

Bulletin

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Lessons of the 1199 Struggle-- Leon Davis and the Popular Front

LEADERS SELL OUT BRITISH DOCK STRIKE



Militant dockers march through streets of London in support of struggle for basic wage during strike only to be later betrayed by their union leaders.

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON, AUGUST 1—Tory politicians and big business spokesmen in Britain are applauding the betrayal by national union leaders and local officials of the first national dock strike since 1926.

In London, local T & GWU officials including several under Communist Party influence were able to ram the sell-out down the dockers throats at mass meetings at which actual votes were never taken. As a result, the London dockers are returning to work without a single solitary penny increase in their basic rate.

As one of the dockers at the London meeting put it, "All we got at this meeting was Big Brother". His disgust was shared by rank and file dockers throughout London and other ports. Earlier, militant dockers demonstrating for a rejection at the delegates conference, greeted the decision with cries of "sell-out" and made clear they wanted to continue the strike as an "unofficial" action.

The will to fight on the part of the rank and file was never lacking throughout the strike. What was needed to tie

together the militants and cut through the confusion promoted by Jones and the Stalinists, was a clear alternative leadership. Now, clearly, in order to stem the tide of the retreat before the Tories and to prepare to defeat the fake lefts, the struggle must be taken forward to the building of the alternative Marxist leadership in all ports.

This requires a deepening of the understanding of the political lessons of the betrayal—lessons which are also essential for the building of an alternative leadership in the American working class.

The insistence by Jack Jones and other top leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union (T & GWU) that the 47,000 dockers return to work with a complete retreat on their main demand for a \$48 basic wage is now being taken as a green light for all out war against the entire

British working class. The bosses are preparing for a full scale stepping up of the drive for increased productivity by the implementation of "modernization"; of the docks under "phase two" of the infamous Devlin Report.

The authoritative spokesman for British and world capital, The Times of London, made no effort to hide its enthusiasm for the settlement which was approved by a 51-31 margin at the docks delegates conference: "The vote of the dockers conference... for a return to work was reassuring. ...The worst possibilities have been averted. Productivity bargaining has not been prejudiced by an open-handed settlement. Seven per cent. if that is what the increase turns out to be, is tolerable in national terms. The idea that the dockers would be used as a flying wedge to open the way for another general wage push is dead..."

The "modernization" over which the port employers and the entire capitalist class are rubbing their hands in glee will mean a further destruction of the conditions and jobs on the docks by abol-

ishing piece work, devastating manning scales, and virtually freezing wages while speedup and unemployment gather steam.

The betrayal by the union leaders is not only a green light for war on the Workers Press, daily newspaper of the British Trotskyists has pointed out, this will soon be followed by Tory attempts to impose "government legislation against all 'unofficial' strikes and every expression of militancy on the docks. Speed-up at one end, the dole-queue (breadline) at the other".

During the course of 1970 the economic crisis has reached a new pitch. The drop in the rate of profit, the mounting inflation, the fall in capital for investment has driven the bosses in only one direction. They must make the working class pay for this crisis. They must recreate the conditions of the 1930's; but we are not living in 1929. This must be stressed. The capitalist class now faces a working class organized, disciplined and confident as never before. Workers have achieved standards of living

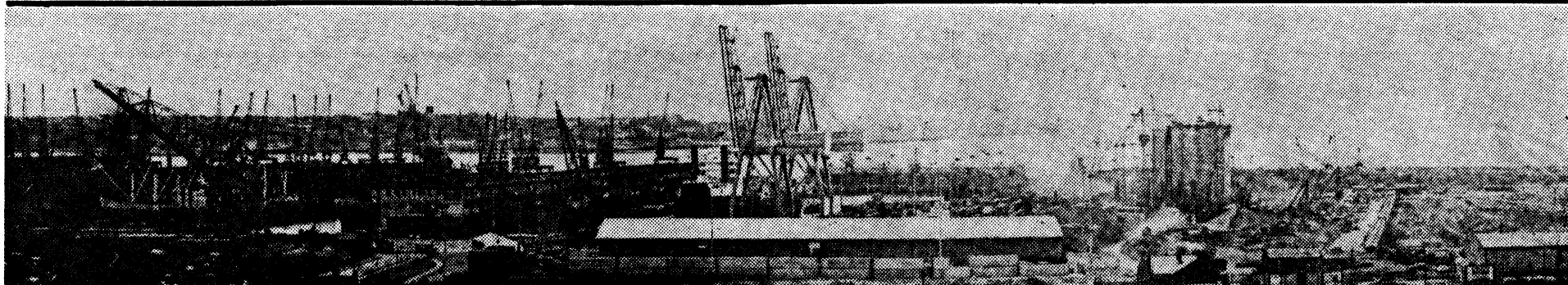
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EXCLUSIVE REPORT

YOUTH AND BLACK POLITICIANS IN ASBURY PARK



Bulletin reporter talks to Asbury Park youth.



UNION LEADERS BETRAY BRITISH DOCK STRIKE

(continued from cover)

that they are determined to maintain at all cost.

The immediate cause of the strike is the dockers claim for an increase in the basic weekly rate from approximately 27 dollars to approximately 48 dollars. Involved in the dispute are primarily two unions- the Transport and General Workers Union and the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, known as the 'Blue' union because of the color of its union cards.

JONES

The national docks strike, the first official national strike since 1926, as originally scheduled by the union leadership for July 14. On the night before the strike deadline, the chief of the TGWU, the 'left' Jack Jones, made a special televised appeal to the dockers. He called for the union membership to remain at work for 48 hours until the national docks delegates conference could have the opportunity to analyze and vote upon what Jones called a new offer from the docks employers. Included in this 'new' offer was no rise in the basic rate. 30,000 dockers ignored his earnest appeals on behalf of the bosses and walked out. The strike became official when the conference of delegates in London formally rejected the offer.

The struggle for an increase of approximately \$20 basic rate is not the essential conflict as far as the employers are concerned. Their concern is the implementation of the "Devlin Phase Two" (a plan for rationalization of the docks).

Lord Devlin headed a commission which in 1964 was charged with producing a report on the state of the docks. This they did. The

report they produced was an employers' blueprint. It included recommendations for "modernization", reduced manning scales, shift working, increased discipline and the use of unorganized ports. By the introduction of Measured-Day Work in place of piece rates the possibility of pushing ahead with the wage offensive would be lost. In other words, there was to be a large cut-back in jobs, and crushing conditions were to be imposed on those who remained.

The employers know, and it terrifies them, that if the dockers were to win the \$48 basic wage, phases two of the Devlin scheme could well be dead. The average earnings would rise sharply and it would be much more difficult for the employers to tempt the dockers into accepting job-cutting rationalization through the offer of further increases. That is to say, the \$48.00 basic rate would eliminate the possibility of a tantalizing carrot on a stick.

The election of the Tory government on June 18, for which Wilson with his treacherous anti-working class policies owes responsibility, created a new political situation. This government is the most vicious, right-wing Tory administration since the Second World War. It has to be. It has fundamental class tasks to carry out. It must take on the working-class and it must try to win.

PEARSON

An 'impartial' third party commission, the Pearson Inquiry was set up by the Tories to investigate the dispute. But there can be no such thing as impartiality in this conflict. The commission report is an open declaration of war on the dockers. It offers nothing and openly confirms and justifies the bosses' position. No wonder then that they immediately embraced the inquiry's proposals.

In the face of the employers attacks, with

the definite possibility of troop intervention, the trade union leaders and their Stalinist and revisionist allies moved swiftly. Swiftly indeed. In a straight line of retreat.

Jack Jones said it quite explicitly: "We are not taking on the government." The Communist Party, which has never more than mildly criticized Jones, instructs the labor movement to put pressure on the Tory government! It calls on the Tories to carry out its campaign promise of freeze on prices! We can assure the Stalinists, the Tories will be Tories! Both the International Marxist Group (Pabloite) and the International Socialism group (state capitalists) refuse to treat this struggle as political. They refuse to call for the resignation of the Tory government.

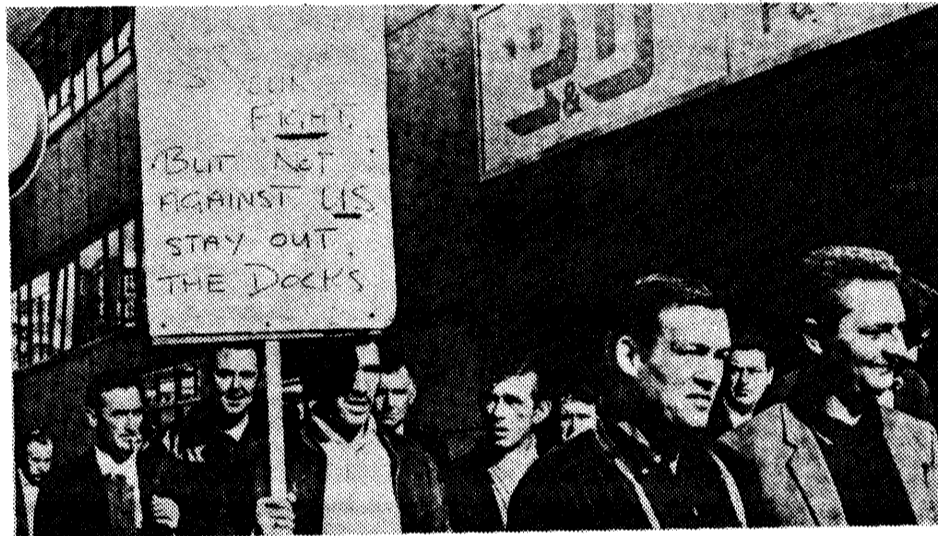
ALTERNATIVE

The Socialist Labour League, the Bri-

tish section of the Fourth International, has consistently posed and fought for the socialist alternative around this fundamental program:

- No retreat from the \$48 basic demand
- No confidence in the present union leadership
- Smash the Devlin scheme
- Nationalization of the docks under workers control without compensation to the old owners
- Force the Tory government to resign
- For a socialist government to nationalize the banks, all industry and land under workers control without compensation

This is what is posed to dockers and the class as a whole: Who is to run the docks? Who controls the state? Who is to have power? There is no way to wage this strike except as a political struggle against the capitalist state.



Dockers ask for support from other workers during strike.

Guerrilla Leader Attacks Castro



BY A CORRESPONDENT

Castro's leading supporter in Venezuela, Douglas Bravo, has accused the Cuban leaders of "sacrificing the principles of proletarian internationalism."

In an interview in *Le Monde* on July 17, Bravo confirms reports circulating last January of a break between his Armée Force of National Liberation and Havana.

While declaring reports that he had "insulted the Cuban revolution" to be false, Bravo asks:

"Can one choose the way of economic recovery, sacrificing concrete plans for the liberation of Latin America?"

"It seems to us that the principles of proletarian internationalism, of 'continentalism,' as defended by the Cuban revolution, by Commanders Castro and Guevara, are being sacrificed."

EXPELLED

Bravo was expelled from the Political Bureau of the Venezuelan Communist Party in 1967.

At the Havana Congress of OLAS, the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, in August 1967, Castro attacked the "defeatist" policies of the Venezuelan CP leaders, and singled out Bravo for special praise in his closing speech.

In his interview, Bravo says that since the death of Che Guevara, "peasants, workers and students have asked continuously, 'What is happening in Havana? Why does Commander Castro not speak to us as before on Radio Havana?'"

CRISIS

These doubts about the revolutionary intentions of the Cuban leaders do not only arise from Castro's moves to the

right as his ties with Moscow get closer; they also reflect the crisis within the Latin American guerrilla movements.

After a series of crushing defeats and the death and capture of some of the leading guerrilla fighters, the entire "theory" of guerrilla action "galvanizing" peasants into revolt has been severely shaken.

Bravo says: "The theses of Regis Debray in 'Revolution in Revolution' cannot be mechanically applied."

Debray's book expounded the official Castroite conception, which elevated the Cuban experience into the rule for contemporary revolutions, and was widely applauded in revisionist circles.

IMPOSSIBLE

The Venezuelan leader also stresses the impossibility of isolating the Cuban revolution from the rest of Latin America.

"It is impossible to build communism in a single country," he says.

While sections of the Pabloites hail guerrilla struggle as the new way to defeat imperialism, Bravo, the guerrilla leader, explains that his movement is "not a specifically military movement, but political-military, with a civil organization in the factories, schools, universities and, above all, places of work."

While retaining many of the confused notions inherited from Castroism, Bravo reflects an attempt to face up to the problems of the Latin-American revolution which are evaded in Havana.

COURT MARTIAL THREAT BREAKS STRIKE IN SPAIN

After the first strike ever on Madrid's underground since it was opened 51 years ago, 4,000 Metro workers returned to work under a threat of military discipline and court martial authorized by General Franco.

Bus workers were considering sympathetic strike action when the Spanish Cabinet decided at an emergency session on Wednesday night to place all strikers under military discipline.

Refusal to work would then have been treated as mutiny, and court martials would certainly have followed.

Despite this threat, the vote to return to work was very close.

Francisco's fascist regime is fighting for its very existence against one of the biggest workers' offensives in Spain since the end of the 1936-1939 Civil War.

Following the shooting of three striking building workers in Granada last week, fascist police raided a secret Madrid meeting of the illegal trade union organization, the "workers commissions", and arrested about 100 militants.

Workers demonstrating their solidarity with the Granada strikers were attacked by police yesterday in Pamplona, in the northern province of Navarra.

Several arrests were made.

This demonstration by Pamplona workers is highly significant in that the politically backward Navarra region provided Franco with one of his few areas of support during the early stages of the Civil War.

And while Franco's jails once again begin to fill up with workers, the Soviet bureaucracy comes to his aid with its usual adroit sense of timing.

The Soviet Deputy Minister for Coal attended the recent International Mining Congress held in Madrid, and while he was in Spain, visited the Asturias mines in the North.

This Stalinist bureaucrat is simply following the trail blazed earlier this year by the Polish government, which, after breaking the January strike of Asturian miners by exporting coal to Franco, sent mining technicians and productivity experts into the mines to help Franco restore production and place the mines on a profitable footing.

Now it seems the Polish bureaucracy cannot cope with the task on its own, for, according to the journal "El Economista": "The Soviet Union has agreed with HUNOSA to collaborate on the solution of problems of modernization and mechanization of the coal mines..."

Shortly after this deal was concluded came the Granada shootings followed by the Czech government's opening of diplomatic relations with the Franco regime.

This chain of events has a consistent pattern.

The more the Spanish working class fights to throw off its fascist oppressors, the more the East European Stalinists come to Franco's aid with political and economic assistance.

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Asbury Youth And Black Politicians

BY PAT CONNOLLY

ASBURY PARK, N. J., July 21—The basic causes behind the rebellion by unemployed black youth which shook this resort town on the Jersey shore three weeks ago are the same as those expressed internationally in the growing crisis of capitalism.

Growing unemployment, especially among youth, attacks by the bosses and their governments on the living standards of workers, and the use of racism to divide working people is the situation all over the world. The riots in Belfast and Londonderry, North Ireland had this same background as those in Asbury Park, New Bedford, Massachusetts, and Highland Park, Michigan.

But neither the "Black Patrol" set up by community leaders to keep young militants occupied in "cooling it," nor the meetings with black and white clergymen, who are just as concerned with calming things down, have produced any program with which to confront these underlying problems.

Many of those who were involved in the rebellion, in which more than 90 persons were wounded by police shotgun blasts, are still in jail, some under high bail and facing big fines.

In Asbury Park unemployment is one of the sharpest expressions of the underlying crisis that has deepened racism and aggravated the conditions leading up to the rebellion—either menial jobs at low pay or no jobs at all, totally inadequate housing, no parks or recreational facilities.

LEADERS

Although Willie Hamm, one of the community leaders, is quoted in the *Militant*, the paper of the Socialist Workers Party, as saying that "More people have been hired on short notice in the last four days than in the last five years," the unemployment rate among black youth remains in the 30-35% range.

There is no doubt that this "short notice" hiring has not even scratched the surface of unemployment on the West Side, and that these people can be laid off as quickly as they were hired, as the bosses and businessmen go into an even deeper crisis. A few reforms, a few makeshift jobs, will not solve any of the problems confronting youth in Asbury Park.

SUSPICIOUS

The tremendous militancy and willingness to fight back against these conditions was shown in the rebellion early in the month. Here lies potential not for a few crumbs of reforms but for the complete smashing of the capitalist system which exploits and oppresses working people.

Speaking to youth at the West Side Community Center this week made this clearer than ever. Many youth were very suspicious about the intentions and program of community leaders like Hamm, who was involved in negotiating with the city and with the clergymen, as well as channelling the energy of the youth into policing themselves.

As we spoke with people downstairs, there was a "community" meeting upstairs, of the priests, ministers and some of the youth who had been in the riot, as well as some parents. The clergymen want to channel the hatred of police brutality and racism and poverty back into the system rather than really fighting against these problems and their roots.

These clergymen, as well as some of the community leaders and the black chief of police were considered "Uncle



Asbury Park youth discuss with Pat Connolly (right) about black power and politicians.

Toms" by many of the youth we spoke with, because they have the illusion that they will get concessions and reforms without changing the system.

SWP

This understanding stands in the sharpest contrast to so-called socialists like those in the Socialist Workers Party, whose article in the *Militant* has nothing but praise for these same "community leaders," and had nothing to say about a program which can unite youth and provide the basis for fighting the capitalist system.

These so-called socialists in fact have a great deal of faith in the capitalist system and in capitalist politicians, like Gibson, the new mayor of Newark and Stokes, the mayor of Cleveland. Both of these black mayors have talked about changing conditions for black workers, but they represent the interests of the bosses and the government. Stokes called out the National Guard against the Teamsters' strike. Gibson will do the same thing against the ghetto if necessary.

As one youth we spoke with said: "He may try to do something, but only so much. He can't go beyond the capitalist system. They can't change the system itself from inside. It's too rotten."

The community leaders who concentrate on demands like a black member of the board of education, or getting the troopers out of the ghetto but keeping the regular cops in, and thinking that reforms will solve the problems, actually mislead the youth.

What these community "leaders," and the so-called socialists miss is that the crisis in Asbury Park is part of an international crisis hitting workers all

over the world. Fighting back against this, against the government and the bosses who preserve their profits through increasing unemployment and paying low wages, requires a program to unite the unemployed youth with the fight of the labor movement.

POLITICAL

What is required is the political mobilization of youth against the capitalist class. This means the building of a socialist youth movement around the fight against racism, unemployment, police attacks, bringing these questions into the labor movement. The fight to build a labor party, opposed to the Democrats and Republicans who are both responsible for the conditions in the ghettos, the attacks on the working class, the war in Vietnam, is the political expression of the fight by the youth in Asbury Park.

The demands which must be raised in this fight are—jobs for all, for a shorter work week at full week's pay, for an end to racism, guaranteed job training and jobs at union level wages for youth. This is the way forward for the unemployed youth to unite their fight with that of the working class as a whole, posing the question of the working class taking power and running society in its own interests.

CALIFORNIA AEROSPACE UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT
LOS ANGELES—Unemployment in the Southern California aerospace industry is rapidly increasing with new layoffs by North American Rockwell and TRW Systems. At North American 40% of the workers have already lost their jobs and the remainder had to take a 10% wage cut. TRW Systems gave notice to over 700 workers last week and plans to lay off another one to two thousand of the remaining 14,000 employees by the end of the year. Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, and Northrop are planning additional layoffs, wage freezes or cuts, and the elimination of various employee benefit programs.

Aerospace employment in this area is already down 15% from last year and will probably reach 25% by the end of December. This means a total loss of over 100,000 jobs.

The majority of aerospace workers are not organized. The UAW is the largest union in aerospace but its leadership has done virtually nothing to defend the interests of its members let alone of the aerospace workers as a whole.

Unemployed aerospace workers find it almost impossible to find new jobs and those that do usually have to take large wage cuts. Most are now living off savings and unemployment insurance.

Nixon's plan to make the working class pay for the war in S.E. Asia is being felt with full intensity by aerospace workers here and also in such cities as Seattle, St. Louis, and Marietta, Ga.



The black patrol organized by community leaders to aid the police in "cooling it".

Community Leaders Show Their True Face

(In the aftermath of the rebellion and police terror in Asbury Park, a team of Bulletin reporters returned to talk to the youth in the Asbury Park ghetto and to interview the community leaders. The following is an interview with Barnwell, one of the so-called black community leaders.)

Question: How do you expect to calm down the tensions that are building up in Asbury Park among the youth?

Answer: Well, I am presently teaching a course on "How to pass the Civil Service Exam" which will aid youth in obtaining jobs. We are also setting up courses in Art and Nutrition to keep the youth occupied during the summer.

Question: What happens when these youth pass the exam and they still are unable to find jobs?

Answer: There is no reason why they shouldn't find jobs, there is a huge list of jobs in today's press (he then proceeded to show us the daily Asbury Park Press).

Question: Capitalism is now in a crisis, workers are being attacked by the capitalists internationally; employers can no longer lure youth because of the deepening economic crisis; just last year 100,000 auto workers were laid off because of the crisis; unemployment is rising drastically. How can this be related to Asbury Park?

Answer: Let's not talk about politics. All

I am concerned about is Asbury Park. As far as I'm concerned there is no unemployment problem. The only reason the youth of Asbury Park are unemployed is because they're too damn lazy to get out and look for jobs. Look, the only way you're going to make it in this world is by working. I did it, why can't they?

Question: We say that the only way this crisis can be fought is by bringing it into the trade union movement; by building a revolutionary youth movement which urges workers to fight within the unions for higher wages, better working conditions, employment for youth, and the building of a labor party.

Barnwell: Look, there is nothing you can tell me about unions. I am Vice-President of the New Jersey teachers' union. The reason those auto workers were laid off was because there was no work for them and the company couldn't afford to keep them.

Question: Well, isn't there such a thing as job security?

Barnwell: What job security! If there is

no work for them the company can't keep them.

We overheard a telephone conversation with Barnwell and Hamm, discussing the danger of another explosion in Asbury Park. What they're trying to do is to set up an emergency meeting of the Community leaders to try and deter this explosion. They have already set up a benefit show to keep the youth off the streets.

What was absolutely clear in our conversation with Barnwell and Hamm, is that they have contempt for the youth of Asbury Park and they offer no solution to the problems facing Asbury Park. It was clear that the youth regarded these leaders as Toms and had no faith in them at all.

Barnwell at one point said that the companies going out of business during the economic crisis go bankrupt to a large extent because of the workers wage demands. He said that workers in order to keep their jobs in a dying company, should cease their wage demands. This comes from the vice-president of the New Jersey teachers union. When we tried to point out the political and economic crisis facing capitalism he said he was not interested in politics or ideology but was only concerned with "hard facts" facing Asbury Park.

Arab Masses Protest U.S. 'Peace Plan'



BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Response to the treachery of Nasser's "unconditional acceptance" of the Rogers "peace plan" is a wave of protest by the Arab masses.

Under pressure from this movement, the Iraqi leaders have opposed the deal, and announced that 10,000 Iraqi troops

stationed in Jordan are to be put under the command of the guerrilla Central Committee.

The Syrian government, led by a different wing of the Ba'ath Party from the Iraq regime, has opposed the Rogers plan, but more equivocally.

Jordan Prime Minister, Rifai, who has

favored the plan, is at present in Damascus talking to the Syrian leaders.

STRIKE

On July 30, a two-hour strike was called in Jordan by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

On July 29 there had been a demonstration in Baghdad against any acceptance of a settlement leaving Palestine under Zionist control.

The guerrilla radio stations, closed down by Nasser and his Sudanese associates, are now operating again from Syrian territory.

The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Nayef Hawatmeh, has issued a statement denouncing Nasser's action as "the opening of hostilities against the resistance and the beginning of an attempt to liquidate it."

So far, however, the Central Committee of the guerrilla organizations, dominated by Al-Fatah, has not commented on the stopping of the Cairo guerrilla broadcasts.

MOSCOW

The Soviet arms build-up on the Suez Canal was designed to open the way for a deal with the Americans, in which Egyptian dependence on Moscow would force Nasser to agree.

Nasser's Moscow trip, prolonged for three weeks, coincided with great dip-

lomatic activity between the Russians and the imperialists.

Now comes the payoff. The Arab guerrillas, who had been backed by Nasser as a way of bargaining with imperialism, are now faced with liquidation as the Egyptian leader prepares to guarantee the right of the Zionist state to remain in Palestine.

The setting up of the State of Israel in 1948, it must be remembered, was only possible because of Soviet agreement in the United Nations.

Even clearer was the part played by Moscow in opening the way for Israeli victory in 1967.

The Soviet leaders warned Nasser of Israeli preparations for war—and refused him sufficient arms to meet it.

While the Israelis destroyed the Egyptian airforce and burned the Jordanian and Egyptian troops with Napalm, the Russians denied Nasser supplies of planes.

On June 6, as the Zionist armies captured the Sinai area, Moscow forced Nasser to stop all resistance.

In November, the Stalinists supported the Security Council resolution on which the present deal is based.

Only Trotskyism has consistently given principled support to the Arab revolution, of which the struggle against Zionism forms the major issue today.

YUGOSLAV REGIME ROCKED BY STUDENTS, WORKERS STRUGGLES

BY A. PLAMENIC

As the continuing crisis of the Yugoslav bureaucracy deepens, no section of the population, no region, no sector of the economy is left untouched. It will be recalled that the growing dissatisfaction of the workers, youth, and intellectuals over the past few years, the literally thousands of strikers, and demonstrations took on its most overt form in the students' uprising at the University of Belgrade in 1968.

As it retreats from the sharpening blows of capitalism, the bureaucracy has been forced to carry out wholesale "economic reforms" which, in the cases of the mining sector alone, resulted in the laying-off of 35,000 workers between 1965 and 1970. But the workers fight back. In June of this year the miners of Bosnia and Croatia held 3 strikes which nearly paralyzed the economy. The miners claimed, as was the case in the construction workers' strike earlier this year, the payment of several months backpay plus a 50% wage increase. On the 11th of June a mass march by Bosnian miners on the republic capital of Sarajevo was ruthlessly suppressed by police.

DOCKS

Also in June of this year the workers of the ports of Ploce and Rijeka went on a month long strike for higher wages. They demonstrated in the streets and established their own organization to direct the struggle against the bureaucracy. For the first time in the history of Yugoslavia, the dock workers' organization refused to call off the strike on the basis of promises from Tito.

Recently the crisis has been translated into the appearance of political tendencies more and more openly opposed to the rule of the Party. This has been particularly obvious at the level of the local bureaucracy where the pressure of the proletariat is felt most directly. In Krajlevo, Lazarevac, Pozarevac, Valejvo, and Nis, the bureaucracy has been forced to invalidate elections where groups openly opposed to the party were elected.

But its parasitic nature and its overwhelming will to survive obliges the bureaucracy to take further steps in an attempt to suppress the causes nourishing the crisis—causes pushing it into an imminent clash with workers, youth and intellectuals. For this purpose, the bureaucracy has instigated a new policy of "reinforcing the party". This policy, which consists of an "avowed struggle against the liberal and conservative tendencies" has but one aim: to suppress all those who participate and particularly those who lead the struggle against the bureaucracy in the aim of socialism.

After a half a year of appointing and removing various editorial boards of STUDENT, the newspaper of Belgrade University, the bureaucracy finally gave up its attempt of finding sympathizers amongst the student body and simply prohibited the publication of the paper. At the same time, "in the interests of the nation" the bureau-

cracy is preparing its stock of practiced Stalinist methods to suppress the activity of intellectuals.

During the last few months a campaign has been launched against "neo-kominformists". After its rupture with Stalin, the Yugoslav bureaucracy used an occasion furnished by a certain number of pro-Stalinist communists to imprison, with only summary trials, more than 40,000 communists. The majority of those imprisoned were the old militant avant garde who led the revolution and the war with Germany, but who fell into disaccord with the leaders in power over questions of workers democracy.

These militants were ignorant of the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy did not represent the working class. As a general rule, they could not imagine a struggle for socialism without the Soviet Union, which they identified with the bureaucracy. The vast majority of these communists, condemned and tortured during this period, were not "kominformists" that is, members of the apparatus of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Today, after many years of silence, the crisis is forcing these militants to express themselves once again. Their voices the voices of the politically condemned, mingle with those of the workers, youth and intellectuals of Yugoslavia as they struggle against inequality, against the advance of bourgeois elements and in defense of menaced economic gains and democratic liberties.

REPRESSION

Recently the bureaucracy began a trial of Ivo Kambam, who during a discussion organized by the Serbian Philosophy Association of the Belgrade Philosophy Faculty on the theme of "culture and socialism", stated in front of an audience of hundreds that in 1953 he was condemned as a kominform sympathiser without cause. He added that the majority of those condemned to the infamous prison "GOLI OTOK" (Naked Island) were not traitors. He also termed the process by which he was sentenced as a "kangaroo court".

Ivo Kambam participated in the Yugoslav revolution from its outset in 1940 and as a militant communist was imprisoned by the Germans. He was one of the organizers of the armed struggle in Montenegro. Before his imprisonment he rose to the rank of general in the Partizan army.

The Belgrade daily newspaper POLITIKA has covered the trial of Kambam in numerous issues. Not once, however, has the newspaper mentioned the speech he delivered at the Philosophy Faculty because behind the trial of Kambam lie future trials for all those who participated in the discussion. This is the real meaning of the trial; it is but another front in the all-out attack unleashed by the Yugoslav bureaucracy along with the other Stalinist bureaucracies of Eastern Europe against the workers, youth and intellectuals.

SSEU RANKS FACE THREAT

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK, N.Y.-- There is a credible rumor leaked by the administration of the New York City Department of Social Services that the "reorganization" is to be extended to the Boulevard, Bay Ridge and Euclid welfare centers. This move if allowed to go through will involve the elimination of 50% of the social service staff at these centers.

But it is reorganization and the job freeze itself as agreed to by the Morgenstern leadership of the SSEU in the last contract that led in the first place to the inability of staff to cope with the greatly increased rate of "pendings" (the intensive first interview for new welfare applicants), the increase of cases per caseload and the ever growing number of uncovered caseloads. SSEU-371 chapter meetings at Hamilton, Williamsburg and St. Nicholas have taken votes towards pending actions following the lead of Waverly and Bergen. This militancy, because it is localized, because it does not address itself to the citywide if not the nationwide Nixon strategy of calculated unemployment only spurs on and falls into the trap of that strategy. The reward for the fight against the ramifications of reorganization is more reorganization.

The Hill leadership, which was elected because the membership was sick of the Morgenstern betrayals takes giant steps down the same betrayal path by diverting militancy into important but basically liberal public relations struggles (such as the campaign to improve conditions at the grossly neglected Children's Centers) rather than the issues that face staff every day. The solution worked out jointly by the Department and the Hill forces to the Waverly pending problem was to gerrymander part of the Waverly territory into the territory of the Lower Manhattan center, thus causing the latter to circulate a petition about their own pending action.

Unless the militant actions against overwork go beyond the local center to confront reorganization as a whole, then the City with the connivance of the Hill leadership will continue to "solve" the problem of one center at the expense of the workers in another center. Meanwhile the City destroys thousands of jobs, reduces the union to impotence and paves the way for the same kind of attack on other City workers and in fact, on the entire labor movement.

The City's plans for once again speeding up "reorganization" is in answer to militant work actions against a fantastic increase in the workload which have erupted at the Waverly and Bergen centers and are now threatened at other centers throughout the city. The rumored reorganization of these three centers is posed as a "solution" which is supposed to alleviate the overloading at some centers through transfers from "reorganized" centers. The net result is a further step toward total reorganization based on attrition and the job freeze.

The Hill leadership has not only revealed its treachery in response to the immediate work actions but approaches the forthcoming contract negotiations like

an ostrich with its head in the sand. At the July 22nd General Membership Meeting called to consider a dues increase, Hill stated that the leadership had not even begun to formulate their demands for the next contract. Only the fact that there was no quorum at this meeting and therefore no official business could be conducted, allowed Hill to get off the hook.

Staff must realize that the fight to improve working conditions and to maintain employment is a fight directed at reorganization. The Committee for New Leadership, the opposition Caucus within the SSEU-371 has never agreed to reorganization. The CNL is posing a program to take forward the action in the centers, unifying the ranks of the union around the following demands:

- City-wide limit of one "pending" per week.
- Immediate re-opening of hiring of more workers to fill uncovered caseloads.
- No further reorganization of any center.
- Begin negotiations now to reinstitute the 60 caseload limit.
- A commitment from the SSEU leadership to demand the scrapping of reorganization in the next contract.
- Immediate setting up of a strike fund—either from a portion of the dues increase or from a membership assessment—to prepare for the contract fight

1199 OPPOSITION FIGHTS CONTRACT

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The Rank and File Committee of Hospital Workers Local 1199 is circulating a petition as the first step in overturning the sellout contract presented by the leadership. The petition demands that a new vote be held to ratify the contract and that this vote be held at a mass membership meeting, with equal time for opposition.

The ratification vote to date does not reflect the tremendous dissatisfaction with the contract among the ranks, who realize that this sellout is no defense against the deepening economic crisis. The leadership has been able to push through this contract only by fraudulent voting practices and intimidation of the opposition.

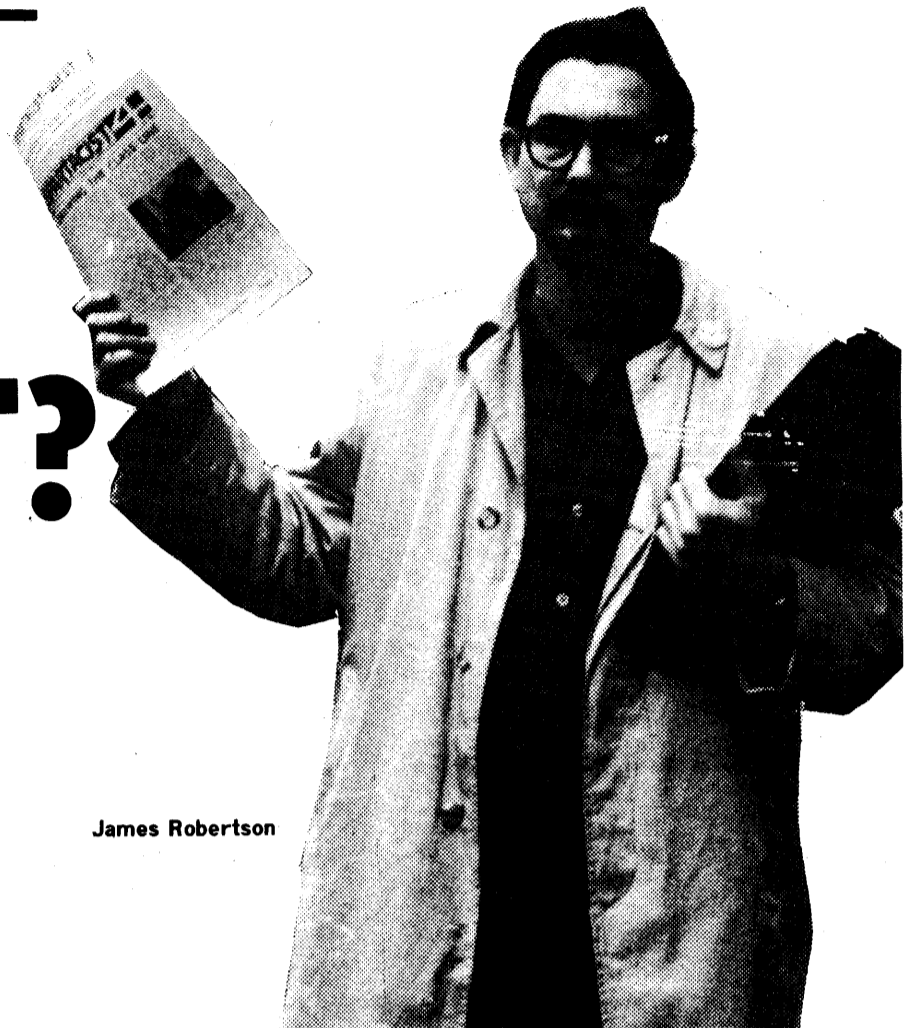
The 1199 contract fight is not over but has only just begun. The 1199 members can fight to overturn this contract by joining in the campaign for a new vote.

a series by **TIM WOHLFORTH**

WHAT IS SPARTACIST?

"If we subtract everything accidental, personal and episodic, if we reduce the present groupings in struggle to their fundamental political types, then indubitably the struggle of comrade Abern against comrade Cannon has been the most consistent. In this struggle Abern represents a propagandistic group, petty-bourgeois in its social composition, united by old personal ties and having almost the character of a family."

—Leon Trotsky - In Defense of Marxism p. 61



James Robertson

PART SIX- The Class Nature Of The Spartacist League

"ANY SERIOUS FACTION fight in a party is always in the final analysis a reflection of the class struggle," stated Trotsky in *In Defense of Marxism*. "The Majority faction," Trotsky continues, "established from the beginning the ideological dependence of the opposition upon petty-bourgeois democracy. The opposition, on the contrary, precisely because of its petty-bourgeois character, does not even attempt to look for the social roots of the hostile camp."(1)

The split between Spartacist and the International Committee represented a fundamental break and as such was as much a reflection of the class struggle as the split in the SWP in 1940. As with the Shachtman opposition the Spartacist has been unable to make any sort of class analysis of the split nor is it able to this day to give a coherent account of its differences with the International Committee.

It was precisely this question which came up at the Western Regional Conference in the floor debate with Spartacist:

"The Spartacist spokesman was asked from the floor to explain what exactly was the central principled difference Spartacist held with the International Committee. The spokesman could not do so. What the Spartacist spokesman did state was that since the American working class was not in motion, what was needed was to intervene wherever things were happening, like the Women's Liberation Movement, and to seek to bring about a 'regroupment.' Another Spartacist later amplified on this, stating that our tactics must be adjusted to the fact that we live in 'peaceful times.'"(2)

tee and these differences are important. But the central point to understand here is that Spartacist cannot even now, some four years after its definitive split with the International Committee, make a class analysis of this split and flowing from this a coherent presentation of its central political differences with the IC. All that comes out is this "position" and that "criticism."

The article "Workers League Lies" in Spartacist West is written in part in answer to the charge that Spartacist could not and can not make a coherent presentation of its differences with the International Committee. This article gave them one more time to clarify in print what they could not clarify on the floor of the Western Regional Conference. We will reprint here exactly every word in this article directed at explaining their political differences with us. In the course of this series we have reprinted every single word contained in this article, and some sections a number of times!

"The Workers League conception of internationalism is a miniscule parody of the old Moscow-oriented Communist parties—only in this case it is a tiny band of pseudo-Trotskyists spouting British chauvinism, instead of Russian..."

"We do not, of course, believe these are 'peaceful times' or that the working class is 'not in motion', as was charged in the article, and no such thing was said by SL members at the WL conference. We have a perspective of building a

Marxist-Leninist party in this country and a truly international movement. Part of this struggle must involve winning over to a working-class perspective those groups involved in special struggles, e.g., women's liberation, SDS, black liberation, etc. We do not take the simple-minded, non-struggle approach of the Workers League: that Women's Liberation is "bullshit", as Wohlforth blurted out at their regional conference; that SDS is just a bunch of Stalinist factions which the WL is 'proud' they never had anything to do with (as a recent Bulletin boasted, although they suddenly decided to come to SDS meetings, and have long been in SMC); that all black caucuses are a priori reactionary, etc., etc. All this is said, of course, in the name of proletarian struggle.

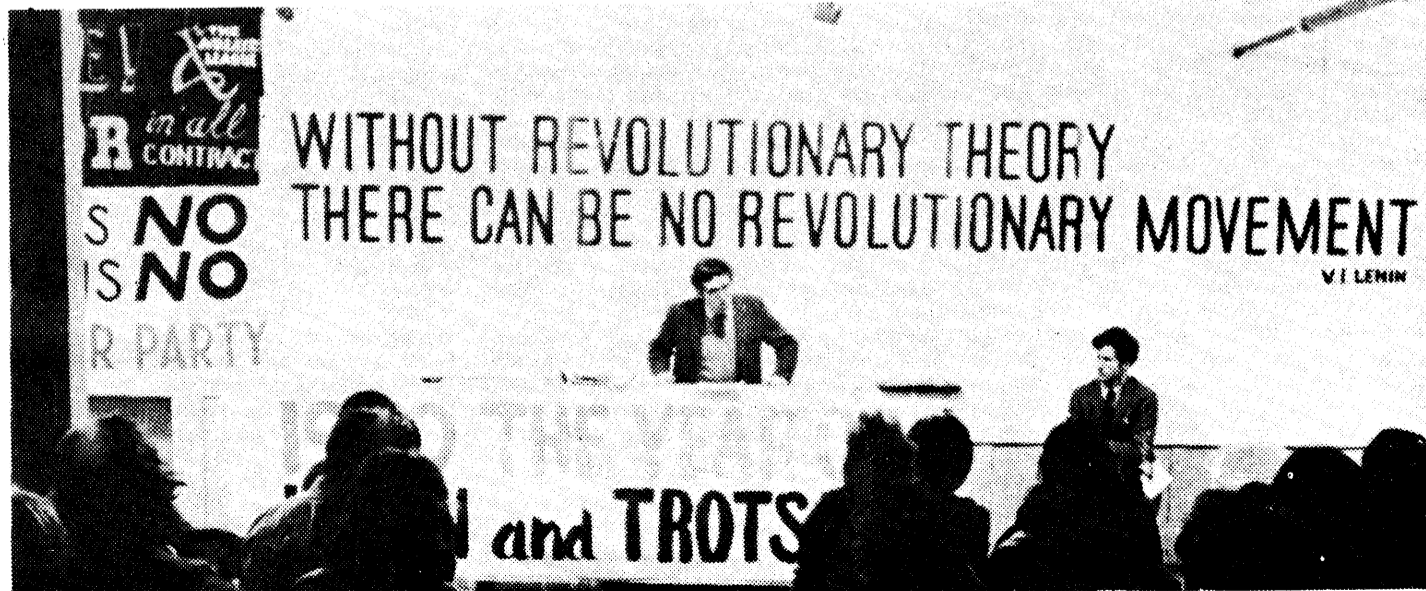
"For them, this means advocating union activity which avoids political questions in favor of simple bread-and-butter demands, as they did when they supported a recent call for a caucus of city workers in the Bay Area which contained not a single political demand, not even a labor party or any mention of racism or the war in Vietnam!

"Yet the WL asks what are our principled differences! We stand on the basis of the transitional program and proletarian internationalism, which they reject in favor of mindless trade unionism and British chauvinism. Their politics can only be a mockery of Trotskyism."(3)

Let us first take a look at the way

Spartacist answers the charge that it broke from internationalism in its split from the International Committee. It accuses us of being a "miniscule parody of the old Moscow-oriented Communist parties—only in this case it is a tiny band of pseudo-Trotskyists sporting British chauvinism instead of Russian." This charge of "British chauvinism" is then repeated at the end of the article.

Spartacist does not approach seriously the question of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International itself. Was this just a matter of "Russian chauvinism" and if it was what was and is the political content of "Russian chauvinism?" If Russian chauvinism is meant to indicate simply that the Russian Communist Party was the leading party of the Comintern and if "Moscow-oriented" is also meant to mean that Communist Parties in other countries looked for political leadership to Moscow then Spartacist is repeating the slanders of the social democratic betrayers in the first years of the Communist International. The social democrats sought to avoid the political issues of revolutionary politics raised by the October Revolution in that period of confusing Lenin and Trotsky's leadership of the Comintern with some sort of "Russian" national domination just as earlier they had sought to confuse their political differences with Lenin through slanders of Jacobinism and tyranny. If the charge of Spartacist is that our concept of internationalism is that which dominated the Communist Inter-



Tim Wohlforth addresses the Western Regional Educational Conference. The representative of Spartacist at this con-

ference could not explain what the principled differences of Spartacist were with the International Committee and WL.

DIFFERENCES

Of course Spartacist has many "differences" with the International Committee

national in its first five years we confess to the charge.

Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of the Comintern was a completely materialist one. He saw the destruction of the Comintern as a product of the growth of a bureaucratic caste in the USSR which in order to defend its privileges, destroyed any kind of workers' democracy in the country, and transformed the Comintern into an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. Soviet foreign policy in turn became a series of maneuvers and compromises with capitalist states aimed at allowing the building of "socialism in one country." "Chauvinism" thus dominated the Stalinist Comintern only to the extent that its policies were subordinated to the material interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. Since this bureaucracy rested on property forms thrown up by the October Revolution, workers' property forms, its policy while counterrevolutionary was not capitalist and certainly not imperialist. In that sense it was not "chauvinist" in the common meaning of the term as the patriotic ideology of an imperialist state.

In what sense then is our internationalism "British chauvinism?" The only political and material meaning to the concept "British chauvinism" is defense of the interests of British imperialism. This is a very serious charge. Is Spartacist suggesting that the Socialist Labour League defends in any sense, in any way, and at any time, the interests of British imperialism—the only party in England to oppose the sending of British troops into Ulster? Is Spartacist suggesting that the Workers League also supports the interests of British imperialism? Or is it simply charging that the Socialist Labour League carries considerable political weight along with the French section in the International Committee?

BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM

This method of approaching the question of their split with the International Committee goes all the way back to the 1962 split within the minority tendency inside the SWP. At that time they wrote:

"It is to the enormous credit of the NYC comrades that they stood fast and refused to bow to a device literally borrowed from the arsenal of bureaucratic-centralism which facilitated the downfall of the Communist International in the Nineteen Twenties..."(4)

In 1966 they once again raise the charge of Stalinism. The editors of Spartacist stated:

"While Healy largely just rehashes the Bulletin's well-worn lies, these articles further reveal the man's Stalinist-conditioned idea of an International..."(5)

Further on there is reference to "Healy regime's anti-Leninist bureaucratism." Harry Turner, writing to Healy in what became the "Healy Reconstructs" collection, goes into further detail on the same point:

"You wanted an international after the manner of Stalin's Comintern, permeated with servility at one pole and authoritarianism at the other. You are attempting to fashion an international modeled after the internal regime of the SLL and currently in vogue in your youth movement.

"The question is why such a profoundly anti-Leninist organizational approach should exist. Your origin from a bureaucratically degenerated Communist movement and your carry-over of organizational practices obtaining there may be a factor as may traditional petit-bourgeois British insularity acting to produce a caricature of internationalism. An adequate answer will have to be sought in the historical development of an SLL leadership molded under the pressures of social classes. 'Any serious fight in the party is always in the final analysis a reflection of the class struggle,' said Trotsky."(6)

First it is charged that the IC was seeking to build "an international after the manner of Stalin's Comintern." Again we can only state it is not a matter of manners but of a degeneration of an international movement rooted materially in the development of a bureaucratic caste in Russia and reflected in open counter-revolutionary policies of the Comintern. Next it is simply asserted that this bureaucratism also exists inside the SLL not only without evidence but without a material explanation of the roots of such bureaucratism.

ORIGINS

Then we are told that the political origins of Healy "may be" a factor. It is not asserted that this is the cause but it might be one factor. What makes this argument of original sin so absurd is not only that one cannot explain a political tendency as important as Stalinist bureaucratic centralism on the basis of the



Leon Trotsky insisted on a class analysis of every factional struggle and split.

political origins of a single individual but that if we applied this method to the author of this accusation it would be even more damning! Here is Harry Turner who himself spent over 20 years in the Communist Party attacking Healy who left the Communist Party in the middle 1930s and who spent the time Turner spent in the CP building the Trotskyist movement being hounded both by the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie. Once again we see this tendency to resort to the method of subjective idealism like Marcus!

Then we get to the argument stolen from the Pabloites of "traditional petit-bourgeois British insularity." It is true, as was pointed out in the polemic with the Pabloites, that Britain is an island and for that state of affairs we certainly cannot blame Comrade Healy! This is another version of the accusation of "British chauvinism." Is Turner seriously asserting that the Socialist Labour League is giving in to the pressures of the British ruling class through the media of the British middle class? If this is the case then there must be a political expression in the politics of the SLL of conciliation with imperialism, with the labor bureaucracy in England which serves the interests of imperialism and the like? But no such concrete material analysis is made! We can only conclude that Healy's sole crime is inhabiting an island and that this through some process not explained has transformed him into an authoritarian bureaucratic centralist.

CLASS

Finally we come to the sentence: "An adequate answer will have to be sought in the historical development of an SLL leadership under the pressures of social classes" and the quote from Trotsky on faction fights reflecting the class struggle. This is an admission that the previous "answers" in the paragraph above were not "adequate." They certainly don't analyse the history of the SLL "molded by social classes." Then why are these arguments put forward at all?

We would think that this section would be followed by a serious class analysis of the SLL since it was clearly not preceded by such analysis. But this is what follows:

"The bureaucratic practices of the SLL leadership would seem to relate to the theoretical incapacity shown by the followers of Trotsky after the Second World War with the development of deformed workers' states in Eastern Europe and China."

But we were just informed that for an "adequate answer" we must look to the molding of the SLL by social classes. Instead of this we are treated to another idealist argument. The bureaucracy of the SLL is rooted not in material reality but in theoretical incapacity. And theo-

retical incapacity is not analysed as reflecting a material social class as the pragmatism and theoretical incapacity of the SWP and the Pabloites have led those organizations to reflect the political outlook of the radical middle class and through this class imperialism itself.

RUBBISH

If we turn directly to the Spartacist editors of that period we get the same idealist rubbish:

"ACFI, parodying Trotsky, begs these questions by 'defying' us to explain the 'social roots' of Healy's practices. The Voix Ouvriere comrades have observed that while a bureaucracy such as the Stalinists has a basis in social and economic causes, including the conservative protection of material privilege, Healy's bureaucratism is a product of his incapacity as a revolutionist!"(7)

Well that answers that! Against Trotsky's insistence in 1940 that Shachtman back up his accusations of bureaucracy against Cannon with an assessment of the social roots of that bureaucracy, we have counterposed the authority of—VO! Need we remind the reader that these great practitioners of the Marxist method split from the Fourth International themselves around the same time as Shachtman! Everything is reduced to subjective idealist judgments of the capacity or incapacity of individuals. Oh, how the middle class individualist seeks to bring everyone else down to his own level of thinking. Great historical events become reduced to personal characteristics just as they themselves decide their own political course on the basis of personal prestige and subjective feelings.

SHACHTMAN

It is not accidental that the Robertson group virtually stole their characterization of the International Committee from the Shachtman group in 1940. While Shachtman said "bureaucratic conservatism," Robertson says "bureaucratic centralism." In both cases we have a petty bourgeois rebellion from proletarian discipline and from principled politics. Here is how Trotsky assessed their position at the time:

"Cannon and his group are according to the opposition 'an expression of a type of politics which can be best described as bureaucratic conservatism.' What does this mean? The domination of a conservative labor bureaucracy, share-holder in the profits of the national bourgeoisie, would be unthinkable without direct or indirect support of the capitalist state. The rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy would be unthinkable without the GPU, the army, the courts, etc. The Soviet bureaucracy supports Stalin precisely because he is the bureaucrat who defends their interests better than anybody else.

The trade union bureaucracy supports Green and Lewis precisely because their vices, as able and dexterous bureaucrats, safeguard the material interests of the labor bureaucracy. But upon what base does 'bureaucratic conservatism' rest in the SWP? Obviously not on material interests but on a selection of bureaucratic types in contrast to another camp where innovators, initiators and dynamic spirits have been gathered together. The opposition does not point to any objective, i.e. social basis for 'bureaucratic conservatism.' Everything is reduced to pure psychology."(8)

DIFFERENCES

It is clear that Spartacist is unable to make a class assessment of the International Committee. It is also unable to put forward in a coherent manner its political differences with the International Committee and the Workers League. These differences of course exist and in fact are of a fundamental nature. But since the very heart of these differences is Spartacist's unprincipled break with the International movement, and it is this that Spartacist cannot confront, everything is necessarily reduced by Spartacist to the level of scandal and this or that isolated point.

We will seek to hack our way through Spartacist West's exposition of its conception of its differences with us and reveal in the process its method and its real political character.

"We do not, of course, believe these are 'peaceful times', or that the working class is 'not in motion', as was charged in the article, and no such thing was said by the SL members at the WL conference."(9)

As there was no stenographic or taped record of the conference, despite the fact that we could produce 35 witnesses to verify that this is precisely what was said, we will instead turn to the written record. We will show that Spartacist always has and continues to base its work, not on an understanding of the capitalist crisis, but precisely on the conception of peaceful times and the non-motion of the working class.

As we noted in Part 3 of this series Robertson in 1966 saw the United States in "quiescent times" and on that basis proposed a special orientation towards black workers as the only section of the class in motion.(10) Certainly, therefore, it would be accurate to state that at least in 1966 Spartacist held the times to be "peaceful" or "quiescent" and if not the whole working class, certainly the white workers not in motion.

Now let us turn to the most recent resolution of Spartacist "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League" dated June 30, 1969:

"Numerous organizations on the left—but most notably the British Socialist Labour League (SLL) and its followers (and also the Marcusite SDS Labor Committee)—have attempted to substitute for viable political perspectives a sense of pseudo-Marxian 'faith.' These groups attempt to solidarize their members by promising them that an economic collapse is just now breaking which will lift them out of their isolation and replace their constant petty failures with great success. The SLL, in particular, has been screeching about the 'imminent crisis' for years now, denouncing those who were skeptical of this 'analysis' as empiricists."(11)

To maintain that capitalism is today in crisis is to Spartacist a matter of faith not scientific analysis. We must conclude from this that the "genuine Marxians" of Spartacist hold there is no capitalist crisis and thus of course quite peaceful times with little or no motion of the working class. But if this seems too harsh a judgment to make on the basis of this single quote we come to the sentence:



Max Shachtman (above) was originator of Robertson theory of "propaganda group."



Contrary to Spartacist's slanders the Workers League has fought for years for the labor party in the unions. Above is banner of a section of the SSEU made at the initiative of supporters of the Workers League.

"The drying up of important arenas of work in the past two years (especially the black struggle), along with the general rightward shift in the general political climate, has led to considerable membership turnover, including one faction fight and split."(12)

Not only is there no crisis but the "political climate" is shifting to the right! this is the actual perspective of Spartacist as put forward in their own resolution. No wonder this perspective came into such a sharp collision with the outlook of a group of black students and workers at the WL Western Regional Conference. What is also clear is that for Spartacist this assessment of the political climate and objective situation becomes the excuse for its own failures. The disintegration of Spartacist is thus blamed not on the central perspective of Spartacist and its break from the International Committee but on the objective situation and the non-motion of the working class. Such is the depth of the totally subjective perspective of this group.

PARTY

The next sentence in Spartacist West states:

"We have a perspective of building a Marxist-Leninist party in this country and a truly international movement."(13)

We have gone into some detail on Spartacist's "perspective" for building a "truly international movement" and have shown it not only to be nothing more than a cover for its real break with internationalism but also a completely unprincipled and totally fruitless endeavor. What about its "perspective of building a Marxist-Leninist party in this country?" We noted in our assessment of the 1966 Conference that Spartacist at that time dissolved the "strategy" of constructing the revolutionary party into the "tactic" of building a "large propaganda group." (14) Beginning at all times with itself rather than any objective considerations and not having fared so well over the years the large propaganda group of 1966 ends up in 1969 as:

"We must recognize that we are a sub-propaganda group whose primary goal over the next period remains the establishment of a stable propaganda group perhaps ten times our present size."(15)

This question of a propaganda group is not a matter of size or even of day to day tasks. Clearly in this period regardless of the size of the movement most day to day tasks remain on a propaganda level and even during a period of revolutionary upsurge propaganda work never ceases to lose its importance. To take the "strategy" of a party and transform it into the "tactic" of a propaganda or sub-propaganda group is to destroy the Leninist strategy of a party and substitute for it the unprincipled personal circle which floats independent of a material rooted perspective, free from connection with the international movement, not guided by principle, and above all free from the responsibility to give leadership to the working class.

LEADERSHIP

For instance as far as leadership in the working class is concerned Spartacist writes:

"Instead, we frankly term our perspective a fighting propaganda orientation, recognizing that for us work in the mass movement has little value unless it has exemplary character; otherwise our involvement will be little more than a next drain of resources from the revolutionary

Marxist movement to the mass organizations."(16)

This means that work in the trade unions is seen as a showpiece with which to push propaganda to impress the middle class. Those conducting this work assume no responsibility for leadership of the working class. This means that the leadership of the class is left in the hands of the labor bureaucracy and the revisionists and all the left talk of Spartacist is exactly what they say it is—propaganda not leadership. Of course if there is no capitalist crisis and there is a general rightward political climate there is little objective basis for playing a leadership role. Thus this lack of an understanding of the objective capitalist crisis reinforces the propaganda group perspective of Spartacist leading to a complete abdication of leadership in the trade unions.

It is precisely this policy which Spartacist carries out in the only union it has been active in for any length of time—Local 371-SSEU of the Welfare Workers in New York City. The result has been that it opposed the necessary unification of the union with the AFL-CIO precisely in order to defend the old SSEU as a nice little fishing pond for propagandists. The question of unification at the time was a life and death matter for the union precisely because we live in a period of capitalist crisis in which the municipal government in New York City, in deep crisis, has every intention of trying its best to destroy the jobs of welfare workers and generally beat back the gains of all its employees. In the last election, the Workers League supported Committee for a New Leadership posed the only serious opposition to the two sections of the union leadership running in the election. The Spartacist supported slate devoted its electoral efforts to attacking our slate in a most slanderous and unprincipled way.

Not only does Spartacist take no responsibility now for the leadership of

the working class it does not even take responsibility for the future of the working class. It states:

"Our goal of a regroupment along a revolutionary program remains unaccomplished."(17)

Spartacist does not see itself as the force which must lead the working class to power in the future but rather simply as propagandists which will bring about some sort of "regroupment" of forces for this task. Thus the conception of a propaganda group becomes an organizational expression of Spartacist's theoretical skepticism. Since it clearly states that it does not hold the position "we are the party" its theoretical connections have only a very relative validity.(18) It is very much an organization cut loose from any international mooring and history, seeing itself floating through a relatively tranquil period of non-crisis, carrying on certain propaganda tasks until such time as a revolutionary party can be built—by whom, it is not quite sure, and around what program is also not clear.

HISTORY

This question of a propaganda group orientation has a history to it. It played a very important role in the evolution of the Shachtman organization precisely in a period when Robertson was a member of that organization. When the Shachtmanites emerged from the SWP in 1940 they formed an organization called the "Workers Party." While this organization was centrist to the core and functioned more in the propagandist circle spirit of Spartacist than as a party, it considered itself a party until 1948.

During this period at least large sections of the organization considered their group to be part of the Fourth International, actually a faction within it even though they had been expelled from the Fourth International. In 1946 Shachtman actually made certain maneuvers to be readmitted into the Fourth International on the basis



At the Cleveland Conference Spartacist lined up with the Stalinist SDS. Here Spartacist supporter holds up banner in SDS section of march to Public Square, Cleveland

of recognizing two sections in the United States. While these moves had largely the character of a maneuver aimed at a section of the SWP—the Goldman-Morrow group—which was breaking in its direction, it did reflect the fact that a certain confusion still existed as to the relationship of the Shachtman group to the Fourth International and Trotskyism.

By 1948 Shachtman began a sharp movement to the right under the pressures of imperialism and McCarthyism. He began this movement precisely by breaking with the conception that the Workers Party was in any way a "party" or sought to be a party. In 1949 it changed its name to the Independent Socialist League and was well on the way to viewing itself not as a dissident faction within the Trotskyist movement but as a wing of the social democracy. Time was to reveal that its leading section was to become the right wing of the social democracy.

ARGUMENT

In August of 1948 Max Shachtman wrote an article "Party or Propaganda Group?"—The Position and Orientation of Our Party." Here is the essence of Shachtman's argumentation:

"Our aim is to become a revolutionary mass party, that is, a political vanguard organization capable of leading the working class to the struggle for proletarian power and the establishment of socialism....We are not yet a party. We aim to become one...."

"The Marxist movement, even if we do not confine it to the Trotskyist movement but extend it to all those (save the outright reformists and the Stalinists) who claim adherence to Marxist politics, is reduced today to the state of a propaganda group. Nowhere in the world is it the political party of the working class. Nowhere is it even a political party of the working class, if by the term political party we mean, as we should, a vanguard organization able to speak and act in the class struggle in the name of a really significant section of the working class and with its conscious support...."

"The course which we have proposed to the Marxists and the Marxist groups wherever it is possible to pursue it, is well known. 'Abandon all pretense of being a party of the proletariat, including the name 'party', and become a part of the proletariat.' In our view, this means that the Marxist groups should everywhere enter the broader democratic political movements of the working class and constitute themselves as the loyal left wing tendency. 'Loyal', here, means the deliberate resolve to go through the experiences of the workers in these movements—again and again, if necessary; to build, strengthen, and defend the common movement from all subversive attacks; to become the broad left wing which seeks to convert them into genuinely socialist organizations; and not to enter for the purpose of 'raiding', that is, a Commando operation to capture a few militants and promptly withdraw them for the purpose of reconstituting the isolated and unimportant sect...."

"What we are doing is to follow the good old advice of saying what is. We are not a party so let us stop calling ourselves a party and trying to act like one. We are a propaganda group, let us say so and act like one to the best of our ability. As such, let us enter deeply into the mass movement with our men and women and our ideas."

"We are working to build a great party of labor with a revolutionary socialist program and leadership. We set about the task without preconceived dogmas about how this party will finally come about, without a narrowly-prescribed road that we insist the working class must trod at all costs."(19)

LIQUIDATIONIST

Here we have the whole liquidationist rationale which led Shachtman to liquidate into the right wing Socialist Party a decade later. But we have more than this—we have all the cynical skeptical elements of the Spartacist perspective. Note that Shachtman defines a "party" in a quantitative sense in order to claim that since no revolutionary party has mass support all such parties are not parties. This is the same rationale used by Deutscher to oppose the formation of the Fourth International itself. It is the same rationale used by Robertson to explain why Spartacist is not a party.

Once Shachtman establishes with this argumentation that only propaganda groups exist he then makes clear that the function of such groups should flow from their self-conception as a propaganda group. This function then becomes to liquidate oneself in "broad left wings" of the traditional workers' organizations and parties

in a "loyal" way seeking to influence their direction in a broadly "socialist" way. Thus the attacks on "sects," "narrowly-prescribed roads" and "Commando raids."

The function of a propaganda group as Shachtman saw it was to influence others to take up its program and propaganda and in the meantime to subordinate oneself loyally to traditional parties and their traditional fake left wings. The talk of "preconceived dogmas" is simply an expression of skepticism about Marxism itself.

Starting this way Shachtman ended up being the loyal "left," and in some cases right, wings of the Liberal Party, ADA, finally taking over the SP and transforming it into a pro-war and pro-Humphrey wing of the Democratic Party. Shachtman even supported the "loyal left wing" of the invasion force which landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba! Needless to say these formulations of Shachtman were to find a new advocate in Pablo only a year or so after Shachtman first formulated them.

For Spartacist the propaganda group formulation serves a similar political function. Shachtman proposed integration within the "mass movement" through an avoidance of serious struggle with the traditional leaderships of these movements. Spartacist opposes doing anything in the mass movement outside of exemplary propaganda. In both cases they recognize that it is not the function of a propaganda group to lead!

SEPARATISM

Flowing from its conception of itself as a propaganda group existing during a relatively peaceful period, Spartacist simply scurries around the body politic like the parasite it is seeking sustenance where it can find it hoping in this way to add a member here or there moving slowly from being a sub-propaganda group to someday becoming—a propaganda group! This is the meaning of Spartacist West's statement:

"Part of this struggle must involve winning over to a working-class perspective those groups involved in special struggles, e.g. women's liberation, SDS, black liberation, etc."(20)

Beginning with what is—that is that at present middle class radicalism dominates the movement breaking up the working class into "special struggles" based not only on divisions in the class but unity with other classes—Spartacist ends up simply fishing in this or that group for members. Its approach to middle class radicalism is in no principled way different from the SWP or any other of the revisionist and Stalinist groups. It pushes a different combination of programmatic points but it does not oppose the very essence of the question—the organization of the movement on other than a class basis.

Thus Spartacist goes on to characterize as "simple-minded, non-struggle" our rejection of a separate women's liberation movement and our opposition to the organization of caucuses in unions on the basis of race. We counterpose to both anti-working class forms of organization and the popular front politics which necessarily emerge from those forms, the organization of workers in caucuses on a class program which takes up as part of a general fight of the class around transitional demands the fight against any special discrimination against black and/or women workers. We see the political expression of this in the fight for a labor party.

SDS

The same goes for SDS. Spartacist West objects to our characterization of the basic factions in SDS as "Stalinist." It is clear that specifically Spartacist objects to our characterizing the Progressive Labor dominated SDS as Stalinist. It characterizes PL:

"On impulse, PL might be characterized as 'Trotskyism with a prefrontal lobotomy.' PL's strength has been its desire to see a proletarian revolution in the U.S.—which is in a nutshell the essence of the Trotskyist rejection of 'Socialism in One County.'...PL's subjectively revolutionary impulse has caused them to come up with positions which are essentially an unconscious bad paraphrase of our analysis, often several years later and after having denounced as 'counter-revolutionary Trotskyism' those very positions."(21)

Looking at PL purely in a subjective way and being unable to expose the fundamentally Stalinist character of that organization, at the recent Cleveland Conference Spartacist openly lined up in support of PL claiming its program represented a

"class line" against the SWP-YSA forces. Just as Spartacist openly collaborated with the SWP against us particularly with the "Healy Reconstructs" and Tate Affairs so more recently it lines up with PL and devotes almost its entire floor time at a conference of 1500 people in a vicious polemic against the Workers League.

We are then accused of abstaining from intervening in SDS and then suddenly attacked for intervening in the more recent period in SDS and in the SMC. What Spartacist confuses is a principled intervention in SDS or PL which opposes the essence of SDS as a organization of student radicalism and the essence of PL as a Stalinist organization, with an adaptation to student radicalism and Stalinism. To the extent that the Workers League has from time to time made this confusion in the form of abstaining from any serious intervention it was simply expressing the other side of Spartacist's adaptation. This was certainly the case a year or so ago.

SLANDER

Then we come to the sentence:

"For them, this means advocating union activity which avoids political questions in favor of simple bread-and-butter demands, as they did when they supported a recent call for a caucus of city workers in the Bay Area which contained not a single political demand, not even a labor party or any mention of racism or the war in Vietnam!"(22)

This "damning" indictment is repeated at the end where "mindless trade union-

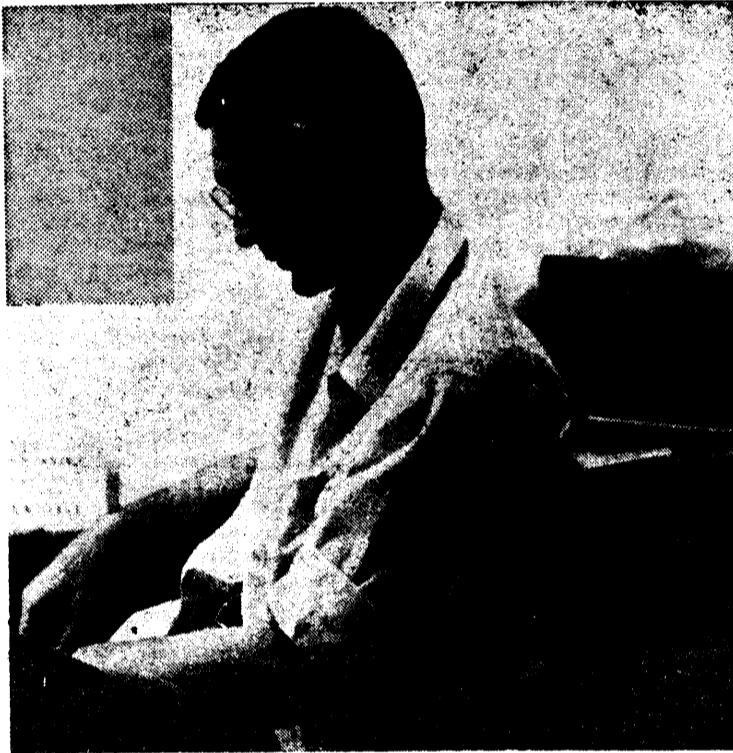
or radical intellectuals or black militants either. A group such as Wohlforth's can make no contribution to the coming American October; it must be ruthlessly swept aside as divisive and parasitic."(23)

What we have here is essentially the same kind of personal subjective slander and "analysis" which characterized Marcus' contributions to the construction of a "fifth international." It has become increasingly difficult for Spartacist to write a coherent sentence against our movement which has any serious political content. Such statements about "ruthlessly" sweeping the Workers League aside makes clear their intent though their ability to do this is another question.

POSITIONS

The Spartacist group has, of course, a number of political positions. Some of these, such as its formal assessment of Pabloism, come from the International Committee. Others, such as its support to the Liu faction in China against the Red Guards, have roots precisely in the Pabloite movement. Others, like its conception of itself as a propaganda group, come from the Shachtmanite movement from which Robertson never fully broke. Still others, like its position on Cuba, were actually false political conceptions worked out in an early period of our development only to be rejected in the course of further theoretical progress.

There is however nothing distinctive about the politics of the Spartacist group.



Robertson began with himself and not the requirements of the Fourth International.

ism" is combined with "British chauvinism" and counterposed to Spartacist's advocacy of "the transitional program and proletarian internationalism." But even a cursory look at the real situation reveals that this "mindless trade union" accusation is about as substantial as Spartacist's proletarian internationalism.

While it is true that the call for a caucus did not contain political demands it should be noted that at the actual meeting of the caucus in question the Workers League carried out a very harsh fight for the labor party and a general political perspective. During the May student strike wave the Workers League alone carried out a campaign throughout the country within the trade union movement to bring out the trade unions against the war and on a political program. The Workers League has likewise fought for trade union action against the repression of the Panthers and every manifestation of racism within and without the labor movement.

So what is left of Spartacist's accusation of "mindless trade unionism"—nothing but the thinnest slander. But this has become more and more the hallmark of the Robertson group. For instance they are fond of distributing a pink leaflet with a rooster on the top called "What is the 'Workers League?'" Though first issued in November, 1967 it is still distributed on all occasions. It concludes:

"If Wohlforth is a political 'operator', always on the lookout for a short-cut, the successive groups that he has built and had collapse have evolved into a centrist literary sect, notable for its vulgarity, superficiality and a James Burnham-like worship of 'strong', violent masters like Healy or Mao. Thus the Wohlforth-Workers League-Young Workers League is not the organization for serious, class-conscious workers or working-class youth

The combination of positions at any time may be distinct from that of other organizations but the positions as such always bare the mark of origin somewhere else. In this sense Robertson is very much the political pack rat who has constructed for himself a political nest out of bits and pieces of ideas and programs he has picked up in his political travels over the years. One cannot reach any understanding of the essence of Spartacism on the level of the individual political positions of the organization.

ABERN

When we strip away the political cover and look at the whole evolution of Spartacist all that is left is the individual Robertson and the small circle which supports him. Since the group does not proceed from any international principled perspective it can only proceed from itself. It is in this sense that the Robertson group resembles more than anything else the Abern group.

"If we subtract everything accidental, personal and episodic, if we reduce the present groupings in struggle to their fundamental political types, then indubitably the struggle of comrade Abern against comrade Cannon has been the most consistent. In this struggle Abern represents a propagandistic group, petty-bourgeois in its social composition, united by old personal ties and having almost the character of a family."(24)

It was this "family" which Robertson began with all along. It was its protection which led him to break from the International Committee. It is to its propagation that he presently devotes his energies. But this "family" does not exist isolated from social classes. In fact the essential characteristic of the middle class is its

subjective idealism—that it begins with its own individuality.

Through an organization like Spartacist this subjective idealism becomes organized into a weapon aimed directly at the revolutionary party. The only consistent politics of Spartacist since 1966 has been its attacks on the Workers League and the International Committee. PL can be subjectively revolutionary and objectively "Trotskyist," and the SWP can write "accurate" pamphlets on the International Committee but the Workers League is treated to such epithets as:

"A parallel organizational pattern of frame-ups, justifications of violence within the workers movement to suppress the expression of views, condoning the use of capitalist courts to silence working-class opponents, lies and the witting use of liars, is the characteristic trait of the Wohlforth group under its successive sets of names and initials."(25)

HATRED

Precisely because it is motivated by subjective considerations and lives particularly on its deep hatred of the Trotskyist movement its role is very much that of a gun for hire. Neither tradition nor any objective political consideration places any principled limit on what this group can and will do. Its only criteria is—as is true of any middle class philistine—what will advance itself. It is impossible to determine exactly where this group will end up. It can continue to exist as long as Robertson desires that it do so. It can always find some thin sustenance in the eddies of the middle class radical movement.

Its strength derives from the weakness of the movement and as the working class grows in strength and matures politically this can only sap its strength and throw it into irrational gyrations. Such is the way it has reacted in the recent period to the development of the International Committee internationally, particularly the publication of the *Daily Workers Press* in England, and with the growth of the Workers League with the launching of the weekly *Bulletin*.

Because idealism has a class base in the middle class and a class function in derailing the movement of sections of the middle class and working class towards materialism and a working class struggle it must continue to assert itself in our movement. It grows, as we have seen, out of a pragmatic and nationalist outlook. Wherever it grows it pits the individual against the perspective and needs of the proletarian party.

This is why this series on Spartacist is important. The evolution of Spartacist shows the dead end of subjective idealism. Our main concern is not with Spartacist as such but with a new generation of revolutionaries who can learn some rich lessons from the painful but necessary experience our movement went through with Spartacist in the critical period of its formation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*, page 60.
2. *Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No. 21, March 2, 1970, page 12.
3. *Spartacist West*, March 27, 1970, page 4.
4. *The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency*, *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, page 10.
5. *Spartacist*, Number 8, November-December 1966, page 3.
6. Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International, page 25.
7. *Spartacist*, op. cit., page 3.
8. Trotsky, op. cit., page 142.
9. *Spartacist West*, op. cit.
10. *Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No. 39, July 6, 1970.
11. *Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League (PB Draft)*, *Spartacist League Internal Bulletin*, July 1969, page 7.
12. *Ibid.*, page 5.
13. *Spartacist West*, op. cit.
14. *Bulletin*, op. cit.
15. *Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League*, op. cit., page 5.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, page 6.
19. *Bulletin of the Workers Party*, Vol. III, No. 4, *Convention Bulletin* No. 1, August 11, 1948, pp. 5 ff.
20. *Spartacist West*, op. cit.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *What Is the 'Workers League?'*, November 3, 1967 issued by Spartacist League.
24. Trotsky, op. cit., page 61.
25. *What is...*, op. cit.

'I-J' Strikers Face Bitter Fight Calif.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

San Rafael, California is not the sort of town where one would expect to find the class struggle. The suburban homes, small stores, and children on bicycles give the appearance of middle class America that is shown every day on T.V...But the typographers employed by the "Independent Journal" of San Rafael have been on strike for the last 7 months--in one of the bitterest strikes since the 1930's.

The owners of "I-J" are demanding that certain clauses which appear in every International Typographical Union contract now be eliminated. The union formally had final say over firings--the union could reinstate a worker whether the boss liked it or not. Now the "I-J" owners, for obvious reasons, want firings to be decided by an "impartial" arbitrator whose ruling would be binding on the union.

The "I-J" owners are also demanding the elimination of "bogus" work, which would eliminate the jobs of many typographers. Advertisers normally send in their ads in the form of mats. The I.T.U. has forced employers until now to make work for typographers by setting up bogus ads which were not used. The union has agreed that in exchange for shorter hours, this practice could be eliminated. But the owners of "I-J" want to eliminate workers not hours.

Also the employers want to eliminate the requirement that shop foremen be union members and under the discipline of the union. The foreman is supposed to be the representative of the boss, every place except in the typographers trade.

HEARST

The Hearst forces have succeeded in breaking the Herald-Examiner strike in Los Angeles. Though the strike is still formally on, it is restricted largely to boycott activity. The strikers, if they are lucky, work one day a week on the docks.

Now the fight has been extended to Northern California. However, the labor bureaucrats are attempting to limit the strike to

boycott of the newspaper and its advertisers. On July 25th several thousand workers marched to San Rafael in support of the typographers, but the union leaders led the march away from the "I-J" plant. The march ended up in a ball park instead.

On February 14th there was a demonstration directly in front of the plant--and



I.T.U. ranks lead march of workers and students against union-busting in San Rafael.

within a few minutes nearly every window in the plant was broken.

This time the bureaucrats ensured that the demonstrations would be peaceful...and innocuous. All the secretary of Marin Central Labor Council had to say was: "You people are beautiful." This was, no doubt, a highly radical statement for him.

Progressive Labor distributed a leaflet saying: "Smash Racism" and "The only solution is to support and join a communist party--the Progressive Labor Party..." rhetoric of little use to workers in the middle of a strike. The Revolutionary Union distributed a leaflet with more of the same type of rhetoric: "Fight to Win...The system of capitalism is falling apart...But we must raise our struggle to a higher level and build an unbreakable unity." The In-

ternational Socialists distributed a leaflet which proposes putting "muscle in the boycott" and stated "Working people need a new political party, run by our rank and file organizations and not by the bosses." But the I.S. group left out the need to defend the trade unions and to build a labor party based on the trade unions. Instead they offer utopian rank and fileism apart from the trade unions and more boycotts.

BOYCOTT

Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee also advised printing workers to orient toward boycotts. It is widely believed that the grape boycott has been successful in forcing the grape owners to negotiate. Now Chavez and the trade union bureaucracy want to make boycotts the panacea for the class struggle. Actually, the grape boycott was notably ineffective until the question of DDT on the grapes was brought into the boycott. There is no doubt that many consumers stopped buying grapes primarily for fear of DDT and not because of sympathy for farm workers. But this tactic is limited--it is hardly possible to prove there is DDT in the newspaper of the morning newspaper!

Chavez's speech was largely directed, however, towards winning clergymen to the cause of the union! "They have to gibe the leadership they preach every Sunday." This advice went over big with the labor bureaucrats and the politically backward movement around "La Raza". The demonstration then ended, not with a picket line around the "I-J" plant, but around a Safeway store.

The solution avoided by every speaker but absolutely necessary if the strike is to be won is to spread the San Rafael strike to every ITU chapel. A one hour work stoppage of all typographers throughout the U.S. must be posed. If the owners of "I-J" still refuse to settle, 2, 3, 4 hour strikes will have to be carried out. If there is still no response, every newspaper in the U.S. will have to be closed down for an indefinite period.

WISC. TAA HOLDS CONFERENCE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON, Wisc.-- The Teaching Assistants Association hosted a conference of delegates from about ten TA unions and incipient TA organizations the weekend of July 24-27. Many of these TA organizations are looking to the Wisconsin TAA for guidance because of its experience.

The conference comes at a time of wholesale retreat by the leadership of the TAA before the problems facing it. The union suffered a severe defeat during the strike last year and is now feeling the brunt of that defeat in the form of widespread repression against former strikers. The leadership has shown no readiness to prepare the ranks to fight this repression; in fact it had not even compiled a list of the targets of repression until a Workers League member successfully fought for such a list and for strike preparation around it at a meeting. The Radical Caucus has continually let the leadership off the hook with the excuse that "the leadership must reflect the membership," thus pinning the blame on the ranks and denying the existence of a bureaucracy which dominates the ranks.

MIDDLE CLASS

The conference has been dominated by middle class politics heavily reinforced

by the demoralization of defeat. All sorts of "new working class" theories are being espoused. Behind these theories lies an unwillingness to fight for the basic economic interests of the class or to fight against the labor bureaucracy.

The major fear expressed at the conference was that TA's would be organized by an established union. This desire to remain separate from the labor movement shows that the TAA has not assimilated the main lesson of the year's defeat: that there is no way forward for unions isolated on the campuses.

The Radical Caucus has emerged in the forefront of those fighting against integration of the TA's into the broad labor movement, arguing instead that TA unions should "relate to radical student struggles." A section of the Radical Caucus has come to the conclusion that most unions are reactionary. Its evolution demonstrates that middle class radicalism is more dangerous in the unions than anywhere else.

The ranks of the TAA and other TA organizations must reject the reformist and sectarian "new working class" perspective and establish the broadest unity with the working class as a whole against the capitalist class and all sections of the trade union bureaucracy.

St. Louis YSA Opposes Labor Party at Hiroshima Day Rally

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

St. Louis, Mo.--The revisionist leaders of the St. Louis Young Socialist Alliance have continued to block any discussion of independent political action at August 8th Action Committee meetings. At the same time they have been instrumental in inviting Marvin Madeson, a wealthy capitalist lawyer and vote-huckster for the New Democratic Coalition, to give the main address at the Hiroshima Day rally. The Workers League is fighting for an orientation to the rank and file of the labor movement.

The YSA leaders only see the trade union anti-war struggle in terms of an alliance with the labor bureaucracy. Thus after writing a series of unsuccessful letters to Teamsters and U.A.W. officials, the YSA organizer has once again turned toward a total middle class orientation in the anti-war movement. He was completely willing to accept the bureaucrats' excuse of rank and file Wallcrite opposition as a valid apology for not allowing the August 8th demonstration to start at the Teamsters' Council Plaza headquarters.

The Workers League pointed out that this refusal was merely a reflection of the leaderships great fear on any political discussion among the rank and file. An alliance with the bureaucrats is clearly not

the way to carry out the struggle against right wing elements in the trade unions.

GIBBONS

A Socialist Workers Party spokesman failed to see that Wallcrite opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy will continue to grow as long as he continues to apologize for the sellout role of Gibbons in the April truck drivers' walkout. This St. Louis SWP leader stated on May 30 that the anti-war movement should not take any stand on internal union matters such as Gibbons' voting for the low \$1.10 Fitzsimmons national contract. It was only through unofficial actions like the wildcats in Chicago, Los Angeles, and St. Louis that the ranks were able to win a bigger wage claim in the final national contract.

The Workers League will march on August 8th with banners supporting the wage offensive, opposing repression at Washington University, and for a Labor Party in opposition to "peace" candidates of the bosses' parties.

A number of rank and file workers from the Operating Engineers and I.U.E. locals who have been attending the Workers League St. Louis Summer Socialist Seminar discussions on Sunday afternoons have indicated a desire to participate in the August 8th demonstration.

Strikebreaking At N.W. Orient

representatives have given notice that their members are not going to be taken in by this sort of action.

The main danger, as brought out in the last issue of the BULLETIN, is that one of Nixon's mediators or arbitrators can take away all that is being won through strike action.

This was clearly underscored when a federal district judge, at the request of the National Labor Relations Board, granted an injunction on July 28th to prohibit picketing at Northwest construction sites.

MEDIATION

At the same time, Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig has called on the federal government to arrange for mediation. (Stenvig sits on the Metropolitan Airports

Commission, which has police stationed with every group of BRAC pickets. These same police helped hustle scabs through the IAM strike of the airport fuelers last January.)

While Northwest management has presently rejected this offer, what is important is that BRAC International Representatives have praised it and indicated their willingness to go along with it.

But the point is that there is really nothing to mediate or arbitrate. There is a world of difference in the 33% pay hike offered by Northwest and the 42% demanded by BRAC.

Northwest management understands this and so do their collaborators in all levels of government. Nixon, Stenvig and company

know that a full victory for the BRAC strikers at Northwest would help spark a movement of lower paid workers for union organization and a living wage. This is why Nixon is trying to get through a bill to outlaw all strikes in transportation of all kinds.

What is now immediately needed at Northwest is the official support of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA). There are presently enough ALPA members and management crossing the picket lines to keep a number of Northwest planes in the air. The BRAC strikers and the unions supporting them must now demand that the AFL-CIO leadership take such measures as are necessary to make ALPA, as an AFL-CIO affiliate, take official support action for the striking clerks and ground Northwest until the striking clerks win their full demands.

BY MICHAEL ROSS
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL--
July 31--Members of the Brotherhood of Railway, Steamship and Airline Clerks (BRAC) will enter the second month of their strike against Northwest Orient Airlines on August 7th.

Northwest management is pulling out all stops in its attempt to break the union. Their latest attempt is trying to get the machinists (IAM) members to cross BRAC lines and return to work. Northwest letters have gone out to IAM members as far down as 350th on the seniority list. Northwest is threatening to invoke the no-strike clause in the machinists contract.

But to date, IAM District Lodge repre-



Davis (l), McDonnell, & Metzger during the bargaining sessions.

Lessons Of 1199 Struggle-- Davis And The Popular Front

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

New York's hospital workers have led the way for millions of workers in the past few years. They have set an example of struggle especially for low paid workers, for minority workers who are forced by discrimination into the lowest paying deadend jobs. And they have shown that it is necessary to unite workers of different skills and levels of pay in the fight against the employers.

The 1970 contract negotiations took place at a time of mounting offensive for the entire working class against inflation and the threat of mass unemployment. This was shown most explosively by the rank and file struggles of the postal workers and Teamsters earlier this year. Now the question was posed before the hospital workers—would they take up this struggle, deepen the offensive of the entire working class and provide a lead to workers everywhere?

The 1199 leadership refused to lead the offensive against the employers and their system. Its aim was not to win the hospital workers' demands but to avoid a strike at all costs. The July 1 settlement, in which most of the workers' demands were sacrificed, is a product of this fight for labor peace at all costs by the 1199 bureaucrats.

The significance of this settlement, of the tremendous opposition to it among the ranks, and of the ability thus far of the leadership to impose this settlement on the ranks, is that an alternative leadership must be built in Local 1199.

LEADERSHIP

Militancy is not enough. What is needed is a leadership which understands the tasks facing the working class and the role of the trade union bureaucracy in betraying the workers. This means the fight for a Marxist leadership in 1199 and throughout the union movement.

The bureaucrats continue to claim that the opposition to the contract is very small but they give the lie to this claim by their own behavior which shows that they are really worried. The 1968 contract was ratified by 98%, with only 84 votes cast against it in the entire union. The NO vote this year at four of the big hospitals,

Beth Israel, Montefiore, Mt. Sinai and Kingsbrook, is by itself many times greater than the total NO vote two years ago. The ranks are learning that the Davis leadership cannot be relied upon, that a fight against this leadership is required now to even maintain the gains won previously.

The 1199 leadership symbolizes the "progressivism" to which the recent Chicago National Rank and File Action Conference looked. Although 1199 was not represented at this conference by officials of the same high stature as unions such as the United Electrical Workers and District 65, the 1199 leaders are very much a part of this "left" section of the trade union bureaucracy.

In the AFL-CIO, the ALA and the independent unions, a section of the bureaucracy, which is no less committed to the defense of the capitalist system than Meany and his allies, tries to present itself as the liberal opposition to the war, racism and repression. These officials become the darlings of the Communist

Party, which looks towards people like Woodcock, Reuther's successor in the UAW, to work towards a modern version of the popular front, a revitalized alliance between the liberal bourgeoisie and the leadership of the working class to defend liberalism.



The Stalinist sponsored "rank and file" conference was organized to bolster the "progressive" labor bureaucracy like Davis against the rank and file militants.

Party, which looks towards people like Woodcock, Reuther's successor in the UAW, to work towards a modern version of the popular front, a revitalized alliance between the liberal bourgeoisie and the leadership of the working class to defend liberalism.

The National Action Conference in Chicago claimed that it was not "anti-leadership" because it supported officials like Davis of 1199. One day after the hospital sellout, the Communist Party's Daily World, in the same issue in which it termed the Chicago Rank and File Conference "a new start for labor," headlined its front page "Hospital Union Wins \$30-\$60 Wage Raise," and went on to cover up for the 1199 leadership on the nature of this settlement.

When Fred Mazelis of the Local 1199 Rank and File Committee first tried to register for the Chicago Conference, he was turned down because his "aims were not in accord with the aims of the conference." That is because the aims of the conference and of the Communist Party were to defend the kind of sellout which Davis was to carry out just four days after the conference was held, while Mazelis and others were fighting against this.

As the wage offensive deepens, the identity between the popular front conceptions of the Stalinists and the refusal of the liberal bureaucrats to lead the ranks is revealed. The Stalinists show their real aims by defending these bureaucrats to the hilt. Thus they called the defeat of the GE workers a victory and praised the leadership, they refused to criticize the Teamster's national leadership even while the rank and file were fighting against the original settlement. Now they have given their 100% backing to Davis of 1199.

LOGIC

But the red-baiting of Davis has stopped, and it is he who is now blocking with the right wing. This is the logic of pure and simple trade union militancy. The 1199 leadership is turning its back even on the goals it set for itself, it is incapable of fighting the bosses. In 1963 the union leadership hailed a state law providing for collective bargaining even though it also contained a no-strike provision. The leadership stated at that time that it would never let such a provision stop the fight of the workers. Now exactly the same law is used as an argument against a strike. The leadership finds itself completely prostrate before the courts and the state because it refuses to fight politically against the employers.

offensive of the rank and file and the growing intransigence of the bosses which reflects the crisis and their need to attack the working class.

Forced to face up to an uncompromising challenge to the entire capitalist class, which is what a hospital strike would entail, the 1199 leadership chose to settle for what it could to avoid such a struggle. This is the meaning of the 1199 sellout.

That is why the so-called progressives of 1199 conducted a reign of terror threatening workers who opposed the settlement, why Bulletin salesmen were threatened, why the delegate who led the fight against the sellout at Mt. Sinai Hospital was summarily removed from his delegate position immediately afterward by a kangaroo court of delegates and officials of the Davis leadership. That is why the ratification vote has been conducted in the most farcical way, stretching out over three weeks, in 75 to 100 separate meetings, with intimidation and hand votes and a whole variety of undemocratic procedures used to squelch the opposition.

It is highly significant that one of the 1199 staff who attended the Rank and File Conference at Chicago which called for the building of a popular front and all out support to the liberal bureaucrats, was also the bureaucrat who threatened a supporter of the 1199 Rank and File Committee who was distributing leaflets with physical violence.

STALINISTS

The 1199 bureaucracy is perfectly willing to tolerate "radicals." It uses these people, revisionists of various stripes, as a left cover. But serious revolutionists, Marxists who fight within the union for a working class program and a fight against the employers, are intolerable to the bureaucracy.

Not only do the Stalinists give 100% backing to Davis and similar "progressives," but Davis also uses the Stalinists and revisionists. He uses the backing of the Communist Party, the ideology of Stalinism, the technique of class collaboration, to keep the ranks under control. He leans upon the reformists, the Communist Party, the liberals, the state apparatus, and the most backward elements within the union itself, in order to prevent a serious fight against the bosses.

It is Stalinist politics, the fight for reforms through the popular front, which is the cement binding all these forces together today. The 1199 bureaucracy differs with the CP, as it did over the invasion of Czechoslovakia, not to defend the Czech workers but from the right, toward a closer alliance with the bosses. The more open class collaboration policies of the Davis leadership simply represent the logical development of the policies put forward by the Communist Party in the 1930s and up to the present.

The trade union bureaucracy grows on the basis of accommodation to the employers and their system. Its method is pure and simple militancy, pragmatism, contempt for theory and politics.

That is why rank and filism is not enough. It represents the same method used by the bureaucrats and cannot possibly defeat them or the employers. The workers face an enemy which is conscious of its role and its power, which is forced to more and more openly attack the rank and file. This enemy cannot be fought pragmatically, with the conception that just a little more militancy will do, that the bureaucrats must be replaced by militants, and that politics is unimportant.

The militants of yesterday become the bureaucrats and betrayers of today. This is the logic of beginning with the fight for reforms apart from any political understanding or struggle. It represents an acceptance of capitalism, a belief in the permanency of capitalism and the indefinite ability to achieve reforms through militancy alone. The latest 1199 contract shows the danger of this view in a time of deepening crisis.

Pure and simple militancy and rank and filism leads to betrayal. This is the lesson of Curran of the NMU, Reuther of the Auto Workers and Davis of the Hospital Workers. Each of these men confirm the need for theory in the union movement, the fight to lead the rank and file against the employers on the basis of Marxism.

In 1963 Davis and the rest denounced the way talk of consideration for the patients was used as a propaganda weapon against the hospital workers. Now he uses the very same weapon, claiming that 1199 is "different," that hospital workers can only strike if they have absolutely no recourse because their first responsibility is to the patients.

The 1199 leadership has a long record of "political action" in support of liberal capitalist politicians. In 1962 and 1966 Davis supported none other than Nelson Rockefeller for Governor of New York, on the grounds that Rockefeller had shown himself to be a friend of hospital workers. When billionaire Rockefeller began to speak up more and more for Nixon and the war in Indochina, and viciously attacked the working class through his welfare and education budget cuts, Davis suddenly began to criticize him. In 1968 Davis suddenly discovered that he was no longer for supporting the "lesser evil," that he could not choose between Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace. This was all well and good, except that what he had in mind was the kind of bankrupt liberalism which had been defeated at the 1968 Democratic and Republican Conventions. In 1969 Davis had another opportunity to push this alliance between the workers and the liberal capitalists, in his support of Lindsay.

IMPOSSIBLE

Never basing themselves upon the class struggle, the 1199 leadership ends up using the bosses' arguments to keep the rank and file in hand. The depth of the crisis, expressed by skyrocketing hospital costs and cuts in government aid, makes it impossible to win serious reforms without the most uncompromising struggle against the employers which raises the question of political power.

The bureaucracy is caught between the

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The "Facing Reality Committee" Faces Reality

BY EARL OWENS

The "Facing Reality Committee" and its newspaper "Facing Reality" finally faced reality a few weeks ago and dissolved itself.

They write in their last gasp:

"The origins of Facing Reality go back to 1941 when, under the leadership of C. L. R. James, a group of American Marxists began to work out a total application of Marxism to our era. All that had passed for Marxism had collapsed with the outbreak of World War II. The barbarism of Stalinism and the total inadequacy of Trotskyism to explain the events in the world...Our problem has become the contradiction between the continuing validity of our ideas, their increasing popularity and acceptance, and our inability to develop the organizational and financial resources required to continue functioning...We have therefore chosen to dissolve and free our members to work as revolutionaries in whatever ways are open to them."

What were the ideas of this now defunct group? Despite all the Marxist type words of "Facing Reality," this group rejected the Marxist analysis of the need for a vanguard party. The "age of the vanguard party was over..." and thus they stated it was necessary to fight against any and all vanguard parties. Supposedly, the masses would lead themselves without leaders and socialism would develop spontaneously like pie from the sky.

This view of history has been, no doubt, more aesthetically satisfying to the middle class idealist than Trotskyism, which explains Stalinism not on the basis of "brutality" but on its historical role in which Stalinism attempts to balance between the working class and international capitalism. Rather than presenting Marxist theory, "Facing Reality" attempted to teach workers its "gut" feeling which idealized the working class and felt moral horror of Stalinism, which as a result negated the need for organization, party, or anything.

SPONTANEOUS

Omitted from the poetical visions dreamt by "Facing Reality," is a fundamental question: What happens to the working class when it has no revolutionary leader-

ship? Presumably "spontaneous" leaders will arise, as every struggle requires coordination and planning and thus some sort of leadership. However, it is false to assume as "Facing Reality" and many in the New Left do that spontaneous leaders will be better or will not betray because consciously they may not want to. All the historical and political pressures of capitalism (the supposed "impracticality" of socialism, the possibility of bloodshed, the availability of compromise) will all be brought to bear on our "honest rank and file leader."

Marxism, although it is the historical experience of the working class, cannot exert pressure as a disembodied idea. It is to disarm the working class if it is denied the right to have its own party embodying its own historical experience of victories and defeats while the capitalist class maintains political parties embodying its own struggles against the working class. Only lunatics and spontaneity moralists who should be in theological seminaries have the nerve to tell workers all they need is "sincerity" and "spontaneity" instead of organization.

The capitalist class is paying hundreds of professors to develop theories in order to manipulate workers, the Ford Foundation and the C.I.A. systematically buys off trade union leaders; at the same time the class struggle taking place every day is hidden in the newspapers behind "human interest items" and politicians' speeches. There is no substitute for a revolutionary party, however rankling its discipline is to the petty-bourgeoisie.

PARTY

Though in theory "Facing Reality" was more pro-working class than anybody else, in practice its theory would have handed the working class over to whatever leadership that happened to be hanging around the struggle. "Facing Reality" is not unique, though. The Socialist Workers Party has accepted the spontaneous theory of nationalism in which it miraculously



C.L.R. James (above) started his break from Trotskyism with a rejection of the vanguard party and now his followers in "Facing Reality" have dissolved altogether.

transforms itself into socialism, a theory first propounded by the founders of "Facing Reality." International Socialist and Spartacists also adapt to spontaneity, without denying the need for a revolutionary party, they leave the task of constructing such a party for some other day, and thus they see the revolutionary party itself as something spontaneous!

For such people the revolutionary party is a quantitative question, that is, the number of members. They cannot analyze qualitatively, that is, to see the revolutionary party as a political question. These groups never tell us how many members add up to a revolutionary party—how many they need to be satisfied

aesthetically. Thus these groups do not pose any alternative leadership to those workers who are now being misled by Black Nationalism, Women's Liberation and the Chicano Movement.

The SWP, IS and Spartacist do not pose an alternative leadership and program because somehow they feel all these groups caught up in reformism will spontaneously learn themselves and become a revolutionary party.

The Workers League is the only organization that poses a class alternative and thus it continues to function and grow while organizations like the Peace and Freedom Party and "Facing Reality" die.

Joseph North Waves The Flag As Stalinists Honor America

BY FRED MUELLER

The Daily World magazine of July 4, 1970 contains an article entitled "the Spirit of 1970" by Joseph North.

It seems that North is always available when it comes to turning out sentimental liberal rubbish in the pages of this supposedly "Communist" newspaper. Last fall he wrote an article on the Spanish Civil War for the special commemorative issue of Political Affairs, in which he presented a line which was totally indistinguishable from liberalism.

More recently, on April 25 of this year, the same North wrote an article commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. He boldly asserted that "Twenty four hours after November 7, 1917, Lenin called upon all of humanity to end the war and learn to live together in this common Earth," thus converting Lenin into a true-blue pacifist with the stroke of a pen.

CELEBRATING

Now once again the same Joseph North comes forward, with his version of "The Spirit of 1970." This is the Communist Party's way of celebrating the 194th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Here is what North has to say: "The Fourth of July is—or it should be—the most hallowed day of the 365 in our national life, a time for renewal and refreshment in understanding the goals for which our country was founded."

Mr. North will have to pardon us if we find nothing renewing or refreshing in his remarks. As Marxists and internationalists, the date November 7 has for us the greatest meaning among the 365. For North this date, it seems, has lost its meaning, even though it celebrates an event of only 52, not 194 years ago, an event which is of the most fundamental importance in the 20th century and in all of today's struggles.

The Communist Party quite consciously confuses the traditions of the bourgeois and the socialist revolution. It is one thing to understand and to learn from all the lessons of history, including of course the bourgeois revolution. But this is not at all what North has in mind. He wants to propagate his version of the "Spirit of '76." It is the spirit of '76, not of 1917 in which he is interested.

What the working class requires today is the understanding and the leadership for the destruction of capitalism. We must completely destroy the power of the class which consolidated its power partly through the Declaration of Independence.

North doesn't say a word about this, because his trite sentimentality is designed to equate the ideals of the bourgeois revolution with the struggles of today. The Stalinists consciously seek to limit the struggles of the working class to bourgeois democracy. And that is why they make so much of 1776.

This is nothing new as far as the Stalinists are concerned. Back in the 1930s they were boasting of the pioneer ancestry of CP Secretary Earl Browder, vying with the DAR as the upholders of the flag and upholding super-patriotism in general, as expressed so vividly by the Louisiana State CP, marking American-



Earl Browder (left) was in forefront in the 1930s of patriotic flag waving of CP.

ism Week with a special declaration "pledging ourselves...to fight any 'ism' of any clique, group or minority from within our country or from abroad that would destroy or undermine our democratic institutions."

TREACHEROUS

What is new is the increasing emphasis which the Stalinists are giving to this "patriotic" line. It is their answer to Honor America Day, to the growing mobilization of right wing trends. It is a most treacherous answer, a policy which plays right into the hands of the most deadly enemies of the entire working class. The fight against the ultra-right and fascist trends which can develop very quickly in the present period requires a fight against these scoundrels who would pave the way for the defeat of the working class by their policy of tying the labor movement to the flag and to the tail of the liberal bourgeoisie.



'COUNTDOWN TO A CONTRACT'

A SNOW JOB FOR DAVIS

BY MELODY FARROW

NEW YORK—On Tuesday July 23, Channel 2 presented "Countdown to a Contract," a documentary style program of the actual negotiating sessions between Local 1199 and the League of Voluntary Hospitals.

The program was carefully planned to center on President Leon Davis and boost his reputation as a great labor leader. The entire focus was on the negotiations at the top. Except for a few scenes of the noon hour demonstrations and a delegates' meeting the 22,000 1199 members were left out of the film completely.

The film is consciously distorted to give the impression that Davis single-handedly led the struggle while in reality it was the militancy of the ranks who were at the heart of the fight.

The program covered the final days of negotiations when the League offered 6% a year in a three year contract and then 8% and 7% in a two year contract. It is when this latter offer is made that Davis unleashes a tirade of abuse at the employers, declares that the union has "nothing but contempt" for them. Davis says the union is in a position of strength and does not have to accept it and then throws a microphone across the table at Metzger and Abelow and shouts at them to get out. What do the bosses do? They merely slowly get up without a word and leave. Davis then turns around to face his negotiating committee and receives a round of applause.

This incident brings home the real reason for the film. The whole thing was staged for the benefit of the TV cameras and for the audience. Davis is portrayed as a fiery militant leader who really did everything he could to get a good settlement to assuage the doubts of the many hospital workers who had a hard time swallowing the final settlement. Davis

consistently refused to make any counter offer because although he knew he would compromise he had to make it seem as if he were not actively seeking a compromise.

Why is it that Davis is given so much attention by the TV networks and the press which recently published a complimentary article on him? The capitalist class is increasingly looking to labor leaders like Davis to save their skins at a time when the rank and file of many unions are running right over the heads of the leadership. The film shows clearly that Davis is capable of using clever demagoguery so that he seems to be fighting, while at the same time he is a "reasonable" man who will compromise and avert a strike.

Davis' reputation is built up precisely to be used as a club over the rank and file. His capitulation to the bosses is no less than the so-called reactionary labor leaders like Meany. But Davis covers this with militant talk and his progressive image. The bosses know this very well and this is why they were not outraged when Davis threw a microphone at them. It was only part of the act. One minute Davis is screaming across the table at the bosses and the next minute everyone, Davis, the bosses and McDonnell, the mediator, are calling each other by their first names, a habit which undoubtedly comes from long years of collaboration.

Now that the settlement is being voted on what the hospital workers must see is that everything Davis said in the film was just talk. The talk of a position of strength was quickly scrapped. Union officials are busy telling workers that they cannot abuse their power and that a strike would have meant heavy fines and jailings. On TV Davis declared that the demands would become non-negotiable at 12 midnight but at 6 a.m. July 1 he sold out the demands and called off the strike. This is when Davis dropped the script and played his real role.

Auto Battle Shapes Up As Negotiations Begin

BY DAN FRIED

A major battle, even on a larger scale than the General Electric strike of last winter is shaping up in the auto industry when the contract between the UAW and the "Big Three" auto producers expires September 14.

In the negotiations now under way in Detroit, the employers led by General Motors have made it clear that whatever concessions they may have to grant on wages, they are willing to take "an indefinite strike." This strategy is to wring concessions from the union on fringe benefits, "discipline," "absenteeism," and the curbing of those UAW committeemen who G.M. complains are "running grievance mills to harass management."

In short, the employers want their pound of flesh in the form of greater productivity, speed-up and discipline. This is part of their drive to lower labor costs in order to compete with foreign imports which they claim have cut into the U.S. market because of the lower wages of European and Japanese workers.

PACIFISM

In the face of the preparations for battle by the "Big Three," the UAW leadership has adopted an approach of suicidal pacifism. President Woodcock reassured the auto barons that a "non-inflationary, equitable" agreement could be reached without a strike.

"We assured General Motors today that we would do everything possible to achieve that end because if we can do it together, it would be the greatest contribution we can make to our sorely troubled society," said Woodcock.

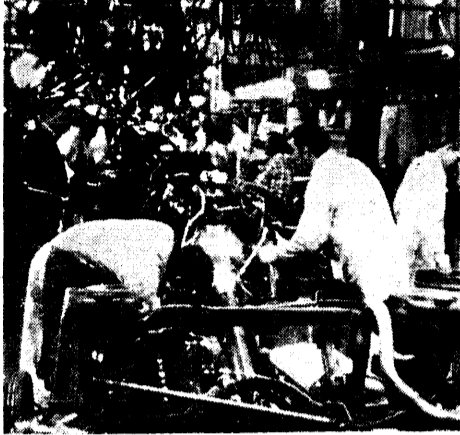
While Woodcock was being so reasonable, Ford Vice President Malcolm Denise was making it clear that he was 100% opposed to a cost of living escalator with no ceiling, a major UAW demand which he termed "inflationary." Denise echoed GM's chief negotiator on the need to lower labor costs to compete with foreign imports.

Behind the negotiations is the shadow of the recent victory of the Teamsters in which the International leadership and the trucking employers were forced to grant the same settlement won by Chicago drivers—\$1.65 an hour over three years—to more than 400,000 Teamsters across the country. This victory which was won by the ranks despite total opposition by the Nixon Administration and the virtual sabotage by the Fitzsimmons leadership, is not going unnoticed by auto workers.

TEAMSTERS

Neither is the impact of the Teamsters' settlement being lost on the capitalist ruling class. The "liberal" *New York Times* warned that the settlement would be a "strong new prod to Walter Reuther's successors in the UAW to hold out for extravagant pay raises in its talks with the Big Three auto manufacturers this fall. Every other union coming into negotiations should be under similar spur."

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the rank and file auto workers feel there has to be a strike and will not be willing to take a smaller wage package than the Teamsters won. In addition they



are owed an average of 26¢ an hour in cost of living adjustment back pay which they never received under the old contract when the cost of living rose above the ceiling agreed to by the union.

The union president, Leonard Woodcock, has said the union will demand at least a 15% yearly increase. This increase represents the total package, including the 26¢ "catch-up" pay and lumps together both wages and benefits. Even in order to win the announced union demands which omit the sorely needed shorter work week, serious preparations for an all out fight should be made by the union. But in typical fashion of his late mentor Walter Reuther, Woodcock has made clear that he is willing to "negotiate" away these demands "if the auto companies would announce a reasonable reduction in car prices...even if it involves some reduction in the economic gains UAW members might otherwise have made." Woodcock may pretend he is exposing the "overpricing" of cars, and dealing a blow to the bosses by showing that the union is "reasonable," but really he is going out of his way to avoid preparations for a battle.

"REASONABLE"

One of the lessons of the Teamster's settlement is that the Fitzsimmons leadership tried so hard to be "reasonable" that they ended up trying to break the wildcat strikes that broke out in a number of cities in opposition to the original \$1.10 an hour settlement. In the UAW the workers will also have to fight tooth and nail against the leadership's conciliation to the employers and government.

More and more the auto plants are bringing in younger militant workers who not only bear the brunt of speed up, inflation and unemployment, but are not willing to "take" what many of their older shopmates have put up with. Roughly one third of the hourly employees of the Big Three are now under thirty. It is among these workers, both black and white, that the dynamism for an all out fight will come. The President of G.M., James Roche, complains that "management and the public have been 'shortchanged'" and announces that "we must receive the fair



Workers on assembly line (left) will face even greater speedup and many unemployment if Woodcock (shown above with Bramblett of GM) is not fought all the way.

day's work for which we pay the fair day's wage." But *Fortune*, the magazine of big business, predicts, "the younger workers, in their present temper, would probably like nothing better than to down tools for a rousing great strike."

CENTRAL

Given this temper of the young workers, the backbreaking toil and mind-dulling monotony of the speedup, the rampaging unemployment and layoffs that have hit over 100,000 auto workers in the last year, the compulsory overtime which is a major cause of "absenteeism"—it is doubly criminal that the leadership has refused to raise the demand for the shorter work week, "30 for 40," as a major bargaining goal. As the unemployment rate climbs toward 6%, and far higher among youth, the demand for the shorter work week becomes just as important as full cost of living protection. The young militants in the UAW should raise this demand of 30 for 40 in their locals as a central demand for the contract.

The employers have made it clear that their program is to gear all wage increases to productivity increases. This means a stepped up drive for speedup through time studies and harsher discipline and penalties for absenteeism. It also means increasing layoffs resulting from the construction of new automated facilities which aim at doubling output per man hour. The new G.M. plant now under construction at Lordstown, Ohio, is designed to permit assembling a hundred cars per hour, compared with the usual fifty-five, and surpassing even the ninety-one Oldsmobiles built each hour at Lansing.

AUTOMATION

The recent near bankruptcy of the Chrysler Corporation which was saved only through a massive rescue operation by U.S. bankers, further postponing the crisis, shows that the Big Three must step up this drive for more productivity and automation. The only future they have in store for the auto workers is more speed-

up and more threats of layoffs. But management arrogantly thinks they are doing the workers a favor. *Fortune* reports:

"Earl Bramblett, the GM Vice President for personnel, says absenteeism occurs not because the jobs are dull, but because of the nation's economic abundance, and the high degree of security and the many social benefits the industry provides. He cites the impressive gains labor has made and deplores the younger workers' insistence on even more benefits and improvements, thinks instead they should show more appreciation for what they have."

"Security" and "abundance" indeed! Auto workers would respond to Bramblett's story less politely. Far closer to reality for the auto workers is the description of some of the problems by a 31 year old union committeeman who has worked on the line for twelve years:

"You're tied down. You do the same thing every day, day in, day out, hour after hour...you're like in a jail cell—except they have more time off in prison..."

DECISIVE

What the present conditions in the auto plants together with the arrogant drive of the employers to boost profits at the workers' expense show, is that the nationalization of the automotive industry under control of the workers must be raised together with the demand for a labor party.

The younger workers who stand ready for a decisive struggle over the new contract are not satisfied with the old trade union narrowness and conservatism of the union bureaucracy. They are very much influenced by the massive student protests against the war in Vietnam and Cambodia and in many cases are veterans themselves who expected something better than the "benefits" of an inhuman assembly line or unemployment compensation. The younger generation of workers must give leadership to the fight by going beyond reformism and taking up the demand for nationalization of the entire automobile industry and the fight for a labor party.

Big Corporations Seek Security Against Revolution

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

"Live a life of crime, honestly. Crime pays. It's a big profitable market. And it's your chance to make a killing on crime." This is the way the sales pitch goes of one of the newest "security entrepreneurs." Needless to say the best ad men for the security business are no other than Nixon, Agnew, Mitchell and Wallace. With all the talk about "law and order" and "crime in the streets" millions of people are ordering dogs, burglar alarms and security guards.

Newsweek in its July 27 issue has revealed the latest and "ultimate in security" being developed by the Bekins Company in California. This company *Newsweek* reports is building a "\$10 million, 200-acre anti-bomb and anti-riot underground shelter designed to house 1,000 persons for up to 30 days; it will include everything from a tennis court to a dentist's office."

What is really behind these shelters which are being built to "protect industry"

is not the fear of nuclear war but "civil insurrection."

"The way we see it," says Joseph Raymond, a Bekins executive, "if we build this thing with a nuclear war in mind, it can also take care of the lesser and more probable threat of revolution." According to Raymond, the initial response from corporations indicates that Bekins could sell the space in its underground shelter three times over. "These people fear a revolution," he says.

This only reveals what Nixon and Agnew and the entire capitalist class are concerned about when they talk about "crime" and "law and order." It is the resistance of the working class and youth in the shops, on the campuses, in the ghettos to the attacks on their living standards. This is what poses the threat of revolution.

It is the corporations and their government who are the crooks, who have spent decades robbing the working class. All the underground shelters in the world will not protect them from their fate.



This villa, called Casa De Alarmico is situated in a Detroit ghetto and is protected by \$20,000 worth of radar equipment. Some firms offer executives revolution protection.