

# Bulletin

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

HOOVER  
JUL 30 1976  
INSTITUTION

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIFTY TWO 327

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

FIFTEEN CENTS



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BY DAVID NORTH  
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The Wall Street collapse came on the heels of statistics which show a \$100 million decline in corporate profits during the third economic quarter, an 8.4 percent drop in housing starts, and a sudden slump in earnings in the automobile industry.

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crisis represents a new stage in Nixon's attacks on the American labor movement. Every worker who now acts to defend his job and living standards will be accused by this administration of causing a national emergency.

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The boycott is a contributing factor and a reflection of the world capitalist crisis which exploded with the collapse of the international monetary system on August 15, 1971 and the consequent breakup of the postwar inflationary boom.

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•Shorter work weeks and plant shutdowns are being prepared. Massachusetts authorities are discussing cutting one day's pay through shutdowns from the wages of 650,000 industrial workers.

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•Schools throughout the country are being shut down for extended Christmas vacations and older schools which have heating systems which are judged to consume too much oil may be shut down entirely.

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BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Richard Nixon continued his flagging counteroffensive: to hang on to the presidency with a trip to a conference of Republican governors in Memphis.

The Republican governors whose numbers have already been slashed from 32 before the 1972 elections to 19 today see nothing but disaster staring them in the face as new Watergate scandals swirl about the president.

Last May, these same governors issued a statement

saying: "We deplore Watergate. We support the president. We believe the president."

Prior to the meeting, the governors stated: "We applaud the determination of the president to make full disclosure to the public concerning Watergate."

On the defensive from the beginning, Nixon told them: "I'm sorry if I've added to your burdens."

According to Governor Thompson of New Hampshire, Nixon asked the governors: "How many of you governors in the past year have been examined by the Internal Revenue?" Not a single hand went up. He continued: "I have" and that it's a—he didn't use the word excruciating, I think he said harrowing experience, and it's happened to him for the last three years."

### SYMPATHY

For all the apologies and appeals for sympathy, Nixon made it clear that he had no intention of resigning.

Insisting that Truman did his best work when most unpopular, Nixon declared: "They've asked me to walk away when my popularity drops below 40 percent. What a tragedy it would be to let that be the indicator that it's time to give up the game."

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## The Frenzied Actions Of Middle Class Radicals

As we enter a new stage of capitalist crisis, middle class radicalism plays the role of seeking to break the movement of the working class to defend its basic rights.

At the very point when millions of workers are beginning to break out of the political confines of the capitalist class and move independently against the government, all the petty-bourgeois radical tendencies seek to prevent this.

In this way, they objectively act to assist the capitalist class in holding back the working class from entering into revolutionary struggle and can be easily used by police and government agents to attack the workers movement.

This is the position today of the Labor Committee who under the

cover of left slogans has launched physical assaults on the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Spartacist League broke off relations with the International Committee of the Fourth International by walking out of an international conference in 1966. In so doing they severed all connection with the continuity of the Trotskyist movement and with Marxism.

Their leader Robertson took this step consciously to avoid breaking with the propaganda existence of his tendency and to turn towards the construction of a revolutionary party rooted in the working class.

In 1967, the struggle of the International Committee

to build a mass revolutionary youth movement led to an international demonstration of youth in Liege, Belgium.

It was because of the success of this march that Ernest Tate, a leader of the Pabloite movement in Britain provoked a physical confrontation outside a meeting of the SLL in London.

This incident was immediately seized on by Tate's American cothinkers, the Socialist Workers Party to launch an international campaign of hysterical slander accusing us of "gangsterism" and "hooliganism."

The SWP's most helpful ally in this was the Spartacist League who aided them in whipping up the slander.

It is in this period, when the Workers League is breaking with the propaganda circle of the past, when branches of the Young Socialists are growing throughout the country, and when our twice-weekly paper receives its greatest support from workers and working class youth enabling us to prepare for the construction of a mass revolutionary party, that Spartacist goes over to provocations.

It is now clear that the Spartacist League's sole reason for existence is to break up our meetings and disrupt our activities. They are willing to do anything and ally with anyone to accomplish this aim.

It is this blind frenzy and hostility to constructing a revolutionary movement that places them in league with agent provocateurs and the most reactionary forces who are out to destroy the revolutionary movement.

In San Francisco, Spartacist members attempted to disrupt our meeting for the twice-weekly *Bulletin* by

setting up a picket line outside the Jack Tar Hotel shouting slogans.

They threatened Editor Lucy St. John that they were going to force their way inside.

It was these actions that prompted the hotel management and then plainclothes security guards to threaten to close down the meeting. Since then, this hotel has refused to rent its facilities to our movement.

To compound this, they write in the November 9 issue of their paper, *Workers Vanguard* that is was we, not they, who were responsible for the calling of the cops:

"The simple presence of the SL distributing literature outside the meeting much less trying to attend it was all the WL needed to demand action from the hotel management; that the police be called."

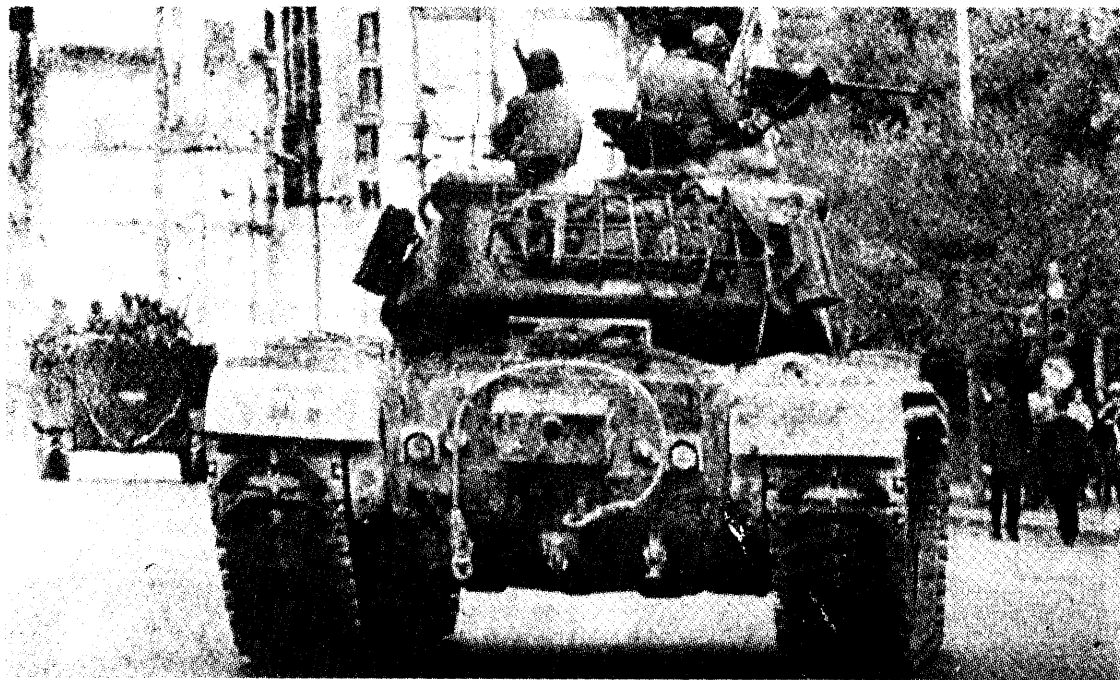
They write without daring to say what really happened, knowing full well that in their own presence, Lucy St. John told the manager that she did not want any police there.

Following this, we have been denied a hall for a meeting December 13 because of the disruption the Spartacist League created on the occasion of the founding meeting of the Cleveland branch.

Spartacist finds itself playing into the hands of the police and the government just when the cops have launched a witch-hunt against the Young Socialists. It is no accident that because our movement has grown that YS members have been arrested and harassed in Oakland, Bethlehem, State College, and New York.

These provocations are the logic of Spartacist's complete rejection of a principled struggle to build a revolutionary party in the new conditions we face today.

### What We Think



Greek tanks patrol downtown Athens. Army has threatened to shoot on sight anyone disobeying their orders.

## Tories Declare Emergency Powers Against Miners

BY MITCH PATTERSON

Following a statement by British Prime Minister Heath announcing the worst monthly trade deficit in all of British history, a state of emergency was declared. This move has been initiated to force a showdown with the working class and make them pay for the insoluble crisis of British capitalism.

Under the terms of the "emergency," the government has unrestricted power to regulate the distribution of food, gas, and oil as well as all incoming and outgoing goods at the ports.

These regulations give the government the power to place the ports, power stations, mines, and major industries under military occupation.

The declaration allows for the fining and/or jailing of "anyone who resists the preservation of public order."

This means that any worker who attempts to defend his basic rights will be classified as a saboteur and fined or jailed.

The second "emergency" announcement was made public, an absolute panic hit the stock exchange. Literally millions worth of Stock Exchange values were destroyed in a matter of hours, as all confidence in the Tory government came crashing down.

### FRENZY

The Middle East oil embargo has thrown the government into a frenzy. The Arab countries have raised the cost of oil 70 percent which adds an additional one billion dollars to England's annual tab. The government has imposed heavy cutbacks in the use of gas, oil, and electricity.

The tremendous inflation—37 percent over the last 12 months—the unemployment, and now the virtual state of martial law, have brought about a powerful movement in the working class against these attacks.

As happened 22 months ago,

the British miners are leading this struggle, but under completely new conditions.

At that time, the National Union of Mineworkers led a successful fight to break the 8 percent wage ceiling imposed by the Tory government by stopping all electricity production.

They have now begun a new offensive by putting a ban on all overtime in a fight for a wage increase. Union leaders have stated that any final offer by the Coal Board will be followed by a ballot for a full strike when presented to the miners.

The government has set up a special "intelligence bureau" at Scotland Yard to handle activities against the miners and other workers.

Strikes have broken out all over Britain by gasmen, civil servants, hospital workers, transport workers, and others.

The Tory government has been preparing for civil war conditions in Britain for over a year. They are not in the least bit hesitant to go to any lengths to stop the miners from opening up a full-scale general strike movement.

Now every attempt by workers to fight back poses the question of bringing down the Tory government and taking power.

The Workers Revolutionary Party is the only movement in Britain that is leading this struggle for power. Their demands, to immediately call a general election, to mobilize the miners to force the Tories to resign, and to build the Workers Revolutionary Party, are the only demands that pose what is required in order to defend the working class.

## Greek Junta Interns 2000

BY MELODY FARROW

Huge crowds of workers and students defied the Greek government's declaration of martial law and continued to battle police and call for the overthrow of the dictatorship of George Papadopoulos.

Greek officials report 11 dead and over 100 injured. Two thousand people have been arbitrarily arrested and been interned in the Goudi Army barracks outside Athens.

A new military tribunal has just court martialed two young workers, a student and an artist and sentenced them to four years in jail for "unlawful assembly."

On Monday, thousands of workers and students marched through the center of Athens halting buses to use as barricades against the troops.

Helicopters hovered all day over Constitution Square, the Plaka district, and the working class suburb of Monastiraki. A 7 pm curfew is in force in Athens, Salonika in the north, and Patras.

There were reports that printers for the newspaper, *To Vima* refused to come to work. Thousands of workers gathered at the Polytechnic University to see the damage caused when tanks burst through the gates last Saturday.

President Papadopoulos has virtually gone into hiding and the entire government is in a panic that further attacks on the demonstrators will provoke a general strike.

The power of this movement against the regime is expressed in the following dispatch from a reporter for the Paris paper *Le Monde* on the first days of the uprising:

"...The marchers grew in size until they met the first blockade of police at Stadium and Coral Street. Few in number, the

police were quickly overcome and the first stones fell on the pavement...Taken by surprise a group of police took refuge in the hall of the Minister of the Interior while the windows of stores were hit and flew apart.

### BATTLEFIELD

"Very quickly that section of streets was turned into a battlefield.

"Pushed back, the workers regrouped in the adjacent streets, but always confronting the police. Tremendous battles erupted around City Hall while other workers went to Patission Street where a veritable human wave, more than 20,000 people, especially youth and many young girls were gathered.

"...Further down, another battle was raging and barricades were put up everywhere. The demonstrators deflated tires of cars and buses, blocking all the streets and lighting fires with newspapers and boards.

"From their windows, tenants threw piles of papers to the youth to help keep the fires on the pavements going."

A number of ships attached to the US Sixth Fleet are stationed at Phaleron Bay off Athens.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John; Labor Editor: David North  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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# Gold Decision To Unleash New Inflation

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The decision to scrap the two-tier gold system marks a new development in the disintegration of the world monetary system.

Under this system, gold was allowed to find its price in the free market while the official price for transactions between central banks was pegged at \$42.22.

This was a purely temporary measure as the price in the free market rapidly rose to double the official price. Central banks refused to settle debts in gold at the absurd \$42.22 rate.

The latest measures completely sever the dollar from the last remaining links to gold. The value of the billions and billions of dollars held abroad in Europe is now completely unknown while prices for all basic commodities are soaring.

This must introduce tremendous chaos into the entire system of loans, credit, and investment based on these dollars and push millions into financial ruin.

The United States is determined to use monetary policy as a weapon in the trade war with Europe and Japan. This is now intensified by the devastating impact of the oil crisis on their economies.

The two dollar devaluations have provided the US with enormous trading advantages. Japan is hit with a 15 percent inflation and a huge increase in imports which has drained six billion dollars in reserves this year.

Germany has been forced to revalue the mark almost continuously, provoking crisis in her massive export industry.

French imports are soaring and France now faces a balance of payments deficit.

Britain has just recorded a \$750 million trade deficit provoking the government to raise interest to 13 percent and declare a state of emergency.

Since July, the dollar has risen 15 percent against the value of its rival foreign currencies. The decline of European and Japanese currencies has been so sharp

that fears are now raised that the US may lose the advantages of the two dollar devaluations.

This underscores the impossibility of any sort of monetary or trade reforms. Central bankers now agree on one thing, fixed relationships between currencies is impossible.

John Exter a former Federal Reserve Bank vice-president and senior vice-president of the First National City Bank recently stated: "If anyone has any hopes that world international monetary reform can restore a reasonably stable exchange rate, he should forget them."

Floating currencies and a whole series of competitive devaluations such as took place in the 1930s is now on the agenda.

These are the conditions that are provoking panic on the stock exchanges with Wall Street shares plunging over 28 points on Monday for the largest drop in 11 years.

## Pay Freeze Threat By Japan Bankers

The Arab countries have informed Japan that the oil embargo will continue until Japanese pro-Israeli policy is reversed.

Japanese capitalists are panicked. The cutback in oil has already brought announcements from the steel, petrochemical, cement, shipbuilding, light metal, electrical appliance, and car industries of plans for drastic decreases in production.

In addition, the embargo hits Japan precisely when it is desperately trying to increase exports to offset a massive decline in foreign exchange reserves. It is estimated that an additional three billion dollars in reserves will be paid out for higher oil prices.



Teamsters at New York's garment center on strike against Dover Fur and Quality Fur, which pay minimum wage.

## Corporations Reveal Nixon CREEP Extortion

Testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee by executives from some of America's largest corporations revealed how the Committee to Re-elect the President operated the greatest shakedown and extortion ring in history.

The purchasing director for American Shipbuilding Com-

pany, Matthew E. Clark, told the committee that eight company executives were given bonuses and told to write checks to the Nixon campaign.

He received a \$5000 bonus and after tax deductions turned the remaining money over to Loyal Americans for Government Reform and a number of other CREEP fronts.

Robert Bartlome, the corporation secretary, testified that American Shipbuilding chief executive, George M. Steinbrenner, who contributed \$75,000 told him he was under "pressure" and that there was a "need" to make a contribution.

When he heard that his executives were about to testify, Steinbrenner according to Bartlome, "laid his head on the desk and said he was ruined, the company might be ruined, and he mentioned something about jumping off a bridge."

Orin E. Atkins, Board Chairman of Ashland Oil told the senators that he was asked for \$100,000 by Maurice Stans former Secretary of Commerce.

"I didn't want to be on the blacklist on the bottom of the totem pole. I want someone to answer my phone calls once in a while."

George A. Spater, chief executive of American Airlines, testified that he had been approached for the money by Nixon's attorney Herbert Kalmbach who also happened to be a former attorney for American's competitor United Air Lines.

Knowing that Nixon can veto or approve airline policies Spater stated: "Would you get something if you gave it or would you be prevented from getting something if you didn't give it?"

Russell DeYoung of Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company was asked for \$50,000 and only came up with \$45,000. "We never gave anybody as much as they asked for," he said.

These corporations have now been fined \$5000 and have asked

for and received their contributions back from CREEP. Every contribution was paid for with "laundered" money to circumvent election laws prohibiting corporate political contributions.

The Watergate Committee will soon be questioning in private both John Connally and Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz in regard to payoffs to Nixon from the dairy interests in return for price support boosts.

These investigations should bring to light that hundreds of Democratic congressmen including Mills, Albert, Mansfield, Humphrey, McGovern, Cranston, Eastland, and Fulbright have received money from the dairymen and were pressuring Nixon for price support increases.

Nixon is reported to have received over \$400,000 in exchange for his favor, raising the dairy price supports

## Students Rock Korea Regime

A massive movement of students is shaking the military dictatorship of South Korea.

A demonstration of 3000 students at the main university in Seoul clashed with police and forced the government to shut down the campus for one week.

One thousand students demonstrated at Yonsei University demanding an end to government surveillance over students and release of those arrested.

Three thousand students boycotted classes at Sookmyung Women's University.

The mass opposition developing to the right-wing regime was expressed by a 4000-strong rally held at Ewha Women's University.

Demonstrations began in Korea last month when students at Seoul National University held rallies calling for an end to "fascist rule."

EAST COAST

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# NJ Cops Club 1199 Strikers

BY DENNIS GRANT

TRENTON, N.J.—The Helene Fuld Hospital here has launched a vicious wave of attacks against the 225 members of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union.

This strike has now entered its ninth week with the hospital refusing to budge from its original offer of \$14 over two years.

The union is demanding a \$29 wage increase over a two year contract. The current minimum wage is \$125 a week. After working a full week without a contract, the union decided to go on strike on September 23.

Behind this arrogance is the use of some of the most ruthless strikebreaking tactics seen in years.

Several workers interviewed by the Bulletin on the picket line explained the situation.

"Scabs are being brought in every day by the hospital. They bring them in in ambulances and in vans, while the police escort them, preventing us from doing anything about it.

"They are hiring anybody off the street. Some are drug addicts, ex-drug addicts and criminals.

"One man who is in there right now was convicted of murder and was just recently let out of jail."

Another employee related an incident where one of the "temporary aides" was caught shooting dope into a patient's arm and had to be forcibly removed.

Police sit in cars across from the hospital to make sure no strikebreakers are prevented

from entering. One picket reported that a picket who attempted to stop a scab was immediately arrested for disorderly conduct.

He was taken to the police station and severely beaten, resulting in a broken collar bone.

The union leadership in New York sent some pickets as a show of support for the strike in October. The police seized on the first excuse to provoke a violent confrontation.

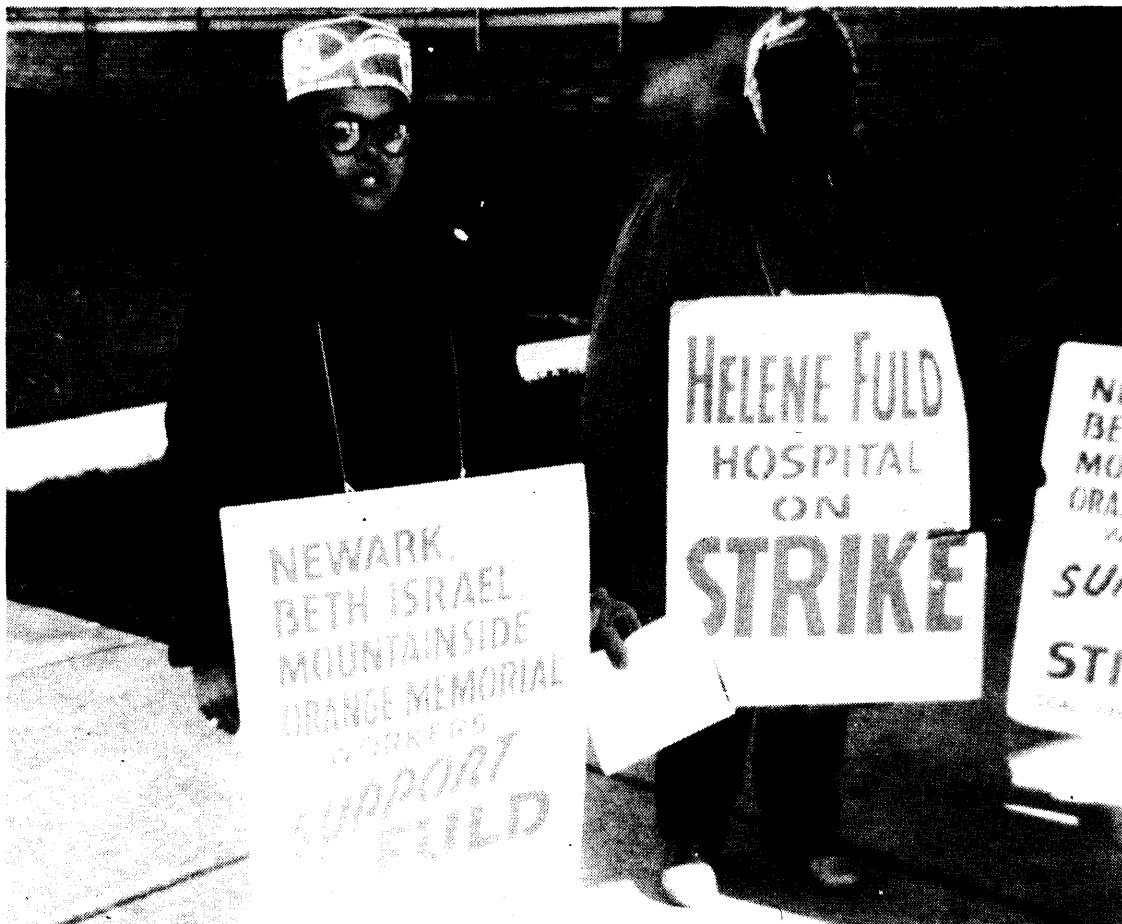
"When a nurse was leaving the hospital, one of us stopped her car. She yelled out and immediately the police began clubbing all the picketers around her.

"Sixty-four were arrested including our president Leon Davis."

Since then, Davis has offered no new strategy and the strike continues. The strike has received some support from other New Jersey locals like Newark.

This lack of leadership is resulting in the frustration of many of the members who are nevertheless determined to fight it out to the end.

Willie Brown, another 1199 member, said: "This is disgusting. In eight weeks, something should have been done. It is neglect on the part of the hospital administration. They are trying to push the union out altogether. This strike is going to go on and on."



Hospital workers picket in Trenton. Hospital is using criminals for scabs.

## Firemen Denounce Jailing: 'City Pushed Us Too Far'

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK—Through possible fines, jailings and their proposed contract, the city's Labor Policy Committee has launched a vicious campaign to bust the Uniformed Firefighters Association.

UFA President R. J. Vizzini stated recently that he had lied to the press when he said that the union membership voted overwhelmingly to endorse the strike two weeks ago.

The union's lawyer Abraham Brodsky explained that if Vizzini had lied it "was for the benefit of the union to maintain his position in bargaining."

The city is using Vizzini's actions as an excuse to attack the union. Vizzini faces a jail

sentence on charges of obstruction of government administration, reckless endangerment to the city, coercing the city to capitulate in a contract dispute, and conspiring to commit these acts.

The real reason that the firemen's vote was not overwhelmingly in favor of striking is that Vizzini and the rest of the union leadership refused to explain what the firemen actually faced. They hesitated to fight the city.

Sentiment toward the strike is well-expressed by Frank from Engine Company No. 26: "If a man pushes you into the street and you get hit by a car, who's to blame: you or the guy that pushed you? The city pushed us too far. We had to strike."

"We waited 21 months for our last contract and 27 months before we saw any money. If not for the strike, we would have waited a year and a half or more before they negotiated it."

"Nobody wanted to strike, but it did do the job. At least they have started doing something."

"We had to think of our families too, you know. 99.9 percent of the time, we are thinking of other people's families. Everybody blames the firemen for the strike."

"Why don't they blame the city for not negotiating with us?"

"They have been able to shove us into the background for two reasons: they use our dedication to the public against us, and we have never had a powerful way to fight back."

"The Taylor Law, which is unconstitutional because they never fine the city no matter what they do, made it illegal for us to strike. They are listening to the teachers union now because they went on strike. Well, we went on strike and I would not hesitate to strike again."

"If Vizzini is telling the truth, that the men did not really vote in favor of striking, then it only proves that he didn't explain what we were up against."

"But the strike was solid any-

way. He's an idiot. He has taken all our strength away by telling the city that we will never strike again.

"But if they fine us because we went on strike, I'll support Vizzini and the union all the way."

The original contract is now being revised by the city's arbitrators to bring in more productivity which, if accepted, will result in immediate layoffs. The new rapid water pumping system, already installed in some companies, allows for the use of a much smaller hose with the same amount of water pressure as the larger, heavier hose. This would cut the average five-man manning crew down to two or three men.

Over the last 15 years, there has been a 400 percent increase in the number of fires, yet there has been no increase in the number of firemen. This has meant a tremendous increase in the hours of overtime, which the city has made mandatory.

One fireman told the Bulletin: "Two days ago, I had to work 15 hours overtime. They don't give us much choice."

"We have had to use the same equipment for almost 25 years. This has become a quasi-military organization."

The New York City labor movement must take action to defend the firemen or this attack will set a precedent for similar moves against every union in the city.

Firemen must reject the proposals of the fact-finding panel and prepare a new strike against the city's union-busting.

## Walkout Ends At Framingham GM

FRAMINGHAM—The 3500 members of Local 422 of the United Auto Workers returned to work Tuesday following a one-day strike against General Motors in Framingham, Massachusetts.

The strike began at 10 am, approximately one hour fol-

lowing the negotiation of a settlement between Woodcock and GM.

Although the UAW leadership sought to portray the walkout as an error due to a "breakdown in communications," the real character of the strike became clear when virtually none of the men on second shift reported for work.

## Taxi Union Puts Off Strike

NEW YORK—Negotiations for a new taxi contract are now taking place. Without reporting to the drivers, union President Harry Van Arsdale has postponed strike action.

The union demands, which have been formulated entirely by the leadership, are for a 10 percent holiday differential and 53 percent of the meter, instead of the present 49 percent.

Van Arsdale would like to hold off strike action and submit the entire contract to binding arbitration.

During the last contract negotiations, drivers went for more than two years without a contract and did not win a penny in wage increases.

Taxi drivers earn about \$130 including tips for a 45 hour week. The last fare increase, which nearly doubled the cost of a ride,

cut taxi use by several hundred thousand. In addition, a 10 cent increase went entirely to pensions with nothing for wages. Drivers have continually demanded payment of the "dime."

Van Arsdale is so afraid of the rank and file that union meetings are called only once every six months. One year ago, a meeting broke up when hundreds of furious drivers drove the leadership from the platform and police were called in.

Drivers must prepare for all-out strike action and insist that Van Arsdale use his position as head of the New York City Labor Council to fight for labor support.

The union must demand payment of 60 percent of the meter to all drivers, payment of the dime, \$150 a week to start for all inside men, and no increase in the fare.

Expressing the hostility to the Woodcock settlement which was at the heart of the strike, a young auto worker told the Bulletin:

"This contract stinks. From what I can see, we are going to get the same as Chrysler and Ford, and three percent is nothing."

"I am single and I cannot make it on that kind of money. I do not see how the older men can."

### EFFICIENCY

Another Local 422 member spoke out against the wage settlement as well as the efficiency campaign conducted by McCarthy, plant manager, through disciplinary measures.

In the week preceding the walkout, GM sought to divert the strike movement through the threat of a loss of all holiday pay.

It is clear, however, that it was the delaying tactics of the Woodcock leadership which gave GM this weapon.

### LAYOFFS

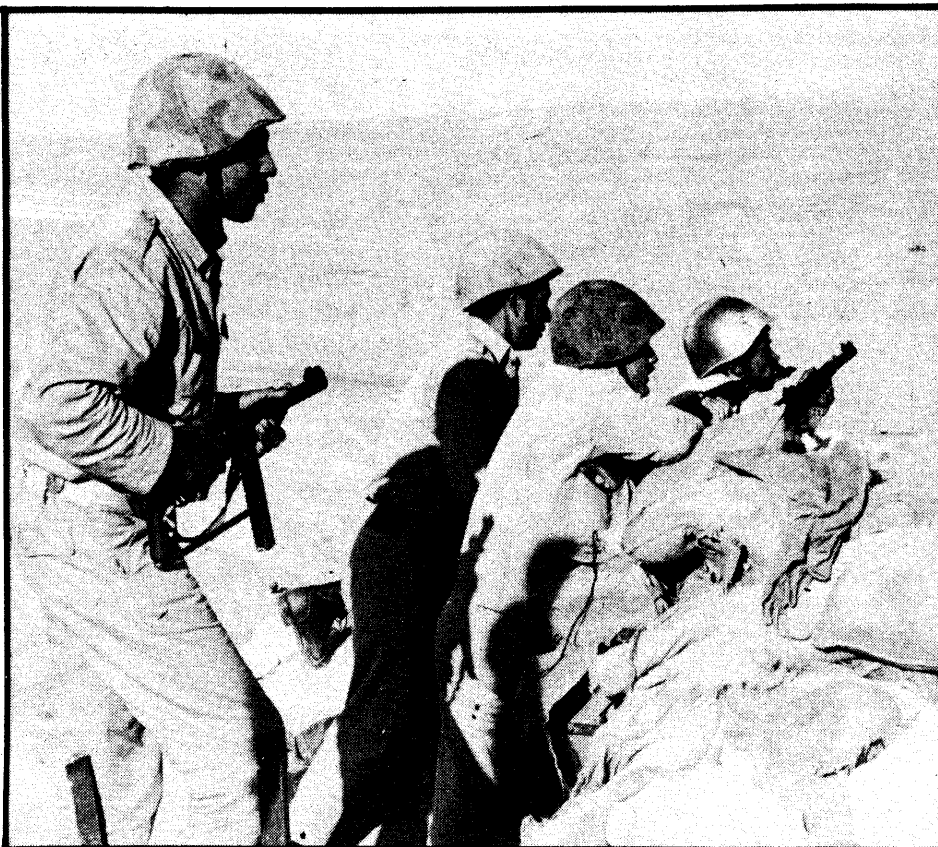
Framingham workers now face the prospect of mass layoffs in the company's response to the energy crisis. Men with less than three years are expected to be dismissed.

Local 422 members at the nearby Ford parts plant have already rejected the Ford contract.

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# Egyptian Troops Ready To Renew Offensive

"They said Egypt would never fight, nor would Syria, that the question of energy was completely out of the battle, and that the other states would never join Egypt and Syria in the fighting.

"October 6 had changed all that. Suddenly the Arabs said they were going to do it. The Arabs were organizing themselves and learning lessons."

This statement by Mahmoud Riad, general secretary of the Arab League and the pictures on this page show the determination of the Arab people who united to inflict defeat on Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East war.

"For the last six years, the Israeli people were promised that they would never be defeated. They invited Jews

from Western Europe, offering them a life very close to European standards.

"As the casualty figures rise, they are finding every day that all these promises were worthless.

"They found that their power is a myth and modern weapons from the US will not stop the Arabs' fighting.

"This is a long fight. It will not stop until we regain our land and restore the rights of the Palestinians."

John Spencer, foreign editor of the British Workers Press, daily paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party, recently traveled to Cairo and the Sinai peninsula and reported back on the confidence of the Egyptian troops.

Brigadier Assaf Yaguri led the unit which wiped out the Israeli One Hundred Ninetieth Tank Brigade in one of the biggest tank battles in history. He was asked how he reacted to the ceasefire order:

"We have to show that in Egypt there are still men who can fight and die. That when we fight the Israeli army, we can kill and destroy their forces and accept casualties ourselves.

"...However, because the struggle in the Middle East is a political struggle in the first place, I would like to continue the war. I am convinced to accept ceasefire because I trust my headquarters, but I would welcome any interruption of the ceasefire.

"We had the initiative for the first time since Israel came into being. We have a good headquarters, good weapons, and we are fighting to regain our lands. Sinai has been Egyptian for more than 7000 years."

John Spencer adds: "The main topic of speculation among the troops is in fact whether the war will start in earnest again this week. It was regarded as a better than ever bet."



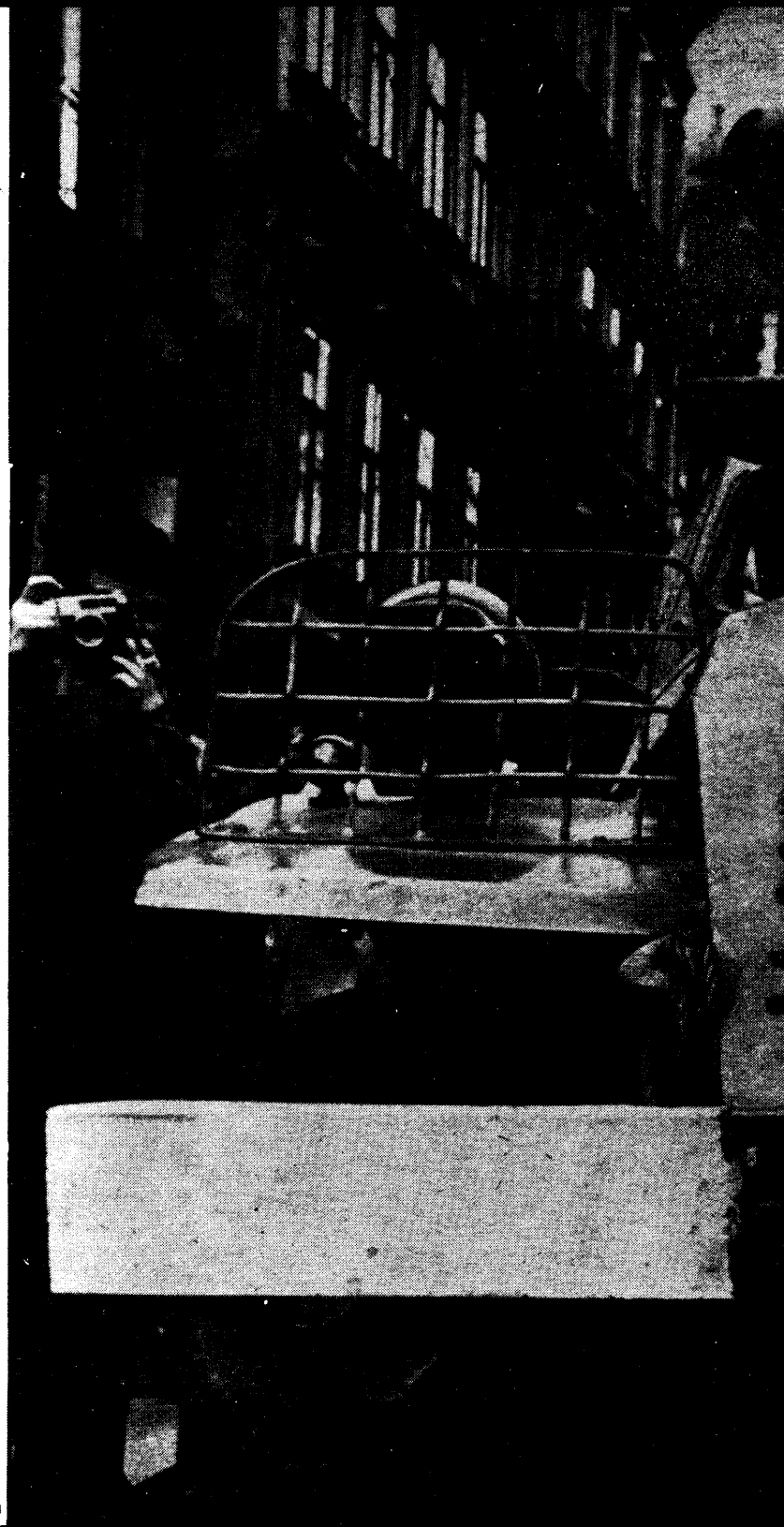
"The Egyptian flag flies from the observation tower which once allowed the Israelis to look down into the city of Ismailia," John Spencer writes from the east bank of the Suez. "The Bar Lev line must have been heavily pounded by Egyptian artillery in the two-hour barrage which preceded the canal crossing on October 6." Sinai is a "mass of dug-outs and camouflaged emplacements." The desert sands are littered with wrecked Israeli tanks, mostly American-made.



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# In Place Of Principles

Soviet tanks in Prague, Czechoslovakia



## PART TWO

### Trotsky's Concept Of Bureaucracy

Trotsky, in the Transitional Program, devoted considerable attention to the splits within the composition of the bureaucracy, but never conceded to any section of the bureaucracy—the tasks of political revolution, which could only be carried out by the most advanced sections of the working class organized in a Trotskyist party.

Here is Trotsky on Reiss:

"The public utterances of former foreign representatives of the Kremlin, who refused to return to Moscow, irrefutably confirm in their own way that all shades of political thought are to be found in the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko). The revolutionary elements within the bureaucracy, only a small minority, reflect, passively it is true, the socialist interests of the proletariat."

And here is how Trotsky concludes this section:

"Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development towards socialism. There is only one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection—the party of the Fourth International!"

It is clear from Trotsky's analysis that the supreme task of Trotskyists is to organize the working class against the bureaucracy and not to predicate the political revolution on this or that section of the bureaucracy and its intelligentsia.

These groups can only play an ancillary

role—this was the lesson of the abortive Hungarian revolution and of the Czechoslovak events in 1968.

The argument of the OCI, while having nothing in common with Trotsky, bears a striking identity to the position outlined by Pablo in 1953 in his resolution "Rise and Fall of Stalinism" which split the Fourth International:

"Traditionally, the historically transitional and passing character of the Bonapartist dictatorship in the Soviet Union was analyzed correctly in the sense that this dictatorship could lead either to a reinforcement of the restorationist tendencies within the peasantry and the bureaucracy, that with the aid of imperialism, which would restore capitalism in the Soviet Union by means of a civil war; or, thanks to the extension of the world revolution and the aid brought by the world proletariat to the Soviet proletariat and thanks to the Reiss tendency of the bureaucracy (a tendency which will rally to the side of the proletariat for the defense of the social bases of the USSR), would lead to the overthrow of the Bonapartist dictatorship and the re-establishment of Soviet democracy."

Whereas Pablo saw the "Reiss tendency" personified by the improbable figure of Malenkov, who would "liberalize" the USSR a la Deutscher, the OCI now falsely attribute this role to Grigorenko and other Soviet dissidents.

While Marxists defend and applaud the heroic struggles of these intellectuals, they are still very far removed from a Trotskyist opposition in the USSR. Any claim that these groups could lead a political revolution to re-establish Soviet democracy would be a gross distortion of reality.

For the OCI to claim that anyone who is skeptical of this revisionist thesis is a GPU agent is an insufferable tax on the credibility of any socialist. It is the method of Stalinism.

In this statement the OCI categorically denounced Varga in the following way:

"Varga is a GPU agent who has infiltrated the Fourth International in order to carry out his undermining of Trotskyism. He knows what he is doing when he gives his support to Belgian imperialism with the "reasonable black" Mobutu, who assassinated Patrice Lumumba.

"Varga knows what he is doing. We do not know for what reasons the CIA did not accept his services a long time ago. Perhaps the CIA, which also know a number of things, saw through the double-agent. Whatever it was, Nagy had to reconvert himself.

"Ever since he left Hungary, Varga increased his international contacts. He got in touch with the Trotskyists. Having lost his "job," or having been told by the GPU to carry out other tasks, Varga settled in France."

This slander is absolutely monstrous and impermissible in the working class and is reminiscent of the kind of charges made against Yakir and Krassin by the Soviet procurators office. These charges not only reflect the disorientation of the OCI leaders, but also raise more questions than they answer.

### Questions Raised On Varga

1) If Varga was a GPU-CIA agent, why should he leave his correspondence and all incriminating materials with a veteran member of the OCI as the OCI allege?

2) What was the veteran member of the OCI doing for the last 15 years? Was he an agent too?

3) What concrete evidence does the OCI have to prove that Varga was a GPU-CIA agent? Has he betrayed anyone to the GPU or the CIA? Does his conduct in the last ten

years justify such an assumption?

4) If opposition to Lumumba makes Varga a CIA operator, where does it put Lambert and Just, who collaborated openly with Messali Hadj, who supported deGaulle? And how does it explain the disgraceful conduct of Monsieur Lambert who prevented the Young Socialist delegate from Britain making a speech to an AJS rally in 1967, because the speech referred approvingly to the Arab struggle against Zionism, and supported the creation of a Palestinian state?

5) Is it not outrageously fantastic to suggest that a person who participated in the 1956 revolution and played a prominent role in the Budapest workers' council should be at the same time a GPU-CIA agent (whatever this title connotes)?

6) If the OCI leaders are serious about their accusations, should they not have immediately consulted, on matters of security, with the ICFI sections who worked with them and with Varga?

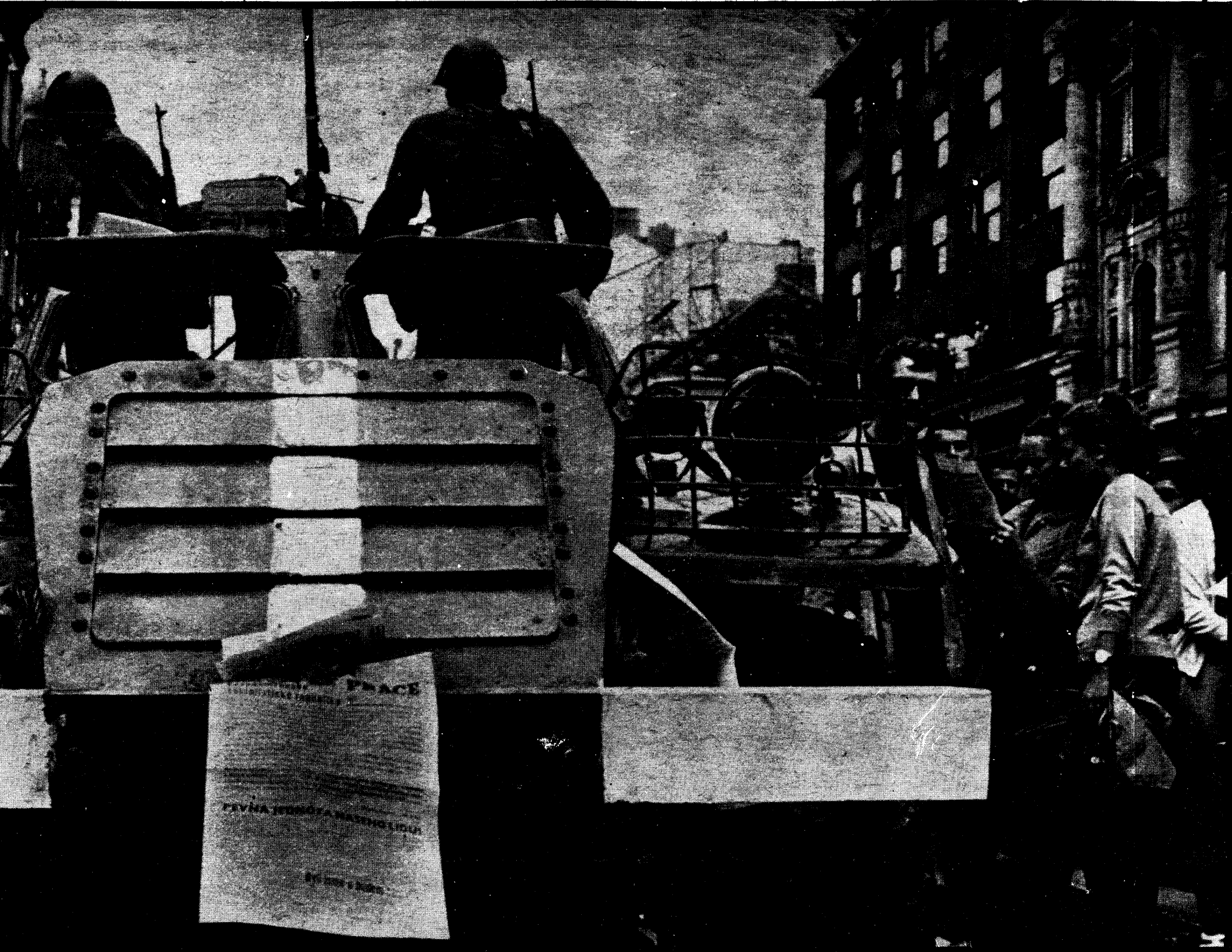
These methods of the OCI are the desperate and unprincipled maneuvers of disorientated petty bourgeois centrists and liquidators who have betrayed Trotskyism.

There remains the attempt of the OCI to use against Varga, and against the SLL, the correspondence between Varga and Comrade C. Slaughter in 1966. In a letter to members of the OCI dated July 3, 1973, the following passage occurs:

"Before the Conference opened, the International Committee met (at the OCI's request). We raised the question: why have not Lora and the POR been invited despite the unanimous decision to invite them to the 3rd Conference? We could not get a clear answer in 1966. The Varga archives in 1973 provide us with this answer. In a letter dated March 9, 1966, Cliff Slaughter wrote to Varga:

"Have you the address of the Bolivian comrades? Is it necessary to send them a formal invitation to the Conference?"

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## Distort The Movement's History

Rarely has so much sheer lying distortion been packed into a few paragraphs. In the first place, at the time of these letters, the differences which arose over whether to write to Lora and the POR had not yet arisen. The SLL and the ICFI knew that the OCI leaders had discussed in Paris with Lora, but had been given no address and no report of the discussion. Comrade Slaughter, in the course of a letter, asked Varga if he had an address.

Later, certainly, the SLL opposed the invitation of the POR because it was considered that Lora refused to clarify his position on the split of 1953 and the fundamental questions of the Fourth International. History has judged, in 1972, the question of who was right in that dis-

ussion. But at no time did this question involve relations between Varga and any member of the SLL.

At that time, the SLL leadership made no secret of its criticism of the party-building methods and perspectives of the French section. As the same OCI bulletin makes clear, these criticisms were clearly expressed at the beginning of the 1966 Conference. Certainly Comrades Banda and Slaughter, in political discussion with Varga, raised these criticisms, and Varga expressed agreement on some of them. In the course of the 1966 Conference, the greater threat from the *Voix Ouvriere* and Robertson groups led to a united struggle against their liquidationism.

We mention this because, if we quote the whole of the relevant passages of Varga's letter of March 14, 1966, a number of things become very clear.

Was Varga carrying out a "veiled" and "hypocritical" opposition to the invitation of the POR as part of his alleged work as an agent of the GPU-CIA? That he certainly was not, is clear when we place the contentious sentence in its context. Varga wrote in fact:

"I am a little surprised that the French comrades have not kept you informed on the Bolivian comrade's visit and the discussions with him. I do not have an address, but Lora gave two to the French comrades, one for materials and one for letters. Given that the Bolivian organization is illegal and that Lora personally has been working clandestinely for one year, the addresses are in conformity with these conditions. By the same token, I consider that it is possible to act on the invitation only in a veiled form. For this reason, the French comrades must send you the address. Tonight I will put this question to them, and ask them to send you these addresses."

Is comment necessary on the shameless way that one sentence has been torn out of context to give it the opposite of its real meaning!

Varga asks that the invitation be made

"in a veiled form" because of the illegality of the POR and Lora—in other words, for their protection! And this from a "GPU-CIA agent"! What follows the famous sentence is also very clear. Varga says he will ask the French comrades for the address so that the invitation can be sent, and promises to ask them also about the form of the invitation, given the illegality. At this stage, there was absolutely no question of whether Lora would be invited or not. The letter speaks for itself.

It is also worth noting that the OCI chooses not to publish (even in an internal bulletin to its own members) the paragraph which follows in Varga's letter, because it makes clear that a leading member of the OCI, Pierre Broue, was in discussion and in agreement with Varga on the questions which had arisen concerning criticism of the OCI leadership. Thus:

"Something else. The national conference of the French organization devoted to international questions will take place this weekend, on March 19 and 20 (1966). It would be very good if you could come to Paris then, for several reasons: 1. To talk over problems that have to be dealt with anyway, 2. To meet Broue, with whom we have agreement on many important points, 3. To see something of French comrades besides those in the leadership, at the conference, 4. The following week I have to leave for Vienna and stay there a few days..."

## Legitimate Political Discussion

It was not in any way a question of "secret faction" as the OCI bulletin says, between the OCI leadership, or parts of it, and Varga, but of legitimate political discussion. In this discussion, Varga raised problems with Broue as well as with the SLL comrades, and had a positive response. Why does not the OCI publish the

file of letters from Broue to Varga in 1965-66? Why is Pierre Broue silent?

The OCI leaders also know very well that, far from the SLL being in a faction with Varga against the OCI, the OCI actually proposed the appointment of Varga as a full-time secretary for ICFI work in Paris. They also worked out the "theory" that the building of sections in eastern Europe and the USSR was the primary work of the ICFI and asked for its entire financial resources to be turned over to the work directed by Varga in eastern Europe. It is a fact that the SLL totally rejected every one of these proposals.

The OCI leaders have in fact arrived at a point where they distort the whole history of the movement and strive to discredit and vilify political opponents instead of politically combatting them. This is the logical end result of their rejection of dialectical materialism and their prostration before centrism.

The ICFI calls upon Trotskyists everywhere to denounce unreservedly the slanderous campaign of the OCI and to defend Varga against the calumnies which have been invented to destroy him as a political opponent. The Trotskyist movement in France will be built only in a principled struggle against the political and theoretical degeneration represented by the OCI.

Finally, the ICFI appeals even at this late stage to the OCI and the Hungarian and east European organizations supporting Varga to draw the lessons from his experience. These methods of distortion and calumny discredit the Fourth International and are reminiscent of the worst Stalinist techniques.

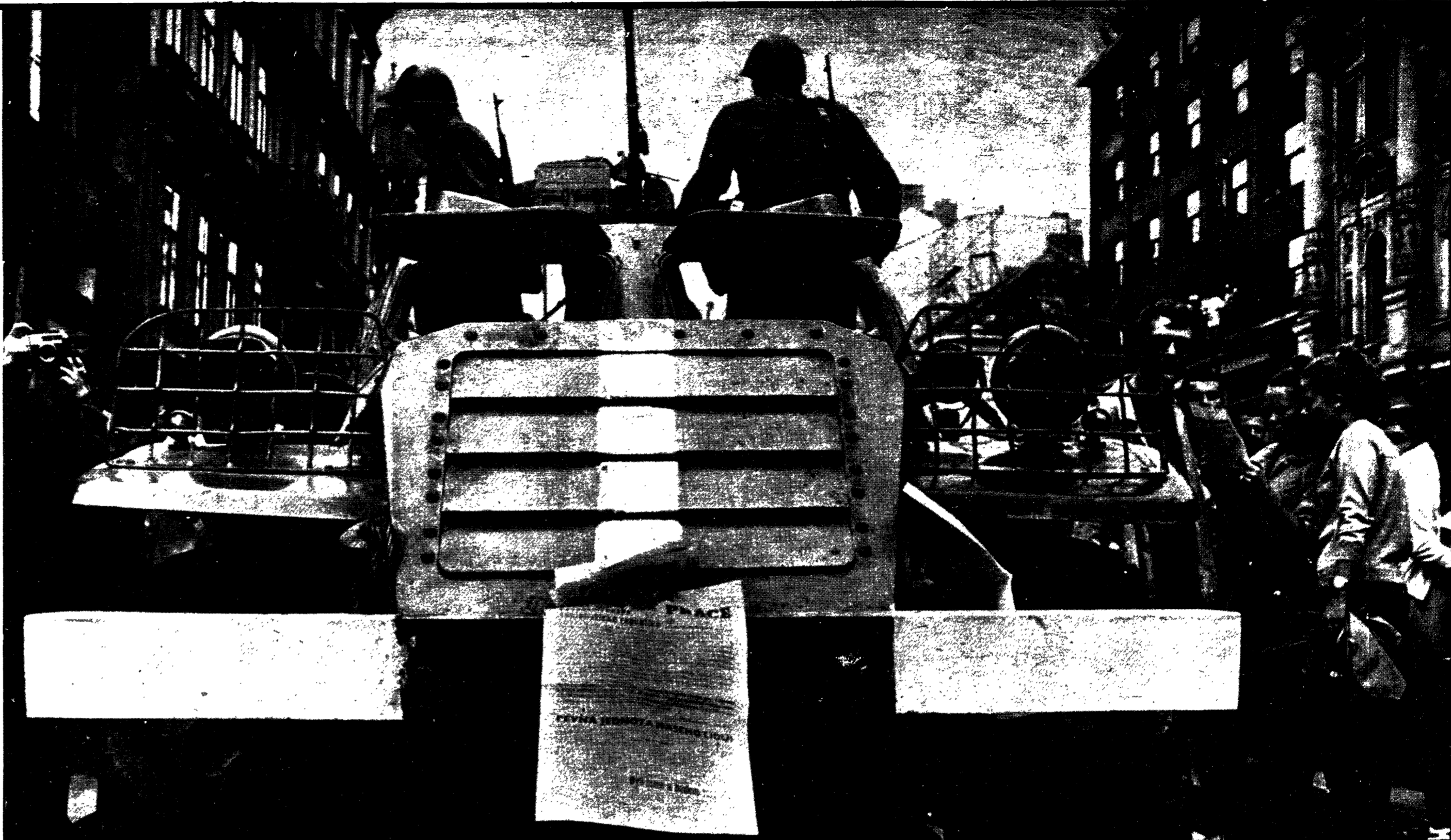
But they result politically from the abandonment of the building of the Fourth International and the fight for dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism. It is time for the OCI and the Varga supporters to re-examine the whole history of the split and return to the path of Trotskyism.



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Is comment necessary on the shameful way that one sentence has been torn out of context to give it the opposite of its real meaning?

Varga asks that the invitation be made

"in a veiled form" because of the illegality of the POR and Lora—in other words, for their protection! And this from a "GPU-CIA agent"! What follows the famous sentence is also very clear. Varga says he will ask the French comrades for the address so that the invitation can be sent, and promises to ask them also about the form of the invitation, given the illegality. At this stage, there was absolutely no question of whether Lora would be invited or not. The letter speaks for itself.

It is also worth noting that the OCI chooses not to publish (even in an internal bulletin to its own members) the paragraph which follows in Varga's letter, because it makes clear that a leading member of the OCI, Pierre Broue, was in discussion and in agreement with Varga on the questions which had arisen concerning criticism of the OCI leadership. Thus:

"Something else. The national conference of the French organization devoted to international questions will take place this weekend, on March 19 and 20 (1966). It would be very good if you could come to Paris then, for several reasons: 1. To talk over problems that have to be dealt with anyway. 2. To meet Broue, with whom we have agreement on many important points. 3. To see something of French comrades besides those in the leadership, at the conference. 4. The following week I have to leave for Vienna and stay there a few days..."

### Legitimate Political Discussion

It was not in any way a question of "secret faction" as the OCI bulletin says, between the OCI leadership, or parts of it, and Varga, but of legitimate political discussion. In this discussion, Varga raised problems with Broue as well as with the SLL comrades, and had a positive response. Why does not the OCI publish the

file of letters from Broue to Varga in 1965-66? Why is Pierre Broue silent?

The OCI leaders also know very well that, far from the SLL being in a faction with Varga against the OCI, the OCI actually proposed the appointment of Varga as a full-time secretary for ICFI work in Paris. They also worked out the "theory" that the building of sections in eastern Europe and the USSR was the primary work of the ICFI and asked for its entire financial resources to be turned over to the work directed by Varga in eastern Europe. It is a fact that the SLL totally rejected every one of these proposals.

The OCI leaders have in fact arrived at a point where they distort the whole history of the movement and strive to discredit and vilify political opponents instead of politically combatting them. This is the logical end result of their rejection of dialectical materialism and their prostration before centrism.

The ICFI calls upon Trotskyists everywhere to denounce unreservedly the slanderous campaign of the OCI and to defend Varga against the calumnies which have been invented to destroy him as a political opponent. The Trotskyist movement in France will be built only in a principled struggle against the political and theoretical degeneration represented by the OCI.

Finally, the ICFI appeals even at this late stage to the OCI and the Hungarian and east European organizations supporting Varga to draw the lessons from his experience. These methods of distortion and calumny discredit the Fourth International and are reminiscent of the worst Stalinist techniques.

But they result politically from the abandonment of the building of the Fourth International and the fight for dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism. It is time for the OCI and the Varga supporters to re-examine the whole history of the split and return to the path of Trotskyism.

October 5, 1973

# editor's notebook

## Nixon Plays For Time

It took many years to groom Nixon for the presidency after his defeat to Kennedy. There were the face liftings and the new wardrobe. Pat threw off her cloth coat for a new mink.



But all of this is nothing compared to the new campaign to "restore confidence" in Nixon. This isn't an easy job, considering the truth that has come out about Nixon.

The latest ploy has been the publication of a picture showing Nixon playing the piano with Pat by his side clapping her hands. If this doesn't save him, nothing will!

## Boom Before The Bust

In the early 1960s, Alexander Guterma went to jail for four years in one of the biggest stock fraud cases of the decade.

He lost millions of investors' dollars and caused the downfall of the president of the American Stock Exchange, Edward McCormick.

But today, Guterma is right back on top playing the same game, only this time in land speculation.

He is president of United Communities, a shell of a company built up out of mergers which culminated in the acquisition of 66 percent of RPD Ltd. RPD was a mysterious Canadian company involved in a 3200 acre land development project in the Bahamas.

Guterma's wheeling and dealing, buying and selling, has pushed sales to \$30 million and secured him a credit line of over \$12 million from Walter Heller, a big Chicago money man.

Guterma has just awarded himself a raise in salary to \$75,000 a year not to mention a \$10,000 yearly expense account and a company jet.

Guterma throws paper money around as fast as the government can print it.

United Communities bought Eyelet Specialities Co. of Wallingford Conn. Company for \$10 million. The purchase price of RPD of \$4.8 million was paid for in notes.

Guterma wants to develop Grand Harbour Cay in the Bahamas so he can sell it to US investors for \$100 million.

Says humble Guterma: "The

Bahamas must first be for the Bahamians. I may sound like a Chamber of Commerce, but I'm just another guy who's investing in the country. They treat me like anybody else."

The only trouble with Guterma's quick transition from rags to riches is that sooner or later someone will have to pay the bill.

## Woes Of Agnew

Spiro Agnew, according to his friends, has been beset by many problems since his resignation. When he was vice-president, he received \$62,500 a year plus an expense account of \$10,000, plus gratuities he received under the table. Now he is without a job.

This fact, according to Agnew's friends, is making it very difficult for him to maintain his 12 room \$190,000 home in Washington and his condominium at St. Croix in the Virgin Islands.

The Internal Revenue Service meanwhile is looking into getting back some of the tax money Agnew never paid.

But things are not altogether lost for Agnew. His close friend Frank Sinatra is looking into fixing up his financial difficulties.

All in all, Agnew's friends say he is in a "very good" mood these days, "amazingly serene." Agnew can afford to be.

## Energy Hardships

The government is really going all out to meet the energy crisis.

Just the other day, the Senate voted to limit the use of chauffeur driven limousines to the President, Cabinet members, Chief Justice, and elected leaders of Congress.

This of course will be a big sacrifice for the other top officials who will have to provide their own transportation to work, and will have to use government motor pools for business.

But this was vehemently opposed by New York Senator Jacob Javits who said: "What you would have these fellows do would be to drive around for an hour finding a place to park. You might just as well tell them to prepare their own lunch." Heaven forbid!

# Woodcock Fears Wildcats At GM

BY DAVID NORTH

DETROIT, Nov. 20—The national contract negotiated yesterday between General Motors and the United Auto Workers is already running into trouble in many of the 115 locals where plant bargaining is still in progress.

Frightened by the opposition to the sellout, Woodcock has not scheduled ratification votes and has told UAW locals that they will not be allowed to strike over local issues without the authorization of the International.

Auto workers must now campaign in every plant for a rejection of this contract which Woodcock is trying to shove down their throats. Workers in every local must demand strike action against this contract and fight for a national strike to overturn the settlement.

Although details of the GM pact will not be released until next Tuesday when the union's GM Council meets, reports indicate that this last minute sellout includes even more concessions to the company in the area of work conditions and voluntary overtime than in the Ford and Chrysler settlements.

UAW spokesmen said that General Motors was granted new exemptions in carrying out the pattern provisions on overtime because of the company's peculiar production requirements.

In the area of wages, GM workers will receive a three percent wage increase over each of the next three years.

Outside the plants here, auto workers expressed bitterness at the last minute cancellation of the strike. "No one was really told what was going on," said a worker at the Chevy Gear and Axle plant.

"First our committeeman came around and told us all to be ready to strike in twenty minutes. Then he came back fifteen minutes later and told us that it was all off."

### CONTRACT

Another worker said: "The worst thing is that the union will not tell us anything. The strike has been called off but no one knows what is in the contract. But if it is like the Ford contract, then it is no good."

Bill Myre, who works at the Fisher Body plant Local 596, declared: "I do not like the settlement. I feel like we have been sold out."

"It could not be much of a contract if Woodcock signed it at 9 am one hour before the deadline."

He added: "I cannot go along

with the wage freeze. The cost of living is too much. If they can do this, then we will not have a union."

### VOTE

Woodcock also stated at the press conference following the announcement of a settlement that Ford workers would not have an opportunity to vote down whatever new provisions on overtime that he works out with the company. He said that workers will be expected to make "a positive choice."

The anger of Ford workers against the bureaucracy exploded last week when Local 600 workers stormed into the union headquarters and destroyed all the pictures of Walter Reuther.

All the contracts signed in auto this year—in Chrysler, Ford, and GM—are irrefutable evidence of the political bankruptcy of Woodcock who accepts Nixon's wage controls and who seeks to impose them on auto workers.

A strike in auto must immediately raise the demand that Nixon be forced out of office. Millions of workers can now be rallied behind such a campaign.

# AFL-CIO Leader Fights Frameup

BY LOU RENFROW

DAYTON—A key witness in the political frameup of Jim Gann, president of the Dayton Miami Valley AFL-CIO has destroyed the government's case against Gann.

David Albright, the government's key witness against Gann, who is also business agent of Mill Wrights Local 1311, allegedly attempted to blackmail Gann by asking Arnold Morelli (Jim Gann's lawyer) for \$15,000 to "keep quiet" and also threatened Gann's children's lives.

The government admits Albright has been in and out of jail since a teenager.

US Attorney Gary Brinsfield

has said he will present extortion and obstruction of justice charges against Albright to a federal grand jury on November 30.

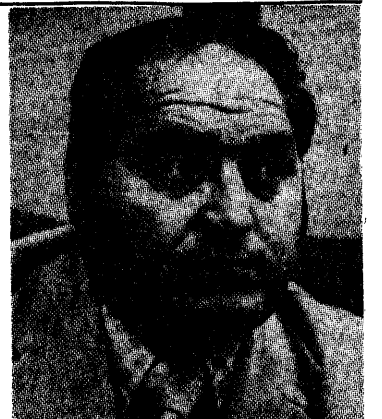
He has also asked the US Justice Department to drop charges of a bombing conspiracy against Gann.

Gann told the Bulletin last June when he was indicted:

"I'm innocent and I can prove I didn't do it and I'm working like hell to prove my innocence."

"I'm not popular with the government because I supported McGovern. You either get in line or you're paid visits; you know how that goes."

The visits Gann refers to are Nixon's use of the Internal Revenue Service to harass Dayton trade union leaders prior to the 1972 election. Many trade union leaders were visited and had all their finances closely scrutinized by the IRS in an ob-



Jim Gann

vious move to blackmail the trade union leaders into neutrality during the election campaign.

This week in a brief interview with Jim Gann he was asked what he thought of McGovern's recent statement endorsing labor hater Gerald Ford for Vice-President.

Gann stated: "It's unbelievable that this man (Nixon) is still in there doing what he wants to do."

Asked about the need for a labor party, Gann stated: "Personally, I'd like to see a labor party. It will take higher people than me, I generally would like to see a labor party."

"It's possible, it will take a lot of people, millions."

"There's a message in what happened to me for every working man. It is almost impossible for one man to fight the federal government."

Referring to the government's witness allegedly threatening his two children, James Jr., 10, and Gina E., 7, Gann said he refused federal law enforcement protection for his children, "because I didn't trust them."

The Senate Watergate Committee is prepared to subpoena up to 100 top union officials unless they voluntarily turn over to the committee complete records of their political contributions.

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# Court Order Ends UMW Walkout

BY A REPORTER

The Illinois miners statewide wildcat strike was ended on November 17 by a federal court order.

On that morning, the Peabody Coal Company, Consolidation Coal Company, and the Southern Illinois Coal Corporation, filed suit in the District Court and by the afternoon, the strikers were ordered back to work.

The walkout began when the Mecco Mine site, subsidiary of the Midland Mining Company, closed down because it refused to meet reclamation standards set by the Knox County Zoning Board.

The 26 men working at the Mecco site immediately walked off their jobs when Midland announced the closing.

By Friday of that week, 10,500 miners struck every mine in the state of Illinois in defense of the 164 jobs that were at stake in the Mecco site's closing.

Despite the determination of the miners to fight the closure, the United Mine Workers leadership refused to authorize the strike.

Kenneth Dawes, President of UMW District 12 stated:

"The mine workers are at a point where they do not want to listen to us too much."

President Miller of the International has made no statement on the struggle in Illinois.

### CONSERVATION

The zoning board, made up of representatives from the large coal and agriculture interests in Illinois, ruled that there must be four feet of topsoil spread over mined land for conservation purposes.

The old state ruling required only one foot of "stonefree" earth. Rather than meet these standards, which would involve more capital outlay, the Mecco site shut down.

Mrs. Jim Scott, wife of one of the miners who worked at the Mecco site, told the Bulletin:

"I think reclamation is kind of like this air pollution talk. They use it to shut down business.

"That is why the miners went out. How can a handful of men take jobs away from families?"

The men who were forced out of the Mecco Mine are now living from day to day. Some have been able to find work at other mines, but these mines are at least 40

miles away. The majority of the men remain jobless.

The massive support for the wildcat was brought on because the miners all over Illinois know that the reclamation and conservation standards are being used by the mine owners as an excuse to close the mines. Thousands of jobs will be destroyed by these mine closures in the coming period.

The Peabody Coal Company and the Consolidation Coal Company are the two leading coal producers in the US, with large international subsidiaries as well. Their concern is not for the miners jobs or for conservation, but rather for their multi-billion dollar profits.

### REFUSAL

The refusal of Miller to fight this attack on the miners plays right into the hands of the Nixon government.

Miller must be called on to shut down all mines in the country in defense of the workers at Mecco.

This strike was a decisive test for Miller who only last year was elected in a tide of opposition to the corrupt Boyle leadership.

Miners should demand that Miller fight for a policy of nationalization of the mines under workers control, which requires a political struggle for a labor party against Nixon.

## Janesville UAW Ranks Demand National Strike

BY LARRY SOMMERS

JANESVILLE, Wisc.—GM workers here joined thousands of Ford and GM workers around the country who are now working without a contract.

A strike scheduled at the GMAD plant here was cancelled just 90 minutes before the deadline as a tentative agreement was reached nationally between GM and the United Auto Workers.

One worker told the Bulletin



Bulletin salesman campaigns for rejection of GM contract at Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit.

## Dayton IUE Local Dumps President

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON—Robert Q. Preston, one of the top bureaucrats of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) in Dayton, was dumped by the membership in elections held last week.

Like the other IUE leaders, Preston has ruled IUE Local 755 since 1965 with a heavy hand, tying the negotiations with General Motors to Woodcock's coattails and all political action to the Democratic Party.

One IUE official who asked not to be identified told the Dayton Daily News: "It apparently was fair and square, but I sure question the wisdom of those guys over at Delco. I think they've lost a good man."

The election of Robert L. Livingston expresses the tremendous disgust of the workers with the IUE leader-

ship's failure to fight Delco wages or working conditions.

During the campaign, Livingston pledged to make the local more democratic, and won support from the ranks on this basis. Workers at Delco Products and other IUE locals at Chrysler Air Temps and Frigidaire are sick of the secret maneuvering around the contract.

Delco workers must take the defeat of Preston forward and demand that Livingston break with the policies of the old leadership of support to the Democratic Party and launch a fight for a labor party.

### PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Lucy St. John,  
Editor, Bulletin

**PITTSBURGH**  
SAT., DEC. 1 —  
University of Pittsburgh  
Student Union  
Schenley Hall  
Room 425  
4:00 p.m.

**DETROIT**  
FRI., DEC. 14  
Veterans Memorial  
Building  
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that GMAD wants to "hold back cost of living payments to a quarterly basis, rather than weekly, so they can collect interest on their money."

GMAD has broken the contract on this issue, as workers have not been paid their cost of living wage for the last three months.

Another auto worker stated: "It was written in the contract: just when prices shoot out of bounds, we do not get a cost of living.

### PROFITS

"The corporations are making record profits. GM raised their car prices an average of \$150, Ford \$180, and Chrysler \$70. They already have made their raises. What about ours?"

"I think we should be getting 50, 60, or 70 cents an hour raise, not a piddling 13 or 14 cents."

A number of workers were angered over the whole ministrike strategy pushed through by Woodcock and its lack of effectiveness in stopping GM.

Don, a younger worker, said: "These ministrikes will not work. If it had been in October, it might have had some effect, but now production is down on our

main line by nine percent. We would only hurt the truck line if we went out now."

Another said: "Vegas and Chevilles are the big sellers; Lords-town and the others must go out at the same time."

### DOWNTURN

The anticipated downturn in sales and the forced overtime imposed at the beginning of the model changeover now threaten auto workers here with big layoffs in the near future.

Linda Schmidt spoke of a new threat posed to Local 95 members by a projected fuel cutback this winter:

"These corporations have stockpiled like crazy since September. You can look out behind the plant. There are hundreds of cars and trucks sitting on these dummies.

"Now we're not working that much overtime, and I do not know if it is rumor, but they say that GM may shut down for a month in January, especially now with the oil shortage, and no one now can afford to buy the big cars."

## books

## The 1932 Fight

by Fred Mueller

## PART TWO

The Old Bolsheviks, Zinoviev and Kamenev, were destroyed politically because they began subjectively and not with the laws of history. They could not outsmart the powerful social forces at work. On the plane of maneuver and intrigue, Stalin held all the weapons.

They could not remain in between, as they had sought to do in 1917 when this same refusal to begin from principles and the objective crisis led them to openly oppose the October insurrection itself. When the bureaucracy fastened its grip, they were cynically used to demoralize the party and then, in 1936, framed up, promised their lives in exchange for false confessions, and then immediately double crossed and shot before a firing squad.

Those who fought the bureaucracy on a principled basis emerged triumphant.

This is what Trotsky meant when he wrote in relation to Zinoviev and Kamenev: "Principles conquer. Capitulation can never be victorious."

Trotsky fought constantly for a turn outward to the masses on the basis of principles, all the lessons of past struggles, and a more aggressive struggle to intervene in the crisis of the Comintern. This struggle for the unity of theory and practice as a constant struggle of opposites is at the very heart of dialectical materialism and the construction of a party to lead the working class to power.

It was necessary to fight ruthlessly against those who refused to begin from objective considerations and what they posed to each individual revolutionist. The Left Opposition began to make plans for its first international conference. On May 22, 1932, Trotsky wrote an article entitled "Who Should Attend the International Conference?" He makes a scathing criticism of those within the ranks of the Opposition who proposed an "all-inclusive" International Conference of groups claiming to support the Opposition:

"Only political infants can believe that the international conference by itself can create anything new in principle or, conversely, that it can undo what has been done. In reality, the conference will only be able to register and to confirm what has been already actually tested and gained by experience..."

"A conference must take as its point of departure the delineation and cleansing of the ranks of the Left Opposition which have already been achieved, and not begin the whole story all over again."

## Mill

One of those who had been "cleansed" from the ranks of the Opposition was an individual named Mill, who had come from the Stalinist movement and soon went back to the Stalinists and became a Stalinist agent.

Trotsky wrote an article on the lesson of Mill's evolution. He explained that the urgent necessity for someone with a knowledge of Russian and certain technical abilities had led the Left Opposition to make Mill a member of its Administrative Secretariat.

Mill, however, very quickly came into conflict with the

movement because he began at all points with himself, with his own prestige and position, and not with the objective necessity for the party. This led him to attempt a bloc with Rosmer, who had at this time openly broken from the Opposition and returned to syndicalism, and with whom Mill claimed no political agreement.

When Mill was removed from the Secretariat, the leaders of the Spanish Opposition came to his defense. "For Mill," wrote Trotsky, "principles are in general clearly of no importance; personal considerations, sympathies and antipathies determine his political conduct to a greater degree than principles and ideas."

"I pause on this question with so much detail not on account of Mill, but on account of the question of the selection and education of the cadres of the Left Opposition. This process is far from finished, although it is precisely in this field that we have important successes to our credit."

## America

During and after its participation in the First World War, American imperialism consolidated its dominant position within world capitalism. This also meant that it drew within itself the enormous contradictions of the world economy, laying the basis for a tremendous political leap.

Trotsky demanded a sharp turn to the working class by those seeking to build a revolutionary movement in the US. In an Open Letter to the American radical journalist, V.F. Calverton, dated November 4, 1932, Trotsky discusses a pamphlet written by Calverton in defense of revolutionary perspectives against the American proponents of the reform of capitalism.

Trotsky points out that this work says nothing on any of the immediate issues facing the working class. He explains that to an extent the abstract character of the argumentation flows from the political backwardness of the US. But he adds:

"Yet at the same time there is a reproach. For side by side with pamphlets and clubs where academic debates pro and con revolution are carried on, in the ranks of the American proletariat, with all the backwardness of its movement, there are different political groupings and among them revolutionary ones. You say nothing at all about them... This means that you are not calling anybody in particular to go anywhere in particular. You explain the inevitability of the revolution. However, the intellectual who is convinced by you can quietly finish smoking his cigarette and pass on to the next item on his daily agenda."

The moment in this history of the Fourth International recorded here is of great importance to those searching for a revolutionary road today. This is the movement of Lenin and Trotsky. Young revolutionists must learn from these struggles because today is the period for which we have been preparing, in which the movement fought for in these pages can and must become the leadership of millions.

CONCLUDED



Clerks picket in San Francisco in a fight to defend wages and benefits against Sears and Teamster bureaucracy, which ordered warehousemen to cross their lines.

# Freemont GM Men Angry At Sellout

BY TOM CAGLE

FREMONT—The announcement of the tentative agreement between Woodcock and General Motors on Monday morning was greeted with shock and anger by auto workers at the GM plant here.

One woman worker on the night shift who had just heard the news said: "The contract is terrible."

"I don't like Woodcock. He should work for the working man and not the companies."

"We should never have gotten an extension. There should have been a national strike."

Despite Woodcock's pact, which was announced over the PA system just one hour before the 10 am deadline, management marshalled all its allies to prevent a walkout.

The entire shop committee, labor relations and management moved onto the floor to smother any movement to strike.

The sentiment among Local 1364 members to strike was overwhelming. A special meeting called by Shop Chairman Earlie Mays last Saturday drew over 2000 members.

## APACHE

Mays faithfully pushed Woodcock's "Apache" plan. A sup-

## IBT Obeys Beer Injunction

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—Teamster officials in the Bay Area have taken the side of the courts and beer distributors, to enforce injunctions against their own union.

Having already strengthened the distributors by negotiating an agreement sending drivers in San Francisco back to work while East Bay drivers remain out, these new moves place the very existence of Local 888 outside San Francisco in grave danger.

Despite their ability to run trucks with scab drivers, the distributors in the East Bay have been hard hit by militant picketing of stores selling scab beer. Up until now, pickets have ignored injunctions limiting picketing to "legal" informational picketing.

## SCAB

Now Teamster officials have ordered signs carrying the slogan "Don't buy scab beer" to be removed from the picket lines. They are to be replaced with signs saying "Please don't

porter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party denounced this ministrike tactic as a formula for defeat and called for a national strike of GM to

overturn the sellout contract, with Fremont taking the lead.

When it was put to a vote only two workers raised their hands in support of the ministrike.

## Teamster Leaders Break Sears Picket

BY A REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Leaders of Teamster Local 853 have ordered warehousemen at Sears San Leandro warehouse to cross the retail clerks' picket line.

The warehousemen have honored the lines since last Monday when they narrowly voted to end their own strike and accept a settlement giving up the central demand of full health benefits.

The strikebreaking actions by Local 853 head Al Costa have been ordered by the Teamster International leadership. The clerks' San Leandro picket line still has the sanction of the Bay Area Joint Council of Teamsters.

patronize this establishment."

Stores selling scab beer are being picketed for shorter periods of time. All members of Local 888 are being instructed to make no comments to the press, and to direct all reporters to local President Bob Biggins in San Francisco.

## DETERMINATION

These moves can only strengthen the distributors determination to break the union. There are no signs the distributors intend to reopen negotiations, while the courts continue attempts to serve subpoenas on at least 10 union members. These men face possible fines and imprisonment for contempt of court.

As a member of Local 888 explained the leadership's crack-down: "Maybe they thought we were going too far."

Members of the local, who have consistently defied injunctions in the past, must now demand that the Teamsters reverse their policy and shut down all trucking in the Bay Area in defense of the beer drivers.

Sears began negotiations with Clerks Local 1100 this morning. Union leader Walter Johnson is preparing to take a settlement like the one the Teamsters accepted.

One striking retail clerk at the Sears Mission Store told the Bulletin what they were up against.

"This isn't the Emporium with five or six stores, this is Sears, the fifth largest company in the United States, with five hundred stores and only five of them are unionized."

"Outside of California you have to go all the way to Detroit and that's it."

Another striker said: "I would not accept it and nobody else on my picket line would."

Another said: "I do not see why they cannot get health and medical for us. I have talked to people from a lot of other stores, Woolworth's, Payless, Walgreens, and they all have them."

Saturday over 200 trade unionists attended a rally in the pouring rain called by the United Labor Action Committee.

At Sears Geary Boulevard Store, ULAC Chairman James Herman made the rally's purpose clear when he told the strikers: "The job of ULAC is to eliminate these struggles. We want to be able to sit down and negotiate settlements."

"Even though only two out of the six unions that began the strike are still left, we will keep going," he said.

But immediately afterwards, he told the Bulletin he thought the defection of the Teamsters had been the crippling blow.

"I do not see what we can do," he said, if Sears offered no concessions.

# west coast news Carpenters Wildcat In SF Spreads

BY TIM NELSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Despite a federal court order instructing Bay Area carpenters to return to work, hundreds more have gone on strike since last week against the cut of a 65 cent raise by Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Board.

The walkout began last week as a wildcat and spread quickly.

The union leadership had stalled for five months, pleading with the Associated General Contractors and the government to rescind the cut.

On Monday, about 50 carpenters staged a demonstration in front of the Federal Building in San Francisco. Calling themselves an organization of rank and file carpenters, they distributed leaflets attacking Nixon's wage controls and criticizing the union officials for being intimidated by threats of lawsuits and injunctions.

The Associated General Contractors have filed suit for \$50,000 a day and damages against the AFL-CIO and the union locals involved.

A spokesman said that if the walkout continues, they will ask US District Judge Albert C. Wollenberg to hold the strikers and the union heads in contempt of court.

Meanwhile, the union leadership refuses to comment on the strike. They have not made the strike official.

No pickets have been set up even though over 4000 men are now out and the major commercial sites are affected.

The union leadership has maintained that the contractors were in favor of the raise and would support the union in its battle with the wage board.

Bob Mounce, Labor Relations official for the AGC, told the Bulletin the contractors' true position:

"The carpenters primary beef is with the federal government. They are trying to force the employers to pay an unauthorized wage increment. We are not going to be a party to that."

Despite the threat of fines and jailings, the workers are not backing down.

"We have got to do something," said William, a carpenter from Local 22.

"If we do not get this, we have nothing."

A growing hatred of Nixon's government underlies the refusal to accept a cut.

William added:

"We have got to demonstrate, do whatever is necessary to force him out. Since he has been in office prices have gone up so much."



Farm workers' boycott picket set up at liquor store in the Mission District of San Francisco.

# Whipple Evades GM Strike Motion

BY SHEILA BREHM

SOUTHGATE—The last minute agreement between Leonard Woodcock and GM was received with widespread anger at the GM Southgate plant by the members of Local 216.

The announcement was made just hours before the deadline for a series of mini-strikes which included Local 216 along with 17 other GM plants in a one day strike.

One member who was working at the 10 am deadline said: "I am sure our contract will be worse than Chrysler's and Ford's."

"Three percent is nothing today. Now they want to tell us we cannot drive on Sundays."

"We are supposed to work all week making cars and then stare at our walls on the weekends."

"Soon we will not have any freedom left."

"I am going to vote no on this contract without even seeing it."

Dozens of workers agreed they too will vote no.

At the union meeting the previous day, well over 500 members came to hear a special report on the negotiations and strategy by Jerry Whipple, director of Region 6.

In his report, not a word was said about wages and the cost of living. He did say that there were 100,000 unresolved grievances at GM and 60,000 of them were at GMAD plants.

TUALP

Rudy Sulenta, supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), said: "The apache strategy was proved bankrupt over the last year because right here it was admitted there are more grievances now than ever before."

"GM may have settled thousands of them, but the conditions in the plants which led to them cannot be changed with such a strategy."

He said that wages are the number one issue. Three percent would be the biggest wage cut in the history of the UAW.

"We can win a decent contract if we bring out the Big Three all together."

Sulenta said all across the country workers were on strike and that the hospital workers in New York went on strike against the government's wage board.

Whipple tried answering Sulenta by saying: "You cannot strike against the government and win anything."

A second speaker for the TUALP said: "Every basic right we have won is under attack by this government. That is why four of our brothers from the Lordstown plant are in jail for ninety days because they picketed, while Agnew and Nixon go free."

"This, while our wages are kept down by the dictates of the government."

"What we do at General Motors can show the way

forward. We must demand the leaders of our unions call the entire labor movement together and build a labor party to replace Nixon.

"We must take this step if we are to prevent happening here what happened in Chile, a military dictatorship."

These workers attempted to put forward a motion demanding the local leadership strike Monday and that Whipple return to Detroit to tell Woodcock that Southgate workers demand a national GM strike and reject the three percent pattern set at Chrysler.

# TWA Gets Two Million Each Day

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—TWA has been completely grounded since the strike of flight attendants of Transport Workers Union Local 550 began on November 5.

The pilots and mechanics have refused to cross any picket lines.

Under the airline mutual aid pact, TWA collects two million dollars a day from other airlines.

This union-busting tactic has infuriated every one of the strikers, mainly young hostesses and male cabin attendants.

ROTTEN

The union is opposing the rotten contract offered by TWA which would have made the stewardesses fly an additional 10 hours a month for no additional salary.

TWA also intends to bring in foreign stewardesses who are not union members and therefore pay them much less than the present salary. One stewardess thought this would put 5000 members of the union out of jobs.

MANAGEMENT

Meanwhile, hostesses' superintendants and management, who are still working, are being kept busy by TWA cleaning out

hangers and airplanes.

TWA has hit hard against its nonunion employees, the secretaries and receptionists working at TWA offices.

Soon after the strike began, their pay was cut to 80 percent, then 60 percent, and will soon be cut to 25 percent of their salary before the strike began.

Another stewardess said: "It is clear this will be a long strike."

"I think the company will leave us out for five months until the busy season. Now the company makes more money without flying you."

UNITED

Another said: "This has really united us. We could not have united ourselves the way the company did."

"We all hate the company."

Over 300 strikers demonstrated in Union Square Monday. They were supported by bus drivers, Pan Am and American Airlines employees, Teamsters, pilots and mechanics.

# LA Ups Pay 76 Percent For Officials

LOS ANGELES—The Cost of Living Council granted pay raises to city officials totaling \$36,000 by July 1.

While workers throughout the city are fighting to make ends meet, Mayor Tom Bradley will receive \$50,000 per year.

Salaries for city councilmen, controller, and the city attorney will climb 20 percent to 76 percent, while Bradley will see a \$10,000 raise by this July.

LIMIT

This is a far cry from Nixon's declared five percent limit for millions of workers in this country. An additional \$2500 tax free dollars have been approved for each lawmaker's expense account.

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# lucha obrera

## lucía rivera Represión En España

Diez militantes de las Comisiones Obreras se hallan esperando juicio, por el delito de organizar independientemente a los trabajadores de la Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos controlada por el gobierno.

Desde que el General Franco llegó al poder en el 1939, en España, el principal blanco de ataque de su gobierno fascista han sido las organizaciones obreras; las uniones y agrupaciones políticas.

Hoy la clase obrera española luego de 34 años de gobierno fascista, al igual que la clase obrera internacional, se levanta en defensa de sus derechos básicos. En especial cuando la inflación "oficialmente" se haya a más de un diez por ciento.

La formación de las Comisiones Obreras fue un paso de trascendental importancia para la clase obrera española en su independencia organizativa del estado. El gobierno se ha lanzado con toda su fuerza represiva para tratar de exterminar cualquier oposición a sus políticas.

El juicio de estos diez militantes no es un simple juicio a unos militantes del movimiento obrero sino la continuación de los ataques en contra de la clase obrera en general.

A pesar de la ilegalidad de las huelgas, los últimos años se ha visto un gran movimiento huelgaro envolviendo sectores de obreros en las industrias básicas del país. Estas huelgas han sido brutalmente reprimidas por los militares. Pero esto en nada ha desanimado a los obreros quienes se hayan en ofensiva en contra del gobierno.

Hasta los sectores que siempre han estado comprometido con la dictadura fascista de Franco, como la Iglesia, ha sido sacudida por la acción de algunos curas en contra de las relaciones entre la iglesia y el estado.

El seis de noviembre, siete curas encarcelados en la prisión de Zamora se rebelaron en contra de las condiciones de inmundicias en que se hayan sus celdas. Estos curas en su mayoría del país Vasco, centro de oposición contra el gobierno quienes luchan por independizarse del poder español, se consideran prisioneros políticos y exponen que desean cumplir sus condenas, algunas hasta de 50 años, con los demás prisioneros políticos.

En su "carta abierta" ellos exponen la complicidad de la Iglesia Católica con el gobierno fascista de Franco. "Esta prisión es de hecho la consecuencia de la comfabolación de intereses entre la Iglesia y el Estado. Todo el mundo sabe que el estado español utiliza la iglesia como le venga en gana, y obtiene de ella lo que desea. Todo el mundo sabe que la iglesia española, se vende a las varias empresas del estado.

La existencia de la prisión de Zamora muestra bien claro como la Iglesia se presta a tal juego nosotros no toleramos que ella se sirva de nosotros."

Este movimiento de los trabajadores no solo encuentra la oposición del gobierno sino de las políticas de colaboración del Partido Comunista Español. Fueron estos mismos los responsables de la traición de la Guerra Civil Española durante los años 1936-1939 a través de sus "frentes populares" con una sección de la burguesía como ha sido el caso reciente en Chile.

A pesar que recientemente miembros del Partido Comunista fueron juzgados y encarcelados por el simple hecho de repartir hojas sueltas (volantes) los stalinistas del Partido Comunista quienes controlan hasta cierto punto las Comisiones Obreras, presentaron que estas debían "salir a la superficie".

Esta era la oportunidad que el gobierno esperaba para poder descabezar a las comisiones. Los stalinistas como en los años treinta, se la brindan basado en su confianza en la "democracia burguesa".

Ahora estos obreros se enfrentan a juicio del cual pueden obtener largas condenas. Los stalinistas están tratando de llevar una campaña para la defensa de estos obreros fuera del contexto político de la situación en la que se enfrenta la clase obrera en España.

Esto lo hacen con el propósito de no estropear las relaciones entre la Unión Soviética y el gobierno Español que en particular en los últimos años se han tornado muy calurosas.

La defensa de la clase obrera española se centra en estos momentos en la defensa de estos diez militantes y de su derecho de construir agrupaciones independiente de obreros fuera del control estatal.

La destrucción de las uniones bajo el control del gobierno, son los mismos planes que Nixon y los capitalistas preparan en este país a través de sus leyes anti-obreras, como son el control salarial y los interdictos en contra de las huelgas.

Los ataques en contra de los derechos básicos de los trabajadores es la política internacional de los capitalistas. En este país requiere un nuevo liderazgo que luche por la construcción de un partido obrero que defienda estos derechos. Es solo así que la defensa de los obreros españoles puede llevarse a cabo por los trabajadores de este país.



Outside the Detroit Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant which had been scheduled to strike at 10 am Monday before the settlement was announced.

# UAW Strikes Over Wages At Caterpillar Tractor

**EAST PEORIA, Ill., Nov. 17—The 22,000 members of UAW Local 974 have dug in for a long battle against Caterpillar Tractor Company.**

This plant, which manufactures large tractors and road equipment, plus its nearby foundry, parts plant, and engine plant, includes two-thirds of the Caterpillar work force nationally.

Negotiations on the contract which expired October 1 are taking place just across the river near Caterpillar's headquarters in Peoria.

Bulletin reporters interviewed strikers in the Local 974 hall and on the picket sites which are supplied with tents, lanterns, chairs, and grills or barrels for fire.

## NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

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New information is emerging of more open lies and concealment of information by the president.

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"Our wages are behind auto and behind Harvester. If we are to catch up with them, we would need 40 cents. The company offers 20 cents."

Bill Roberson, chairman of the Local 974 Bargaining Committee outlined it this way: "Well, the sweat shop days are gone, or they are supposed to be. 'Sometimes we wonder here. This company is very abusive."

"Also we need a clear line of demarcation for the skilled people.

"They have nothing that protects the erosion of the skilled people so far as subcontracting work. No rights for the guys here in the various crafts. And that is their bread and butter."

"The company is a union hater, you can quote me on this," Trustee Bill McGuire stated.

"I think we are in the middle of a real fight against organized labor. In the last three years, they have come down really hard here.

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political contributions to Nixon from the dairy interests in exchange for a boost in price supports.

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Nixon lied when he claimed that the FBI confirmed that the \$100,000 contribution from Hughes had never been used by Rebozo for his own purposes. The FBI now reveals that no check on this was possible.

The initiative remains in the hands of the working class. Nixon has never been weaker. His presidency hangs by a thread. The refusal of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to do anything more than send telegrams to Congress is criminal. Labor has the power to bring him down.

The labor movement must immediately launch mass rallies and demonstrations in all major cities to force Nixon to resign.

A Congress of Labor must be called to construct a labor party that can replace Nixon with a workers' government.

## OIL CRISIS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

administration last January to slash the budget for social programs is one of the top men on the White House energy task force.

### FREEZING

In addition to freezing workers in their homes, the Nixon administration is using the fuel crisis to destroy whatever ecology programs that have been legislated and in this way poison millions for profits. High sulphur fuels are now being burned in New York as power plants have been instructed that they need not observe the statutes of the Clean Air Act.

It is the powerful oil companies that are responsible for the fuel shortage which does exist. These companies would not invest in new drilling and refinery capacity to meet energy requirements because the repeated devaluations of the dollar threatened to make such long-term investments unprofitable. At the same time, they are driving up prices of existing reserves.

### MONOPOLIES

But these very oil monopolies, which would not produce without guaranteed profits, are now demanding austerity measures

for the working class.

Emilio Collado, executive vice-president of Exxon, told the National Trade Convention:

### CONSUMPTION

"Wasteful consumption—in the form of overlighting and overheating, for example—should be drastically reduced, if not eliminated altogether."

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