

# Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER NINETY TWO 428

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1974

ISSUE NO. 6

TWENTY CENTS



Miners in West Virginia on the eve of the strike.

# MINERS STRIKE AT THE CROSSROADS

**BY DAVID NORTH**  
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The Bulletin calls on all

miners to reject this contract which was drawn up by the Ford government and dictated to Miller. Miller has emerged as the most outspoken advocate of trade union subservience to the government and the employers.

In voting down this contract, miners must prepare to fight the government which is threat-

ening to use Taft-Hartley if Miller fails to force the ranks back to work.

All sections of the working class must defend the miners against any government intervention.

The way in which Miller has conspired behind the backs of miners to end this strike will be recorded as one of the most obscene chapters in the history of American trade unionism.

Bargaining council members originally voted down the "revised" contract Tuesday afternoon by a margin of 22 to 11. The majority told Miller that the 10 percent-4 percent-3 percent wage package was unacceptable and instructed him to return to the bargaining table.

Miller then denounced the bargaining council and declared that he would not ask anything more of the coal operators under any circumstances.

During the two hour recess which followed, Miller met with federal mediator William J. Usery and they jointly applied pressure on wavering council members to reverse the vote. Before Miller recalled the bargaining council for a second session, he agreed to allow Usery to speak before the council if the settlement was rejected a second time.

Before taking the vote again, Miller told the council that he welcomed government intervention if the contract was not approved.

"All we can do is let the

government act and see what happens," declared Miller.

Eight members changed their votes and the contract passed.

Miller immediately informed Usery of the outcome and then telephoned President Ford, promising that he would "do everything I can to get the coal flowing again for America."

Miller's collaboration with the government makes the fundamental issue in the strike absolutely clear: do trade unions exist to fight for the interests of their members or are trade unions to be the slavish agencies of big business and the capitalist state?

The answer of the Miller leadership has already been given. He has gone from meeting to meeting with officials in the Ford government. At these meetings, Miller has pledged cooperation with the administration's plans to place the working class in the strait-jacket of uncontrollable inflation and massive unemployment.

He met over the weekend with William Simon, US treasury secretary, to receive instructions from the government on the contract terms. This is the same Simon who forecasted, the very next day, that there will be an enormous leap in unemployment.

Simon declared that the recession "will be more severe" than any downturn since World War Two.

Miller's collaboration with the

government sets the stage for the most savage attacks on the living standards and basic rights of miners and all workers. The government is already hinting that it will review all wage increases even before the congress formally approves new wage control laws.

The frantic attempts of Simon and Usery to end the strike reveal the enormous weakness of the government, not its strength. A.H. Raskin of The New York Times, the most sophisticated of ruling class journalists, pointed out Tuesday that the Ford government is "fearful of a back-to-work confrontation with the miners similar to the one that brought down the Heath government in Great Britain last winter."

The intervention of the government into the miners contract fight has made the issues in the struggle clearly political.

Miller seeks to end the strike because the miners' walkout poses a challenge to the economic policies of the government.

Miners, in rejecting this contract, must press ahead with this political fight against the Ford administration.

This requires that the rejection of the contract and the continuation of the strike be linked to a campaign in the trade union movement for the construction of a labor party as the alternative of the working class

(Continued On Page 11)

## DC 37 Pledges To Fight Layoffs

**NEW YORK, NY**—Executive Director Victor Gotbaum has pledged that District Council 37, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees will fight the city's plan to lay off 510 civil service workers.

Gotbaum said that the union "would not accept, would not tolerate, the layoff of any permanent employee," at the November 26 meeting of delegates from the DC 37 locals.

But he urged the delegates to table a motion that would have required him to call an emergency delegate's meeting to discuss strike action in the event that the layoffs are carried out.

He said the motion was "premature" because he is continuing talks with the city in an attempt to avert the layoffs.

This motion was presented by the delegation from Local 371, Social Service Employees Union, where it was passed unanimously by a Delegate's Assembly meeting the night before.

An alternative motion to commit Local 371 to strike action if any of its members were fired and to fight in DC 37 for the calling of an emergency congress of labor to launch a labor party was presented by the Committee for New Leadership and was tabled by the narrow margin of 30 to 20.

See "Gotbaum Splits DC 37 Locals," page 8.



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## Selassie Men Executed In Ethiopia

BY A REPORTER

Sixty Ethiopian aristocrats and former government officials have been executed by the ruling military junta.

Among the executed was Lieut. General Aman Michael Andom, the leader of the 120-man military council, two former premiers, virtually the entire general staff of the armed forces, and a number of leading aristocrats who were close relatives of deposed monarch Haile Selassie.

There was no word on Selassie, who was put under house arrest by the military on September 12. Power has now passed into the hands of Maj. Mengistu Haile Miriam, leader of the inner group of junior army officers that ousted Selassie.

Radio Ethiopia claimed that those executed were responsible for covering up the devastating famine, particularly in the northeastern province of Wollo, that has taken the lives of at least 100,000 people.

When the military took over from Selassie, a powerful movement of workers and students was building up against the regime. A general strike had brought the country to a halt.

The junta banned strikes, jailed union and student leaders, and promised a number of limited reforms.

### FAMINE

At the same time, they did nothing to stop the famine in Wollo. They continued the 10-year war against the nationalist rebels in Eritrea and maintained the semifeudal land relations that have existed for centuries.

These executions are the result of deep divisions inside the military clique created by the revolutionary movement of masses of Ethiopian workers and peasants. This has been expressed by divisions among the top rulers on how far to move against the old regime.

In recent months, Aman Andom has leaned towards a conciliation with Selassie's former circle. He was also reportedly in favor of a compromise settlement of the Eritrean issue.

These executions are clearly aimed at appeasing the workers and peasants, but the military and the national bourgeoisie are completely incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic reforms. This can only be secured by the revolutionary overthrow of the entire Ethiopian ruling class by the working class.



Demonstration of Ethiopian workers and peasants.

## Japan Leader Forced Out

BY A CORRESPONDENT  
Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka has been forced to resign in the wake of an unprecedented scandal involving Tanaka's vast and until now, secret, financial wealth.

Tanaka was pushed out by his own party, the conservative Liberal Democrats. They feared that Tanaka no longer had the authority to lead a head-on confrontation with the working class over wages.

Between the time he was elected in July 1972, until his resignation, Tanaka's popularity had dropped from 60 to 10 percent.

Tanaka's financial empire was exposed when a monthly magazine, *Bungei Shuju*, published the details of how Tanaka rose from a poor country boy to one of the wealthiest men in the country.

The investigation was prompted by reports that Tanaka spent \$10 to \$16 million in his election campaign.

The magazine reporters established that Tanaka had enough money left over from the election campaign to buy three resort villas valued at over \$1.6 million.

Other matters covered in the report were:

- The reversal of Tanaka's conviction in 1951 of a bribery charge when he was a member of parliament.

- How Tanaka, as finance Minister, authorized the sale of valuable government property to Kenji Osano, who was convicted

of illegal gasoline transactions in 1950. Kenji later resold the property for a profit of \$7.5 million.

- Tanaka's dummy companies which listed Tanaka or close associates and family as directors. These "companies" had no offices and sometimes no telephone numbers; one had its headquarters in Tanaka's private home!

- Funds to the Tanaka faction of the ruling party that were funneled to businessmen, secretaries, and other politicians.

- Tanaka's personal holdings that include five acres of downtown Tokyo real estate (worth \$8 million) and major stock holdings in chemical and transportation companies.

Tanaka desperately tried to remain in power, threatening to launch a counterinquiry, reshuffling his cabinet, and emotionally declaring on tv: "I never did anything illegal."

Every government in the major capitalist nations has collapsed over the past year. Nixon, the leaders of Britain, Italy, Portugal, Greece, West Germany, and Israel have been forced out by their inability to impose the burden of the economic crisis on the working class.

In Japan, the rate of inflation is one of the highest in the industrialized countries. In the 28 months Tanaka was in office, wholesale and retail prices went up 50 percent, oil prices quadrupled, and the once "boom" economy entered a recession.

The Japanese trade unions are now in a strike offensive against the government for higher wages to protect living standards.

Tanaka's resignation is a desperate attempt by the tottering Liberal Democrats to prepare for class war against the working class.

## British Labor Government Outlaws IRA

BY FRANK MARTIN

The British Labor government is using the recent wave of bombings, in which 19 have died, to ban the Irish Republican Army and stampede through a series of police state measures that pose a threat to the democratic rights of the entire working class.

To the cheers of every conservative Tory, Labor Home Secretary Roy Jenkins introduced emergency measures in Parliament on November 25. They are:

1. The outlawing of the IRA inside Britain. The government has the power to declare other "terrorist" organizations illegal. There is no definition as to what the term "terrorist" means.



Roy Jenkins

2. Those who belong to an illegal organization or support it financially or "in other ways" would face a jail term of five years or an unlimited fine or both.

3. The police are to get sweeping powers to arrest anyone who is a "suspected terrorist or an accomplice" without warrant and to hold them for seven days without having to submit a formal charge against them. Only the Home Secretary's permission is required. Suspects could be fingerprinted before any charge.

4. Stepped up security measures for anyone travelling between Britain and Ireland. Immigration officials, besides police, will have the power to arrest, detain, or search anyone suspected of being a terrorist.

The measures will be in effect for six months, after which Jenkins will "review" them.

Jenkins added to his measures the suggestion that a debate be opened in parliament to reintroduce the death penalty.

Behind the talk of terrorism are the preparations for mass police raids to suppress, jail, and fine left-wing militants. There is no question that these laws are aimed, not only against the IRA, but every revolutionary organization.

The capitalist press in Britain is favorably reporting on the development of right-wing vigilante squads which according to the *Daily Mirror* "are pledged to organize reprisal raids on Irish building sites and Irish social clubs."

It is no coincidence that these measures are introduced as the

British miners prepare for a collision with the Labor government over pay increases and productivity. From the moment the Labor Party took power, only the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British Trotskyist movement, warned that it would act as a "Trojan horse" for the Tories and the British capitalist class.

Labor MPs Michael Stewart and Tomlinson denounced Jenkins for not going far enough and demanded the introduction of identity cards. Jenkins's only objection was that they could be easily forged.

Andrew Faulds, another Labor MP, led the call for the reintroduction of the death penalty.

### PROVOCATION

On November 23, two days before Jenkins's announcement, the editorial board of the *Workers Press*, the WRP's daily paper, published a statement which we reprint in an abridged form.

"Workers Press, in expressing sympathy for the wounded and condolences for the dead in Thursday night's bomb explosion, warns all workers that this bloody provocation could well be the signal for serious reprisals against the Irish workers and state repression of all groups opposing British imperialism in Ulster.

"If the first victims of these provocations are innocent workers in Birmingham, the next victims could indeed be the right of workers to organize, strike, and demonstrate to defend their standard of living and their organizations from capitalist attack...

"Prominent among those who seek retaliation is the National Front, which is calling for a general strike to back up demands for the return of the death penalty and for Irish citizens to be declared aliens.

"The barbarism of the Front, however, is closely followed by the reactionary opportunism of Labor Home Secretary Roy Jenkins.

"Having tasted blood, in keeping the Shrewsbury (building workers) pickets imprisoned, Jenkins is now seriously considering the outlawing of the IRA in Britain...

"But our differences with the methods of the IRA will not stop us—no matter how great the hysteria—from defending the IRA from the monstrous pogrom planned by the Tory and National Front reactionaries—aided by Wilson and Jenkins.

"A ban on the IRA will be a precedent which will be used to ban any and every revolutionary group.

"We appeal to all workers to help build the unity of British and Irish workers by supporting the policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party to:

- Secure the withdrawal of British troops from Ulster.
- Disband the army and police.
- Create a workers' militia.

- Construct the revolutionary party which will expropriate capitalism and establish a planned economy."



Angry demonstrators greeted Ford on the eve of Tanaka's resignation.

# PENTAGON WARSHIPS SENT TO MIDEAST

The Pentagon announcement that the aircraft carrier Constellation, and two destroyers have been sent to the Persian Gulf is a new and ominous sign of US preparations for war in the Middle East.

The Pentagon has also announced that aircraft will conduct exercises in the region, for the first time in 20 years.

The official reason for this maneuver, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*, is to get accustomed to air and water currents as part of a CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) exercise.

The movement of American ships into within striking distance of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait is one of a series of recent developments:

•The *US News and World Report* writes in the December 2 issue that a leading "think tank" closely connected to the government has begun a study of "military options" in dealing with the oil crisis.

## China Fetes Kissinger

Chinese foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua paid tribute to Nixon for his "pioneering role" in US-Chinese relations as he welcomed Henry Kissinger to China.

Kissinger met with Premier Chou En-lai after Ford flew back to the US following a two-day summit with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

While Kissinger was being feted by the Chinese Stalinists in grand style, with a reception at the Great Hall of the People and a Chinese army band playing "Home on the Range," the US was stepping up its aid to the Chinese nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan.

The Northrop Corporation, a US firm, has just completed production at its Taiwan plant of the F-5E supersonic jet fighter planes.

Nixon and Kissinger have definitely "pioneered" a policy—the policy of playing the Chinese and Russian Stalinists off against each other to the advantage of American imperialism.

The *Washington Post* has reported that US government sources sent warnings to China three times this year about a possible Soviet attack on China. All three messages turned out to be totally untrue.

Both the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies base themselves on peaceful coexistence with the US. It is this that permits Kissinger to keep them at each others throats, while using them to hold the working class from revolution.

•Top level policy makers in the Ford administration are no longer keeping secret that such options are being considered. As one official said: "A flotilla of 60 American warships appearing at the head of the Persian Gulf would have quite an impact."

•Units of the Second Marine Amphibious Force have conducted a large-scale war exercise in the Mojave Desert in California. The desert conditions there are similar to those in the Mideast. The army's 82nd Airborne Division—the same division put on alert during the Boston anti-busing demonstrations—regularly practice parachute jumps over the desert near Fort Bliss, Texas.

### OIL FIELDS

The *US News and World Report* article states that military officials estimate three Marine divisions would be needed to take over oil fields in either Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, or Libya.

These officials are already calculating the best way to transport 60,000 men to the Middle East in C-5 transport planes in one operation and provide air support from naval ships in the Mediterranean.

The thinking in the highest levels of the administration was summed up by one official who said: "We are determined to avoid provocative threats. But we want the Arabs to understand that we are not ruling out the use of American military power if the situation requires it."

A central part of this war preparation is the propaganda being churned out every week by such publications as *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines.

"To Israelis, the 13 months since the October war have been a period of frustration and despair..."

"Traumatized by last year's surprise attack, many Israelis have a growing sense that time is no longer on their side, that however they may fight and however superior they may be militarily, they cannot forever hold off a vastly larger Arab force armed by the Soviet Union and subsidized by the world's new capitalists, the Arab countries."

The Ford government wants to justify an invasion by the lie that the entire economic crisis is the fault of the increase in oil prices.

New schemes such as Kissinger's plan to establish a special oil fund to help pay the huge balance of payments deficits will not prevent states from going bankrupt. Inflation created by the capitalists themselves is out of control.

Far from solving anything, a war in the Mideast could lead to nuclear war and military conflict between a number of countries.

These are the lengths the US ruling class is willing to go to in order to save their decaying profit system from collapse.



Military exercises now underway in California's Mohave Desert.



Israeli soldiers stand over Arab guerrillas killed during border raids.

# Arafat Threatens To Kill Arab Hijackers

BY A REPORTER

The Palestine Liberation Organization, fresh from its diplomatic victory at the United Nations, is leading the chorus of Arab governments demanding the blood of four guerrillas who hijacked a British Airways plane to Tunis.

The Palestine news agency Wafa, reports that the PLO has

## Mass Police Raids In W. Germany

Under the guise of fighting "terrorism," the West German government has launched a sweeping crackdown on all leftist and socialist organizations.

On November 26, police broke into and searched scores of apartments for members or supporters of so-called terrorist groups.

The murder of Judge Gunter von Drenkmann on November 10 is being used to create a national hysteria to equate all left-wing organizations with terrorism.

In the recent raids, at least 10 people were arrested, including a lawyer who is a member of a law collective. He is being held on suspicion of membership in an anarchist group called "June 2."

The Social Democratic government of Helmut Schmidt is seeking to set a precedent for making membership in any socialist organization or in any

pledged to expose "the group that committed this crime" and will hold it responsible "for the crime, for which they shall pay the price."

The four guerrillas released most of the passengers in exchange for the release of seven other guerrillas held in Egypt and Holland.

They finally agreed to surrender, following assurances by the Tunisian government that

organization that opposes the policies of the government a crime.

An enormous witch-hunt is being conducted in the press against the so-called "Baader-Meinhof gang," a group of 30 leftists who were arrested and accused of a series of bombings in 1972.

They are still in jail and no trial is scheduled until next year. One of the group, Holger Meins, died in prison on November 9. The others have been on a hunger strike for two and half months to protest their arbitrary imprisonment.

The leaders of the trade unions who support the Schmidt government have joined the anti-communist campaign by witch-hunting leftist members in the unions.

The Social Democrats seek to divert attention from the economic crisis and to prepare the police for a confrontation with the working class.

they would be given asylum inside the country and would not be handed over to the PLO.

But the 11 guerrillas were immediately jailed following the surrender. Tunisian foreign minister Habib Chatti declared there was "no binding agreement" with the guerrillas and the government had only "verbally accepted" the deal not to hand them over to the PLO.

The Egyptian government of Anwar el-Sadat called on the PLO "to face its responsibilities and retaliate against dissident groups that defame its struggle." It suggested a top-level conference of Arab governments to lay down the law as to which Palestinian operations were legitimate.

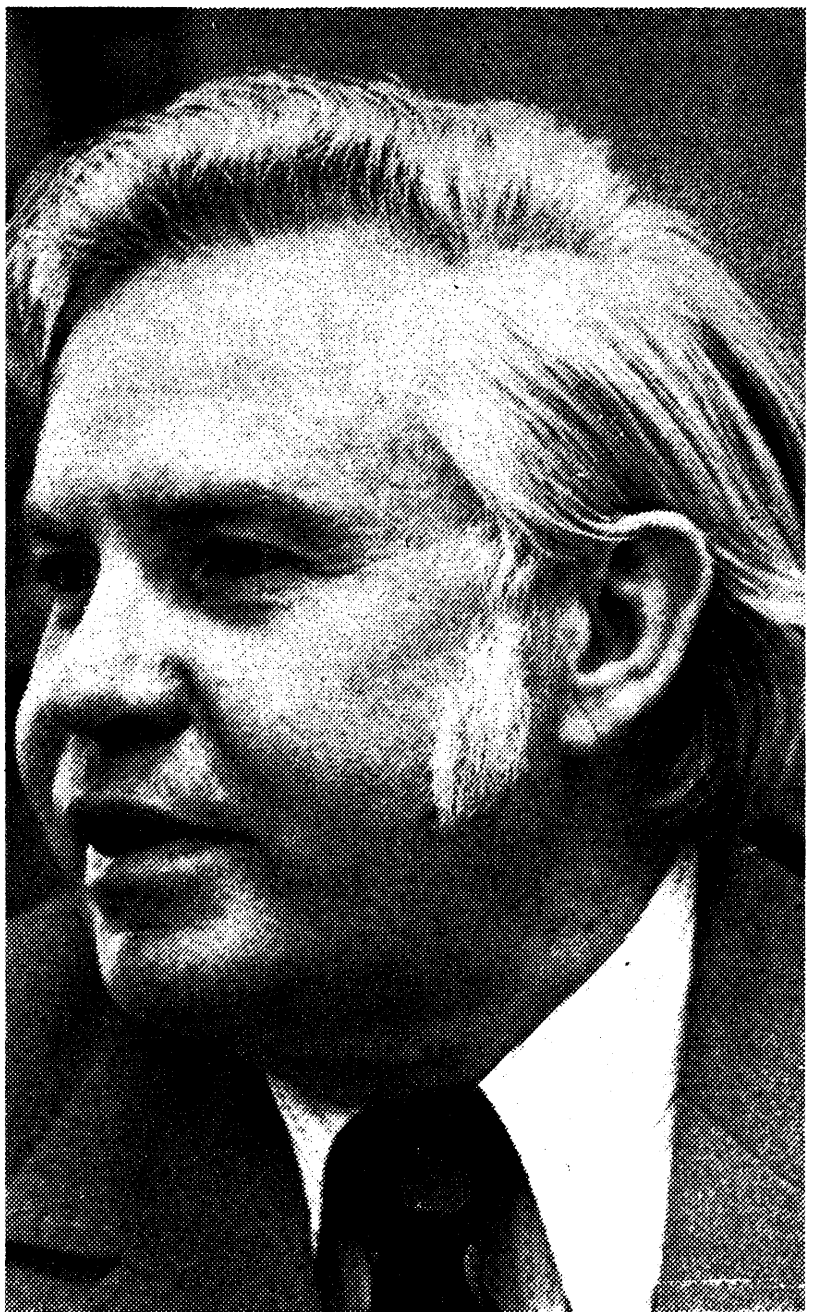
The governments of Iraq and Libya joined in the condemnations of the guerrillas and refused them asylum in their countries.

Since the Arab summit in Rabat last month, which recognized the PLO as the sole political representative of the Palestinians, Arafat has been trying to put on a respectable image. This was confirmed and strengthened by his trip to the UN.

Arafat is trying to use his newly-found respectability to set up a mini-state in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. But to carry this out, he has to smash the Palestinian groups which reflect the growing opposition to this deal. The Tunis events are the first steps in executing this treacherous policy.



# Who Is William Usery?



William J. Usery

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE**

For \$40,000 a year, Chief Federal Mediator William J. Usery will fly anywhere, handle three jobs at once, and stay up 24 hours at a stretch to find a formula that will break the back of any strike.

## Greyhound Drivers Angry At 2% Deal

**BY A REPORTER**

Amalgamated Transit Union leaders have called off the first national strike against Greyhound Bus Lines.

They have not released details of the proposed settlement.

Bruce Lozier, head of the 1400-member Local 1225 covering the Northern California to the Salt Lake City area, denounced the move, saying his men were "discouraged and very mad."

"We should have been permitted to vote on this package before going back to work," Lozier said.

He defied the international and released many details of the settlement, which provides an average wage increase of two percent for 16,000 drivers, baggage handlers, and terminal employees.

Hourly pay employees, who now make \$5.44 an hour, will receive 11¢ the first year and 10¢ in 1975 and 1976. The union had asked for 60¢ on a contract limited to 18 months, while the company had offered 10¢ total.

For long distance drivers, paid by the mile, the contract offer worked out by federal mediators provides a rate hike of 2.6

percent the first year and less in the second and third years. This means an increase of about one-tenth of one cent, less than the criminal \$.004 in the original company offer.

Lozier said he would definitely recommend rejection during the mail balloting over the next two weeks.

Long distance drivers had also pushed for a cut in the time of trip layovers, so they could not be forced to spend over 24 hours on the road for a 10-hour shift.

They are fighting to block a company move to change the pay schedule on charter trips. The ATU leadership collaborated with the government mediators in sending the workers back to the job so the strike would not cut into the profitable Thanksgiving weekend traffic.

By refusing to mobilize all transport workers in support of this strike, ATU leaders allowed Greyhound to arrange for Amtrak and other bus lines, including the scab-driven Trailways, to carry their passengers during the strike. Pickets were directed not to block passenger terminals or ticket counters.

ATU members must reject this sellout agreement and demand new strike action with the full support of all transportation unions.

corporatism, which cripples and ultimately destroys the independence of the trade unions, by turning them into appendages of the government which represents the capitalists.

Workers across the country must be alert to the dangers posed when Usery and his staff of "neutral" arbitrators step in.

There is no neutral ground between a plant gate and a picket line, and Usery has walked over to the side of the bosses, with the full support of the entire AFL-CIO leadership.

Usery, a Democrat, signed on with Nixon in 1968 as Assistant Secretary of Labor, working under Peter J. Brennan who was himself a construction union official.

**CONDITIONS**

Together, they imposed the full force of the Railway Labor Act to block a walkout by 13,000 railway signalmen in 1969.

This act, which bans strike action before federal arbitration, has been used to destroy thousands of railway jobs and allowed working conditions to deteriorate drastically.

This is the model Usery is pushing for the entire labor movement. He told the fifth Collective Bargaining Forum last spring that international unions should require fact-finding or arbitration in any dispute before granting strike authorization.

"Perhaps we should go further, and require mediation prior to any strike," he stated, citing the Railway Act.

The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service was set up under the Taft-Hartley Law. It gives the government broad powers to intervene in union affairs. Under Taft-Hartley, the FMCS can intervene or be called in, with the express responsibility to "prevent interruptions due to labor disputes."

Usery was awarded the directorship of the FMCS in 1972. Then, he and his team of 483 men, with the collaboration of

the AFL-CIO, drove down the average wage settlement from 7 percent to 5.3 percent, even lower than the wage control guidelines.

During the last year, Usery has had his hands full:

- He assisted I.W. Abel in developing the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which bans steel strikes. He is now working with Leonard Woodcock on a similar plan for auto.

- He worked out eleventh-hour settlements that prevented strike action in key areas, including the railroads, docks, postal service, electronics, trucking, and telephone.

- He held the United Rubber Workers Union contract to six percent, and ended the first strike in the 53-year history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America with a settlement of just one dollar over three years and a limited escalator clause.

- He worked out the sellout of the powerful shutdown by independent truckers during the gas shortage.

- In the Bay Area, Usery worked with the courts to break extended strikes by beer truck drivers and Sears employees and a virtual general strike of municipal workers.

- Usery is responsible for the 11-year contract which will slash the membership of the International Typographers Union at The New York Times and New York Daily News.

- Huge slashes in the work force are also threatened by Usery's settlements of the Whirlpool strike in Evansville, Indiana, the 14-week strike at National Airlines and the 11-week strike at United Parcel Service in New York.

**NUMBER THREE**

In November, 1973, just after he helped Woodcock ram

through industrywide auto contracts with three percent pay hikes and no protection against layoffs, Usery was offered a new position—the Number Three post in the AFL-CIO!

Usery was to head a new department, organization and Field Services, a position that would have put him into the running to replace George Meany as head of the organization representing 17 million American workers.

His responsibility was to concentrate on forcing state and local AFL-CIO groups to conform more closely to the policies of the parent body on such matters as relations with the government.

Usery ultimately turned down the job in order to accept a post as Nixon's Special Assistant for Labor Relations. He now appears to be top man in line as Ford's candidate for Secretary of Labor.

Workers must demand that the unions call a congress of labor to defend the basic rights of workers and the independence of the trade unions.

The policy of the labor movement must be:

- "Hands Off the Unions!" No government intervention in negotiations.

- No cooperation with the Labor Management Committee, the Federal Mediation Service, Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor laws. A congress of labor must build a labor party to carry forward this fight as an essential part of the struggle against unemployment and inflation.

This will mean a head-on battle with the trade union leaders, which are happy to hide behind Usery's fraudulent neutrality to impose government dictated contracts on the rank and file.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is the only alternative leadership in the unions that is fighting this union leadership to unite the working class behind socialist policies.



# exclusive report from workers press reporter in lisbon

# THE CRISIS GRIPS PORTUGAL

Portugal's economic crisis has reached a new and explosive stage which immediately threatens the lives of every worker and peasant.

The Provisional Government with its chief ally, the Stalinists of the Portuguese Communist Party, who have consistently been the advocates of the "democratic" revolution and the prosperous future that capitalism has in store, are now making preparations to intensify the attack on the working class.

Forces Movement, that is of the junta and the government itself, has openly criticized their vacillations over economic policy: "Something is not right at the Economic Ministry. There is a slowness of decisions. Hesitation."

Immediately rumors of a split were heard. Minister of the Economy Rui Vialar threatened to resign. "We are with the Minister of the Economy," replied Brigadier Vasco Goncalves, Prime Minister.

"There is no split." All Wednesday Mercedes Benzes drove in and out of the Presidential Palace for a flurry of meetings, but no statement has been issued.



Vasco Goncalves, Prime Minister

The ravages of worldwide inflation can no longer be concealed. The cost of living is rocketing. Although the government deliberately does not publish figures, estimates for 1973-1974 suggest that the price of meat is up 30 percent, cod 79 percent, wheat 100 percent, rice 42 percent, poultry 33 percent, sugar 75 percent, oil 100 percent. The state fund which was set up to subsidize and hold back price rises was abandoned after August because it was costing so much.

The balance of payments deficit must be enormous (figures aren't published, but this is now admitted in government circles) and in October Finance Minister Jose de Silva was told firmly by the American banks that there could be no loans and that Portugal must "help herself."

Since then Minister without Portfolio Victor Alves has been scratching around the EEC for loans and trade deals. It has been announced that Italy had promised help! A real case of the bankrupt helping the bankrupt... to the knackers yard!

No economic policies have yet issued from the Ministry of the Economy. There is absolute paralysis there, so much so that the weekly paper of the Armed

What economic measures are the AFM proposing? "We have to take exceptional measures in an exceptional situation. The fight is against inflation." And inflation is not to be dealt with through prices control but through "productive structures," i.e. increased productivity, speedup and increased exploitation of the working class and poor peasants.

But the determination of the working class to fight for their jobs, wages and conditions is the Provisional Government's crisis. How are they to do it?

All over Portugal, workers are resisting unemployment which is rising drastically. Strikes and occupations, though declared illegal, are daily occurrences. The government must prepare for brutal oppression and in this they have the full support of the Stalinists. On the "peaceful road to socialism" they are prepared to go to any lengths to defend bourgeois democracy and the rule of capital.

The AFM has the ideological formula. Anyone who does not accept their program is designated a "reactionary." Apart from Stalinists and social democratic puff balls, that means the working class and peasantry who come daily into conflict with the



Alvaro Cunhal, Communist Party leader.



Otelo Carvalho, COPCON head.

government.

The Stalinists echo the master. George Marchais, general secretary of the French CP, jettied into Lisbon to tell a Communist Party rally in the Sports Stadium to beware of "ultra-left groups" who do not have the interest of working people in the same way that the CP does.

"They are reactionaries," he declared in the one moment of passion in his two-hour long desiccated speech.

Behind the ideology must come the practice. Preparations are in hand to implement the program through force and deal with the dissenters. Right now soldiers from COPCON, the crack strike-breaking force under the leadership of Otelo Carvalho, are undergoing extensive training in urban guerrilla warfare. The enemy is always the "reactionaries."

But in a period of dual power where the working class emerges as an independent force, where the rule of capital is challenged by the rule of workers, the master faces many contradictions and fears. Not

least of these is the loyalty of the armed forces themselves. Among the conscripts there is an enormous move towards revolution, a refusal to obey orders and demands for the democratization of the army and the election of officers.


This last demand has sent the AFM in a frenzy of panic. Again in this week's issue of their paper, a long article is devoted to an explanation of how the election of officers is not in the best interests of democracy. That can only be served through a "hierarchy and discipline." There speaks the voice of capital.

Bourgeois democracy is the rule of capital over the working class. The state is the armed bodies of men who preserve that rule through force. That's the necessity of hierarchy and discipline. That's why the demands of the ranks pose such an enormous threat to the AFM, at a time when brutal oppression has to be launched against the working class to defend capital. The army must be whipped into line.

The sharp turn and deepening of the economic crisis must spell the end of compromise. The working class must be driven back to preserve the bourgeois state. That is what is behind the frantic activity behind the presidential doors, the real content of the so-called democratic revolution. This government of military, Stalinists and social democrats is rapidly being exposed as the naked instrument of bourgeois rule.

## STRUGGLE

There is not a single demand it can meet of the working class. For every issue today, every threatened layoff, every demand for wages, every wish for a decent home for all those who live in the appalling squalor of the shanty towns, every price increase, every ordinary worker's desire for a future, some kind of security, some decent standard of living is inextricably bound up with the struggle for power and the exposure and defeat of the Stalinists by the building of the Revolutionary Party.



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This volume, and especially its first and major section, "Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist," is a powerful refutation of this slander. The term "Samizdat" means literally in Russian "self-publishers." It refers to the clandestine writings of oppositionists to the Stalinist bureaucracy inside the Soviet Union, writings which are distributed one by one in manuscript.

In "Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist," the writer, who remains anonymous, tells of his experiences inside the Left Opposition in the middle and late 1920s and, later, his experience inside Stalin's concentration camps.

His goal is to provide a connection between the present generations of Soviet workers and intellectuals and the early history of the Bolshevik Party, a connection which the Stalinists have attempted to forcibly cut off.

After decades of prison camps, purges, show trials, tortures, and killings, it is remarkable that the memoirist retains the fullest clarity on all the fundamental political questions.

## Trotskyist

The memoirist stands, as he has always stood, as a Trotskyist. He rejects outright the Stalinist claim to represent the continuity of Leninism. He does not see the rise of Stalinism as merely some quirk or aberration. He stands with Lenin and Trotsky in viewing the history of the party, not one-sidedly as a straight-line development, but as a unity of opposites in which different sections of the party often come to represent the interests of different class forces. This came out most sharply in the months between February and October, 1917. Then, in order to prepare the party for the insurrection, Lenin had to wage the sharpest fight against the "Old Bolsheviks" like Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin who advocated critical support to Kerensky's bourgeois provisional government.

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He details Lenin's own fight against the developing bureaucracy in the last months of his life. He deals with Lenin's testament, in which Lenin calls for Stalin's removal as General Secretary of the party. The testament was suppressed by the Stalinists for 40 years.

Trotsky took up Lenin's fight on the basis of principles. He fought to assemble the cadres from within the party to lead the fight against the bureaucracy. He based the program of the Left Opposition on the principle that only the extension of the revolution internationally could guarantee the gains of October and eradicate the material basis of the bureaucracy.

## Isolation

Stalin, on the other hand, based his tendency increasingly on the defeat of the international revolution and the isolation of the worker's state. He subordinated the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-chek in China, thereby guaranteeing the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in 1925-1927.

The same policy led to the subordination of the British Communist Party to the trade union "lefts" of the TUC General Council during the 1926 British General Strike.

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"Having climbed to the platform, Trotsky bared his head. His speech flowed like a sad melody and struck us to the very quick. I had heard many of Trotsky's speeches, but there had never been one like that. He spoke of his friend, of a revolutionary who had devoted his ardent spirit to the cause of the revolution to the last drop of blood.

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Leon Trotsky



Joseph Stalin



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"This was the order of the army commander...We never forgot this order, this command, even in the darkest days of the Stalinist repression."

## Defeat

With each defeat on the international arena, the Stalinists stepped up their repression inside the Soviet Union. Trotsky's perspective at first was to reform the Bolshevik Party and the Comintern.

He explained that it was not permissible to abandon the Comintern until it was absolutely clear that it was dead as a revolutionary organization. Despite the Stalinist repression, censorship, and jailings, Trotsky fought to get every hearing possible inside the party.

The writer describes a party meeting addressed by Trotsky in November, 1927.

"Bureaucrats are lording it over the country. They are trampling on revolutionaries, and in condemning them, they say take that for 1918. You select leaders on the principle: If you support us, we'll elect you; if you don't, we'll drive you out and throw you in jail. You are travelling down the dangerous path of degeneration."

"Trotsky spoke rapidly. His voice would die down and then again resound like the clanging of a bell, so that his angry words flew through the hall and confounded the minds of the party functionaries. Like madmen, they would leap from their seats and cry out 'Enough! Shut his mouth! Down with him!'

"In the hall, an unbelievable noise arose and kept growing. The functionaries and molodchiks had gone mad and were banging, pounding, stamping their feet, yelling, and moving their chairs around. And they were creating these disruptions and disturbances in response to signals from the grotesque bullies sitting on the presidium, to their scornful laughs or their grimaces...They raise a tremendous commotion displaying extraordinary zeal.

"Some began to throw heavy books and objects at Trotsky on the rostrum. From

# SAM VOICE OF THE SOV OPP

by Frank Martin

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# MIZDAT— ICES THE VIET POSITION

Martin

Edited by George Saunders, 464 pages,  
Monad Press, New York, \$3.95.



of the Russian Revolution.

the hall, cries could be heard, 'Snake! Scum! Worthless trash! Put the snake up against the wall!'

## GPU

Trotsky once wrote: "Stalin revises Marx and Lenin, not with the theoretician's pen, but with the heel of the GPU."

The struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism was not a clash of personalities or a "power struggle," as many bourgeois commentators claim. It expressed the struggle between different class forces. While Stalin's policy of socialism in one country led, on the international arena, to the subordination of the Communist Parties to the capitalist parties, inside Russia it led to disastrous bureaucratic mismanagement.

The Left Opposition, as early as 1923, had proposed a turn away from the NEP, which Lenin had originally proposed as a temporary retreat, to a policy of industrialization and collectivization of the farms. Stalin and the bureaucracy laughed at this and continued to adapt to the NEP men in the towns and the kulaks in the countryside.

Only in late 1928, after expelling the Left Opposition from the party, did Stalin institute the first five year plan of industrialization and collectivization.

But this was done in such a bureaucratic manner, and without any regard for the millions of small peasants, that it resulted at first in a massive famine.

## Burden

The burden for these policies fell on the shoulders of the working class. While Stalin and his cohorts lived in luxury, workers were clamped with productivity quotas and saw their living standards slashed. The best elements of these workers formed the ranks of the Left Opposition.

Aleksandrova Chumakova, a factory inspector in the early 1930s and later an Oppositionist, describes the conditions of Soviet workers at the time:

"When I arrived at the factory, I was immediately struck by the horrifying unrelieved poverty of the workers. Gaunt from hunger, they were barely able to get to work and stand up at their machines for the allotted eight hours.

"Through the streets of the factory settlement, wandered the starving, emaciated children of the workers. They gathered around the garbage cans of the factory dining hall and waited for something edible to be thrown out.

"The textile workers would call their children into the dining hall and share with them the one bowl of soup allowed each worker per day. In the barracks where the workers lived, it was crowded and filthy.

"The workers had inherited these barracks from the former factory owner. There were none of the comforts of home in these barracks. Curtains were hung up to screen one family off from the next.

"Fifteen years had passed since the conquest of Soviet power (1917-1932), but the living conditions of the workers remained as of old."

The fact that the Soviet Union was able, after many years, to finally raise living standards and productivity of labor was a tribute, not to the merits of the bureaucracy, but to the power of a planned economy and nationalized property relations.

## Purge

In late 1928, Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata, and in 1929, to Turkey. Following this, Stalin carried through a massive purge of the Left Oppositionists. Thousands were herded like cattle onto freight cars and barges on the long trip to Siberia. Those that survived became inmates of the prison camps, the "Gulag Archipelago" as Solzhenitzyn has termed them.

Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed*: "In 1927, when the struggle reached an especially bitter stage, Stalin declared at a session of the Central Committee, addressing himself to the Opposition: 'Those cadres can be removed only by civil war!' What was a threat in Stalin's words became, thanks to a series of defeats of the European proletariat, a historic fact."

This civil war was carried out by the bureaucracy against the Opposition in the Moscow Trials of 1936 to 1938. These bloody purges which resulted in the physical murder of the entire generation of Bolsheviks is the best proof of the absolute incompatibility of Leninism with Stalinism.

But the opposition to the Stalinist regime did not stop, even under this reign of terror. Throughout Siberia, the Trotskyists maintained their ranks and were able to organize demonstrations against prison conditions and against Stalinism.

The courage of the Oppositionists was not simply a personal quality. It stemmed, above all, from a profound scientific understanding of the nature of Stalinism and the responsibility of the Oppositionists as the continuators of Leninism.

The most outstanding of these actions was the hunger strike organized by the Trotskyists at the Vorkuta prison camp in October, 1936.

An eyewitness account of this strike, written by a Menshevik with the initials M.B., is included in this volume.

"In the autumn of 1936, soon after the frame-up trials against the leaders of the Opposition, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and the others, the entire group of 'Orthodox' Trotskyists at the mine, got together to confer with one another.

"Opening the meeting, Gevorkian (a leading Trotskyist at the camp) addressed those present: 'Comrades! Before beginning our meeting, I ask you to honor the memory of our comrades, guides, and leaders who have died as martyrs at the hands of the Stalinist traitors to the revolution'.

"The entire assembly stood up. Then, in a brief and very trenchant speech, Gevorkian explained that it was necessary to examine and resolve the key problem: what should be done and how should they conduct themselves from now on.

"It is now evident that the group of Stalinist adventurers have completed their counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in our country. All the progressive conquests of our revolution are in mortal danger...The Party and the whole people are subjected to surveillance and to summary justice by the police apparatus. The predictions and the direct fears of our Opposition are fully confirmed. The nation slides irresistibly into the Thermidorian swamp...

"No compromise is possible with the Stalinist traitors and hangmen of the revolution. Remaining proletarian revolu-

tionaries to the very end, we should not entertain any illusion about the fate awaiting us...We are left with only one means of struggle in this unequal battle: the hunger strike.

"With a group of comrades we have already drawn up a list of our demands of which many of you are already informed. Therefore, I now propose to you that we discuss them together and make a decision."

## Demands

In collaboration with Trotskyists at other camps, the Vorkuta group decided on five demands, including the end of secret police trials against political oppositionists and the improvement of prison conditions.

M.B. writes: "Three weeks later, October 27, 1936, the massive hunger strike of the political prisoners began, a strike without precedent and a model under Soviet camp conditions. In the morning, at reveille, in almost every barrack, prisoners announced themselves on strike. The barracks occupied by the Trotskyists participated 100 percent in the movement. Even the orderlies struck."

For four months, the Trotskyists continued their strike. They held their ranks together despite numerous attempts by Stalin's secret police (then known by the initials NKVD) to isolate them.

In March, 1937, after 132 days on strike, the NKVD telegraphed Vorkuta: "Inform the hunger strikers held in the Vorkuta mines that all their demands will be satisfied."

This was a stunning victory, but one that Stalin could certainly not ignore without taking his revenge. Within two weeks, a number of the leading participants of the strike, including Sergei Sedov, Trotsky's son, were transferred to Moscow and never heard from again.

"At the end of March, a list of twenty-five was announced, among them Gevorkian, Virapov, Slavin (all Trotskyist leaders of the hunger strike), etc....To each was delivered a kilo of bread and orders to prepare himself for a new convoy.

"After fond farewells to their friends, they left the barracks, and the convoy departed. Fifteen or twenty minutes later, not far away, about half a kilometer, on the steep bank of the little river Verkhnyaya Vorkuta, an abrupt volley resounded, followed by isolated and disorderly shots; then all grew quiet again. Soon, the convoy's escort passed back near the barracks. And it was clear to all in what sort of convoy the prisoners had been sent."

## Executions

The executions lasted for two months, sometimes twice a day. By the end, nearly the entire contingent of Trotskyists at the camp had been killed.

But this was not the end of Bolshevik opposition to Stalinism. In a sense, it was only the beginning. Though the founding cadres perished, the movement lived on in the cadres Trotsky was able to recruit to the Fourth International. And though, for decades, Soviet workers and youth were cut off from their own history, opposition to Stalinism persisted.

On September 29 of this year, 10,000 people rallied to an art exhibition in Moscow in defiance of the Brezhnev regime. This was the biggest public demonstration inside Russia since Joffe's funeral.

Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program*: "The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—this is precisely what, from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique, constitutes 'Trotskyism'. It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International."

Now, after years of forced isolation from the mass of workers, the sections of the Fourth International are openly fighting for leadership of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries. The revolutionary struggles of workers in Western Europe and America will ignite an enormous wave of opposition by the Soviet working class against the bureaucracy. It is the task of the Fourth International to lead this opposition in a political revolution against the bureaucracy and to bring the Soviet Union back on the road to socialism.



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He explained that it was not permissible to abandon the Comintern until it was absolutely clear that it was dead as a revolutionary organization. Despite the Stalinist repression, censorship, and jailings, Trotsky fought to get every hearing possible inside the party.

The writer describes a party meeting addressed by Trotsky in November, 1927.

"Bureaucrats are lording it over the country. They are trampling on revolutionaries, and in condemning them, they say take that for 1918. You select leaders on the principle: If you support us, we'll elect you; if you don't, we'll drive you out and throw you in jail. You are travelling down the dangerous path of degeneration."

"Trotsky spoke rapidly. His voice would die down and then again resound like the clanging of a bell, so that his angry words flew through the hall and confounded the minds of the party functionaries. Like madmen, they would leap from their seats and cry out 'Enough! Shut his mouth! Down with him!'

"In the hall, an unbelievable noise arose and kept growing. The functionaries and molochiks had gone mad and were banging, pounding, stamping their feet, yelling, and moving their chairs around. And they were creating these disruptions and disturbances in response to signals from the grotesque bullies sitting on the presidium, to their scornful laughs or their grimaces...They raise a tremendous commotion displaying extraordinary zeal.

"Some began to throw heavy books and objects at Trotsky on the rostrum. From

# SAMIZDAT— VOICES OF THE SOVIET OPPOSITION

by Frank Martin

Edited by George Saunders, 464 pages,  
Monad Press, New York, \$3.95.

"Through the streets of the factory settlement, wandered the starving, emaciated children of the workers. They gathered around the garbage cans of the factory dining hall and waited for something edible to be thrown out.

"The textile workers would call their children into the dining hall and share with them the one bowl of soup allowed each worker per day. In the barracks where the workers lived, it was crowded and filthy.

"The workers had inherited these barracks from the former factory owner. There were none of the comforts of home in these barracks. Curtains were hung up to screen one family off from the next.

"Fifteen years had passed since the conquest of Soviet power (1917-1932), but the living conditions of the workers remained as of old."

The fact that the Soviet Union was able, after many years, to finally raise living standards and productivity of labor was a tribute, not to the merits of the bureaucracy, but to the power of a planned economy and nationalized property relations.

### Purge

In late 1928, Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata, and in 1929, to Turkey. Following this, Stalin carried through a massive purge of the Left Oppositionists. Thousands were herded like cattle onto freight cars and barges on the long trip to Siberia. Those that survived became inmates of the prison camps, the "Gulag Archipelago" as Solzhenitzyn has termed them.

Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed*: "In 1927, when the struggle reached an especially bitter stage, Stalin declared at a session of the Central Committee, addressing himself to the Opposition: 'Those cadres can be removed only by civil war!' What was a threat in Stalin's words became, thanks to a series of defeats of the European proletariat, a historic fact."

This civil war was carried out by the bureaucracy against the Opposition in the Moscow Trials of 1936 to 1938. These bloody purges which resulted in the physical murder of the entire generation of Bolsheviks is the best proof of the absolute incompatibility of Leninism with Stalinism.

But the opposition to the Stalinist regime did not stop, even under this reign of terror. Throughout Siberia, the Trotskyists maintained their ranks and were able to organize demonstrations against prison conditions and against Stalinism.

The courage of the Oppositionists was not simply a personal quality. It stemmed, above all, from a profound scientific understanding of the nature of Stalinism and the responsibility of the Oppositionists as the continuators of Leninism.

The most outstanding of these actions was the hunger strike organized by the Trotskyists at the Vorkuta prison camp in October, 1936.

An eyewitness account of this strike, written by a Menshevik with the initials M.B., is included in this volume.

"In the autumn of 1936, soon after the frame-up trials against the leaders of the Opposition, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and the others, the entire group of 'Orthodox' Trotskyists at the mine, got together to confer with one another.

"Opening the meeting, Gevorkian (a leading Trotskyist at the camp) addressed those present: 'Comrades! Before beginning our meeting, I ask you to honor the memory of our comrades, guides, and leaders who have died as martyrs at the hands of the Stalinist traitors to the revolution.'

"The entire assembly stood up. Then, in a brief and very trenchant speech, Gevorkian explained that it was necessary to examine and resolve the key problem: what should be done and how should they conduct themselves from now on.

"It is now evident that the group of Stalinist adventurers have completed their counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in our country. All the progressive conquests of our revolution are in mortal danger...The Party and the whole people are subjected to surveillance and to summary justice by the police apparatus. The predictions and the direct fears of our Opposition are fully confirmed. The nation slides irresistibly into the Thermidorian swamp..."

"No compromise is possible with the Stalinist traitors and hangmen of the revolution. Remaining proletarian revolu-

tionaries to the very end, we should not entertain any illusion about the fate awaiting us...We are left with only one means of struggle in this unequal battle: the hunger strike.

"With a group of comrades we have already drawn up a list of our demands of which many of you are already informed. Therefore, I now propose to you that we discuss them together and make a decision."

### Demands

In collaboration with Trotskyists at other camps, the Vorkuta group decided on five demands, including the end of secret police trials against political oppositionists and the improvement of prison conditions.

M.B. writes: "Three weeks later, October 27, 1936, the massive hunger strike of the political prisoners began, a strike without precedent and a model under Soviet camp conditions. In the morning, at reveille, in almost every barrack, prisoners announced themselves on strike. The barracks occupied by the Trotskyists participated 100 percent in the movement. Even the orderlies struck."

For four months, the Trotskyists continued their strike. They held their ranks together despite numerous attempts by Stalin's secret police (then known by the initials NKVD) to isolate them.

In March, 1937, after 132 days on strike, the NKVD telegraphed Vorkuta: "Inform the hunger strikers held in the Vorkuta mines that all their demands will be satisfied."

This was a stunning victory, but one that Stalin could certainly not ignore without taking his revenge. Within two weeks, a number of the leading participants of the strike, including Sergei Sedov, Trotsky's son, were transferred to Moscow and never heard from again.

"At the end of March, a list of twenty-five was announced, among them Gevorkian, Virapov, Slavin (all Trotskyist leaders of the hunger strike), etc...To each was delivered a kilo of bread and orders to prepare himself for a new convoy.

"After fond farewells to their friends, they left the barracks, and the convoy departed. Fifteen or twenty minutes later, not far away, about half a kilometer, on the steep bank of the little river Verkhnyaya Vorkuta, an abrupt volley resounded, followed by isolated and disorderly shots; then all grew quiet again. Soon, the convoy's escort passed back near the barracks. And it was clear to all in what sort of convoy the prisoners had been sent."

### Executions

The executions lasted for two months, sometimes twice a day. By the end, nearly the entire contingent of Trotskyists at the camp had been killed.

But this was not the end of Bolshevik opposition to Stalinism. In a sense, it was only the beginning. Though the founding cadres perished, the movement lived on in the cadres Trotsky was able to recruit to the Fourth International. And though, for decades, Soviet workers and youth were cut off from their own history, opposition to Stalinism persisted.

On September 29 of this year, 10,000 people rallied to an art exhibition in Moscow in defiance of the Brezhnev regime. This was the biggest public demonstration inside Russia since Joffe's funeral.

Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program*: "The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—this is precisely what, from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique, constitutes 'Trotskyism'. It fears with a deadly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International."

Now, after years of forced isolation from the mass of workers, the sections of the Fourth International are openly fighting for leadership of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries. The revolutionary struggles of workers in Western Europe and America will ignite an enormous wave of opposition by the Soviet working class against the bureaucracy. It is the task of the Fourth International to lead this opposition in a political revolution against the bureaucracy and to bring the Soviet Union back on the road to socialism.



**BY A LOCAL 2627 MEMBER**

**NEW YORK, NY—**  
The 1,510 layoffs planned here for December 1 expose the plan behind this year's contract negotiations between District Council 37 of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees and the city.

Victor Gotbaum's leadership of DC 37 has left each local isolated in its fight for a better contract, since the expiration of the social workers contract, Local 371, in January.

On July 1, the major locals, including the 60,000-strong Local 1549 clerical workers began negotiations one at a time with the city.

The city refused to bargain with Electronic Data Processing Personnel, Local 2627 until October.

These separate negotiations were designed to weaken DC 37 in the fight against the city. Not once did the District Council leaders or the leaders in any of the locals propose a united fight for higher wages and against layoffs, which had already begun.

At the same time that each local was forced to fight alone, the city was putting forward basically the same demands for every city worker.

**SHIFT WORK**

Local 1549, with the full cooperation of its officials, has been forced to accept shift work in the welfare centers. Local 2627 has been told by the city that not one of its 21 demands relating to protection against layoffs, shift work, and out of title work, is negotiable.

Not one local has won wage increases to meet the cost of living. The maximum won has been 19 percent over two years.

The major locals have been tied to the settlement foisted on the Transit Workers Union (TWU) in May—eight percent the first year, six percent the second, and a fraudulent "cost of living" increase.

Just after the Local 371 settlement in October, Gotbaum revealed his real treachery. The productivity and no-strike clauses written one at a time into the local contracts were part of Gotbaum's agreement with Beame to set up a citywide productivity council.

The pattern behind the summer of extended negotiations



Victor Gotbaum (far left), Executive Director of DC 37 applauds Hugh Carey (second from right) along with other union leaders.

# Gotbaum Splits Locals In District Council 37

now became clear. With the major locals signed, a strike by any local in DC 37 would be difficult to begin.

The productivity council would now be used to slash jobs, speed up workers, and continue wage cuts. This is being carried out through shift working, the reorganization of the Bureau of Child Welfare and the Department of Social Services, and the new layoffs.

**TALKS**

A productivity council is not set up on the spur of the moment. Gotbaum and other DC 37 officials have been involved in private talks with the Beame Administration all along. They have continued the support they gave him in the last election, and endorsed Hugh Carey for New York State governor.

The strategy of Gotbaum and those who run the DC 37 locals is to tie the union to the government's plans to force workers to pay for the bankrupt economy.

At the same time that Gotbaum is meeting with the city to arrange productivity, layoffs, and wage cuts, the city is meeting with top bankers to do the same thing.

A halfdozen bankers and brokers meet monthly with New York City Controller Goldin in the Technical Debt Advisory Committee. As one city official put it:

"I can imagine a day coming when the bankers say to us—like they did in the depression—that they won't lend us any more money until we change our ways."

In 1932, with city taxes in default, the Bankers Agreement was signed between the city and its financial overlords. The banks agreed to bail out the city on the condition that budget cuts, unpaid holidays, and layoffs be imposed on city workers. The cuts came and so did the loans.

Today, the crisis is much deeper. In the 1930s, millions of

dollars were involved in city bonds and loans. Now, the capitalists extract \$1.41 billion annually from the city, in interest and principal.

In 1975, it will be \$1.798 billion. The city pursues the disastrous policy of selling bonds and floating loans to pay for current expenses such as library books and workers' salaries.

**DEBTS**

The city has over \$8 billion in debts, is forced to pay a premium 8 percent interest on its taxfree obligations, and gobbles up one-fourth of all money invested in taxfree debts each year.

The bankers are already demanding that the city destroy jobs and services, and provide the capital needed to keep their paper investments afloat.

Local 2627 has been key in the plans of the city. The computer work done by this local is necessary if other city employees are to be laid off. Among the new

projects is one of the largest computer terminal operations in the country. Over 300 cathode ray tubes (resembling a tv screen) are set up in 65 welfare centers.

To get information on any client, clerks in the center simply type in the client's case number or other information. The desired case file appears on the screen. This technique eliminates hundreds of file clerks, typists, clerical supervisors, and others who in turn had eliminated higher-paid social workers.

Most of the manual handling of cases is replaced by simply entering the information directly through a typewriter-like keyboard on the terminal itself.

Other projects being worked on by Local 2627 members include schemes to examine every payroll to find workers who are also on welfare, and deny them these benefits.

District Council 37 and the city had originally planned to avoid a strike by Local 2627 by offering the eight to six percent deal accepted by the Transit Workers Union.

**DISENFRANCHISE**

The city is offering Local 2627 even less than the other locals—3 or 4 percent—and wants to disenfranchise the local's members in the Fire Department and the Board of Education.

The original contract demands are a 40 percent wage increase over two years, the right to work within title, civil service protection, no shiftwork or speedup, and job security. The local must now mandate the bargaining committee to strike all productivity and no-strike provisions from the contract and fight for these basic demands.

The Committee for New Leadership in SSEU Local 371 and members of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in other DC 37 locals are fighting for a policy of strike action by every local affected by layoffs.

At the same time the locals are mobilized, we demand that the local union leaders raise the call for a general strike of the entire District Council.

A call for a general strike of all municipal workers must be raised in the Central Labor Council.

A campaign directed to the ranks of the entire District Council must be initiated by Pat Knight and other local leaders who call for a DC 37-wide strike against layoffs in order to force Gotbaum to act.

DC 37 members must demand that AFSCME raise the call for a congress of labor and a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

**MINERS STRIKE AND THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY**  
Mon., Dec. 2  
7:30 pm  
Downtown YMCA  
30 S. 9th St.  
Mpls.  
\$1.00 trade unionists  
.50 youth & unemployed  
Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

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**ECONOMIC SLUMP, THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY AND THE TASKS OF STUDENTS**  
Coffman Union  
University of Minnesota  
Room 351  
Tues., Dec. 3  
12 noon  
Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

**CALL A CONGRESS OF LABOR**  
Main Public Library  
East 3rd & St. Clair  
Thurs., Dec. 5  
7 pm  
Dayton, Ohio  
Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

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**CALL AN EMERGENCY UAW CONFERENCE**  
December 4, 7:30 pm  
St. Phillip Aeri Church  
Dickerson & Charlevoix  
Detroit  
Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

## Sears Tries To Sell Off Inventory

**BY A REPORTER**  
**NEW YORK, NY—**  
Sears, Roebuck and Co., the largest retailer in the country, announced a 28.5 percent drop in profits for the third quarter.

Trading of Sears shares was halted for several hours after the announcement, and stock prices dropped to the lowest point in 10 years by the end of the day.

The giant Woolworth's chain; the Associated Dry Goods Corporation, which owns Lord & Taylor; and Carter Hawley Hale Sales, which owns Bergdorf Goodman were among other retailers showing profit losses.

A Sears official predicted that the poor showing would continue, saying that customer spending is "lackluster" because of the recession.

He said that the profit loss, which amounts to 10.6 percent since January, was caused by lower profit margins, high leasing costs, and a 43.4 percent increase in interest costs.

The main factor is the tremendous decrease in buying that is beginning to show up on the financial ledgers. With the official inflation rate near 14 percent, the 8 percent increase in dollar sales at Sears represents an actual decrease of at least 6 percent.

Sears has been forced to try and dump huge orders of new merchandise onto other retailers or back into the laps of the suppliers.

**CUTBACKS**  
Inventories for the third quarter stand 16.8 percent higher than this time last year, in spite of severe cutbacks in orders placed by some retail and catalog departments.

Sears has asked major suppliers to cancel orders or find other customers for them. They have also contacted other stores on their own with cut-rate deals.

They tried, for instance, to find a purchaser who would pay four million dollars for a footwear inventory worth six million dollars. Large overstocks are also reported in fashions, underwear, and many domestic items.

**COSTS**  
Sears is the main customer of many of these manufacturers. To delay or divert orders for Sears will add to their costs and also mean delays in payment that could force many of them to the point where they cannot meet their own debts.

Especially in the textile companies, already hard-hit by declining orders and cash flow problems, these actions will mean massive new layoffs and possibly closure for many firms.



**BY DAVID NORTH**  
**The United Mine Workers strike has already demonstrated that the defense of the living standards and basic rights of the working class is inseparable from the struggle to drive the bureaucracy out of the trade unions and construct a revolutionary leadership.**

Within two weeks of the shutdown of the coal fields, the demands of the miners for a decent wage have brought them into collision with the Miller leadership of the UMW.

The union leadership has been engaged in non-stop negotiations with the Ford government to force the miners back to work. Carrying out the corporatist policies which he advocates as a member of President Ford's Labor-Management Committee, Miller is determined to ram through a contract dictated to the UMW by the government.

Members of the bargaining council of the UMW have been given a second reading of the contract they originally rejected by Treasury Secretary William Simon and Federal Mediator William Usery, both of whom gave instructions to Arnold Miller on ending the strike.

The miners strike has posed the most fundamental issues before the working class. Workers must now confront the intervention of the state in every struggle that they take up. Every contract battle and every fight to defend the trade unions is a political struggle.

Workers cannot avoid the struggle against the capitalist government. The task of breaking with the ruling class of the Democratic and Republican parties and building a labor party as the political weapon of the working class to fight for power is posed with the greatest urgency.

#### STRUGGLE

The fight for the political mobilization of the working class against the government requires the building of a revolutionary leadership through the recruitment of workers into the Workers League and their training as Marxists. This revolutionary leadership can be built only in the most tenacious struggle against Miller and all wings of the trade union bureaucracy.

Miller, Meany, and the rest of the trade union leadership are determined to head off political struggle against the capitalists and to help the ruling class impose upon workers the burden of the economic crisis.

It is precisely at that moment when the working class comes forward against the bureaucracy, as in the miners strike, that centrist forces like the Socialist Workers Party emerge openly as apologists for the official leadership.

This is the meaning of SWP leader Carol Lipman's defense of bureaucracy in the midst of the miners strike. She writes in the pages of *International Socialist Review* that "the ranks as a whole must be mobilized in struggle, and that requires a struggle unambiguously directed against the class enemy: the bosses. That means concentrating our fire on the employers, not on the union officials."

Lipman adds that "militants

should not attempt to bypass the bureaucrats in preparing such a struggle; the bureaucrats should be forced to take on the responsibility implied by their formal leadership position."

#### SCAB

What is becoming clear this week to thousands of miners is that the very force preventing the unity of the ranks against the employers and the government is the UMW leadership. Miners have seen how Miller actually sanctioned the use of scab coal from the strip mines to weaken the strike and then attacked the ranks for insisting on a big wage increase.

Lipman's talk about an "unambiguous" struggle is in reality a defense of Miller, and makes clear the reactionary role

ists established themselves as cheerleaders for the bureaucracy.

When Miller returned to the bargaining council with the government dictated contract, the SWP reported the terms of the settlement favorably.

The SWP's support of this contract places it in league with the UMW leadership's betrayal of the miners.

#### RALLIED

The determination and strength of the miners in this strike now creates the conditions for the working class to deal a massive blow against the Ford government and all the plans of the ruling class to impose wage controls and implement massive unemployment. The entire working class can be

unions. With the direct backing of the trade union bureaucracy, the SWP encourages the building of a force inside the unions which is seeking more posts for women within the bureaucracy.

When Lipman talks about "Building CLUW" or a "class struggle left wing," it is from the standpoint of throwing roadblocks in the path of the working class as it seeks to break from the bureaucracy and of opposing the building of a revolutionary party.

The heart of this liquidationist position is expressed when Lipman writes, "The defeat of the Meanys and the Shankers and all the rest will be a byproduct of the workers' struggle, a problem solved in passing as workers engage in real class battles."

are in enormous contradiction to the objective tasks posed to the working class by the crisis. This contradiction creates the conditions for the building of a revolutionary leadership.

This requires the intervention of the party, which as the conscious element of the working class must conflict with its spontaneous movement. It is only through this unity and conflict of opposites that the advanced workers, who necessarily come forward at first as trade union militants, can be won over to the party and developed as revolutionary leaders.

#### WORSHIPPING

Lipman's worshipping of the spontaneous experience of the working class is out and out pragmatism which denies the conflict between theory and practice through which knowledge of the objective movement of matter in society, that is, the class struggle, is derived.

Her idealist method leaves the working class dominated by bourgeois thinking and thus props up bureaucracy. This is the basis for the collaboration of the SWP with the trade union leaders and the denial of the need to build a revolutionary leadership.

The opportunist degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, revealed so clearly in its adaptation to the reactionary American trade union leadership, is rooted in its betrayal of Trotskyism.

Its desertion of the International Committee and unprincipled reunification with the Pabloite revisionists in 1964 represented the abandonment of the struggle to construct a revolutionary party. The SWP rejected the most basic teaching of Lenin that the victory of the socialist revolution is possible only under the leadership of a Marxist party, built through a struggle against bourgeois thinking within the working class.

Pabloism stands for the physical liquidation of the international Trotskyist movement. On the eve of the great revolutionary struggles of the working class against the Stalinist bureaucracies in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary in the 1950s, the Pabloite tendency called for the Trotskyist cadres to merge with the existing Stalinist parties.

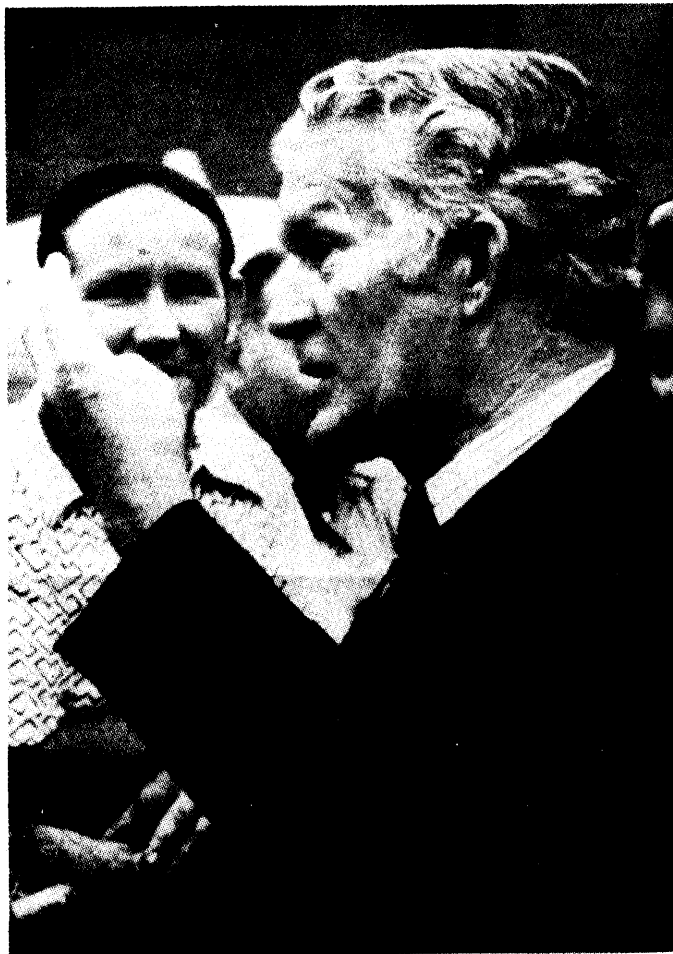
This revisionism writes off the working class as a revolutionary force and states that through mass pressure, the Stalinists and trade unions can be moved to the left.

The centrism of the SWP represents the pressure of the ruling class and bureaucracy within the workers movement to head off the movement of the working class.

The struggle against centrism will be waged by the Workers League. The International Committee of the Fourth International, with which we are in political sympathy, stands on Point 9 of Lenin's "Terms of Admission into the Comintern":

"It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International to conduct systematic and unflagging communist work in the trade union, cooperative societies and other mass workers' organizations. Communist cells should be formed in the trade unions, and, by their sustained and unflagging work, win the unions over to the communist cause. In every phase of their day-to-day activity, these cells must unmask the treachery of the social patriots and the vacillations of the 'Centrists.' The cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole."

# The SWP Bows to the Labor Bureaucracy



Arnold Miller

that the SWP now plays in the labor movement.

The relation of the SWP to Arnold Miller during the past year and since the strike began illustrates how centrists provide the bureaucrats with a left cover to prevent them from being exposed.

Never has the SWP spoken out on Miller's connections with the government, which date back to the campaign against Boyle when he relied upon the Labor Department. As the strike began, the SWP stated explicitly in *The Militant* that Miller would fight for the interests of the miners.

Along with such reactionary publications as *Time Magazine* and in consort with the Stalinists of the Communist Party, the SWP stepped up its campaign to praise Miller as a rank and file leader as the strike date approached.

One day after the strike began, Peter Camejo of the SWP fired off a letter to "Dear President Miller" in which the revision-

rallied around the miners to break up the Ford government and launch the fight for socialist policies to defend all workers, through the building of a labor party.

As far as the SWP is concerned, its alliance with the bureaucracy requires that the fight for the labor party be dropped entirely. Lipman does not raise the demand for the building of a labor party. She calls merely for less "emphasis and reliance on the Democratic Party."

In order to prevent the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class, the SWP calls for the formation of centrist forces inside the trade unions allied to a section of the bureaucracy.

Carol Lipman states: "One of the most significant developments in the union movement has been the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW)." Here the SWP transplants its glorification of middle class feminism to the trade

To state that the task of destroying bureaucracy will be solved "in passing" is to deny the need for a Marxist party. In place of the conscious struggle against all forms of bourgeois thinking in the working class through which the revolutionary party is built, the working class will, according to Lipman, construct the alternative leadership solely through its spontaneous actions.

This is a total rejection of the position of Lenin and Trotsky that the working class is incapable of resolving the crisis of leadership spontaneously. Revolutionary leadership can be built only through the struggle of the party in conflict with the spontaneous trade union consciousness of the working class.

Lipman glorifies the spontaneous practice of the working class by claiming that it automatically resolves the crisis of leadership. In fact, the limitations of trade union militancy, which is essentially reformist,



# Greece Enters New Period Of Class Battles

ON THE SPOT REPORT FROM ROYSTON BULL

**ATHENS, Nov. 22—** The steady increase in incidents between workers and the authorities in Greece show clearly how the capitalist crisis has placed the major classes on a collision course.

The retreat of the junta in July and the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy following Sunday's elections has not removed the fundamental contradiction over jobs and living standards.

Hospital workers, printworkers and others are moving towards strike action in pursuit of wage claims.

At the same time, attempts to repress the mass movement have been stepped up.

Militant workers who try to organize trade unions are regularly victimized and fired. Strikes to prevent such firings have become a feature.

Political groups such as the Workers Internationalist League, Greek section of the Fourth International, are having their paper sellers harassed by police.

Karamanlis, whose reputation as the competent politician who alone could take over from the discredited junta won him 55 percent of the votes, is already giving evidence of the harsh anti-working class line he is bound to follow.

His cabinet retains the same three ministers in charge of the army, the police, and the secret service who have protected these forces from popular justice since the Provisional Government came in in July.

Some show trials are likely in order to appease popular demands, but the brutal anti-working class character of these bodies of armed men defending the capitalist order will remain intact.

Staying on as Foreign Minister is Bitsios, who was ambassador to the United Nations for the colonels and has been described as a "puppet of the junta" even by right-wing newspapers.

Commenting on tortures in Greece by the dictatorship in 1970, Bitsios is quoted as having said:

"There is a need to sacrifice human rights in the short run for a long-range defeat of communism."

But the massive demonstrations that have been taking place all week at the Athens Polytechnic, as people have come from all over Greece bringing flowers to commemorate last year's rising, are a warning to the ruling class.

The repressive nature of the Greek capitalist state has been identified and the masses have given their answer—insurrection.

The size of the crowds which have commemorated the three-day occupation crushed by the tanks last November, and the fact that they broke the electoral law banning gatherings of more than five people in order to continue their demonstrations on Polytechnic Day itself, last Sunday, show how things have changed.

All that is now necessary is to build a new leadership among all sections of working people to replace the bankrupt Communist Party, which is intent on propping up at all costs the very same capitalist democracy which led to the military dictatorship.

This new leadership is the Workers Internationalist League.



Both pictures are from the recent demonstrations by Greek workers and youth commemorating the uprising at the Athens Polytechnic one year ago.

## Cutbacks Hit NYC Colleges

Two campuses of the City University of New York have announced the effects of Mayor Beame's \$24 million budget cut.

Queens College has been asked to eliminate \$6.4 million from its \$50 million budget. Ninety percent of the budget is spent on personnel, so any major cutback will mean a sharp reduction in classes.

College officials presented proposed cutbacks that would include elimination of all equipment purchases and repairs, and \$150,000 from the physical plant maintenance budget.

Another \$250,000 would be cut by ordering no new or replacement books for the library and allowing all periodical subscriptions to expire.

All nonacademic supplies would be subject to a purchasing freeze unless students bear the cost themselves. All supplies now on order would be cancelled.

Travel expenses would be completely eliminated, including recruitment trips that have been important in "affirmative action," programs of minority student recruitment.

### NONPROFESSIONAL

Nonprofessional staff would be cut severely, with \$530,000 cut from the payroll in this area. This would mean firing all student aides (which would force many students out of school) and all graduate assistants. Many temporary secretaries and some college assistants would also be fired.

Among the professional staff members, most if not all part-time faculty members would be cut. Part-time faculty makes up three-quarters of the night school staff. This move alone poses the elimination of about 500 night school courses. In addition, a complete hiring freeze would be imposed for at least the spring semester.

Brooklyn College President John Kneller has said that the mayor's request for a \$2.6 million slashing of funds would be "impossible to carry out."

One of the programs to be axed is the SEEK program, which has financed the education of thousands of working class youth during the last decade.

The Young Socialists is launching a campaign to fight these cutbacks by uniting students and the college staff with the entire city labor movement, which faces layoffs of up to 33,000 workers.

## GIs Rebel In Germany

Seventeen American soldiers face mutiny charges for continuing to strike for the right to choose their own officers.

Twenty-seven members of the 123-man Battery C, 94th Artillery, Berlin Brigade refused to report for duty November 25 after the only black soldier in the unit was transferred for refusing to shave his beard.

The striking soldiers drew up 15 demands, declaring that "all people in leadership positions will be removed if they show or have prejudice against race

and rank." They are also demanding that "all new people in leadership positions will take charge only after our approval."

This is said to be the first army strike in Europe in over two years.

The real fear among army officials of this kind of revolt was shown when an officer answered the list of demands by reading out the official regulations on mutiny. The officer ended by stating that the ultimate penalty for a mutiny charge is death by hanging.

## Cleveland Muslims Convicted In Frameup

BY A REPORTER CLEVELAND, Ohio—

Three young members of the Sunni Muslims have been convicted on trumped up charges of attempted murder, robbery, and aggravated burglary.

Larry Johnson, Craig Fowler, and Charles Jordan were given sentences of 28 to 100 years by Judge J.J. Nagra. A fourth defendant Asa Harris was acquitted.

The charges stemmed from the shootout in East Cleveland May 29 in which a massive array of police armed with military equipment, including an armored vehicle, attacked the three Muslims.

The jury only came to a verdict after 65 hours of deli-

berations and threats from the judge to keep them out indefinitely rather than call a new trial.

All questions concerning the activities of Andrew "Schoolboy" Jackson and his involvement with narcotics traffic were ruled out of order. Jackson was allegedly "kidnapped" by the three men on the night of the shootout.

A second ruling rejected any testimony concerning Jackson's connections to the police. There is no doubt now that the East Cleveland police and Jackson collaborated to set up the three defendants in Jackson's car loaded with valuables so that Jackson could then claim he was being robbed.

The defendants have stated that they were seeking to prevent Jackson from selling

drugs in East Cleveland and that police were called in to protect Jackson. They took refuge in the home of the O'Brien family who, they were falsely accused of having held hostage.

It has been established that all guns supposedly used by the defendants belong to Jackson; all ballistics tests on policemen who were wounded were inconclusive; and police never questioned any members of the O'Brien family.

A supporter of the Workers League who witnessed the shootout testified that she saw one policeman shoot another. The prosecution was so frantic to discredit her testimony that he brought a dossier into court calling her a "communist" and charging that she had perjured herself.



# Rate Hike Eroding Cab Drivers Salary

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK, NY—Rising prices and growing unemployment mean fewer nights on the town—and fewer, shorter taxi rides.

Taxi drivers are finding themselves in a tight squeeze since fares were increased 17 percent November 1. Reports are coming from every garage, that fares are fewer and the tips are small or non-existent.

One driver with years of experience in Manhattan said he used to bring home \$200 a week regularly, but cannot pay his rent now. Even in the center of town, there is nothing but cabs on the street after 11 or 12 at night.

The fleet owners are harassing drivers, especially those with years of experience. Under the new contract negotiated this fall, drivers with seniority take home 49 percent of the meter, while new drivers get only 43 percent.

This means that fleet owners are beginning a drive to push older drivers out of the garages and create a transient work force, and are using the large numbers of unemployed young workers who are coming into the garages to help do this.

The rate increase which is now cutting into wages and threatening the jobs of the city drivers was worked out with the closest collaboration of Harry Van Arsdale, President of Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036.

The distrust and anger of the taxi drivers and inside men over this new situation was reflected in the record low turnout for the union elections, which Van Arsdale won by a vote of 3,355 against 2,670 for Iandoli, his closest challenger.

Just 7,584 ballots were mailed in from a membership of over 22,000. These ballots included about 1,900 pensioners' votes, a block large enough to have determined Van Arsdale's victory.

The Rank and File Coalition candidates received 1,407 votes.

Van Arsdale must be forced to re-open the sweetheart contract. Drivers must take up a fight for wages, and win a guaranteed income for drivers of \$160 a week minimum or 60 percent of the meter.

For many fleet owners, this kind of wage settlement would mean certain bankruptcy. The defense of jobs in taxi, just as in auto, textile, and many other

## MINERS...

(Continued From Page 1)

to the Ford government and its Democratic Party allies.

The construction of a labor party would forge the weapon around which the entire working class can unite in the fight against the economic catastrophe that big business is preparing for masses of workers.

The central demand of the labor party would have to be the nationalization of the mines and all basic industry under workers control to defend the jobs and living standards of the working class.

Millions of workers will back the miners if they reject this sellout. The great strength of the working class can be brought forward against the Ford government through the continuation of the strike and the

industries, requires a fight for socialist policies.

Taxi fleets must be municipalized without compensation under union control.

This means that a leadership must be built within Local 3036 as part of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party campaigning for a congress of labor to launch a labor party.



Mitchell and Nixon.

# Hospital Workers Demand New Vote

BY PAT CONNOLLY  
CRANSTON, RI—The statewide contract which was shoved through by the AFSCME leadership is meeting with widespread resistance among Rhode Island state workers.

The contract gave a one-step pay increase and a flat \$100 "bonus." Strikers had demanded a three-step increase to catch up with inflation.

During the strike, Governor Philip Noel called out the National Guard to break the strike. In the hysteria created by Noel and the hospital administrators, a scab drove at full speed through the picket line at Rhode Island Medical Center, murdering one worker and critically injuring another.

The driver of the car is out on bail after being charged with leaving the scene and "driving to endanger."

Dennis, a worker at the Medical Center, told the Bulletin: "I just don't see how we can live with this contract. By the time we re-open next November, we'll need a 100 percent increase to catch up."

"The vote at the civic center was ridiculous. There were 5,000 members there and only 3,000 votes were recorded. People were just handing out ballots and going out to their cars to vote and then coming back in. Nobody knows who voted."

"Half of the union members didn't even have time to get to the civic center from their jobs, and nobody has seen the contract. It wasn't accurate."

"Fitzgerald came up from Washington, and do you know what he told us? 'Don't ever let call for a congress of labor to build a labor party.'

The fight for these policies must be taken up by miners against the Miller leadership. A revolutionary leadership must be built in the United Mine Workers.

We call on miners to join the Workers League and Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to fight for the following program:

- Reject the Miller contract!
- A 25 percent wage increase in the first year with full cost of living protection!
- Full right to strike over all grievances!
- No productivity deals!
- Nationalize the mines under workers control!
- Force Miller off the government's Labor-Management Committee!
- Build a labor party!

this happen again,' he said. When we asked about the bonus, they just shut off the mikes."

Bruce, who also works at RIMC, stated:

"They told us to hold off the strike until after the November 5th elections. It was all a set-up. Once we went out on strike, after the elections were over. Noel called out the National Guard. It's just too much to be a coincidence."

"It was a sellout from the leaders of Council 70 and Council 22," another worker said. "The Executive Director of Council 70, Focarelli, used to be Lt. Governor of the state and is now being considered for a judgeship by Noel. This is supposed to be our leadership."

"Noel has a whole history of being antilabor. When the prison guards went on strike, he fired them. When he was Mayor of Warwick, he fired the maintenance men and secretaries for striking. It doesn't seem to matter which party they're in. What we have now is one party, the Democratic-Republican Party."

Workers have started a petition campaign, directed to Council 70 and Council 22, demanding a re-vote on the contract. Every worker in both councils must have the right to read the contract and to vote on it. The ranks of Local 1350 must take their opposition to the contract into the next union meeting in January, to demand

that Local 1350 officially demand a statewide re-vote.

In the recent union elections in Local 1350, four out of the 12-man Executive Board elected were rank and file militants who had opposed the sellout. In the contest for President of the local, the vote was split three ways, with no one getting a clear majority.

A runoff is scheduled between incumbent President Carter and Manny Medieros, a candidate who ran on the basis of his strike leadership and his opposition to the sellout.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party urges a vote for Medieros in the runoff, but we warn that Local 1350 members must demand he call a new vote on the contract.

On the night of the union election, Medieros told a Bulletin reporter: "I was opposed to the contract. But it's over and done with now. It's settled. The workers were kept in the dark, all of us were kept in the dark, but now it's too late. It's a statewide issue and there's nothing our local can do about it until November of 1975."

But for the ranks, whose top pay is \$7400 a year, the contract means a drastic slash in their already low standard of living.

This fight is political, against the policies of Noel and the Ford administration. A fight to reject this contract poses a break with the Democrats and Republicans and a fight for a labor party based on the unions.

# Mitchell— I Was The Big Enchilada

John Mitchell went on the stand in the Watergate trial denying he had anything to do with the coverup.

Instead, according to Mitchell's lawyer, "out of a complete sense of loyalty and belief in his president and former law partner, he made a conscious decision not to volunteer his very strong suspicions ... to other law-enforcement agencies, Nixon or anyone else. He would not run to the police."

This is, to put it mildly, an astounding position for a former Attorney General of the United States to take.

When Mitchell took the stand, he testified that he never approved "Operation Gemstone," the burglary of the Watergate Democratic headquarters, and that he knew nothing of the hush money payments to the seven Watergate burglars.

This directly contradicted the testimony of three prosecution witnesses: John Dean; Jeb Magruder, Mitchell's deputy at the Committee to Reelect the President; and Frederick LaRue.

Magruder stated that Mitchell had directly approved "Operation Gemstone" and the spending of \$250,000 to carry it out. Mitchell claims that Magruder simply took the money and proceeded with the operation on his own.

But Mitchell has said nothing on how it was possible for one of his deputies to sneak a quarter of a million dollars by him without his knowledge.

Mitchell has also denied Magruder's testimony that Mitchell told him to "have a good fire" with the committee's files.

Dean testified that Mitchell discussed with him the possibility of getting the CIA to pay the Watergate burglars' bail money, and if that failed, to see Herbert Kalmbach, a Nixon lawyer and fundraiser, about the money.

LaRue testified that Mitchell told him to set aside money from Nixon's friend "Bebe" Rebozo for the same purpose. Mitchell's lawyer didn't even bother denying LaRue's testimony that when he called Mitchell about the hush money payments, Mitchell told him: "If I were you, I'd pay it."

The first witness in Mitchell's defense was Julia Carter, a maid who used to work for him.

Miss Carter was a character witness. Her testimony was designed to prove that Mitchell had a reputation for truth and veracity!

Mitchell's lawyer, Hundley, began his defense by telling the jury: "Don't you judge John Mitchell the way you heard him judged on those White House tapes by that White House jury."

Mitchell's defense has very little to do with the facts. In his previous trial, on charges of aiding Robert Vesco in his securities exchange fraud, Mitchell had his attorneys do a psychological study of the jury and then played on their weaknesses. The method worked and he got off scot free.

Now Mitchell is trying to portray himself as the "fall guy" or the "Big Enchilada" as Mitchell's lawyer termed it, who got in trouble because of his loyalty to his president.

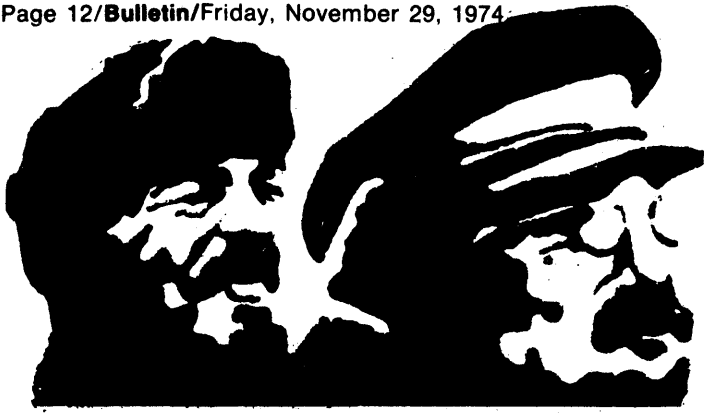
## MARXISM OR RANK-AND-FILE-ISM?

**An Analysis of the Tactics & Strategy of the  
International Socialism Group. 25¢**

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# lucha obrera PREPARACION GUERRA COMERCIAL SE AGUDIZA CRISIS MONETARIA

## DECLARACION DEL COMITE POLITICO

La tremenda especulación en la moneda y el pánico que envuelve al dólar americano en los mercados extranjeros expresa la creciente comprensión entre banqueros e industriales que el capitalismo mundial está entrando a una época de recesión de proporciones sin precedente.

Se especula sobre la posible devaluación del dólar y de la libra esterlina. La semana pasada, el precio del oro sobrepasó los \$190 la onza, mientras que los especuladores compraban marcos y francos suizos o cambiaban su papel moneda en oro.

La enorme recesión que se desarrolla en los Estados Unidos ha de tener un impacto devastador en la economía de todos los países capitalistas, creando una nueva etapa de guerras comerciales, devaluaciones y nuevas guerras.

Esta recesión está encabezada por la enorme crisis en la industria automotriz en los Estados Unidos. La semana pasada, cerca de 100 mil trabajadores fueron despedidos. Y se estima que para diciembre cerca de 180 mil obreros no tendrán trabajos. Si esta cifra es sumada a los 50 mil obreros despedidos desde el año pasado, el desempleo entre los obreros del auto es cerca a una tercera parte de la fuerza laboral.

La crisis se está extendiendo a todos los sectores de la economía. La General Motors es abastecida por más de 40 mil compañías con partes para sus autos. Una quinta parte de la industria del acero está dedicada a proveer a la industria automotriz.

El gobierno estima que no menos de 400 mil trabajadores serán despedidos durante la huelga del carbón. Se espera que el desempleo, que ya es mayor al 6 por ciento, aumente a más de siete millones para fin de año.

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anunció que el país "ha caído en un enredo extraordinario en relación a la economía, que pasará a la historia como una recesión."

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Frente a la baja en producción y a una inflación mayor a 12 por ciento, la administración de Ford está llevando una política de guerra comercial no vista desde los años 30.

Estos nuevos desarrollos representan el actual estado de desintegración del sistema capitalista desde las medidas adoptadas por Nixon el 15 de agosto de 1971.

Las decisiones del 15 de agosto, que rompieron la relación entre el oro y el dólar, minan la base para el mercado mundial. Inició una época de inflación descontrolada y una serie de devaluaciones de las monedas, la cuadruplicación del precio del petróleo y de guerras de mercados internacionalmente.

## RECESION

La inflación incontrolable amenaza con la bancarrota a bancos e industrias, deja a naciones enteras con déficits en sus pagos de petróleo y avanza irreversiblemente hacia la recesión.

Recesión significa la brutal competencia por la sobrevivencia capitalista. El Comité de Finanzas del Senado acaba de aprobar una ley de mercado que da al presidente poderes dictatoriales para determinar la política comercial de los Estados Unidos.

Bajo esta ley, Ford tiene el poder de imponer cualquier cuota a las importaciones y de tomar medidas en contra de los competidores de los Estados Unidos. Un sobreimpuesto de 15 por ciento puede ser impuesto contra cualquier nación que exporte a los Estados Unidos más de lo que le compra. Partes de la ley le permiten a Ford tomar medidas discriminatorias en contra de cualquier competidor que esté afectando los intereses comerciales norteamericanos.

Esta ley significa la declaración de muerte para la economía alemana y japonesa, directamente dependientes de su comercio con los Estados Unidos para su sobrevivencia.

El sábado pasado, Ford firmó una medida limitando las importaciones del ganado canadiense. Se espera que esto le cueste a los exportadores canadienses cerca de \$110 millones anuales.

A los pocos días, los capitalistas canadienses contestaron con un anuncio de que Canadá cortaría su exportación de petróleo a los Estados Unidos en 100 mil barriles diarios en preparación a sus planes de terminar su exportación totalmente a este país.

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El Acuerdo General sobre Tarifas y Mercado (GATT) advirtió que: "Lo cierto es que el mundo se enfrenta a la situación económica más crítica desde el período de la post-guerra y está sumergido en graves problemas."

"Medidas tales como subsidios a las exportaciones y restricciones a las importaciones pueden producir una guerra comercial general."

Ford y Kissinger están decididos a llevar a Europa y Japón a un colapso económico. Las recientes propuestas de Kissinger para una alianza de países industriales, con el propósito de extender \$25 millones de crédito para el pago de las deudas, es un chantaje calculado.

Los Estados Unidos está insistiendo en cortes drásticos en la importación del petróleo, como también en medidas de austeridad para pagar los préstamos pendientes. Los Estados Unidos trata de asfixiar a las naciones en bancarrota para utilizarlas en sus preparaciones de guerra en el Medio Oriente.

## CONFRONTACION

Estos planes no pueden ser llevados a cabo sin la más violenta confrontación con el movimiento obrero. Millones de trabajadores no van a pagar por esta crisis a través del desempleo, congelamiento de salarios, y la destrucción de su nivel de vida y derechos básicos.

La lucha por defender estas condiciones significa un enfrentamiento con la clase capitalista y presenta una lucha revolucionaria por el poder.

Bajo condiciones de crisis económica, los empleos y salarios solo pueden ser defendidos a través de una lucha política para derrotar al gobierno de Ford y reemplazarlo con un gobierno de trabajadores, a través de la construcción de un partido obrero basado en políticas socialistas.

La demanda de los mineros por un 20 por ciento de aumento salarial y de control sobre las condiciones de seguridad inmediatamente plantea esta lucha. Los mineros están a la cabeza de una confrontación con el gobierno de Ford y todos sus intentos de destruir las uniones y el derecho a la huelga.

El gobierno conoce muy bien que la lucha de los mineros puede traer una ofensiva masiva del movimiento obrero en contra del programa "anti-inflacionario" de Ford.

En esta situación, el liderato entero de las uniones trata de prevenir la derrota del gobierno. Ellos colaboran más y más abiertamente como los agentes de los patronos en las uniones, defendiendo las ganancias de la clase capitalista.

El líder de los mineros, Arnold Miller, trata de pasar un contrato que ha sido dictado por el gobierno. Leonard Woodcock, de la UAW, acepta los despidos y propone una campaña nacional financiada por la unión para aumentar las ventas de autos norteamericanos.

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Hoy existe la más grande oportunidad para la construcción de un liderato revolucionario en las uniones. Un liderato que no acepte el sistema capitalista y que lucha concientemente por políticas socialistas y por la destrucción de la burocracia sindical.

Los trabajadores deben de luchar de inmediato para movilizar a todo el movimiento laboral en defensa de los mineros.

Cualquier intento de romper la huelga, a través del uso de las leyes Taft-Hartley o el uso de tropas, tiene que ser contestado con una huelga general.

Los trabajadores del auto no van a ser sacados de las plantas. Una campaña masiva debe de llevarse en la unión para que se demande una conferencia de emergencia de la UAW para planear la ocupación de toda planta que amenace con cerrar.

Toda lucha por empleos y salarios debe de ser unida a la lucha por un congreso de trabajadores para la construcción de un partido independiente de la clase obrera para sacar a los demócratas y republicanos.

En cada local, se debe demandar un 20 por ciento de aumento salarial, 100 por ciento en la cláusula escalatoria, trabajos para todos y la nacionalización de la industria básica, bancos y monopolios de alimentos bajó el control obrero. Los trabajadores deben de luchar por un partido obrero basado en estas demandas.

La Alianza Sindical por un Partido Obrero (TUALP), brazo industrial de la Liga Obrera, está dirigiendo la lucha por estas demandas en las uniones. Mientras miles de trabajadores confrontan una lucha política en sus experiencias diarias, un apoyo tremendo puede ganarse.

Esta lucha solo se puede llevar a cabo a través de la construcción del partido revolucionario. La tremenda rapidez del desarrollo de la crisis nos dará la base para el reclutamiento de nuevos miembros a la Liga Obrera. Hacemos un llamado a todos nuestros lectores y colaboradores que están de acuerdo con nuestra lucha a que se unan a la Liga Obrera ahora.

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**Y STALINISMO**



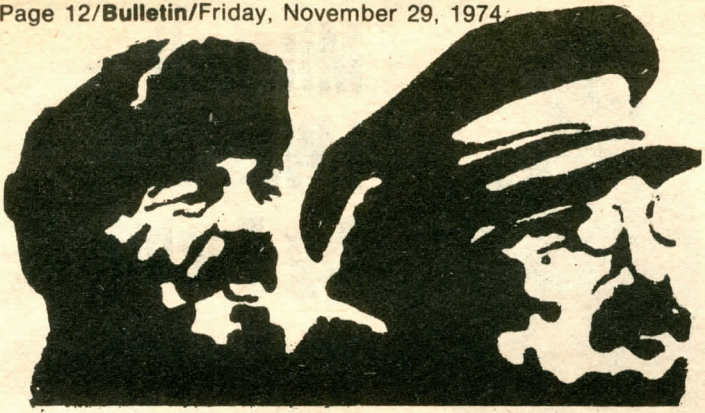
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frente unico

clase, partido  
y dirección

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# lucha obrera

## PREPARACION GUERRA COMERCIAL

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Hoy existe la más grande oportunidad para la construcción de un liderato revolucionario en las uniones. Un liderato que no acepte el sistema capitalista y que lucha concientemente por políticas socialistas y por la destrucción de la burocracia sindical.

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Cualquier intento de romper la huelga, a través del uso de las leyes Taft-Hartley o el uso de tropas, tiene que ser contestado con una huelga general.

Los trabajadores del auto no van a ser sacados de las plantas. Una campaña masiva debe de llevarse en la unión para que se demande una conferencia de emergencia de la UAW para planear la ocupación de toda planta que amenace con cerrar.

Toda lucha por empleos y salarios debe de ser unida a la lucha por un congreso de trabajadores para la construcción de un partido independiente de la clase obrera para sacar a los demócratas y republicanos.

En cada local, se debe demandar un 20 por ciento de aumento salarial, 100 por ciento en la cláusula escalatoria, trabajos para todos y la nacionalización de la industria básica, bancos y monopolios de alimentos bajó el control obrero. Los trabajadores deben de luchar por un partido obrero basado en estas demandas.

La Alianza Sindical por un Partido Obrero (TUALP), brazo industrial de la Liga Obrera, está dirigiendo la lucha por estas demandas en las uniones. Mientras miles de trabajadores confrontan una lucha política en sus experiencias diarias, un apoyo tremendo puede ganarse.

Esta lucha solo se puede llevar a cabo a través de la construcción del partido revolucionario. La tremenda rapidez del desarrollo de la crisis nos dará la base para el reclutamiento de nuevos miembros a la Liga Obrera. Hacemos un llamado a todos nuestros lectores y colaboradores que están de acuerdo con nuestra lucha a que se unan a la Liga Obrera ahora.

## León Trotsky BOLCHEVISMO Y STALINISMO



a propósito del  
frente unico  
clase, partido  
y dirección

### Bolchevismo y Stalinismo

\$1.25

Este libro es de gran importancia en particular a raíz de los sucesos en Chile. "A propósito del Frente Unico", fue escrito a principios del 1933, meses antes de que Hitler, llegase al poder en Alemania. Fue estas, unas de las muchas advertencias de Trotsky al proletariado alemán en contra de las políticas stalinistas y la necesidad de la unidad de clase en contra de Hitler. Distribución exclusiva en los Estados Unidos por nuestra casa editora.

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