

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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APRIL 2, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

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BEEF UP 17%

EGGS UP 30%

VEAL UP 58%



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BY BRUCE MCKAY

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Bulletin Expansion Drive

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The Bay Area led the way with \$649.64. Los Angeles, Minnesota, St. Louis and the Bronx also did very well. Part of the Bronx money was raised at a very successful dinner party.

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It must be recalled, despite the labor leaders contention that the Democratic Party is the "friend of labor," that it was this party which joined with Nixon when he announced Phase One claiming it was too little too late. Now that the government's control on wages has slashed workers' wages while prices have soared, the Democrats want even harsher measures employed against the unions.

At the recent UAW convention, a Bulletin reporter asked UAW head Leonard Woodcock about the Democratic Party's support to the Economic Stabilization Act. Woodcock replied: "We support socially progressive candidates (Democrats) even if we sometimes don't agree."

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While the government figures for the rise in all food prices are shocking enough, the price rise for beef and other meats—the primary source of protein in a worker's diet—is astounding. Beef prices shot up 6.7 percent in February, an annual rate of 80 percent.

In the supermarket, workers and their families face prices of over a dollar a pound for even the cheapest cuts of beef. In a check of a large Manhattan food chain store, the Bulletin found chuck steak at \$1.49 a pound, while ground round steak was selling for \$1.09 a pound. The average price for all cuts is now \$1.30 a pound.

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UAW Convention Betrays Wage Fight Against Nixon

BY DAVID NORTH

DETROIT, March 26—The collective bargaining program adopted here last week by the more than 3000 delegates attending the special convention of the United Auto Workers represents an historic betrayal of its membership and the entire American working class.

At a time when the government is using the runaway inflation to drive down the living conditions of millions of workers and preparing the destruction of trade unions, the UAW program is nothing less than Leonard Woodcock's personal pledge to Richard Nixon that the union bureaucracy supports the Phase Three wage controls and will do everything in its power to prevent a strike when the current contract expires in September.

On every critical issue facing auto

workers this year, the Woodcock leadership has completely capitulated to Nixon. The convention was closed down one day earlier than scheduled and the delegates passed the bargaining program after less than four hours of debate.

In all of its 43 long-winded pages, the program contains not even one sentence that commits the UAW leadership to fight for a wage increase.

Similarly, the program—written in the most general terms—does not put forward a specific demand to end the brutal speedups in the plants, even though thousands of auto workers voted for strike action over this issue during the past year.

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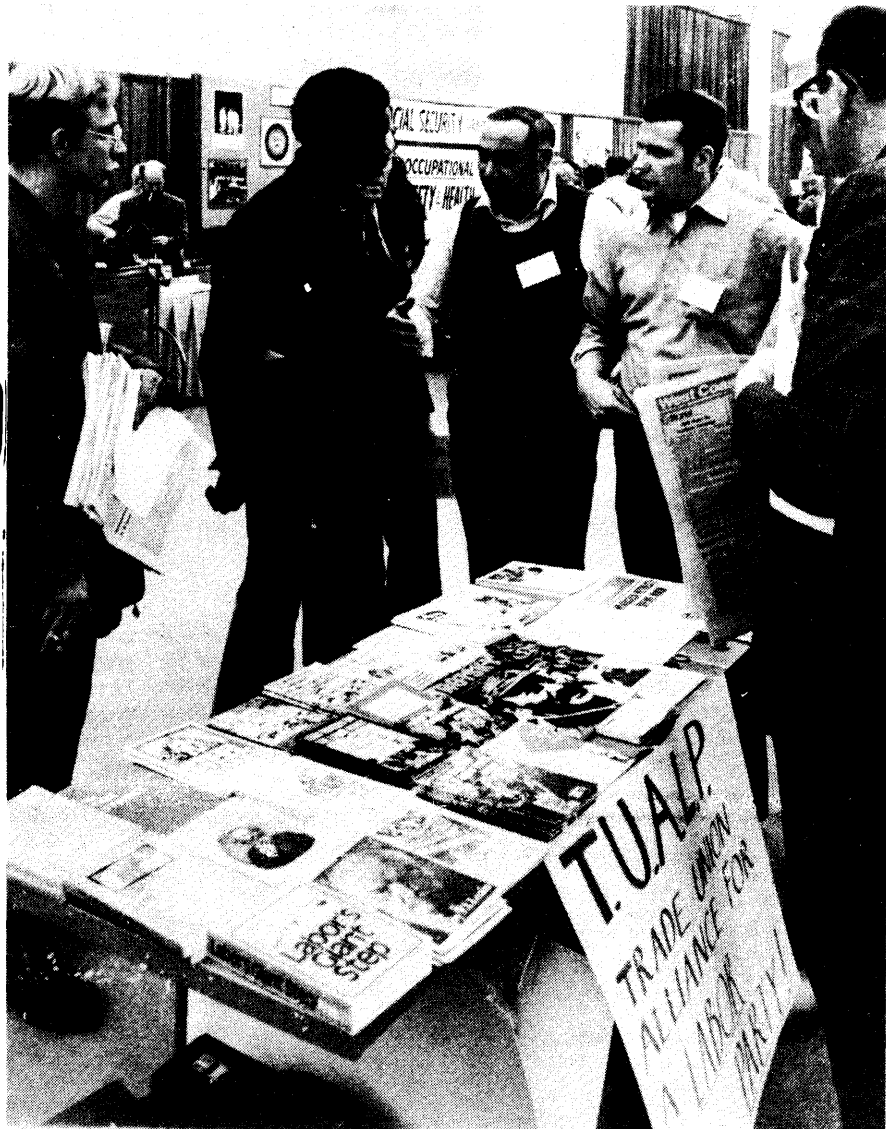
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British Miners Call For Showdown With Tories

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The decision of the Executive Council of the British Miners Union to reject the Heath government's wage law and recommend strike action for a \$17.00 weekly increase can be a decisive turning point in the fight to defeat the Tory government.

Strike action by the powerful Miners Union can rally the whole British working class to take general strike action and create the conditions to force a new election to throw the Tories out.

It will bring the critical support needed to the hospital workers who have been on strike for weeks without receiving any backing from other trade union leaders.

On March 23, gas workers voted to return to work after their leadership submitted a ballot that made it clear they wanted the men to go back. This criminal betrayal left the hospital workers to stand alone against the Tory government.

ACCUSED

In announcing the miners decision, Union President Joe Gormley accused the government of provoking a confrontation and declared there could be no "pussy-footing around" with the Heath government. It was Gormley who told the special Trades Union Congress (TUC) conference March 5 that the choice facing them was: "Either

a general strike or accept Phase Two."

There are growing signs that the government is preparing for a showdown with the unions. In past weeks, striking workers and their supporters have been confronted with huge police squads especially trained for anti-picket duty.

MARCHED

On March 15, in Shrewsbury, a large crowd of workers marched to the town courthouse where 24 building workers are facing charges in connection with their strike. The courthouse was completely surrounded by police, roadblocks into town were set up and dog patrols roamed the streets.

At St. Thomas Hospital, police broke into a group of 100 pickets supporting striking electricians and forced a special police van of scabs through. Pickets were punched and beaten and several were seriously injured.

REPRESSIVE

The Tories know that in order to go ahead with their attacks on the unions they need a General Election to win a new "mandate" for even more repressive

policies. The government is attempting to prepare for this by isolating individual union and imposing its wage limits on them.

The union leaders are directly playing into Heath's hands by refusing to give the low paid hospital workers financial backing or any other kind of support. The rail union leaders called off a strike of locomotive engineers after the employers threatened a lock-out.

MEANINGLESS

The TUC is putting off its planned day of national action until May 1 in order to make the one day protest completely symbolic and meaningless.

The refusal of the TUC leaders to face the Tories challenge places British workers in a dangerous position as the Tories get ready for a major onslaught. In this situation, the Socialist Labour League and its supporters are fighting to unite the unions in general strike action to force Heath to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and, through this struggle, build a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions.



Police harassing striking hospital employees in London.

French CP Pledges To Stifle Strikes

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

George Seguy, General Secretary of the CGT (the Labor Federation led by the Communist Party), has assured President Pompidou of France that he will hold back any big strike movement now that the elections are over.

In an article in the Paris daily Le Monde, Seguy, borrowing his language directly from Pompidou, stated: "It is absurd to attribute the CGT with dark intentions of political revenge consisting of exploiting the discontent of workers for purposes of agitation and disorder."

Although the final results of the March 11 elections show that the Left Coalition of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals received 37,000 more votes than Pompidou's Gaullist Party, the leaders of this coalition have pledged to play by the rules of the National Assembly where their deputies are in a minority.

Claiming that it will be difficult for the government and the employers "not to make a few minimum concessions," Seguy said the best "strategy" was to "put the government up against the wall on its electoral promises by proposing it begin negotiations right away..."

The good behavior promise of the Communist Party was recently demonstrated in the air traffic controllers strike which ended March 20 after a bitter struggle for the basic right to strike.

From the beginning, the CGT condemned the strike as "inopportune." The controllers were forced to return to work after Transport Minister Galley won agreement from the other unions (including the CGT) not to strike in solidarity even though the controllers now face heavy penalties for their action. Thus the Communist Party directly scabbed on the other union and permitted the government to divide the airport workers.

The CGT is desperately seeking to continue this policy by rapidly settling contracts in the public and nationalized industries through tripartite talks. In other sectors, such as metal, textile and food processing, the CGT is calling separate and futile protest actions.

In the past week, high school students have begun nationwide strike action against the Debre law which will force them to do a year of service in the military before entering the university.

They are now being joined by university students who are protesting a new decree which, like the military law, is aimed at dismantling higher education and preventing working class youth from attending college.

The stab in the back by the Stalinists and reformists follows the French election, at a time when Pompidou is preparing to crack down, makes the building of a revolutionary alternative an urgent task.

Israeli 'Spy Group' Convicted

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Three Israeli Arabs and two Jews face 20 year prison terms after having been convicted in the first of a series of frame-up trials in Haifa which are designed to spearhead a witch-hunt against any workers' organization which opposes the Zionist regime of Golda Meir.

Those convicted and others yet to stand trial are accused of treason for allegedly belonging to a Syrian "espionage and sabotage ring" bent on the destruction of the Israeli state. Although all the defendants have supposedly confessed their role in this "terrorist" organization, there is every indication severe torture was used to extract the "confessions."

Member of Parliament Avraham Levenbraum, for example, recently told of how his son, one of those arrested, had been subjected to electric shock torture in order to make him confess. Avraham is a member of the Moscow-oriented Rakah Communist Party.

The claim that the defendants were working for Syria is a clear attempt by the Zionist government to use nationalism to smash any movement which threatens to unite Arab and Jewish workers in struggle against capitalism in Israel.



The May Day Rally will:

- Focus on the history of the American working class' bitter struggle to organize its unions at a time when Nixon's Phase Three denies the basic rights of unions to negotiate wages.
- Support the international struggle of all workers against Nixon's attempts to pit workers of nation or race against another.
- Carry forward Trotsky's struggle for Marxism against the betrayals of Stalinism and reestablish the real traditions of Union Square.
- Demand that the trade unions answer Nixon's attacks with a Congress of Labor which will call a general strike and launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

RALLY

UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK
SATURDAY APRIL 28 NOON-3PM

TUALP MEETING:
Friday, April 13 7th floor, 135 W. 14th St.
8:00 PM

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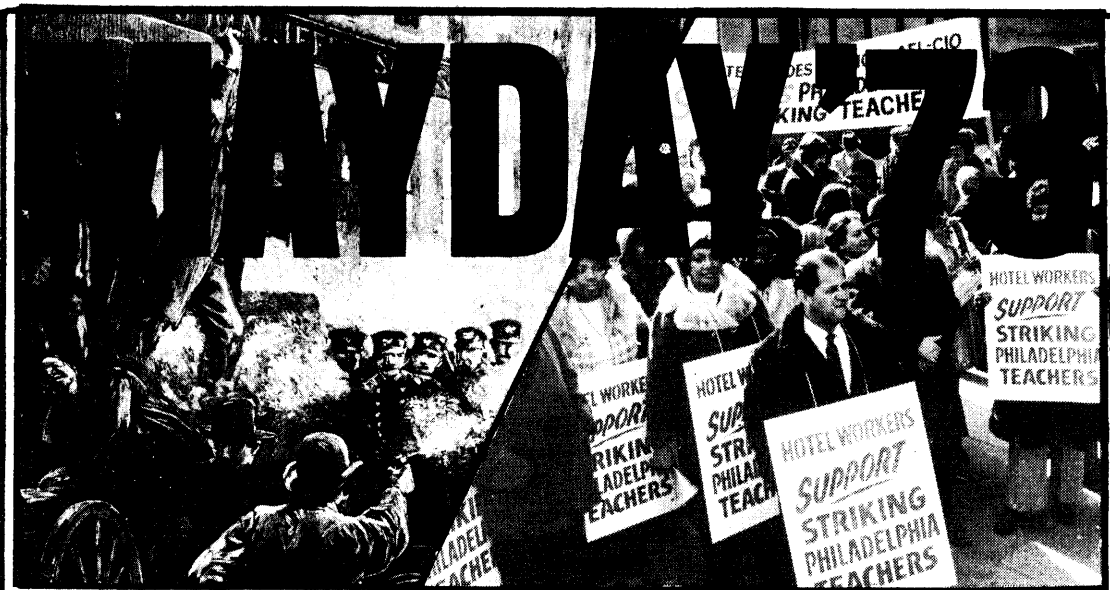
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Gold Heads Toward The \$100 Mark

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The near record \$5.50 an ounce increase in the price of gold Monday reveals the precarious position in which the capitalist system finds itself just days after the implementation of the highly touted Brussels agreement.

It heralds the disintegration of that agreement, in which six Common Market countries agreed to float their currencies against the dollar, and a major new attack on the value of the dollar.

The spurt of the gold price to \$90 an ounce on the London exchange came on the heels of numerous predictions it would easily top the \$100 figure before the year's end.

These predictions are modest indeed, for the climb of the dollar price of gold is but a measure of the tremendous mountain of dollars pumped into Europe to fuel the postwar recovery and boom.

With the increasingly frenzied expansion of credit which must precede the collapse of the monetary and credit system, as well as the productive system itself, the price of gold and all other commodities threatens to move convulsively skyward.

A report issued this week by the deputies of the Committee of 20 set up to "reform" the capitalists' system of international exchange expressed the confusion which now grips the international business community as it tries to assess the developing crisis.

CONFUSION

This confusion and the deep divisions among capitalists internationally were reflected in the fact that some deputies called for the complete elimination of gold from the monetary system, while others left open the possibility of a return to the full gold standard.

According to C. Jeremy Morse, chairman of the deputies, "the majority of the deputies foresee a declining role for gold as a reserve asset in relative—and some would say, in absolute—terms.

"Some deputies believe that gold should eventually be phased out of the longer run system; others believe that it should have

a continuing role."

The issue will not be left to the Committee of 20 or any other group of international financiers to decide, however. As the only measure of real value in international exchange, gold will assert its own role as the bloated facade of paper built on the Bretton Woods agreement comes tumbling down.



Supermarkets: beef up 6.7 percent in February. Boycotting meat is not a voluntary act for many families.

Watergate Net Closes In On Nixon

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

While Nixon leads the cry for "law and order" against the working class, the real character and crisis of this government is being revealed in the reopening of the Watergate conspiracy. There can be no doubt now that this conspiracy which employed ex-CIA agents and rightist elements to raid the headquarters of the Democratic Party was organized from the offices of the White House by Nixon.

In January, seven men including James McCord, an ex-CIA agent and the man in charge of security for the Committee to Re-elect the President, were convicted of spying on the Democratic Party last year. Their guilty pleas in the trial were designed to close the case and protect Nixon and his cohorts.

Now McCord, facing a long jail sentence, has said that he will meet privately with trial judge

Sirica to reveal further information about the political espionage he helped organize for Nixon's election. McCord said that he would not speak to the FBI, the Justice Department, or other government representatives. In a letter to Sirica, McCord said:

"Several members of my family have expressed fear for my life if I disclose knowledge of the facts in this matter, either publicly or to any government representative. Whereas I do not share their concerns to the same

degree, nevertheless, I do believe that retaliatory measures will be taken against me, my family, and my friends should I disclose such facts."

McCord should know this very well since he was the man in charge of security for Nixon and is quite aware of what his employers will do.

PRESSURE

McCord revealed in his letter that there was political pressure applied to those caught to plead

guilty and silence the case; that the defendants and witnesses lied during the trial; that there are others involved who have not been named. McCord has already identified two officials of the Administration who had prior knowledge of the raid in a meeting with a representative of the Senate's special committee to investigate Watergate. According to the *Los Angeles Times* McCord named Jeb Magruder, the deputy director of the Re-

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ITT Puts A Price On Allende

BY FRED MUELLER

The International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation is one of the 10 largest companies in the US as well as one of the largest of the multinationals, with interests in dozens of countries all over the world. ITT, until recently, exercised majority control of the Chilean telephone company, in addition to many other investments in that country.

It has now been officially admitted during last week's testimony at the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, that the company offered at least one million dollars in a special fund to the Central Intelligence Agency, first in order to prevent the election of Popular Front candidate Salvador Allende as President of Chile, and then to undermine or remove him.

It has been reported that the US Ambassador to Chile in 1970, Edward Korry, knew and approved of this offer and proposed intervention in order to stop Allende.

ITT Vice President Merriam, the former head of its Washington office, met William Broe, CIA chief for Latin America, and spoke to him on many occasions. Merriam was also in touch with Nixon's top foreign policy man, Henry Kissinger, for a year during this period.

plurality but not a majority for Allende.

ITT director John McCone, the former head of the CIA itself, and still a consultant to the agency, met with his CIA successor, Richard Helms, to discuss these knotty problems. At the same time, the Washington representatives of a number of giant companies with interests in Chile also met to coordinate their counterrevolutionary strategy. These firms included Anaconda Copper and Kennecott Copper, W.R. Grace and Company, Pfizer, and the Bank of America.

During this period, top ITT officials were visiting six high officials of the Nixon Administration. These included Vice President Agnew, Treasury Secretary Connally, presidential assistant H. R. Haldeman, presidential counsel Colson, Commerce Secretary Peterson, and former Secretary Maurice Stans.

These visits were for the purpose of getting Nixon's men to persuade the Justice Department to settle its antitrust actions against ITT on terms acceptable to the company. The visits were successful in accomplishing their aim.

Actually, as it now becomes clear, the visits to Agnew, Connally and the rest had a dual pur-

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The Workers League and Young Socialists invite you to a series of classes:

20 Years Of The International Committee

1. The Rise of Pabloism and the Open Letter of 1953.
2. The Split with the SWP: Balance Sheet on Cuba.
3. Vietnam: The SWP's Decade of Betrayal.
4. Spartacist: Radicalism vs. International Marxism.
5. The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI.
6. The International Committee Today.

Series begins Sunday, April 8 at 7:30 p.m. and continues consecutively on the following Sundays.

Open to all individuals and political tendencies who will observe democratic procedure at the meetings.

Admission: \$1 for each class 50 cents high school students and unemployed

\$5 for entire series \$2.50 for h.s. students and unemployed

135 West 14 St. 7th Floor
call 924-0852 for info.



Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth

Hospital Workers Say 'We Waited Enough'

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—After nine months of waiting, New York City hospital workers are determined to win the 7.5 percent increase awarded to Local 1199 last July. The latest price increases have made the 50,000 hospital workers and their families, who are trying to get along on 1971 salaries, angrier than ever. But the biggest obstacle in the way of settling accounts with Nixon and Phase Three is the union leadership.

This was shown at several recent chapter meetings. At Kingsbrook Jewish, union organizer James Glenn repeated the familiar story: the union leadership did not want to accept the 5.5 percent

which the original increase had been cut to by the Pay Board, but no date had even been set for an appeal in Washington. Nothing was happening.

A nursing orderly demanded to know what the union leaders

were going to do, or were the workers simply expected "to sit and starve while the cost of living goes up and up?" The organizer had no answer.

A number of other workers spoke up and the organizer was forced to allow a vote on a motion of delegate Mario Serrano. The vote was 27 to 7 in favor of demanding that 1199 President Leon Davis call a mass city-wide membership meeting to decide on action to win the 7.5 percent increase.

Coalition Diverts Budget Cuts Fight

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

NEW YORK—The Third World City University of New York Coalition and the Young Socialist Alliance jointly held a meeting at Hunter College against the budget cuts on Sunday March 25.

From the very beginning of the meeting, the Third World CUNY Coalition fought to dominate it by trying to turn the discussion of the budget cuts into the lowest and most unpolitical levels.

The Third World CUNY Coalition's entire program consisted of several demands of no tuition and no cuts in SEEK or financial aid programs. At no point did they have any perspective of how those demands could be taken forward. The YSA posed no alternative to the T.W. CUNY Coalition.

A Young Socialist member spoke, emphasizing that the critical question these groups refused to confront is how those demands can be implemented. "If youth and workers are to fight against the budget cuts and win, there must be a political fight taken up against the government."

The Young Socialists speakers stated that if the independent political mobilization of the working class, through a labor party, is not posed, the door will be open for liberal politicians like Badillo, Robert Wagner Jr. and Lindsay.

These politicians represent the same political parties which are responsible for the cuts and their aim is to hold back any movement of workers and youth against the attacks. They state that they do not agree with the budget cuts but will stand in total opposition to teachers and students moving into strike action against the budget cuts.

These reformists fought viciously against the only strategy which can end the budget cuts and that is the mobilization of the working class independently against the capitalist parties for a political fight against the government.

It is no accident that the center of the disagreement was the strategy fought for by Trotskyism against the continuous betrayals of Stalinism.

Behind the Third World CUNY Coalition and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party stood the Communist Party and its history of tying the working class to

capitalism and leading it to defeat. The struggle which broke out at the meeting was clearly a struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism. The Stalinists are the major obstacle in the fight to break youth and workers from capitalism. Since Stalinism begins with existing peacefully with capitalism, today, when capitalism is falling apart all around them, they must seek to prop it up by leading the workers and youth into deadend, reformist protest actions.

Every political tendency, including the Young Socialist Alliance, was prostrate before the Stalinists. In the middle of the fight, the Young Socialist Alliance withdrew its program, which posed no significant alternative anyway, and threw all their support to the Third World CUNY Coalition proposal.

The Spartacist League spoke on how the labor party proposal was ridiculous because "this meeting here consisted of students, not the working class." They opposed any fight for the labor party because they felt it was unrealistic.

It was only at the point when the Third World CUNY Coalition, with the support of the Stalinists, put forward a motion to ban any political tendency from bringing any posters or banners to a planned April demonstration that the YSA, Spartacist League, as well as the majority of the independent students walked out of the meeting. The Third World Coalition was left with hardly any forces beside themselves.

It is clear that the demonstration called by the Third World CUNY Coalition for March 27 and April 4 will be dominated by the Stalinists. They will use all the methods of Stalinist hooliganism to keep any tendency, particularly the Young Socialists, from raising the political questions necessary to take up this fight.

The Young Socialists will hold a meeting at Hunter College on Sunday, April 8 at 12 noon to fight out these political questions and pose the correct strategy in which youth and workers can be mobilized against the policies of the government.

FORCED

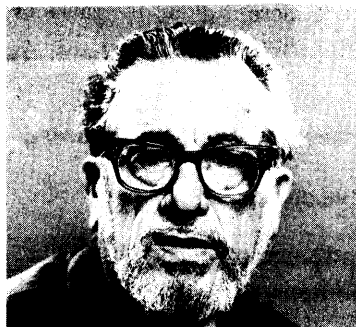
This was the first time the union officials had been forced to allow a vote at a meeting of the Hospital Division. The maker of the motion was the very same delegate whom 1199 President Davis had banished from the city-wide Delegates Assembly for a period of three months this winter, because he had fought for a motion to strike against the Pay Board.

At Beth Israel Hospital, Organizer Henry Perez got a very hot reception when he reported that "people must be patient," and that if the union took any action it would be isolated and would lose because "Nixon doesn't care about New York."

One member after another got up or shouted out that some action was necessary. Someone suggested a one day protest, another a two day sick-out.

Delegate Melody Philips pointed out that if the union leaders were saying we could not accept the 5.5 percent, then they must propose a course of action to win the 7.5 percent. She pointed out that protest would not stop Nixon, but strike action by 1199 would get tremendous support from millions of workers throughout the area and the whole country. She reported that at the last Guild Delegates Assembly a motion to strike if the increase had not been won within one month's time got over one-third of the vote, and she proposed that the meeting demand that the union leaders call a mass membership meeting and recommend strike action.

A young worker summed up the opinion of most at the meeting when he accused the union leaders of making a deal with the hospitals to prevent a strike if the hospitals went along with the meaningless appeal to the Pay Board.



Leon Davis



On March 19 the 700 member Harvard Graduate Students and Teaching Fellows Union went on strike against the administration's new tuition plan, which would drastically slash financial aid for hundreds of graduate students.

Connecticut Bus Settlement O.K.'s State Takeover

BY WILLIAM VANN

HARTFORD—The four month old bus strike by members of the Amalgamated Transit Union against the Connecticut Company was ended Monday with 518 of the drivers and mechanics returning to work. Bus service was resumed in the cities of Hartford, New Haven and Stamford.

The strike began at the end of November under conditions of a virtual lockout by the Connecticut Company and threats by its owner, E. Clayton Gengras, of a permanent shutdown of operations because of a \$10,000 weekly loss claimed by the company.

The contract grants, for each of the two years, a 6.2 percent wage and benefit increase for the drivers who, at \$3.95 an hour, earned a full dollar less than their counterpart in other major cities. It also puts full control of rates and schedules in the hands of the State Department of Transportation (DOT).

The DOT's proposal calls for the running of the company for one month with all of the employees and under the schedules which the company maintained before the strike. During that month, the DOT will "conduct a study of the new patterns and prospects for bus service in the town" and at its end will institute whatever changes it sees fit.

INTENTIONS

Governor Meskill's intentions are clear. At the end of the month, the state government will institute Gengras' original plans for severe layoffs and cuts in bus runs in all three cities while Gengras, relieved of these tasks, sits back and collects his subsidized profits.

A defense must be organized immediately in the ATU against the coming attacks. The strike itself demonstrated the tremendous willingness to fight on the part of the drivers and mechanics, many who had only their \$32 a week strike fund to see them through the bitter winter strike.

At the center of this must be the building of a labor party to fight for the entire transportation industry under workers control. The attempt of the union leadership to channel the militancy of the ranks into the Democratic Party has been discredited. The Democrats proved completely incapable of providing any solution to the strike and will now stand with Meskill and the DOT's proposals.



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The Stalinist Arithmetic Of PL

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

As workers now move into struggle against the government and Phase Three, the trade union bureaucracy is openly capitulating to Nixon. This bureaucracy is supported and given a left cover by the Stalinist Communist Party and the centrists. This is the role of the Progressive Labor Party which now emerges in an alliance with the CP to try to divert the ranks of the unions away from a fight against Nixon. This is what lies behind all its so-called militant talk about "solidarity" and "rank and filism."

PL's position and its relation to the Communist Party, which it broke from over 12 years ago, is revealed in its role in the Philadelphia teachers strike. The March 22 issue of PL's paper, *Challenge*, is headlined with "Phila. Workers' Arithmetic: Militancy + Unity + General Strike = Bosses' Nightmare." In the crudest possible way, PL seeks to pander to the reformist politics of the spontaneous movement of the working class and above all to bolster the protest and pressure tactics of the labor bureaucracy which saw the general strike in Philadelphia not as a means to open up a struggle against Nixon but as a threat to pressure the government.

Above all the labor leaders wanted to avoid a confrontation that would have begun to raise all the political questions and created the conditions for constructing a labor party.

In the article PL states:

"This arithmetic alone should teach all workers a powerful lesson. The mere threat of a general strike, coupled with already-existing mass support for one group of strikers, was enough to win \$67.3 million the bosses would have otherwise kept. A general strike could have won incalculably more. Philadelphia's workers flexed their greatest muscle—unity—and for days on end the bosses quivered as far away as Washington."

COMMUNIST PARTY

The lesson that PL draws from the Philadelphia teachers strike is no different essentially than that of the Communist Party. As the strike came to an end, the CP's *Daily World* claimed the teachers won a big victory and wrote in an editorial:

"For the workers throughout the nation the lesson of the struggle of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and the solidarity displayed by their fellow-unionists is plain.

"It is the classic lesson—struggle and solidarity can defeat labor's enemies."

ILLUSION

Both PL and the CP consciously perpetuate the illusion that the struggles of the unions today can be won without a political fight against Nixon. Both saw the general strike as being a "threat" to "pressure" the government. This is, of course, exactly how the leadership of the AFL-CIO in Philadelphia saw it. That leadership then called off the strike, isolating the teachers and forcing them to accept a settlement which was far from a "victory."

PL sees the general strike as a quantitative matter of getting a little more and not as opening up a new level of struggle in which all of the political questions are raised. It is not only Nixon and the trade union bureaucracy that fear this mobilization but the Stalinists and the centrists, who now line up with him.

PL seeks to divert the working class into



Progressive Labor Party worships the spontaneous militancy of the working class and hailed the Philadelphia teachers' settlement as a "victory" along with the Communist Party.

This has not stopped the CP and PL from working together. In this PL serves, behind all its "left phrases," to try to bolster the CP, which today is in tremendous crisis and faces opposition within its own ranks from trade unionists and youth. The CP consciously uses PL for this purpose and PL willingly obliges, at each point preparing the way for the CP.

This is the meaning of PL's campaign "to put the shorter work week on the ballot in New York City." In a pamphlet distributed by PL's Coalition For A Shorter Work Week, PL contends that this demand can be granted if the government is pressured enough:

"Ultimately, 30 for 40, like all other important reforms will be won only after organized workers have fought hard for it using every tactic at their disposal, including the general strike."

REFORMIST

Involved in this reformist campaign is the conception that capitalism, now facing its deepest crisis which is forcing the capitalists to drive back the standard of living of the working class and destroy its organizations, can grant meaningful reforms. For PL there can be capitalism without unemployment, without controls on wages and attacks on the unions. These reformist policies, which are dressed up in a left garb, are designed to keep the working class tied to the Democratic Party and capitalism at a time when the working class' very existence requires a break from reformism.

Contrary to what PL contends, the unity of the working class can only be achieved now through the political struggle against Phase Three and the construction of a labor party. PL's talk about the "muscle" of "unity" growing until "the bosses" are "overthrown" is an attempt to prevent the break that is required from the old methods of simple trade union militancy to the necessity for a sharp change to political struggle: a change required by economic crisis and the attacks of the government.

It is precisely the crisis that both the CP and PL deny. They lie to the working class about the ability of capitalism to grant reforms. The CP and PL have more and more developed a working relationship, a division of labor. While PL broke from the CP, it never confronted the roots of the CP's degeneration in Stalinism. Instead PL has continually maintained and defended Stalin and Stalinism. In fact, PL has sought to preserve Stalin by trying to trace the degeneration of the Soviet Union to Lenin. Today PL contends that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist" and is ruled by a "red bourgeoisie." It refuses to defend the gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions against imperialism.

COALITION

In the Social Service Employees Union Local 371 in New York, PL and CP supporters have formed a group called the Coalition, which attempts to attract militants who want to fight and divert them from a struggle against the Cohen leadership of the union. At every point, the leadership of the Coalition has fought against the struggles of the Committee For New Leadership for strike action against the attack on jobs and union rights and for the building of a labor party. Today the city of New York has opened a new line of attack on the SSEU in an attempt to do away with time and leave rules won years ago and protected under civil service. The revision of these rules would allow the city to fire anyone at will. The Coalition has refused to say that these rules are non-negotiable and instead has handed the matter over to District Council 37 head Victory Gotbaum to negotiate in the next city-wide contract.

At the last membership meeting the union leadership, forced by the anger of the ranks over this question, threatened strike action. PL's supporters were actually to the right of the bureaucracy at this meeting, counterposing to strike action the setting up of a "strike committee." Using the past betrayals of the leadership, PL attempted to create skepticism about the ability of the union to fight the city. PL's "strike committee" is a diversion set up to try to avoid a confrontation with the city, to advance its own members into the bureaucracy and to preserve its middle class radical group against the interest of the ranks of the unions.

LEFT COVER

While PL's supporters oppose a strike, they propose the "strike committee" to try to prevent a struggle against the leadership for action against the attacks. They in fact provide the left cover for Cohen while the CP's supporters advise the members to write their Congressmen, PL contends that the union cannot strike. In other words, the city and Nixon are to be allowed to proceed with their attacks on all the gains and rights of the union.

This is the real logic of its rightward turn prepared in *Road to Revolution III* in its attack on Lenin. PL seeks to preserve its middle class circle and protest antics against the movement of the working class. Today, it becomes an agent in the workers movement for Nixon himself, working to try to weaken the working class in the face of his attacks.

The lengths to which PL is prepared to go to avoid a fight and cover for the trade union bureaucracy is exposed in its vicious attacks on the AFSCME 1164 Caucus For A Decent Contract in Minneapolis. Here PL has revived all the methods of Stalinist hooliganism and is doing the job for the CP. PL opposed the resolution put forward in the union by the Caucus For a Decent Contract for strike action to win the demand on wages and job security. Instead, they proposed a futile one day "sick-out." When the CDC exposed this before the membership, PL threatened it with physical violence and painted a member of the CDC's car.

COUNTERPOSES

It is precisely at a point where a collision must take place between the union and the government and with the union leadership, which is collaborating with Nixon, that PL intervenes to try to head it off. It counterposes middle class radical activities in "strike committees" and "sick-outs" to the mobilization of the working class against the employers and the government.

PL, the CP and the centrists reject Marxism and use Marxist phraseology to try to divert the working class from its real tasks into bankrupt reformism.

What all of these forces fear is the development of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions and all their efforts are devoted to trying to prevent it. The crisis of capitalism not only necessitates this development of a Marxist leadership but creates the conditions for it as the ranks of the unions come into collision with Nixon and the reformist trade union leaders. This requires a struggle against trade union militancy and a bitter battle against the Stalinists and centrists who try to keep the working class at this level.

This means a fight in the unions for an understanding of the capitalist crisis and the need for the unions to confront the government by building a labor party that will fight for socialist policies. It is this that the Workers League, the Young Socialists and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party are taking forward today in the unions.

ILA Local 19 Leads Battle On Gang Size

BY WILL ROEMER

CHICAGO—Local 19 of the International Longshoremen's Association here is threatened with being put under receivership. Sykes, president of Local 19, is to appear before the Great Lakes Council in Washington, D.C. on April 4-5.

This move by the Council is aimed at quelling the militancy of the local and forcing an acceptance of the reduction of the gang size in the hold to four men. Local 19 members led the fight to standardize the gang size at eight in the hold. The Great Lakes Council had agreed at a conference last February to maintain the gang size at eight.

Since that conference, there has developed a drive led by Harrison Tyler, former president of Local 19 and now vice president of the International, to have the whole region accept the cut in gang size. While Sykes is to come under fire from the Great Lakes Council, it is not so much he that is under attack as the entire membership of Local 19.

Sykes, who is a preacher and boasts about believing in non-violence, has refused to fight to defend the jobs. In a letter to Local 19 dated December 18, officials reported that the shippers at Burns Harbor were going to cut the gang size to four.

Sykes refused to discuss or even mention the letter to the membership. Dockers here have expressed anger and disgust as they found out about the attacks allowed by the union at Burns Harbor.

While Local 19 prides itself as being one of the strongest and most militant unions in the region, divisions among dockers fostered by the union leadership, are being used more and more to undermine the strength of the local.

There are two classifications of dockworkers here: union members and card men. There are some 950 members of Local 19, while there are as many as 2000 more who work seasonally on the docks. These men are given cards by the union that allow them to work on the docks, but they are barred from participation in the union meetings and discussions. A card man like the members must have 775 consecutive hours to get union benefits, and to be eligible for membership, but as one card man told the *Bulletin*, "The book men stop them. They don't record accurately the number of hours worked." Lately, the union has been refusing to let card men in saying that there is not enough work.

One longshoreman explained how the gang cuts were being made: "The Supervisor sees four men working and he doesn't see the other six. So the next day he hires four. But we need 10 men. It's hard work and you have to let people rest or they'll get hurt. I work four hours straight and then

it's my turn to rest.

"Then they go and get the super and say, 'He's fooling around again.' They want to get me out because I get the men riles up, because I say 'Don't start doing that—that's wrong,' when the company orders us to do something we don't have to do."

LEADERSHIP

With the threatened receivership and the cuts in gang size, the need for an alternative leadership in the union is posed most acutely. Sykes is being disciplined by the Gleason leadership because he has not been harsh enough. But he has no perspectives for defending the local or the jobs.

Dockers must come forward to build a caucus that starts with the needs of the workers themselves, and can prepare for a showdown with the government in April to get full back pay and the April increase and to stop job cuts.

It is because the government is fully on the side of the shippers that the calling of a Congress of Labor to plan out general strike action and construct a labor party is so urgent. With the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union's contract expiring June 30 at the same time as the Teamsters, the stage is set for the unity of longshore with the Teamsters.

The following program is now being discussed by Chicago dockers to consolidate the caucus:

- A 20 percent wage increase now with an equity clause for all minor ports. A 100 percent cost of living escalator clause covering each year of the contract and retroactive payment of the full 70 cents cut by the Pay Board.
- No cuts in gang size. Twelve men in the hold on bags. Ten men on containers.
- Container pay controlled by the ILA.
- Bring card men into the union. Lower the initiation fee. Secure the closed shop.
- Full benefits and hospital coverage for all longshoremen and their families.
- Twenty years and out at \$650 per month, with 100 percent cost of living escalator. Years must be counted cumulatively.
- Full training program for young workers at union pay.
- Thirty hours work for forty hours pay.
- Double time after 12 hours of work. Double time for Saturday and Sunday.
- Build a labor party.

All longshoremen are urged to attend meetings every Monday night to discuss the program and plan the fight at 1325 South Wabash at 8 p.m.

Midwest News



Rally at the library mall of the University of Wisconsin in defense of Karl Armstrong, presently on trial for allegedly bombing the Army's Math Research Center in 1970.

Minnesota Governor To Shut 4 Hospitals

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FARIBAULT, Minn.—The brutality with which Governor Anderson intends to carry out his attacks on workers in this state was further revealed this week with the threat to close four of the largest of the state hospitals, starting with the largest, Faribault State School and Hospital. This institution cares full time for 1500 mentally retarded children and adults.

In addition to throwing these patients out, the closing of Faribault will throw 900 employees out of work, unless a real battle is mounted to prevent this. But so far neither the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 6 nor its Faribault local has even hinted at a fight. As Gary, a young aide at the hospital said:

"We haven't heard a word from any union official. No one from the union has said anything. Some of the guys went up to lobby the state legislature. But what good does that do? Those guys will do anything if someone tells them they will save a little money. That's all they are interested in."

UNEMPLOYMENT

A young woman Aide asked: "Where will we ever get another job? Faribault has seven and one-half percent unemployment already. And who on earth wants or needs my specialized training here once this place closes? Of course they are claiming they'll find jobs for us somewhere else, but I just can't take the kids and leave my husband. With jobs the way they are who knows if he'd get another where I end up? Besides, they won't really find all of us jobs. Anderson's already announced plans to cut jobs. This is part of it."

Anderson was elected with official labor endorsement. Dave Roe, head of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, along with Robeson of the AFSCME Council 6, hailed the November state election result as a victory for labor.

But the 900 employees of Faribault are not alone and they do have power to prevent this vicious destruction of jobs and rights. The way forward now is being organized by the Com-

mittee for a Decent Contract of AFSCME 1164—to force Council 6 to call a Congress of Labor to map out a strategy to defend its members and to launch a labor party.

Food Up 3.3% For January

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

CHICAGO—"I hate that guy who said we should eat chicken." With that statement, a housewife summed up the mood of Chicago's working class this week, as the Labor Department released the figures for February's food costs.

Chicago's prices rose 3.3 percent over January, almost a full percentage point above the national rise, and the highest jump since records have been kept.

Food is now 8.8 percent more expensive than last year at this time, and an order that cost \$10 the first February of Nixon's Administration now costs \$12.54. Meats, fish and poultry jumped 5.7 percent in the last month, 12.8 percent in the last year.

"I don't know how they expect us to pay these prices when you can't even get a job," said one young worker angrily. He and his wife just moved here from Texas, where he was a longshoreman. The International Longshoremen's Association local in Chicago has told him not to count on working the docks here.

"It isn't just food," a high school student pointed out. "Everything else is going up, too." Official records agree, showing a 1.5 percent monthly increase in "apparel and upkeep." "Women's apparel rose 3.3 percent over January.

"People just won't believe me when I say it is going to get worse," an older woman told the

BOYCOTT

On Thursday, a group of housewives launched a drive here for participation in the national meat boycott. They had a peanut butter sandwich eat-in in front of the Federal Building, and are demanding that the government stop serving meat in its employee cafeterias nationwide.

But these protests, which are being uncritically backed by the Communist Party, are being pushed by the liberals and reformists in an attempt to divert a fight away from Nixon and the government. The attacks on working people through inflation must be fought by the political offensive of the labor movement against Nixon.

Dayton Ranks Strike For Wage Hike

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON—Workers at the Model Cities Social Service Division walked out when four workers, acting as spokesmen for the employees, were suspended for sending the director a letter specifying their grievances.

Carrying signs saying "Slick Cats Got to Go" and appealing to the community for support, the employees cited denials of a wage increase by the Model Cities Board and harassment by the social services director, Johnny Wilder, as the reasons for their dissatisfaction.

One of the four workers suspended told the *Bulletin* that even the workers who had been employed by the program since its inception five years ago have received no wage increase. Wilder has received a 20 percent increase in his salary during that period. The letter that prompted the suspension, she said, asked for a meeting of the employees with the director and the Board.

She said: "There is no job security whatsoever, the director is always threatening termination if the employees don't meet the heavy work loads or comply with arbitrary orders. For example, overtime on Saturday is supposed to be voluntary but if you don't want to work on Saturday, you have to bring a doctor's excuse. There is no overtime pay, only compensatory time off, and that is seldom forthcoming. The Board, somehow, can never budget in wage increases for the employees."

George Washington, director of the West Dayton Model Cities Council, is a contractor who makes money off of hiring Black construction workers at non-union wages. He maintained during the walkout that the Black workers have no common interests with the white workers and stated:

"There aren't any Black workers in the unions—they're all unemployed." The argument was rejected by the employees who were picketing. They called Washington "a phony, one of the people we are trying to get rid of."

The workers returned to their jobs after the one day walkout when the suspension of the four people was rescinded and the Board agreed to a meeting with promises that no retaliatory action would be taken against those who participated in the demonstration.

Midwest News



Youth from Stivers High School in Dayton discuss with the *Bulletin* the vicious attempts of police to divide Black and white youth. Young Socialists is building a club there to unite youth against these attacks.

GM Starts Layoff Drive: 400 Cut In St. Louis

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Five hundred to six hundred workers were laid off at the St. Louis General Motors plant last week. Another 300 to 400 are scheduled to be laid off this week.

While the layoffs are plantwide, and include every worker who started after October 1969, only the passenger line production is being cut from 57 to 48 cars per hour.

These layoffs will be accompanied by an intensive speedup if this production is to be maintained. One of the workers laid off told the *Bulletin*:

"Even if all the layoffs come from the passenger line this will mean a cut of one-third of the work force, while production is only cut by one-sixth. And then if some come from the Corvette or the truck lines they aren't cutting production at all."

The Local 25 leadership have not uttered a peep about these

developments. When one committeeman was asked about the layoffs, all he could do was shrug his shoulders and say "but GM is doing this at a lot of plants."

UNREST

There is wide unrest in all sections of the plant. There have been fights, especially after the dismissal notices were handed out, and one worker was shot in the leg outside the plant.

Even the day shift on the truck line was sent home early last week because of the company's claims of "sabotage" on this shift. The night shifts have been

working short shifts a couple of nights a week for some time.

The National Auto Caucus of UAW Local 25 is taking up a fight against these attacks. A public meeting will be held by the caucus next Sunday (April 8) to further discuss the program prepared by the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and prepare to fight for this program in Local 25. Only through a struggle against the Woodcock leadership and his acceptance of the attacks of GM management can the layoffs and speedup be fought.

I.W. Abel's T.V. Message

REVIEWED BY
WILL ROEMER

"We must find a way to settle our contracts peacefully." This is what I. W. Abel had to say to steel workers who turned on their TV last Friday after a grueling week at Chicago's steel mills.

"Where's Joe?" was produced by the joint efforts of the United Steel Workers of America leadership and the steel companies. It was shown on channel 32 here. It pounded viewers with endless statistics about the growth of foreign imports. "The average American does not care where steel comes from," the narrator says ominously, blaming workers who buy foreign goods for lost jobs. The answer to the question "Where's Joe?"

offered by Abel's public relations project of the year was "His name is Jose."

But the steel companies' real concern is not what workers buy, but what workers produce. Steel workers from the US Steel Southworks plant are producing about three times the steel they were a few years ago with less men.

Abel slaps them across the face as he sits in his armchair talking with the steel bosses: "You hear much about productivity improvement, but in the last 10 years we have experienced only a two percent productivity factor."

The average steel worker has not just heard about productivity—he sweats it out every day. And he knows that it is Abel who is helping the company

Chicago Transit Men Demand Pay

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—Operating personnel for the Chicago Transit Authority are once again preparing for a head-on confrontation in defense of their wages.

On March 15, they narrowly voted to call off a strike and accept the company's offer for a lump sum payment of the fourteen and one-half cents by the Pay Board during 1973. But when the checks were issued last week, there was not one penny paid.

The narrow no-strike vote from Locals 241 and 308 of the Amalgamated Transit Union reflect mistrust of the company on several counts. Even the Executive Board was sharply divided, with 15 out of 37 members voting to stick to the March 17 strike date, in spite of sharp intervention from the ATU International.

"It was not clear when the money was going to be received for the back pay," one dissident Board member told the *Bulletin*. "And when the checks came out on Wednesday and Thursday, the money wasn't there. They claim the checks were printed up before the decision and that it takes five days to issue new checks. But if you wanted to go on vacation or something, they always say it only takes two days to get a check out."

According to the agreement, the CTA has to pay the back money due "within 90 days" of the signing date—March 15. As of now, state subsidy money is being provided to keep the CTA in operation only until June 1.

WARNING

Even more important, this subsidy money cannot be used to pay any wage increases negotiated after the bill itself was passed, on the very same day the union voted. Since the CTA employees are working under an extension of their old contract, which expired November 30, this is a clear warning that the fourteen and one-half cents is the last raise the drivers are to expect.

The ranks of the ATU must wage an immediate fight for a new strike date. In addition, this fight must be taken back into the other 17 unions operating the CTA—workers who are covered by the dangerous new agreement, but who did not vote directly for it.

crack the whip.

Abel signed the Productivity Clause into the 1971 contract. Abel met with the company bosses in Washington, D.C. to set up an on-going commission. And now he helps them produce a program so that even a worker's off the job hours are not free from the company's speedup message.

Abel collaborated in a narration that is summarized by the statement "It's manager versus manager; skill versus skill." But millions of workers built the USWA and every union in America and internationally because they disagree with Abel. They know it is worker against employer in every plant, in every country. And they know that this dispute is never settled "peacefully."

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Gangsters In The White House

The latest reports on the Watergate Conspiracy have wiped away all serious doubts as to who actually plotted the campaign of sabotage and espionage against the Democratic Party last year.

Richard Nixon is now up to his ears in filth as virtually all his leading White House aides have been implicated in the conspiracy by the testimony of acting FBI chief L. Patrick Gray and the letter of CIA-operative James McCord.

Among other things, the same Nixon who recently demanded the death sentence in the name of law and order apparently ordered his legal adviser, John Dean, to wreck the FBI investigation of Watergate.

Although he has invoked the shield of executive privilege to hide the naked gangsterism in his Administration—even McCord admitted that he feared for his life—what is already known about the Watergate Conspiracy has unmasked the real nature of the man whom the American capitalists groomed for the presidency for more than 20 years.

Why they wanted him in the White House is exposed in another piece of information that came to light last week: that the conglomerate ITT discussed with Nixon's top adviser, Henry Kissinger, the possibility of organizing a terror campaign against Chilean workers to prevent the election of Salvador Allende.

As those two recent examples of the Administration's domestic and international gangsterism demonstrate, big business put Richard Nixon in the White House because they know that he is the man who is ready to do a job on the working class in the United States and every part of the world.

Nixon, the architect of the anti-communist witch-hunt of the 1950s, will not shrink from using the most barbaric methods to destroy the rights and living conditions of the working class.

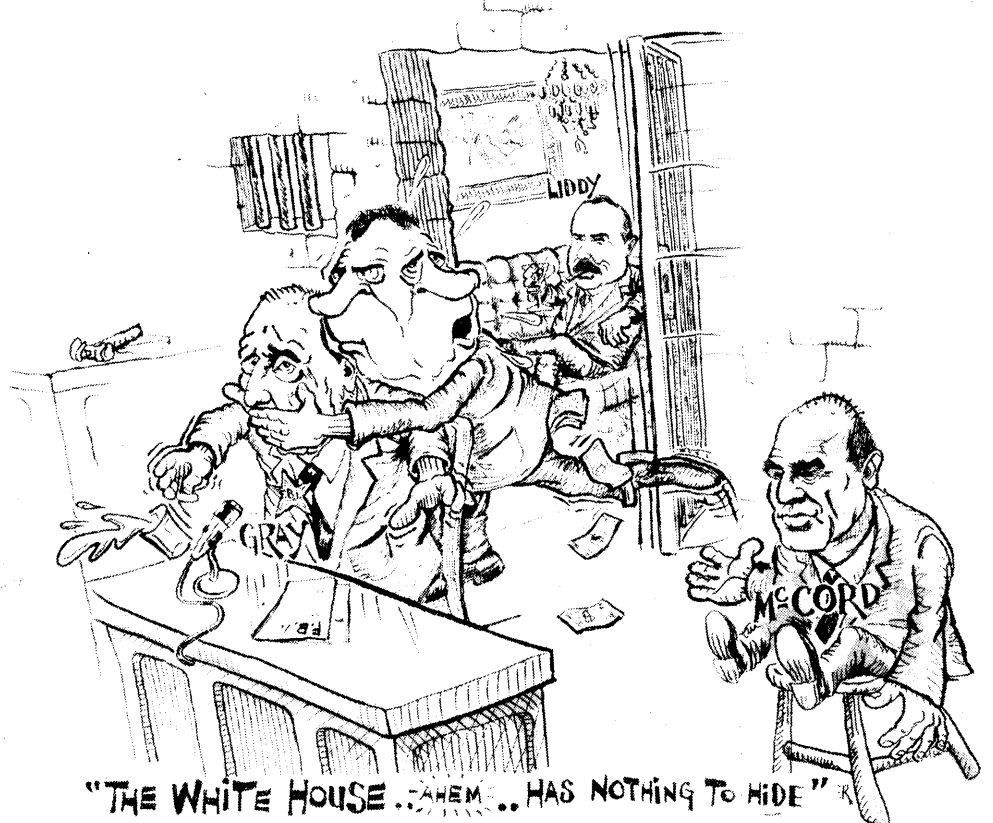
With the approval of Nixon, police forces throughout the country have developed the most sophisticated techniques to terrorize working class youth. In Detroit, STRESS police arbitrarily break into workers' homes or pistol whip "suspects" stopped on the streets at night for no reason.

These policies are required by the capitalists to deal with their insoluble economic crisis. They are not confined only to the United States. In Britain, Prime Minister Heath has launched a vicious law and order campaign against the youth and police have beaten up strikers. Similarly, his cabinet has been riddled with corruption.

Although Watergate has exposed the brutal character of the government leading the offensive against the workers, the labor bureaucracy is in open alliance with this enemy.

At the UAW convention, Leonard Woodcock assured delegates that he would have no problem working with Richard Nixon. "There is no evidence of an administration that is going after the labor movement," he said.

These bureaucrats are prepared to work with Nixon but the working class cannot. The defense of every right requires the political mobilization of the working class against this government through the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Phase Three and to build a labor party. This will be the central theme of the historic May Day rally in New York's Union Square called by the Workers League, Young Socialists and Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party.



What we think

Roberts Clings To Neo-Capitalism

In his article in the March 23 Militant, Dick Roberts reveals the complete theoretical bankruptcy of the Socialist Workers Party as he impressionistically gropes for an explanation of the crisis gripping international capitalism.

What is reflected in this article, entitled "International Monetary Crisis Deepest Since the 1930s," is the depth of the SWP's rejection of Marxism and its sharp turn toward reformism and social democracy.

The fruits of the SWP's break from the International Committee and its capitulation to Pabloism in 1963 are becoming overripe and, as with the parties of the Second International and the Stalinist Communist Parties, its rejection of Marxist theory inevitably leads it to turn its back on the international class struggle and to become the theoretical apologist for its "own" capitalist class as the new inter-imperialist rivalry sharpens.

Roberts' characterization of the crisis as the "deepest since the 1930s" comes only weeks after Ernest Mandel, the chief spokesman of international Pabloism, proclaimed in the pages of the Militant that the international recession appeared to have ended.

But he can offer only the most superficial commentary on the events surrounding the present crisis, having no understanding of the fundamental nature of the contradictions ripping apart the capitalist system.

Thus, in commenting on the recently-concluded Brussels pact, in which six Common Market countries agreed to float their currencies against the dollar, he says: "Will the new agreements work any better than the last ones? There are too many variables to be sure."

Instead of understanding the insolubility of the crisis, Roberts holds out hope for a solution in new monetary arrangements and trade agreements, and above all he sees no urgency in the situation for the working class.

While the very force of the unfolding crisis brings him into conflict with the absurd conclusion reached by Mandel last month, Roberts clings desperately to Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism, which finds its roots in pragmatism and empiricism.

According to Mandel's neo-capitalist schema, the decline of the dollar is a reflection of the growing attack by a European economic giant against an "unproductive" and "uncompetitive" American capitalism. Roberts likewise views the monetary crisis in terms of these supposedly changed relationships and their effects on international trade.

Thus, he calls the Brussels agree-

ment "a new stage in the development of European-wide cooperation in international competition, although the terms could not be worked out to include Britain, Ireland, and Italy in the float."

Rather than being a victory for European economic cooperation as embodied in the Common Market, the Brussels agreement was the exact opposite: a dramatic admission that such cooperation has become impossible as the international crisis brings to the surface the violent contradictions which threaten to explode any semblance of unity among the European capitalists. This is the meaning of their inability to include Britain, Ireland and Italy in the float.

By turning his back on dialectical materialism and the struggle of the international working class against capitalism, Roberts is forced to view the crisis through the narrow spectacles of capitalism and he thus comes to profoundly nationalist conclusions.

The present monetary crisis is above all a crisis of value rooted in the social nature of production and the tremendous overproduction of capital based on the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944.

This found expression in the unparalleled inflation of the dollar and expansion of the international credit system which was necessary to artificially sustain the postwar boom and allow the capitalist class to postpone a head-on collision with the working class.

What Roberts fails to even mention in his article is the central role of gold in the crisis as the only real standard of value in the capitalist world. He merely comments that Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 to remove the dollar's gold backing "meant that the exchange rate for each currency in relation to the dollar would be established by supply and demand."

What Nixon's action really meant, however, was that the dollar, now cut off from any ties to real value, could not continue for long to serve as the basis of international exchange.

Here we can see the real relationship which is developing

between the US and Europe, for above all, Nixon's action was a fundamental attack on the European economies which, since Bretton Woods, have been entirely dependent upon the hundreds of billions of dollars of paper capital which formed the basis of postwar European capitalist reconstruction.

This mountain of dollar and credit capital now comes into increasing opposition to the industrial capital which it set into motion, and as the financiers panic and abandon the credit system for gold and "hard" currencies, the capitalist world will become paralyzed and thrown into a catastrophic depression with the destruction of the greater portion of its capital.

While the expansion of credit allowed the capitalists to sustain the postwar boom for 20 years, since August 15 1971 the credit system, as Marx put it, has assumed the form of "the purest and most colossal form of gambling and swindling" and accelerates "the elements of disintegration of the old mode of production."

The strength which Roberts and Mandel see in European and Japanese capitalism is thus merely the expression of the huge mountain of paper capital pumped in by American capitalism, and it will disintegrate explosively with the collapse of credit.

The task posed for American Trotskyists, therefore, is to begin at every point from the perspective of this international crisis and the struggle of the international working class for power. This means a ruthless struggle against the pragmatism and nationalism which form the perspective of American capitalism as well as all the centrists and the Stalinists.

It is this struggle which Roberts denies. Instead, he ends up accepting the perspective of Nixon and providing a theoretical justification and cover for Nixon's attacks on the international working class and his preparations for war against his imperialist rivals.

Detroit Gets 63 Subs

The subscription drive increased over last week bringing in 530 subs. We now have a grand total of 4293 toward our goal of 12,000 by June 1.

The rate is still below what is needed. We must get in 700 subs next week to meet our one-third target. This can be done, but it requires that each branch have a full scale sub mobilization this weekend.

Detroit led the way with 63 subs followed by 37 from St. Louis, 36 from LA, and 35 from Madison. A very good response to the paper was experienced in sub work in Tarrytown and in Coney Island.

The following is an introduction to a new edition of *What Is Spartacist?* by Tim Wohlforth. It deals with the evolution of Spartacist under conditions of the development of the international crisis of capitalism, particularly since August 1971. It is therefore a contribution to the break which must be made with petty bourgeois radicalism if revolutionaries are to meet the requirements of the new situation brought about by Nixon's war on the international working class. The series "Renegades in Action" will continue next week with a discussion of the British International Socialist group and its syndicalist policies.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Over the past 25 years the world Trotskyist movement has been passing through a difficult period of internal struggle. During the inflationary postwar boom—the product of the capitalists fear of confrontation with the working class and in no sense a solution to the crisis of capitalism—powerful revisionist and liquidationist tendencies developed within the Fourth International. Michel Pablo, the postwar International Secretary of the Fourth International, was the leading figure for many years in these revisionist efforts to liquidate the movement.

The position of Pablo and Pabloism was to abandon the Transitional Program upon which the Fourth International was founded in 1938. He held that the Transitional Program was not applicable because of the "new reality" of the postwar period. This theory of a "new reality" was based on impressions of the permanence of the postwar capitalist boom, the apparent strength of Stalinism, the continuing struggles in the colonial countries which were led by petty bourgeois nationalist forces, and the very slow and largely politically reformist life of the mass of workers in the metropolitan countries. All this was seen as permanent and the underlying crisis of capitalism was totally ignored. On this basis, the construction of Trotskyist parties was abandoned in favor of putting pressure on existing Stalinist, reformist and nationalist leaderships.

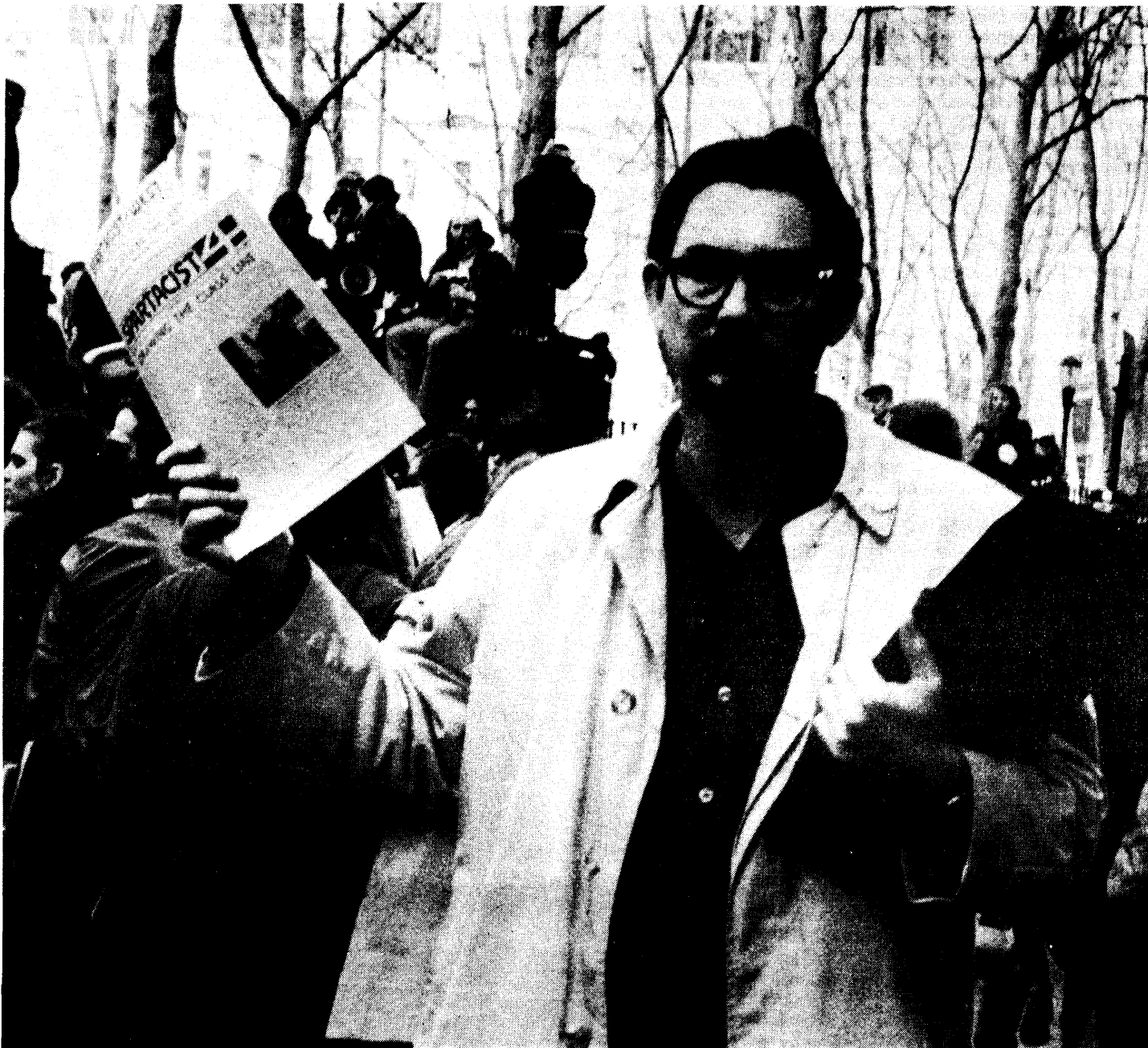
Thus, Pabloism abandoned the Marxist method for impressionism and empiricism. It turned its back on the working class and represented a petty bourgeois tendency sensitive to the pressures of the capitalist class itself.

The 25 year struggle against Pabloism, which is by no means over, has been the central theoretical preparation of the world Trotskyist movement for the new period of international capitalist crisis and class struggle we are now in so deeply. As the International Committee has analyzed all along, the very factors which made for the boom and the slow movement of the working class in the past period, that is, the inflationary monetary arrangements worked out at Bretton Woods in 1944, today have a revolutionary impact on capitalist relations, ripping apart the compromises between classes and requiring preparation for the fundamental struggle for power itself. Now we can actually construct mass revolutionary parties in a number of countries.

This new situation makes our study of the past development of the Trotskyist movement all the more urgent. The struggle against revisionism led to the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1953. The IC has carried this struggle forward ever since, thereby maintaining the continuity of Trotskyism, of Bolshevism, into this new period when mass parties can be built. For this very reason, the struggle against revisionism is our theoretical capital. It is our development of Marxism from Trotsky's day, so essential in equipping and training our movement for revolutionary tasks today.

Theoretical development over the whole past period has been painfully slow reflecting the isolation of the Trotskyist movement from revolutionary struggle because of the boom. Nevertheless, theoretical

RENEGADES IN ACTION: Spartacist League



"Robertson was the granddaddy of them all"

development has taken place. In fact, the very slowness of this development has made the lessons learned over this period that much more important and substantial. The issues in dispute with revisionism were and are the central issues: the nature of the period, perspectives, the party itself, Marxism.

The struggle with James Robertson and his Spartacist League is a significant chapter in the history of this 25 year struggle against revisionism. Robertson was originally a supporter of the International Committee. He was among those who originally opposed the Socialist Workers Party's embracing of Pabloite revisionism in 1961. However, he broke with the International Committee at the precise point where opposition to the SWP's revisionism required a break with the method of the SWP itself. Through such a break, the development of an alternative Marxist perspective could be put forward.

Robertson was among the first to carry through a formal break with the revisionism of the SWP only to embrace it in another form. He has been followed by many others: Lynn Marcus and his Labor Committee, Art Fox and his United National Caucus, Harry Turner and his *Vanguard Newsletter*, and now Passan and Gregorich and their Class Struggle League. Robertson was the granddaddy of them all. On all the fundamental questions, they agree with Robertson. In turn, Robertson still agrees fundamentally with the SWP.

The main tenets of Robertson's position go back to his original break with the International Committee in 1962. Robertson did not begin from the continuity of world Trotskyism which has taken the

form of the bitter struggle of the International Committee against revisionism. He recognized neither the theoretical importance of that struggle, nor the importance of the international movement constructed through that struggle, nor above all the actual content of what was learned through that struggle. For this reason, Robertson has no perspective for the present period. Lacking a perspective, Robertson exists for the purpose of existing. He maintains a circle of people who function as middle class radicals.

INTERNATIONALISM

The publication of Leon Trotsky's *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* is of the greatest importance not only for the light it sheds on the Spanish events and revolutionary strategy in general but particularly for the discussion of differences with Andres Nin and the Spanish section of the International Left Opposition. The dispute with Nin was over the same issue.

Trotsky, over a long period, battled Andres Nin's refusal to really concern with the day to day life of the international movement, to seek to learn from this life, and in turn to develop a policy in Spain which was rooted in international perspectives. He accused Nin of carrying out a passive propagandistic existence which he covered with arguments about the exceptional character of events in Spain. In the end, Nin fused with the centrist Maurin and constructed the POUM whose first act was to embrace the Popular Front in Spain. The degenerate, centrist role of the POUM made a critical contribution to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution.

Trotsky writes:

"If the Spanish Oppositionists remain

unacquainted with this struggle (the internal struggle of the International Left Opposition—T. W.) then that must be considered a great shortcoming. We cannot develop true revolutionaries without giving the young communists the chance to follow the day-to-day elaboration of the Bolshevik policies not only in the Spanish section but in the other sections, of the International Opposition as well. Only in this manner can we gain experience, build and strengthen the revolutionary consciousness. This is precisely the most important part of the democratic party regime that we strive to establish."

"Undoubtedly you agree that just as socialism cannot be built in one country, a Marxist policy cannot be pursued in one country alone..."

"It is true that I have myself met some comrades in the ranks of the Left Opposition who speak of the internal ideological struggles in a belittling sense, calling them 'quibbles, intrigues.' Such comrades have not learned in the school of Marx and Lenin. In order to prepare ourselves for the great struggles, we must learn to be steadfast and uncompromising in all the current principled questions, even when they are of a minor character."

And:

"The Spanish 'Left Communists' (Andres Nin, Juan Andrade and others) have more than once tried to parry our criticism of their collaborationist policies by citing our lack of understanding of the 'special conditions' in Spain. This is the customary argument put to use by all opportunists. But the first duty of a genuine proletarian revolutionist lies in translating the special conditions of his country into the international language of Marxism, which is understandable even

beyond the confines of one's own country."

And finally:

"Nin was concerned with the 'independence' of the Spanish section, that is, with his own passivity, with his own petty political comfort; he didn't want his captious dilettantism to be disturbed by great events."

As this pamphlet thoroughly documents, Robertson broke with internationalism in 1962 when he refused to subordinate his tactical differences to the International Committee. Despite this, in 1966 he was invited to the Conference of the International Committee in an effort to break him from his nationalist position. At that Conference he once again refused to submit to the international discipline and was expelled from the IC. Ever since, his role has been one of seeking unprincipled alliances internationally which are aimed against the IC.

It is significant to note the position he took at the 1966 Conference. He stated to that Conference that there no longer existed a Fourth International. All that existed was several factions calling themselves "Fourth International" each of which contained some worthy elements. His hope was to bring about some sort of regroupment of these forces on the basis of Spartacist.

This position meant a rejection of the struggle of the International Committee against revisionism by equating the IC with the revisionist splinters. It meant therefore a denial of the theoretical capital accumulated in the struggle of the IC against all forms of revisionism. This in turn placed Spartacist on national rather than international grounds. As Trotsky insists in his Spanish writings, a revolutionary perspective can only be developed on an international basis in our epoch. So Spartacist proceeds without such a perspective as does the revisionist Pabloite leadership of the SWP.

In this period since Robertson developed his approach, several other individuals and tendencies have proceeded along the same basic path. The recent opposition within the SWP has been dominated by such forces. First came David Fender who formed his own faction within the SWP called the Communist Tendency. Fender's position was to pick at all the weaknesses of the early years of the Fourth International, even under Trotsky, maintaining that the Fourth International was nothing but a "junkyard." There was Trotsky who was a great man and there was the Fourth International which, for Fender, was nothing but opportunist and sectarian. He denied what Trotsky felt was so important—the great theoretical capital the movement gained in the struggle against all these tendencies.

Fender's position was then taken up and amplified further by a faction that arose within the other opposition tendency, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. This faction, led by Barbara Gregorich and Phil Passan, was the subject of our recent pamphlet: *In Defense of Trotskyism: An Answer To Those Who Vilify Our History.*⁶ Passan and Gregorich have simply expanded upon Fender's arguments bringing them up to date. They oppose the split of the International Committee from the Pabloites in 1953, attacking the strength of James P. Cannon, not just his weaknesses. To Passan and Gregorich, there is no history. Everything preceding their entry into politics is one mass of confusion and mistakes. And then there was Passan and Gregorich!

Recently this faction split with the SWP and started unity negotiations with the *Vanguard Newsletter* group of Harry Turner. They have one difference with Turner. They no longer support the Fourth International even in name. It is all over and done with. We must, Gregorich and Passan tells us, now form a Fifth International! Turner sees this matter of the Fourth International as essentially a tactical difference and certainly no stumbling bloc to unification.⁷ At least we can say of the SWP that they adhere in name to the Fourth International and its traditions.

The evolution of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), former French section of the International Committee, must also be discussed. In 1966 the OCI stood with the IC against Robertson, voting for his expulsion. It voted for a mo-

tion clearly stating that the Fourth International had not been destroyed and that the IC represented its continuity. But it refused then, as it had during the earlier struggle with the SWP, to train its cadres in the theoretical lessons to be learned from this struggle against Robertson. So it was only a short time before the OCI itself followed the road of Robertson.

In July 1971, the OCI sponsored a youth conference in Essen, Germany. At that conference, the Socialist Labour League, supported by the Workers League and others, put forward an amendment which insisted that it was necessary to struggle for dialectical materialism in the course of building revolutionary youth organizations. The OCI opposed this motion and voted with the youth organization of the POUM! This was the beginning of

"Israeli nation." At this conference they declared the International Committee to be finished and reorganized themselves into an "organizing committee" to construct some new international movement in the future. Thus the OCI repudiated the very positions it took against Robertson in 1966.

Clearly the issue of internationalism and the continuity of the Fourth International, which has been central in our differences with Spartacist, are questions of the greatest importance to the development of the Fourth International and the defeat of centrism.

PERSPECTIVES

Having broken from internationalism and denying the continuity of the Fourth International, Spartacist cannot develop

This is the meaning of the lead article in the March 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard*. Under a subheading entitled "Monetary Cranks and Catastrophe-Mongering" the Robertsonites write:

"There are few better proofs of the theoretical poverty of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL) in Britain and Tim Wohlforth's Workers League (WL) in the U.S. than their rote dependence on Lyn Marcus, who is himself at least a creative crackpot. The 15 February *Workers Press* is headlined 'Capitalism Hits the Dust as Nixon Puts the Boot In.' Discussing the effects of the devaluation, the article states 'For Europe especially it will mean massive recession, the physical destruction of capital and millions and millions of unemployed.'"



St. Louis Conference where 350 trade unionists founded the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to take forward the fight against Nixon and the union bureaucracy. Spartacist accuses the Workers League of building a "Meany Labor consciousness."

the break of the OCI from the IC.

During August of 1971, the POR in Bolivia carried out a policy identical with that of the POUM during the Spanish Revolution. It refused to conduct itself independently of the Stalinists and the nationalists and it ended up asking the military, under Torres, for arms. The result was that it contributed to the defeat of the Bolivian working class. When the policies of Lora were sharply criticized by the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, the OCI used this as its pretext to split from the International Committee.

The future evolution of the OCI bears out its political affinity with Nin historically and Robertson today. Having carried through an unprincipled split in support of centrism, the OCI launched a full-scale war on the Fourth International. In June 1972, they held a rump "preconference" of their International Committee together with the Hungarian LRSB, the Argentine *Politica Obrera*, which supports Lora, and the Israeli *Vanguard* group which supports the

any understanding of the capitalist crisis and therefore any perspective. It has positions, many of them, but no perspective. It is rooted, as is the SWP, in American national conditions. On that basis, it is unable to construct anything beyond a middle class circle.

This pamphlet documents the opposition of Spartacist to the IC's understanding of the capitalist crisis. On this issue they have always stood with the SWP leadership. As early as 1962, Robertson opposed our perspectives on this critical point. At the 1966 Conference, Robertson proceeded not from the international crisis, but rather from so-called American conditions of working class passivity.

Despite the complete confirmation of the perspectives of the International Committee in Nixon's August 1971 actions and the deepening monetary crisis ever since, Spartacist has persisted in its position. In fact, just as earlier when Spartacist did the hatchet work for the SWP against the IC with the Tate Affair, so today it seeks to suggest to the SWP a rationalization for its bankrupt assessment of capitalism.

The theoretical assessment of the capitalist economy was developed by the SLL and the IC as a whole and presented in its 1961 resolution *World Prospects For Socialism* at a time when Robertson himself was a supporter of the IC and Marcus was a supporter of the SWP majority. We owe Marcus no theoretical depth and accept no responsibility for his theories on any question.

defend the position that the capitalist crisis, which has required the recent devaluation of the dollar, will mean recession and unemployment in Europe. We may add it will mean that here as well.

Spartacist then proceeds to state that the "root cause" of the capitalist crisis lies in the productive process and is rooted in the tendency of profit to fall. Next, we are told that the currency crisis is only "one manifestation" of the fundamental crisis of capitalism. West European inflation is another and "most important" manifestation. Then it is added that capitalism will not collapse on its own but must be "pushed" to collapse through the action of the working class. Finally we are

informed that in any event there has been a monetary crisis in capitalism ever since the gold standard was modified in the 1930s.

The result of all this is really to assert that there exists a general capitalist crisis and that such a crisis has existed since 1914. Thus, there is no significant difference between one period and another. There is therefore nothing marked about the period we are now in to distinguish it from the past boom period of capitalism. This means we can proceed politically pretty much as we have proceeded in the past with propaganda activities.

It is with this kind of "perspectives" that Spartacist proceeded at its recent conference in November 1972:

"The reporter characterized the present

forcing a confrontation between capital and labor for wages, is itself brought about by the export of American capital to Europe to avoid the falling rate of profit here and itself contributes to the monetary crisis. The very way in which capitalism temporarily avoided the immediate impact of its crisis, and thus allowed for a period of economic development, determines the specific manifestation of the renewed capitalist crises today.

Such a specific, rather than abstract, assessment leads to the unavoidable conclusion that today the capitalist class must prepare to crush the working class and the working class must prepare for revolutionary struggle. Such an assessment determines what we do as Marxists to prepare a leadership in the working class for this new period. The assessment

For this reason, Spartacist played no political role during the critical 1972 elections. The elections were simply an event to observe, to barely even comment upon. Spartacist saw no danger in them nor potential for the development of the consciousness of the American working class of its political tasks.

Immediately following the elections, Spartacist held its third National Conference. It has held only three in ten years! According to the report of the Conference in the January 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the main political report did not even mention the labor party. Its only mention of the elections was: "The predominant mood as evidenced in the U.S. elections was a shift to the right and the threat of a new anti-red campaign to highlight the end to 'permissiveness'..."¹⁰

In the article on the financial crisis in the *March Workers Vanguard*, the labor party receives only a disdainful mention:

"The SLL-WL use Marcus' economic catastrophe-mongering to whip their followers into a hysteria for various campaigns (e.g., the WL's instant labor party, the SLL's 'long marches' against unemployment.)"¹¹

Above all, Spartacist wants to avoid hysteria, frenzy, strenuous activity like marching, campaigns of any sort!

The main attention to the labor party on the part of Spartacist in the recent period is to denounce the Workers League for advocating it. In a number of what we may well call hysterical leaflets and articles, we have been denounced for advocating the formation of a labor party dominated by George Meany and I. W. Abel. They base this accusation on articles in the *Bulletin* during the recent election campaign which reported that Abel and Meany were using the labor party demand as a way of seeking to frighten their erstwhile Democratic Party allies who had so rudely removed them from any power within the Democratic Party. Our position was and is that this development was of considerable importance because it expressed the collision course now developing between the trade unions and both the Democrats and Republicans which is wrenching apart the old relationship between the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party machine.

We not only do not rely upon the Meanys and Abels to form such a party but we have developed our own independent campaign for a labor party on our political basis. In Chicago in October and again in St. Louis in February, we have proceeded with the construction of a rank and file force within the labor movement committed to fighting for a labor party based on socialist policies and have pitted this campaign against the labor bureaucracy. We have developed a transitional program for such a labor party in our *Case For The Labor Party*, which we have sold to workers in the tens of thousands of copies.¹²

Refusing to assess the capitalist crisis, Spartacist is blind to the real changes which took place during the 1972 elections. What happened was not a shift to the right but the collapse of labor's alliance with the Democratic Party which left the working class prostrate before Nixon because of the sabotage of the struggle for the labor party by all sections of the labor bureaucracy. The role of Spartacist in this situation was to assist the labor bureaucracy in this by its own abstentionism.

We should note at this point the Spartacist position of "exemplary" activity in the trade unions. Spartacist begins from its position as an isolated "sub-propaganda group." It sees its role as only the development of propaganda. Activity in the trade unions, therefore, is not directed to leading workers in actual struggles against the real and present threats they face.

It is rather as an "example" to show to middle class elements how Spartacist policies might work out in the trade unions should Spartacist ever be in a position to do anything much in the unions. As a result of such an approach, the only union they have consistently worked in for a period of time is the Social Service Employees Union. There, they have been completely wiped out. In actual practice in the unions such a policy serves to bolster the existing labor bureaucracy by

refusing to actually battle to remove it.

It is necessary to also note the role of Art Fox on this question of the labor party, which parallels so closely the evolution of the OCI on the question of the continuity of the International Committee. In 1962 and in 1963, Fox, then a supporter of the International Committee, insisted that the SWP leadership "take the labor party demand off the shelf" and make it a fighting demand within the labor movement. Fox urged that this be central to a turn to the trade unions. We urged such a turn on the basis of the development of the capitalist crisis.

However, Fox refused to proceed politically from the continuity of the International Committee and the theoretical lessons to be learned from its history of struggle against revisionism. He had and has the greatest disdain for theory. To this day he maintains a state capitalist position on the Soviet Union, refusing to defend it against imperialism. So in 1964 Fox broke with the International Committee but remained with the SWP, reflecting a position which was closer to that of the SWP than the IC. Then, in 1965, when the SWP threatened to interfere with his union work, he politically broke with them.

Now we meet Fox again as a leader of the United National Caucus of the UAW. At its last conference, it was this very same Art Fox who led the opposition to the proposal that the UNC favor the labor party. He did this to maintain relations with the Stalinists and left sections of the labor bureaucracy. In 1962, when the crisis was at a much earlier stage of its development, Fox wanted the labor party off the shelf. Now, in 1973, when the crisis is ripping up social relations in America, and Nixon, with the support of the Democrats, is planning direct blows against the labor movement, Fox wants the labor party back on that shelf, in the back of the closet, with the door padlocked.

Fox wants a labor policy which is active only in the trade union sense and completely passive politically. Thus, his role in the unions is completely reactionary and was prepared for by his turn away from the lessons learned in the internal struggle within the Fourth International.

Here, once again, we can see the close political connection between Spartacist and the SWP revisionists. Where Spartacist simply abstains, covering itself with "left" noises, the SWP runs reformist social democratic electoral campaigns. But these campaigns are further and further removed from the working class as the movement of the working class becomes more and more powerful. As the crisis deepens, bringing with it an ever deeper conflict between the labor movement and the Democrats, the SWP retreats further and further away from the struggle for the labor party. Thus, in the 1960 election campaign, Farrell Dobbs dusted the labor party demand off, removed it from the shelf and utilized it—for the duration of the election campaign. However, in 1972, Linda Jenness subordinates it to a minor demand within the election platform and treats the working class itself with disdain and even hatred.

Now, in the 1973 New York City election campaign, the labor party is removed from the section of the program entitled "For Mass Independent Political Action," remaining only in a section on inflation and unemployment. The position now taken by the SWP is to substitute socialist propaganda campaigns, which are basically social democratic, for the actual struggle in the labor movement for the labor party. In essence, the passive position on the struggle for politics within the working class of Spartacist and the SWP is identical.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Considering that it limits itself to "exemplary" activity in the trade unions, rejects all hysteria, frenzy, forced marches, long marches, campaigns, panic and worry in general, the question which comes up is exactly what does Spartacist do? The proceedings of its third national conference gives us some indication. It devotes itself to "the continuing transformation of the SL into the nucleus of the vanguard party..." It views itself, as we have noted in this pamphlet, as neither a vanguard party... It views itself, as we such a party. In fact, it entitled the article



Labor Party" and charges that the *Bulletin* "fails after the class at its present level of

situation as a 'profitably uneven period' for the SL or a generalized leftward shift internationally. The 'new Nixon' policy has apparently bought some time for the U.S. ruling class by defusing the war issue, thus allowing domestic fears and racial tensions to come to the fore, but within the context of the generalized crisis-ridden instability of the bourgeois order which had exhausted its possibilities of economic development since 1914."

The truth is that this is no assessment or perspective at all. For Robertson there is no difference between 1926 and 1936 or 1953 and 1973. Within this framework, Spartacist can see little but a clever Nixon buying off the working class at home while a leftward shift takes place elsewhere.

A serious Marxist assessment proceeds differently. It begins with an understanding of how the capitalist class, faced with a determined working class after World War Two, chose to offset the general tendency for profit to fall while avoiding a direct confrontation with this working class through dollar inflation. The inflation which presently rips through Europe,

of Spartacist, which differs in no essential way from that of the Pabloites, is aimed at avoiding precisely these tasks. Its purpose is to lull to political sleep its followers so that Spartacist may persist in a passive political existence in a new period, which now requires above all the active construction of a leadership in the working class.

LABOR PARTY

Since Spartacist rejects internationalism and has no understanding of the development of the capitalist crisis, it has no policy for the American working class today. While favoring the formation of a labor party, with various qualifications, it does not campaign for such a party. The labor party remains no more than something needed "in general" and at some point in the future because of the general crisis of capitalism. The labor party remains abstract and propagandistic and the Spartacist's role in relation to the political needs of the American working class is abstentionist and passive.

beyond the confines of one's own country."

And finally:
"Nin was concerned with the 'independence' of the Spanish section, that is, with his own passivity, with his own petty political comfort; he didn't want his captious dilettantism to be disturbed by great events."

As this pamphlet thoroughly documents, Robertson broke with internationalism in 1962 when he refused to subordinate his tactical differences to the International Committee. Despite this, in 1966 he was invited to the Conference of the International Committee in an effort to break him from his nationalist position. At that Conference he once again refused to submit to the international discipline and was expelled from the IC. Ever since, his role has been one of seeking unprincipled alliances internationally which are aimed against the IC.

It is significant to note the position he took at the 1966 Conference. He stated that Conference that there no longer existed a Fourth International. All that existed was several factions calling themselves "Fourth International" each of which contained some worthy elements. His hope was to bring about some sort of regroupment of these forces on the basis of Spartacist.

This position meant a rejection of the struggle of the International Committee against revisionism by equating the IC with the revisionist splinters. It meant therefore a denial of the theoretical capital accumulated in the struggle of the IC against all forms of revisionism. This in turn placed Spartacist on national rather than international grounds. As Trotsky insists in his Spanish writings, a revolutionary perspective can only be developed on an international basis in our epoch. So Spartacist proceeds without such a perspective as does the revisionist Pabloite leadership of the SWP.

In this period since Robertson developed his approach, several other individuals and tendencies have proceeded along the same basic path. The recent opposition within the SWP has been dominated by such forces. First came David Fender who formed his own faction within the SWP called the Communist Tendency. Fender's position was to pick at all the weaknesses of the early years of the Fourth International, even under Trotsky, maintaining that the Fourth International was nothing but a "junkyard." There was Trotsky who was a great man and there was the Fourth International which, for Fender, was nothing but opportunist and sectarian. He denied what Trotsky felt was so important—the great theoretical capital the movement gained in the struggle against all these tendencies.

Fender's position was then taken up and amplified further by a faction that arose within the other opposition tendency, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. This faction, led by Barbara Gregorich and Phil Passan, was the subject of our recent pamphlet: *In Defense of Trotskyism: An Answer To Those Who Vilify Our History.* Passan and Gregorich have simply expanded upon Fender's arguments bringing them up to date. They oppose the split of the International Committee from the Pabloites in 1953, attacking the strength of James P. Cannon, not just his weaknesses. To Passan and Gregorich, there is no history. Everything preceding their entry into politics is one mass of confusion and mistakes. And then there was Passan and Gregorich!

Recently this faction split with the SWP and started unity negotiations with the Vanguard Newsletter group of Harry Turner. They have one difference with Turner. They no longer support the Fourth International even in name. It is all over and done with. We must, Gregorich and Passan tells us, now form a Fifth International! Turner sees this matter of the Fourth International as essentially a tactical difference and certainly no stumbling bloc to unification. At least we can say of the SWP that they adhere in name to the Fourth International and its traditions.

The evolution of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), former French section of the International Committee, must also be discussed. In 1966 the OCI stood with the IC against Robertson, voting for his expulsion. It voted for a mo-

tion clearly stating that the Fourth International had not been destroyed and that the IC represented its continuity. But it refused then, as it had during the earlier struggle with the SWP, to train its cadres in the theoretical lessons to be learned from this struggle against Robertson. So it was only a short time before the OCI itself followed the road of Robertson.

In July 1971, the OCI sponsored a youth conference in Essen, Germany. At that conference, the Socialist Labour League, supported by the Workers League and others, put forward an amendment which insisted that it was necessary to struggle for dialectical materialism in the course of building revolutionary youth organizations. The OCI opposed this motion and voted with the youth organization of the POUM! This was the beginning of

"Israeli nation." At this conference they declared the International Committee to be finished and reorganized themselves into an "organizing committee" to construct some new international movement in the future. Thus the OCI repudiated the very positions it took against Robertson in 1966.

Clearly the issue of internationalism and the continuity of the Fourth International, which has been central in our differences with Spartacist, are questions of the greatest importance to the development of the Fourth International and the defeat of centrism.

PERSPECTIVES

Having broken from internationalism and denying the continuity of the Fourth International, Spartacist cannot develop

This is the meaning of the lead article in the March 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard*. Under a subheading entitled "Monetary Cranks and Catastrophe-Mongering" the Robertsonites write:

"There are few better proofs of the theoretical poverty of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL) in Britain and Tim Wohlforth's Workers League (WL) in the U.S. than their rote dependence on Lyn Marcus, who is himself at least a creative crackpot. The 15 February *Workers Press* is headlined 'Capitalism Hits the Dust as Nixon Puts the Boot In.' Discussing the effects of the devaluation, the article states 'For Europe especially it will mean massive recession, the physical destruction of capital and millions and millions of unemployed.'"



St. Louis Conference where 350 trade unionists founded the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to take forward the fight against Nixon and the union bureaucracy. Spartacist accuses the Workers League of

building a "Meany Labor Party" and charges that the Bulletin "tails after the class at its present level of consciousness."

the break of the OCI from the IC.

During August of 1971, the POR in Bolivia carried out a policy identical with that of the POUM during the Spanish Revolution. It refused to conduct itself independently of the Stalinists and the nationalists and it ended up asking the military, under Torres, for arms. The result was that it contributed to the defeat of the Bolivian working class. When the policies of Lora were sharply criticized by the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, the OCI used this as its pretext to split from the International Committee.

The future evolution of the OCI bears out its political affinity with Nin historically and Robertson today. Having carried through an unprincipled split in support of centrism, the OCI launched a full-scale war on the Fourth International. In June 1972, they held a rump "preconference" of their International Committee together with the Hungarian LRSB, the Argentine Política Obrera, which supports Lora, and the Israeli Vanguard group which supports the

any understanding of the capitalist crisis and therefore any perspective. It has positions, many of them, but no perspective. It is rooted, as is the SWP, in American national conditions. On that basis, it is unable to construct anything beyond a middle class circle.

This pamphlet documents the opposition of Spartacist to the IC's understanding of the capitalist crisis. On this issue they have always stood with the SWP leadership. As early as 1962, Robertson opposed our perspectives on this critical point. At the 1966 Conference, Robertson proceeded not from the international crisis, but rather from so-called American conditions of working class passivity.

Despite the complete confirmation of the perspectives of the International Committee in Nixon's August 1971 actions and the deepening monetary crisis ever since, Spartacist has persisted in its position. In fact, just as earlier when Spartacist did the hatchet work for the SWP against the IC with the Tate Affair, so today it seeks to suggest to the SWP a rationalization for its bankrupt assessment of capitalism.

The theoretical assessment of the capitalist economy was developed by the SLL and the IC as a whole and presented in its 1961 resolution *World Prospects For Socialism* at a time when Robertson himself was a supporter of the IC and Marcus was a supporter of the SWP majority. We owe Marcus no theoretical depth and accept no responsibility for his theories on any question. We defend the position that the capitalist crisis, which has required the recent devaluation of the dollar, will mean recession and unemployment in Europe. We may add it will mean that here as well.

Spartacist then proceeds to state that the "root cause" of the capitalist crisis lies in the productive process and is rooted in the tendency of profit to fall. Next, we are told that the currency crisis is only "one manifestation" of the fundamental crisis of capitalism. West European inflation is another and "most important" manifestation. Then it is added that capitalism will not collapse on its own but must be "pushed" to collapse through the action of the working class. Finally we are

informed that in any event there has been a monetary crisis in capitalism ever since the gold standard was modified in the 1930s.

The result of all this is really to assert that there exists a general capitalist crisis and that such a crisis has existed since 1914. Thus, there is no significant difference between one period and another. There is therefore nothing marked about the period we are now in to distinguish it from the past boom period of capitalism. This means we can proceed politically pretty much as we have proceeded in the past with propaganda activities.

It is with this kind of "perspectives" that Spartacist proceeded at its recent conference in November 1972:

"The reporter characterized the present

foring a confrontation between capital and labor for wages, is itself brought about by the export of American capital to Europe to avoid the falling rate of profit here and itself contributes to the monetary crisis. The very way in which capitalism temporarily avoided the immediate impact of its crisis, and thus allowed for a period of economic development, determines the specific manifestation of the renewed capitalist crises today.

Such a specific, rather than abstract, assessment leads to the unavoidable conclusion that today the capitalist class must prepare to crush the working class and the working class must prepare for revolutionary struggle. Such an assessment determines what we do as Marxists to prepare a leadership in the working class for this new period. The assessment

For this reason, Spartacist played no political role during the critical 1972 elections. The elections were simply an event to observe, to barely even comment upon. Spartacist saw no danger in them nor potential for the development of the consciousness of the American working class of its political tasks.

Immediately following the elections, Spartacist held its third National Conference. It has held only three in ten years! According to the report of the Conference in the January 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the main political report did not even mention the labor party. Its only mention of the elections was: "The predominant mood as evidenced in the U.S. elections was a shift to the right and the threat of a new anti-red campaign to highlight the end to 'permissiveness'..."

In the article on the financial crisis in the March *Workers Vanguard*, the labor party receives only a disdainful mention:

"The SLL-WL use Marcus' economic catastrophe-mongering to whip their followers into a hysteria for various campaign (e.g., the WL's instant labor party, the SLL's 'long marches' against unemployment.)"

Above all, Spartacist wants to avoid hysteria, frenzy, strenuous activity like marching, campaigns of any sort!

The main attention to the labor party on the part of Spartacist in the recent period is to denounce the Workers League for advocating it. In a number of what we may well call hysterical leaflets and articles, we have been denounced for advocating the formation of a labor party dominated by George Meany and I. W. Abel. They base this accusation on articles in the *Bulletin* during the recent election campaign which reported that Abel and Meany were using the labor party demand as a way of seeking to frighten their erstwhile Democratic Party allies who had so rudely removed them from any power within the Democratic Party. Our position was and is that this development was of considerable importance because it expressed the collision course now developing between the trade unions and both the Democrats and Republicans which is wrenching apart the old relationship between the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party machine.

We not only do not rely upon the Meany and Abels to form such a party but we have developed our own independent campaign for a labor party on our political basis. In Chicago in October and again in St. Louis in February, we have proceeded with the construction of a rank and file force within the labor movement committed to fighting for a labor party based on socialist policies and have pitted this campaign against the labor bureaucracy. We have developed a transitional program for such a labor party in our *Case For The Labor Party*, which we have sold to workers in the tens of thousands of copies.¹²

Refusing to assess the capitalist crisis, Spartacist is blind to the real changes which took place during the 1972 elections. What happened was not a shift to the right but the collapse of labor's alliance with the Democratic Party which left the working class prostrate before Nixon because

of the sabotage of the struggle for the labor party by all sections of the labor bureaucracy. The role of Spartacist in this situation was to assist the labor bureaucracy in this by its own abstentionism.

We should note at this point the Spartacist position of "exemplary" activity in the trade unions. Spartacist begins from its position as an isolated "sub-propaganda group." It sees its role as only the development of propaganda. Activity in the trade unions, therefore, is not directed to leading workers in actual struggles against the real and present threats they face.

It is rather as an "example" to show to middle class elements how Spartacist policies might work out in the trade unions should Spartacist ever be in a position to do anything much in the unions. As a result of such an approach, the only union they have consistently worked in for a period of time is the Social Service Employees Union. There, they have been completely wiped out. In actual practice in the unions such a policy serves to bolster the existing labor bureaucracy by

refusing to actually battle to remove it.

It is necessary to also note the role of Art Fox on this question of the labor party, which parallel's so closely the evolution of the OCI on the question of the continuity of the International Committee. In 1962 and in 1963, Fox, then a supporter of the International Committee, insisted that the SWP leadership "take the labor party demand off the shelf" and make it a fighting demand within the labor movement. Fox urged that this be central to a turn to the trade unions. We urged such a turn on the basis of the development of the capitalist crisis.

However, Fox refused to proceed politically from the continuity of the International Committee and the theoretical lessons to be learned from its history of struggle against revisionism. He had and has the greatest disdain for theory. To this day he maintains a state capitalist position on the Soviet Union, refusing to defend it against imperialism. So in 1964 Fox broke with the International Committee but remained with the SWP, reflecting a position which was closer to that of the SWP than the IC. Then, in 1965, when the SWP threatened to interfere with his union work, he politically broke with them.

Now we meet Fox again as a leader of the United National Caucus of the UAW. At its last conference, it was this very same Art Fox who led the opposition to the proposal that the UNC favor the labor party. He did this to maintain relations with the Stalinists and left sections of the labor bureaucracy. In 1962, when the crisis was at a much earlier stage of its development, Fox wanted the labor party off the shelf. Now, in 1973, when the crisis is ripping up social relations in America, and Nixon, with the support of the Democrats, is planning direct blows against the labor movement, Fox wants the labor party back on that shelf, in the back of the closet, with the door padlocked.

Fox wants a labor policy which is active only in the trade union sense and completely passive politically. Thus, his role in the unions is completely reactionary and was prepared for by his turn away from the lessons learned in the internal struggle within the Fourth International.

Here, once again, we can see the close political connection between Spartacist and the SWP revisionists. Where Spartacist simply abstains, covering itself with "left" noises, the SWP runs reformist social democratic electoral campaigns. But these campaigns are further and further removed from the working class as the movement of the working class becomes more and more powerful. As the crisis deepens, bringing with it an ever deeper conflict between the labor movement and the Democrats, the SWP retreats further and further away from the struggle for the labor party. Thus, in the 1960 election campaign, Farrell Dobbs dusted the labor party demand off, removed it from the shelf and utilized it—for the duration of the election campaign. However, in 1972, Linda Jenness subordinates it to a minor demand within the election platform and treats the working class itself with disdain and even hatred.

Now, in the 1973 New York City election campaign, the labor party is removed from the section of the program entitled "For Mass Independent Political Action," remaining only in a section on inflation and unemployment. The position now taken by the SWP is to substitute socialist propaganda campaigns, which are basically social democratic, for the actual struggle in the labor movement for the labor party. In essence, the passive position on the struggle for politics within the working class of Spartacist and the SWP is identical.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Considering that it limits itself to "exemplary" activity in the trade unions, rejects all hysteria, frenzy, forced marches, long marches, campaigns, panic and worry in general, the question which comes up is exactly what does Spartacist do? The proceedings of its third national conference gives us some indication. It devotes itself to "the continuing transformation of the SL into the nucleus of the vanguard party..." It views itself, as we have noted in this pamphlet, as neither a vanguard party... It views itself, as we such a party. In fact, it entitled the article

on its conference "Towards Construction of the Leninist Vanguard."

What it has proceeded to do, quite independent of any perspective for the working class, is regroup, fuse and merge with various circles, groups, factions and individuals produced primarily by the breakup of Students for a Democratic Society. What all these various factions and individuals have in common with Spartacist is the desire to avoid the new requirements posed by the struggle of the working class. This is sufficient agreement to bring these forces together as a protective association. But it will prove insufficient for holding them together. After all there is an easier way to avoid the class struggle than joining Spartacist—that is, to leave politics altogether.

Spartacist has developed a whole theory to explain this process. Its theory is explained in the following mouthful:

"These regroupments were in the main the result of the SL's intersection with subjectively pro-working-class groupings of New Left-derived ex-students who were pragmatically attempting to implement a proletarian perspective."¹³

Along these same lines Progressive Labor, which had been earlier characterized as "Trotskyism with a prefrontal lobotomy" is described as a group "...whose hard but deformed proletarian line has forced an empirical break with the Stalinist theory of 'two-stage' revolutions."¹⁴

Dissident Pabloites receive the following characterization:

"So the several ostensibly anti-Pabloite groups internationally which have emerged from the United Secretariat represent the postwar accumulation of subjective Trotskyists in several major industrial countries, but lacking real continuity in the Leninist movement."¹⁵

At this point, Spartacist descends into the realm of subjective sociology and psychology. It begins from its estimation of the subjective and we can only assume unconscious desire of various individuals who make up various groups. This shows the complete theoretical bankruptcy of Spartacist and its reliance on reactionary trends among academic circles.

The Marxist approaches the question of the relation of the subjective to the objective differently. The subjective is the reflection of the objective processes of nature and society in man's consciousness. It is man's conscious thought. As such it may or may not reflect the material world accurately. In actual fact it is always in conflict with it and at the same time, being a product of nature, it is in unity with it.

The consciousness of a member of Progressive Labor is Stalinist, consciousness and the consciousness of a member of the United Secretariat is revisionist consciousness. The subjective is part of the objective crisis of capitalism and conflict of classes. No matter how hard the idealist seeks to avoid this, it cannot be avoided. Thus, a conflict develops as the crisis of capitalism deepens and the working class moves forward between how the Stalinist and the revisionist sees the world and what actually happens. A conflict develops also, most importantly, between what the Stalinist or revisionist proposes for the working class to do and what the crisis objectively requires be done to defend the working class.

It is therefore the international crisis and the conflict of classes which is the root cause of the crisis that has led to the disintegration of SDS, opposition forces developing within the United Secretariat, and turmoil within the Communist Party and other Stalinist groups. It is not some timeless abstract conflict between objectively Stalinist or revisionist positions and subjective desires to be revolutionary.

While the movement of classes brings forward a crisis within the revisionist camps, it does not resolve that crisis in a progressive direction on its own. For many, the movement of the working class means an end to the old passive radicalism, a break with petty bourgeois circle life. For such forces, leftist noises are a cover for preparation to desert politics and the working class altogether. This is the role of Spartacist and the nature of its regroupments.

It is also important to take note of the position of Spartacist on the question of the press. We have proceeded from our

first days in 1964 with central attention to the development of the press. With only eight members in the early days, we published the Bulletin as a mimeographed paper regularly on a bi-weekly basis. We now have developed our press to a weekly with a 22,000 circulation, equal to or beyond that of *The Militant*. We have installed our own web offset press which is superior to any press now used by any radical tendency, are the only tendency outside of the Communist Party to have a 100 percent union shop, and are well on our way to publishing our paper twice a week in the fall and daily in the near future. In England, our co-thinkers in the Socialist Labour League have completed three full years of daily publication developing great strength in the working class around the Workers Press.¹⁶



For all its talk of fighting Stalinism, Spartacist characterizes Stalinist Progressive Labor Party as "Trotskyism with a prefrontal lobotomy."

Spartacist, however, is unimpressed. In fact it views our development of our press as a positive evil:

"Our conception is directly counterposed to that of the Workers League, for example, which uses a paper as a substitute for winning political authority through real struggle. Unless the press reflects the actual intervention of the party, it cannot be concrete and can only win for itself discredit from militants."¹⁶

We might note that considering Spartacist's lack of actual interventions of any sort in the working class for its press to "reflect," its publication of only a monthly paper after 10 years of existence is understandable.

This question of the press is also commented upon in an article on a Buffalo SDS group which recently joined Spartacist:

"It rejected the 'mass' press of the WL and came to understand the Leninist character of the SL's Workers Vanguard which seeks the penetration of the working class through the most advanced layers rather than tailing after the class at its present level of consciousness."¹⁷

In order to bolster its hostility to developing a press which fights for socialist policies in the working class, Spartacist has dug up an isolated quote from Trotsky. The quote is actually inserted into the article reporting the Spartacist League's Conference though it is doubtful that the quote was read to the meeting. This shows the extreme sensitivity of Spartacist on the question of its press. Trotsky is quoted as saying:

"This task cannot be effectively solved except as a function of the growth of the organization and its cadres who must pave the way to the masses for the newspaper—since it is not enough it is understood, to call a publication a 'mass paper' to have the masses accept it in reality."¹⁸

This, of course, is true and this is why we do not claim to have a mass paper, but rather strive to develop such a paper. However, there is more to the quote and it is to the credit of the Buffalo group that when they used the quote in an article they included the complete quote. The sentence just preceding the one quoted states:

"It is the elementary duty of a revolutionary organization to make its political newspaper as accessible as possible to the masses."¹⁹

It is this duty which we have sought to perform ever since we first published the Bulletin, even when its circulation was well under 1000, its frequency only fortnightly, and it was mimeographed. Can anyone seriously suggest that Spartacist has made the slightest attempt to make its paper accessible to the working class?

A political party can only develop if at every point and every day it wrestles with the political problems posed by new developments in the class struggle and the thinking of workers affected by these developments. Without this, there is nothing new to conflict with, to posit against, the old or abstract thinking we have developed in the past. Only in this way can the revolutionary party itself develop its thinking, develop and educate the new forces which come to it in the trade unions and among the youth, and prepare a broad base of support within the labor movement for the struggle now and in the future.

Trotsky wrote about this question in a letter greeting the short-lived organ of the Fourth International in Spain, short-lived because Andres Nin resisted and opposed

changes in thinking in the party itself which are necessary in order to build in the next period a mass revolutionary party. It is a necessary precondition to the construction of such a party. This is the world historic importance of the launching of a daily paper three years ago by the Socialist Labour League. It marked the end of the "group" era and the beginning of a whole new period in the development of the world Trotskyist movement.

This is why the Workers League will not rest content with the publication of the weekly Bulletin. This is why we have taken on the difficult task of publishing a twice a week this coming fall. This is why we will move ahead toward the first daily Trotskyist paper in the United States.

For Spartacist, a monthly publication is sufficient though perhaps a fortnightly would be useful. The paper is not the center of the movement but a side activity. It comments after the fact on what already happened. Thought remains rigid and abstract as no one must, even each week, grapple with new developments. Activity is quite independent of even this thought for after all there is no publication to direct it and report it. Trade union work without the construction of a revolutionary paper must either be nonexistent or syndicalist.

The truth is that the Spartacist press is not aimed at the "advanced workers." It has nothing to do with the working class. It is aimed at the sick middle class radical circles. That is where it is circulated. It is the Bulletin which is directed to and sold to advanced workers, militants in the unions, working class youth turning for the first time to Marxism and seeking to develop as Marxist leaders.

Here again we can see the connection between Spartacist and the SWP. The SWP for many years now has not understood the development of a press. It rests content with a weekly paper although it has considerably more resources than we do to publish a daily. Their paper, *The Militant*, is a commentary sheet of the worst sort as distant from the working class as the Spartacist press. It is a contented and conservative press. The SWP lacks the one critical necessity for a daily paper: revolutionary theory to give it the will and the wherewithal to build one!

For the record, it should be noted that this pamphlet was originally published between June and August 1970, almost three full years ago. Over that three years, Spartacist has issued many, many leaflets in a number of colors all denouncing the Workers League with an ascending crescendo of hysterical epithets. It has, however, never been able to find the time to answer the pamphlet. It is most outspoken on tertiary matters and completely silent when central questions are raised.

This completely new edition has been reset and printed by 100 percent union labor in our new shop. However, with the exception of this introduction, nothing has been changed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Trotsky, Leon. *The Spanish Revolution* (1931-39). Pathfinder Press, New York, 1973. Page 175.
2. *Ibid.* Page 176.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.* Page 210.
5. *Ibid.* Page 219.
6. Bulletin Pamphlet Series 14, Labor Publications, New York, 1972.
7. See: "On The Class Struggle League's Answer to the SL," Vanguard Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 2, March 1973. Also see in same issue "Trotskyism vs. Revisionism in Germany" for explanation of how Turner's difference with the German Spartacus group, which refuses to support the Social Democratic Party in the elections, denying that it is a workers party, is merely "terminological."
8. Workers Vanguard, No. 17, March, 1973. Page 11.
9. Workers Vanguard, No. 15, January, 1973. Page 16.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Workers Vanguard, March, 1973. Op. cit.
12. Bulletin Labor Series 4, Labor Publications, New York, 1972.
13. Workers Vanguard, January. Op. cit.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. "Why We Didn't Join WL/YS" (Leaflet). October 20, 1972.
18. Workers Vanguard, January. Op. cit.
19. "Why We..." Op. cit.
20. Trotsky, op. cit. Page 168.

David North

Books

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY. (1932-33). Pathfinder Press, 1972. \$3.45.

PART TWO

Trotsky had written in 1931 that Germany was the key to the international situation. By this he meant that the success of the European revolution and the survival of the Comintern depended upon the outcome of events in that country. The victory of fascism over the most powerful section of the European working class, warned Trotsky, would have tragic consequences beyond the borders of Germany and would mean that the Third International was dead as a revolutionary party of the world proletariat.

In order to prevent the victory of Hitler, the International Left Opposition had fought to bring about a reversal of the disastrous policies pursued by the German Communist Party (KPD) under the orders of the Stalinist bureaucracy within the Soviet Union. Between the years 1929 and 1933, Trotsky exposed the growing danger posed by the Nazis and urgently called upon the Comintern to abandon the ultra-left theory of "social fascism."

By absurdly identifying the mass Social Democratic Party with the Nazis, the Stalinists divided the working class and actually strengthened the grip of the reformists upon millions of German trade unionists. Trotsky fought for the policy of the united front of working class organizations against the fascist menace which—had it been implemented by the Communist Party—would have paralyzed Hitler and galvanized the working class behind the revolutionary party.

Until the seizure of power by Hitler in late January of 1933, the International Left Opposition (ILO) had fought against the policy of "social fascism" with the perspective of reforming the Stalinist German CP. Trotsky retained the hope that as developments in Germany confirmed the perspectives of the ILO, the pressure of the working class for action against Hitler would enable the ranks of German communists to call their leaders to order and dramatically change the situation.

However, the articles dealing with Germany in this new volume record Trotsky's struggle for a reorientation of the cadres of the ILO following the complete collapse of the German Stalinists as the Nazis took power. With their policies totally discredited, the Stalinists—who had boasted until the last moment that they were fully prepared to throw back the fascists—were unable to rally any section of the working class in struggle against Hitler.

Trotsky contended that the inner rottenness of the KPD had been demonstrated by events and that the Left Opposition had to break with the German Stalinists and prepare for the construction of a new party. "The KPD today," he wrote on March 12, 1933, "represents a corpse."

Within the ILO, the new perspective breaking with the slogan of "reform" of the KPD provoked considerable opposition. The main objections were that breaking with the official party would drive a wedge between the ILO and the masses; that it was wrong to break with the KPD

just as the Nazis were persecuting its members and attempts were being made to maintain the organization underground; that the new perspective would strengthen the authority of those like Hugo Urbahns who had declared the KPD dead long before Hitler came to power; and that the ILO was too weak to build a new party.

Trotsky answered all these doubts with patience—and yet at the same time with the greatest urgency because he proceeded at every point with the determination to maintain the continuity of the Marxist movement through the construction of the revolutionary leadership.

While anxious to avoid a split within the ILO, Trotsky insisted that the basis of revolutionary politics had to be an understanding of living events, not old formulas. The slogan of reform, he wrote, which had been absolutely correct as long as the KPD retained the possibility of changing its policies to lead the working class to victory, was now—with Hitler in power—absolutely wrong. Explaining the earlier formulation of the ILO, Trotsky wrote on March 12 in the article "KPD or New Party?":

"We started out from the proposition that the key to the situation was in the hands of the KPD. That was correct. Only a timely turn on the part of the KPD could have saved the situation. Under such conditions to oppose the party and in advance to declare it to be dead would have meant to proclaim a priori the inevitability of the victory of fascism. We could not do that. We had to fully exhaust all the possibilities of the old situation."

But the refusal of the Stalinists to change their course had resulted in disaster. In the new situation, Trotsky declared:

"The scorn of the vanguard of the German workers for the bureaucracy which has deceived them will be so great that the slogan of reform will seem false and ridiculous to them. They will be right. The hour has struck! The question of preparing for the creation of a new party must be posed openly."

His answer to sectarians like Urbahns who had declared the KPD dead much earlier is highly instructive in the Marxist method. Urbahn's break with the KPD had been purely subjective. He, as an individual, had decided that the Stalinist party was inadequate. Urbahns operated without the slightest regard for objective developments or for the responsibility of reaching the millions of German workers whose lives were still bound up with the policies of the KPD.

"The foundation of sectarianism consists precisely in its estimating the historical processes with the measure of its own group..." Trotsky wrote. "The Marxist, however, judges all organizations and all groups through the measure of the objective historical processes."

As for breaking with the KPD at a time when dedicated party militants were still functioning underground, Trotsky wrote that the ILO had to tell these worker-communists that their attempts to maintain an illegal apparatus would be doomed to failure. The disintegration of the KPD was not merely an organizational problem; rather the party was dead politically because the bureaucratic subservience of its leaders to the policies of Stalin had led to the most massive defeat in the history of the working class and that the KPD could never recover the confidence of the masses.

A still more fundamental controversy arose within the ILO over Trotsky's refusal—in spite of his break with the Stalinists in Germany—to immediately call for a new international. His critics took the formal position that if the KPD was dead, how could the ILO continue to work as a faction of the Comintern that had the main responsibility for the defeat in Germany. Trotsky replied that the final test of the Comintern would be its response to the fascist victory:

"The liquidation of the KPD is only a stage. It will not stop there. If other sec-

The Break With The German Stalinists



Visitors to Prinkipo: left to right, Pierre Naville, Trotsky, Gerard Rosenthal, Mme. Naville. Naville had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1927 because of his Trotskyist sympathies. Rosenthal was Trotsky's lawyer in France.

tions of the Comintern will learn the German lesson, they may rightfully deserve the leniency of history. Otherwise they are doomed. In this way, the march of history gives the other sections still some time to reconsider. We, the Left Opposition, are only the historic interpreters of the march of development. That is why we do not break with the Third International.

"If any section of the Comintern will yet succeed in rebuilding itself on a healthy basis, we will of course use this as a point of departure to hasten the rebuilding of the whole Comintern..."

In the wake of the German defeat, the Stalinists revealed the political essence of centrism in a violent shift from the ultra-leftism of the "social fascist" formula to out-and-out opportunism. The Comintern now agreed to a bloc with the social democrats on the basis of excluding all criticism of the reformists. Trotsky declared:

"Only two bureaucratic apparatuses, one of which is weighted down with betrayals and the other with fatal chain of errors, can be interested in the suspension of mutual criticism, thereby transforming the united front into a silent conspiracy behind the masses, the aim of which is their own preservation. We Bolshevik-Leninists say that never and under no conditions will we join in such a conspiracy; on the contrary, we will unremittably denounce it to the workers."

The rapid turn of the Stalinists toward conscious opportunism was exposed in their organization of a Congress Against Fascism in Paris. Abandoning any class program, they appealed to the liberalism of middle class intellectuals.

The ILO intervened in the Congress with a document written by Trotsky in which he demanded that the delegates confront openly the past mistakes and call for a new congress of the Comintern with the Left Opposition reinstated. But the Stalinist delegates, who not only refused to confront the past errors but maintained that no serious setback had been suffered in Germany, physically excluded representatives of the Left Opposition from the Congress.

PERSPECTIVE

In the light of the extremely swift degeneration of the Stalinists, Trotsky had to insist that the German section of the ILO waste no time in implementing the

new perspective.

This volume contains extremely important articles on the nature of fascism and the historical significance of Hitler's victory. Trotsky emphasized again and again that fascism flowed from the disintegration of world capitalism under conditions where the working class lacks the leadership necessary for the socialist reconstruction of society.

Attention should be given to the article "Serious Lessons from an Inconsequential Thing," dated January 28, 1933, in which Trotsky examined the significance of the desertion of a number of petty-bourgeois elements within the Left Opposition into the Stalinist movement. Referring particularly to two members of the German Left Opposition, Senin and Well (later to become known as Robert Soblen, tried in the United States in 1961 as a Soviet intelligence agent), Trotsky wrote:

"They belonged to the type pretty well divided between the wavering intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, from whom ideals and principles occupy second place and in the first rank stands the concern for personal independence, which in a particular case turns into anxiety for one's personal career."

Trotsky explained that a young Marxist party could not help but contain these elements, which he scornfully called "the garbage of the revolution," particularly when it still had few workers in its ranks. While it was necessary to strictly control the middle class forces, this struggle did not mean closing the doors of the party to intellectuals or maintaining a purely proletarian composition within the leadership. The heart of the matter was the theoretical struggle in the party:

"The Bolshevik-Leninists must seriously pose the question of the training and education of new cadres of the proletarian youth. The Left Opposition has its own revolutionary conceptions, its own history and tradition. Only on this basis can a serious proletarian revolutionist be educated. Two or three vulgarized slogans like 'mass work,' 'democratic centralism,' 'united front,' etc.—that is sufficient for the Brandlerites and for the SAP (centrist organizations), but not for us. Hand in hand with the political struggle, systematic theoretical training must be carried on. The munition must be prepared for a whole historical epoch."

TO BE CONTINUED

The Fight To Free Juan Farinas 1968-1973

BY NANCY FIELDS

On April 16, Juan P. Farinas will be released from the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Connecticut, after having served one year of a two year sentence. Juan was jailed on framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act. His so-called crime was to distribute a leaflet at his induction center which denounced the Vietnam War as a war waged against the interests of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in the interests of American corporations.

The case of Juan Farinas covers the years from 1968 to 1973: years of rapid changes and sharp developments in the economic crisis of the capitalist system and the relationship between the working class and the ruling class. It is critical today to place the defense campaign waged for Farinas in the framework of the changes that have occurred in the country and to draw the lessons of that campaign. These lessons must now be brought forward in order to prepare the working class for the new offensive of the Nixon government: an offensive which today is aimed at destroying the trade union movement itself.

The Farinas Defense Committee always fought for an understanding that this frameup was not one of an individual nature simply against an antiwar protestor. Rather, from the time of its inception, the committee drew the direct connection between the frame-up of Juan and the growing offensive of the ruling class against the rights of all workers.

Farinas himself never saw the fight for his freedom simply as a fight for civil liberties or to assure himself an acquittal. Rather, he based his struggle on the needs of the working class, on the struggle of that class against capitalism and on the urgent necessity of preparing the working class to meet the attacks of the government.

PROTEST

Farinas' jailing stemmed from a protest action he took, along with many others, in 1968. This was the height of the period of protest, of building seizures on the American campuses, punch-ups in front of the US Embassy on Grosvenor Square, London, and battles with tanks with water guns in Germany and Japan. 1968 marked the last year of middle class protest as the devaluation of sterling and the growing crisis in the international monetary system posed a sharp break in the old forms of class peace between workers and their employers: a peace which had been built up by the artificial inflation of currency over a 25 year period.

In 1968, Columbia University students could occupy the entire campus for eight days, the government could tolerate the radical antics of the Mark Rudd trashing campaign and, while over 1000 students were finally arrested for the Columbia oc-

cupation, not one would receive a prison sentence. However, 1968 marked the end of this period of protest. The student uprisings, the movement of middle class intellectuals, was an anticipation of the movement of the working class as a whole. As Trotsky noted in *The Spanish Revolution (1931-1939)*:

"Such revolutionary or semirevolutionary student activity means that bourgeois society is going through a profound crisis. The petty-bourgeois youth, sensing that an explosive force is building up among the masses, try in their own way to find a way out of the impasse and to push the political developments forward.

"The bourgeoisie regards the student movement half-approvingly, half-warningly; if the youth deal a few blows to the monarchical bureaucracy, that's not so bad, as long as the 'kids' don't go too far and don't arouse the toiling masses."

If Farinas had come to trial in 1968, he, too, would no doubt have been acquitted because the "toiling masses" were not yet "aroused." In fact, when he first went to trial, the case was dismissed because the original charges had been combined into one count. However, the government did not drop the case but rather, they recharged him on five counts and proceeded with the trial which was held in December 1970.

HISTORY

Farinas' own political history documents the changes that occurred between 1968 and 1970. At the time of his protest action, Juan was a member of the Progressive Labor Party. By 1970, he saw that the movement of the working class required a sharp break with the methods of protesting and a turn to Marxist theory in order to build the revolutionary leadership necessary to lead the working class forward.

Thus, Farinas rejected the twists and turns of Progressive Labor. He insisted on an historical accounting of the betrayals of Stalinism. Unable to answer his criticisms politically, PL expelled Juan and he joined the Workers League. He thus anticipated a whole development now taking place among youth who are turning to theory and demanding an historical accounting of the Communist Party, Progressive Labor and the Socialist Workers Party.

By 1970, the protest movement was dead and the working class itself had taken up the offensive against the Vietnam War and against the capitalist class at home. This sharpening of the class struggle compelled the capitalists to strengthen the repressive arm of the state, to transform the courts into instrumentalities for the legal lynching of all who oppose capitalist rule, in order to prepare for dictatorship.

BREAKUP

1970 marked the breakup of the period of class compromise which had been built up during the postwar boom. The Nixon government, and the corporations it represents, were faced with an economic crisis that threatened to be unparalleled in the history of capitalism. In order to try to maintain their system of profits, they know that a head-on collision with the working class would be required.

However, they faced a working class which had advanced and grown strong during the 25 year boom. It was determined to



Juan Farinas marching with Workers League contingent demanding victory to the NLF.

maintain the gains it had made as well as to win sizeable wage increases in order to maintain its standard of living in the face of growing inflation. Thus, in 1970, the class lines were drawn and the era of negotiation around the conference table between the employers and the labor bureaucracy came to an end. It signalled the beginning of a militant strike wave which had not been seen in the US since the 1944-1946 postwar uprisings.

The year was marked by the first postal strike in history, the strike by the General Electric and Westinghouse workers, the wildcatting of Teamsters, the walkout of 350,000 employees of General Motors and the strike of the railroad workers. In the face of this militant determination by millions of workers to maintain their gains, the capitalist class ripped off its mask of democracy and revealed the real nature of its system of justice for millions of workers in all countries to see.

The postal strike was brutally crushed through the armed intervention of US troops. The wildcatting Teamsters in Ohio were attacked by the National Guard. The striking railroad workers were met with court injunctions and arrests which forced them back to work. However, the government was not able to deal a decisive defeat to the trade union movement. It was forced to grant concessions because of the strength of the working class. Above all, it needed to buy time to prepare the groundwork for a dictatorship. Thus, the settlements of the 1970 contract fights were in line with the traditions of the inflationary boom and further deepened the crisis within the capitalist system. It was these settlements which laid the basis for Nixon's August 15, 1971 measures: measures which ripped up the basis upon which the international capitalist system had functioned since the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement.

OFFENSIVE

At the same time, the confrontation with striking workers coincided with a renewed offensive in South East Asia. Nixon was determined to smash the struggles of the

Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian workers and peasants in order to be able to concentrate the efforts of the government on the task of defeating the offensive of the American working class.

However, his invasion of Cambodia was met by the mass movement of trade unionists, students and youth in opposition to his actions. Reflecting the sharp changes that had occurred since 1968, the student movement on the campuses was dealt with by the armed intervention of the state. In May, the National Guard murdered four youth at Kent State. Faced with the offensive of the working class, the government could no longer tolerate protest action of any kind.

Throughout the year, the strategy of the capitalist class was clearly developed and revealed. Through its mouthpiece Agnew, an hysterical campaign was whipped up against students and youth in an attempt to isolate them from the working class. They were branded as "dangerous communists and extremists bent on anarchy and destruction." Not able to confront the working class head-on, Nixon attempted to whip up a patriotic fervor in order to divert workers from the real issues they faced. It was during this time that the most treacherous labor bureaucrat of them all, Peter Brennan, led the assault of construction workers on antiwar protestors.

TOOLS

Racism and anti-communism became the dominant tools of the government in its attempt to split up the working class and deprive it of those who sought to give it a conscious leadership. Thus, 1970 was marked by a virtual pogrom against the Black Panther Party with the brutal murders of many of its members coupled with the frame-up trials of its leadership. It marked the frame-up of the Soledad brothers and the witch-hunt of Angela Davis—on completely fraudulent charges—because she was a member of the Communist Party. Finally, it marked the trial of Juan Farinas because he had taken up a fight for Marxism, because he

was a worker, because he was an alien. Against these attacks and because it was necessary for the capitalists to destroy all the democratic rights of workers, the old protest methods which originally led to Juan's arrest would be completely impotent and reactionary. The Workers League understood this and thus saw the objective necessity of rooting Juan's defense in the working class.

TRIAL

On December 20, Farinas was tried in federal court in New York City. The trial was conducted as a frame-up from beginning to end. The prosecution's case was filled with contradictions. Government witnesses actually admitted that Farinas had not refused induction, that the processing of inductees was not impeded and there was no rule against distributing leaflets.

An Army intelligence agent, refreshing his memory from a typewritten report, claimed that Farinas had said he would refuse induction. Taking the stand in his own behalf, Farinas countered that claim and stated that he had always held that he would fight for his views inside the Army.

In his instructions to the jury, the judge practically ordered a verdict of guilty by instructing the jury that all that had to be proven was that Farinas had not obeyed certain orders in the induction center. The government was thus relieved of the obligation of proving that disruption had taken place.

At the same time, slanderous and distorted charges and statements about Farinas' allegedly boisterous conduct and his alleged intention to refuse induction were dragged in by the government with court approval in order to prejudice the jury as much as possible.

Throughout the trial, the prosecution's case was conducted in a vicious racist, anti-working class manner. When Farinas' lawyer requested that he be released without having to put up any bail money pending the appeal of his sentence, the prosecuting attorney stated that Farinas "was a Cuban national who had bit the hand that fed him. We have here a Spanish speaking individual. He had applied to travel other parts of the country, he has many friends, he might disappear and his speech to the court indicates that he might be a danger to the community."

Farinas' speech to the court clearly showed that he would be a danger, not to the community, but to the capitalist class itself. He declared:

"I say that I am being sentenced not for any 'criminal' or 'illegal' behavior but for my political views, for my opposition to the war in Vietnam, for my being a socialist and for standing up and fighting for those principles. I say that I'm innocent of the charges on which I was convicted and that you had to twist your own laws, you had to take off your pretenses of 'impartiality,' you had to charge the jury the way you did so as to be able to convict me, so as to be able to justify the criminal war in Vietnam.

"You and your government may brand me as a 'criminal,' but let me tell you this right now, no matter how much you may try to do it, in my eyes and in the eyes of millions of working people and youth in this country and around the world, YOU ARE THE CRIMINALS!"

Farinas' case went to the US Court of Appeals in September 1971. His appeal was heard by the very same men who had ruled on the New York Times' publication of the Pentagon Papers. This material revealed the extent to which the US government had conspired to keep the truth about the Vietnam War from the working people of the United States. This court did not prosecute the New York Times for carrying this material but it upheld the conviction of Juan for, two years earlier, exposing the class character of the war in a leaflet.

Finally, the Farinas case was taken to the US Supreme Court. This court has been hand-picked by Nixon precisely to see that the court does not interfere in the state's repression of the working class and those who seek to give it a theoretical lead. Between the actions of the US Court of Appeals and that of the Supreme Court, Nixon had made his August 15 announcements of a program aimed at driving down the wages of workers in the US and abroad and encouraging unemploy-

ment, leaving millions of workers, young and old, with no future at all.

The founding statement of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, which was formed by the Workers League, insisted that the attack on Farinas was more than an infringement of civil liberties. It held that his trial was part of an attack on the working class: an attack necessitated by the crisis of capitalism. Based on this understanding, the committee insisted that the case be defended on a class basis.

From the beginning of the fight to free Farinas, the Defense Committee centered its work on bringing forward the history of the American and international working class in its struggle against capitalism. All of its campaign material sought to develop an understanding of the nature of capitalist justice and of the frame-up system as a tool used by the employers from 1886 onwards to try to destroy all those who sought to lead the working class forward to socialism and the end of the ex-

sought to mobilize it in support of Davis' defense. At all points, they fought to distort the political nature of Davis' frame-up. The Angela Davis Defense Committee totally ignored the objective conditions which existed within capitalism. At a time when the ruling class was preparing for the establishment of a dictatorship, they buried their heads in the sand and declared on the pages of the Daily World that actually the ruling class had been entirely defeated and the working class had nothing to fear.

Their treacherous policy of defending Davis by appealing to liberals and the church led them to desert the case of Ruchell Magee, a working class fighter, in order to appear respectable in the eyes of the fashionable middle class. This betrayal has now left Magee defenseless as the courts prepare to carry out their frame-up in order to execute him. Magee now stands alone before a capitalist class bent on destroying him and the respon-



Juan Farinas Defense Committee mobilized support of labor movement to carry out defense campaign. Here, Newark Teachers Federation leader Orrie Chambers speaking in defense of Juan at a time when teachers there were faced with massive jailings.

ploration of one class by another.

The committee turned to the history of the class defenses which had been waged for the leaders of the eight hour day movement, the Haymarket Martyrs, for Sacco and Vanzetti and for the victims of the Palmer Raids in order to develop a strategy for defending Juan as well as to reach out to thousands of workers and develop their understanding of their own history and traditions. The campaign was directed not simply at freeing one individual but at preparing the entire working class for the battles which now lie ahead.

REFUSED

Because of its insistence on a class defense, the Farinas Campaign was refused the sponsorship of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. Both groups maintained that they would only sponsor cases which saw these attacks as attacks against democratic rights but not class attacks. Facing the blows of the class enemy, the SWP and the CP insisted that the Farinas defense rely for support on a section of the enemy class itself.

Contrary to the SWP which sees the fight for democratic rights as one of pressuring the government, the Farinas Defense Campaign insisted that the struggle for democratic rights was bound up with the struggle to smash capitalism and take the workers to power. As Trotsky noted in 1936: "monopoly capitalism has mercilessly battered democracy and its guarantees beyond question" and the only way democratic rights can be guaranteed is through a class fight against capitalism.

COMMUNIST PARTY

At the same time that the Communist Party refused to defend Farinas, they were rallying liberal politicians and ministers to defend Angela Davis. Nowhere in their campaign did they even mention the working class and they never

sibility for this isolation from a defense based on the working class rests squarely on the shoulders of the Communist Party.

Throughout the Stalinists' defense campaign, they emphasized that Davis' case would be won through the success of public opinion and pressure on the courts and liberal politicians in the Congress. Through this bankrupt perspective, they consciously sought to foster dangerous illusions among the working class: illusions which, if not broken from today, can lead to the destruction of that class.

Angela Davis was not framed up because of her individual characteristics but as part of the whole turn on the part of the capitalist class to repress the working class. Therefore, what was required was a political defense not only to free Angela but to prepare the working class politically for attempts at repression which were already in progress and were to be stepped up in the future.

ILLUSION

Throughout Davis' trial, the Farinas Defense Committee fought against the illusion that the working class could defeat reaction with the methods of the Angela Davis defense. In fact, during her very trial, the US Supreme Court removed the historic democratic right of Americans to be convicted by their peers only through unanimous decision. Thus, the Supreme Court moved a long way down the road of abolishing the jury system itself. Since the Davis trial, the government has moved to reinstate the death penalty and the Supreme Court has acted to strip away most of the democratic rights workers have won in the bitter struggles of the past.

While Angela Davis was freed, it was not because of "public opinion" or "pressure on the courts." Rather, the trial took place when the international working class was on a powerful offensive against capitalism. The offensive of the NLF took

place during the trial, the American working class was preparing for a head-on clash with the Pay Board over the future of the trade union movement itself. It was this movement of the working class and the wide support of workers for Davis' defense, in spite of the strategy of the defense committee, that was decisive—not the prayers of the liberal preachers or the demagogic speeches of the politicians.

POLITICAL

The Farinas campaign was conducted in complete opposition to the policies being put forward by the CP in Davis' case. It was because the Farinas committee understood the class nature of the attack on Juan that it was able to rally thousands of trade unionists to his defense. At all points, the political issues confronting the working class were raised in order to develop the understanding that will be decisive in the coming period against the attacks of Nixon. Countless letters from trade unionists throughout the campaign revealed that workers were rallying to demand that Juan be freed because they saw that the attack on him was part of Nixon's all-out offensive against their own basic rights.

During the campaign, Cornelius Hudson, president of Department of Public Workers Local 26 of the Detroit Sanitationmen, wrote: "Farinas' conviction represents the beginning of an attack on the trade unions and the most basic rights of the working class: the right to strike and the right to work."

Jack Spiegel, of the United Shoeworkers in Chicago, said: "I will do anything I can to help. I call on other trade unionists to join in this defense, not only trade unionists, but especially them, because the unions will be crippled, their contracts ripped up, by repressive laws unless we take a stand."

The Farinas campaign was always placed in the context of the developing struggle between the working class and the capitalists and Farinas himself always pointed sharply to the real meaning of his case and posed the tasks that are fundamental for the survival of the working class both here and internationally. When he was jailed, he declared that:

"No one can win without a political struggle against the capitalist system. This is true in the fight against the war, the struggle in the prisons, the fight for basic wages, the defense of the trade unions, the fight of youth for a decent education and the right to a job, and in my struggle to stay out of prison in the first place. Through a political struggle against this decaying imperialist system, we can beat back all these attacks and put an end to them for good."

PERSPECTIVES

Since the beginning of the defense campaign to free Juan, the perspectives of the Workers League have been confirmed. The economic crisis has deepened, the Nixon government is consolidating a ruthless dictatorship and an all-out offensive against the entire working class is opening up with Nixon's budget slashing, the murder of an 1199 union organizer last year, the Cost of Living Council's wage guidelines, rampant inflation, the injunction against the railroad workers and, most recently, the jailing of the striking Philadelphia teachers. At the same time, Nixon has launched a brutal trade war which will destroy the standard of living of workers in Europe and Japan and which threatens the survival of the working class itself.

The Farinas defense campaign was based on these perspectives and the victory of Farinas is a victory of the international working class in its fight against these attacks. The lessons of the Farinas case must now be taken forward to defend the trade union movement as a whole. It was only through the power of the working class that Juan will be freed on April 16.

That power must now be brought forward politically if Nixon's offensive is to be answered and decisively defeated. Today, the defense of all the rights of workers and youth requires that the working class break politically from the parties of capitalism and build its own political party: a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

DETROIT . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

of the convention to enter bargaining with the Big Three auto companies without one hard demand.

As one delegate told the *Bulletin* during the proceedings in Cobo Hall: "We all want a resolution which gives Woodcock some flexibility when he negotiates this fall."

What this "flexibility" amounts to is giving Nixon and the auto companies permission to write the contract of a million UAW members as they see fit.

SURRENDER

In his opening address to the convention, Woodcock outlined the policy of surrender to Nixon's wage controls that he intends to follow:

"We will approach the bargaining in 1973 with the same sober determination as in 1970, with the same sense of responsibility to approach solutions to the problems of our members on a sensible basis, and with due regard to our obligation to the well-being of our two nations.

"We acted responsibly in 1970. The agreement with the General Motors Corporation was counter-inflationary, and that sensible lead was followed in aluminum, steel, communications and others."

What Woodcock means by "sensible" is that workers have no choice but to accept Phase Three because he—like the Teamster and AFL-CIO bureaucracy—opposes the political mobilization of the working class against Nixon through the building of a labor party.

The political heart of this bankrupt convention, in which half the delegates were often absent from the floor, was the open collaboration of Woodcock with Nixon.

There were delegates who opposed the resolution, condemning it as too "vague" or insisting that

Woodcock outline its specific bargaining priorities.

However, dominating the convention was a conspiracy of silence. Delegates docilely accepted Woodcock's refusal to challenge the 5.5 percent guidelines.

In only one instance, when a delegate from Local 199 in Ontario spoke, was there a clear denunciation of Woodcock's capitulation to Phase Three.

"In your resolution," delegate Gordon Lambert told Woodcock, "there is not one figure dealing with a wage increase. But just to stay where we are we should be getting a 50 cents an hour increase."

"Maybe as a Canadian I shouldn't tell you what to do, but if Trudeau would tell us to accept a 5.5 percent limit, we would tell him to go to hell."

Later, Lambert, a supporter of the Canadian Communist Party, told the *Bulletin* that: "If Woodcock is against the building of a labor party like we have in Canada, he is behind the times. When we have a problem, we can go to the New Democratic Party. But Woodcock is missing the boat. The American philosophy of 'reward your friends' in the Democratic Party makes no sense."

Whenever opposition to the bargaining program was expressed, which occurred rarely for the additional reason that convention rules did not permit more than one opposing speaker per region, the miserable conditions now facing auto workers were exposed.

One delegate from California referred to the numerous heart attacks hitting men on the line. Another opponent of the resolution spoke of the use of attrition by management to drive down the work force.

John Ellis, president of Local 985, urged the convention to "repudiate this resolution until it

says something for the production worker."

However, the Woodcock leadership was offered enormous assistance at the convention by the United National Caucus, which played the major role for covering up the sellout being prepared by the UAW bureaucracy.

In the days prior to the convention, the UNC leadership lined up with the Stalinists of the Communist Party to shelve the labor party demand that had been approved at its national meeting last month.

With no political perspective to fight Phase Three, the UNC virtually dropped its opposition to Woodcock's bargaining program on the convention floor.

The retreat was led by UNC Co-chairman Pete Kelly of Local 160. While making certain criticisms of the "harmony clause" in the program, he declared: "There are a lot of good points in this resolution."

The collaboration of the UNC and the Communist Party, aimed solely at keeping all political questions out of the convention and maintaining a purely formal opposition to Woodcock, was exposed most sharply at the separate meeting called by the UNC last Thursday night.

Paul Schrade, who last year had lost his position as Western Regional Director because of his refusal to fight the massive layoffs in aerospace and who until that time had been a slavish follower of Woodcock, was invited by the UNC as their guest speaker.

The Communist Party supported Schrade last April at the Atlantic City convention mainly because he had always been a staunch supporter of an alliance between the trade unions and liberal Democrats.

Two hours before Schrade spoke at the UNC meeting, he told the *Bulletin*: "We ought to

organize labor caucuses within the Democratic Party in order to bargain with it. I believe that there are opportunities within the Democratic Party based on grass roots movements. The Party is more open due to the reforms made last year."

This is now the position of the UNC, which blocks with Woodcock against the labor party and the fight against Nixon. Like Woodcock, the UNC had not one proposal to put forward on wages, speedups, or job security.

A number of delegates told the *Bulletin* that the resolution would be repudiated by the rank and file. Benny Ferrell, a committeeman in Local 600, stated that: "The ranks are going to read this and say that the program is nothing but crap. They want some action, but Woodcock won't give them any."

LABOR PARTY

While the issue of the labor party was never raised on the floor, because of the United National Caucus, it nevertheless dominated the convention. On the first day of the convention, there was an embarrassed admission by Woodcock that the liberal Democratic Senators had unanimously approved the renewal of the Economic Stabilization Act, thus discrediting Woodcock's claim that wage controls could be fought through the Democratic Party.

When asked by the *Bulletin* to explain the Senate action Woodcock replied: "We are against the labor party. We will always support socially progressive candidates even if we disagree now and then."

Woodcock broke off the interview when asked to comment on the wage increase that the UAW intends to seek.

It was precisely the very issue never raised at the convention—the building of a labor party—that was the most fundamental because the retreat of Wood-

cock before Nixon is rooted in his political support for the parties of big business.

Had the UAW bureaucracy put forward even the demand for a big wage increase, it could only be won through a political battle against Nixon for the establishment of a labor government.

One of the opponents of the UAW bargaining resolution, Norman Roth of UAW Local 6 and a supporter of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, told the *Bulletin*: "I see the question of a labor party very timely now. The wage controls show that there are no real solutions within the two parties. Labor must have its own political party. This is what the overall objective should be."

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on all auto workers to begin the fight against the sellout Woodcock program. The National Auto Caucus of the TUALP calls on UAW members to build a new leadership in the struggle for the following demands:

- Twenty percent wage increase the first year with a 100 percent cost of living escalator for each year of contract!

- No layoffs! 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay!

- Stop the speedup! Abolish Paragraph 8!

- Right to strike over all contract violations. Abolish Paragraph 117!

- No involuntary overtime!

- Real 30 and out at \$650 per month with 100 percent cost of living!

- Decent grievance procedures—guilt must be proven before discipline is assessed!

The fight for this program cannot be separated from the struggle for a Congress of Labor to prepare national strike action against Phase Three and to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Prices of fresh vegetables and other food commodities are also on the rise. Although the government's figures show the price of eggs declined in February, the same statistics reveal they cost nearly 40 cents per dozen more than a year ago, and a survey by the *Bulletin* found extra large Grade A eggs selling at 89 cents per dozen.

"It's expensive to eat, very expensive, and I don't know what people are going to do, especially low income people," one worker told the *Bulletin* outside a supermarket.

"I don't exactly eat less now, but I have to pay more for it and

have less money. About all you can do is eat and pay rent," he said. "I blame Nixon for it all."

Not only food prices have gone up. Landlords used the scrapping by Nixon of Phase Two rent controls as an excuse to raise rents often in excess of 100 percent, and soaring lumber costs have pushed up the price tag on the average home by \$1200.

The cost of fuel oil, natural gas and other forms of energy are also rapidly rising in the wake of Nixon's recent devaluation of the dollar, increasing not only the cost of heat and gasoline, but many other commodities as well.

It is to cover up the nature of the crisis and Nixon's attacks

that the liberals and Stalinists of the Communist Party now come forward—following Nixon himself—to propose a meat boycott.

Not only does this ignore the uncontrollable nature of the inflation, but it seeks to divert the working class from any sort of struggle for higher wages and a political struggle against Nixon.



forward the identical policy. Its answer to ITT is that "...alarm should give way to determined fight-back, by the banding together of social, political and economic people's organizations to curb the powers of monopoly capital by an anti-monopoly front."

The Stalinists' answer to the attacks of the capitalists and the very real danger of dictatorship is to run to the liberals while seeking to prop up the very system responsible for these attacks. If Nixon is prepared to consider these moves in Chile and if it is being exposed so openly today, that is because the same kind of moves are planned against the American working class.

ing class, the fear was that Allende would be unable to hold back the revolutionary upsurge, in spite of all his efforts.

DICTATORSHIP

As the monetary crisis defies solution and the world economy moves rapidly toward slump, the Nixon government moves just as rapidly toward dictatorship. This is the meaning of what the *New York Times* indignantly calls "ITT's brazen behavior."

In Chile, the Stalinists play the key role in the Popular Front government in demobilizing the working class and propping up the capitalist system, while the imperialists plan to dispense with Allende and his reformism completely. In the US, the Communist Party's *Daily World* puts

WATERGATE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

election Committee and now working in the Commerce Department and John Dean, Nixon's personal attorney.

At the same time Patrick Gray, Nixon's appointee to head the FBI, testified before the Senate last week that Dean had "probably" lied about his knowledge of the Watergate business. Gray continued to give Dean the results of the FBI's investigation and Nixon, who had appointed Dean to make the White House's investigation, announced that he had discovered nothing unusual or out of line concerning members of his administration. To this date Nixon is proclaiming his "absolute and total confidence" in Dean.

The corruption of this Administration which is now revealed on such a large scale reaches right into Nixon's inner circle including Haldeman, Maurice Stans, John Mitchell and Nixon himself.

This is not just another case of corruption. It involves the entire Nixon Administration and is the preparation for the organization internationally of counterrevolution.

As American capitalism, the center of the world crisis, enters its deepest crisis the corruption of the system must begin to pour out. This Administration was groomed for this period of war against the working class. It is the government of capitalism in decay that is prepared to do anything to maintain its system

and the profits of the big corporations and monopolies. To this end all the methods used by the CIA internationally are to be employed within the United States. The CIA, the FBI and all the so-called law enforcement agencies of this government become the private armies for these corporations to be used against the working class.

ITT

This is the meaning of the Watergate conspiracy as well as the ITT affair. Not only John McCone, former head of the CIA and now a director of the ITT, was involved, but Agnew and Connolly were directly linked to favors for this giant corporation. One of the favors involved CIA operations in Chile to try to aid the military in overthrowing the Allende government.

It is these men and the band of rightists, ex-CIA and FBI agents that Nixon protects under his executive privilege. These men are beyond the law. The very same people who scream about law and order are involved in this business. These are the real criminals. Their arrogant hypocrisy cannot conceal the real nature of their activities. The political conspiracy to raid the headquarters of the Democratic Party and to intervene in the Chilean elections is the dress rehearsal for their war against the unions. The working class must answer this reactionary conspiracy by fighting now to build a labor party to defeat Nixon.

ITT . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

pose. They were devoted not only to a discussion of antitrust problems, but also to the situation in Chile.

Corruption and scandal in capitalist government is not new. However, there has never been anything quite like the latest revelations on the ITT. The state apparatus exists in order to protect capitalism and the government is the executive committee of the capitalist class. Geneen, McCone, Merriam, Agnew, Connolly, Stans—these men consult together on common problems as if they were all partners in the same firm.

In Chile, the Nixon Administration was not only responding to the claims of an individual giant corporation. Throughout the rul-

BY BRUCE McKAY

As millions of American workers enter into wage struggles in the very midst of the worst crisis in the history of international capitalism, it is critical to understand the role of trade union bureaucrats like George Meany.

After Nixon removed the gold backing from the dollar and imposed state control over wages on August 15, 1971, Meany called these new policies of the ruling class "the road to fascism."

Meany was absolutely correct, but far from reflecting any determination to fight Nixon, his statement reflected the panic of the labor bureaucracy as the crisis struck at the very heart of its own privileged position: the ability to win concessions from the ruling class.

The basis for these concessions—the postwar boom which was built upon billions of dollars of valueless paper currency—has been wiped away, and since August 15, 1971, the trade union leadership has been faced with a government determined to smash every basic right and improvement in living standards won by workers in the past.

COLLABORATION

Today, rather than lead a determined political fight against Phase Three through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies, Meany and the rest of the trade union bureaucracy are in deep collaboration with Nixon, as was demonstrated by the enthusiastic reception Nixon received at last month's AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting.

Meany, in fact, offers to help Nixon hold down wage demands in contract negotiations this year, stifle any movement toward independent political action by workers and to whip up a protectionist hysteria within the unions in preparation for trade war against Europe and Japan.

As president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany has an important role to play in Nixon's overall strategy to defeat the working class.

With the cooperation of Meany and other key trade union leaders, Nixon pursues his trade war with Europe and Japan and hopes to be able to break up the working class and to postpone a direct collision with the unions. At the same time, he prepares the way for the destruction of the independence of the trade unions by their incorporation into the state apparatus.

This is the real meaning of the government's control of wages as well as the appointment of Peter Brennan as Secretary of Labor. With the collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy, Nixon is trying to isolate weaker sections of the working class and concentrate his attacks on these sections, at the same time trying to undermine the strength of the unions. Meany has been in the forefront of the patriotic campaign to divide American workers from their brothers in Europe and Japan.

In return for this unparalleled betrayal, Meany says he hopes to gain a few concessions such as an excess profits tax and wage increases slightly larger than the 5.5 percent limit set by Nixon.

SMOOTH

At every step, Meany has refused to get in the way of Nixon's open moves toward Bonapartist dictatorship and in fact serves to smooth the road to fascism just as the German Social Democracy prepared the way for Hitler.

Meany made his criminal role very clear from the beginning of Phase One, when he coupled his denunciation of the wage freeze as "the road to fascism" with a suggestion that Nixon set up a tripartite wage board of labor, business and "public" members to impose "voluntary" wage controls enforced by the union bureaucracy itself.

Meany accepts the ruling class lie that "excessive" wage demands cause inflation, and he has always supported government controls just as he has always opposed strikes—the most effective fighting weapon of the trade unions in struggling for higher wages.

Thus, one month after blasting Nixon's

GEORGE MEANY Nixon's Faithful Servant



Two friends enjoying cocktails and intimate conversation.

wage freeze, Meany joined four other trade union leaders on the Pay Board, stacked two to one against labor, to help impose Nixon's mandatory 5.5 percent wage ceiling—recalling his service to the bosses during the Korean War when he represented the AFL bureaucracy on Truman's Wage Stabilization Board and National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy.

At the same time, however, Meany was faced with the angry movement of the ranks which threatened to explode into general strike action against the Pay Board, a movement exemplified by the strike action of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkers.

INSTRUMENTAL

Meany and bureaucrats like Woodcock, in successfully heading off a confrontation with the government over the wage freeze, were instrumental in allowing Nixon to go forward with Phases Two and Three, during which workers' negotiated wage increases have been taken away and money has been snatched right out of their pockets and put back in the bosses' coffers.

This movement of the working class, however, was reflected in the completely hostile reception accorded Nixon at the AFL-CIO convention in November 1971. Within six months, Meany and three of the other union representatives on the Pay Board were forced to resign after it had become painfully apparent to millions of workers that the Board was nothing more than a tool of the bosses designed to tear up contracts and slash wages.

But Meany's verbal attacks on Phase Two and his action in walking off the Board were designed not to mobilize the trade unions in a fight to smash Phase Two.

Just as he had refused to oppose Truman's anti-working class policies after the anger of the ranks had forced him off the Wage Stabilization Board in 1951, Meany stood by while Nixon's Pay Board continued to deny workers the right to freely negotiate wages, continued to take

money out of workers' paychecks and while inflation ate up every increase in the form of higher prices.

Today, Meany has given up any semblance of opposition to Nixon's wage cutting policies by joining the Cost of Living Council's labor-management advisory board and advocating a 7.5 percent wage ceiling at the very point when inflation threatens an uncontrollable explosion.

Of critical importance, too, in Nixon's strategy is the role of Meany in heading off any movement within the unions for the construction of a labor party.

Just as Meany rejected any form of strike action against Nixon's wage freeze and Pay Board, so he has sought to strangle any form of independent working class political struggle against Nixon.

He has always been one of the staunchest supporters of the Democratic Party within the labor movement and has been well-groomed for his role. As one of the founders of New York's American Labor Party in the 1930s, he played a key role in his position as president of the New York Federation of Labor and as a member of the right wing of the Socialist Party in keeping the ALP tied to Roosevelt's capitalist New Deal.

CONTRADICTIONS

But in continuing to support the Democrats after Nixon and the capitalist class had declared war on workers, Meany at every point has been caught in the contradictions of his own position.

Thus, the logic of the capitalist crisis which demands the breakup of the two party system and an end to capitalist democracy forced the capitalists who control the Democratic Party to snub Meany and the trade unions at last year's party convention.

This, along with the growing rejection of the Democrats by millions of workers, forced Meany and the AFL-CIO to adopt a position of neutrality in the elections and to even threaten a labor party as a means of heading off the movement of the ranks and pressuring the ruling class for concessions.

Meany, however, has absolutely no intention of allowing the construction of a labor party if he can prevent it. Like the rest of the present trade union leadership, including such dandies of the Stalinists as Leonard Woodcock, Meany is perfectly content with leaving the task of "running the country" in the hands of the capitalist class.

As Meany said after the Democratic Convention: "The position of labor over the years on the labor party has been very simple. That we didn't want to expend all of our energy running a labor party, trying to run the country, when we were able to bring the workers of America, despite our dissatisfaction with conditions, a better condition than workers have in any other part of the world."

Nixon's plans to destroy every basic right and gain ever won by the working class and to subjugate the trade unions to the corporate state cannot be accomplished without the decisive defeat of the working class in an all-out struggle.

FASCISM

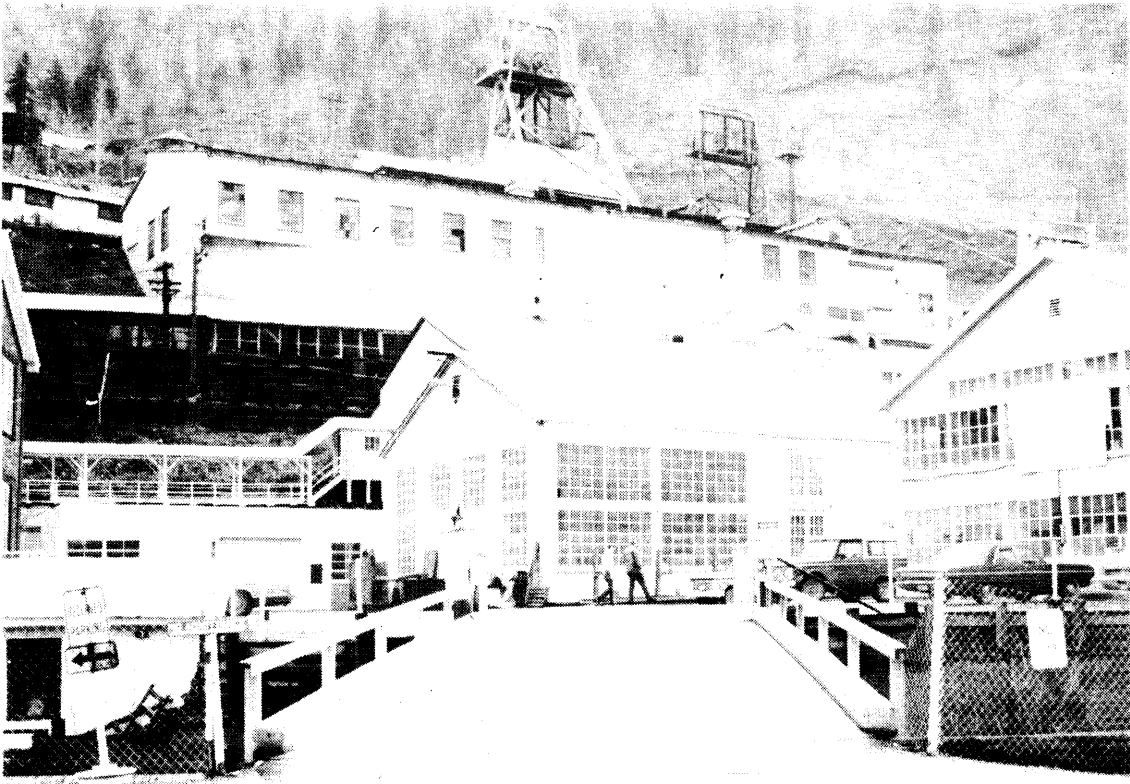
It is for this reason that sections of the ruling class will increasingly turn toward fascism as it becomes apparent that workers will fight bitterly to defend the unions built in the struggles of the past, while the trade union leadership betrays every battle.

It is precisely the task of establishing a workers' government and "running the country" which now confronts the working class.

What is represented in the person of George Meany is the crisis of leadership in the working class and the urgent task of developing an alternative revolutionary leadership.

It is only this conscious Marxist leadership which can bring workers forward against the Meanys and the Woodcocks in a fight against Phase Three and a fight to convene a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Nixon and to form a labor party committed to socialist policies.

West Coast News



Sunshine silver mine, above, site of 1972 fire which killed 91 miners, now shut by pay strike. Top right, a miners' neighborhood in Kellogg, Idaho. Mineworkers picket, bottom right, at the Sunshine mine. Miners are demanding an extra dollar an hour and on-site safety committee.

Letters From Our Readers

To the Editor:

The writer, as a merchant seaman of one of the main Seaman's Unions here in the San Francisco Bay Area, desires to make it known to labor and other allied organizations or persons, of the past and present plight of most merchant seaman, sailing or attempting to sail out of this port. Years ago, prior to and of course, during WWII, also the Korean War, shipping was good. Those men who wanted various jobs on ships of the United States flag could get a job in their classification at most anytime. American shipping was good and was used for freighting and passengers. During the period and right after the Korean War, shipping in the freight line, naturally slowed down. However, there was a need for exports to needy countries.

I have found that at the time, 1950s, American businesses, companies and businessmen, chose to use more foreign flag ships, rather than US ships. This is well-known by both seamen and longshoremen in the Bay Area.

Foreign flag ships are cheaper in labor and cost than American shipping. The businessmen of this country (USA), did not think of the thousands of people, who would be affected by that decision—viz., to use foreign ships. Many seamen had to leave the union halls they belong to and seek other work after their unemployment checks ran out. They could not remain at the hall, especially married men with families, because they were losing time. They had to leave the hall, maintaining whatever contact they could and work outside at the same time. It is a very sad day when we American seamen cannot find work on American ships.

Take a close look at our docks in the Northern California Bay Area, from Stockton, Sacramento, San Francisco, Redwood City, Oakland, and farther south. Most ships are foreign. We also understand that a lot of shipping is done overland and by air, but it's no reason not to use out-ships for world runs, with American seamen of all races. It appears very vividly, that the average American businessman and his board, prefer to deny American men work, while trying to save their money, by hiring and using foreign ships. When the American seaman has to go on welfare, then it costs the American businessman and American business companies more. We want more and we deserve it, shipping on American ships, both freighter and passenger and any special ships of navigational activity on the high seas. It is hoped that other seamen will read this and answer with an opinion.

Name Withheld

Sunshine Disaster Mine Shut By Wages Fight

BY DENNIS FULTON

KELLOGG, Idaho—A two week old strike by 390 miners has shut down the Sunshine mine, a few miles outside of Kellogg. Last May, unsafe conditions in the mine killed 91 miners in a flash fire caused by the criminal refusal of the company to remove scrap timber and refuse from the mine.

A "final report" about the disaster just issued by the Bureau of Mines lists thirty findings of unsafe practices by the company but it poses no penalties.

While the striking miners have demanded a standing safety committee with authority to stop work under unsafe conditions, the main issue in the strike is wages and the cost of living. A striker interviewed by the *Bulletin* revealed that Sunshine has cut the wages of the contract miners since the mine reopened after the fire.

"Since the fire that new guy's come in, Russell, from Bunker. They've dropped the prices on all the stopes (cubic feet of silver-bearing earth). It used to be 25 cents a cube, now it's 15. So you've got to work twice as hard now as you did a year ago. The

more you make the less they pay you."

Larry Marshal, staff representative of the United Steelworkers Local 5089, told the *Bulletin* that Sunshine has refused to negotiate any wage increase for the contract miners.

"Incentive earnings is not covered by the contract at this point," he said. "We are asking that it be put in this time so they will not have the right to cut the contract miners."

The original wage demand voted by the miners was a dollar an hour increase each year of two year contract, an escalator tied to silver prices and a cost of living escalator.

PALTRY

But the local USWA bureaucracy backedpeddled from these demands and ended up recommending approval of a paltry pay offer from the company of 53 cents for miners spread over three years and no increase for contract miners. The miners rejected the offer by a unanimous vote.

Union representative Marshal said to the *Bulletin*, "In the opinion of the men, the company's offer was inadequate. Now, what is adequate?" he asked, shrugging his shoulders.

The striking miners could have told him. One miner told the *Bulletin* that the company's wage offer, "won't even bring us up with the district, let alone anyone else."

Another miner, Dan Schaffner, explained that the "out-of-district mines such as Butte and Anaconda are making \$32 a day

pay. And what are we making—\$26 for the same job."

RENT

"Two years ago," said Schaffner, "rent in this community was pretty low. But in the last two years, it's really jumped. Prices jumped to where they're just about the same as Seattle. Before we got the raise, we would be thirty cents behind."

"There's no sense striking if you're not going to accomplish what you're striking for. We've got to stand firm or else Bunker won't get a good contract, ARSCO won't get a good contract when they settle at the end of the year. Somebody's going to have to set the pace, or else we'll be so far behind all the time that it's going to be too much of an uphill climb for us."

The determination of the miners to win this strike comes from the skyrocketing inflation and the extreme bitterness over working under conditions in which the sort of disaster that wiped out nearly a hundred miners can happen again.

The union leadership has not only attempted to pull back on the wages question but has now brought in a federal mediator to assist in a betrayal of the strikers.

The only guarantee that there will not be more disasters such as that of last May is that the mines be nationalized and run under the control of the miners.

The Sunshine miners must build a new leadership in the United Steel Workers Union committed to carrying out this task through the construction of a labor party.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Workers Face Isolated Strike At Firestone

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles contract talks are now in the third week between the United Rubber Workers (URW) and the big four rubber companies, Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich, and Uniroyal.

At the Firestone plant here both union members and officials are predicting a strike when the contract expires April 20. Blaming insufficient strike funds, union chiefs say the strike will be limited to one company, most likely Firestone.

WAGES

Wanting to avoid a fight against the 5.5 wage limit of Phase Three, the URW is pushing pension and retiree improvements as the main issues in negotiations. Union leaders have said little so far about exactly how high the wage demand will be.

A young worker from the Firestone plant in LA said he was disturbed by the emphasis placed on pensions. "What do I care about retirement when I have 30 years to go. My main concern is to win a substantial wage increase now."

LAYOFFS

The workers at the Firestone plant here and throughout the rubber industry have been hit with huge layoffs in the past few years. In 1962 there were 4500

workers in the LA plant; now only 1200 remain. The company, seeking easy profits, moved the fuel cell division to Arkansas where wages were \$1.25 compared to \$4.00 paid in the LA plant.

Of those that remain a few hundred were only recently hired on the basis that "sales are great" according to company officials. Many workers fear that this means Firestone is stockpiling in preparation for a strike.

FIRESTONE

Leonard Firestone, head of Firestone Rubber, recently contributed thousands of dollars to Nixon's reelection campaign and to the fund which went to finance the Watergate break-in. No doubt he is expecting a return on this investment and is relying on Nixon's intervention in this contract fight.

The URW leadership are using the excuse of insufficient strike funds to cover for the refusal to shut down all the major rubber companies in April. By avoiding the fight over wages at a time when prices continue to skyrocket they are caving in to Nixon and accepting what will amount to a cut in real wages.

Law And Order Liberal Style

BY MITCH PATERSON

LOS ANGELES—"I believe that crime may be the real test of American political wisdom in the years ahead" stated City Councilman Tom Bradley expressing the central thrust of his campaign as Democratic candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.

The talk about crime, however, is nothing more than a vicious "law and order" campaign against the working class and the youth as they come forward in struggles against the attacks waged by this government.

Under the glitter of this one-time welfare recipient and liberal Democrat is a veteran of 21 years with the Los Angeles Police Department; several as a lieutenant as well as a special detective. This experience will be used by Bradley to administer Nixon's "law and order."

It's clear in the proposals he's making now in regards to "school violence." He proposes that all teachers be required to carry ballpoint pen-sized radio transmitters in order to report "possible disturbances" to campus security.

VIGILANTE

He also urges the creation of community patrols, made up of civilians that would drive around and investigate suspicious looking people. The patrols would be "acting as eyes and ears for law enforcement agencies." What it really implies is the beginnings of vigilante squads that would be answerable to no one.

Bradley is the owner and founder of the LA Bank of Finance. That, along with several huge contributions enables him to run a million dollar campaign against currently presiding Mayor Sam Yorty. The two ran against each other in the 1969 election with Yorty barely winning a majority over Bradley. The "mud-slinging" that Yorty did at that time is today quite helpful to Bradley. Yorty stated that Bradley was "the creature of militants" which set an aura of liberalism around Bradley. Today it acts as an excellent cover for his truly reactionary positions.

Bradley has stated: "A very careful check will be made on all my campaign workers to be certain that militants or radicals don't participate."

"We have heard that crime is a product of circumstances, a reflection of existing injustice impossible to alleviate by law enforcement and punishment. This is not true."

But what are these "circumstances?" They're massive unemployment, rise in prices, budget cuts in education, and wholesale attacks on the trade union movement. Are we to



San Francisco city workers hear union leaders defend Alioto administration's four percent wage deal.

City Workers Sold Out For Four Percent

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The leaders of four Service Employees International Union (SEIU) locals representing over 10,000 city employees took their orders from the Alioto administration last week and accepted a miserable four percent wage increase.

Hospital Workers Local 250 leader Timothy Twomey, president of the San Francisco Labor Council, had threatened strike action when the Board of Supervisors offered a three and a half percent boost the week before. But after the Board met again and added a tiny amount to their offer, Twomey hailed it as "reasonable" and "the best we could expect."

A call to action would have rallied thousands of city workers

to fight for a living wage, which is being denied for the fifth straight year. Instead, with the union leadership and the capitalist press blaring that a strike had been averted, a meeting of a hundred workers was forced reluctantly to accept the settlement.

One worker told the Bulletin, "I'm a janitor. I don't make \$8000 a year and I'm getting four percent. We started at \$100 across the board, then went down to \$50. Now we're down to nothing. We should have stayed at \$100 and

struck—everybody out, pull out all the janitors and dishwashers."

The union bureaucrats have pursued a strategy of pressuring their "friends" Mayor Alioto and the liberals on the Board of Supervisors and threatening to "punish labor's enemies" in the elections next fall.

At every point the union leadership pretended that the city workers were too weak to take on the government in strike action, and that strike votes were to be taken in order to threaten, not in order to carry out anything real.

AGENTS

In this dirty work they have acted consciously as Alioto's agents, trying to keep things cool while the mayor's campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor heats up.

With prices climbing five or six times as fast as the wage increase, this settlement cannot last very long. What is urgently required now is the construction of a new leadership among city workers pledged to an all out fight against Alioto with city-wide strike action and a call to the whole labor movement for support.

This leadership can only be constructed in a bitter struggle against the Stalinist Communist Party, which serves as the most conscious prop of the alliance between the labor bureaucrats and the Democratic Party. Their newspaper, the Peoples World, completely covers for the maneuvers and pressure politics of Twomey, concluding that "With all these divisions, the weakness of the union...it seems the 10,000 clerks, janitors and hospital workers were lucky to get 4 percent."

To fight the leadership of the Twomeys and Meanys, whose policies of pressure and class collaboration are being shattered by the developing economic crisis, the working class will need more than luck. Above all there must be the most determined fight against all those like the Stalinists who would revise Marxism in order to preach the endless stability of capitalism so as to disarm the working class.



Bradley

assume that a strike, being the "product" of these circumstances makes the worker a criminal? Yes, according to Bradley. He'll have no compunction in administering his "law enforcement and punishment" in these matters.

He has already stated his total opposition to government employees and teachers striking to defend themselves. In fact, at a time when the teachers union is preparing a strike for better wages and working conditions, Bradley is running around saying that the teachers' grievances are based on the student "unrest and violence," always attempting to sever the established objective connection between the struggles

of youth and the struggles of teachers.

LIBERALS

Bradley will be among the last of the so called "liberals." Rapidly diminishing is any room for liberalism. The government and all politicians of every color and hue will have to shed their "sheep's clothing" and confront the working class head on in this period.

The only recourse then, is for workers and youth to answer these attacks politically. The trade union movement must construct its own party, a labor party in order to defend all sections of workers and youth.

West Coast News

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One thousand teachers rally in Hillsboro, Oregon to support the state's first teachers strike.

Labor Leaders Plan Phase Three Protest

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO, March 27—At a meeting of Bay Area labor leaders held here to discuss plans for labor action against Phase Three, several hundred union officials from the Bay Area County as well as representatives from Fresno and Sacramento agreed to set up a steering committee to plan action.

The meeting was led by Walter Johnson of the Department Store Employees Union Local 1100 and James Herman of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34 of Pittsburgh. Local 1100 was involved in the strike of the Emporium Department Store that mobilized massive support in the Bay Area.

Johnson made it very clear that the meeting was called because a great deal of pressure is now on the union officials from rank and filers furious with soaring inflation and frozen wages.

What characterized the meeting was the extreme reluctance of every labor leader pre-

sent to give a fighting lead to the trade union movement. Contributions ranged from Leon Olson of the Carpenters Union, who suggested the idea of a protest work stoppage of a few hours, to calls for a rally from Curtis McClane of the ILWU Warehouse Local 6 and to a suggestion that Congress be censured by a delegation of labor leaders.

INSIST

James Herman went out of his way to insist that above all, no political policies should be discussed, as that would only divide the struggle.

With Bay Area food prices up by nearly seven percent in the last two months, and with hun-

dreds of thousands of Californians facing expiring contracts, this meeting expressed the desperate maneuvering of the labor bureaucracy to confine the coming explosions to policies of protest.

The steering committee that has been set up is charged with the task of preparing area-wide action. It is urgent that this movement be brought forward by the rank and file by insisting that these leaders commit themselves to smashing the state freeze and controls through industrial action of the entire labor movement and that the political attacks on the labor movement are met not with protest, but with the calling of a Congress of Labor to fight for the launching of a labor party.

1,000 Teachers Rally To Back Oregon Strikers

BY AN AFT MEMBER

HILLSBORO, Oregon—Over 1000 teachers along with other workers and youth rallied in support of striking Hillsboro teachers in Shute Park last Sunday. Teachers came from more than 25 towns in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

This unprecedented mobilization of the Northwest labor movement comes in response to the school board threats of a mass firing of all striking teachers. The week-old strike is in defiance of state laws, but Teamster drivers are honoring the picket lines and the board has been unable to recruit scab labor.

The strike is the first by teachers in the state of Oregon. The walkout was provoked when the board decided to extend the contract a second year, with no wage increase except a small increment for cost of living.

The school board is following in the footsteps of neighboring Portland, where a contract calling for a 4.5 percent increase and administration control of class sizes was recently forced on teachers through the collaboration of the leaders of the Portland Education Association.

What is required now is an immediate offensive by Portland teachers to demand reopening of their contract and strike action to defend the Hillsboro teachers. The rally shows the tremendous support that would be won in the working class by such a policy.

GM Tightens The Screws

BY A UAW MEMBER

General Motor's attempts to step up discipline in order to enforce compulsory overtime and speed-up is provoking massive resistance among Local 1364 members.

Spontaneous walkouts, slow-downs, and absenteeism have placed the Fremont plant at the bottom of the General Motors Assembly Division quality index list.

Any scheduling of production over 9.3 hours is now being met with outright refusals to work and walkouts. There have been walkouts in the body shop and hard trim and numerous work stoppages including the passenger motor line where workers recently cited federal law requiring a lunch break after five hours of work.

With the open collaboration of the Herrera leadership, GM has shortened the discipline procedure from eight steps to four steps to discharge and have begun policing the parking lot for violation of the no-alcohol rule.

GRIEVANCE

The local leadership has liquidated a huge backlog of Paragraph 78 speedup grievances by teaming with management in a so-called Task Force. An overloaded worker who requests a committeeman in order to register a Paragraph 78 grievance is now surprised to see an impressive entourage consisting of the Superintendent, General and Line Foremen, Labor Relations, Time Standards, Committeeman, Shop Chairman, and International Rep to service his complaint.

After putting their collective heads together they offer their solution that the stock and tools be rearranged. If the grievant continues to insist that he has too much work, the last offer will be the removal of the most minimal part that is usually taken down the line and given to a new worker. These verbal agreements are not recorded. As a result, stalling, renegeing, and even receiving more work is the end result of these high-powered "gentleman's agreements."

If the grievant continues to complain or let work go he is next threatened with discipline.

The sudden tightening of discipline in response to the spontaneous job actions shows that General Motors is preparing for all-out war in case of a national strike.

We Challenge Spartacist To A Debate

The Los Angeles Area Conference of the Young Socialists was an event of great importance. It marks the real beginning of the construction of a Trotskyist youth movement in the Southern California areas and an important preparation for the Founding Conference of the Young Socialists scheduled for New York City in late May.

Significantly an important delegation of youth from Watts attended the Conference. The rebellion in Watts was just a foretaste of the struggles of American workers in the coming period. At the same time it raised sharply the necessity to construct a revolutionary leadership so that new rebellions do not go down in defeat as that one did. That is the task of the Young Socialists together with the Workers League.

Precisely because it is our intention to construct such a leadership, the various radicals are thrown into a frenzy over the development of the Young Socialists. These radicals are hostile to the movement of the working class against Nixon, seeking to maintain a passive position of purely propaganda activity in a period requiring the actual construction of a leadership in the working class and in struggle.

Spartacist fronts for all these radicals, particularly for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist

Editorial

Alliance. Spartacist agrees with the SWP and YSA that there really is no crisis and that socialist politics must remain the special province of the petty bourgeois radical. Spartacist prepared for its present role by breaking from the Fourth International in 1966, substituting the construction of a circle for the construction of the international movement.

Spartacist organized its entire West Coast forces simply to stand in front of the Los Angeles Conference of the Young Socialists and seek to break it up.

We state openly to all workers and youth that Spartacist is hostile to Trotskyism, that it opposes the construction of the necessary leadership of the working class in this critical period.

We challenge Spartacist to debate openly the issues which differentiate our organizations. We propose that this debate be on: REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE WORKING CLASS TODAY. We propose that it be held at UCLA or any other convenient location in the Los Angeles area. We propose that it be held as soon as possible.

Spartacist are specialists in back alley politicking. Will Spartacist appear openly before the working class public in a freewheeling debate over basic strategy? We are waiting to hear. No reasonable proposal will be turned down.

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One thousand teachers rally in Hillsboro, Oregon to support the state's first teachers strike.

Labor Leaders Plan Phase Three Protest

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO, March 27—At a meeting of Bay Area labor leaders held here to discuss plans for labor action against Phase Three, several hundred union officials from the Bay Area County as well as representatives from Fresno and Sacramento agreed to set up a steering committee to plan action.

The meeting was led by Walter Johnson of the Department Store Employees Union Local 1100 and James Herman of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34 of Pittsburgh. Local 1100 was involved in the strike of the Emporium Department Store that mobilized massive support in the Bay Area.

Johnson made it very clear that the meeting was called because a great deal of pressure is now on the union officials from rank and filers furious with soaring inflation and frozen wages.

What characterized the meeting was the extreme reluctance of every labor leader pre-

sent to give a fighting lead to the trade union movement. Contributions ranged from Leon Olson of the Carpenters Union, who suggested the idea of a protest work stoppage of a few hours, to calls for a rally from Curtis McClane of the ILWU Warehouse Local 6 and to a suggestion that Congress be censured by a delegation of labor leaders.

INSIST

James Herman went out of his way to insist that above all, no political policies should be discussed, as that would only divide the struggle.

With Bay Area food prices up by nearly seven percent in the last two months, and with hun-

dreds of thousands of Californians facing expiring contracts, this meeting expressed the desperate maneuvering of the labor bureaucracy to confine the coming explosions to policies of protest.

The steering committee that has been set up is charged with the task of preparing area-wide action. It is urgent that this movement be brought forward by the rank and file by insisting that these leaders commit themselves to smashing the state freeze and controls through industrial action of the entire labor movement and that the political attacks on the labor movement are met not with protest, but with the calling of a Congress of Labor to fight for the launching of a labor party.

1,000 Teachers Rally To Back Oregon Strikers

BY AN AFT MEMBER

HILLSBORO, Oregon—Over 1000 teachers along with other workers and youth rallied in support of striking Hillsboro teachers in Shute Park last Sunday. Teachers came from more than 25 towns in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

This unprecedented mobilization of the Northwest labor movement comes in response to the school board threats of a mass firing of all striking teachers. The week-old strike is in defiance of state laws, but Teamster drivers are honoring the picket lines and the board has been unable to recruit scab labor.

The strike is the first by teachers in the state of Oregon. The walkout was provoked when the board decided to extend the contract a second year, with no wage increase except a small increment for cost of living.

The school board is following in the footsteps of neighboring Portland, where a contract calling for a 4.5 percent increase and administration control of class sizes was recently forced on teachers through the collaboration of the leaders of the Portland Education Association.

What is required now is an immediate offensive by Portland teachers to demand reopening of their contract and strike action to defend the Hillsboro teachers. The rally shows the tremendous support that would be won in the working class by such a policy.

GM Tightens The Screws

BY A UAW MEMBER

General Motor's attempts to step up discipline in order to enforce compulsory overtime and speed-up is provoking massive resistance among Local 1364 members.

Spontaneous walkouts, slow-downs, and absenteeism have placed the Fremont plant at the bottom of the General Motors Assembly Division quality index list.

Any scheduling of production over 9.3 hours is now being met with outright refusals to work and walkouts. There have been walkouts in the body shop and hard trim and numerous work stoppages including the passenger motor line where workers recently cited federal law requiring a lunch break after five hours of work.

With the open collaboration of the Herrera leadership, GM has shortened the discipline procedure from eight steps to four steps to discharge and have begun policing the parking lot for violation of the no-alcohol rule.

GRIEVANCE

The local leadership has liquidated a huge backlog of Paragraph 78 speedup grievances by teaming with management in a so-called Task Force. An overloaded worker who requests a committeeman in order to register a Paragraph 78 grievance is now surprised to see an impressive entourage consisting of the Superintendent, General and Line Foremen, Labor Relations, Time Standards, Committeeman, Shop Chairman, and International Rep to service his complaint.

After putting their collective heads together they offer their solution that the stock and tools be rearranged. If the grievant continues to insist that he has too much work, the last offer will be the removal of the most minimal part that is usually taken down the line and given to a new worker. These verbal agreements are not recorded. As a result, stalling, renegeing, and even receiving more work is the end result of these high-powered "gentleman's agreements."

If the grievant continues to complain or let work go he is next threatened with discipline.

The sudden tightening of discipline in response to the spontaneous job actions shows that General Motors is preparing for all-out war in case of a national strike.

We Challenge Spartacist To A Debate

The Los Angeles Area Conference of the Young Socialists was an event of great importance. It marks the real beginning of the construction of a Trotskyist youth movement in the Southern California areas and an important preparation for the Founding Conference of the Young Socialists scheduled for New York City in late May.

Significantly an important delegation of youth from Watts attended the Conference. The rebellion in Watts was just a foretaste of the struggles of American workers in the coming period. At the same time it raised sharply the necessity to construct a revolutionary leadership so that new rebellions do not go down in defeat as that one did. That is the task of the Young Socialists together with the Workers League.

Precisely because it is our intention to construct such a leadership, the various radicals are thrown into a frenzy over the development of the Young Socialists. These radicals are hostile to the movement of the working class against Nixon, seeking to maintain a passive position of purely propaganda activity in a period requiring the actual construction of a leadership in the working class and in struggle.

Spartacist fronts for all these radicals, particularly for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist

Editorial

Alliance. Spartacist agrees with the SWP and YSA that there really is no crisis and that socialist politics must remain the special province of the petty bourgeois radical. Spartacist prepared for its present role by breaking from the Fourth International in 1966, substituting the construction of a circle for the construction of the international movement.

Spartacist organized its entire West Coast forces simply to stand in front of the Los Angeles Conference of the Young Socialists and seek to break it up.

We state openly to all workers and youth that Spartacist is hostile to Trotskyism, that it opposes the construction of the necessary leadership of the working class in this critical period.

We challenge Spartacist to debate openly the issues which differentiate our organizations. We propose that this debate be on: REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE WORKING CLASS TODAY. We propose that it be held at UCLA or any other convenient location in the Los Angeles area. We propose that it be held as soon as possible.

Spartacist are specialists in back alley politicking. Will Spartacist appear openly before the working class public in a freewheeling debate over basic strategy? We are waiting to hear. No reasonable proposal will be turned down.