in this situation is moving closer to the Stalinists. They are joining in demonstrations with the CP and holding meetings with the Stalinists and liberals to "protest" the coup in Chile.

These meetings such as the one called by the USLA in New York with Corliss Lamont are being built by the SWP around a protest against US imperialism and defense of political prisoners.

In this coalition, the SWP refuses to attack the criminal role of Stalinism and raise the central question—the construction of Trotskyist parties in every country.

But just as the SWP capitulates to the Stalinists, the CP opens a vicious attack on the SWP for not giving it "unreserved support" and for "drawing lessons" from Chile.

At a time when the CP faces a tremendous crisis within its own ranks, the SWP bolsters it. What brings the SWP together with the CP is its rejection of the necessity of constructing the revolutionary party in a struggle against Stalinism and its lack of confidence in the working class.

The Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International have been built through the most bitter struggle against Stalinism and the lessons of the betrayals of Stalinism.

The *Bulletin* will now twice a week, and soon every day, draw those lessons to defeat Stalinism and construct a Marxist leadership in the working class.

Today we are in a different period. This is not the 1930s when the Trotskyist movement was isolated and the working class defeated.

Stalinism has been exposed to millions of workers. Their lies and slanders are a sign of the tremendous crisis the CP now faces as youth within their own ranks begin to raise questions about history.

The only way the working class can be defended is by learning the lessons of Chile and the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism and constructing the revolutionary party.

Peron Uses Killing To Launch Leftist Purge

BY A REPORTER

Juan Peron, newly-elected President of Argentina, has launched a war against all left-wing organizations in Argentina and a ruthless purge of the left section of his movement.

His ousting of the President of Buenos Aires University has sparked a mass protest of 20,000 students.

Peron declared that all left-wing Peronists will be denied access to the meetings, publications, and offices of his Justicialist movement.

Peron, scheduled to take office October 12, has seized on the assassination of Jose Ignacio Rucci, right-wing head of the Argentine labor federation, as a pretext for a crackdown on the unions.

Peron's claim that the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP) is responsible has been denied by the guerrilla organization which said that their policy: "is not that of executing the union bureaucrats because they are not part of monopolies or army oppressors" and charged that the accusations against the ERP "are leveled by groups headed by the Union Industrial Argentina and the Sociedad Rural"

(conservative groups).

A few days after the Rucci killing, Enrique Grinberg, leader of the Peronist youth movement was gunned down.

ORCHESTRATING

In a speech this week, Peron declared that Paris was "orchestrating the guerrilla movements on all the continent." Shortly before Rucci was killed, the ERP was exempted from the new amnesty for guerrilla organizations and declared "outside the law."

Peron's attempt to use the ERP to bring in repression against the working class exposes the danger of individual terrorist actions.

Their adventures in the past have now allowed the government to stage provocations and have in no way aided the building of a revolutionary leadership among the workers that could break them from the reactionary influence of Peronism.



Four hundred students at Seoul National University staged the first demonstration in South Korea since dictator Park Chung Hee declared martial law a year ago.

The students chanted slogans demanding restoration of democratic rights and dismantlement of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency before police moved in.

The students are demanding to know the truth about the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, an opposition political leader who was kidnapped in August and brought back to Seoul.

Tanaka Seeks European Markets

BY MELODY FARROW
Japanese Premier Tanaka is in Britain on the second leg of his European tour in a futile bid to build a new trade relationship with the Common Market countries.

Despite the polite reception, Tanaka is unable to break through the resistance of the European leaders to further Japanese penetration of their markets.

European capitalists are demanding that Tanaka deal with Europe as an economic bloc and not seek to play them off against each other. They fear that Tanaka wants to flood Europe with exports.

The diplomatic niceties cannot cover up the fierce competition and trade war that is raging between the United States, Japan, and Europe.

Tanaka is forced to go to Europe because of the enormous crisis his country faces in the wake of Nixon's ultimatum

that Japan slash its trade surplus, and the forced revaluation of the yen which has raised the price of her exports and intensified the highest rate of inflation in Japan's history.

One of Japan's objectives is to buy enriched uranium from France after the US refused to renew their uranium agreement unless Japan accepted draconian conditions on trade.

Japan is also concerned with a regular supply of oil and natural gas (which it will discuss with the Soviet Union) and other natural resources such as coke and iron ore which it must import.

France, Italy, and Britain are determined to halt the tremendous influx of Japanese cars, tape recorders, cameras, calculators, and other goods and are seeking ways to combat the domination of Japanese shipbuilding.

IMPASSE

While Tanaka has been pushed against the wall by Nixon, the European capitalists find themselves at a total impasse with the United States.

Kissinger's arrogant and

contemptuous reaction to the Common Market draft document for a joint statement of "trans-Atlantic principles" was a silent declaration of war.

When presented with the resolution by Danish Foreign Minister K.B. Andersen, Kissinger replied: "How can you expect me to accept this?"

Kissinger expected a statement which would outline specific concessions that Europe would make in granting trade preferences to the US in trade and agricultural policy.

Instead, the Common Market made a general declaration which did, however, reaffirm its "position in world affairs as a distinct entity" and repeated that modifications in trade would "imply continuing efforts to maintain orderly conditions in the monetary field," "fixed but adjustable parities" and "convertibility of currencies."

Relations between the major capitalist countries have now reached the breaking point as each one seeks to eliminate its rivals in the world market, a situation which means brutal attacks on the working class and carries the seeds of a future war.

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Westchester Teachers Fined \$1200 For Pay Fight



N.Y.—Greenburgh teachers, who just ended a thirteen day strike, have been hit with fines of \$1200 each for defying a Supreme Court injunction. This wipes out the entire yearly wage increase that they just now won. Teachers in Harrison who are still out now face the same threat. School authorities can use the anti-strike Taylor Law to deduct two days pay for every day of the strike. According to union negotiator Louis Commarosano, teachers are threatened with individual fines of \$500,000.

Chile Junta Steps Up Executions

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The military junta of Chile is speeding up the work of its execution squads to liquidate its opponents as fast as possible.

While 6000 await court martial and possible death, the leaders of the Nazi Fatherland and Liberty organization have just been freed.

The first major victim of the firing squad was German Castro Rojas, the former socialist mayor of Talca province.

Le Monde, the Paris daily, has received information that among those imprisoned in the National Stadium in Santiago are Simon Reyes, the leader of the Bolivian Communist Party and two other central committee members, and Roberto Prieto, leader of the Uruguayan Communist Workers center. The Brazilian political police are visibly active in Santiago.

Newsweek correspondent John Barnes was able to penetrate into the Santiago morgue and wrote about what he saw:

"One hundred and fifty bodies were laid out on the ground floor, waiting identification by family members.

"Upstairs I passed through a swinging door and there in a dimly lit corridor lay at least fifty more bodies, their heads

propped up against the wall. They were all naked.

"Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machine gunned in the body. Their chests had been slit open and sewn together grotesquely...most of their heads had been crushed...They were all young and judging from the roughness of their hands, all from the working class."

Barnes obtained the figure of 2796 bodies that have arrived in the morgue since September 11.

He also reported how in the working class slum of Pincoya, the troops had come one morning and rounded up fifty males and taken them away. Later the wives found their names on the morgue list along with every other adult male on the block.

More information released by Le Monde has exposed the role that the Stalinist Chilean Communist Party played in preparing for the defeat.

A Stalinist official in Chile tried to explain why the CP did not fight back by saying: "The balance of forces was not in our favor. We waited several hours

on Tuesday to see whether a split would occur within the armed forces. That was our only chance. But on the whole the military remained united.

"Some units rebelled in the Buin regiment and at the Carabinier NCO school, but they were quickly put down. In these conditions, the only thing we could do was to retreat and wait for the storm to blow over."

Le Monde also stated that most of the armed resistance to the coup came from the Socialist Party supporters, while the Communist Party did not participate.

What a fraud for the Communist Party to claim they expected a split in the military when for months they were praising the "patriotism" of the Chilean armed forces and supported their entry into the coalition of Allende.

An important action was taken by the French dock workers in Le Havre when they refused to load spare parts for French Mirage jet fighters being sent to the Chilean junta. Similar action must be initiated by American workers in defense of the Chilean working class.

Nixon Ducks Taxes As He Bleeds Workers

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

President Nixon paid only \$792.81 in taxes last year. This is the same Nixon who only a few weeks ago demanded that taxes be raised with a surcharge of 10 percent.

For 1970 to 1971 Nixon paid less taxes than a worker's family making \$7000 to \$8000 a year. Nixon's salary is \$200,000 a year.

And this is not to mention his business deals like his San Clemente home from which he made big profits. Last year Nixon received a refund of \$58,889.

In other words, while the

The Editorial Board of the Bulletin extends its warmest greetings to the Workers Press and the Socialist Labour League of Britain on the fourth anniversary of its publication as a daily paper, the first Trotskyist daily in the world.

The continuing strength of the Workers Press is powerful testimony to their struggle to build a revolutionary party among the working class and defend Marxism against the Stalinists and revisionists.

Next issue of the Bulletin will carry a full report on the Fourth Anniversary meeting of the SLL.

working people are bled with inflation, a wage freeze, and high taxes, Nixon, and the big corporations pad their pockets.

It is time that the labor movement act to throw out this government and construct a labor party.

At the same time, the split between Agnew and Nixon is reaching the breaking point. Nixon in his press conference yesterday defended Agnew to cut his throat.

He said that the charges against Agnew were "serious and not frivolous." He said if Agnew was one of his aides and not an elected official he would have been fired.

Nixon is denying that Petersen or any White House official told CBS newsman Fred Graham that they had all the evidence against Agnew.

ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

even though declining over August, were 48 percent higher than last year.

At the same time, Nixon and the big bankers and industrialists are preparing for the collapse in monetary and financial relations developing alongside the runaway inflation.

At the recent International Monetary Fund meeting, where the capitalist countries resolved absolutely nothing and decided to continue the same inflationary policies, the new IMF president predicted a worldwide downturn in production.

And Nixon's new nominee to the Council of Economic Advisers, William Fellner, is calling for a government policy which would keep unemployment at five percent or higher—"full employment," he says.

It is clear that the information leak came not from Petersen, but high officials in the administration such as General Haig, Melvin Laird, or Buzhardt. This is of course what Nixon is trying to hide as he moves to turn Agnew out.

This is in line with the plans of a growing section within the capitalist class that realize they have very little time left with the deepening economic crisis. They want a government that can defeat the working class.

They want to use Agnew as the scapegoat to bring in John Connally and build a regime that will take on Europe and the American working class.

This section is now speaking through the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal.

The Times has virtually buried all news of Watergate to save Nixon. The Wall Street Journal which has led the exposure of Agnew in an editorial yesterday welcomed the scuttling of Watergate, saying: "The second phase of the (Watergate) hearings is for practical purposes already over."

In the same editorial column, the Journal strongly opposes the troop cut in Europe recently voted by the Senate. They fear the revolutionary struggles that are now on the agenda as the US drives Europe to the wall and the European capitalists prepare civil war against the working class.

ALLOWED

If Nixon is allowed to remain in office, it will not be the old administration. He will implement the methods revealed in Watergate in an attempt to break the unions and destroy democratic rights. This is what the big corporations and banks are demanding.

This is why the labor movement must act now by calling a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action to force Nixon and Agnew out and construct a labor party.

While moves are underway to salvage Nixon, new revelations are being released which put Nixon at the center of the Watergate conspiracy.

John Ehrlichman has testified before the Los Angeles County Grand Jury that Nixon himself "specifically approved" the activities by E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy who raided the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

John Dean had in July told the Senate Watergate Committee that he had been informed that the orders for the burglary of the psychiatrist's office came "right out of the Oval Office." Previously, both Nixon and Ehrlichman had denied any advance knowledge of the burglary.

The noose is tightening around Nixon's neck. Donald Segretti, the "dirty tricks" man, revealed to the Senate Watergate Committee that he was constantly in contact with and worked directly under Nixon's Appointments Secretary Dwight Chapin.



New York Service Employees International Union Local 144 members demonstrating for immediate payment of a retroactive wage increase withheld for three years by the Department of Health.

Daily News In Showdown With Guild

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, October 4—Newspaper Guild members at the Daily News have shown the way forward for a strike against all three major daily newspapers here with an overwhelming vote for strike action.

"Not a single improvement has been won in the contract. The negotiations of the last eight months have been a farce."

Contracts with the Guild and the printing craft unions expired March 30. Since that time, the publishers have offered no concessions, instead demanding the destruction of craft jobs through wholesale automation, trying to break down existing contract provisions and imposing the substandard wage increase accepted by the Mailers and Machinists unions.

New York Typographical Local 6 President Bertram Powers has told the Bulletin he believes the publishers may be putting pressure on Nixon to cut any wage settlement above 5.5 percent.

Already, the union has been notified by the Cost of Living Council that no increase can be negotiated with the city's book and job commercial printers without prior approval.

"We are being singled out for special attention," Powers said. "Someone other than the printers must be putting pressure on the Pay Board to single us out like this. I think it is the newspaper publishers. That is just my opinion, but I do know they have been in touch with the Pay Board."

Local 6 has set no date yet for strike votes against the newspapers, and the International has not yet granted strike authorization.

Meanwhile, talks with the publishers have been recessed, pending a decision in a court action brought by the New York Times in an attempt to bind the union to its old contract.

100 Face Firing In SSEU-371

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Over 100 Social Service Employees Union-371 members in the Department of Social Services face being fired or demoted.

This is creating a dangerous situation in which SSEU President Mary Pinkett is deliberately acting to create divisions within the SSEU ranks.

This takes place as the December 31 expiration date of the SSEU-371 contract approaches.

The conflict that Pinkett is exploiting arises from the city's hiring of a large number of provisional employees in the Human Resources Specialists title series over four years ago for which regular civil service examinations were not given until October of 1972.

When the examinations were finally given they bore little relationship to the jobs that had been performed by these workers for the last several years. Consequently, over one hundred workers failed and now are threatened with removal or demotion from their jobs to make way for workers who passed.

In the absence of any clear policy from the union leadership, the union has been suddenly confronted with the workers that passed the test, fighting the workers that failed, and both sides taking the case to the courts.

Pinkett only a week ago was pushing for a scheme which would have resulted in mass demotions and pay cuts for those who failed the exam. More recently she has taken the position of simply siding with them and abandoning the defense of those who passed the exam.

Pinkett at all times begins by insisting that the workers pay for the city's crisis. This opens the door now for divisive struggles inside the union and the intervention of the capitalist courts.

The Communist Party has supported Pinkett's position in this struggle.

Only the Committee for New Leadership has insisted that both groups of workers must unite around the demand that the city be forced to retain all workers and to hire and promote all those who passed the exam.

This crisis shows once again why SSEU members must support the CNL's drive to force Pinkett to resign and to call new elections.

City Hospital Workers Rally— Final Warning Before Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Oct. 1—Several hundred members of Local 144, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) demonstrated outside the offices of the Department of Health, demanding immediate payment of a retroactive wage increase that has been withheld for three years.

"This is the last time we are going to demonstrate for our money," SEIU Delegate Verna Clarke told the Bulletin.

"If we do not have all our back money by the next pay day on October 12, we are going to demand a strike vote."

Members of the Civil Service Division of Local 144 are already owed nearly \$3000. The Depart-

ment of Health reportedly agreed to pay the retroactive money in negotiations that occurred while the demonstration was in progress.

However, workers were skeptical of the reports of an agreement because the Department of Health has reneged on such pledges several times during the past year.

"We were supposed to pick up our checks last Friday," Local 144 member Evelyn George said.

"But when we got here, they told us that checks cannot be written on the Jewish Holidays."

The leadership of the SEIU has refused at every point to lead a real struggle for the back pay, trying to limit the workers to protest demonstrations. SEIU President Peter Ottley, who faces criminal charges of embezzlement, was a staunch supporter of Nixon during the last election.

Verna Clarke said that many members of Local 144 had quit Local 300 of the SEIU last year because of the refusal of the leadership to defend the ranks against the attacks of the Hospital Corporation and the Department of Health.

"But I will be very frank," she said. "I do not really think that changing locals solved the problem. The real problem is that the union leaders are with management and do not want to fight."

Montreal Teachers Fight Wage Slash

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MONTREAL, Oct. 3—Montreal Teachers Association members under the jurisdiction of the Protestant School Board will hold a mass meeting tonight to decide on policy for the fight against government's attempts to declassify teachers.

Declassification is a vicious anti-union wage cutting scheme aimed at reducing salaries by as much as \$2500 by down-grading teachers to lower paying categories.

Teachers are legally banned from striking, and up to this point have been withholding all voluntary services such as extra-curricular activities.

There has been enormous support for the teachers from the students. Virtually every high school in the Protestant Board's jurisdiction has been hit by student walkouts, and last Monday all schools were closed by the students.

JOINT STRIKE

The Workers League has called for a joint strike of the teachers with the students. The teachers face a fight against the viciously anti-union Liberal government whose record is one of anti-union laws and open strikebreaking.

Last week over 100 high school students attended a meeting called by the League to discuss a fighting policy to bring out the teachers and mobilize the labor movement.

The fear of the Liberal govern-

ment for the strength of the labor movement was expressed in two articles in the Montreal Star re baiting the Workers League as outside agitators seeking to foment violence. A second meeting of students held last Monday was followed by Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television cameras.

Student Council leaders have been mobilized in the high schools to denounce the Workers League with fraudulent charges that it seeks to burn down the schools.

Last Monday the Student Council was forced to call a total student walkout only to lead everyone back to classes on Tuesday.

The Montreal Teachers Association leadership is politically bankrupt in this situation. MTA President Don Peacock, a former NDP candidate, has proposed a boycott of the coming October 29 Quebec elections.

The fight is just beginning. Teachers must defy the ban on strikes, shut the schools, mobilize the students, and rally the labor movement to the fight to force the Liberals from office and prepare the way for an NDP government pledged to socialist policies.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Timothy Wohlforth
President

Robin Blackburn and the International Marxist Group

BY DAVID NORTH
(The following article is based on dispatches from England by Alex Mitchell, which appeared in the Workers Press, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League.)

Robin Blackburn, a leading member of the revisionist International Marxist Group, the British fraternal organization of the Socialist Workers Party, has written an article for the liberal *New Statesman* in which he gives unstinting praise to the Stalinist British Communist Party and salutes the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism in every part of the world.

This article was written on the eve of the fascist coup d'état in Chile which succeeded only because the Stalinists consciously used the bankrupt Popular Front headed by Allende to betray and disarm the working class before the advance of the generals.

Blackburn's article shows that the revisionists—who have rejected the task of building Marxist parties based on the lessons of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism—now embrace the Kremlin and its agents in order to defeat the revolutionary struggles of the working class that are now on the agenda.

Blackburn wrote: "Though the CP is not a new force, it is now a more significant one than at any time in the postwar period.

"In its ranks are some of the best militants in the trade union movement; indeed, under the able and energetic guidance of Bert Ramelson (leading CP member) the industrial work of the party has been a major ingredient in the trade union struggles of the last few years."

SCOUNDRELS

The object of Blackburn's praise, Bert Ramelson, is one of the oldest Stalinist scoundrels in Britain. He has publicly defended every crime committed by the Kremlin since the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution and the Moscow Trials.

He has played the decisive role within the CP today of covering for the British Labour Party heads by bitter opposition to industrial and political action by the working class to force the resignation of the Tory government.

The equivalent of praising Ramelson would be telling American workers that they will find able and energetic leadership in the likes of Gus Hall.

In previous articles written by Workers Press reporter Alex Mitchell and reprinted in the *Bulletin*, we have exposed how a leading member of the IMG, Gary Lawless, has acted as a finger man for Scotland Yard against the IRA.

Now we have Blackburn, the one-time exponent of the "student detonator" theory, at the head of a tendency that wants to cuddle up to the Stalinists who,

A Cowardly Capitulator to Stalinism



Robin Blackburn (left) alongside Communist Party member Monty Johnstone at the Chilean demonstration.

together with the social democrats, are the leading agents of counterrevolution in the world today.

Lawless, Pennington, Tariq Ali subordinate themselves to the Irish nationalist, anticommunist republicans, while Blackburn in his praise for Ramelson and the Communist Party, by implication, sanctifies the atrocities of Stalinism. And they all live together in a centrist political group called the IMG.

Blackburn's capitulation to Stalinism does not end with his adulation of Ramelson. The central thrust of this article is a gross justification of the counterrevolutionary history and present practice that Ramelson represents.

The article continues: "British capitalism resisted the depression very successfully from a capitalist standpoint, untroubled by any Popular Front (emphasis added) and with an underlying rate of exploitation as high as that in Nazi Germany."

It is a miserable lie to suggest that the Stalinist Popular Fronts of the 1930s constituted the slightest trouble to the capitalist class. It was behind these movements, in which a section of the bourgeoisie joined hands with the Stalinists, that the ruling class bought time in order to prepare for dictatorship and counterrevolution against the working class.

This is precisely what happened last month in Chile.

This is precisely what happened in Spain 36 years ago.

And if the French working class avoided fascism during the period of the Stalinist Popular Front they did so only in exchange for German fascism in 1940.

It was Trotsky who led the fight against these policies and in doing so established the Fourth International.

Now Blackburn calls for the resurrection of similar Popular Front movements for precisely the same reasons as the Stalinists initiated them in the 1930s: because they know that revolutionary struggles lie immediately ahead and they are determined to do all in their power to crush them.

That this is the case is shown graphically in the aftermath of the Chilean coup d'état. Blackburn's article has proven to be the theoretical basis for the IMG's now open collaboration with the Stalinists "to protest against the events in Chile" in which all references to the political responsibility of the Stalinists for this defeat are ruthlessly suppressed.

PROTEST

This type of protest, one of which occurred recently in London, are sinisterly reminiscent of the Stalinist-led protests of the 1930s.

They were based on the defeats of the working class.

Although many sincere people may have joined the London demonstration out of genuine feelings of solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants, its real political character was something else.

It must not be forgotten that the real strength of Stalinism in the 1920s and 1930s rested on the defeats of the working class. After each defeat—China 1926, Germany 1923, Spain 1939—the Stalinist bureaucracy grew stronger and stronger.

In effect, Stalinism blamed the working class and thus earned

the wholehearted support of imperialism and tens of thousands of middle-class radicals all over the world.

The attraction of the discredited Labourites onto the platform with CP Secretary John Gollan surrounded by the revisionists of the IMG and the International Socialists was not accidental.

In effect, it amounted to a funeral service for the Chilean working class and a sick celebration of the strength of the bourgeoisie.

The purpose of the funeral orations was unmistakable: to exaggerate out of all proportions the strength of the ruling class, the military, and international monopolies like ITT and to ignore totally the strength of the most powerful class—the working class.

Not a voice or slogan was raised to examine how or why the military was able to establish its fascist hold in Chile, the "model democracy" in Latin America. Nor was the slightest criticism raised of the Stalinists peaceful road to socialism theory which disarmed the Chilean masses and opened the door for the military coup.

Their hatred of the revolutionary movement, the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International, is their chief unifying characteristic, just as it was against the Trotskyists in the 1930s.

The counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism in relation to the Chilean working class were revealed in a discussion conducted by the world CP-organized "International Research Group of the Present-day Relevance of Lenin's State and Revolution," published in

World Marxist Review, No. 8, August 1973.

G. Banchemo of the Chilean Communist Party, says: "The armed forces, observing their status of a professional institution, take no part in a political debate, and submit to the lawfully constituted civilian power.

"Ultraleft elements clamor for the immediate 'introduction' of socialism. We hold, however, that the working class will gain full power gradually; it will be in step with our gaining full control of the state machine that we shall begin to transform it in the interests of the further development of the revolution."

Is Banchemo, an alternate member of the Chilean CP's Central Committee, putting forward a line which is out of step with the world Stalinist movement? Of course not.

The same position is advanced by the Stalinists in Britain and the United States. They all hold that the state need not be smashed to establish socialism, the working class must not be armed, the army is the friend of the working class, and when the army takes over, blame the ultraleft, i.e., the working class.

In the 1930s, the Stalinists labeled Trotskyists as fascists. In 1973, they gang up with the revisionists by using the term "ultraleft" as a sort of swear word against the Trotskyists.

CAPITULATION

The IMG did not arrive at the demonstration by accident. Their capitulation to the Stalinists has been a feature of their petty-bourgeois movement since its Pabloite origins 20 years ago. Blackburn's article represents a high point in this capitulation.

Unless the IMG expels Blackburn from its ranks, as demanded by the Socialist Labour League, then there can be no question but that the IMG supports his open advocacy of Stalinism within the working class movement.

Nor can the Socialist Workers Party remain silent on the statements made by Blackburn. It must either repudiate this capitulation to Stalinism by a leading member of its fraternal organization and demand his immediate expulsion or stand exposed as part of a conspiracy aimed against the working class to prop up Stalinism and prepare new defeats.

The SWP must speak out on Blackburn because his articles show in the most naked form where its own revisionism is leading: to a complete surrender to the policies of the Stalinists in the United States.

The SWP has already entered into an alliance with the American CP in organizing protest rallies over Chile similar to the London rally, appealing to those who both organized and welcomed the massacre of Chilean workers.

If the SWP does not repudiate Blackburn and demand his expulsion by the IMG, then it will be clear that the SWP plans to carry out the policies in relation to the American CP that are advocated by Blackburn in Britain.

The Workers League denounces Blackburn as an accomplice of the Stalinists and a traitor to the working class. It is with the twice-weekly *Bulletin* that the Workers League will intensify its efforts to expose the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism and build a revolutionary party trained in an implacable struggle against reformism, revisionism, and Stalinism.



The Insoluble Economic Crisis

Behind the growing intrigues of the opposition, the arrogance of the generals, the mounting vacillation of President Salvador Allende and the capitulation of the Stalinists during 1972-1973 lay the insoluble crisis of Chilean and world capitalism.

When Allende took power, Chile was in the throes of a major economic and financial crisis which has since been considerably exacerbated. The Central Bank's reserves had dropped from \$500 million to \$280 million and by April 1972 were estimated to be no more than \$60 million. At the same time Chile's foreign debts exceeded \$3000 million, most of which was subject to scrutiny by European central bankers.

Failure to repudiate this massive national debt, coupled with the continued drop in copper export prices, meant that Allende had to devalue the Chilean escudo four times in two years. The servicing of foreign debt alone amounted to almost \$300 million for one year. The collapse of Bretton Woods, and the cutback in US foreign aid ended all hope of the Chilean capitalist economy ever being solvent. Allende's and the Stalinists' compromise with foreign creditors encouraged the native reaction to increase the pressure to stop all further nationalization and prepare openly for counter-revolution.

Demonstrations of workers and students against the right wing were condemned by the Stalinists, while Allende occupied himself with praising the hated Carabineros—the elite of the police force used for



Allende.

attacks against workers and squatters.

Allende's words express clearly the awe—not to say the impotence—of the petty bourgeois doctor before the machinery of the capitalist state and his complete lack of confidence in the working class:

"Not for nothing is the motto of the Carabineros 'Order and Fatherland.' Order, based on moral authority, in the correct carrying out of duties, which in no way applies the negation of hierarchy. In fact you have a sense of discipline and hierarchy which grows on the conception that this government has of social discipline and the use of public force." (*Workers Press*, May 11, 1972). It was precisely this "sense of discipline and hierarchy" which led the Presidential Guard of Carabineros to surrender when the military coup took place."

In September 1972, Allende dismissed any prospect of military coup: "I believe my government is the best guarantee of peace. Here there are elections and freedom. Ninety percent of Chileans do not want an armed confrontation."

The remaining 10 percent, however, did not share Allende's Stalinist illusions. New groups like the semi-fascist "Freedom and

Fatherland" front began openly to arm against the regime while the landlords in the south created private armies to impose summary "justice" on peasants. Under the terms of the October 1972 settlement with the opposition, moreover, Allende conceded an invaluable weapon to the reaction by freeing Chile's 155 radio stations and prevented a compulsory link-up with the state network.

By 1973, the Stalinists' policy of "moderation and conciliation" had disillusioned the industrial workers and for the first time the copper miners began to strike for more wages. This was a serious sign of the crisis, but with the advice of the Stalinist Ministers, Allende attacked the working class in the most vicious manner.

On his return from Moscow in January 1973, Allende attacked striking copper miners as "real monopoly bankers, asking for money for their pocket without any consideration for the situation in the country."

In the same speech, Allende revealed that the foreign debt had gone up in two years from \$3000 million to \$4020 million and admitted further that parliament should have been dissolved at an early stage. This was the price of the "peaceful road."

Here too the Stalinists showed their hand. When the copper miners of the huge nationalized El Teniente copper mine struck for 70 days for wage rises the Stalinists opposed Allende's overtures to the miners as "vacillation" and "highly inadmissible" and encouraged the regime to use water cannons and tear gas on demonstrating miners. The province of O'Higgins—the area of the strikes—was put under military control.

At the same time Allende made a proposal to bring back the army generals who resigned their posts in March 1973. The purpose of this move was clear: Allende and the Stalinists wanted to use the army against the working class, even though their party leaders were convinced that a coup was being prepared by the opposition for August or September!

In June 1973, the right wing made their first attempt at power in the aftermath of the copper miners' strike. This attempt of the Second Armored Regiment failed, but it showed how extremely vulnerable the regime was to a coup.

"Avoiding Civil War"

This attack stimulated the working class to go into action, to seize factories and to strengthen the assemblies of rank and file workers which sprang up in October to November 1972.

The reaction of the Chilean Stalinist leader, Luis Corvalan, to the abortive coup of June 29 testified to the panic of these traitors when they saw the handwriting on Allende's wall. Gone was the complacency and euphoria, but instead there existed a terrified paralysis before the army: "The revolt was quickly contained, thanks to the prompt and determined action by the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the loyalty of the armed forces and the police... We continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions. Their enemies are not amongst the ranks of the people, but in the reactionary camp." (*Marxism Today*, September 1973.)

Even at this late hour, the situation could have been changed by resolute and decisive leadership—instead Chilean workers were exhorted to place their faith in the shadow of the Chilean capitalists.

"Avoidance of civil war is and will continue to be the principal political task of all Chileans, followers of the government or



Top: Leaders of the ruling military junta. Above, the Presidential Palace smoldering during coup.

Defend The Chilean Working Class

Part Two

The International Committee Of The Fourth International

not, who believe in the necessity of maintaining the class struggle...at the level at which until today it has developed (sic). For this we value not only the voice of the working class, but also the words expressed by the church and the rectors of the universities." (Ibid.)

And what did the rectors have to say on this momentous question?: "Many tests demonstrate that we can achieve justice without breaking the moral unity of our state, nor the basic values of our nationality."!!

To this humbug and deception, Corvalan servilely responds: "We comply if not word for word, with the spirit which flows through such a declaration, from such high exponents of university culture and education." (Emphasis added.)

In contrast to the "high exponents of culture," the exponent of the class struggle, V.I. Lenin, long ago scathingly attacked those philistines who thought that acute problems of the class struggle could be solved by means of formal democracy. "Such problems are actually solved by civil war if they are acute and aggravated in struggle." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 267.)

The Chilean Stalinists, however, followed a course which was not only false but worse still, contradictory: As Corvalan wrote: "The patriotic and revolutionary slogan must be: 'No to civil war! No to fascism.'" But fascism is civil war against the workers and the existence of the capitalist state carries in it the potential danger of civil war against the working class. By renouncing civil war and leaving the struggle in the hands of the reactionary bourgeois officers, Chilean Stalinism only facilitated and expedited the defeat of the workers.

"Nothing increases the insolence of fascists so much as 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers' organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as temporizing passivity and the absence of the will of struggle." (Trotsky, *Whither France*, p. 19, LSSP edition.)

But the Chilean workers were to receive an even more ominous blow. In this desperate search for allies, the Chilean Stalinists began to make the most opportunist appeals to the ranks of the fascist and extreme nationalist parties. Corvalan unashamedly begged the followers of Pablo H. Rodriguez, the fascist, for a "dialogue" to avoid civil war, to "unite our country, to avoid artificial divisions between Chileans, who have a common interest." The fascists predictably treated Corvalan's entreaties with contempt and derision... and pressed on with the preparation of civil war.

Indonesian Road

As the workers became increasingly skeptical of the regime and began to organize spontaneously in self-defense, the right stepped up its preparations and spoke openly about following the "Indonesian road." Chile's major bourgeois daily, *El Mercurio*, spoke gloatingly on July 27 about the "spontaneous and horrible" massacre in Indonesia which, in its opinion, "wasn't really so horrible" because it made Indonesia into "one of the leading nations in southern Asia, in which the economy has been stabilized and order prevails."

Frei, former president, openly called for the crushing of the "parallel army" growing in the factories. In this situation only the most resolute action of the government in arming the workers, disbanding the army, and alerting the whole working class to struggle could have prevented a coup or smashed it. The government and the Stalinists did the contrary.

An "arms control law" passed in the October 1972 crisis was reactivated in order to prevent the arming of the workers. In the navy and army, the right-wing officers used the apathy, passivity and indifference of the Stalinists to harangue and indoctrinate the ranks and prepare for insurrection. Allende's fervent appeals to the army only increased the determination of the generals to put a quick and ruthless end to the experiment in the "peaceful road."

The final attack on the President's palace on September 11 thus became the culminating blow in a plan which was conceived only because of the acquiescence of the government and the Stalinist party. Like Hitler and Franco, General Pinochet

won by default, because of the treachery of Stalinism.

One final question must be addressed to Stalinists. Why is it that no Stalinist leader will dare answer the most vital question posed by the defeat: Why did the urban middle class and with it, the middle and lower ranks of the army turn so violently against the regime? If the "peaceful road" and "respect for legality" is the only guarantee of winning the middle classes why did it fail so disastrously in Chile?

To blame this on the CIA intrigues or the tendency of the middle class to always support the military régimes, as the Stalinists now imply, is to revile Marxism and conceal the treachery of Popular Frontism. As Trotsky wrote:

"The petty bourgeoisie is distinguished by its economic dependence and its social heterogeneity. Its upper strata is linked directly to the big bourgeoisie. Its lower strata merges with the proletariat. In accordance with its economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie can have no policy of its own. It always oscillates between the capitalists and the workers. Its upper strata pushes it to the right: its lower strata, oppressed and exploited, are capable in certain conditions of turning sharply to the left."

The Petty Bourgeoisie

In periods of acute crisis and an absence of revolutionary leadership "the petty bourgeoisie," continues Trotsky, "begins to lose patience. It assumes an attitude more and more hostile towards its own upper stratum. It becomes convinced of the bankruptcy and the perfidy of its political leadership... It is precisely this disillusionment of the petty bourgeoisie, its impatience, its despair, that fascism exploits...The fascists show boldness, go out into the streets, attack the police, and attempt to drive out parliament by force. That makes an impression on the despairing bourgeoisie."

Trotsky's words are a precise description of the petty bourgeoisie under Allende. They are, in fact, corroborated by the *Financial Times*' reporter's description of the plight of the middle class in Chile: "Chile firmly remains in the forefront of world inflation... Item: Last month the over-worked employees of the National Mint called a strike. Through their good efforts the money supply had soared by 830 percent since Dr. Allende took office. As all other Chilean workers, their wages had been raised by 26 percent in January 1971, by 22 percent in January 1972, by 100 percent (sic) last October and by 60 percent in April. And yet, said a spokesman for the strikers: 'We're all under a terrible psychological strain. We handle more money than any bank and what we take home hardly buys us enough to eat.'" (*Financial Times*, June 29, 1973.)

The petty bourgeoisie were the first casualties of the coalition's policy of trying to appease the working class with subsidies while promising increased productivity to the industrialists, curbing nationalization drastically and refusing to repudiate the huge burden of foreign debt incurred by the previous pro-US Frei government.

The net decrease of purchasing power and of consumption was felt most keenly within the lower middle class: "The lower classes, which are Dr. Allende's principal supporters, are catered to by the state which gives them first priority for basic items. If they are not so well off as during Dr. Allende's first year, they are demonstrably better off than ever before. At the other end of the scale, the rich can afford to shop in the black market for goods which, reflecting the black market dollar, are often up to ten times the officially set price. But no one looks after the petty bourgeoisie—too rich to be subsidized and too poor to pay the black market pirates.

"...And as the pie shrinks in absolute terms, the potential of the state to continue to subsidize the poor and the working class is reduced."

The big capitalists wanted a full-scale devaluation of the escudo or a full-scale wage freeze coupled with a diversion of import dollars from foodstuffs to capital goods. The workers on the other hand wanted more nationalization, workers'

control and an end to the parliamentary fraud.

Allende and the Stalinists baulked at both alternatives and were trapped in their own contradictions. It was only a matter of time before the imperialists and the junta struck. As an epitaph to Allende's government we would suggest the following quotation from Lenin:

"The proletariat cannot achieve victory if it does not win the majority of the population to its side. But to limit the winning to polling a majority of votes in an election under the rule of the bourgeoisie or to make it the condition for it, is crass stupidity or else sheer deception of the workers. In order to win the majority of the population



Passersby look at body of youth killed in the fighting.

to its side the proletariat must, in the first place, overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize state power; secondly, it must introduce Soviet power and completely smash the old state apparatus, whereby it immediately undermines the rule, prestige and influence of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois compromisers over the non-proletarian working people. Thirdly, it must entirely destroy the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois compromisers over the majority of the non-proletarian masses by satisfying their economic needs in a revolutionary way at the expense of the exploiters."

Build the Revolutionary Party

To defend the Chilean working class is to assimilate the vital lessons of this period and to build a new revolutionary leadership, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.

While it is true that Stalinism played a major role in the Chilean defeat, it is impossible to analyze it in isolation from the role of the centrists and revisionists who played the role of willing and unwilling ac-

complices to Stalinism.

The centrists of the MIR (Movement of Revolutionary Left), who had a considerable following among the landless peasantry in the south, did not take a principled attitude to Allende and created great confusion in the peasantry. Their policy of "critical support" to Allende meant in practice capitulation to the Popular Front. Like the POUM in Catalonia in the Spanish civil war, this group withdrew its opposition to Allende in the March 1973 congressional elections precisely when a bold challenge to the Stalinists and Socialists and a demand for a workers' and farmers' government could have rallied the majority of workers and poor peasants.

The revisionists of the Unified Secretariat played an even more ignominious role. The *Militant* (paper of the United States Socialist Workers Party), in its issue of September 4, 1973, laments: "But there is still no party that can take up this example (popular control of production) and spread it throughout the cordones (labor assemblies) and throughout the country."

Why doesn't the SWP tell its readers what happened to the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party of Chile), section of the Unified Secretariat, which abandoned the International Committee and joined the USFI to support the revisionist theories of Mandel and Hansen, theories which liquidated Trotskyism in Latin America and substituted for it the ideas and methods of Guevara and Castro? Why does not the SWP recall that it was itself the main protagonist of this political line?

Is it not a fact that the Trotskyist party was destroyed in Chile, not by Stalinism or any junta, but by the conscious application of the revisionist theory that revolutions could be successfully made without the building of a Marxist party?

Was it not the leader of the POR, Luis Vitale, who, in 1962, on the eve of the infamous Pabloite Re-unification Congress, declared in the following words this complete abdication of the struggle for a Marxist party and power?

"The new generation is developing in a different world and a more different Latin America. The Cuban revolution has broken the old prejudices, has shown that the triumph can be achieved in any Latin American country, that the imperialist counter-revolutionary oligarchy can be destroyed, that the traditional parties, reformists and Stalinists, can be overruled by broader revolutionary movements, and has shown once again that the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus..." (*History of the Workers Movement*, Santiago, Chile, 1962.)

The Chilean defeat, however, will change nothing in the revisionist Secretariat. Far from their learning any lessons, these events drive them closer to bureaucracy, the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. That is why the revisionists of the International Marxist Group, for example, have no hesitation in marching with the Stalinist champions of the Popular Front in Britain in the demonstration against the Chilean junta—and for the Popular Front in Chile.

Revisionism has certainly reached a new stage in its degeneration. By marching with the Popular Front they have identified themselves openly with the counter-revolutionary preparations of Stalinism and the bourgeoisie. To fight Stalinism and Castroism is to politically destroy revisionism.

The ICFI rejects completely the spurious demand of the Stalinist Gollan that the Tories do not recognize the junta. Heath and Pinochet are partners in imperialist repression and must be exposed for what they are.

The IC calls for the maximum solidarity of the international working class to black Chilean shipping and goods, and secure the release of all political prisoners as well as the cessation of the summary executions of the junta. At the same time we demand of the USSR government and the eastern European régimes that they break all diplomatic and economic ties with the Chilean junta and give every aid to the embattled workers of Chile.

- Down with the military junta of Chile!
- Down with the Popular Front!
- Down with Stalinism!
- Long live the Chilean workers!
- Build the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

Statement Of The International Committee Of The Fourth International



The Insoluble Economic Crisis

Behind the growing intrigues of the opposition, the arrogance of the generals, the mounting vacillation of President Salvador Allende and the capitulation of the Stalinists during 1972-1973 lay the insoluble crisis of Chilean and world capitalism.

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attacks against workers and squatters.

Allende's words express clearly the awe—not to say the impotence—of the petty bourgeois doctor before the machinery of the capitalist state and his complete lack of confidence in the working class:

"Not for nothing is the motto of the Carabineros 'Order and Fatherland.' Order, based on moral authority, in the correct carrying out of duties, which in no way applies the negation of hierarchy. In fact you have a sense of discipline and hierarchy which grows on the conception that this government has of social discipline and the use of public force." (Workers Press, May 11, 1972). It was precisely this "sense of discipline and hierarchy" which led the Presidential Guard of Carabineros to surrender when the military coup took place.

In September 1972, Allende dismissed any prospect of military coup: "I believe my government is the best guarantee of peace. Here there are elections and freedom. Ninety percent of Chileans do not want an armed confrontation."

The remaining 10 percent, however, did not share Allende's Stalinist illusions. New groups like the semi-fascist "Freedom and

Fatherland" front began openly to arm against the regime while the landlords in the south created private armies to impose summary "justice" on peasants. Under the terms of the October 1972 settlement with the opposition, moreover, Allende conceded an invaluable weapon to the reaction by freeing Chile's 155 radio stations and prevented a compulsory link-up with the state network.

By 1973, the Stalinists' policy of "moderation and conciliation" had disillusioned the industrial workers and for the first time the copper miners began to strike for more wages. This was a serious sign of the crisis, but with the advice of the Stalinist Ministers, Allende attacked the working class in the most vicious manner.

On his return from Moscow in January 1973, Allende attacked striking copper miners as "real monopoly bankers, asking for money for their pocket without any consideration for the situation in the country."

In the same speech, Allende revealed that the foreign debt had gone up in two years from \$3000 million to \$4020 million and admitted further that parliament should have been dissolved at an early stage. This was the price of the "peaceful road."

Here too the Stalinists showed their hand. When the copper miners of the huge nationalized El Teniente copper mine struck for 70 days for wage rises the Stalinists opposed Allende's overtures to the miners as "vacillation" and "highly inadmissible" and encouraged the regime to use water cannons and tear gas on demonstrating miners. The province of O'Higgins—the area of the strikes—was put under military control.

At the same time Allende made a proposal to bring back the army generals who resigned their posts in March 1973. The purpose of this move was clear: Allende and the Stalinists wanted to use the army against the working class, even though their party leaders were convinced that a coup was being prepared by the opposition for August or September!

In June 1973, the right wing made their first attempt at power in the aftermath of the copper miners' strike. This attempt of the Second Armored Regiment failed, but it showed how extremely vulnerable the regime was to a coup.

"Avoiding Civil War"

This attack stimulated the working class to go into action, to seize factories and to strengthen the assemblies of rank and file workers which sprang up in October to November 1972.

The reaction of the Chilean Stalinist leader, Luis Corvalan, to the abortive coup of June 29 testified to the panic of these traitors when they saw the handwriting on Allende's wall. Gone was the complacency and euphoria, but instead there existed a terrified paralysis before the army: "The revolt was quickly contained, thanks to the prompt and determined action by the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the loyalty of the armed forces and the police... We continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions. Their enemies are not amongst the ranks of the people, but in the reactionary camp." (Marxism Today, September 1973.)

Even at this late hour, the situation could have been changed by resolute and decisive leadership—instead Chilean workers were exhorted to place their faith in the shadow of the Chilean capitalists.

"Avoidance of civil war is and will continue to be the principal political task of all Chileans, followers of the government or



Top: Leaders of the ruling military junta. Above, the Presidential Palace smoldering during coup.

Defend The Chilean Working Class

Part Two

not, who believe in the necessity of maintaining the class struggle... at the level at which until today it has developed (sic). For this we value not only the voice of the working class, but also the words expressed by the church and the rectors of the universities." (Ibid.)

And what did the rectors have to say on this momentous question?: "Many tests demonstrate that we can achieve justice without breaking the moral unity of our state, nor the basic values of our nationality."!!

To this hubbug and deception, Corvalan servilely responds: "We comply if not word for word, with the spirit which flows through such a declaration, from such high exponents of university culture and education." (Emphasis added.)

In contrast to the "high exponents of culture," the exponent of the class struggle, V.I. Lenin, long ago scathingly attacked those philistines who thought that acute problems of the class struggle could be solved by means of formal democracy. "Such problems are actually solved by civil war if they are acute and aggravated in struggle." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 267.)

The Chilean Stalinists, however, followed a course which was not only false but worse still, contradictory: As Corvalan wrote: "The patriotic and revolutionary slogan must be: 'No to civil war! No to fascism.'" But fascism is civil war against the workers and the existence of the capitalist state carries in it the potential danger of civil war against the working class. By renouncing civil war and leaving the struggle in the hands of the reactionary bourgeois officers, Chilean Stalinism only facilitated and expedited the defeat of the workers.

"Nothing increases the insolence of fascists so much as 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers' organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as temporizing passivity and the absence of the will of struggle." (Trotsky, Whither France, p. 19, LSSP edition.)

But the Chilean workers were to receive an even more ominous blow. In this desperate search for allies, the Chilean Stalinists began to make the most opportunist appeals to the ranks of the fascist and extreme nationalist parties. Corvalan unashamedly begged the followers of Pablo H. Rodriguez, the fascist, for a "dialogue" to avoid civil war, to "unite our country, to avoid artificial divisions between Chileans, who have a common interest." The fascists predictably treated Corvalan's entreaties with contempt and derision... and pressed on with the preparation of civil war.

Indonesian Road

As the workers became increasingly skeptical of the regime and began to organize spontaneously in self-defense, the right stepped up its preparations and spoke openly about following the "Indonesian road." Chile's major bourgeois daily, El Mercurio, spoke gloatingly on July 27 about the "spontaneous and horrible" massacre in Indonesia which, in its opinion, "wasn't really so horrible" because it made Indonesia into "one of the leading nations in southern Asia, in which the economy has been stabilized and order prevails."

Frei, former president, openly called for the crushing of the "parallel army" growing in the factories. In this situation only the most resolute action of the government in arming the workers, disbanding the army, and alerting the whole working class to struggle could have prevented a coup or smashed it. The government and the Stalinists did the contrary.

An "arms control law" passed in the October 1972 crisis was reactivated in order to prevent the arming of the workers. In the navy and army, the right-wing officers used the apathy, passivity and indifference of the Stalinists to harangue and indoctrinate the ranks and prepare for insurrection. Allende's fervent appeals to the army only increased the determination of the generals to put a quick and ruthless end to the experiment in the "peaceful road."

The final attack on the President's palace on September 11 thus became the culminating blow in a plan which was conceived only because of the acquiescence of the government and the Stalinist party. Like Hitler and Franco, General Pinochet

won by default, because of the treachery of Stalinism.

One final question must be addressed to Stalinists. Why is it that no Stalinist leader will dare answer the most vital question posed by the defeat: Why did the urban middle class and with it, the middle and lower ranks of the army turn so violently against the regime? If the "peaceful road" and "respect for legality" is the only guarantee of winning the middle classes why did it fail so disastrously in Chile?

To blame this on the CIA intrigues or the tendency of the middle class to always support the military regimes, as the Stalinists now imply, is to revile Marxism and conceal the treachery of Popular Frontism. As Trotsky wrote:

"The petty bourgeoisie is distinguished by its economic dependence and its social heterogeneity. Its upper strata is linked directly to the big bourgeoisie. Its lower strata merges with the proletariat. In accordance with its economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie can have no policy of its own. It always oscillates between the capitalists and the workers. Its upper strata pushes it to the right: its lower strata, oppressed and exploited, are capable in certain conditions of turning sharply to the left."

The Petty Bourgeoisie

In periods of acute crisis and an absence of revolutionary leadership "the petty bourgeoisie," continues Trotsky, "begins to lose patience. It assumes an attitude more and more hostile towards its own upper stratum. It becomes convinced of the bankruptcy and the perfidy of its political leadership... It is precisely this disillusionment of the petty bourgeoisie, its impatience, its despair, that fascists exploits... The fascists show boldness, go out into the streets, attack the police, and attempt to drive out parliament by force. That makes an impression on the despairing bourgeoisie."

Trotsky's words are a precise description of the petty bourgeoisie under Allende. They are, in fact, corroborated by the Financial Times' reporter's description of the plight of the middle class in Chile: "Chile firmly remains in the forefront of world inflation... Item: Last month the over-worked employees of the National Mint called a strike. Through their good efforts the money supply had soared by 830 percent since Dr. Allende took office. As all other Chilean workers, their wages had been raised by 26 percent in January 1971, by 22 percent in January 1972, by 100 percent (sic) last October and by 60 percent in April. And yet, said a spokesman for the strikers: 'We're all under a terrible psychological strain. We handle more money than any bank and what we take home hardly buys us enough to eat.'" (Financial Times, June 29, 1973.)

The petty bourgeoisie were the first casualties of the coalition's policy of trying to appease the working class with subsidies while promising increased productivity to the industrialists, curbing nationalization drastically and refusing to repudiate the huge burden of foreign debt incurred by the previous pro-US Frei government.

The net decrease of purchasing power and of consumption was felt most keenly within the lower middle class: "The lower classes, which are Dr. Allende's principal supporters, are catered to by the state which gives them first priority for basic items. If they are not so well off as during Dr. Allende's first year, they are demonstrably better off than ever before. At the other end of the scale, the rich can afford to shop in the black market for goods which, reflecting the black market dollar, are often up to ten times the officially set price. But no one looks after the petty bourgeoisie—too rich to be subsidized and too poor to pay the black market pirates.

"...And as the pie shrinks in absolute terms, the potential of the state to continue to subsidize the poor and the working class is reduced."

The big capitalists wanted a full-scale devaluation of the escudo or a full-scale wage freeze coupled with a diversion of import dollars from foodstuffs to capital goods. The workers on the other hand wanted more nationalization, workers' control and an end to the parliamentary fraud.

Allende and the Stalinists balked at both alternatives and were trapped in their own contradictions. It was only a matter of time before the imperialists and the junta struck. As an epitaph to Allende's government we would suggest the following quotation from Lenin:

"The proletariat cannot achieve victory if it does not win the majority of the population to its side. But to limit the winning to polling a majority of votes in an election under the rule of the bourgeoisie or to make it the condition for it, is crass stupidity or else sheer deception of the workers. In order to win the majority of the population



Passersby look at body of youth killed in the fighting.

to its side the proletariat must, in the first place, overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize state power; secondly, it must introduce Soviet power and completely smash the old state apparatus, whereby it immediately undermines the rule, prestige and influence of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie compromisers over the non-proletarian working people. Thirdly, it must entirely destroy the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois compromisers over the majority of the non-proletarian masses by satisfying their economic needs in a revolutionary way at the expense of the exploiters."

Build the Revolutionary Party

To defend the Chilean working class is to assimilate the vital lessons of this period and to build a new revolutionary leadership, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.

While it is true that Stalinism played a major role in the Chilean defeat, it is impossible to analyze it in isolation from the role of the centrists and revisionists who played the role of willing and unwilling ac-

complices to Stalinism.

The centrists of the MIR (Movement of Revolutionary Left), who had a considerable following among the landless peasantry in the south, did not take a principled attitude to Allende and created great confusion in the peasantry. Their policy of "critical support" to Allende meant in practice capitulation to the Popular Front. Like the POUM in Catalonia in the Spanish civil war, this group withdrew its opposition to Allende in the March 1973 congressional elections precisely when a bold challenge to the Stalinists and Socialists and a demand for a workers' and farmers' government could have rallied the majority of workers and poor peasants.

The revisionists of the Unified Secretariat played an even more ignominious role. The Militant (paper of the United States Socialist Workers Party), in its issue of September 4, 1973, laments: "But there is still no party that can take up this example (popular control of production) and spread it throughout the cordones (labor assemblies) and throughout the country."

Why doesn't the SWP tell its readers what happened to the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party of Chile), section of the Unified Secretariat, which abandoned the International Committee and joined the USFI to support the revisionist theories of Mandel and Hansen, theories which liquidated Trotskyism in Latin America and substituted for it the ideas and methods of Guevara and Castro? Why does not the SWP recall that it was itself the main protagonist of this political line?

Is it not a fact that the Trotskyist party was destroyed in Chile, not by Stalinism or any junta, but by the conscious application of the revisionist theory that revolutions could be successfully made without the building of a Marxist party?

Was it not the leader of the POR, Luis Vitale, who, in 1962, on the eve of the infamous Pabloite Re-unification Congress, declared in the following words this complete abdication of the struggle for a Marxist party and power?

"The new generation is developing in a different world and a more different Latin America. The Cuban revolution has broken the old prejudices, has shown that the triumph can be achieved in any Latin American country, that the imperialist counter-revolutionary oligarchy can be destroyed, that the traditional parties, reformists and Stalinists, can be overruled by broader revolutionary movements, and has shown once again that the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus..." (History of the Workers Movement, Santiago, Chile, 1962.)

The Chilean defeat, however, will change nothing in the revisionist Secretariat. Far from their learning any lessons, these events drive them closer to bureaucracy, the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. That is why the revisionists of the International Marxist Group, for example, have no hesitation in marching with the Stalinist champions of the Popular Front in Britain in the demonstration against the Chilean junta—and for the Popular Front in Chile.

Revisionism has certainly reached a new stage in its degeneration. By marching with the Popular Front they have identified themselves openly with the counter-revolutionary preparations of Stalinism and the bourgeoisie. To fight Stalinism and Castroism is to politically destroy revisionism.

The ICFI rejects completely the spurious demand of the Stalinist Gollan that the Tories do not recognize the junta. Heath and Pinchoet are partners in imperialist repression and must be exposed for what they are.

The IC calls for the maximum solidarity of the international working class to black Chilean shipping and goods, and secure the release of all political prisoners as well as the cessation of the summary executions of the junta. At the same time we demand of the USSR government and the eastern European regimes that they break all diplomatic and economic ties with the Chilean junta and give every aid to the embattled workers of Chile.

- Down with the military junta of Chile!
- Down with the Popular Front!
- Down with Stalinism!
- Long live the Chilean workers!
- Build the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

September 18, 1973

LABOR TODAY

Centrism In Auto

The contract fight in Chrysler has brought home to thousands of auto workers the urgent need for a new leadership in the United Auto Workers.

But even more importantly, the auto struggle has raised very sharply the critical question of **what kind** of leadership is necessary today to lead workers forward against Woodcock and the conditions they face.

The wildcats which surged through Chrysler plants in the days before the strike deadline and the militancy of the strike itself demonstrated the determination of workers to fight it out with the auto bosses in order to defend their living standards and defeat the wage-cutting speedup policies of the Big Three.

But at the critical point, when tens of thousands of workers were ready to reject Woodcock's deal with Chrysler, the largest of the opposition groups within the UAW, the United National Caucus, left workers confused and disoriented by deserting the fight and joining Woodcock.

Jordan Sims, UNC co-chairman and president of Chrysler Eldon gear and axle Local 691, voted for the contract at the meeting of the UAW Chrysler Council prior to ratification.

Sims later claimed he had been "sweet talked" by Woodcock. "They did not tell me about the hookers in the contract," he said. "Yes, we have been conned."

The Sims betrayal was no accident, but grew out of the history and perspective of the UNC.

The UNC emerged in 1966-1967 largely under the leadership of Art Fox as an opposition group formed around the demands of skilled tradesmen in the UAW for wage parity with workers performing similar labor in other industries.

In the course of its evolution, the UNC put forward an entire program of radical contract demands and even brought in the necessity for independent political action and the formation of a labor party.

The complete disintegration of the UNC as an opposition force today can be understood only by understanding the development of Fox, whose centrist perspective has dominated the UNC since its inception.

The UNC today reveals the deadly role of centrism in the unions as a force opposing the political development of the working class and the construction of a revolutionary leadership and party capable of overthrowing capitalism.

Fox began, not in the UNC, but in the Trotskyist movement as a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

But he broke with Trotskyism to join in forming the UNC in 1966 precisely because he never went beyond functioning in the trade unions as a trade union militant.

He never became a Marxist fighting in the trade unions for political leadership and the development of the revolutionary party.

Fox was part of the group which split with Trotsky and the SWP in 1940 over the question of the nature of the Soviet Union and became a member of the minority in the split-off Workers Party which held the position that the USSR is "state capitalist."

Fox rejoined the SWP in 1948 without ever confronting this basic disagreement or the method which lay behind it.

He remained in the SWP for nearly 20 years on the basis of pragmatism. He was hostile to theory and the necessity for taking Marxist theory into the trade unions, and he defended the party only insofar as he saw it as an instrument to lead the working class **after** it had swung into revolutionary action on the basis of its spontaneous development.

It was on this basis that in 1952, Fox was one of the few party members in Detroit who defended the party leadership of James Cannon against the Cochran faction, an older, conservative layer of workers in the party which sought to bloc with Pablo in order to liquidate the party and retreat into simple trade union work.

Fox later became part of the minority tendency in the SWP which was to form the Workers League. He joined the tendency on much the same basis as he joined the SWP in 1948 and defended Cannon against the Cochranites.

Fox broke from the minority when he was called upon to go beyond the empirical break with the Pabloism of 1953 to probe its theoretical roots.

He opposed the break with the SWP in 1964 over the betrayal of the Pabloites in Ceylon, claiming this had no relevancy to American workers.

But it is just the type of coalition government which the LSSP entered which led to the fascist coup in Chile.

This is the logic of centrism. It is also the logic of the UNC, which today joins in a coalition with the Stalinists to vote with Woodcock for a deal with the bosses against the Chrysler workers.

—bruce mckay

IBT Seeks Sabotage Of Whirlpool Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL—By a vote of 595 to 375 workers of Teamsters Local 827 Monday morning rejected Whirlpool's latest offer and vowed to continue their 10-week strike until victory.

Asked to settle for a wage package less than Nixon's guidelines on the very day that milk prices across the country jumped a full dime and local papers predicted bread would be \$1.00 a loaf in 1974, the workers answered they would fight for an increase.

Greg Mayen, a young worker who fought for a "no" vote told the **Bulletin**: "The company was trying to get by cheap. Now they are going to have to see it our way. Sears is hurting for products. They depend on Whirlpool and Whirlpool depends on us."

Dan Guider, who helped lead the floor fight against the con-

tract, added: "This contract is the worst offered Whirlpool employees in my 28 years in the plant. There is no money for the present, no concern for those near retirement, and no real improvement in fringe benefits."

Now the strike enters its most critical stage. The leadership has been retreating from any battle to mobilize the ranks or to provide any real leadership. They would not even state where they stood on the contract they had negotiated and brought to be voted on.

One of the opposition leaders, Ken Christian, spoke about the leadership at the meeting, "Last July this negotiating committee told us the contract offered was not worth the paper it is printed on," he said. "Now you are silent on the same basic contract."

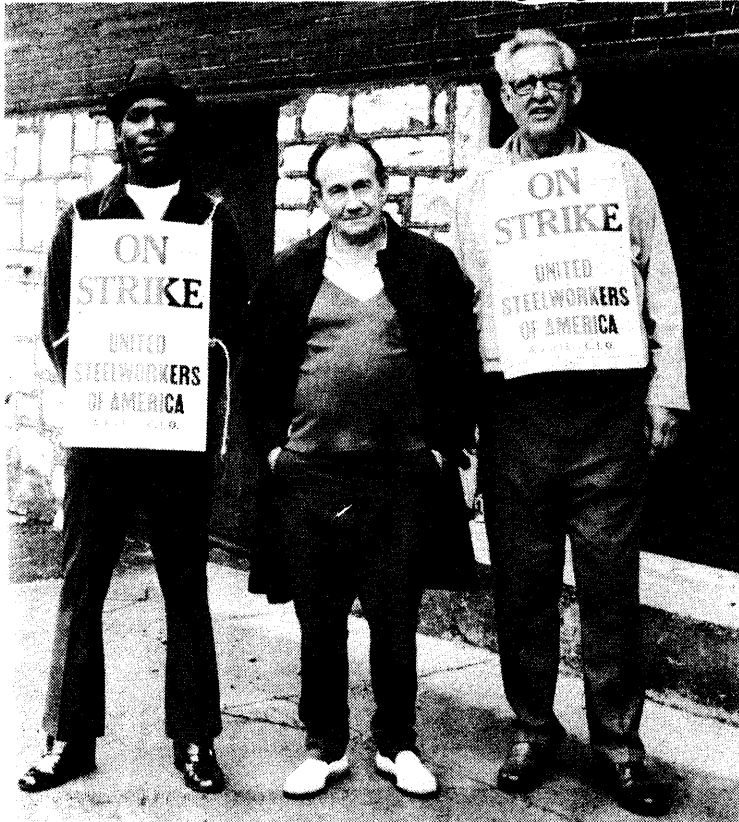
The danger now exists that the company, relying on the refusal of the union leadership to fight, will attempt to starve out the strike.

This was done to striking oil workers at Koch Oil's Rosemount, Minnesota facility several weeks ago.

Strikers must stand firm for a one year contract guaranteeing a 50 cent increase, a 100 percent cost of living escalator, and a \$600 per month pension after 30 years, regardless of age.

This means an all out fight against Phase Four. It means a break with Fitzsimmons who buoys up Nixon today in his hour of greatest weakness.

As one worker put it: "Nixon is trying to force the cost of living up. He is for power and big business, so working people cannot make a living. People cannot make it, cannot live. He shouldn't be in office; we should force him out."



Members of United Steelworkers of America Local 1377 are striking American Foundry and Manufacturing Company for a 25 percent wage hike, while the company is offering 5.5 percent. This is the first strike in 30 years at the St. Louis plant.

Clerks Throw Out 5.5%

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Members of the Retail Store Employees Union, Local 655, AFL-CIO, have voted overwhelmingly to strike instead of accepting a short-term seven month contract that would have tied them to Nixon's 5.5 percent guideline.

Almost 3000 members of the 6000 member union attended, and the vote for striking and sending the contract back to the bargaining table was 1865 to 1038.

The union members want to get over 5.5 percent and a decent sick pay package that does not come out of the pay raise. One worker said in the meeting, "We are not striking against the stores, as much as against the federal government."

Another spoke out against the contract: "We have not gotten wage increases, we have not gotten sick pay, what is the use of working."

Another said, "We should get what is coming to us."

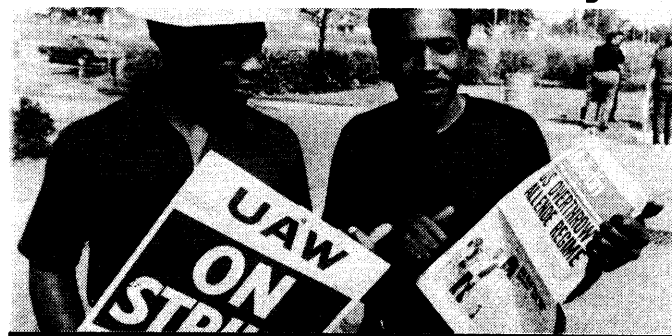
At every point, the union leadership tried to stifle the militancy of the ranks, to no avail.

Jack Valenti, president of the union, said: "We are only able to do what is legal under the law. We cannot get wages over 5.5 percent." Even after the vote was taken, Valenti said that they could not strike until the federal arbitrators were notified.

One official said: "Take all the things you have said this morning, write them down, and write a letter to the Cost of

Living Council expressing your discontent." Such proposals are only attempts by the leadership to avoid the real issues involved such as the fight for a decent contract to maintain the workers standard of living.

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BOOKS

On Preparing The Next Stage

by Dianne Isaacs



Trotsky hunting in Sukhum in 1924.

PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE by Leon Trotsky. Monad Press, \$3.45. Available from Labor Publications, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

PART II

As the American working class enters politics in this period of deepest economic crisis, it faces many of the same problems in its daily life as the Russian working class faced after the October Revolution.

The decay of capitalism must shake up all the old customs, family relationships, and habits. These enormous changes in thinking require that the revolutionary party struggle to learn from these changes to prepare the working class for the seizure of power.

The new knowledge of the working class comes into collision with tradition, precisely because politics change rapidly, but morals, as Trotsky pointed out, "cling tenaciously to the past."

The material in *Problems of Everyday Life* is not, as the liberals and humanitarians like George Novack would have it, a diversion from Trotsky's political fight, but is an integral part of the struggle Trotsky and Lenin took up after the revolution to reach new layers of workers and win their support for the construction of socialism internationally.

Trotsky sought to give the Bolshevik Party an understanding of the materialist roots of the contradictory development of consciousness.

"The Russian proletariat," he wrote, "is poor in class history and class traditions. This has undoubtedly facilitated its revolutionary education leading up to October. On the other hand, it causes difficulty in constructive work after October."

In those circumstances, Trotsky grappled with the problem of how the party was to reach new youth, women, and peasants, and develop the workers around the party as Marxists. He tackled this from every aspect—from teaching the Red Army how to read maps to exhorting the youth to study Marxist philosophy.

Even as early as 1921, the bureaucracy was beginning to consolidate its power and it was Lenin and Trotsky who campaigned for the Bolshevik Party to turn outward to reach new, broad layers of workers who, while having supported the overthrow of Czarism, were completely new to politics.

VITAL

Problems of Everyday Life thus was a vital part of absorbing the meaning of the big changes taking place in thinking in the revolutionary situation of 1923 and fighting the formal, hollow propagandism of the bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy under Stalin and Bukharin had already turned its back on the working class by the time Trotsky wrote much of the material in the book. Reflecting the conservatism of the middle class, it refused to study these changes in the working class.

"To overhear the masses, overhear what they think, what they want, to understand all this and mentally jump over all those who bureaucratically think for the masses but do not listen to them—for this, the head of a Lenin is necessary," Trotsky wrote.

Trotsky takes up one of the sharpest fights against bureaucracy in the chapters on the press, for it was through the paper that the Bolshevik Party was linked to the masses. He understood that the party's paper was the tool for educating the working class and peasantry in their international tasks, and that it had to perform this function not by abstract propaganda, but by linking the events in Europe to the daily interests of the Russian masses.

How far the bureaucracy had turned away from doing this was revealed in both the technical composition of the paper—where pages were bound together upside down and the print had become almost illegible—and in its editorial decisions, where foreign news releases followed the developments in a particular country only sporadically and the symbols and abbreviations were so complex as to make the article impossible to understand. Trotsky warned in 1923:

EXCLUSIVENESS

"The danger of a split between the party and the nonparty masses in the field of agitation is expressed in the exclusiveness of the content of agitation and of its form, in the construction of an almost arbitrary party language, inaccessible to almost nine-tenths not only of the peasants,

but even of the workers."

Every passage in the book is motivated from the knowledge that all aspects of culture had to proceed as elements of man's living struggle to control nature; that this was something that could not be deduced from abstract theories, but only as a partisan fighting to change the course of history.

"Socialist principles," Trotsky wrote, "and conclusions must not be mere propaganda in ... books. They must form an integral part of the practical teaching."

Trotsky assessed the materialist foundations for changing the cultural level of the working class:

"It is only the seizure of power by the working class which creates the premises for a complete transformation of morals.

"On the other hand, even the slightest successes in the sphere of morals, by raising the cultural level of the working man and woman, enhance our capacity for rationalizing production, and promoting socialist accumulation.

"This again gives the possibility of making fresh conquests in the sphere of morals. Thus a dialectical dependence exists between the two spheres."

It was an objective fight, based on historical materialism, that enabled Trotsky to found the Fourth International, the continuity of Leninism, in a later period—one of fascist reaction and Stalinist degeneration.

All the selections in *Problems of Everyday Life* represent a development of Marxism, and are inseparable from the fight Trotsky was taking up on the literary front against arguments for "proletarian culture," a viewpoint whose political assumption was that capitalism was stabilizing itself internationally and that socialism could be built in one country at a "snail's pace."

The American working class enters the period of revolutionary struggle in more contradictory conditions than the Russian proletariat. It enters with an enormous level of technology and cultural resources combined with the pragmatic, conservative ideology of the middle class keeping it from politics.

It is under these circumstances that the revolutionary party must develop the means for reaching the widest layers of the American working class about all of the issues contained in *Problems of Everyday Life*.

TV

Children In The Courts

by Collette Windsor

JUVENILE COURT, a documentary by Frederick Wiseman, presented on WNET, Channel 13, Monday, October 1.

The brutal conditions which poor and working class youth in America face were brought to life in "Juvenile Court," a documentary produced, directed, and edited by Frederick Wiseman, who has made other documentaries of the cinema verite style.

The two and one-half hour film, made over a span of one month at the Tennessee Department of Correction in Memphis, revealed the true nature of capitalist "justice" for youth; hypocrisy, racism, and the blatant and legally sanctioned denial of all their rights to defense and a fair trial.

The counselors for the youth are experts in methods of what borders on torture. They win just a bit of the youth's trust and then hound them with "psychology" to instill in them the concept of their own guilt.

The youth's aggressions, crimes, and attempted suicides are blamed on thinking too much of himself, thinking too little of herself, harsh parental discipline, or the lack of any discipline at all.

The only thing determined in juvenile court is whether the child is to be placed in a training center or be remanded to the Grand Jury for criminal indictment.

In the case of Robert, accused of selling LSD to undercover narcotics agents, a detective who had nothing to do with the arrest or interrogation presented what was technically hearsay evidence.

When the defense attorney asked for facts and documentation and for the appearance of the undercover agents involved, the judge stated that it was not necessary to produce all evidence in juvenile court, and that the defendant had been picked up for narcotics twice before.

Despite Robert's testimony that he was home sick with hepatitis during the alleged sale, he was remanded for criminal trial, since he had had two previous appearances before the juvenile court.

Legally, past offenses cannot be brought out in a court of law; but in juvenile court, everything and anything, even personal impressions, can be used against the defendant.

VERDICT

The verdict in all the cases is reached when the judge, prosecutor, parole officer, and defense attorney retire to the judge's chambers to work out "what is best for the child"—and the verdict is usually the training center until the child is judged rehabilitated.

There are no set limits of sentencing and no maximum and minimum penalties.

Wiseman and his cameramen filmed the horror of the counselors, judges, and even defense attorneys as they literally torture the youth. Before he was sent to the hospital, one youth whose father had poured hot grease all over his head was interrogated to find out why he had created the conditions for his father to do something like that.

But while Wiseman fully documents the terror of the juvenile court and the Department of Correction, at no point does he show the conditions in which these youth are forced to grow up: the decay and the poverty they face daily.

"Juvenile Court" was however, a powerful documentary which reveals the real nature of the government and shows the kind of reactionary forces Nixon will gather around him to attack democratic rights.

The Complete Grundrisse

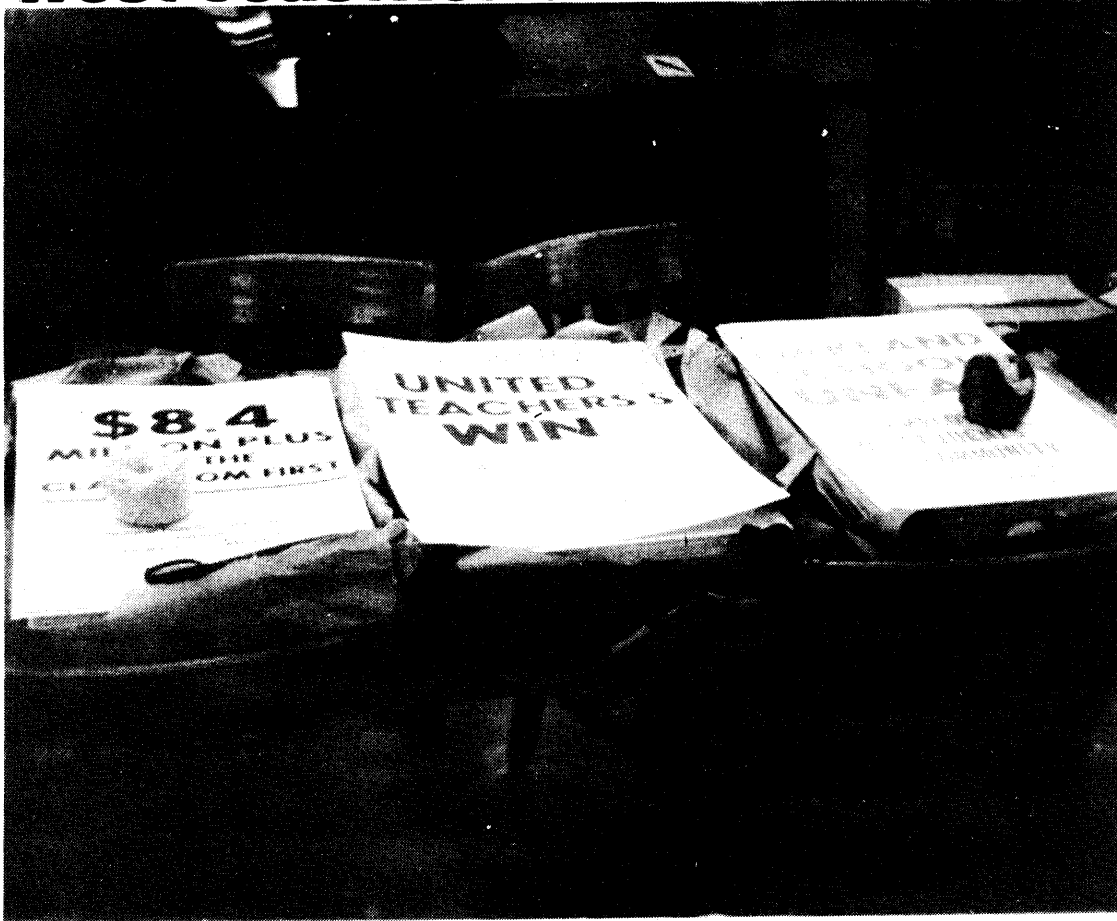


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Oakland American Federation of Teachers, who have received only a one percent wage increase a year, have called on the Alameda Central Labor Council for support in a strike against the School Board.

Oakland Teachers Vote Strike Authorization

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—A meeting of the Oakland Local 771 of the American Federation of Teachers voted unanimously for sanction from the Alameda Central Labor Council for a strike against the school board.

The Oakland Educational Association, which represents the majority of Oakland teachers, has put off any decision on a strike until after state mediation.

They have called a mass meeting for October 15 at the Oakland Auditorium to vote on

the mediator's rulings and the question of a strike.

The school board has refused to bargain seriously on any of the crucial issues facing the teachers and students, especially wages, increased services, increased instructional supplies, and class size

maximums. They are provoking a strike at the same time as Reagan has vetoed a collective bargaining bill for teachers.

The conditions are rapidly being created for a political confrontation between the Oakland teachers and the city and state governments.

For the last three years, Oakland teachers have received a rate of one percent a year in wage increases. The AFT has been demanding a first year increase of 18 percent to catch up with inflation.

However, at the strike vote meeting, Raoul Teilhet, President of the California Federation of Teachers, and the local leadership refused to answer members who demanded to know what the school board was offering and what the union was demanding.

There must be a united strike by the AFT, and Oakland Educational Association, and all school employees. The leadership must be forced to firmly commit itself to fight for the full 18 percent in wages, reduced class sizes, and millions more to provide decent education in Oakland.

MGM Shuts Film Production

BY SHEILA BREHM

CULVER CITY—For those who can still afford an occasional movie, MGM's famous lion trademark will no longer roar.

MGM, for several decades, the king of the movie industry, is pulling out of theatrical film distribution. According to MGM President James T. Aubrey: "The bottom has fallen out of the market."

In the third quarter, from March to May, MGM took write-offs of \$11 million on its theatrical pictures.

NLRB Defends Brewery Scabs In Court Action

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The National Labor Relations Board stepped up its attack on striking Teamster beer drivers Monday by moving in US District Court to find them in contempt of court.

The NLRB charged drivers with slashing tires of scab trucks, breaking windowpanes, and stinkbombing stores selling scab beer.

The government began to intervene openly in the bitter four month strike when the NLRB sponsored elections at nine barns in Sacramento and the East Bay last week in which scabs voted to throw out Local 888. Picketing at these companies by union drivers is now legally banned.

The NLRB stood by when the beer distributors launched their open-shop campaign with massive use of scabs, dogs, and armed motorcycle squadrons.

The strikers are determined not to be broken, even though they have been isolated by their leadership.

One striker told the Bulletin: "We don't have any use for the NLRB. If this were 15 years ago those scab trucks would be in the bay."

Another striker said: "The breweries want to raise our deli-

veries from 1250 to 1500 cases a week. You will kill a man like that."

Local 888 leader Bob Biggins is running away from the political challenge of the NLRB. "It is mighty tough to beat the government," he told the Bulletin.

He indicated that if appeals of the NLRB elections are unsuccessful, the union would abide by the results, which include banning all organizing for one year.

Jack Goldberger, regional head of the Teamsters, has told the ranks to be nonviolent. Goldberger is one of the heads of the Ad Hoc Strike Support Committee which recently held mass demonstrations at Sears in defiance of a court injunction limiting picketing by striking Sears workers.

Biggins and Goldberger must be forced to take up a political fight against the NLRB and Nixon. The ranks must demand that they reject these rulings and mobilize mass support from the labor movement in defense of the Teamsters.

Westinghouse Striker Says '5.5% Is A Dictatorship'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SUNNYVALE—Forty-two Teamsters in Local 296 are in their seventh week of a strike against the Westinghouse plant here.

They are refusing to accept the 5.5 percent wage guideline in the national electric contract signed in June.

"Whenever he can put a 5.5 percent freeze on your wages, it is already a dictatorship," one striker said.

The union is using a waiver clause to demand that their job categories be raised to parity with other Teamsters.

Fellow Teamsters are honoring the picket line, but scab trucks have been used. This plant makes sensitive nuclear equipment for the government.

A federal mediator has threatened to bring in a Taft-Hartley injunction against the strikers.

The leaders of International Association of Machinists Local

565, which organizes the 1700 production workers in the plant, have ordered their members across the Teamster picket lines.

Local 565 was one of several locals which rejected the national agreement last summer.

IAM officials are so afraid that the drivers' example will catch on with the ranks that they refuse even to speak to the Teamsters.

Meanwhile, IAM workers have taken up a collection for the Teamsters. An IAM worker told the Bulletin: "There should be one union at this plant. As it is we are cutting each other's throats."

What is required immediately is an emergency joint meeting of the Teamsters and the IAM to shut down the plant.

International Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE) Local 727 said: "It has been slow for so long that anything else that happens is negligible."

The membership in this local has dropped a staggering 65 percent in the last few years.

IATSE Local 816, covering workers who do scenic work and backgrounds has only two members at MGM. Two years ago there were 30.

Two years ago, Aubrey had remarked that the film industry "is a business that can work, if it's run like a business rather than as an art form."

This ruthless drive for profits has created unemployment for thousands.

Greet the twice-weekly Bulletin

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Speaker for both meetings: Lucy St. John, Bulletin Editor

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

lucía rivera.

Chile: El Stalinismo Culpable

La Junta Militar que gobierna a Chile desde el pasado 11 de setiembre, ha desarrollado una matanza en contra de los opositores al gobierno. Más de 7,000 personas se encuentran detenidas en el estadio nacional de Santiago esperando juicio a manos de los militares los cuales tienen el poder de imponer la pena de muerte. La Confederación General del Trabajo, que agrupa a más de 800,000 miembros, ha sido declarada ilegal, al igual que todos los partidos marxistas y de oposición.

Las fábricas nacionalizadas, la tierra expropiada a los grandes terratenientes durante el gobierno de Unidad Popular, han sido devueltas a sus dueños. La Junta ha impuesto un congelamiento de salarios y ha enforzado "disciplina en la producción y en el trabajo".

EL STALINISMO ES CULPABLE DE ESTA TRAICION.

La táctica de "Frentes Populares", (alianza de la clase obrera con la burguesía nacional) historicamente ha costado la vida a millares de obreros. Esta fue la política que llevo a Hitler al poder propulsada por Stalin, fue la que traiciono la Guerra Civil Española en los treinta y la que llevo a Banzer al poder en Bolivia en el 1971.

Chile es la última víctima de estas políticas stalinistas. El Partido Comunista Chileno apoyó a Allende en el nombramiento de demócratas cristianos y militares al poder. Defendieron a la democracia parlamentaria burguesa, defendieron a muerte la "Unidad" de las Fuerzas Armadas Chilenas y pusieron a los militares fascistas directamente en el poder, comenzando con Pratts y los otros militares del "Gabinete de Unidad Nacional", incluido el mismo Pinochet que hoy es la cabeza de la Junta Militar.

Los preparativos del golpe fascista era ya sentido entre los obreros y la juventud que apoyaba al gobierno de la U.P. El 21 de octubre del 1972 la ley de control de armas había sido impuesta, pero la misma se mantuvo por letra muerta hasta el 2 de julio de este año. Esto ocurrió tres días luego del "Tacnazo", (golpe abortivo de las Fuerzas Armadas) fueron enviadas por Allende a las fábricas y poblados obreros en busca de armas. En Punta Arenas murieron dos trabajadores a mano de los militares que buscaban armas. Los miembros del partido fascista "Patria y Libertad" del cual muchos militares eran miembros, nunca fueron investigados en relación a armas.

Los constantes sabotajes en la producción los asesinatos políticos, las huelgas de los dueños de camiones mantenían a los trabajadores en estado de alerta, pero no así a los stalinistas, castristas del M.I.R. y los del Partido Socialista.

Los trabajadores habían organizado "cordones industriales", los cuales agrupaban a las fábricas más importantes del país. Especialmente luego del "tacnazo" florecieron más en reacción a cualquier golpe fascista. Fueron estos mismos organismos de defensa que Allende les envió a los militares para desarmarlos. A mediados del mes de agosto cuando se intensificaron las ocupaciones de fábricas por los obreros y crecía por parte de estos la oposición de militares al poder es que Allende declara el 26 de agosto "Nunca he tolerado ni toleraré que un grupo político interfiera en mis relaciones con las Fuerzas Armadas".

El papel contrarrevolucionario del Partido Comunista Chileno, no es un fenómeno si no la política internacional de la burocracia soviética. No fue hasta el 21 de setiembre cuando la Union Sovietica rompió relaciones diplomáticas con Chile, pero aun así les ofrece su suelo a un equipo de futbolistas chilenos encabezado por un miembro de Junta Militar.

En los Estados Unidos, el Partido Comunista pide la intervención de la Naciones Unidas en el caso de Chile a la misma vez que sostiene la política de "frente popular" como ejemplo a seguir. El Partido Socialista Obrero (S.W.P.) se le ha unido a ellos compartiendo la misma tribuna. La lucha de Trotsky en contra de la degeneración stalinista y sus traiciones a la clase obrera es hoy tirada por la borda por el S.W.P.

El Partido Socialista Obrero (S.W.P.) en su análisis de la situación en Chile trae a colación los frentes populares de los años treinta y el papel de los stalinistas. Esas son las lecciones que hay que traer hoy día y son las mismas que el S.W.P. rehúsa hacer. En el bajo Manhattan son ellos los principales propulsores del Superintendente del distrito 1, Luis Fuentes, y del control cumunal. Fuentes ha aceptado la rebaja en el presupuesto para el distrito y lo utiliza para atacar a la Federación Unida de Maestros.

La clase obrera se enfrenta a los mismo peligros que se enfrentó en los años treinta. Es sólo con una política clara de clase en que se puede destruir los intentos de los capitalistas en destruir nuestros derechos básicos e imponer el facismo. El S.W.P. y el Partido Comunista quieren mantener a la clase obrera dependiente de la burguesía. Todo acto de solidaridad con el proletariado chileno es guiado por las protestas de la clase media.

No es de extrañar que el S.W.P. que nació en la lucha en contra del stalinismo en el 1928, se halle en el 1973 en la misma posición que el P.C. Su abandono del marxismo, de que no es necesario un partido marxista para la toma del poder, que es suficiente las alianzas con la pequeña burguesía en presionar a los capitalistas para conseguir reformas lo hace responsable como al stalinismo internacional de los sucesos en Chile.

west coast news

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ILWU Refuses To Defend Guarantee

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO—

Using the pretext of lack of a quorum, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 President Robert Rohatch adjourned a special meeting Saturday in order to put off a confrontation with the angry rank and file.

Longshoremen are boiling because of the lack of work and the Pacific Maritime Association's wholesale sabotage of payment on the guarantee. One "B" man said he had had one day of work in the last three weeks, and many "A" men spoke of two and three day weeks as normal.

The PMA has used all sorts of loopholes in the contract to avoid paying the guarantee.

The rank and file's anger has been expressed in a fight over the proposed sale or lease of the union's hiring hall, which was the subject of the special meeting. Because of the decline in membership, the local can no longer afford to pay the property taxes on its hall.

Last month, Rohatch dumped the trustees of the hall through a bureaucratic maneuver when they proposed to lease the hall rather than sell it.

Frank Stout, the business agent in charge of the hall, took the extremely dangerous step of going to court seeking an injunction restoring control to his group.

Both of these factions seek to divert rank and file anger into a destructive and unprincipled fight inside the union.

Longshoremen must repudiate Stout's going to the courts. The only way to defeat bureaucracy is by putting the fight for jobs at the center.

This means a political fight against the NLRB decisions taking away longshoremen's jurisdiction over containers and preparations for joint strike action with the International Longshoremen's Association.



The Bulletin discussed the Coors beer strike with Teamster, above, whose union is facing contempt charges in the US District Court. See our story, page 11.

Chavez Signs Peace Pact With Teamster Leader

BY ANN LORE

Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers Union has signed a "peace treaty" with Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons.

This agreement is supposed to end the jurisdictional dispute between the UFWU and the Teamsters for control over the fields.

In fact, it was the farm workers themselves, with much support from other sections of organized labor, who drove the Teamster bureaucracy away from their attempt to destroy the UFWU.

Although this is reflected in the agreement, it is a bureaucratic manipulation which was worked out almost exclusively by Meany and Fitzsimmons. It does not begin to tackle the problems which the UFWU must now face with the growers.

Earlier this summer, when talks were going on, Fitzsimmons signed 30 more contracts with the growers. Now

he is saying he will rescind most of them.

Why is Chavez allowing Fitzsimmons to keep any of the contracts he stole from the farm workers? And why does the treaty make no preparations for a united labor struggle to win back the fields for the UFWU?

The growers are taking the position that the contracts are still valid. They intend to continue their vicious union-busting tactics on the UFWU.

Right now, special Assembly committee hearings have opened in Bakersfield, Kern County to hear testimony on "farm labor violence."

Sheriff Dodge is defending the violence of the police and using the hearings to propose new legislation. Using the fact that one farm worker picket was fatally wounded by a shot fired from a passing car in Lamont, he is recommending a law banning anyone other than regular police officers from possessing guns, loaded or unloaded, in strike areas.

The state, in holding these hearings, is clearly looking for an excuse to impose more legal measures against the farm workers defending themselves.

The farm workers must not place any confidence in these maneuvers of the bureaucrats or the state, supposedly all in their interest.

Outside of a massive fight against the growers and the government, these fields will not be won.

But this is exactly what Chavez pledged himself not to do at the recent UFWU convention.

Acaba de Salir

Guerra en los Campos
por Marty Moran
y Bruce McKay

Este pamfletto enfoca la trayectoria seguida por los trabajadores agrícolas desde mediados del siglo 19 hasta el presente. Hoy cuando Chávez recurre a protestas de clase media, el boicot, es de sumo valor que los obreros miren a su historia. Los ataques del gobierno contra la U.F.W.U. pueden ser sólo destruidos con la movilización de la clase obrera bajo un programa de demandas socialistas. Esto es lo que Chávez rehúsa hacer. 50¢

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