

Rice Up 100%, Bread 34%, Milk 24%

# STRIKES SPREAD TO RESTORE PAY CUTS

## BY THE EDITORS

The statistics just released on food prices in New York City prove that while workers' wage increases were held down to 5.5 percent last year, food prices in the same period went up at least 25 percent.

Nixon's abolition of all price controls and the unleashing of the greatest inflationary crisis in history must be answered by a massive offensive for wage increases by the entire working class.

•The cost of feeding a family of four rose 16.3 percent.

•A three pound package of rice this year cost 100 percent more than in 1973, from 72 cents a box to \$1.44 a box.

•Bread, cereal and spaghetti went up 34 percent from 1972; fresh fruits and vegetables, 29.6 percent; and dairy products, 24.2 percent.

•Con Edison is demanding a total increase of 54 percent in electricity and an additional 19 percent increase for gas.

•All the major auto companies have raised 1974 prices at least \$100 and are already preparing even larger price hikes for 1975.

•Cigarettes will soon go up to 80 cents a pack while commodities made of any metal such as steel and copper will rise astronomically.

## GOUGE

This inflation is aimed at only one thing: to enable the corporations to gouge out huge profits by slashing the living standards and the actual consumption of the working class.

The recent one day strike of West Coast longshoremen and now the strike of 40,000 carpenters in Los Angeles to win back all money cut by the Cost of Living Council and its predecessor the Pay Board is the beginning of a powerful strike wave against this government.

Local 1199, the Drug and Hospital Workers Union has just declared that in addition to demanding a 15 percent wage increase, they will fight for the 1.5 percent that was cut in the last contract.

Workers all over the country are engaged in bitter strike struggles over the key question of a cost of living clause to protect wages against inflation.

Last week, General Motors workers went on strike at plants in Kansas City, Sandusky, and Hudson, Ohio, and the Fleetwood plant in Detroit over the murderous speedup and conditions in the plants.

Every trade union in the country must follow this lead and launch strike action until every penny slashed in the past has been restored and at the same time to reopen all contracts and demand a minimum of 20 percent increase in wages and full cost of living clauses.

## UNITY

In this struggle, the greatest possible unity must be established to unite the tremendous power of the American working class.

This struggle today is a direct political struggle against the Nixon government which is the spokesman for the capitalists and is responsible for this inflation.

While Nixon claims that wage controls as well as price controls are off, the chemical workers at Harshaw and the teachers in Hortonville know the reality is different.

While formal wage controls are over, Nixon's strategy is to try and defeat each strike individually through violence and terrorism, combined with the threat of unemployment.

Each strike over wages now poses a bitter civil war with the employers and the government. The corporations not only seek to hold down wages, but to reduce them, to destroy every gain and right previously won in contracts and to smash the unions.

This is the meaning of the strike of New York printers, who are fighting for the very existence of their union.

## DEFENSE

The fight for wages and in defense of conditions today poses revolutionary struggles. The capitalist system faces an insoluble crisis that forces it to turn towards the most brutal methods of repression and dictatorship against the working class.



East Baltimore Young Socialists won tremendous support when police tried to stop their campaign for the June 1 March for Jobs. When police started to harass the YS, youth, workers, and housewives gathered on the street. A lieutenant Ford arrived and threatened to arrest YS members for "trespassing" on a sidewalk and blocking pedestrians by selling the Young Socialist paper. Four squad cars and a paddy wagon arrived and one member, Terry, was arrested for taking pictures of the police officer. Terry was soon released because of the support and protests of the community. As one woman said, "You're not stopping me, I'm stopping you, because I want this paper. Any paper that's against Nixon and the cops, I want."

## Zionists Murder 16 Students

### BY DAVID NORTH

The death of 16 Israeli high school students and three Arabs on Wednesday afternoon in the small village of Maalot was an act of cold-blooded murder by the Zionist regime which refused to release Arab political prisoners in order to free the young hostages held in the school building and then initiated the shootout which doomed the children.

Unable to extract concessions from the Syrian government which holds important positions on the Golan Heights, the crisis-stricken

Israeli government wanted the youth dead to whip up an anti-Arab hysteria and to create a pretext for launching a new war.

However, the fact that Israelis are turning angrily against the Zionist government and holding it responsible for the deaths was shown in Maalot immediately after the shooting. The town's residents attempted to attack Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who had directed the military operations that day, and he had to be protected by a phalanx of soldiers.

The explanation given by the Zionist government for its decision to storm the school building in which the hostages were being held is a brazen lie. Outgoing Premier Golda Meir claimed that the three Arabs, members of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who seized the school

had not allowed enough time for the government to meet the 6 p.m. deadline and grant their request for the release of 20 Arab prisoners and their safe-conduct out of Israel.

The fact is, however, that the Israeli government was

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Midweek  
Edition

•Foundations of the Revolutionary Party, Parts Five and Six, by Cliff Slaughter.

•"General Motors and Fascism" by Brian Fleet. How GM helped Hitler to build his war machine.



# Bulletin

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

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER THIRTY NINE 375

FRIDAY, MAY 17, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Rice Up 100%, Bread 34%, Milk 24%

## STRIKES SPREAD TO RESTORE PAY CUTS

### BY THE EDITORS

The statistics just released on food prices in New York City prove that while workers' wage increases were held down to 5.5 percent last year, food prices in the same period went up at least 25 percent.

Nixon's abolition of all price controls and the unleashing of the greatest inflationary crisis in history must be answered by a massive offensive for wage increases by the entire working class.

•The cost of feeding a family of four rose 16.3 percent.

•A three pound package of rice this year cost 100 percent more than in 1973, from 72 cents a box to \$1.44 a box.

•Bread, cereal and spaghetti went up 34 percent from 1972; fresh fruits and vegetables, 29.6 percent; and dairy products, 24.2 percent.

•Con Edison is demanding a total increase of 54 percent in electricity and an additional 19 percent increase for gas.

•All the major auto companies have raised 1974 prices at least \$100 and are already preparing even larger price hikes for 1975.

•Cigarettes will soon go up to 80 cents a pack while commodities made of any metal such as steel and copper will rise astronomically.

### GOUGE

This inflation is aimed at only one thing: to enable the corporations to gouge out huge profits by slashing the living standards and the actual consumption of the working class.

The recent one day strike of West Coast longshoremen and now the strike of 40,000 carpenters in Los Angeles to win back all money cut by the Cost of Living Council and its predecessor the Pay Board is the beginning of a powerful strike wave against this government.

Local 1199, the Drug and Hospital Workers Union has just declared that in addition, to demanding a 15 percent wage increase, they will fight for the 1.5 percent that was cut in the last contract.

Workers all over the country are engaged in bitter strike struggles over the key question of a cost of living clause to protect wages against inflation.

Last week, General Motors workers went on strike at plants in Kansas City, Sandusky, and Hudson, Ohio, and the Fleetwood plant in Detroit over the murderous speedup and conditions in the plants.

Every trade union in the country must follow this lead and launch strike action until every penny slashed in the past has been restored and at the same time to reopen all contracts and demand a minimum of 20 percent increase in wages and full cost of living clauses.

### UNITY

In this struggle, the greatest possible unity must be established to unite the tremendous power of the American working class.

This struggle today is a direct political struggle against the Nixon government which is the spokesman for the capitalists and is responsible for this inflation.

While Nixon claims that wage controls as well as price controls are off, the chemical workers at Harshaw and the teachers in Hortonville know the reality is different.

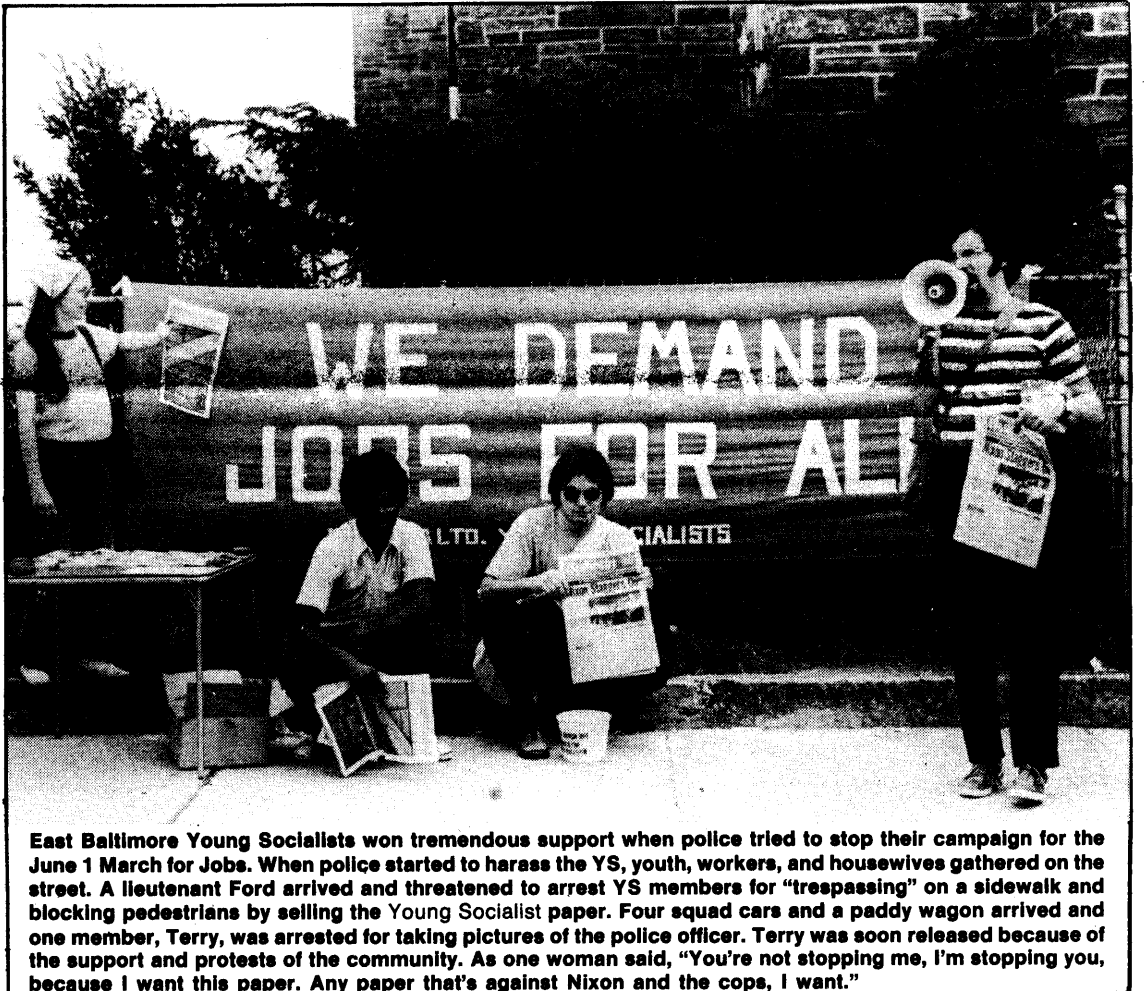
While formal wage controls are over, Nixon's strategy is to try and defeat each strike individually through violence and terrorism, combined with the threat of unemployment.

Each strike over wages now poses a bitter civil war with the employers and the government. The corporations not only seek to hold down wages, but to reduce them, to destroy every gain and right previously won in contracts and to smash the unions.

This is the meaning of the strike of New York printers, who are fighting for the very existence of their union.

### DEFENSE

The fight for wages and in defense of conditions today poses revolutionary struggles. The capitalist system faces an insoluble crisis that forces it to turn towards the most brutal methods of repression and dictatorship against the working class.



East Baltimore Young Socialists won tremendous support when police tried to stop their campaign for the June 1 March for Jobs. When police started to harass the YS, youth, workers, and housewives gathered on the street. A lieutenant Ford arrived and threatened to arrest YS members for "trespassing" on a sidewalk and blocking pedestrians by selling the Young Socialist paper. Four squad cars and a paddy wagon arrived and one member, Terry, was arrested for taking pictures of the police officer. Terry was soon released because of the support and protests of the community. As one woman said, "You're not stopping me, I'm stopping you, because I want this paper. Any paper that's against Nixon and the cops, I want."

## Zionists Murder 16 Students

BY DAVID NORTH

The death of 16 Israeli high school students and three Arabs on Wednesday afternoon in the small village of Maalot was an act of cold-blooded murder by the Zionist regime which refused to release Arab political prisoners in order to free the young hostages held in the school building and then initiated the shootout which doomed the children.

Unable to extract concessions from the Syrian government which holds important positions on the Golan Heights, the crisis-stricken

Israeli government wanted the youth dead to whip up an anti-Arab hysteria and to create a pretext for launching a new war.

However, the fact that Israelis are turning angrily against the Zionist government and holding it responsible for the deaths was shown in Maalot immediately after the shooting. The town's residents attempted to attack Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who had directed the military operations that day, and he had to be protected by a phalanx of soldiers.

The explanation given by the Zionist government for its decision to storm the school building in which the hostages were being held is a brazen lie. Outgoing Premier Golda Meir claimed that the three Arabs, members of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who seized the school

had not allowed enough time for the government to meet the 6 p.m. deadline and grant their request for the release of 20 Arab prisoners and their safe-conduct out of Israel.

The fact is, however, that the Israeli government was

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Midweek  
Edition

•Foundations of the Revolutionary Party, Parts Five and Six, by Cliff Slaughter.

•"General Motors and Fascism" by Brian Fleet. How GM helped Hitler to build his war machine.

## Obscene Support For Nixon

The role played by Stalinism in supporting Nixon is exposed most blatantly by the reaction of the Communist Party to the publication of the edited Watergate transcripts.

In the two weeks since the transcripts were first published, the *Daily World*, organ of the CP, has not written so much as one news article reporting the actual content of Nixon's secret Watergate conversations.

### What We Think

Its silence can be interpreted as nothing else except an attempt to prevent the working class from grasping the full extent of the Watergate conspiracy—the preparations for dictatorship beneath the forms of capitalist democracy—and therefore to divert the powerful movement developing among workers to throw Nixon out.

The silence of the *Daily World* on the Watergate transcripts is modeled on the silence of the entire Stalinist press in the Soviet Union on the Watergate crisis. The Kremlin has viewed with alarm the crisis of the Nixon regime upon which it has staked its policies of detente.

The Brezhnev regime has done everything in its power to bolster Nixon precisely at those moments when he is at his weakest. Last summer, Brezhnev made a point of expressing his solidarity with Nixon by coming to the United States the very week that John Dean was to deliver his devastating testimony. At this very moment, the Kremlin is preparing for an early summer reception for Nixon in Moscow.

The naked collaboration of the Kremlin with Nixon is the product of the Stalinists' tremendous fear of the revolutionary movement of the working class now sweeping the entire world.

The Soviet bureaucracy sees this movement as a threat against its own privileges, because the international offensive of the working class creates the conditions for political revolution against the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

However, it is the movement of the American working class against Nixon, opening up a period of

revolutionary struggle in the United States, that poses the greatest danger to the Stalinist detente.

This is why the American CP has received strict instructions from the Kremlin to defend Nixon. Just one week ago, CP General Secretary Gus Hall met with Brezhnev in the Kremlin and then issued a communiqué praising detente.

Within this framework, the response of the CP to the transcripts can be understood. Not only does the CP refuse to report the contents, but it refers to the transcripts only to call them meaningless and suggest that they are being used by "monopoly capitalism" to overturn detente. Thus, the CP takes Nixon's side in opposing the publication of the transcripts. This was the gist of Gus Hall's speech at the CP's May Day rally in New York:

"What is being released are meaningless tapes..."

"Who cares about tapes that recorded gossip between Nixon and his thugs of executive privilege."

"Who cares about who bugged the Democratic Party's offices."

"Who cares about the tapes that recorded the payoffs to hoodlums, to dirty tricksters and provocateurs."

Previously, the Stalinists have paid lip service to impeachment in order to oppose direct action by the working class to force Nixon out, hoping to keep workers tied to the Democratic Party. Now, the CP even opposes impeachment. Gus Hall made clear that detente means supporting Nixon when he went on to tell the rally:

"They do not want to impeach Watergate. They want to impeach detente. They want to ride the popular anti-Nixon tide, the anti-Nixon sentiment of the people, with the hope of turning our country back completely to cold war policies."

The fight to build a revolutionary leadership to rally the working class in struggle against Nixon and for socialism requires an unflagging battle against Stalinism, which Trotsky labelled more than 30 years ago as "the syphilis of the labor movement."

This fight has been completely abandoned by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, which having broken with Trotskyism 11 years ago and gone over to Pablo's position of rejecting the need for Trotskyist parties, now provides a left cover for the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinists.

Its position on the Watergate transcripts, put forward

in the May 17 issue of *The Militant*, serves to bolster that of the CP. Rather than exposing the significance of the transcripts, how they show the manner in which the capitalist class is breaking with democracy and preparing beneath the surface the elements of dictatorship, the SWP writes with middle class flippancy that the transcripts simply show the corruption of capitalism.

While Gus Hall calls the tapes "meaningless," the SWP says that there is no reason to get very excited about them because Nixon didn't do anything different than Kennedy and Johnson. According to *The Militant*, the tapes are only "a heavy blow to the sanctity of the capitalist government."

The SWP refuses to pose the demand that the trade unions take action to force Nixon out. Even in the face of the transcripts, it completely abstains from this central political fight.

"In the next few months, the politicians in Congress may decide to replace Richard Nixon with Jerry Ford. But for the American people, the important thing about Watergate and the Nixon transcripts is what it has revealed about the true nature of capitalist methods of rule. The power of the truths that have been laid bare will haunt not only Nixon, but his successors as well."

*The Militant* accepts Nixon. It is prepared to accept Ford. It puts forward no independent policy for the working class, how it must act now to force Nixon out, how it must at the same time prepare its own alternative to Nixon, and how it must smash the conspiracies of the ruling class.

The Workers League alone has campaigned in the working class to bring forward a political movement to force Nixon out now. We have demanded that the trade union movement conduct this fight as it constructs a labor party based on socialist policies.

We have conducted this fight as we assemble the forces of the revolutionary party. We have reached broad sections of the working class in this fight, holding nationwide demonstrations last March 16 demanding Nixon's resignation and recently holding the Second National Conference of the Young Socialists, attended by 550 youth.

We have conducted this fight on the basis of Trotskyist principles: the fight of the Fourth International against Stalinism and revisionism.

## Mass Demonstrations Protest Denmark Tax

BY FRANK MARTIN

For the second time in less than a week, workers throughout Denmark have staged mass walkouts to demand the resignation of the government.

The walkouts have been sparked by the plans of the minority Liberal regime, of Poul Hartling, to place a 25 percent sales tax on all basic commodities and to slash welfare programs.

On May 13, 60,000 workers responded to the call of the Communist Party for a one day general strike. Over 40,000 workers marched on the Folketing (Parliament) calling for an indefinite general strike to force the resignation of the government and the calling of new elections.

The international economic crisis has ripped apart the Danish economy. Denmark already has the highest tax rate per person of any Western country. The balance of payments deficit has skyrocketed in the last few months, forcing thousands of Danish workers to buy their basic commodities in Germany, where prices are lower.

"Twenty million Krona (Danish currency) leave each day from Denmark because of massive imports," Mr. Hartling declared. "This cannot go on, and that is why it is now necessary for us to seriously intervene and force people to spend a lot less."

Hartling's proposals include a large tax increase on all imported goods. This has sparked a furor in the Common Market, which Denmark joined last year, with the German government warning of retaliatory measures against Danish exports.

There is no resolution of the political crisis since last year's elections when 10 different parties were elected to the Folketing, none of them with a majority.

The Social Democrats, who had formed the previous government, resigned, and the Liberals, with only 22 out of 179 seats, formed a minority government.

The government was only able to survive a vote of confidence last Monday because of the support from two other right wing parties—the Center Democrats and the Progress Party. But the Progress Party, along with the Communist Party, the Socialist People's Party, and the Social Democrats have already pledged themselves to vote against the government's budget, virtually assuring a new election.

The government was only able to survive a vote of confidence last Monday because of the support from two other right wing parties—the Center Democrats and the Progress Party. But the Progress Party, along with the Communist Party, the Socialist People's Party, and the Social Democrats have already pledged themselves to vote against the government's budget, virtually assuring a new election.



Italian workers in a recent mass demonstration for higher wages.

## Italians Rebuff MSI Red Scare

BY A REPORTER

A referendum to repeal a three-year-old divorce law in Italy has been rejected by a 3 to 1 margin in voting last weekend.

The vote is a decisive blow to the coalition government of Premier Mariano Rumor and his right-wing party, the Christian Democrats, who joined the fascist Italian Social Movement and the Catholic Church in calling for the repeal.

The Communist Party together with the three other parties in the coalition, the Socialist Party, the Social Democrats, and the Republicans, campaigned to maintain the law.

The divorce bill, initiated by a group of conservative Catholic laymen, was used by the rightists to whip up a red scare against the Communist Party.

Fascists of the MSI put up posters that read: "Cast Your Vote Against Communism. Say Yes To The Abolition of Divorce."

The Christian Democrats sought to turn the divorce issue into a law and order campaign against "permissiveness."

### BOMB

The campaign was marked by a series of bomb attacks attributed to fascist groups.

There is a strong possibility that Rumor will be forced to resign as a result of the vote.

With the paralysis of the parliamentary parties and the growth of fascism, the role of the Italian Communist Party is extremely dangerous.

The Stalinists are negotiating with the Christian Democrats to join the coalition just when this party allies with fascists to crush all left-wing opposition.

The fascists are using the bankruptcy of all the politicians and the reformist leaders in the unions to gain a base in extremely poor areas such as the Reggio Calabria region in the south.

The vote last weekend reflects the powerful hatred of the Italian workers for the fascists. But the fascists can only be defeated by the independent struggle of Italian workers for power against all the parties of the coalition.

## Allende Supporters On Trial In Chile

BY A REPORTER

The military dictatorship in Chile is moving to bring all the former leaders of the Allende Popular Unity government to trial, in an attempt to stabilize their regime.

On May 9, 27 prisoners were transferred from the concentration camp on Dawson Island to be court martialed. These include Daniel Vergara, a Communist Party member and former Under Secretary of the Interior; Orlando Letelier of the Socialist Party; Allende's Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, who has been severely tortured.

The 27 are accused of seeking

to establish a "communist dictatorship."

The War Tribunal of Valdivia has declared M. Figueroa, a regional secretary of the Socialist Party, and Victor Hormazabal to be guilty of appealing to workers to defend the Allende government last September. Socialist Party leaders in the province of Rancagua are also facing trial.

The trial of 57 military officers and 10 civilians exposes the type of "justice" that the Chilean junta is meting out.

Lawyers for the defendants have been silenced and thrown out of court for challenging the prosecution's premise that the Allende government was "ille-

gal." If this premise is maintained, anyone who even supported Allende is automatically a traitor and a criminal, according to the military tribunals.

The lawyers charge that one cannot be charged for something that was not a crime when it took place.

In addition, those on trial have been tortured and lawyers are denied access to the prosecution's evidence.

### NIXON

The fascist dictators are only able to stage these fraudulent trials openly because of the staunch support of Nixon for the continuing repression and murders of all the junta's opponents.

# Franklin Losses Panic Bankers

BY A REPORTER

Reports that Franklin National Bank has hit the financial skids are sending shock waves throughout the international banking community.

Franklin is no minor financial entity. With assets of over \$5 billion, numerous European subsidiaries and connections, and more than 100 branch offices in the New York area, Franklin is the nation's twentieth largest bank and the ninth largest in the city.

Franklin's management has reported that the bank has lost at least \$14 million speculating on the foreign exchange markets and may be in for an additional \$25 million in losses.

But this is only the tip of the iceberg. Many of the world's largest banks are heavily involved in currency speculation and have sustained severe losses.

The giant Union Bank of Switzerland and the Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale of Germany, with the largest deposits in their respective countries, are estimated to have lost over \$80 million each.



Michele Sindona, who controlled Franklin National, controls four large banks and real estate in Italy.

These banks speculate on the rapid fluctuations in currency values hoping to pick up fortunes in profits overnight. One German bank is known to have placed a billion dollars into speculation that the pound would

fall in value.

But currency speculation is not Franklin's main problem. It only exposes the rot eating away at the entire banking system.

Some bankers think that Franklin may have been forced

to reveal these losses because of the default of a large European loan.

Franklin has been hit recently with a wave of defaults. Its bond portfolio has slumped in value due to rapidly rising interest rates, and in addition, Franklin must raise money to pay off a large number of short term loans.

On Tuesday, the bank fired its president, and the executive vice-chairman resigned. These moves come amid announcements that no dividends will be paid next quarter.

#### IMPOSSIBLE

This creates a situation in which it will be next to impossible for the bank to raise funds by selling its paper.

There are already rumors of possible takeovers by banking giants such as Manufacturers Trust which previously loaned Franklin \$30 million.

Numerous American banks

are in a similar situation. In addition to currency speculation, many have advanced large sums to ailing Real Estate Investment Trusts, loan defaults are rising, and the credit squeeze maintained by the Federal Reserve Board is endangering their ability to make good on obligations by raising new cash.

#### FINANCIER

Franklin National is controlled by Michele Sindona, an Italian financier, who controls four large banks in Italy and Switzerland and has made a fortune speculating on the Italian stock and real estate markets. Sindona also dominates the Societa Generale Immobiliare, one of the largest real estate and construction firms in the world.

Sindona acquired his interest in the company, which includes the Washington D.C. Watergate complex in its portfolio, by buying out the Vatican in 1969.

He grabbed control of Franklin in 1972, paying \$40 a share. The shares are now worth little more than \$8.

Through Sindona, Franklin is connected to his Italian and Swiss banks and is therefore extremely sensitive to the devastating economic crisis now sweeping Italy.

#### COLLAPSE

The crisis at the Franklin National Bank follows the collapse of the giant US National Bank in San Diego.

It expresses the wild inflation and uncontrollable speculation and credit expansion that followed the August 15, 1971 measures which removed the gold cover from the dollar.

The situation at Franklin is a warning of the possibility of numerous banking collapses and the dangers of a wave of bankruptcies and mass unemployment being prepared by the crisis.

Only the working class can put an end to the speculators and profiteers by creating its own labor party pledged to nationalize finance under workers control.

## Con Ed Asks 54% Hike

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

Consolidated Edison has announced that it will seek a 25 percent rise in the cost of electricity in addition to the 29 percent increase now being considered by the Public Service Commission.

Only last February, Con Ed was granted a 12 percent "interim" increase.

Con Ed claims it is facing immediate bankruptcy because of a shortage of cash created by the delay of major industries in paying bills, in order to resolve their own cash shortages.

Con Ed is asking the state to take over two new plants, at a cost of \$500 million, or it will be forced to place the utility in receivership.

The rate hike will mean New York residents will pay 54 percent more for electricity, at a time when the prices of every basic commodity and rents are soaring.

The price of cigarettes has officially gone up, and in some stores they are selling at 80 cents a pack.

#### STAGGERING

But while workers and their families face staggering price increases and are having their real incomes reduced, the State Assembly decided that New York public administrators could not live on \$25,000 a year and raised their salaries to \$34,800.

Following on the heels of Chrysler and Ford who have raised the average price of a car from \$100 to \$163, General Motors has announced a \$105 increase and added that a "substantial" price rise could be expected on the 1975 models.

Prices on dairy products, fish, bakery products, all beverages, and processed fruits and vegetables all showed new increases

in April. Paper and wood products continue to be among the fastest rising prices.

Figures from national banking groups reflect the devastating crunch that this means. The Mortgage Bankers Association of America reports that 4.7 percent of all mortgages were delinquent by 30 days or more already during the last three months of last year.

If all the major corporations are to be allowed to make up for accumulated cost increases, now that price controls are abolished, the trade unions must rely in kind.

Every union whose contract was cut by the Cost of Living Council must demand that all back money be immediately re-

stored. Local 1199 of the Hospital and Drug Store Workers Union in New York and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast have already demanded this.

This must be combined with a united wages offensive by the entire labor movement to fight for a minimum of 20 percent wage increases for all and full cost of living escalator clauses.

The wage fight can only go forward as part of a political fight against the government. The trade unions must launch a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans to nationalize all the big corporations, such as the oil monopolies, under workers control.

## Powers Seeks Sanction For Official Strike

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

NEW YORK, NY—As the lockout of printers at the New York Daily News entered its second week, there were growing indications that critically needed labor support would be won.

Bertram A. Powers, president of International Typographers Union No. 6, left negotiations Tuesday to resubmit the facts of the dispute to the ITU International leadership in Colorado.

He is seeking official recognition of the lockout and possibly a strike call against The New York Times and New York Post.

Several of the nine other unions organizing workers at the three papers have used the lack of official ITU sanction as an excuse to demand their members cross ITU picket lines.

Thomas Van Arsdale, business manager of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electricians, joined the negotiating sessions on Monday.

Officials of The New York Times revealed the publishers' fear of strike authorization by the ITU or a walkout by electricians by reaffirming their support to the News on Sunday night.

The statement echoing a release made just before the News locked out the printers, stated: "Should the News be prevented from publishing, our earlier statement will apply, namely that the Times will make every effort to help the News to continue to publish and whatever befalls the News will befall the Times."

Like the News, officials at the Times have already set up computerized equipment which replaces the typesetting equipment used by over 2000 members of ITU No. 6, and trained nonunion staff to man them.

The ITU is fighting for contractual guarantees for these 2000 jobs, as well as pay raises above those negotiated earlier this year by the other newspaper unions.

The Workers League-Young Socialists Invites You To:

## Arrow Park Outing Saturday June 29

Swimming and boating at private lake, sports, picnic facilities, near Bear Mountain.

## Educational Program Watergate

— The Ugly Face  
Of Capitalism

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary,  
Workers League

Cost: \$5 (includes transportation.)

Buses leave 135 W. 14th St., 8:30 AM Sharp

Transportation also available from Connecticut, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Boston, Baltimore, and Washington, DC.

For information call: 212-924-0852

Make all checks payable to the Workers League,  
135 W. 14th St., New York, NY 10011





# 1199 Ranks Locked Out At Charles Drew

**BY A LOCAL 1199 MEMBER  
NEW YORK—Over 150 members of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers, have been locked out since May 13 by the Charles Drew Health Center in Brooklyn.**

The lockout occurred after management deducted three hours pay from each worker for holding union meetings to discuss the administration's threat to lay off a section of the workers.

Local 1199 members at Charles Drew have been working without a contract since December 31, 1973.

## REDUCED

When the health center, which is federally funded, received its budget, it was reduced from three million dollars to two million. The administration told the union that it would have to either lay off 40 workers, and give no increase for the remaining workers, or every worker would be put on a four day week, with no increase in hourly pay.

The 1199 officials rejected this. Charles Drew has now asked for a one month extension to try and find funds from other sources, with negotiations to resume June 1.

When employees received their paychecks with three hours pay docked for the meetings they

had held, they began their sit-in. The sit-in continued over the weekend until they were told that if they did not leave, they would be arrested. This forced the lockout of both Guild and Hospital Division workers.

The members are determined to win. On the picket line, they chant: "We don't want no Watergate; the Administration must get straight," and sing "We Shall Overcome."

One of the delegates on the line said: "Without a contract, they can do anything to us—harass us, fire us. We have to have a contract."

Another delegate said: "We can't go back to work without those three hours pay. What position would we be in when negotiations begin again?"

During the struggle, the workers at Charles Drew attempted time after time to set up meetings with Shirley Chisholm, Democratic Congresswoman in Brooklyn. She wouldn't meet with them until they sent a delegation to sit in at her office.

The Charles Drew workers must demand that the union leadership mobilize the membership of the entire union to defend them by calling a mass demonstration and if necessary closing down all the hospitals.

## NEGOTIATIONS

With contract negotiations already underway between Local 1199 and all the major private hospitals in New York, the fight of the Charles Drew worker is the fight of every hospital worker and every trade unionist.



Ethel Dodson, a tenant at Stella Wright, spoke to the Bulletin about the death of Irene Morton.

# No Alternative In Newark Election

**BY DAVID NORTH  
NEWARK, May 15—Kenneth Gibson was re-elected mayor yesterday, defeating right-wing State Senator Anthony Imperiale.**

The major factors in Gibson's victory were the overwhelming opposition to Im-

periale in the predominantly Black South and Central wards, combined with a relatively weak showing by Imperiale in the North and East wards.

However, thousands of workers expressed their disgust with both candidates by not voting at all. The number of voters in yes-

terday's election was nearly 20 percent below that in the 1970 election.

The bankruptcy of the Gibson administration is exposed most vividly by the housing conditions in Newark, particularly in the large projects like Stella Wright, Hayes Homes, and Columbus Homes.

Tenants at Stella Wright, who are in the fourth year of a rent strike, are holding the Gibson administration responsible for the death of 55-year-old Irene Morton two weeks ago. She suffered a heart attack after being forced to climb 12 floors to her apartment because the elevators were not working.

"She was a very lovely person," Ethel Dodson, a neighbor, told the Bulletin.

"She was all out of breath when she went up the stairs. She collapsed in her apartment."

Tenants reported that when the ambulance arrived, the hospital staff refused to walk up the stairs to treat Mrs. Morton.

No medical personnel was sent into the apartment. An official from the housing authority arrived after two hours to unlock the elevator—which tenants are not permitted to use—to allow the undertaker to ride up to the twelfth floor.

Tenants reported that Mrs. Morton was still alive when the undertakers carried her on a stretcher into the elevator, though the coroner maintains that she was already dead.

"Gibson is like Nixon as far as I'm concerned. This system is against the working class, run by business people and their politicians," Stella Wright Tenants Association President Toby Henry said.

## Cops Attack Concert Crowd

**BY BRIAN FLEET  
WASHINGTON DC—Two concerts held here last weekend to celebrate "Human Kindness Day" turned into a near riot when masses of police launched a brutal and provocative attack on the youth.**

Seventy-five youth were arrested and 80 people were injured during the two day festi-

val on May 11 at the Washington Monument Grounds and on May 13 at the Robert F. Kennedy stadium.

On Saturday, police on horseback and with squad cars fired tear gas to disperse a crowd of 100,000 youth over three hours before the free concert was scheduled to end.

One woman was knocked over by a horse, and at the 10th Street bus terminal, 17 squad cars and teams of police on scooters kept up a continuous harassment of people waiting for buses.

The Black Muslims turned out in force and openly tried to provoke racial incidents. One youth who was talking to a Bulletin salesman was told by a Muslim member not to speak to a member of an organization led by "whitey."

Over twenty people were injured and 24 arrested.

On Monday, over 300 police surrounded the RFK stadium where groups of youth, who couldn't afford the \$7 admission, listened to the concert from the parking lot.

Fifty-nine people were injured, including 9 cops and 43 were arrested during the battle that lasted over four hours.

# Shippers Seek GAI Cut

**BY TOM GORDON  
NEW YORK—The Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations (CONASA) and the New York Shipping Association (NYSA) are seeking a new contract with the International Longshoremen's Association that would destroy dockers' guaranteed annual income.**

At the May 8 negotiating meeting in New York, the NYSA demanded that the guaranteed annual income (GAI) be taken away from any dockworker who has not worked 700 hours in the past contract year, that GAI wages be less than the wages of working dockers, and that penalties be assessed against any ILA member who takes an outside job and fails to report for waterfront work.

Any man in the Port of New York who had not already worked 700 hours in the 1972-1973 contract year would be kicked off the GAI.

On May 14, CONASA demanded that the ILA give up every contract restriction on containers and lighter-aboard-ship

(LASH) barges.

The ILA Wage and Scale Committee's acceptance of the shippers offer to restore 15 cents an hour, effective June 1, is a dangerous concession. The 15 cents was originally cut by the Pay Board in April 1972 along with another 50 cents in the first year of the contract.

Not only has the CONASA refused to restore the full amount, but the 15 cents is being offered as bait to induce the ILA to go along with actual wage cuts in the GAI.

"There shouldn't be any question of losing the GAI," one docker told the Bulletin. "You don't give up what you've got."

The international economic crisis is preparing the way for massive unemployment on the piers. Italy has already imposed such tight trade regulations that many vital goods cannot be shipped to that country.

Every country is preparing for trade war and the shutting out of as much foreign commerce as possible. Companies must cut their costs to the bone by reducing the work force and speeding up those who remain.

"The bottom may fall out at any time, due to the economic conditions," a Manhattan longshoreman told the Bulletin. "So it's stupid to get off the guarantee. That's why we've got to strike."

The one-day longshore strike on the West Coast, and the desire of West Coast dockers to strike indefinitely to win back all money taken away by the pay board, shows that there is tremendous support for a nationwide longshore strike.

The \$72 per day wage demand, plus all money taken away by the pay board, must be won in full, with a full cost of living escalator clause. Work rules on containers and LASH barges cannot be relaxed one inch. The ILA must win a decent pension, with no age restriction, for all men after twenty years at work.

## Labor Book Center

135 W. 14th Street, 7th Floor

**The Labor Book Center carries hundreds of items on Marxism and the labor movement available nowhere else.**  
Hours: Mon.-Fri. 5:30 - 8:30 Sat. 11 - 5



BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The overnight collapse of the decaying 50 year rule of Portuguese fascism has opened all the floodgates for a struggle for power by the working class in Portugal and in the African colonies of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

The hundreds of thousands of workers marching through the streets of Lisbon on May Day signal the beginning of revolutionary explosions throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

A deadly blow has been struck against the crisis ridden white settler states of Rhodesia and South Africa which rely on the imperialist army of Portugal as a major prop for their own regimes.

The rapidity of the transformation, in which a seemingly all powerful fascist state which has ruled for decades through the most brutal repression against the working class fell without a shred of support, is a complete vindication of the perspectives of the International Committee.

The IC has conducted a continuous struggle against the revisionists who were hypnotized by the power of the bureaucratic apparatuses and wrote the working class off as an independent force for revolution.

Portugal reveals the intensity of the capitalist crisis which is creating conditions for the socialist revolution throughout the world and places the question of the preparation for a struggle for power on the agenda.

At the heart of this preparation is the fundamental principle of Bolshevism which has been defended by the Trotskyist movement—the need to build the revolutionary leadership through the construction of the revolutionary party.

#### DISINTEGRATING

The weak Portuguese bourgeoisie and their spokesmen in the junta face a rapidly disintegrating military situation in the colonies in Africa, uncontrollable inflation of over 20 percent at home, and wage demands by the working class that already go far beyond anything Portuguese capitalism can grant.

The way is now clear for the construction of a revolutionary party based on the principles of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

This means a struggle to overthrow the junta and win the working class and poor peasants to a program of the nationalization of industry, finance, and land under workers control without compensation; distribution of the land to the peasants; complete independence for all the colonies; and the destruction of the capitalist police and army with their replacement by a workers' militia.

It is only this struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat that can resolve the crisis and prevent the ruling class and its army from establishing a new reign of repression and dictatorship.

In this new situation, the greatest danger to the Portuguese workers comes from the Stalinist Communist Party which has emerged as the strongest force within the working class and is seeking to rally support for the provisional government promised by General Spínola.

That Stalinism now comes forward as the main party of the working class is a warning of the

need to prepare a revolutionary leadership in a continuous struggle against Stalinism and revisionism.

For fifty years the Communist Party has functioned in illegality in Portugal. Under Portuguese fascism, its membership has been largely isolated from the struggles and crisis that have wracked world Stalinism.

CP members under conditions of illegality were able to win a huge base of support within the government controlled industries. They were able to extend their influence even within the armed forces and to infiltrate into the state intelligence branches.

In the elections permitted by the government, they operated as the "democratic forces" and put forward a mild program of reform in collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the armed forces.

Despite its reformist perspective, masses of Portuguese workers identify this party with their own aspirations for socialism.

In the May Day demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands marched, the majority carried the political banners of the CP and the reformist Socialist Party.

From the moment he returned from Moscow where he had been in exile, CP leader Alvaro Cunhal proclaimed the desire of the Communist Party to participate directly in a government with the junta.

"The Communist Party is ready to assume its responsibilities in the present political juncture," he proclaimed, clearly indicating his willingness to accept a cabinet post.

#### SOARES

Both the Communist Party and the tiny Socialist Party of Mario Soares are determined to prop up the junta by forming a "popular unity" government modelled on the Allende government of Chile.

The Spínola regime has already announced its determination to hold onto its colonies in Africa. Six members of the junta were previous volunteers for Portuguese colonial wars.

Spínola hopes to establish a federation of "equal states" in which control of foreign affairs, defense, and finances would rest in Lisbon, while the Portuguese remain free to exploit their African possessions. "Self-determination should not be confused with independence," Spínola has declared.

Despite the fact that the military regime is continuing its rule by terror, napalm, and torture in Africa, both the CP and the Socialist Party, which in the past have advocated independence for the colonies, are more than eager to rush into the government.

The situation is so desperate for the new government that even the most rabid anticommunists understand the need to use the collaboration of the CP to buy time to rebuild the secret police apparatus and prepare the counterrevolution as in Chile.

The Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia* stressing the "moderation" of the pro-Moscow party wrote: "With the forces of the Christian Democracy inert, the socialists disoriented, the liberals lacking prestige, and the conservatives dispersed, it is not easy to see how any combination can be formed without Communist participation."

#### DISCREDITED

In other words, the bourgeois parties are so discredited among the masses that only the Communist Party can salvage Portuguese capitalism.

But Portuguese Stalinism faces no easy task. The fear of



# Portugal's Stalinists Join The Generals



Top: Demonstrators during a Lisbon demonstration through the streets along with Portuguese troops. Bottom: Liberation fighters in the African colonies make their way through the jungle with SAM-7 missile.

the Stalinists that the movement of the working class will break out of their control is expressed in their furious witch-hunt against the left.

The Stalinists know very well that collaboration with the junta will involve defending every unpopular measure of the regime.

#### ATTACKING

The CP is attacking Maoists and Trotskyists for daring to tell the working class that it should give no support to the junta.

According to the British paper the *Daily Guardian*, the CP is working through its agents in the intelligence branches to get details on the Maoists and Trotskyists in order to repress them.

Just as in the Spanish civil war and more recently in Chile, Stalinism does the dirty work of the bourgeoisie by smashing up any potential revolutionary leadership.

While the CP maneuvers with Spínola, every African liberation movement in the colonies has taken a stand for continuing the armed struggle through to complete independence.

Portuguese imperialism clings to control only in the cities in Guinea-Bissau; in Mozambique, virtually three-quarters of the country is in the hands of the liberation fighters; and in Angola, there are strong movements toward a unity of the liberation movements, all of which are de-

manding complete independence.

The heroic resistance of the African liberation fighters so undermined the Portuguese regime that it opened the way for the Portuguese working class to come forward.

The movement now of the Portuguese workers, combined with the massive opposition to the African wars among the youth provides the basis for the unity of the colonial masses with the workers in the advanced countries in the struggle for socialism.

#### SHATTER

Every blow now struck by the colonial workers against the junta and every step taken towards independent struggle by the Portuguese workers threatens to shatter the policies of the Stalinists.

Under these conditions, the revolutionary leadership can be constructed in Portugal, in a ruthless fight against Stalinism and to expose the real class nature of Spínola's military regime.

Only the IC has prepared its forces for the events in Portugal.

This preparation took place through the bitter struggle against the theories of Pabloism within the Fourth International which impressionistically wrote off the working class and maintained that Stalinism could be

pressured to play a revolutionary role.

Those, like the Socialist Workers Party, who refused to conduct this struggle and to base themselves on the capitalist crisis emerge today as the liquidators of the party.

Most recently, this preparation took the form of struggle against the French OCI which accepts the domination of Stalinism and the labor bureaucracy over the workers movement and seeks to pressure these bureaucracies.

The OCI rejected the fight to construct the revolutionary party in a struggle against the spontaneous thinking of the working class which confines it to the limits of capitalism.

Today, the OCI gives uncritical support to the popular front candidacy of Francois Mitterand, leader of the Socialist Party in France.

These are the tendencies that contributed to the present domination by Stalinism of the workers movement in Portugal.

Rather than a force to be reformed or pressured, Stalinism reveals itself today as a consciously counterrevolutionary obstacle in the workers movement.

In this struggle against Pabloism and the OCI new forces have been developed both in Spain and Portugal to take up the fight to build the International Committee.





German workers hurl stones at Soviet tanks in East Berlin during strike wave against the bureaucracy in 1953.

## Part Three Socialism In One Country

Undoubtedly, the great impetus for founding the Communist International in 1919 was the success of the Bolshevik Party in leading the working class to state power in the October Revolution of 1917.

The newly-founded Communist Parties throughout the world inevitably lacked the training, the experience and the theoretical foundations of the Bolsheviks, and this is why Lenin and Trotsky devoted so much attention to the education of their parties between 1919 and 1923.

In the subsequent years, all the parties of the Communist International were to fall victim to the revision of Marxism made by Stalin and his faction in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Eventually this was to turn them into instruments of a bureaucracy in the USSR whose aims and interests are counterrevolutionary.

If by 1936-1938 we find the Communist Parties of the world enthusiastically defending the physical liquidation of virtually the whole Bolshevik generation of 1917 in the Moscow Trials, we must trace the process of degeneration back to the years 1923-1924, and to the revisionism which began to dominate the CPSU in this period.

Russia in 1917 was the "weakest link in the chain" of world imperialism. It was in this autocratic, semi-feudal empire, breaking at the seams as the new capitalism developed within it in the late 19th century, that the best conditions existed for the overthrow of state power by the working class.

But at that time every Marxist knew that a revolutionary breakthrough was not at all the same thing as the prospect of building "socialism in one country," least of all a backward country like Russia.

Trotsky, in his theory of Permanent Revolution, had foreseen in 1906 that the Russian proletariat might lead the way by making the first revolutionary overturn. But the same reasons which brought the first socialist revolution to Russia made it impossible to conceive of constructing a socialist society in this country alone.

Marxism is a science. The necessity of socialism arises out of the contradictions of capitalist development. The prerequisites for socialism—international division of labor, high level of productive forces, advanced forms of co-operation in industry, industry capable of equipping agriculture for massive and planned production, etc.—are produced by capitalism itself.

Socialism does not grow automatically out of capitalism; on the contrary, the

internal contradiction of capitalism leads to revolutionary class struggles in which men become conscious of the conflicts and fight them out.

This contradictory process is an international one. All the conditions for socialism come to a head on a world scale in the epoch of imperialism in the twentieth century. But the struggle is a living, uneven process. Favorable conditions for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and for developing Marxism in a revolutionary party came first in backward Russia.

Elsewhere, as in Germany, revolutionary situations were missed by the working class only because of the absence of revolutionary leadership. The self-professed Marxists who led the socialist parties, based on the privileged "labor aristocracy" produced by imperialism, betrayed the revolution.

Consequently, the young workers' state in the Soviet Union was isolated, surrounded by imperialism. Within its borders, the industrial working class was a small minority compared with the vast mass of the peasantry. In the course of civil war and wars of intervention following the revolution, this working class lost many of the cream of its leadership, and others were dispersed for leadership work on the 5000-mile war front or in the vast territories of the liberated Tsarist empire.

Economic backwardness, capitalist blockade, and the strain of war, meant that food shortages and even acute famine ravaged the towns of the Soviet Union. Many workers still had ties with their peasant relatives in the countryside, and returned there in the difficult times of 1919-1922.

### EXPECTED SUCCESSES OF REVOLUTIONS

Despite the extraordinary, almost superhuman sacrifices of the Russian working class, the workers' state was forced by 1921 to initiate the "New Economic Policy" (NEP). To assure any revival of manufacture and trade, it was necessary to recognize the absence of a broad enough base for socialist industrialization, and to permit the operation of small-scale capitalist enterprises in production and commerce, limited of course to private peasant ownership producing partly for the free market.

Lenin and Trotsky considered that correct working class policies by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet government could ensure the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and defeat the bureaucratic and capitalist-restorationist tendencies which would inevitably grow out of the NEP.

Such correct policies would combine with the expected successes of the workers in the advanced countries under communist leadership. Only with such successes could the holding operation in the USSR eventually move forward towards socialism.

This Marxist view of the relation between the Soviet state and the world revolution was the accepted and unchallenged doctrine

of all Bolsheviks until 1924. In the autumn of that year Stalin re-wrote a passage in his own book *Problems of Leninism*. The edition published earlier in the year had repeated the correct Marxist position on the impossibility of socialism in a single country.

Now Stalin asserted baldly that Lenin had since 1915 advocated the building of socialism in Russia alone. This involved the systematic distortion and lying which was to become the hallmark of Stalin's bureaucratic rule. But by April 1925 "socialism in a single country" was adopted as the official policy of the Bolshevik Party.

The same conditions which weakened the working class in the Soviet workers' state led on the other hand to the strengthening of a new social force: the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is not a class with an independent role. It rests on the richer peasants (Kulaks) and on the middle class in trade and industry. Its members occupy powerful positions in the state machine from national to local level. They infiltrate the Party, because the Party, the state and economic management are closely intertwined.

Lenin had spent his last years of active life in struggle against the growth of bureaucracy. He had encouraged new forms of "workers" and "peasants' inspection" with definite legal powers against bureaucratic abuses. And he had conducted the first determined rounds of a political struggle against Stalin as the representative within the Bolshevik Party of these bureaucratic tendencies.

Lenin had seen very clearly that Stalin would have to be removed if the Bolshevik Party was to be able to continue to play its leading role in the Soviet Union and the Communist International, and he enlisted the support of Trotsky in this struggle.

How is it then that by 1925 Stalin's revisionist policy dominated the party and Trotsky was already in a minority? How is it that only four years after that, Trotsky was exiled and the Left Opposition inside Russia was a persecuted and illegal minority?

Trotskyism today is the product of the bitter struggle through all these difficult years. The isolation of the Soviet Union and the defeats of the world proletariat all strengthened the bureaucracy and weakened the proletariat. Marxism could be defended and developed only by those who swam against the stream at that stage, preparing to meet the deeper currents which would prevail as the capitalist crisis and the class struggle developed.

Socialism is based on a high productivity of labor and on abundance of material goods. These are the cultural foundations of a society in which competition for the means of life between individuals can disappear. In such conditions the state begins to wither away, as every single person is drawn into the social regulation of provision for human needs.

But the backwardness of Russia brought, instead, "generalized want." The struggle

for individual existence is the firm basis for law of the bourgeois type, in which existing privilege and inequality commands the support and protection of the bureaucrats who administer the law.

Instead of these bureaucrats serving the common cause, they set themselves up as arbiters and petty tyrants, demanding the compliance of the competing individual citizens. They team up with the rich peasant and the trader against the proletariat and the poor peasant.

These bureaucrats abhorred any development of revolution. They sensed that any spread of world revolution would bring a flush of revived confidence and class consciousness to the Russian proletariat and so undermine the relationship they were carefully consolidating with the "NEP."

Stalin and his faction in the Bolshevik party, with their theory of "socialism in one country," were the ideal political representatives of this bureaucracy and its rich peasant connections.

The latter were not strong enough to overthrow the revolution, but they were strong enough, in the conditions of backwardness, to exert great pressure on the working class and on the Bolshevik Party, driving the most advanced sections who followed Trotsky into a minority.

The old theoretical divisions in the Bolshevik Party became decisive at this point. A majority in the Party leadership—old Bolsheviks of the pre-1917 generation—had gone through October 1917 without really overcoming the theoretical weaknesses for which Lenin had criticized them.

Stalin and the majority of the Russian leadership had fallen into a position of tacking behind the "democratic" middle class in February and March 1917. Against Lenin's revolutionary, dialectical standpoint of immediate preparation to overthrow the bourgeois democracy, they had advocated support for the Kerensky government in so far as it pursued its democratic aims.

This undialectical "theory" of stages, a theory which isolated Russia from the revolutionary content of the world revolution, a proletarian revolution, was revived in a new form by Stalin in his "socialism in one country."

Such theories of "national" paths to socialism derive essentially from the reformist social-democracy, always tending to capitulate to its own bourgeoisie.

Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism began as a struggle against this internal corrosion of the Party by revisionist theory, and Trotskyism has always based itself on Lenin's insistence "without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement."

Against the pressure of the middle class and the bureaucracy, relaying the pressure of world imperialism, Trotsky struggled on the basis of Marxist theory.

Armchair commentators on history like to speculate about whether Trotsky would have defeated Stalin had he equalled Stalin's cunning and ruthlessness in organizational matters.

Stalin was victorious in the immediate struggle because his very mediocrity and anti-theory corresponded to the interests of social forces which gained great strength objectively materially at that time. He did not win because of organizational skill or the ability to ruthlessly exterminate his opponents. Those abilities would have won nothing, had not the working class suffered from defeat and isolation.

It was in fact the greatest possible triumph for Marxism to defend and develop Marxism against these objective forces. Trotsky said later in the Transitional Program:

"Whatever the successes of the bureaucracy, the issue is settled by the struggle of the classes, thrown into struggle by the inexorably growing conflict between productive forces and productive relations."

The same theoretical weaknesses among the Bolshevik leaders which made Stalin's success possible were responsible at a very early stage for defeats on the international arena, particularly in the autumn of 1923 in Germany. Stalin and Zinoviev made strategic and tactical errors identical to those they would have made in 1917 without Lenin's struggle against them.

Lenin was dying and Trotsky was already being villified and isolated as the bureaucratic pressures grew on the Soviet Union. The defeat in Germany then, of course, strengthened the anti-revolutionary elements and provided backing for the reception of Stalin's new "theory" of socialism in one country.

All this took place in a period of relative stabilization of world capitalism and an ebb



# Political Foundations Of The Revolutionary Party

by Cliff Slaughter

Reprinted from **Workers Press**

V.I. Lenin



in the post-war revolutionary wave. Then the tide began to turn, around 1926, producing the British General Strike and the Chinese revolution.

Stalin's dominance in the Soviet Union and the Comintern was such that these revolutionary situations were turned into defeats for the working class. In both cases Stalinism disarmed the Communist Parties politically.

They were instructed to abandon their independent leadership role and ended up by harnessing the masses behind treacherous "left" leaders (the TUC General Council lefts in Britain, Chiang Kai-shek in China).

Here the most fundamental lesson of Lenin's struggle was thrown aside: there can be no proletarian revolution without an independent Marxist party of the demo-

cratic centralist type; this party never mixes its banners with those of its "allies," but fights always for its independent line.

The interests of the bureaucracy, however, pushed the Stalin faction away from this fundamental basis and towards the theory of left alliances which would somehow weaken the imperialist threat to the USSR without revolution!

Once again we are at a fundamental basis of Trotskyism: the building of revolutionary parties independent of the bourgeoisie and independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, in order to lead the working class to power in each country, is the only real way to defend the USSR.

Trotskyists defend the USSR because it incorporates the gains of the October Revolution. Those who boast about the

attainment of socialism (or even communism) in the USSR are at the same time incapable of defending these gains.

The Soviet Union, wrote Trotsky, is "...in all its contradictions, not a socialist regime, but a preparatory regime transitional from capitalism to socialism." (*The Revolution Betrayed*.)

This transition can be completed only on the arena of world revolution. Trotskyism continues the work of the early Communist International as the party of that international struggle.

## Part Four Forward To The Fourth International

Until 1933, Trotsky and the International Left Opposition fought against Stalinism by organizing as factions inside the Communist Parties, striving to bring them back to the path of Lenin and the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

It was only after Hitler came to power, with the great German working class paralyzed because of the false policies of the Stalinist party, that the conclusion became inevitable: break from the Comintern, which has become an instrument of counter-revolution, and form independent revolutionary parties; go forward to founding the Fourth International.

But it was this very question of independent revolutionary parties which had been the crux of the struggle within the Communist International before 1933.

At the pre-conference of the International Left Opposition, a list of the founding principles of the Trotskyist movement begins:

"The independence of the proletarian party, always and under all conditions; condemnation of the policy toward the Kuomintang in 1924-28; condemnation of the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee (subordination of the British CP to the General Council "lefts" in the 1926 General Strike); condemnation of the Stalinist theory of two-class (worker-and-peasant) parties and of the whole practice based on this theory; condemnation of the policy of the Amsterdam Congress, by which the CP was dissolved into the pacifist swamp."

The policy of such an independent revolutionary party in the period of 1929-33, the period of the rise of fascism in Germany, should have been turned on the revolutionary tactic of the united front. It was for this policy that Trotsky fought unrelentingly in those years. He insisted that Germany was "the key to the international situation," and that without a successful turn to the united front fascism would triumph.

But the German Communist Party carried out the policy of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which had taken an ultra-left turn in 1928. In short, Stalin now denounced social-democracy as "social-fascism" on the grounds that it fundamentally represented monopoly capitalism in the same way that fascism did.

Any policy of united front to wean social-democratic workers away from their leaders was denounced as a capitulation to social fascism.

Trotsky summarized the experience after Hitler's victory:

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEFEAT

"For the working class all responsibility for the defeat falls on the Communist Party. As the vanguard of the proletariat—the German section of the Communist International, formed to struggle against social democratic betrayal—the KPD (German Communist Party) should and could have prevented the social democracy from handing over the proletariat to fascism. Through the policy of the workers united front it could have forced the social democracy to commit itself to battle under the pressure of the proletarian base. It could have forced the social democracy to rally the proletarian forces in an offensive against fascism, thereby compromising the social democratic leaders, pulling the workers away from them, and leading the workers to the struggle for power.

"But the leaders of the KPD did not believe in the possibility of taking power."

This means that what looked like a very "left" policy was in reality a policy which

left the majority of the working class under the domination of the reformists and unprepared for the struggle for power. This same left talk without any serious preparation for power has characterized the Stalinists ever since, even during their "right" turns.

The essence of it is that the Kremlin bureaucracy requires that there shall not be revolutionary struggles for power, upsetting their "balance of power" with the imperialists. This is why the revolutionary party in Britain is being built only in complete conflict with the Stalinists. It is worth quoting at length Trotsky's summary of the disastrous course along which Stalin took the German proletariat:

"On the basis of the reactionary theory of 'socialism in one country' they did everything possible to avoid battle, and thus permit Stalinism to practice its pernicious policy in the USSR. On the basis of the theory of "social fascism" they wiped out any difference between social democracy and fascism, duping the proletariat by presenting social democracy as a variant of fascism.

Having no confidence in the capacity of the revolutionary Marxist movement to overcome social democracy, they abandoned this task to fascism by preaching the idea that it is fascism which can unmask social democracy. Thus they made it appear to the workers that Communism is incapable of neutralizing social democracy.

"For a long period they said to the proletariat: 'After Hitler, us.' Today they continue this shameful policy. By presenting Brüning, Papen, and Schleicher as fascists, they gave the proletariat the impression that under the fascist regime the situation would be the same as under the others.

"In its theory the KPD did not project the possibility of revolutionary development. That is because the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR wished to avoid revolutionary troubles abroad. In practical terms, the KPD proposed as the main task increasing its influence by the parliamentary path, limiting all the activity of the vanguard to the parliamentary struggle, electoral campaigns, etc."

Here we have some cardinal points on which the revolutionary party must be founded. Only a party independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its interests can open up a revolutionary path for the working class. In a period like ours, not to open up this path means to condemn the working class to counter-revolutionary repressions. Chile is the proof today.

Trotsky continues: "Through the splitting policy of the RTUO (Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition) the KPD found itself separated from the broad masses of organized workers. Through the policy of 'united front, but only from below' and of 'independent leadership,' it presented itself in their eyes as wrecking the unity of their class.

"It ended by arousing against itself the hate and distrust of the social democratic workers, by disarming the proletarian vanguard before the fascist attack, disorienting them. Instead of organizing the decisive struggle, the KPD presented the minimal electoral successes as great victories. It neglected all work which would have hardened the party's organizations. These remained loose and incapable of giving firm leadership to the struggle and resisting the fascist offensive from its outset. The party's perspectives, its policy, its action, totally prevented its members from becoming active and determined militants, firm and disciplined soldiers of the proletarian revolution.

"Everywhere they breathed the spirit of retreat. They came to preach the theory of non-violence against the murderers of the workers.

"All of that led to the most disgraceful capitulation, the betrayal of the proletarian cause."

These were momentous words. Such was the magnitude of the defeat brought by these wrong policies, that Trotsky soon concluded that the Communist International could no longer be reformed. Stalinism was now capable of allying itself only with the most conservative elements of the labor aristocracy, those who had betrayed the proletarian cause in 1914 and 1918.

The victory of Hitler made a third world war inevitable. Against this darkening of the historical horizon, the revolutionaries did not give up the struggle. On the contrary, they redoubled their efforts to build the independent revolutionary movement, and set course to the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938.

TO BE CONTINUED





German workers hurl stones at Soviet tanks in East Berlin during strike wave against the bureaucracy in 1953.

## Part Three Socialism In One Country

Undoubtedly, the great impetus for founding the Communist International in 1919 was the success of the Bolshevik Party in leading the working class to state power in the October Revolution of 1917.

The newly-founded Communist Parties throughout the world inevitably lacked the training, the experience and the theoretical foundations of the Bolsheviks, and this is why Lenin and Trotsky devoted so much attention to the education of their parties between 1919 and 1923.

In the subsequent years, all the parties of the Communist International were to fall victim to the revision of Marxism made by Stalin and his faction in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Eventually this was to turn them into instruments of a bureaucracy in the USSR whose aims and interests are counterrevolutionary.

If by 1936-1938 we find the Communist Parties of the world enthusiastically defending the physical liquidation of virtually the whole Bolshevik generation of 1917 in the Moscow Trials, we must trace the process of degeneration back to the years 1923-1924, and to the revisionism which began to dominate the CPSU in this period.

Russia in 1917 was the "weakest link in the chain" of world imperialism. It was in this autocratic, semi-feudal empire, breaking at the seams as the new capitalism developed within it in the late 19th century, that the best conditions existed for the overthrow of state power by the working class. But at that time every Marxist knew that a revolutionary breakthrough was not at all the same thing as the prospect of building "socialism in one country," least of all a backward country like Russia.

Trotsky, in his theory of **Permanent Revolution**, had foreseen in 1906 that the Russian proletariat might lead the way by making the first revolutionary overturn. But the same reasons which brought the first socialist revolution to Russia made it impossible to conceive of constructing a socialist society in this country alone.

Marxism is a science. The necessity of socialism arises out of the contradictions of capitalist development. The prerequisites for socialism—international division of labor, high level of productive forces, advanced forms of co-operation in industry, industry capable of equipping agriculture for massive and planned production, etc.—are produced by capitalism itself.

Socialism does not grow automatically out of capitalism; on the contrary, the

internal contradiction of capitalism leads to revolutionary class struggles in which men become conscious of the conflicts and fight them out.

This contradictory process is an international one. All the conditions for socialism come to a head on a world scale in the epoch of imperialism in the twentieth century. But the struggle is a living, uneven process. Favorable conditions for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and for developing Marxism in a revolutionary party came first in backward Russia.

Elsewhere, as in Germany, revolutionary situations were missed by the working class only because of the absence of revolutionary leadership. The self-professed Marxists who led the socialist parties, based on the privileged "labor aristocracy" produced by imperialism, betrayed the revolution.

Consequently, the young workers' state in the Soviet Union was isolated, surrounded by imperialism. Within its borders, the industrial working class was a small minority compared with the vast mass of the peasantry. In the course of civil war and wars of intervention following the revolution, this working class lost many of the cream of its leadership, and others were dispersed for leadership work on the 5000-mile war front or in the vast territories of the liberated Tsarist empire.

Economic backwardness, capitalist blockade, and the strain of war, meant that food shortages and even acute famine ravaged the towns of the Soviet Union. Many workers still had ties with their peasant relatives in the countryside, and returned there in the difficult times of 1919-1922.

### EXPECTED SUCCESSES OF REVOLUTIONS

Despite the extraordinary, almost super-human sacrifices of the Russian working class, the workers' state was forced by 1921 to initiate the "New Economic Policy" (NEP). To assure any revival of manufacture and trade, it was necessary to recognize the absence of a broad enough base for socialist industrialization, and to permit the operation of small-scale capitalist enterprises in production and commerce, limited of course to private peasant ownership producing partly for the free market.

Lenin and Trotsky considered that correct working class policies by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet government could ensure the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and defeat the bureaucratic and capitalist-restorationist tendencies which would inevitably grow out of the NEP.

Such correct policies would combine with the expected successes of the workers in the advanced countries under communist leadership. Only with such successes could the holding operation in the USSR eventually move forward towards socialism.

This Marxist view of the relation between the Soviet state and the world revolution was the accepted and unchallenged doctrine

of all Bolsheviks until 1924. In the autumn of that year Stalin re-wrote a passage in his own book *Problems of Leninism*. The edition published earlier in the year had repeated the correct Marxist position on the impossibility of socialism in a single country.

Now Stalin asserted baldly that Lenin had since 1915 advocated the building of socialism in Russia alone. This involved the systematic distortion and lying which was to become the hallmark of Stalin's bureaucratic rule. But by April 1925 "socialism in a single country" was adopted as the official policy of the Bolshevik Party.

The same conditions which weakened the working class in the Soviet workers' state led on the other hand to the strengthening of a new social force: the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is not a class with an independent role. It rests on the richer peasants (Kulaks) and on the middle class in trade and industry. Its members occupy powerful positions in the state machine from national to local level. They infiltrate the Party, because the Party, the state and economic management are closely intertwined.

Lenin had spent his last years of active life in struggle against the growth of bureaucracy. He had encouraged new forms of "workers'" and "peasants' inspection" with definite legal powers against bureaucratic abuses. And he had conducted the first determined rounds of a political struggle against Stalin as the representative within the Bolshevik Party of these bureaucratic tendencies.

Lenin had seen very clearly that Stalin would have to be removed if the Bolshevik Party was to be able to continue to play its leading role in the Soviet Union and the Communist International, and he enlisted the support of Trotsky in this struggle.

How is it then that by 1925 Stalin's revisionist policy dominated the party and Trotsky was already in a minority? How is it that only four years after that, Trotsky was exiled and the Left Opposition inside Russia was a persecuted and illegal minority?

Trotskyism today is the product of the bitter struggle through all these difficult years. The isolation of the Soviet Union and the defeats of the world proletariat all strengthened the bureaucracy and weakened the proletariat. Marxism could be defended and developed only by those who swam against the stream at that stage, preparing to meet the deeper currents which would prevail as the capitalist crisis and the class struggle developed.

Socialism is based on a high productivity of labor and on abundance of material goods. These are the cultural foundations of a society in which competition for the means of life between individuals can disappear. In such conditions the state begins to wither away, as every single person is drawn into the social regulation of provision for human needs.

But the backwardness of Russia brought, instead, "generalized want." The struggle

for individual existence is the firm basis for law of the bourgeois type, in which existing privilege and inequality commands the support and protection of the bureaucrats who administer the law.

Instead of these bureaucrats serving the common cause, they set themselves up as arbiters and petty tyrants, demanding the compliance of the competing individual citizens. They team up with the rich peasant and the trader against the proletariat and the poor peasant.

These bureaucrats abhorred any development of revolution. They sensed that any spread of world revolution would bring a flush of revived confidence and class consciousness to the Russian proletariat and so undermine the relationship they were carefully consolidating with the "NEP."

Stalin and his faction in the Bolshevik party, with their theory of "socialism in one country," were the ideal political representatives of this bureaucracy and its rich peasant connections.

The latter were not strong enough to overthrow the revolution, but they were strong enough, in the conditions of backwardness, to exert great pressure on the working class and on the Bolshevik Party, driving the most advanced sections who followed Trotsky into a minority.

The old theoretical divisions in the Bolshevik Party became decisive at this point. A majority in the Party leadership—old Bolsheviks of the pre-1917 generation—had gone through October 1917 without really overcoming the theoretical weaknesses for which Lenin had criticized them.

Stalin and the majority of the Russian leadership had fallen into a position of tacking behind the "democratic" middle class in February and March 1917. Against Lenin's revolutionary, dialectical standpoint of immediate preparation to overthrow the bourgeois democracy, they had advocated support for the Kerensky government in so far as it pursued its democratic aims.

This undialectical "theory" of stages, a theory which isolated Russia from the revolutionary content of the world revolution, a proletarian revolution, was revived in a new form by Stalin in his "socialism in one country."

Such theories of "national" paths to socialism derive essentially from the reformist social-democracy, always tending to capitulate to its own bourgeoisie.

Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism began as a struggle against this internal corrosion of the Party by revisionist theory, and Trotskyism has always based itself on Lenin's insistence "without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement."

Against the pressure of the middle class and the bureaucracy, relaying the pressure of world imperialism, Trotsky struggled on the basis of Marxist theory.

Armchair commentators on history like to speculate about whether Trotsky would have defeated Stalin had he equalled Stalin's cunning and ruthlessness in organizational matters.

Stalin was victorious in the immediate struggle because his very mediocrity and anti-theory corresponded to the interests of social forces which gained great strength objectively materially at that time. He did not win because of organizational skill or the ability to ruthlessly exterminate his opponents. Those abilities would have won nothing, had not the working class suffered from defeat and isolation.

It was in fact the greatest possible triumph for Marxism to defend and develop Marxism against these objective forces. Trotsky said later in the Transitional Program:

"Whatever the successes of the bureaucracy, the issue is settled by the struggle of the classes, thrown into struggle by the inexorably growing conflict between productive forces and productive relations."

The same theoretical weaknesses among the Bolshevik leaders which made Stalin's success possible were responsible at a very early stage for defeats on the international arena, particularly in the autumn of 1923 in Germany. Stalin and Zinoviev made strategic and tactical errors identical to those they would have made in 1917 without Lenin's struggle against them.

Lenin was dying and Trotsky was already being vilified and isolated as the bureaucratic pressures grew on the Soviet Union. The defeat in Germany then, of course, strengthened the anti-revolutionary elements and provided backing for the reception of Stalin's new "theory" of socialism in one country.

All this took place in a period of relative stabilization of world capitalism and an ebb

# Political Foundations Of The Revolutionary Party

by Cliff Slaughter

Reprinted from **Workers Press**

V.I. Lenin



in the post-war revolutionary wave. Then the tide began to turn, around 1926, producing the British General Strike and the Chinese revolution.

Stalin's dominance in the Soviet Union and the Comintern was such that these revolutionary situations were turned into defeats for the working class. In both cases Stalinism disarmed the Communist Parties politically.

They were instructed to abandon their independent leadership role and ended up by harnessing the masses behind treacherous "left" leaders (the TUC General Council lefts in Britain, Chiang Kai-shek in China).

Here the most fundamental lesson of Lenin's struggle was thrown aside: there can be no proletarian revolution without an independent Marxist party of the demo-

cratic centralist type; this party never mixes its banners with those of its "allies," but fights always for its independent line.

The interests of the bureaucracy, however, pushed the Stalin faction away from this fundamental basis and towards the theory of left alliances which would somehow weaken the imperialist threat to the USSR without revolution!

Once again we are at a fundamental basis of Trotskyism: the building of revolutionary parties independent of the bourgeoisie and independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, in order to lead the working class to power in each country, is the only real way to defend the USSR.

Trotskyists defend the USSR because it incorporates the gains of the October Revolution. Those who boast about the

attainment of socialism (or even communism) in the USSR are at the same time incapable of defending these gains.

The Soviet Union, wrote Trotsky, is "...in all its contradictions, not a socialist regime, but a preparatory regime transitional from capitalism to socialism." (*The Revolution Betrayed*.)

This transition can be completed only on the arena of world revolution. Trotskyism continues the work of the early Communist International as the party of that international struggle.

## Part Four Forward To The Fourth International

Until 1933, Trotsky and the International Left Opposition fought against Stalinism by organizing as factions inside the Communist Parties, striving to bring them back to the path of Lenin and the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

It was only after Hitler came to power, with the great German working class paralyzed because of the false policies of the Stalinist party, that the conclusion became inevitable: break from the Comintern, which has become an instrument of counter-revolution, and form independent revolutionary parties; go forward to founding the Fourth International.

But it was this very question of independent revolutionary parties which had been the crux of the struggle within the Communist International before 1933.

At the pre-conference of the International Left Opposition, a list of the founding principles of the Trotskyist movement begins:

"The independence of the proletarian party, always and under all conditions; condemnation of the policy toward the Kuomintang in 1924-28; condemnation of the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee (subordination of the British CP to the General Council 'lefts' in the 1926 General Strike); condemnation of the Stalinist theory of two-class (worker-and-peasant) parties and of the whole practice based on this theory; condemnation of the policy of the Amsterdam Congress, by which the CP was dissolved into the pacifist swamp."

The policy of such an independent revolutionary party in the period of 1929-33, the period of the rise of fascism in Germany, should have been turned on the revolutionary tactic of the united front. It was for this policy that Trotsky fought unrelentingly in those years. He insisted that Germany was "the key to the international situation," and that without a successful turn to the united front fascism would triumph.

But the German Communist Party carried out the policy of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which had taken an ultra-left turn in 1928. In short, Stalin now denounced social-democracy as "social-fascism" on the grounds that it fundamentally represented monopoly capitalism in the same way that fascism did.

Any policy of united front to wean social-democratic workers away from their leaders was denounced as a capitulation to social fascism.

Trotsky summarized the experience after Hitler's victory:

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEFEAT

"For the working class all responsibility for the defeat falls on the Communist Party. As the vanguard of the proletariat—the German section of the Communist International, formed to struggle against social democratic betrayal—the KPD (German Communist Party) should and could have prevented the social democracy from handing over the proletariat to fascism. Through the policy of the workers united front it could have forced the social democracy to commit itself to battle under the pressure of the proletarian base. It could have forced the social democracy to rally the proletarian forces in an offensive against fascism, thereby compromising the social democratic leaders, pulling the workers away from them, and leading the workers to the struggle for power."

"But the leaders of the KPD did not believe in the possibility of taking power." This means that what looked like a very "left" policy was in reality a policy which

left the majority of the working class under the domination of the reformists and unprepared for the struggle for power. This same left talk without any serious preparation for power has characterized the Stalinists ever since, even during their "right" turns.

The essence of it is that the Kremlin bureaucracy requires that there shall not be revolutionary struggles for power, upsetting their "balance of power" with the imperialists. This is why the revolutionary party in Britain is being built only in complete conflict with the Stalinists. It is worth quoting at length Trotsky's summary of the disastrous course along which Stalin took the German proletariat:

"On the basis of the reactionary theory of 'socialism in one country' they did everything possible to avoid battle, and thus permit Stalinism to practice its pernicious policy in the USSR. On the basis of the theory of 'social fascism' they wiped out any difference between social democracy and fascism, duping the proletariat by presenting social democracy as a variant of fascism."

Having no confidence in the capacity of the revolutionary Marxist movement to overcome social democracy, they abandoned this task to fascism by preaching the idea that it is fascism which can unmask social democracy. Thus they made it appear to the workers that Communism is incapable of neutralizing social democracy.

"For a long period they said to the proletariat: 'After Hitler, us.' Today they continue this shameful policy. By presenting Bruning, Papen, and Schleicher as fascists, they gave the proletariat the impression that under the fascist regime the situation would be the same as under the others."

"In its theory the KPD did not project the possibility of revolutionary development. That is because the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR wished to avoid revolutionary troubles abroad. In practical terms, the KPD proposed as the main task increasing its influence by the parliamentary path, limiting all the activity of the vanguard to the parliamentary struggle, electoral campaigns, etc."

Here we have some cardinal points on which the revolutionary party must be founded. Only a party independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its interests can open up a revolutionary path for the working class. In a period like ours, not to open up this path means to condemn the working class to counterrevolutionary repressions. Chile is the proof today.

Trotsky continues: "Through the splitting policy of the RTUO (Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition) the KPD found itself separated from the broad masses of organized workers. Through the policy of 'united front, but only from below' and of 'independent leadership,' it presented itself in their eyes as wrecking the unity of their class."

"It ended by arousing against itself the hate and distrust of the social democratic workers, by disarming the proletarian vanguard before the fascist attack, disorienting them. Instead of organizing the decisive struggle, the KPD presented the minimal electoral successes as great victories. It neglected all work which would have hardened the party's organizations. These remained loose and incapable of giving firm leadership to the struggle and resisting the fascist offensive from its outset. The party's perspectives, its policy, its action, totally prevented its members from becoming active and determined militants, firm and disciplined soldiers of the proletarian revolution."

"Everywhere they breathed the spirit of retreat. They came to preach the theory of non-violence against the murderers of the workers."

"All of that led to the most disgraceful capitulation, the betrayal of the proletarian cause."

These were momentous words. Such was the magnitude of the defeat brought by these wrong policies, that Trotsky soon concluded that the Communist International could no longer be reformed. Stalinism was now capable of allying itself only with the most conservative elements of the labor aristocracy, those who had betrayed the proletarian cause in 1914 and 1918.

The victory of Hitler made a third world war inevitable. Against this darkening of the historical horizon, the revolutionaries did not give up the struggle. On the contrary, they redoubled their efforts to build the independent revolutionary movement, and set course to the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938.

TO BE CONTINUED



# LABOR TODAY

## Trade Unions And The CIA Part 1

The manipulation of trade union bureaucracies in the interests of American imperialism is a major part of the CIA's work in Europe, but especially in Latin America.

One recent and exhaustive study of the connection between the American trade unions and the CIA asks if the power of labor has been hijacked by the CIA for use against our brothers and sisters abroad? It continues: "There is enormous evidence to show AFL-CIO complicity in the overthrow of democratic governments elected fairly by the people of Latin America and the Caribbean.

"Well-documented facts suggest that we of the AFL-CIO allowed our power to be used to bring about the murderous coup in Chile which outlawed the Chilean labor movement, killed tens of thousands and abolished the civil and human rights of the people."

The CIA operates through various labor front organizations connected with the AFL-CIO.

For example, after World War II the AFL (before its merger with the CIO) set up the Free Trades Union Committee. Jay Lovestone, a one-time leader of the American Communist Party and virulent anti-Trotskyist, now working for the CIA, was put in charge of the operation.

Lovestone appointed another CIA agent, Irving Brown, to head the European organization. There the future pattern for CIA activities in the unions was laid down.

This involved an attempt to split away from the Stalinist or reformist-controlled unions and form a rump labor organization. With a mixture of anti-communist propaganda and bribery, Brown was able to set up the Force Ouvrière in France directly under CIA control.

After 1947, and the official formation of the CIA, money was poured into the Free Trade Union Committee which operated under the guise of being an AFL organization.

This subversion was carried on later by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In country after country in the immediate post-war period Lovestone and Brown found themselves in league with fascists, monarchists, opportunists and thugs, all dedicated to smashing the strength of the organized working class.

But the sinister and savage role of the CIA in trade unions is only revealed in Latin America, the main field of operations.

The organization representing the US trade unions in South America is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Its president is George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, and J. Peter Grace is the chairman of the board of trustees.

Grace is anything but a trade unionist. He is the chief executive of W.R. Grace & Company, a multi-national corporation with extensive interests in Latin America.

The board of trustees is made up of leading US trade unionists and the executives of the big American corporations with holdings in Latin America and the Caribbean.

These include the mining companies Kennecott, Anaconda and American Smelting and Refining, who fought bloody battles with the American mine unions and to this day with the United Steel Workers.

**Readers Digest** managed to finance AIFLD as well as pumping out propaganda for the anti-union "right to work" drives in the US. IBM also bankrolls the organization yet in North America the company fights the bitterest battles to keep unions out of its plants.

Other contributors include the Rockefeller corporations, the major oil companies and the banking giants. The expenditure is worth it—AIFLD brings in better dividends than any dollar investment.

The executive director of AIFLD, William C. Doherty described the aim of the organization in a report to the US Senate in June 1969:

"After the AFL-CIO had decided to set up the organization," he said, "conversations ensued between our labor leaders and leaders in the United States and we found there was common ground.

"People like David Rockefeller and Peter Grace—and I don't want to mention all their names because I am sure I would leave some out—decided we had a lot to gain from co-operating in Latin America, and that we would try to throw away some of the classic concepts of how labor views management, and how management views labor, and see if we could do some co-operating."

The fruits of this co-operation were soon to be seen in Chile, Guyana, Guatemala, Brazil, the Dominican Republic—everywhere that bloody reaction triumphed and smashed the working-class movement.

**To Be Continued**

(Reprinted from the May 7, 1974 issue of *Workers Press*, daily organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party.)

# Miners Expose Plot To Bribe Strikers

**BY DAVID NORTH HARLAN, Ky.—The United Mine Workers of America has obtained evidence proving that the Duke Power Company and the scab Southern Labor Union organized a conspiracy to break the 10-month-old strike at Duke's Brookside mine here through bribery, coercion, intimidation, and refusal to bargain in good faith.**

The most important are photographs and tape recordings of a secret meeting in which the president of the SLU, Paul Byrge, offered two Brookside miners bribes of \$5000 each if they persuaded fellow strikers to return to work without a UMW contract.

The conspiracy, which apparently involved the president of the Eastover Mining Company, a subsidiary of Duke Power, was exposed because the two miners approached by the SLU had immediately informed the UMW of the attempted bribery.

Miners Carl Noe and Ron Curtis agreed to wear tape recorders under their clothing while pretending to go along with the SLU plot. A photographer from the UMW Journal, Earl Dotter, was concealed behind foliage and obtained pictures of the payoff on May 3, 1974 at the Harlan airport.

During the first week in April, Noe was approached by SLU Field Representative Noah Harris for a secret meeting on April 9. Noe, recognized as a militant miner who narrowly escaped being murdered by a shotgun blast several weeks after the strike began, contacted the UMW organizer and was told to play along with the SLU to find out what it was planning.

### OFFERED

At airport meetings in Harlan on April 9 and 25, Byrge and Harris offered Noe and Curtis a total of \$5000 within 48 hours after at least 50 out of 160 Brookside strikers returned to work. In addition, each man was promised an initial payment of \$200 with weekly payments of \$140 to follow.

Money was actually passed by Byrge to Noe and Curtis at the May 3 meeting, but the camera and tape recorders were ready.

The tapes read like the Watergate transcripts, exposing the conspiratorial methods used by Nixon are being developed by powerful corporations like Duke Power in order to destroy basic rights of the working class, especially the right to have a union.

The transcript quotes Noah Harris of the SLU as saying: "We got that \$5000 waiting for you when you get them back to work."

### EXCHANGE

Later in the conversation, the following exchange takes place:

Byrge: "If you want to see this \$5000, damn it, come down to Tennessee and I'll show it to you."

Harris: "All we want is to see them old boys up there working."

Byrge: "It's in hundred dollar bills."

Duke Power is preparing to intensify its attacks on the Harlan strikers. Because there is a one year limitation on the validity of the National Labor Relations Board election in which miners voted overwhelmingly to affiliate to the UMW and break with the company owned Southern Labor Union, Duke Power will be able to hold another election on July 26 in which all miners still on strike would not be able to vote. This would give Duke Power an opportunity to reimpose the SLU upon the miners or operate the mines with scabs.

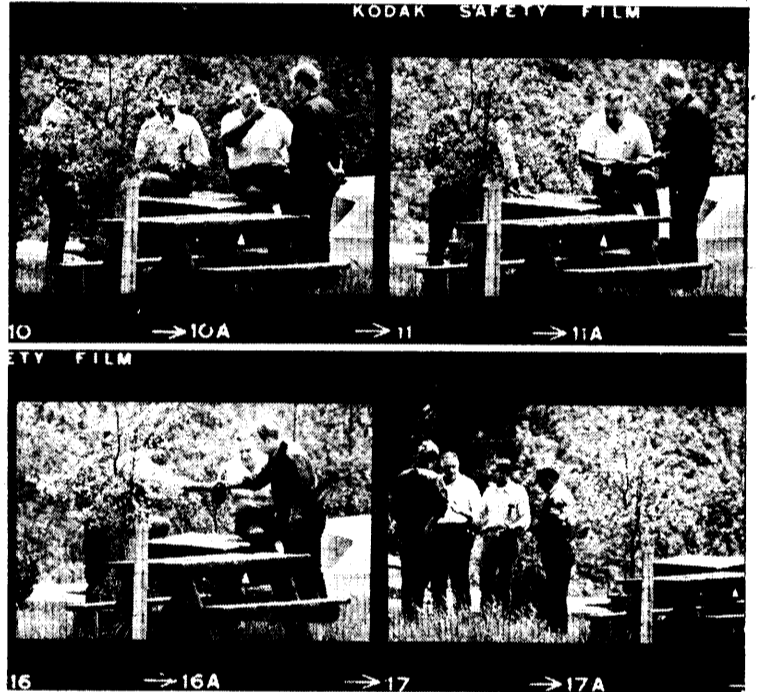
The UMW has used financial support to the Harlan miners as

a cover for its refusal to mobilize the strength of the union to shut down coal production in Kentucky in order to back the Brookside strike.

UMW President Arnold Miller fears that a shutdown on the Appalachian coal fields would produce a collision with the Nixon government which he wants at all costs to avoid.

Instead, he has relied on various protest tactics to enlist the support of big business for the Brookside strike. Recently, miners were flown up from Harlan to demonstrate in Wall Street and their wives were sent to attend a meeting of Duke Power stockholders.

These tactics are a diversion from the urgent task of mobilizing the full strength of the UMW to shut down coal production in Kentucky.



Paul Byrge, president of the scab Southern Labor Union, offers bribe money to two Harlan miners in return for their aid in ending the strike. This scene was filmed by the two miners, who reported to the United Mine Workers organizer and pretended to go along with Byrge.

# Scabs Put Out Kansas Paper

**BY J. NELSON KANSAS CITY—The Kansas City Star is calling in professional strikebreakers from all over the country to try to destroy Local 14 of the Pressman's Union.**

Scabs are operating the presses as the union men picket outside the Star Building demanding their jobs back.

Ninety-eight pressman from Local 14, along with thirty members of the Mailers were fired May 3 in a dispute over the sacking of a press operator.

The dismissal led to the occupation of the Star's pressroom by the 98 pressmen. The Star fired the men and had the police clear the workers out of the building. One press operator, Nick Lambros, was arrested for refusing to leave.

The thirty Mailers were fired when they held a union meeting on May 4 to decide whether or not they should join the pressmen who were then picketing

outside the building.

After the firings, the Star management terminated the contract with Local 14.

Frank McKinney, General Manager of the Star, wrote representatives of Local 14 a message which said:

"Those former pressroom employees who were discharged May 3 are not and will not be offered reinstatement as employees of the Kansas City Star Company.

"This is to notify you that commencing Thursday, May 9, 1974, the company will begin seeking permanent replacements to perform necessary mechanical department jobs."

What is at issue in the Pressman's strike is the right of workers to have unions. Along with the lockout of the New York printers, the attack on the Kansas City Pressmen represents a turn by the major corporations toward destroying the conditions of the workers and the very existence of the unions. The full strength of the labor movement must be mobilized to defeat the corporations' union-busting.



midwest news

# Battle At Harshaw Chemical

BY FRANK DENISON  
CLEVELAND, Ohio—New glass windows have been set in the guardhouse outside the main gate of Harshaw Chemical Company.

Around the picket sign nailed to a light pole, smashed glass is strewn, and bits of wreckage from a car which was used as a barricade.

On the opposite side of the street, a police car with a shotgun mounted upright on the dash is stationed just below a sign that reads: "Harshaw Chemicals, Division of Kewanee."

At the height of the strike, patrol cars and riot-clad police swarmed over the area, which had all the appearances of a war zone.

The strike by members of Locals 10 and 73, International Chemical Workers Union, is now in its fourth week.

After a bitter struggle led by young workers, scabs were removed from the plant and the plant was shut tight. After a week, the company obtained a court injunction that reduced picket lines to nine men, and forbade interference with employees who normally worked for Harshaw.

## Hammond Votes Strike

BY WILL ROEMER  
MELROSE PARK, Ill.—Workers at Hammond Organ Co. voted yesterday 225 to 13 to strike if the company does not come close to meeting their contract demands by June 1.

United Auto Workers Local 1534, which represents the 300 workers at the Melrose Park plant, and several hundred more at the Bloomington plant, has asked for 26 cents over three years, plus 10 percent of the present pay spread over three years.

One worker, who has nine years seniority, told the Bulletin: "The company is trying to cap the cost of living, and the whole way they are going, they are trying to push us back some 30 years."

"Most of us feel that the union should have started for much higher than 10 percent, and you know the company won't even give us 10 percent."

"We also want a dental plan, a better sick leave pay from the present \$70 a week we get now to \$80 a week the first year, \$90 the second year, and \$100 the third year. We also want a four day week, 10 hours a day, with all work over 40 hours as overtime."

"The company has refused to give us anything. They are not budging."

One girl accused Xavis Diaz, acting president of Local 1534, of being paid under the table, and he just told her that he couldn't do anything else."

The large turnout at the strike vote shows that workers want to fight. Local 1534 members must insist that the strike go forward for a 20 percent increase and a full cost of living clause.



The strike of Harshaw Chemical workers is in its fourth week. The company refuses to meet with the union or federal mediators, and obtained a court injunction limiting pickets which is being enforced by riot police.

This injunction was enforced by the riot police. The police have dropped any pretenses of checking ID cards of those entering the area.

The plant is operating now at full steam. Supervisory personnel are running rail and truck shipments in and out of the plant.

"They wanted this strike," one striking worker told the Bulletin. "The company wanted it, and when the union granted them a 24 hour extension of the strike deadline, they moved out their supplies and called for scabs."

"The police, the courts, all the way up to Nixon are on the side of the company. Before the police came, we were getting somewhere. Now it's like

beating your head against the wall."

"We could stay out until next year, and it wouldn't make any difference to the company. Something new has to be done."

The company refuses to negotiate or meet with either federal mediators or the union, even on its insulting 4.5 percent first and final offer. They are demanding total capitulation from the union.

This means that the workers who lead the strike will be fired, and the older workers will be driven like slaves under hazardous conditions without grievance procedures.

There is bitter resentment on the picket line against the union

leadership, which has allowed the plant guards, who are also members of Local 10, to be used by the company as scabs.

The union justifies this by saying that their hands are tied by the contract.

The union does nothing when police, who are often reported to be drunk, provoke the strikers. One picket was arrested for no apparent reason, and one night police who were drinking in their car fired their gun and then laughed at the startled reaction of the workers on the picket line.

"We should have gone to the Central Labor Council," said Jimmy Williams, a young worker. "This is too big for one

local to handle.

"The International should have drawn up plans for every local to go on strike at once."

"Out of three plants in the area, only two are being struck, in spite of the fact that the company is negotiating a contract with the same union at the Solon plant."

Another worker said: "You saw how fast the city of Cleveland settled with the Teamsters when the other locals voted to go out? This union leadership is on Nixon's side."

"There isn't any difference between the Democrats and Republicans; they all gang up to crush the little man."

An older worker said: "If it keeps up like this, there's going to be war right here in this country."

"The police are organized, and we have to be organized too in our own party. Nixon's got to go."

"I read this morning a worker was killed in Toledo when a truck ran the picket line, and the driver of the truck wasn't even held. Labor has to have its own party."

### PUBLIC MEETINGS

**Lenin: The Man, The Party, The Revolution.**

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League.



**PHILADELPHIA**  
WED. JUNE 5  
Wharton Center  
1708 N. 22 St.  
7 p.m.

**BOSTON**  
WED. JUNE 12  
Roxbury YMCA  
Warren St.  
7 p.m.

\$1 Admission

**PICNIC**  
Educational Program: Watergate: The Ugly Face of Capitalism

**CLEVELAND**  
SAT. JUNE 15  
at Holiday Hideaway

Transportation also available from Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Dayton, Detroit.

\$5

**WEST COAST WEEKEND SCHOOL**

At a resort in the Redwoods  
\$20

SATURDAY & SUNDAY  
MAY 25, 26  
(415) 824-4096

## IUE Ranks Determined To Beat Century Electric

BY JOHN DUNN  
ST. LOUIS—The 96 remaining members of Local 1108, International Union of Electrical Workers, have been in a struggle with the Century Electric Division of the Gould Corporation for higher wages and more fringe benefits after their contract expired on April 15.

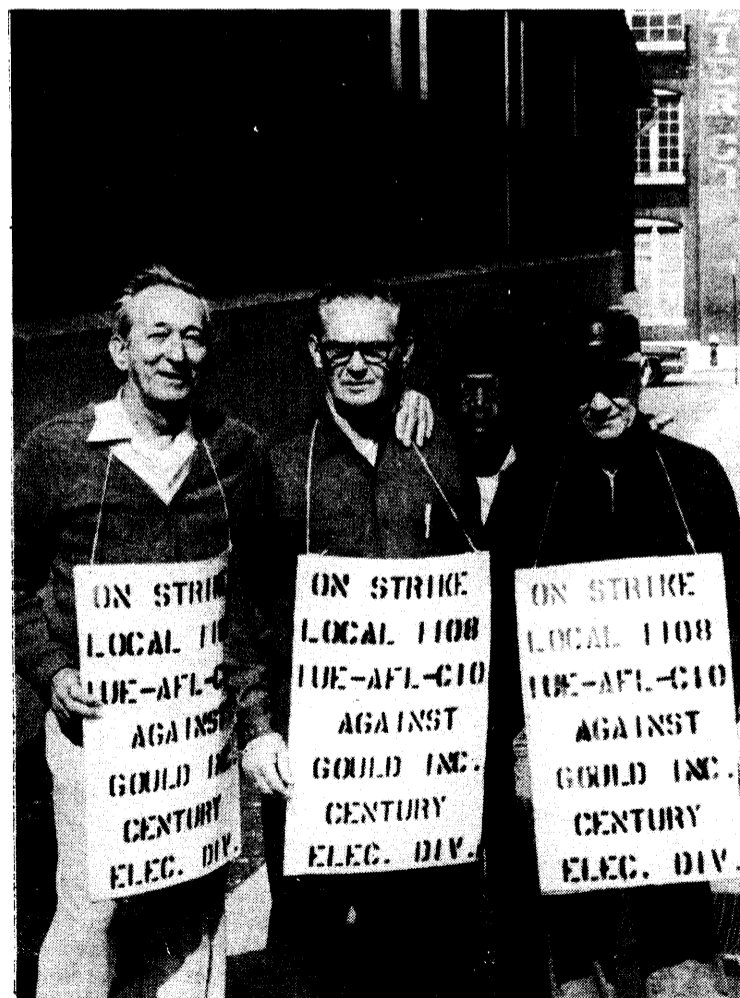
In 1968, there were 3000 people working at Century Electric, producing small motors.

**HANDFUL**  
Today, only a handful remain, as Century has moved all of its production down South to four cities in Tennessee and Mississippi in an attempt to break the union. None of the plants in the South have been organized.

**DETERMINED**  
Ed Forhan, president of the local, told the Bulletin: "We are bound and determined to get an honorable contract out of these people, or we'll close the place down once and for all."

The company has offered a meager 25 cent a year raise and little else. A striker said: "Right now we're not getting any fringe benefits."

**CHEAP**  
Forhan said: "The company has offered no cost of living increase and that's the most important thing. We want a cost of living increase with no cap on it. They are offering a cheap package that we couldn't possibly accept."



Strikers at Century Electric have been without a contract since April 15. They are demanding higher wages and fringe benefits.

"We could do a better job than they could," Forhan said. "I think it's time the working man took over the plants and run them."

"These big companies are just out to satisfy their own needs." One striker said: "Every working man in the country should form a party to fight for what he needs."



# FILM

by Jeff Sebastian

## Dreams And Nightmares

Dreams and Nightmares by Abe Osheroff and Larry Klingman.

Over a million people died in the bloody civil war against Franco in Spain. At least one-half a million more were later jailed or executed under the fascist regime.

The defeat of the Spanish working class strengthened fascism throughout Europe and paved the way for the Second World War.

With the fall of the Caetano regime in Portugal and a new militant generation of Spanish workers coming into struggle, the conditions for a second civil war are rapidly maturing.

The rich lessons of the Spanish defeat are the priceless capital of the working class and can be ignored only at the cost of new defeats.

The central lesson of the Spanish civil war is that the fight for an independent revolutionary party to bring the working class to power is the only way to conduct the battle against fascism.

Whenever, as in Spain, capitalist property is threatened by the movement of the working class, every section of the bourgeoisie no matter how "liberal" will throw in its lot with dictatorship and fascism in order to preserve its property and privileges.

The most treacherous role was played in Spain by the Communist Party which carried out the policy of Stalin's Comintern by tying the working class to the popular front and by supporting the bourgeois Spanish republic.

The CP acted consciously to suppress every attempt of the working class to take an independent role in the struggle for power and tortured and assassinated even the mildest critics of this policy to prevent the development of a revolutionary leadership.

### ALLIANCE

Today, once again, the Spanish CP seeks to carry out such a betrayal by calling for an alliance of the church, the military, and sections of the big bourgeoisie with the working class in a subordinate role in order to establish "democracy."

Osheroff seeks to defend this policy in his film which was made in Spain in 1973. Much of the footage was smuggled out with the cooperation of the Spanish underground opposition.

Osheroff is one of the survivors of the Lincoln Brigade, American volunteers who fought in Spain against Franco under the leadership of the Stalinists.

Osheroff himself was wounded in the civil war and had to be sent home. Of the 3300 men in the Brigade, half were buried in Spanish soil.

In the film, he describes and portrays the conditions in the United States which led him to fight thousands of miles away to stop Hitler.

The film contains powerful footage of the ghetto conditions in New York in the 1920s. There are shots of the sweat shops, the barbaric overcrowded housing, and the gangs of immigrant youth that fought with one another and the police.

In describing his own development, Osheroff shows films of the massive demonstrations for Sacco and Vanzetti and one shot of Vanzetti being led off to jail in chains.

Why he asked "should I a Jew

give a damn for a couple of wop immigrants." He was answered by one socialist that "one good Italian worker is worth fifty Jewish bosses."

But Osheroff quickly forgot this lesson. He saw the Spanish civil war as a battle in which the people had elected "their republic" and fought to defend it against the fascists.

Osheroff's film expresses his belief that the Republic was defeated because Hitler and Mussolini tipped the military balance by sending in troops and armaments. Considerable sections of the film show the heroic struggle of the Republican soldiers against the well-armed fascist troops.

### "MISTAKE"

But to Osheroff, Roosevelt's nonassistance to the Republic was a "mistake" and the "neutrality" of Britain and France is incomprehensible. It is beyond him to understand that sooner than risk the danger of a victory that would have threatened capitalist property through the strength of the Spanish working class, they, with the support of Stalin, preferred to isolate the Republic and permit the fascists to come to power.

The footage in the film of present day Spain leaves no doubt as to the tremendous working class explosion that is being prepared against the tottering Franco regime.

There are films of student battles, illegal workers' commissions, workers' demonstrations, and the vicious suppression of an illegal strike of subway workers.

Interviews with political prisoners, Basque and Catalan nationalists, and workers' leaders, as well as with rank and file workers show the enormous hatred for the regime that has developed over more than 30 years of brutal dictatorship.

Even in the church, there is opposition and Franco is forced to maintain an entire prison just to house dissident priests.

The massive US presence in Spain is given important treatment. With air and naval bases and the largest nuclear weapons command outside the US, Spain is an indispensable strategic area for US imperialism.

Shots of US politicians from Eisenhower to Agnew walking arm in arm with Franco underscore the continuity of US support to the regime.

Osheroff sees his film as a personal contribution to the memory of the heroic martyrs of the Lincoln Brigade.

He, like the Stalinists, looks to the church and "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie to carry out a democratic program in Spain. He can only call for a new Vietnam-type protest movement in the US to defend this struggle in Spain against US intervention.

For all his personal courage and sacrifice, by refusing to confront the lessons of the popular front and the role of Stalinism, Osheroff does no honor to the Lincoln Brigade. He spreads the very illusions that threaten a new generation with a similar fate.

What is required is the construction of the mass Trotskyist party to prepare the struggle for power in a battle against Stalinism and the betrayals of the past.

# 25 Nazis Rally In SF

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—  
Twenty-five uniformed and helmeted Nazi storm troopers staged the first public demonstration here on the steps of City Hall.

The Nazis drove up in an army troop carrier embossed on each side with swastikas, and flying a large swastika flag.

A dozen Nazis jumped out of the truck and unfurled a banner reading: "Free Rudolf Hess." Hess was Hitler's second in command and is now serving a life sentence in a Berlin prison for the murder of six million Jews.

This outrageous provocation exposes the real nature of Mayor Alioto's "Operation Zebra." The stop and search procedure, the open violation of democratic rights, and the fanning of racism have set the stage for the Nazis to come forward.

The swastika covered truck was driven to the rally site directly through the center of the Fillmore, the primarily Black district where the "Operation Zebra" manhunt has been centered.

The Nazis are continuing their strategy of using San Francisco as a testing ground to see how far they can go in building a fascist movement. They have been plastering leaflets featuring Hess's picture and the swastika throughout several white and integrated neighborhoods in San Francisco.

## Magee Fights To Plead Not Guilty

BY A REPORTER  
SAN JOSE—Ruchell Magee has moved to change his guilty plea to not guilty at a pretrial hearing.

Judge William Ingram was about to pass sentence on Magee following a guilty plea which he filed last Friday, when Magee rose to withdraw the plea.

Magee said that the guilty plea was obtained "illegally" and that his own lawyers had used "coercion" and "intimidation" to obtain it.

On Friday, Magee had said he was pleading guilty because "you are driving me mad because there is no justice here."

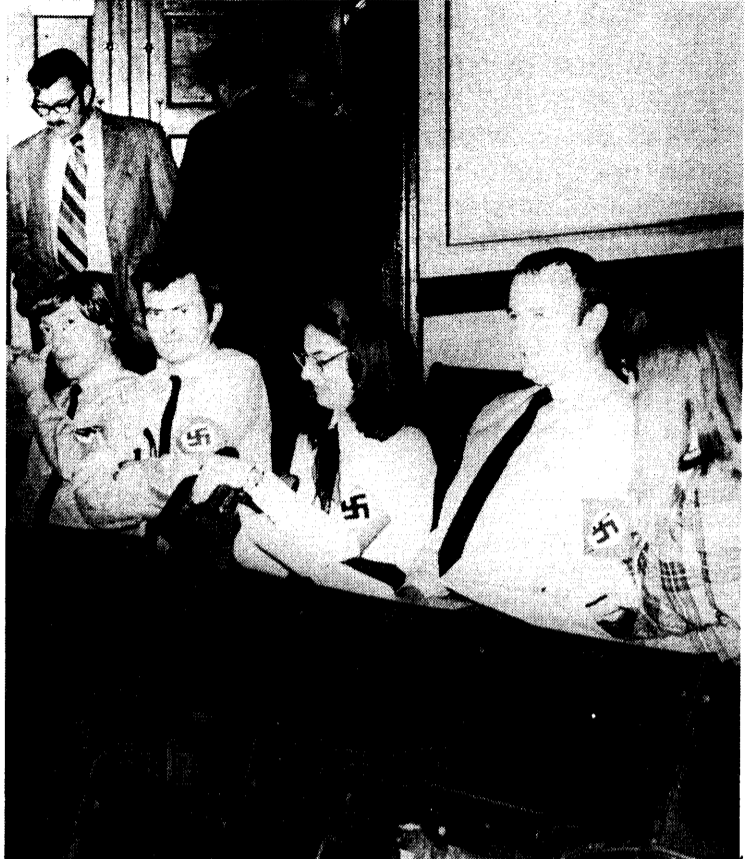
Magee said that the press had lied about his guilty plea when it claimed his lawyers were urging him to continue to plead innocent. Instead, he said, his court-appointed attorneys "play tricks with my mind."

Referring to two youth in the spectators' seats, he said he wanted to tell "the new people in the courtroom" what had really gone on.

He then explained how since his original trial in San Francisco, he has been denied his basic rights to cross examine witnesses or to prepare any kind of case for his own defense.

At this point, the district attorney interrupted and said Magee was lying and was "cool, calm, and collected" when he made the guilty plea, Friday. "I call for the court to reject Magee's motion," he said.

Magee responded sharply, "Sit



Nazis at Board of Education meeting in San Francisco in February.

The importance they attached to this rally is shown by the fact that national party leader Matt Koehl was flown in from Arlington, Virginia, to give the main speech. Koehl sought to capitalize on the atmosphere of terror and racism, created by Alioto.

"Eighty white people have been murdered," Koehl said. "We're not wondering about it, we're doing something about it." He said the Zebra killings were the beginning of race war and

called on "my white brothers and sisters" to fight.

He turned to point at a crowd across the street protesting the Nazis' presence and said: "The traitors will be gassed. The traitors are smelling the gas and they're getting a little itchy."

The center of Koehl's speech was hysterical anti-Semitism directed against "Jewish Communist traitors." He portrayed Hitler and Hess, the greatest butchers in history, as "men of peace."

The Nazis were protected throughout the demonstration by the police. Five counter-demonstrators were arrested for throwing things at the Nazis. For the last month, the police have suspended all democratic rights to stop for questioning any Black man "over four foot nine and under seven feet," as police chief Donald Scott put it. But they refused to stop the Nazis from putting up their posters, claiming the law was vague, and they didn't want to curtail their right to free speech.

The crisis and complete weakness of the Nixon government means that the ruling class must move sharply to the right, and bolster all the reactionary forces from Wallace to the outright fascists.

The working class must answer this by launching a political offensive. The unions must take action to force Nixon out and build a labor party as the alternative to Wallace and the Nazis.

The San Francisco labor movement must use its tremendous strength to smash the Nazis before they can carry out further provocations.

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

# Bulletin

NEW RATES!  \$1.00 for 2 months  
 \$3.00 for 6 months  
 \$6.00 for 1 year

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011



# Carpenters Strike For 1972 Raise

**BY SHEILA BREHM**  
**LOS ANGELES**—The lifting of the wage-price controls has sparked a huge strike of 40,000 Los Angeles County carpenters, who are fighting for a 30 cent wage increase that was cut two years ago by the pay board.

According to a spokesman for Carpenters Local 25, the contractors agreed two years ago, when the five year contract was reopened, to pay the 30 cent increase as soon as the pay board was abolished.

"They've gone back on their word. The cost of living is strangling us, and that contract was legally negotiated and now we want what is rightfully ours." Although the carpenters could bring all major construction sites in the area to a standstill, union leaders refuse to sanction any picketing.

One union official justified the lack of picketing by stating: "Just because we have a strike,

it doesn't mean that picketing is called for."

Many unions in the construction trades were forced to take similar pay cuts, but the carpenters leadership is deliberately holding back an all-out fight in the entire industry.

As soon as the strike began last Monday, the General Contractors Association and the Building Industry Association, two major contractors, both tried to obtain court injunctions to halt the strike.

Carpenters have been hit not only with inflation, but a sharp rise in unemployment. Housing starts are down drastically due to the record high interest rates on mortgages and the increased cost of building materials.

In some cases, drastic shortages of basic materials such as roofing materials which contain oil, exist.

An ironworker on a building site told the **Bulletin**: "We should all go out. We've been working without a contract for two years.

"Since Nixon took office, we've all been underpaid by at least a few dollars an hour. We should hang Nixon from the top of the building."

## More Tax In Oakland

**BY TED BAKER**  
**OAKLAND**—Oakland city government is threatening bankruptcy.

Officials claim that by 1975, the city will be \$4 million in the red and by 1976 \$12 million.

Mayor Reading's proposed solution is to impose a one percent tax on all wages and salaries earned in Oakland, whether the worker lives in Oakland or not.

The city is preparing for massive layoffs if the new tax is not adopted. The school board has already announced the layoff of 105 teachers and paraprofessionals.

Because the state constitution prohibits city income taxes, the tax will be called an employee

license fee. This means it will be applied only to workers, not to businessmen.

The city anticipates so much money from the license fee that Reading said: "I hope we can reduce the city's property tax rate if it is adopted." This would amount to direct robbery of working people to benefit big corporations such as Kaiser and Safeway which have headquarters here.

Reading admits that the license fee does not really get around the constitutional ban against city income taxes. He says it is necessary to pass an unconstitutional measure anyway in order to finance increases in manpower and equipment for the police.

## Stanford Strike Over Wages, Free Speech

**BY JOHN ARMAND**  
**PALO ALTO**—After four months of negotiations with Stanford University, the United Stanford Employees (USE) union went on strike May 12 for its first contract.

The union is demanding a 15.5 percent increase in wages and fringe benefits. USE Local 680 of the Service Employees International Union, SEIU, represents the university's 1400 technical, service, and maintenance workers.

Official support from Teamster Local 281 and the Santa Clara Building Trades Council has halted construction on the hospital and law building. The San Mateo and Santa Clara County Labor Councils have also sanctioned the strike.

The 15.5 percent increase demanded includes a cost of living adjustment and an increase to bring Stanford workers up to the

level of workers in the same job category employed by industry.

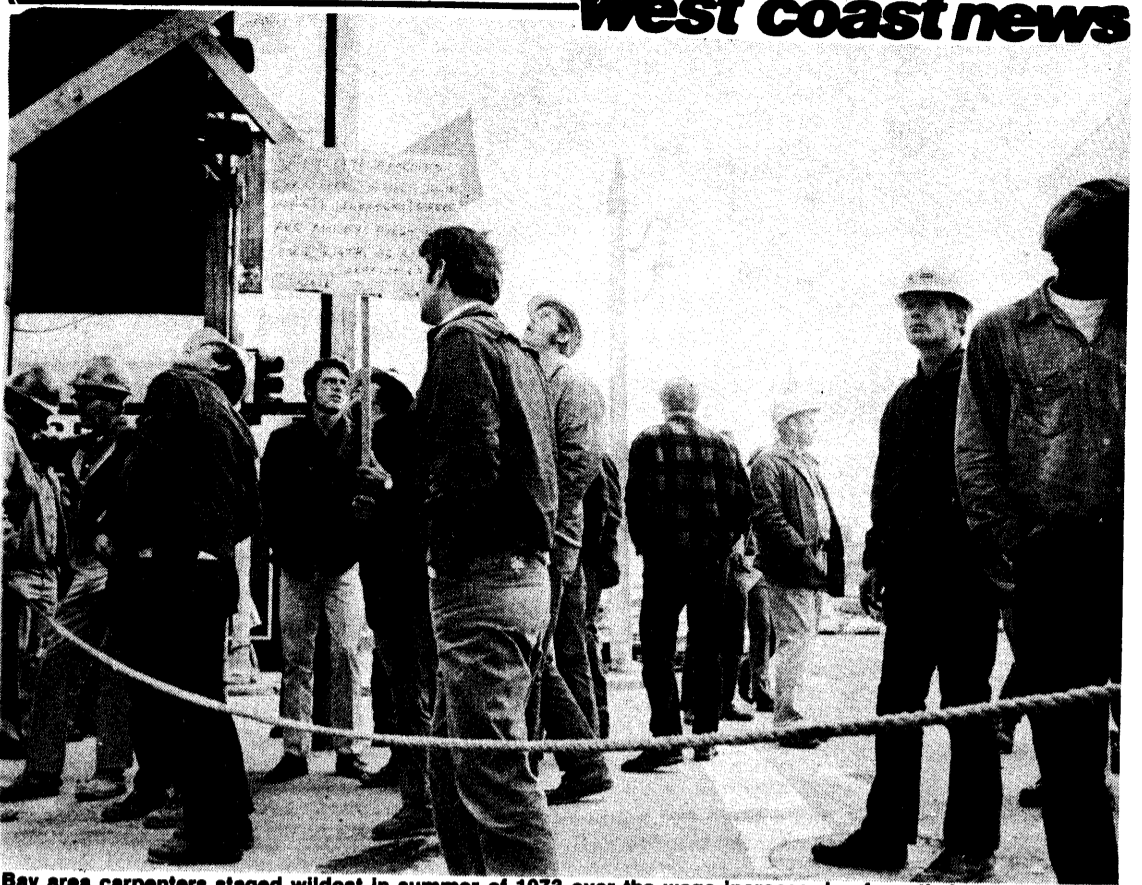
Food service workers at Stanford receive only \$408 per month in the starting category, while those in industry start at \$608. The University is only offering 4.5 percent.

"We are going to change things like they're changing it all over the world. Our living standards have been going down.

"All we're asking for is equal pay for equal work," stated Ernie Clause, a picket captain and locksmith.

He explained that workers are also demanding an end to victimization for expressing their political beliefs. Workers who participate in political demonstrations can be laid off and one of the union's demands is the right to free speech.

"The university wants the right to discipline us. They don't want us to do anything on this campus besides work.



Bay area carpenters staged wildcat in summer of 1973 over the wage increase due from their contract.

## Hearst Paper Builds Up Anticommunist Scare

**BY BARRY GREY**  
**SAN FRANCISCO**—A vicious anticommunist campaign is being whipped up by William Randolph Hearst Jr. in his paper, the **San Francisco Examiner**.

The article, written by Wes Davis, supposedly a "lecturer in the politics of revolutionary warfare and thought reform," exposes the plans of big business and the government to use the Hearst kidnapping to whip up anticommunism against the working class.

It is a rehash of all the cold war lies about "brainwashing" and accuses the Symbionese Liberation Army of using Mao Tse-tung's "brainwashing techniques" on its own members and to convert Patricia Hearst.

Davis maintains that the method of "criticism, self-criticism" mentioned in a letter by Joseph Remiro, a jailed SLA member, is "the heart of a coercive political process used to indoctrinate and condition over 750 million Chinese under

the communist dictator Mao Tse-tung."

The article concludes with an ominous warning that "American political leaders, law enforcement agencies, and military leaders continue in ignorance of Mao's brainwashing techniques at the nation's peril.

### FOREIGN

Davis, unable to produce any evidence to support his thesis, claims that the Maoist brainwashing technique is so foreign to the Western mind that no Westerner can comprehend or describe it.

He concludes that Patty Hearst herself, if she is recovered by her family, may never be able to explain how she was converted.

This article confirms that Hearst's only interest in the kidnapping of his daughter is to use it to advocate repression of all left-wing organizations and to advocate police state measures that would be used against the working class.

Joyce Halverson and her husband Paul face jail sentences of up to three years for refusing to testify before the grand jury hearings on the SLA being held in San Francisco.

Anyone who refuses to testify on constitutional grounds is being granted "limited immunity" by US District Judge Alfonso Zirpoli.

Under limited immunity, the Fifth Amendment is suspended and the judge can jail anyone for contempt of court who still refuses to testify.

The only connection the Halversons have to the SLA is that Joyce was a friend of Camilla Hall, now sought by the FBI for the recent bank holdup by the SLA in San Francisco.

Joyce Halverson told the press how she has been systematically terrorized by the FBI since March 3, when the FBI first came to her for information.

She said her home phone has been tapped, her mail has been tampered with, she and her husband have been questioned repeatedly by the FBI, and have been followed.

**Bulletin** NOW TWICE A WEEK!

**TRUCKERS SHUT DOWN**

**IT IS TIME TO RENEW**

if the number 5 is after your name on the address label:

**ACT NOW AND YOU WILL NOT MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE**

\$3.00 for 6 months  
\$6.00 for 1 year

Name .....  
 Address .....  
 City .....  
 State .....  
 Zip .....

135 West 14 Street, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10011

**Torrance Teachers Vote Strike**

More than 900 members of the **Torrance Education Association** have voted by a three to two margin to stage a strike against the city's 40 public schools to win increased pay and benefits.

The **Torrance teachers staged a one day wildcat last week. They have now won the support of the secretaries and other noncertified staff.**

The teachers have rejected the **Torrance Board of Education proposals for pay increases ranging between 6.5 percent and 14.2 percent. Instead, the teachers are demanding a straight 12 percent, cost of living raises, and increased benefits.**



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

## lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

### Transcripciones De Watergate: La Conspiración Contra Los Derechos Democráticos

Las transcripciones de las cintas magnetofónicas presentadas por Nixon al Comité Senatorial que investiga el caso de Watergate no solo, echa al suelo todos los cuentos de Nixon de que él desconocía lo que había sucedido en Watergate sino que presenta la verdadera cara de este gobierno.

Desde septiembre del 1972, Nixon tenía conocimiento del espionaje llevado a cabo en contra de los cuarteles generales del Partido Demócrata. De acuerdo con las transcripciones, para esa época Nixon felicita a Dean por mantener en secreto el espionaje durante las elecciones presidenciales.

Cuando ya se comienza a investigar Watergate y Howard Hunt es acusado de ser participe en el espionaje, Nixon discute con Dean como pueden obtener fondos para comprar a Hunt y no los delate.

De las transcripciones (Nixon) "Nosotros podemos conseguir eso. Si tu necesitas el dinero podemos conseguirlo. Tu puedes conseguir un millón de dólares. Tú puedes conseguirlo en efectivo. Yo se donde tú puedes conseguirlo. No es facil pero podemos hacerlo."

Este chantaje de comprar a Hunt y a los demás envueltos en el espionaje de Watergate lo hace Nixon con el propósito de evitar que cualquiera evidencia en contra de él sea descubierta por los millones de trabajadores y poder continuar tramando en contra de los derechos democraticos.

Ya en abril del 1973 Nixon y sus ayudantes más cercanos, Haldeman y Ehrlichman, discuten como han de encubrirse a través de un escenario para cubrir su participación en la conspiración.

Esto expresa no solo la posición de Nixon y sus ayudantes sino la preparación de los capitalistas (los ricos) para imponer una dictadura en contra de las masas de trabajadores. En la reuniones en la Casa Blanca, ellos discuten libremente de espionaje, conspiraciones, persecución política perjurio, expresando su desdén hacia los trabajadores.

En marzo 16 Nixon señala "Imaginense lo peor, que Bob Haldeman) sea acusado y que Ehrlichman sea acusado. Yo debo de decir, que mejor nosotros tratemos de que se mantengan claro hasta lo último. Tu sabes a lo que me refiero ... Tenemos que pelearlo hasta lo último. Tú puedes ver, es otra cosa. Es mejor luchar hasta lo último y no permitir que la gente testifique."

El 27 de marzo Nixon, Haldeman y Ehrlichman discuten el escenario para encubrir a Mitchell para que este acepte culpa en el caso de Watergate pero a la misma vez que el no es responsable de todos los detalles y la extension del espionaje en Watergate...

Nixon: "Bueno, que piensa hacer Mitchell? Mejor decimos que puede el hacer. A caso puede Mitchell ir frente al Comité y decir "La memoria mía me esta fallando. Acaso he mentido?"

Ehrlichman: "No. El no puede decir eso. El dice-ah, ah. Nixon: "A pesar de que ese no fue mi proposito puede ser que haya sido responsable de ello, yo siento mucho lo que ha sucedido pero yo no sabia lo que ellos estaban haciendo. Ellos estaban - nosotros estamos - sobre manzanas y naranjas." Eso es lo que yo creo que el debe de decir. Estamos de acuerdo?

Haldeman: "Yo creo que si. El autorizo manzanas y ellos compraron naranjas."

Nixon: "Mitchell, Uds ven nunca va a ir y admitir que cometo perjurio. El puede decir que se olvido de Hunt y Liddy pero nunca va a admitir eso."

Haldeman: "Pero ellos no van a darle esa conveniencia. No creo que lo vayan a hacer no creen que pueden agarrarte. Ehrlichman: "El es la enchilada grande."

Este escenario de Mitchell se discutió varias veces en la Casa Blanca en particular cuando Nixon le informo a Mitchell que el iba hacer la victima en el caso bajo investigacion.

Estas transcripciones que Nixon ha presentado al Comité Senatorial han sido editadas por él, en las cuales muchas partes el asegura que no son claras. Por ejemplo en una conversación de una hora, es cubierta en las transcripciones en seis hojas. Nixon ha rehusado entregar las cintas magnetofónicas a la corte suprema y ha dicho que no entregará más transcripciones de las mismas.

A pesar de ello toda la evidencia que sale de estas transcripciones y de los escenarios preparados desde la Casa Blanca presenta a Nixon y a su gobierno como un gobierno de conspiradores y criminales. La persecución que lleva la policía de San Francisco en contra de la comunidad afro-americana basado en la Operación Zebra es otro escenario preparado por el alcalde Alioto. Es en esta forma en que la clase gobernante lidia en estos momentos contra la clase obrera.

Los ranchos llevados a cabo por la policía en contra de militantes como el de Pancho Cruz en Nueva York, al cual se le tantes como el de Pancho Cruz en Nueva York, al cual se le del militante nacionalista Feliciano, son todos productos de las tácticas de represión policiaca que prepara a amplia escala el gobierno en contra de los trabajadores.

# Fleetwood Strikes Against Speedup

BY KEN WESTON  
DETROIT—Having worked without a local contract since November, 4000 members of Fisher Body Fleetwood Local 15 walked out on May 13 shutting down production of Cadillac and Toronado bodies.

GM's plan to sharply increase production of car bodies last Monday to 10 an hour on the main line was interrupted by the strike. Already final assembly operations at the Detroit Cadillac plant have stopped on both shifts. The Oldsmobile Toronado plant in Lansing, Michigan and the Cadillac

plant in Linden, New Jersey are certain to be affected.

Frank Jones, vice-president of Local 15, said that GM is not recalling men from the last layoff of 1400 workers at Fleetwood fast enough to meet the rising production rate.

Clarence, a maintenance worker, told the Bulletin at the picket line: "Ever since the oil crisis, they've been trying to get as much work as they can.

"They did the same thing with us in maintenance. They try to get everybody to do their own job, plus somebody else's job instead of hiring somebody back." David, a worker with six years seniority, said: "When we go back, it'll be worse and the union won't back us up.

"We have so many grievances now that the union won't even look at a particular job."

He also said: "Changeover is in a month. We should strike then because they don't really need these cars now.

"It's just a cheap layoff because they don't have to pay us benefits. If we strike, it should be the whole shot, a national strike."

The main issue at Fleetwood is GM's attempt to maintain falling profits by destroying working conditions in every plant and the refusal of the international leadership under Leonard Woodcock to fight back with a national strike.

In Hudson, Ohio, 1300 workers in UAW Local 296 are striking GM's Terex division which produces earth movers and 3100 workers continue to strike GM's Buick Apollo, and Chevy Nova plant.

## PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

class.

But at the same time, the tremendous crisis and the weakness of the Nixon government gives the working class the unparalleled opportunity to

defeat this government and build a labor party as an alternative.

It is the Democrats' fear of the movement of the working class that forces them to defend Nixon. All the leading Demo-

crats have declared their opposition to Nixon's resignation. In a revealing statement, House Speaker Carl Albert said:

"It would be disastrous for the president to resign under political pressure. If he is not guilty and those facts come out, he would be exonerated...Watergate seems to obscure the good many things this Congress has done for the people."

Despite all the evidence in the transcripts of Nixon's conspiracy to destroy democratic rights, despite the fact that the Judiciary Committee admits the transcripts were deliberately edited, the Democrats do not want Nixon out because they want to preserve the institutions vital to capitalist rule and prevent workers from acting independently.

The wages offensive of the working class must now go forward in the struggle to demand the unions break with the Democrats and construct their own political party to throw Nixon out. Workers in every industry must now be united in mass demonstrations to demand Nixon resign.

## NATIONWIDE

The auto workers, longshoremen on both coasts, and truckers must take the lead in nationwide strike action around these demands.

The Workers League carries out the fight to build alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions to lead this fight and to expose and throw out the George Meanys and traitors within the labor movement who capitulate to the government.

## ISRAEL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

informed shortly after dawn of the demands of the Arab liberation fighters in Maalot.

Furthermore, the Israeli cabinet notified the Arabs shortly after noon that it had decided to accede to their demand.

## DOUBLE CROSS

But during the next five hours, the Israeli government plotted to doublecross the three Arabs as it assembled troops in Maalot under the command of Dayan. All the soldiers were issued bullet-proof vests, proving that the decision to storm the school was not made at the last minute.

The three Arabs had demanded to speak with the Rumanian and French ambassadors and insisted that they present codewords to prove their identities. However, the Israeli government prevented the ambassadors from ever speaking to the terrorists on the grounds that they did not know the codeword.

The government had more than 10 hours to comply with the main demand of the Popular Democratic Front: that the imprisoned Arab terrorists be released and flown to either Damascus or Nicosia on the island of Cyprus.

By helicopter, the distance between Tel Aviv and Damascus can be covered in less than one hour.

## ULTIMATUM

"We mean the ultimatum, every word of it," one of the Arabs shouted late in the afternoon. "We want to see the French and Rumanian ambassadors.

"No one else will do. We warn you. 6 p.m. is the final deadline. You are playing with these children's lives."

The Arabs realized that the Israeli government was plotting to storm the building when the ambassadors failed to arrive.

One terrorist called out: "We want to see the ambassadors.

## Bulletin 10th Anniversary Fund Push For \$50,000

We have to date a total of \$35,545.05 towards our goal of \$50,000 by June 1.

Only \$2,353.30 was received this week, which is very low. The branches which did hold fund-raising activities did very well: New York raised \$362 at a Stuff-n-Drink party; Baltimore and Detroit also had parties. The Bay Area raised \$761.02 in one week.

Every branch must immediately begin fund-raising campaigns with collection cans on sales, car washes, parties, and other activities.

We wish to especially thank our readers who have supported the paper by sending in contributions, and urge every reader to contribute towards building the Bulletin into a daily.



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

## lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

### Transcripciones De Watergate: La Conspiración Contra Los Derechos Democráticos

Las transcripciones de las cintas magnetofónicas presentadas por Nixon al Comité Senatorial que investiga el caso de Watergate no solo, echa al suelo todos los cuentos de Nixon de que él desconocía lo que había sucedido en Watergate sino que presenta la verdadera cara de este gobierno.

Desde septiembre del 1972, Nixon tenía conocimiento del espionaje llevado a cabo en contra de los cuarteles generales del Partido Demócrata. De acuerdo con las transcripciones, para esa época Nixon felicita a Dean por mantener en secreto el espionaje durante las elecciones presidenciales.

Cuando ya se comienza a investigar Watergate y Howard Hunt es acusado de ser participe en el espionaje, Nixon discute con Dean como pueden obtener fondos para comprar a Hunt y no los delate.

De las transcripciones (Nixon) "Nosotros podemos conseguir eso. Si tu necesitas el dinero podemos conseguirlo. Tu puedes conseguir un millón de dólares. Tú puedes conseguirlo en efectivo. Yo se donde tú puedes conseguirlo. No es facil pero podemos hacerlo."

Este chantaje de comprar a Hunt y a los demás envueltos en el espionaje de Watergate lo hace Nixon con el propósito de evitar que cualquiera evidencia en contra de él sea descubierta por los millones de trabajadores y poder continuar tramando en contra de los derechos democraticos.

Ya en abril del 1973 Nixon y sus ayudantes más cercanos, Haldeman y Ehrlichman, discuten como han de encubrirse a través de un escenario para cubrir su participación en la conspiración.

Esto expresa no solo la posición de Nixon y sus ayudantes sino la preparación de los capitalistas (los ricos) para imponer una dictadura en contra de las masas de trabajadores. En la reuniones en la Casa Blanca, ellos discuten libremente de espionaje, conspiraciones, persecución política perjurio, expresando su desdén hacia los trabajadores.

En marzo 16 Nixon señala "Imaginense lo peor, que Bob Haldeman) sea acusado y que Ehrlichman sea acusado. Yo debo de decir, que mejor nosotros tratemos de que se mantengan claro hasta lo último. Tu sabes a lo que me refiero ... Tenemos que pelearlo hasta lo último. Tú puedes ver, es otra cosa. Es mejor luchar hasta lo último y no permitir que la gente testifique."

El 27 de marzo Nixon, Haldeman y Ehrlichman discuten el escenario para encubrir a Mitchell para que este acepte culpa en el caso de Watergate pero a la misma vez que el no es responsable de todos los detalles y la extension del espionaje en Watergate...

Nixon: "Bueno, que piensa hacer Mitchell? Mejor decimos que puede el hacer. A caso puede Mitchell ir frente al Comité y decir 'La memoria mía me esta fallando. Acaso he mentido?'"

Ehrlichman: "No. El no puede decir eso. El dice-ah, ah."

Nixon: "A pesar de que ese no fue mi proposito puede ser que haya sido responsable de ello, yo siento mucho lo que ha sucedido pero yo no sabia lo que ellos estaban haciendo. Ellos estaban - nosotros estamos - sobre manzanas y naranjas." Eso es lo que yo creo que el debe de decir. Estamos de acuerdo?

Haldeman: "Yo creo que si. El autorizo manzanas y ellos compraron naranjas."

Nixon: "Mitchell, Uds ven nunca va a ir y admitir que cometo perjurio. El puede decir que se olvido de Hunt y Liddy pero nunca va a admitir eso."

Haldeman: "Pero ellos no van a darle esa conveniencia. No creo que lo vayan a hacer no creen que pueden agarrarte."

Ehrlichman: "El es la enchilada grande. Este escenario de Mitchell se discutió varias veces en la Casa Blanca en particular cuando Nixon le informo a Mitchell que el iba hacer la victima en el caso bajo investigación."

Estas transcripciones que Nixon ha presentado al Comité Senatorial han sido editadas por él, en las cuales muchas partes el asegura que no son claras. Por ejemplo en una conversación de una hora, es cubierta en las transcripciones en seis hojas. Nixon ha rehusado entregar las cintas magnetofónicas a la corte suprema y ha dicho que no entregará más transcripciones de las mismas.

A pesar de ello toda la evidencia que sale de estas transcripciones y de los escenarios preparados desde la Casa Blanca presenta a Nixon y a su gobierno como un gobierno de conspiradores y criminales. La persecución que lleva la policía de San Francisco en contra de la comunidad afro-americana basado en la Operación Zebra es otro escenario preparado por el alcalde Alioto. Es en esta forma en que la clase gobernante lidia en estos momentos contra la clase obrera.

Los ranchos llevados a cabo por la policía en contra de militantes como el de Pancho Cruz en Nueva York, al cual se le tantes como el de Pancho Cruz en Nueva York, al cual se le del militante nacionalista Feliciano, son todos productos de las tácticas de represión policiaca que prepara a amplia escala el gobierno en contra de los trabajadores.

# Fleetwood Strikes Against Speedup

BY KEN WESTON  
DETROIT—Having worked without a local contract since November, 4000 members of Fisher Body Fleetwood Local 15 walked out on May 13 shutting down production of Cadillac and Toronado bodies.

GM's plan to sharply increase production of car bodies last Monday to 10 an hour on the main line was interrupted by the strike. Already final assembly operations at the Detroit Cadillac plant have stopped on both shifts. The Oldsmobile Toronado plant in Lansing, Michigan and the Cadillac

plant in Linden, New Jersey are certain to be affected.

Frank Jones, vice-president of Local 15, said that GM is not recalling men from the last layoff of 1400 workers at Fleetwood fast enough to meet the rising production rate.

Clarence, a maintenance worker, told the Bulletin at the picket line: "Ever since the oil crisis, they've been trying to get as much work as they can."

"They did the same thing with us in maintenance. They try to get everybody to do their own job, plus somebody else's job instead of hiring somebody back." David, a worker with six years seniority, said: "When we go back, it'll be worse and the union won't back us up."

"We have so many grievances now that the union won't even look at a particular job."

He also said: "Changeover is in a month. We should strike then because they don't really need these cars now."

"It's just a cheap layoff because they don't have to pay us benefits. If we strike, it should be the whole shot, a national strike."

The main issue at Fleetwood is GM's attempt to maintain falling profits by destroying working conditions in every plant and the refusal of the international leadership under Leonard Woodcock to fight back with a national strike.

In Hudson, Ohio, 1300 workers in UAW Local 296 are striking GM's Terex division which produces earth movers and 3100 workers continue to strike GM's Buick Apollo, and Chevy Nova plant.

## PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

class.

But at the same time, the tremendous crisis and the weakness of the Nixon government gives the working class the unparalleled opportunity to

defeat this government and build a labor party as an alternative.

It is the Democrats' fear of the movement of the working class that forces them to defend Nixon. All the leading Demo-

crats have declared their opposition to Nixon's resignation. In a revealing statement, House Speaker Carl Albert said:

"It would be disastrous for the president to resign under political pressure. If he is not guilty and those facts come out, he would be exonerated...Watergate seems to obscure the good many things this Congress has done for the people."

Despite all the evidence in the transcripts of Nixon's conspiracy to destroy democratic rights, despite the fact that the Judiciary Committee admits the transcripts were deliberately edited, the Democrats do not want Nixon out because they want to preserve the institutions vital to capitalist rule and prevent workers from acting independently.

The wages offensive of the working class must now go forward in the struggle to demand the unions break with the Democrats and construct their own political party to throw Nixon out. Workers in every industry must now be united in mass demonstrations to demand Nixon resign.

## NATIONWIDE

The auto workers, longshoremen on both coasts, and truckers must take the lead in nationwide strike action around these demands.

The Workers League carries out the fight to build alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions to lead this fight and to expose and throw out the George Meanys and traitors within the labor movement who capitulate to the government.

## ISRAEL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

informed shortly after dawn of the demands of the Arab liberation fighters in Maalot.

Furthermore, the Israeli cabinet notified the Arabs shortly after noon that it had decided to accede to their demand.

## DOUBLE CROSS

But during the next five hours, the Israeli government plotted to doublecross the three Arabs as it assembled troops in Maalot under the command of Dayan. All the soldiers were issued bullet-proof vests, proving that the decision to storm the school was not made at the last minute.

The three Arabs had demanded to speak with the Rumanian and French ambassadors and insisted that they present codewords to prove their identities. However, the Israeli government prevented the ambassadors from ever speaking to the terrorists on the grounds that they did not know the codeword.

The government had more than 10 hours to comply with the main demand of the Popular Democratic Front: that the imprisoned Arab terrorists be released and flown to either Damascus or Nicosia on the island of Cyprus.

By helicopter, the distance between Tel Aviv and Damascus can be covered in less than one hour.

## ULTIMATUM

"We mean the ultimatum, every word of it," one of the Arabs shouted late in the afternoon. "We want to see the French and Rumanian ambassadors."

"No one else will do. We warn you. 6 p.m. is the final deadline. You are playing with these children's lives."

The Arabs realized that the Israeli government was plotting to storm the building when the ambassadors failed to arrive.

One terrorist called out: "We want to see the ambassadors."

## Bulletin 10th Anniversary Fund Push For \$50,000

We have to date a total of \$35,545.05 towards our goal of \$50,000 by June 1.

Only \$2,353.30 was received this week, which is very low. The branches which did hold fund-raising activities did very well: New York raised \$362 at a Stuff-n-Drink party; Baltimore and Detroit also had parties. The Bay Area raised \$761.02 in one week.

Every branch must immediately begin fund-raising campaigns with collection cans on sales, car washes, parties, and other activities.

We wish to especially thank our readers who have supported the paper by sending in contributions, and urge every reader to contribute towards building the Bulletin into a daily.