

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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MARCH 26, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

WOODCOCK RETREATS BEFORE NIXON

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

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On the eve of this conference to prepare for the 1973 contract, the most bitter

fight facing the UAW in its history, Woodcock said at a press conference: "I have no difficulty working with this Nixon Administration in a pragmatic relationship. There is no evidence of an administration that is going after the labor movement." This goes along with Woodcock's statement that Nixon's Phase Three and the 5.5 percent wage guidelines are "a step in the right direction."

It is clear that Woodcock will attempt to get a resolution at this convention that will give him a free hand in the Big Three auto contract negotiations, a free hand to accept the dictates of Nixon and the auto companies. This is what prompted Richard Gerstenberg, head of General Motors, to say on Monday:

"We in General Motors agree fully with Mr. Woodcock that there is no need for a strike in 1973, that this year, unlike 1970, carries no built in factors that make a strike almost inevitable. We have come to a time when we can acknowledge that we have so far more in common than in conflict. These differences have no place in our country today: they have gone the way of the sweatshop."

SWEATSHOP

But it is the conditions of the "sweatshop" that Nixon and the employers are seeking to drive the auto workers back to by slashing living standards, jobs, and creating inhuman conditions

Motors Assembly Division plants. It is these attacks that are required by the capitalists because of the deep economic crisis of their system.

Woodcock and the leadership of the UAW are running head on into the determination of UAW members to defend their standard of living against the deteriorating economic situation and rising inflation. In February alone, prices rose at an annual rate of 20 percent.

The bargaining convention delegates must completely reject Woodcock's plan to abandon the auto workers to Nixon's attacks. As a member of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance For a Labor Party, from UAW Local 696, points out in an interview in this issue, this contract is different. Nixon can rip up what is negotiated at the bargaining table. The fight to win a decent contract this year will require a political fight.

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See letter from Rudy Sulenta to Art Fox of UNC, page 6.

Bulletin Expansion Drive

Hunter Dance

Big Success

The Fund Drive has moved ahead from last week with a total of \$2918.65. For the last three weeks the fund drive has slowly moved forward but it still remains below the \$3,500 per week level needed.

The Hunter College Young Socialists dance leads the way, having raised \$228.16 for the drive, showing what can be done through activities. At the Brooklyn College Young Socialist meeting Saturday night \$400 was raised, but most of this is in pledges. Washington, Brownsville, Chelsea, and Madison have sent in large amounts.

Many branches are still way behind the one-third mark with less than two weeks to go. Now with our press installed, the first papers coming off it, and a contract signed with the printing unions, we have taken in a short period a major stride forward to prepare for the revolutionary struggles which lie directly ahead.

All this requires the completion of the fund drive in full and on time. We must raise this \$50,000. We will launch the Bulletin twice-weekly in the Fall.



Students walked out of the classrooms in support of teachers during their recent strike in New Haven.

JUAN FARINAS WINS FREEDOM

New York—Juan Farinas has won parole and will be released from the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Connecticut on April 16, after having served one year of a two year sentence.

Juan was jailed on framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act. His so-called crime was to distribute a leaflet at his induction center, in 1968, which denounced the Vietnam War as a war waged against the interests of the Vietnamese workers and

peasants in the interests of American corporations.

The following is a statement which Juan issued from Danbury upon learning of his victory.

"On April 16, I will be free on parole. For this I have to thank, first of all, the thousands of working men, women and youth who made the fight for my release their fight; the trade union, peace, student and political organizations that committed themselves to my defense; and, last but not

least, my comrades in the Workers League and the Young Socialists, without whose selfless efforts and drive the massive campaign organized for my defense would never have been possible.

From the very beginning of this fight, as a matter of fact, even in the very leaflet that I distributed in the induction center, it has been conducted as a fight of the working class for its defense against a system of wars, racism, exploita-

tion and misery. It has seen the fight against the imperialist war in Vietnam as indissolubly linked to the fight of the working class against the attacks of the capitalist class and its governments in all countries.

Today a cease-fire has been signed in Vietnam. But this has not brought peace to Indochina. On the contrary, war rages in South Vietnam because none of the problems facing the workers and

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Police reinforcements were rushed to the British Steel Corp. headquarters in London last week when 2500 steel workers tried to storm the building after plant closure announcements which will eliminate 4500 jobs.

Arab Leaders Move To Crush Guerrillas

BY FRED MUELLER

Washington and its puppets in the Middle East have launched a new drive to smash the Palestinian guerrilla movement, in the aftermath of the taking of hostages and the execution of three Western diplomats in the Sudan by members of the Black September group several weeks ago.

The imperialists would like to see an extermination campaign on a far greater scale than that taken by Jordan's King Hussein in September 1970. It is from that bloody massacre two and one-half years ago that Black September takes its name.

Nixon has also chosen this moment to announce that another four squadrons of Phantom and Skyhawk jets will be supplied to the Israelis within the next two years. This is in addition to 120 jets to be delivered by June of 1974.

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir's recent US visit undoubtedly resulted in this new shipment, with Washington waiting for the best moment to announce it.

Meanwhile, eight members of Black September face the death penalty in the Sudan. They have been charged with premeditated homicide, aggression against a foreign diplomatic mission, terrorism, and the taking of hostages. Along with Hussein, Sudanese dictator Numeiry, one of the staunchest allies of Washington, is eager to impose the death penalty.

LINK

The Sudanese government has attempted to link Al Fatah to Black September, though Arafat has denied any involvement by Al Fatah in the Khartoum incident. The head of the Fatah office in the Sudan, Abu Fawaz, has been arrested and has allegedly confessed. According to the Sudanese Interior Minister, "We would have preferred that Fatah was not implicated in this crime but the facts are there."

This statement from a govern-

ment which framed up and executed thousands of Sudanese communists and trade union militants in July, 1971 must be taken with extreme skepticism. The capitalist press is now playing up the bloody butcher Numeiry as a sincere foe of terror.

The bourgeois nationalist governments of Libya, Syria and Egypt must continue to pay lip service to the Palestinian cause even as they prepare to crack down on the guerrillas. The Sudanese have criticized Cairo for not condemning the guerrillas strongly enough.

These differences are a pale reflection of the tremendous class conflict developing within these countries. The masses are growing more dissatisfied with the conditions they face and are more and more linking these to the refusal to fight the Zionists.

In Libya a huge student meeting demanded a "truly revolutionary government," as well as an answer to why Libyan petroleum had not been nationalized. In Egypt, so-called reorganization measures on March 7 are designed to eliminate opposition to the government in the press and radio. Many arrests have also been reported in working class neighborhoods, especially in the factories of Abou Zabaal and Helouan in the suburbs of Cairo.

The leaders of the Soviet Union have been the greatest supporters of Numeiry. The Stalinists have joined the witch-hunt against the guerrillas who they view as an obstacle in their attempt to work out a deal with imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East.

Nixon Threatens New Bombing Of N. Vietnam

BY A REPORTER

As US B-52s mount an intensive bombing campaign over Cambodia in a desperate attempt to stave off Lon Nol's defeat, Nixon is preparing to renew the offensive against North Vietnam once all the American POWs have been freed.

While the American Communist Party's *Daily World* blithely talked about the "peacetime" reconstruction of the North, Nixon was revealing his real plans in a thinly veiled warning last Thursday that bombing of the North would be resumed if Hanoi refused to stop sending supplies to the liberation fighters in the South.

Nixon told the North Vietnamese: "I would only suggest that based on my actions over the past four years, that the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern..."

According to the *New York Times*, "The President's statement was interpreted by members of the White House staff and the diplomatic community as an unmistakable warning to the North Vietnamese that they were risking a resumption of American bombing."

Actually, American bombing in Southeast Asia has never stopped. Pathet Lao positions in Laos continue to come under heavy fire, and NLF positions in South Vietnam have come under ferocious shelling and bombing

attacks from Thieu's American-equipped and trained Army and Air Force.

In Cambodia, an intense war rages as Nixon tries to smash the powerful offensive of workers and peasants which threatens to topple Lon Nol's puppet regime. The strength of this movement was reflected in the massive strike action by teachers, which the government has sought to break with martial law measures imposed March 17 after a bombing of the presidential palace.

It is the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking who forced Nixon's treaty on the Vietnamese workers and peasants and who now spread dangerous illusions of "peaceful coexistence." In this betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution, the servile American Communist Party and its "Sign the Treaty Now" campaign shares a major responsibility.

The Socialist Workers Party has also played a criminal role in this betrayal by refusing to take up any real fight against Stalinism and in fact capitulating to the Stalinists and their liberal allies.

In an editorial and two articles discussing the situation in Southeast Asia, the *March 23 Militant* reveals the depth of the SWP's abandonment of the historic struggle of Trotskyism against the rotten perspective of Stalinism.

Refusing to pose the victory of the NLF as the only way forward in Vietnam, the SWP hangs on to its "respectable" slogan of "Out Now!" and calls for more protest demonstrations when Thieu visits the US in April, while not breathing a word of criticism against the Stalinists. They leave the door wide open for another coalition with them. This leaves the SWP utterly defenseless against Stalinism.

Revisionism and Stalinism must be bitterly fought. As the crisis of capital deepens, the future of the Vietnamese Revolution more and more lies in the revolutionary struggles of workers in the US and in Europe. This requires the development of alternative Trotskyist leaderships in every country.

Turmoil In Turk Election

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Turkey's generals and right-wing politicians are locked in conflict over the election of a new president by the parliament.

After four ballots, members of Parliament still refused to endorse the army's choice, General Faruk Gerler, and gave a majority to the conservative Justice Party candidate, Tekin Arburun. As he did not have an absolute majority, balloting was adjourned.

There are signs that the army is ready to intervene again if the politicians do not come to heel and accept General Gerler.

Schultz Trip Pushes For More Soviet Trade

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

George Schultz's hasty three day visit to Moscow was closely connected to the latest stage of the international monetary crisis.

Schultz is now Nixon's chief economic adviser. In addition to his position as Secretary of the Treasury, he is the co-chairman of the Joint US-Soviet Commerce Commission and chairman of the East-West Trade Policy Committee, both set up after the US-Soviet trade deal signed last year.

The trade deal left many details to be worked out. There is also the problem of getting Congressional action to lower the present high tariffs on Soviet goods.

But Schultz was not dispatched to Moscow to work out further details. It is highly likely that Nixon chose the latest and most explosive flareup of the monetary crisis to stress his determination to greatly expand US-Soviet trade.

The flight from currencies and into gold deepens the turn toward trade war, autarchy and international recession. In this situation, the competition for markets becomes hotter than ever. Washington wants to move ahead on last year's deal because it needs whatever advantages it can get in the preparation for all-out trade war.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is extremely anxious for more

trade with the US and for American investments and loans. Its own crisis is linked to that of the capitalist world, as it continues to be isolated from the international division of labor and at a tremendous technological disadvantage.

The economic dislocation and crisis of Soviet industry and agriculture is a product of the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence, of collaboration with imperialism against the working class all over the world. This counterrevolutionary policy, based on defense of the bureaucracy's privileges and fear of the working class, has led to a strengthening of imperialism and weakening of the workers' states even as world capitalism heads into its deepest crisis in history.

In certain areas of the USSR there have even been shortages of bread and potatoes reported. These are staples accounting for one-half of the Soviet diet. The shortages are due not only to the 1972 crop failure, but to bureaucratic mismanagement and growing economic dislocation and difficulties.

The economic crisis drives the imperialists not simply toward opening up trade with the Soviet Union, but toward using these openings for capital penetration into the Soviet Union and the weakening of the monopoly of foreign trade. The imperialists are driven more and more in the direction of open counterrevolution, of capitalist restoration.

Collapse Looms For Big Banks

BY BRUCE MCKAY

NEW YORK, March 21—Major banks announced they were hiking their prime lending rates by half a percentage point Monday as the world's money markets opened for the first time in two weeks in a chaotic state.

The sharp reaction of the Nixon Administration, in summoning bankers to Washington Thursday to justify their action, reflects the depth of the international crisis as the dollar and credit inflation, which supported the postwar boom, now push the capitalist world into an unparalleled monetary and credit collapse and the destruction of world trade and huge volumes of capital.

Nixon is caught in the contradiction of trying to avert a collapse of the American economy at the same time as he uses a massive inflationary surge as a weapon against the international working class and the Japanese and European economies.

INTEREST RATES

The jump in interest rates charged by banks to the largest corporations, whether or not Nixon rolls it back, is a prelude to the international collapse, and the deep uncertainty now gripping businessmen was revealed in today's sharp drop in the stock market.

The increase has resulted from soaring interest rates on other forms of investment caused by

the enormous inflationary expansion of credit which has been used to prop up the disintegrating economy. The uncontrollable nature of this expansion now threatens a whole series of major bank failures throughout the world.

CRASH

Nixon, however, fears a sharp rise in interest rates here will lead to a "credit crunch" and stock market crash and has therefore tried to artificially regulate them so he will have a free hand in using inflation to wipe away all the economic gains won by workers over the years.

But, by arbitrarily holding down interest rates, Nixon encourages the flow of dollar capital from US banks into the Eurodollar market—where interest rates are now "well above eight percent"—where they fuel the growing attack on the value of the dollar and hasten the collapse of the international monetary system.

This system continues to show signs of advanced deterioration despite all the glowing predictions about the probable success of the capitalists' "dirty" floating of European currencies against the dollar.

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Philadelphia TWU To Vote On Pact

BY DENNIS HAULING

PHILADELPHIA—The leadership of the Transport Workers Union Local 234 here called off the strike against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) that was to begin at midnight last night. The ranks of the TWU will vote on the contract in the next ten days.

Details of the settlement are being kept quiet but it appears now that transit workers will be presented with a two year contract and a wage increase of 6.2 percent.

The TWU was forced under state law to postpone their strike by five days. The law states that if a contract has been turned over to factfinders, both sides must give each other five days to examine the report before rejecting it. SEPTA is presently \$3.5 million in debt and expects to be \$7 million short by July 1.

SEPTA offered 42 cents in an increase over 30 months, while the union has demanded a one dollar increase across the board for one year.

The state appointed factfinder has proposed a 53 cent increase over three years. The men, however, are determined to fight

the wage guidelines. As one man told the Bulletin:

"It used to be that you could buy something for a nickel, but today a nickel is worth a penny. You'd expect that with my salary I'd be able to live okay. But I can't. I don't have enough money to feed my family."

At the same time as SEPTA is attempting to drive the wages back to 3.5 percent, they are also attempting to write union-busting policies for the contract. SEPTA wants to hire subcontractors to do maintenance work and use part time workers. What has become clear over the past week is that the government has every intention of breaking the unions and making the rank and file subsidize SEPTA.

The sentencing of Ryan and Sullivan, the leaders of the Philadelphia teachers union, to jail sentences last month was a warning to the leaders of the TWU that they would suffer the same consequences if they carried out strike action against SEPTA. The trade union movement must now be mobilized politically to fight to smash Phase Three and the union-busting tactics of the government.



The longest strike in the history of 1199 Hospital Workers Union is now in its fifth month in Boston against Massachusetts Rehabilitation Hospital. Hospital still refuses to negotiate.

Workers League Plans Union Square May Day Rally

BY NANCY FIELDS

NEW YORK—On Saturday, April 28, the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists will hold the first May Day Rally in Union Square in the history of Trotskyism in the US.

Throughout the turbulent history of the American and international labor movement, Union Square has been the traditional rallying place of thousands of workers: workers who came together to declare their willingness to fight the attacks of their employers and show their solidarity with each other in that fight.

The April 28 rally will restore the traditions of May Day, which has not been celebrated on a mass scale in several decades in the US, and will center on four basic themes.

The first theme will focus on the history of the American working class and bring forward the meaning of that history into the present period. This history shows that all the gains of the American working class have only been achieved through bitter, violent struggles against the capitalists. It also reveals that at all the critical points in the history of its development, the working class has been forced to break sharply with its old methods in order to survive and advance.

Thus, it first developed labor organizations, then it turned to the general strike, then to the sit-down strikes which led finally to the building of mass industrial unions organized into the CIO. Today, it is necessary for the working class to once again break from its old forms and build a labor party if all of its gains are to be defended.

STRUGGLE

May Day began in 1886 out of the struggle of workers for the

eight hour day. This fight was led by revolutionaries—anarchists and socialists—in opposition to the labor bureaucracy of that day: the Knights of Labor. This movement threatened to spread to general strike action across the country. Reflecting the enormous fear of the ruling class, the government moved quickly and viciously to crush the eight hour movement.

Following the bombing of a peaceful rally at Haymarket Square in Chicago, which was carried out by an agent-provocateur, four of the movement's leaders were framed up and executed.

The vicious attack by the capitalists on working class fighters, following the Haymarket Square incident, touched off the spark of class conscious unity among workers of the entire world. Mass demonstrations were held internationally for solidarity with the victims of capitalist persecution. Since 1886, the commemoration of the men of Haymarket has been a call to battle for the international working class.

EXPOSE

This history will be brought forward to expose the revisionists and Stalinists who claim that the history of America is the history of the consolidation of the power of the ruling class and the development of democratic institutions which allow for peaceful relationships between the working class and the ruling class.

The second theme of the rally will bring forward the international history of the working class and the international

perspectives for the struggle against capitalism today. As Nixon tries to get the support of the working class for his policies of trade war against Europe and Japan, and is aided in this effort by the labor bureaucracy which is seeking to whip up national chauvinism among workers, the international interests and unity of workers in all countries must be posed against the attacks of their own ruling classes.

The third theme will assert the history of Trotskyism against the betrayals of Stalinism. Today, it is only Trotskyism which can reestablish the international traditions of the working class and thus, reestablish the real traditions of Union Square demonstrations.

STALINISTS

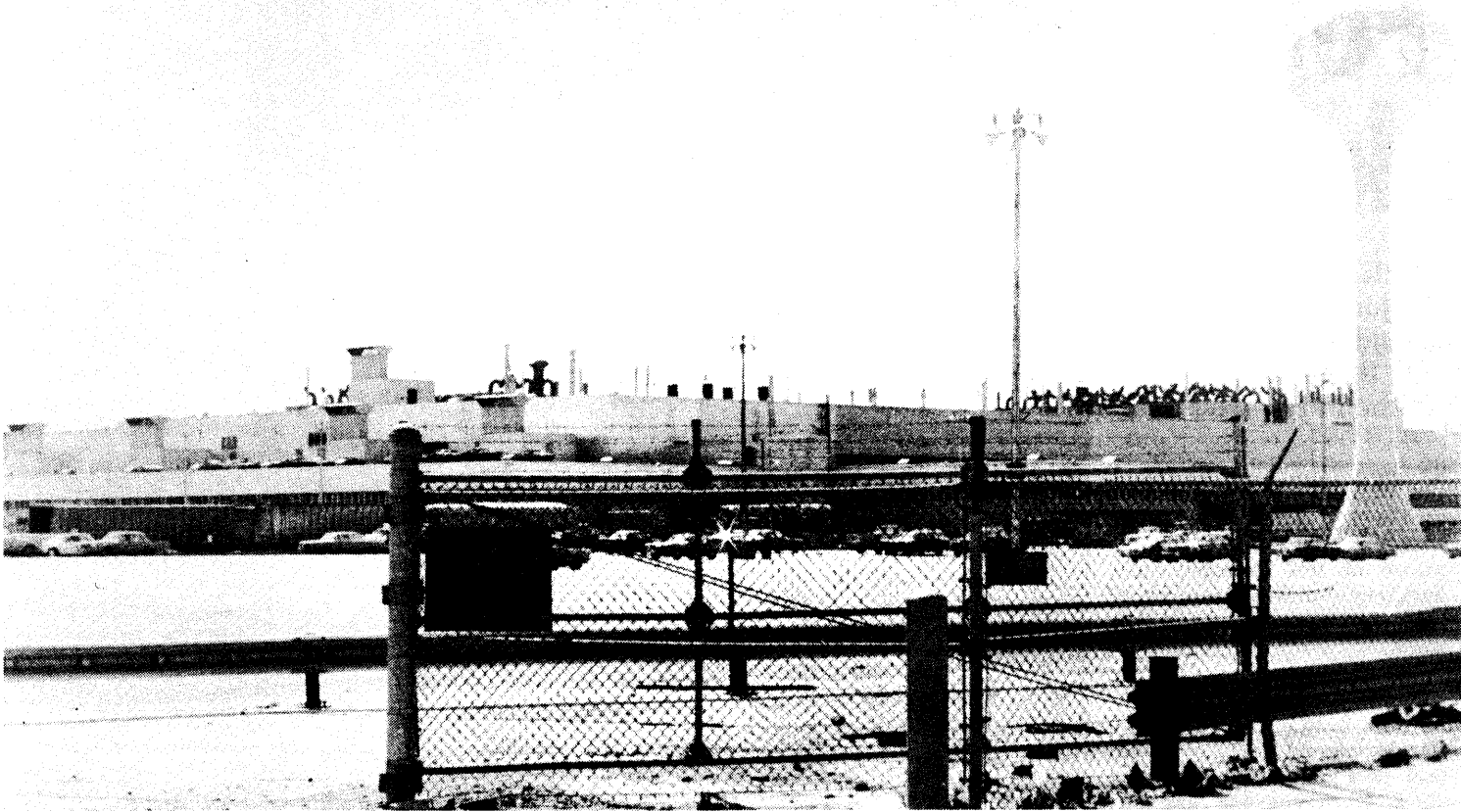
The Stalinists have used May Day and Union Square to turn the working class away from internationalism and away from its own history. In fact, they have made a mockery of this history by parading liberals and ministers on their speakers' platforms, while putting forth the illusion that the working class can make gains by simply putting pressure on liberal politicians.

While they portray their treacherous betrayal of the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants as a great victory against imperialism, they desperately seek to tie the American working class to the Democratic Party and class collaboration politics.

It is against the policies of the Stalinists and by bringing forward the history of the American working class and its

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St. Louis Chrysler Ranks Wildcat



Chrysler's gigantic plant in East St. Louis, closed down by a wildcat by members of UAW Local 136.

ST. LOUIS—Three thousand auto workers at Chrysler's East St. Louis plant closed down the passenger line with a wildcat strike Wednesday and Thursday night March 14 and 15.

The men, members of

United Auto Workers Local 136, walked out after a shop steward was physically assaulted by a foreman. The plant management had been trying for some time to get rid of this steward. With this latest setup, they tried to stir up racial divisions among the workers, through this

provocative attack by a Black foreman.

Chrysler had been running nine to ten hours shifts a day up to six days a week. While at this time the plant is expanding production by starting up a second shift, the management is preparing for speedup measures and layoffs by getting rid of union militants and by selective hiring practices.

However, the workers are fighting back as shown by the wildcat strike at the Dayton plant last week and the Jetson assembly plant in Detroit the week before. It is this fighting spirit of auto workers to defend working conditions and wages which can challenge the auto bosses in the upcoming contract negotiations.

Tarrytown TUAD Caucus Refuses To Fight Woodcock

BY LOU BELKIN

TARRYTOWN, N.Y.—The newly formed Committee for a Decent Leadership in the United Auto Workers Local 664 here met this weekend to discuss the upcoming contract fight the UAW faces and the caucus' plans to run candidates in the upcoming elections.

The Committee is fighting in the Tarrytown General Motors plant on the program hammered out by the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The meeting discussed the question of the economic crisis and the decisions made by Nixon to take on the trade unions in this period. The sharp danger posed to GM workers since the introduction of General Motors Assembly Division, and the collusion of Woodcock and Local 664 President Ray Calore with GM in refusing to fight on the question of wages and productivity in the upcoming contract was taken up.

The meeting was also attended by Bill Scott, head of the Tarrytown Rank and File Committee, a leader of the Trade Unions for Action and Democracy, and a supporter of the policies of the Communist Party. In responding to the CDL's fight now to build a national caucus against Woodcock and to take forward the fight against GM in the upcoming contract, Scott stated that workers at Tarrytown were not concerned with the International leadership and political questions, but "only about their conditions at Tarrytown."

Scott contended that the contract was already sold and that

there was no question of strike action against GM. He said it was necessary to fight things one step at a time, first against Calore and then at some future time against the International leadership.

In answer to the necessity for a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Phase Three and to build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans, Scott said that workers were not political and

Nixon was not the problem. The main enemy he said was GM in Tarrytown.

Scott's separation of the struggle the UAW local here faces from the fight against Woodcock, who Calore himself

acts for, and the fight against Nixon is consciously put forward to divert the ranks of the UAW from fighting Woodcock and his collaboration with the auto companies and Nixon. This is the position of the CP which claims that Woodcock is a "progressive."

Scott is telling the workers that they must accept the sellout Woodcock is preparing and that they cannot fight in this contract for wage increases and against productivity and layoffs.

Scott tries to encourage illusions in simple trade union militancy when all workers must now fight politically. 'acks

These are the questions that the member of the Rank and File Committee must confront as Scott and the CP do Woodcock's bidding. It is clear that the Communist Party fears the development of a real alternative leadership, a Marxist leadership, in the UAW, which the CDL and the TUALP are constructing. This is why Scott, unable to answer any of the questions raised by the CNL hastily left the meeting, saying he would not discuss with Trotskyists.

Program For Auto Struggle: 1973

This is the program passed by the auto caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for the upcoming contract.

WAGES: The ranks must win a 20 percent increase for the first year of the contract to defend their living conditions against the big inroads already made by inflation over the last three years. There must also be a full cost of living escalator clause which compensates the ranks on a monthly basis for any rise in prices.

JOB SECURITY: The contract must include a provision barring any layoffs. All UAW members currently laid off must be called back and new jobs must be opened up for young workers by establishing the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

SPEEDUP: The speedup must be ended by winning a contract in which the UAW and the companies set a national standard on time, cycle and jobs. The amount of jobs performed by each worker per hour is not to exceed 40. There must be the abolition of the 1970 contract's Paragraph Eight, which gives management complete control over production standards in the plant.

GRIEVANCES: The 1973 contract must give the ranks the right to strike over all contractual violations. Paragraph 117,

which strictly limits strike action to production standards, must be abolished. The contract must guarantee a speedy grievance procedure. There should be no more than two weeks between the filing of a grievance and final action.

WORKERS' RIGHTS: The elimination of 42 shop rules imposed arbitrarily by GM upon all workers for discipline. No discipline to be assessed without due process of law: right to face the accuser; all pertinent information to be made available upon demand; guilt must be proven before discipline is assessed.

OVERTIME: All overtime must be voluntary, with double-time on weekdays and triple-time on weekends and holidays. By allowing Ford and GM to keep the men in the plants up to 58 hours per week, Woodcock has let the lives of auto workers be disrupted and permitted the companies to stockpile in preparation for layoffs and the coming struggles.

PENSION: There must be a real "30 and out" without any age qualification and with full pension benefits of \$650 per month. A cost of living escalator must be incorporated into the pension. Social security benefits are not to be considered part of the \$650. Every auto worker must become eligible for full benefits 30 days

after he begins work.

HEALTH and SAFETY: The new contract must provide for adequate medical facilities within the plant under the supervision of a doctor appointed by the UAW and whom the ranks may dismiss if he shows partiality to the company. There must be unlimited medical absences with full pay. There must be a national safety code enforceable in each plant through the shutdown of production with full pay until the management corrects all violations.

HEALTH CARE: There must be a national health plan in which the auto companies provide full medical coverage for every UAW member and his family. All medical expenses, from hospital care and therapy to ordinary visits to the doctor, must be met by the company.

VACATIONS: Paid holidays must be increased to 18 days per year plus a two week vacation after one year and four weeks after five years.

All shop committeemen are to be full time and function without any restrictions and to be fully paid by the union in order to remove them from under the influence, control, harassment and intimidation of management.

Members to have unrestricted right to recall any committeemen not doing his job. Full accountability of each grievance.

DETROIT . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
Thursday. The program of this demonstration calls for unspecified "hefty" wage increases to live on "40 hours pay," calls for "a return to the 40 hour week" and states that "there is no need to fear Phase Three when we've got the organized might of 700,000 auto workers behind our union."

This is a direct repudiation of the positions of the UNC convention several weeks ago. Then, they called for a straight time minimum of \$12,500 a year and the fight for 30 for 40 to end unemployment. This conference passed a resolution against the UNC leadership, demanding a fight for a labor party now to take up the absolutely necessary political battle against Nixon during the UAW contract fight. The UNC leadership has revealed its inability to put up any principled fight against the UAW leadership.

The Workers League, the Young Socialists and the TUALP will lobby the bargaining convention for the TUALP Auto Caucus demands. The meeting to take forward this fight is open to convention delegates and rank and filers and will be held on Friday, March 23 at 7:30 p.m. in the Polar Bear Room, rm. 514 of the Veterans Memorial Building next door to the convention site. Speakers will be Jim Lawrence, UAW Local 696, Dayton, and Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

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EDITOR: Lucy St. John
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Auto Workers Speak Out On Contract Fight

BY DAVID NORTH
DAYTON, Ohio—The following is an interview with Jim Lawrence and John Austin, members of United Auto Workers Local 696 in the Delco-Moraine plant here and members of the Local 696 Rank and File Caucus.

JIM: The situation that exists right now in Delco-Moraine is different than the situation which existed here even in October, when the conditions were as stable as conditions could be. Since that time, management has begun to speed up work, harass the ranks, and discipline has really been tight, to the point of their giving disciplinary layoffs for being five minutes late.

Then there's lots of overtime. The union leadership is selling out grievances, more than ever. Where they used to give away two for every one they won, now the ratio is four given away to one, which is one for the worker.

JOHN: There was a situation when one of the union members criticized something about the contract they were working under. Rather than discussing the situation, the shop chairman traded insults with the worker and then said "Maybe the problem is that people like you aren't worth a quarter."

The attacks on workers are very severe. It doesn't matter whether you're doing your job or not. One worker told me that as long as he has been in the plant, some 26 years, he had never seen management attack workers so openly.

JIM: Inside the plant, we've been explaining to workers why Delco-Moraine is speeding up, that they are stockpiling for a strike and the situation in the monetary crisis is making it necessary for them to get more production out of the workers.

We've been saying that the question facing the UAW in 1973 concerns wages and job security so far as the contract is concerned. But these are political questions. The action of the local as well as the International leadership is to say nothing definite while using a lot of rhetoric.

JOHN: So far, publicly the leadership has avoided the wages question and done everything it can to escape the issues. But privately the union president told me today that he was in favor of discussing wages, but that the membership wasn't willing to make wages a top priority in negotiations. He claims that the membership doesn't want to talk wages; they want to talk benefits.

JIM: But at the union meeting today, one member got up and pointed out that he couldn't eat fringe benefits and he couldn't take them to the grocery store to pay for food. He said wages were the central issue. But when we brought up the question, the union president, Elmo Parrish, had his supporters get up and say there was no sense discussing wages because when wages go up, prices go up.

Therefore this guy assumed that it was logical that if we didn't ask for any wage increases, there would be no price increases. Then it was pointed out by several people that it was



John Austin



Jim Lawrence

faulty logic; that there will be price increases whether or not we fight for wage increases for the next nine to ten years, that this has even been admitted by the Secretary of the Treasury and several economists and they have also admitted that they cannot do anything to control prices.

We had a very good response from a lot of workers who had this misconception about prices and then there was a real discussion about what we thought on job security and why wages were most important. We pointed out that if you don't have a job, you don't get fringe benefits. We pointed out that have a job, you don't get fringe benefits. We also cleared up doubts with those who thought we might be against fringe benefits. We went to a membership meeting a few months ago, where a strike vote was taken and we really saw how the international leadership is against any sort of strike action.

They were discussing the "Apache strategy," and we called for a national strike to support all the workers in the General Motors Assembly Division. At this point, the International

Representative said two day strikes were enough. We raised the political issues, and they said "every worker will vote for McGovern, and McGovern will take care of everything." We then pointed out that the Democrats gave Nixon the power to enact the Wage Stabilization Act.

JOHN: In the last election, the president's winning total was only 700 votes out of 5000 workers and many didn't even participate in the voting because they simply had no choice between Parrish and the guy he was running against.

Something came up today that really shows that the leadership is completely different from the men. At this membership meeting today, the president got himself voted an increase of \$13,500 to \$15,000 a year, with a full cost of living escalator, which membership doesn't even have. He says he's against controls, but then the only thing he says the unions can do is lobby Congress against the controls.

JIM: What has to be taken up at the special bargaining convention in Detroit this week is first

of all the 20 percent outlined in the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party program and all the demands in that program. Also the question of the labor party must be put on the floor and ratified because of the upcoming struggles. Labor, if it chooses to remain as it has been, can only fight from the point of view of militant trade unionism. This will mean defeat for the working class. The leadership is worried because they know the workers are willing to fight, but they are moving to try to stop that fight. They're trying to channel the workers back into the Democratic Party, even though workers rejected this party in the last election.

JOHN: The convention also has to fight on the question of job security, because if you don't have job security, you can't even enjoy your wage increase. This convention has to put forward specific demands to be negotiated, because so far they've been stumbling around with general guidelines and not putting their finger on anything. Every time we introduce anything which is direct, and puts forward an action, the officials slide by and say "well, we haven't taken that up yet, but you've got a good idea." Today at the union meeting we wanted to talk about wages and job security and overtime and speedup. The officials simply say that it's being discussed in Detroit.

JIM: The reasons why the local officials always try to prevent us from putting our program forward is that these demands serve to expose the existing leadership in the UAW for what they really are. This is something they don't want. They don't want to fight for these demands and they definitely don't want the rank and file to fight for these demands. They're totally on the side of management. The collaboration is amazing, starting with Woodcock, who was willing to accept the vice presidential nomination of the Democratic Party while he was president of the UAW.

The bureaucrats want to lobby Congress, the same people who passed the laws against the trade unions. They do not wish to take up a fight against the system. They want to fight for reforms when there cannot be reforms. This has the effect of turning the workers to the existing political parties, and this can only lead to defeat. The workers must know what they're going into consciously, that they are going into a class conflict, and they won't know this as long as they're being told that the system will give you this and the system will give you that if you put pressure on them.

But the program we're fighting for can't be won by pressure. Naturally wages means fighting against the government and all the other demands we're fighting for also require a struggle. For example, on speedup, there have been cases of workers passing out, ruining their health. The union must have control over production standards in the plant. There has to be a fight on this.

Grievance procedures outlined in the TUALP program are very important, because as this system deteriorates, all forms of democracy as we know it are taken away.

JOHN: I think the part of the program which says all overtime

should be voluntary is very important. As it is now, the company can get around this by saying that you are scheduled to work. If you don't show up, you can be disciplined. To me this is a very important issue, because a lot of people think that they don't have to work overtime. This is a very dangerous misconception. Also, pensions are important, because I haven't heard the union president saying anything about it. I heard him say something about an increase, but nothing about what that increase would be. In the program, retirees would get a minimum of \$650 with a cost of living escalator. I am also for the part on health care in the program, which says that the union should appoint a doctor, because the company doctors are always prepared to tell you you're fit to work.

JIM: With the increase in the drive for production, the conditions are very, very unsafe. Nothing matters but production, so this question of health and safety is very important. The UAW has to fight for the abolition of Paragraph 117, because the ranks must have the right to strike whenever the company violates the contract. Also the strike should have the full support of the International. Because of lack of support from the other plants and lack of support from the International, Norwood workers were driven to the point of starvation after seven months. They really had no choice but to give up.

Each local must have the right to strike and the International must be prepared to call out the unions to support them. You must have the right to strike over any issue, because, hell, the company has the right to discipline you over any issue. There's been some talk of Woodcock fishing for 30 and out, but this would only effect 14,000 workers this year. The way I view it is that Woodcock and management have already agreed to this. It's nothing. But the UAW is avoiding the main issues. Even on the pension, it hasn't said anything about \$650 a month or a cost of living escalator. There's no doubt in my mind that something has already been settled on the pensions or at least Woodcock thinks so. But that may be another thing come September.

Even what the UAW has been promised may prove to be too much by then. But the main thing is that Nixon can just tear up the contract anyway, and therefore it does become a political struggle. There must be a break from these political parties and workers must have their own political party. At this point, the contract can be torn up no matter what we negotiate. If Nixon tries to cut the contract, there has to be a definite response by labor. A Congress of Labor should be called and the first thing this Congress should do is to initiate general strike action in the United States, and it should go ahead and build a labor party.

JOHN: The union leadership is saying that we shouldn't worry because the Economic Stabilization Act expires in April. They believe that the act will expire and that Nixon will somehow fade away too. But the act won't expire and neither will Nixon. We said at the union today that there must be a fight against the freeze and controls, no matter who it means fighting. There is no choice.



United Auto Workers caucus at TUALP St. Louis Conference. Rudy Sulenta, above, wrote reply to Art Fox, below center, while Pete Kelly stands at right.



Open Letter To The United National Caucus

On February 18 trade unionists from across the country met in St. Louis to found the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to lead millions of workers into the political struggle against Phase Three.

A very important step was taken to build a national caucus in the UAW with a campaign for a 20 percent increase in pay.

The auto discussion took up the role of the centrists like the United National Caucus, whose leadership retreats from the fight for a labor party precisely at a time when the struggle for wages and a decent contract demands a political fight against the government.

Below we print a letter to the UNC from Rudy Sulenta who was a delegate to the conference from UAW Local 216 in Southgate, replying to a letter from Art Fox, a leader of the UNC.

We also print Fox's original letter.

After being a member of the UNC since 1968, almost from the start, I can now no longer support the policies and program outlined by the UNC today.

In this period of time, militant caucuses in each UAW local, without the political fight for the labor party, are no answer to Nixon's attacks on the labor movement today.

The labor party was one of the main points of the UNC, but lately it has been dropped for "expediency." In the past, militant caucuses without a political perspective have faded away and left the ranks disillusioned. It is not enough to fight the Woodcock bureaucracy in the United Auto Workers without fighting for the labor party, because this is the only answer to Nixon.

In the January 20, 1973 issue of *US News and World Report*, Woodcock was asked if Secretary Schultz had indicated to him that it is unlikely that the government would step in and overturn an auto settlement. The UAW chief answered:

"I'm operating under the assumption that there will be nothing to overturn, because we will approach our task with the same responsibility that we did in 1970, under which may be less demanding circumstances."

Thus, Woodcock is accepting the 5.5 percent wage guidelines of Phase Three, and concentrating on other demands. This is avoiding a fight with the Nixon Administration.

Contrary to what Woodcock says, the central issue in the up-

coming contract is the fight over wage increases. This is what my disagreements are with the UNC—that they don't want to take on Woodcock over the wages issue. It is the fight for a 20 percent wage increase, which is what auto workers need to defend their standard of living, that the political fight is raised. The UNC is covering over for Woodcock and playing the same role.

I completely disagree with Art Fox, Pete Kelly and the rest who say this is not the time for the labor party. Like Art Fox, I was also a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party for many years. As a supporter of the SWP in the years after World War II, we went through bitter struggles to try to make the labor party a reality. Even when the SWP broke from this policy I still maintained the need for a labor party based on socialist policies. Because a few of us had carried on this struggle for all these years, it was possible to pass a resolution in Local 216 recently for a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party. We hadn't broken faith in the working class.

Simply passing a resolution for the labor party will not bring it into existence. It means that we must build a caucus open to all workers which we fight to lead as Marxists and develop that leadership out of struggle. This is what the UNC refuses to take on.

We must train trade unionists as Marxists because we can no longer carry on the struggle based on trade union questions alone. The heart of the struggle today is the political fight against Nixon and the Democrats as

well. The UNC leadership wants to reduce the complex issues facing auto workers to simple trade union policies. Precisely at a time when workers are under attack by Nixon, the leadership of the UNC does not want to challenge Woodcock on the wages issue, because here the heart of the matter is raised, the political fight against Nixon's anti-labor policies.

By the UNC leadership refusing to fight for the labor party, they actually play into the hands of Woodcock and the Stalinist Communist Party, who to this day support the so-called 'liberal' Democrats.

I support the resolution passed at the UNC's February conference—that is, the resolution for the labor party that will be taken into the UAW Convention this month, but equally important is the fight for wages. If the leadership of the UNC refuses to carry through with this, then the ranks must re-examine the positions and policies of the UNC.

If the leadership does not take this up at the UAW Convention, then I call on all UNC members who seriously want to challenge Woodcock and fight to protect our right to negotiate a contract without government interference, to join the national UAW caucus affiliated with the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

Fraternally,
Rudy Sulenta
UAW Local 216
Southgate, California

Letter From Art Fox



Dear Rudy:

I see by the Worker's League Paper that you spoke at their conference in St. Louis.

I hope you will use your influence to try to move them off the path they seem to be following, that is, to try to build their own little "caucus" in the union movement.

Every little sect that is suddenly rediscovering the working class is doing the same thing. Progressive Labor, Revolutionary Union, Spartacist League, National Caucus of Labor Committees, and now the Workers League are all busy doing their own little, very little, thing.

What must be built is a united class struggle opposition, and not get involved in a situation in which each of these grouplets spend most of their time trying to "outleft" the others.

That is essentially what happened at our UNC national conference, which took place on February 3 and 4 here in Detroit.

I want to touch on just one aspect of the conference, dealing with the question of the Labor Party. As you know, it is some time since the UNC called for the building of a Labor Party. That was not at issue in the conference, despite the misleading reports given on it by the Workers League and other similar groups.

Although most of the actual workers had left by the time the question hit the floor, (out of disgust for the antics of the sectarians for the most part, although some had to return to Chicago, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, etc, and some had to leave for the Skilled Trades Conference in New Orleans), we have by now sufficiently educated our people so that there would have been absolutely no difficulty with the main motion, which called for a Congress of Labor and the establishment of a Labor Party.

The amendment, which was not aimed at helping us educate the class, but instead was introduced to score "points" against political opponents, called, in effect for boycotting elections until such time as a Labor Party actually comes into existence. In the opinion of all of us who have been in the shops for some time, (and that includes those who have never voted for any but socialist candidates as a matter of principle), this amendment would have a negative effect on our ability to reach workers on the need for a Congress of Labor and a Labor Party. A negative approach of this kind would have meaning to the average worker only at the point where an actual Congress of Labor would come into being. Then such a motion would be eminently proper, because we would then have a concrete alternative, not just an abstentionist one.

I hope that the enclosed letter, which deals with some more general problems, although essentially of the same character, will be of interest to you.

Please write to me about your reactions to this letter, and perhaps the one enclosed.

Fraternally,
Art Fox

Argentina

Halstead Takes A Trip

BY LUCY ST. JOHN
(PART TWO)

The Peronists in Argentina received over 60 percent in the recently held national elections. Peron, speaking on the victory of his party from his villa in Madrid, said: "I have faith, more than many believe, in the armed forces, for they are the ones who in the main obliged these elections to be held."

The alliance between the military dictatorship of the Peronists who control the major trade unions and the democratic front they have sought to give to the dictatorship now poses the gravest dangers before the Argentine working class. It is through the election deal between Lanusse and Peron that the ruling class, with the aid of the Stalinists and centrists, has sought to disarm the working class as it prepares brutal attacks on their standard of living. The working class must now come into collision with the government.

It is in this situation that the Socialist Workers Party has sent its reporter Fred Halstead to Argentina. Halstead is there to follow the activities of the SWP's co-thinkers who are led by Nahuel Moreno. Moreno split from the official section of the revisionist United Secretariat—the PRT-ERP—which is engaged in guerrilla warfare. He liquidated his group into the Argentine Socialist Party, now renamed the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (PST).

The last grand tour to Latin America made by Halstead was to Cuba over 10 years ago as part of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee. The SWP broke from the International Committee and reunified with the Pabloites in 1963, using the cover of the Cuban revolution. The reunification was primarily based on the agreement that Cuba showed that guerrilla warfare can lead to socialism.

The reunification was based on the SWP's refusal to discuss the fundamental questions involved in the break with Pablo in 1953 and the SWP's actually going over to Pablo's method and perspective. What was involved was the SWP's rejection of the capitalist crisis, the role of the working class and the necessity to construct Trotskyist parties.

Today the relations within the United Secretariat are at a breaking point. A split has already taken place in Argentina with the majority of the United Secretariat supporting the PRT-ERP group and the SWP led minority backing Moreno.

CENTRISM

The differences within the United Secretariat are not of a principled character and reveal above all the crisis

of centrism as the working class now moves into struggles throughout the world that pose the question of power. Despite the talk by both of these tendencies of a pre-revolutionary situation in Argentina, they both base themselves on Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism and deny the character of the crisis today. The attack opened by the SWP on the majority, which holds that guerrilla warfare rejects the Leninist strategy of party building and the strategy of the Transitional Program, is a cover for a rightward turn in the United States toward liberalism and social democracy.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC

To the liquidationist perspective of guerrilla warfare, the SWP and Moreno have counterposed the peaceful road to socialism. This is seen today not only in the liquidation of Moreno's group in the but the sharp turn of the SWP to openly building a social democratic electoral organization in which the fight for a labor party, the fight to prepare the working class for power, has been for all intents and purposes completely dropped.

Halstead's reports from Argentina are the reports of a middle class radical tourist taking in the sights, not of a Trotskyist seeking to construct an international movement.

Both Halstead and the PST see the election campaign as helping out the workers from the outside and putting pressure on the government and the Peronists. The PST used the wave of militancy of the working class and adapts to syndicalism. They seek above all to divert the workers into reformism.

As Halstead states:

"The PST took certain minimum practical actions of support. They put out press releases in the name of the party supporting the strike and call on all other political parties to do the same. (PST press releases are published in the daily press here as a matter of course.) Since most of the other parties claim to represent the workers, this put a certain pressure on them..."

"The PST did not pretend it could itself offer substantial material aid, only that it could help the strikers organize themselves to put pressure on broader political circles and the rest of the labor movement."

In other words, in a situation which both Moreno and Halstead say is pre-

NO VOTE PATRONES, MILITARES, NI DIRIGENTES VENDIDOS

**Vote por sus compañeros trabajadores
POR QUIENES SE JUEGAN EN LAS LUCHAS**

vote
Juan Carlos
CORAL
NORA
Ciapponi

LISTA 15
Partido Socialista
De Los
Trabajadores



**avanzada
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AÑO I Nº 51 - Buenos Aires, 28 de febrero de 1973 - mSn 100

GRAN ACTO DE CLAUSURA DE LA CAMPAÑA ELECTORAL

NILDA CARBONI
MARITA GONZALEZ
CARLOS MOYA
LUIS GOMEZ

ENRIQUE BROQUEN
HECTOR LOPEZ TORRES
ANDRES ALDAO
JOSE PAEZ

NORA CIAPPONI - JUAN CARLOS CORAL

PLAZA FLORES
SABADO 3 18,30 hs.

The Argentine Socialist Workers Party paper urging a vote for Coral in the elections.

revolutionary, the PST's campaign is "helping workers" by putting out press releases to pressure the Peronist leaders instead of fighting to break the workers from Peronism and construct the revolutionary leadership in the trade unions that is now urgently required.

NO CRISIS

Reading Halstead's article, one would think that there was no crisis of capitalism which is today forcing the capitalists in every country into vicious attacks on the working class. One would think we had entered a new era of class peace.

"The opportunities are much greater here than they are for the revolutionary socialist election campaigns in the United States. The main reason for this, of course, is the much higher level of class consciousness of the Argentine workers and the highly charged political atmosphere in the pre-revolutionary situation facing the country.

"But in a purely technical sense also, the campaign here offers opportunities for reaching broad masses that are simply not available to socialists in the United States.

"While Argentina is a military dictatorship, and has been since 1966, there is not as much thought control at the moment as there is in the United States. There are some features of Argentine political life, during these elections at least, that are far more democratic than in the United States."

INCREDIBLE

This is an incredible analysis considering the fact, which Halstead also reports, that the Communist Party is outlawed and that the military dictatorship is constantly arresting trade union militants and those involved in the guerrilla movement for their political activities. One can only conclude from Halstead's remarks that workers everywhere would be better off if they lived under a military dictatorship! This plays right into the hands of Lanusse and the Peronists who are spreading the illusion that a new era of democracy has arrived in Argentina thanks, as Peron put it, to the good will of the military.

Instead of revolutionary preparations and warnings, and an explanation of the real nature of the class forces and the objective requirements, the SWP and

Moreno proceed as if they were still in the boom.

It is clear that the SWP sees the work of Moreno as an example to follow in the United States. Moreno has abandoned even the semblance of an independent revolutionary party, liquidating his movement into the social democracy. This was done conveniently enough just before the elections in which only the parties that existed before the dictatorship were allowed to run. But it is far more than this—it is the logic of Pabloism.

TRANSFORMING

The SWP in the US is well on the road to transforming itself into a respectable electoral party whose sole activity is running candidates in elections. Completely rejecting the nature of the period and the crisis of capitalism, which threatens to bring out the collapse of the system itself and poses the destruction of the working class, the SWP today is going over to the "peaceful road to socialism." In its election campaign, the SWP has virtually dropped the demand for a labor party, relegating it to one of many demands strictly concerned with the unions.

For both Moreno and the SWP, this revival of social democracy represents a sharp turn toward sections of their own national bourgeoisie. For Moreno it is toward Peronism. In the US, it is toward the liberals.

Because the SWP has refused to confront all the theoretical questions raised by the International Committee about the roots of Pabloism, the split in 1953 and the reunification with the Pabloites, the SWP's differences within the United Secretariat have now become a cover for a turn to American nationalism and a turn to the American capitalist class as that class now seeks to whip up a patriotic fervor in the middle class and working class as part of its trade war. As the working class throughout the world now faces a struggle for its very survival against the vicious attacks of the capitalist governments on its organizations and standard of living, the SWP proposes to become a respectable party in the US, aiding the Stalinists and the trade union bureaucracy in diverting the struggle for a labor party and the construction of a revolutionary leadership internationally.

CONCLUDED

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Juan P. Farinas Is Free!

Juan P. Farinas will be free April 16 because of the wide support among the working class for his case.

In 1968, during the period dominated by protest politics in the United States, Juan Farinas entered an induction center and handed out a leaflet opposing the Vietnam War. He did not come to trial for this so-called offense until late 1970. By this time, the period of protest had long since passed and Nixon was preparing his present offensive against the American and international working class.

In January 1971, Juan Farinas received the vindictive sentence of two years' imprisonment for this simple act of expressing his opposition to war. This sentence was upheld by the very same US Court of Appeals which had decided in favor of the New York Times in the Pentagon Papers Case and on March 20, 1972 Juan Farinas entered Danbury Penitentiary.

Since the very first days of the fight to defend Juan Farinas, we insisted that the attack on Farinas was more than an infringement of civil liberties. It was part of an attack on the working class itself: an attack necessitated by the crisis of capitalism. Based on this understanding, we insisted that the case be defended on a class basis.

In this way, we mobilized the widest support among the trade union movement and other sections of the working class achieved for any defendant since the James Kutcher Case after World War Two.

The development over the past two years of Nixon's offensive against the working class, of the increasing attacks on the freedom of the press, the tightening up of laws against political offenses, the growth of unchecked power of the Executive, the increasing turn toward right-wing law and order campaigns, has proved the complete correctness of our course.

The Farinas Case was not an isolated case. It was the beginning of attacks on the democratic rights of all workers under conditions in which the living standards of the working class must be driven back to those of the 1930s.

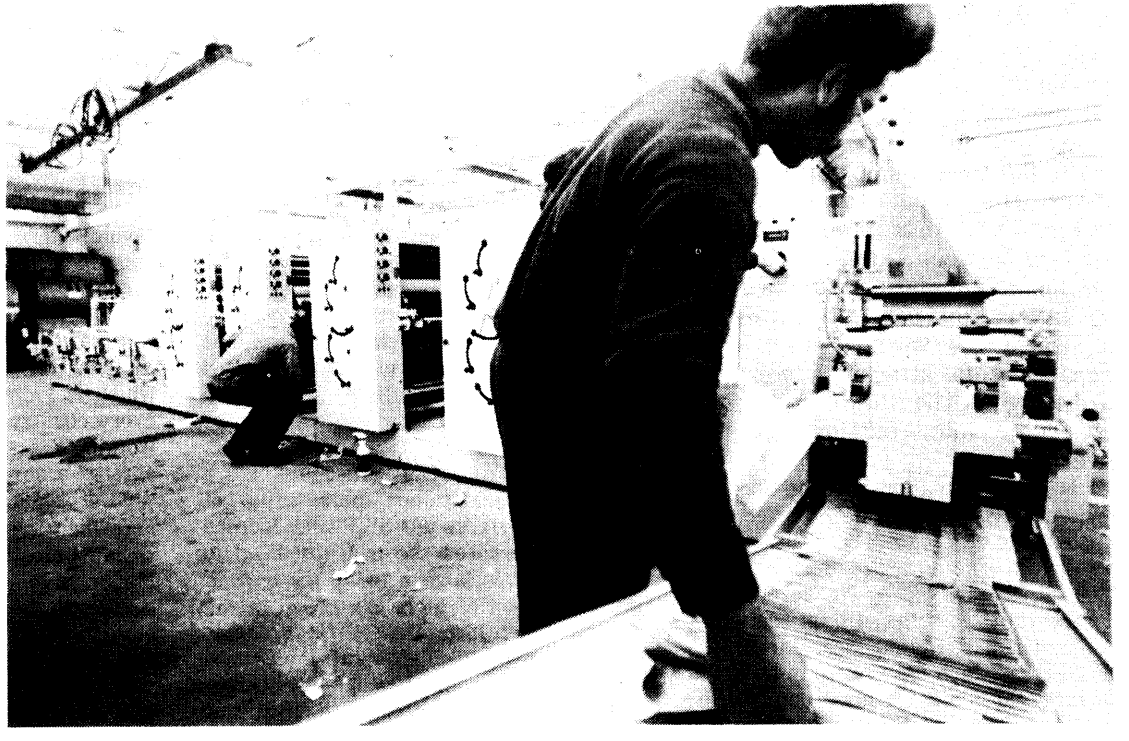
The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party both stood out almost alone among working class organizations in their refusal to support the Defense Committee on this basis. Both organizations insisted that any mention of the attack on Farinas as an attack on the working class must be removed as a precondition to their support for the Juan Farinas Defense Committee.

The Workers League will now expand its efforts to develop a defense in the labor movement of all those workers singled out for attack by the capitalist rulers. Not only is this our only defense, but out of each such struggle, the working class can only advance in its understanding of the tasks it now faces, particularly the necessity to construct a political alternative to the capitalists and their parties.



YEAH, BUT HE'S GOTTA LOOK MORE PRESENTABLE!

The New Press Starts To Roll



Here, the first issue of the *Young Socialist* is shown rolling off the new press, representing an important development in the construction of a Trotskyist youth movement. The *Young Socialist* will make extensive use of color, since the Harris Cottrell four-unit press is especially suited for color printing, including full color photos.

Labor Publications is also pleased to announce that it is now the only 100 percent union printing shop among all the working class political tendencies, with the exception of the Stalinist *Daily World*.

The decision to maintain a union shop flows from the role of the Trotskyist press in leading the working class and youth forward against the attacks which Nixon and the capitalist class are now forced to launch in an attempt to extricate themselves from the international crisis.

The printing trades have been

among the hardest hit by Nixon's Pay Board, inflation, layoffs and the effects of automation and rationalization introduced to increase the profits of the capitalist newspapers.

The composition and preparation staff is now represented by Typographical Union Local 6, while Pressman's Local 51 represents the press crew. Local

6, headed by Bertram Powers, is one of the oldest union locals in New York, having been formed in 1850.

By affiliating the Labor Publications print shop with these unions, the *Bulletin* intends to show its determination to develop into a real weapon to defend workers against Nixon's offensive.

NY Plans Big Push

This week's total of 422 subs is below last week and thus endangering our goal of 5000 subs by the one-third mark of April 1. The main reason for the drop was New York area branches which were involved in the Brooklyn Young Socialists meeting. Special mobilizations will be held in New York this weekend.

A number of branches outside New York did extremely well: Los Angeles, 48; Palo Alto, 35; Northfield, 28; St. Paul, 26;

San Francisco, 23, and Chicago, 21.

We must now bring in over 600 subs a week for the next two weeks to complete our one-third goal. Now that we have gotten our press installed and running we must redouble our efforts to develop the circulation of the *Bulletin* to answer the attacks of Nixon and the large corporations and to construct a new leadership in the trade unions. We must achieve a total paid circulation figure of 25,000 by June 1.

RENEGADES IN ACTION— THE IMG

PART TWO

The following is a series by Jack Gale reprinted from the Workers Press on the British section of the revisionist United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the International Marxist Group.

In 1963, the Socialist Workers Party in the United States reunified with the Pabloites in the United Secretariat. They refused to discuss the split with Pablo's forces in 1953 and the principled differences at the root of this split. Today the Pabloites approach their World Congress in a tremendous crisis. This series examines this crisis and its source.

In a letter sent in July 1970 to the Socialist Workers' Party in America (see yesterday's Workers Press), the International Marxist Group in Britain accused its leaders with sending agents over to form a tendency in order to strengthen the SWP's minority support in the Unified Secretariat.

Alan Harris is regarded as being a leader of this tendency whose bookshop is a cover for the minority and a means of sending in resources to assist it.

Jordan and his friends sought to put a stop to this by instructing Harris to merge his concern—Leader Books—with the IMG's Red Books. But Harris would have none of it, and neither would the SWP. In fact, the collaboration became, if anything, even closer.

In September, 1970, Jordan was writing to the SWP complaining that the Americans' Pathfinder Books had made a 'big loan' to Alan Harris in the form of books (p. 13). The IMG clearly considered that the 'loan' was, in fact, an investment in the minority tendency.

The previous month Harris had written to the United Secretariat setting out his own case. The letter (pp. 11-12):

London, August 22, 1970

To the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Dear Ernest,
The National Committee of the IMG at its July 25/26 meeting passed the following motion: . . . that this NS censures Comrade A. Harris for his unilateral action re Leader Books and requests the US to investigate the matter immediately . . .

I wish to make a formal protest to the US that such a resolution was passed against me and in my absence.

I was not invited to attend the relevant part of the NC meeting in order to state why such a motion should not be passed. Nor was I informed that any such motion was to be considered by the NC.

To pass a motion of censure, behind the back of the comrade concerned, is a violation of the democratic norms of our movement. The more so when that comrade is known to hold

a minority view on a number of questions.

Further, the manner in which I was informed of the NC decision makes the matter even more shocking.

I formally learned that the NC had passed a motion of censure against me on August 12 when the Letter to Members were distributed to the London branch and when Leader Books was placed on the branch agenda at the request of the branch executive committee.

I do not accept the motion of censure against me because I deny that by setting up Leader Books I have in any way acted against the principles and spirit of democratic centralism. If the majority of the NC think that I have violated democratic centralism, serious enough to warrant a motion of censure then they are duty bound to proceed with charges against me.

I therefore request that the question of my censure by the NC of the IMG be put on the agenda of the next meeting of the Unified Secretariat.

with revolutionary greetings,
Alan Harris
c.c. Pat Jordan

Following this letter, the minority tendency in the IMG and its allies in the SWP moved into action.

In July, 1970, four members of the IMG's National Committee submitted a letter to that body completely condemning it and supporting the SWP. They wrote:

Statement to the Political Committee on the letter to the SWP Political Bureau dated July 31, 1970.

Since the content of the letter to the Political Committee of the SWP is as yet for the information of the NC members, the tendency has not met to discuss this letter although large parts of it directly concern the tendency and serious allegations are made against it.

Four members of the tendency, three who are full members of the NC and the other an alternate member, protest most strongly against the contents of the letter sent to the Political Committee of the SWP. In our opinion it is a scandalous letter—full of unsubstantiated allegations, untruths and irrelevancies—and can only be motivated by dead-end factionalism.

Under the pretext of writing the SWP on the question of the sale of Trotskyist literature in Britain, an outrageous attack



Women's Liberation in London at which two editions of the magazine Socialist Woman appeared—one denouncing the IMG.

has been made on the tendency in a manner which is quite alien to the democratic norms of the Trotskyist movement.

The method of substituting slanders for political polemics is not a new one and the Fourth International has a long tradition and an exemplary record of struggle against this method.

The majority leadership of the IMG will only be able to come to grips with the political problems confronting the IMG by ensuring that a democratic and non-factional atmosphere prevails throughout the IMG so that the political ideas can be discussed in an objective manner.

We ask, what is the purpose of such irrelevancies as to how S. Williams cast her vote at the last world congress; whether some members of the tendency have been members of another section at some time or another or have even played a role in the formation of the tendency?

Is the purpose of these irrelevancies to create a feeling that comrades joining the IMG with previous membership in another section are 'foreigners' whose loyalty to the IMG and the FI is in question? We doubt this can be the purpose because there are of course, many members of the IMG who have previously been members of other sections and who support the majority. The purpose of these irrelevancies can only be an attempt to create an atmosphere wherein the loyalty of minority mem-

bers is in question.

Such methods do not guarantee a democratic and non-factional atmosphere in which to discuss the political questions facing us in the IMG.

For our part we welcome comrades who join the IMG with experiences and previous membership in other sections of our international movement, and certainly do not question the loyalty of such comrades to the IMG regardless of whether they support the majority or minority positions. According to the letter, the tendency . . . is widely considered to be in solidarity with the SWP's criticisms of the majority position in the International.

We do not know the basis of such a statement. The political programme of the tendency is no secret. It is documented, for everyone to read, in the tendency statements and documents written in the pre-conference discussion bulletins of the 1970 conference of the IMG. As yet, the tendency has not discussed the international questions, but if it should do so, and if it did support the minority positions, so what? Would this be a disloyal act or a violation of democratic centralism? Does loyalty demand support for majority positions?

The letter states that . . . this tendency will become even more isolated the more it appears to be trying to circumvent the democratic norms of the IMG. What does this

mean? The tendency is either circumventing the democratic norms of the IMG or it isn't. If it is, then the leadership has the responsibility to lay charges and substantiate them. Otherwise it must refrain from making such wild and unsubstantiated allegations. The leadership must conduct itself in such a manner that it is clearly seen to be the defender and guarantor of minority rights.

As stated at the last NC meeting, Leader Books has not been set up by the tendency. It is not a political centre for the tendency and any suggestion that another section is materially aiding the tendency in order for it to have its own political centre is too serious an allegation to be raised in the irresponsible manner that it has and is another form of the 'Paris gold' myth.

The letter should therefore be withdrawn and a further letter sent to the Political Committee of the SWP to inform it of the motion passed by the majority NC and referred to the Unified Secretariat for action.

Huff
Sands
Scott
Williams
August 23, 1970

By February, 1971, the American Socialist Workers' Party's Political Committee was writing off the International

Marxist Group in Britain, as a body within which genuine discussion could not be conducted.

What further evidence of total political war within the ranks of the Unified Secretariat and its co-thinkers is required than this assessment of the IMG by the SWP?

SWP POLITICAL COMMITTEE MOTION Adopted February 5, 1971

The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party voices the following opinion in relation to the facts made available in the correspondence between Comrade Pat Jordan, the National Secretary of the IMG; Comrade Jack Barnes, the Organization Secretary of the SWP; a copy of the November 28, 1970, statement by Comrade Alan Harris to the Political Committee and National Committee of the IMG; and the memorandum by Comrade Joseph Hansen:

1. The majority of the National Committee of the IMG abused its authority in censuring Comrade Alan Harris.

- (a) It failed to notify Comrade Harris in advance that he was to be placed on trial.
- (b) It failed to grant him a hearing when his case came up for consideration.
- (c) It notified the IMG of its disciplinary action against Comrade Harris in a way calculated to prejudice the membership against him.

2. The majority of the National Committee of the IMG further abused its authority by singling out Comrade Harris for disciplinary action in a field in which it does not at present subject the membership as a whole to disciplinary action; that is, the way in which they make their livelihood.

3. The majority of the National Committee of the IMG further abused the objective norms of democratic centralism by taking these organizational reprisals against a leader of a minority that has expressed political criticisms of the majority and argued for a different line from the one followed by the majority.

4. After the promising beginning earlier in the year, which appeared to represent a decided break with the anti-democratic methods that have plagued the British Trotskyist movement in the past, the majority of the National Committee of the IMG, by resorting to organizational reprisals against a leading member of the minority, has raised a serious question as to the possibility of conducting a genuinely free discussion in the IMG.

Between the July, 1970, letter from the IMG to the SWP and the latter's 'Political Motion' of February, 1971, a prolonged and tangled correspondence took place, for which the word 'acrimonious' is hardly adequate.

Joseph Hansen is particularly adept at this sort of thing.

Boasting that 'in the anti-war rallies in the US the most extreme slogan used by cadres associated with an SWP headquarters bookstore has been 'Get Your Trotskyist Literature Here', he evades Jordan's complaint about hidden subsidies by blandly asserting that 'Pathfinder Books has no connection with the SWP as far as its business affairs are concerned'.

HANSEN TRIES TO BULLY

Hansen, in fact, tries to bully the IMG leaders into silence. On the allegation of Jordan and company that the SWP had 'tried to get round the "democratic procedures"



[sic] of the IMG', Hansen replies:

In view of the implications, Comrade Jack Barnes in a letter dated September 14, 1970, asked Comrade Jordan for clarification:

1. You maintain that the private wholesale export-import book agency set up by Alan Harris constitutes a 'political centre', that this centre was opened up by a minority tendency in your group, and that this was in 'gross violation' of the norms of democratic centralism. You imply, moreover, that the Socialist Workers Party played a key role in inspiring the formation of this minority tendency in the IMG 'politically and with resources', and that the establishment of

Leader Books by Alan Harris is in reality an attempt by the SWP 'to get round the democratic procedures and processes' of the IMG.

In face of such allegations, am I correct in drawing the conclusion that in your opinion the Socialist Workers Party has departed from the traditions of Trotskyism; that it has, so to speak, 'degenerated' and can no longer be regarded as a fraternal organization so far as the majority leadership of the IMG is concerned?

JORDAN EVADES IT

Jordan, of course, does not answer this honestly. He

evades it. In a letter dated December 10, 1970, he declares:

1. If we considered that it was necessary to raise the question of the 'degeneration' of the Socialist Workers Party we would do so in another manner: through the appropriate international committees.

HANSEN IS CONTEMPTUOUS

Hansen treats this with bullying contempt.

This reply can only be characterized as an evasion. Asked if he believes that the SWP has departed from the traditions of Trotskyism, Comrade Jordan says

nothing. Asked if he believes that the SWP can no longer be regarded as a fraternal organization, Comrade Jordan again says nothing. He is even equivocal on the term 'degeneration'. His reply can be interpreted as meaning that the IMG majority leaders do not consider it necessary to raise this question at the present time; if they did consider it necessary at the present time, then they would do so in another manner.

The significance of this whole tangled skein of accusations, counter-accusations, evasions and abuse is that nowhere are the real political issues mentioned. Apart from a gentle dig from Jordan—a mythical minority in the SWP



While the SWP campaigned for "Out Now!" in the antiwar movement in the USA, Pat Jordan and Co. demanded victory to the NLF, indicating deep divisions in the Unified Secretariat.

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Hansen admits categorically that the International Marxist Group was an artificial organization constructed from outside by the Unified Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party following their 1963 reunification. He also makes it clear that people were brought together from completely different positions for the sole

purpose of fighting the Socialist Labour League.

At the Reunification Congress in 1963, the development of the British Trotskyist movement was considered to be of special importance. At the same time, the difficulties and obstacles were recognized as considerable in face of the sectarian course of the Socialist Labour League, the refusal of its leaders to participate in the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement, and the divisions among those who favoured reunification—the Fourth Internationalists being divided into two warring groups, one centered in Not-

tingham, the other in London.

Outside aid was badly needed. The Unified Secretariat therefore did what it could to provide this aid. An appeal was made to the English-speaking comrades in North America. The Canadian Trotskyists responded as true internationalists and sent various top-level cadres at some cost to their own work in an immediate sense. In collaboration with the Unified Secretariat, they worked in model fashion, not without personal sacrifice.

Over the last few years the Socialist Workers'

Party of the United States has deliberately built up a minority tendency within the British International Marxist Group.

Like the SWP itself, this 'tendency' is a petty-bourgeois group moving to the right. It turns its back on the working class and adapts to middle-class layers like Women's Liberation.

The right turn of this tendency emerges clearly from the Report of the Unified Secretariat's Fact-Finding Commission into the IMG. In particular it took the following forms.

(1) In Nottingham women members of the tendency concentrated almost entirely on a Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee, producing a paper—'Socialist Women'—which they insisted was independent of IMG and not subject to its control.

They resisted an IMG decision to build 'Socialist Women's Groups' and objected to marching with other IMG women at a national rally on women's rights. They claimed this would be 'separating themselves off from the mainstream of the women's movement' (p.38).

In Glasgow, tendency supporters also resisted carrying out the IMG's line and insisted on working in a 'Women in Action' group (p.88).

(2) The tendency opposed the use of such slogans as 'Victory to the National Liberation Front', 'Power to the Provisional Revolutionary Government', 'Solidarity with the Indo-Chinese Revolution'—which were the agreed slogans of IMG—on the grounds that this was 'a question of tactics' (p.80). That is to say, they might offend some middle-class people who would otherwise march with them. It is well known, of course, that the SWP and the minority inside the Unified Secretariat also oppose these slogans.

But Pat Jordan's reply to these objections reveals what a totally unprincipled organization the Unified Secretariat is. It is worth quoting:

'The slogan "Victory to the NLF" has been used on all our demonstrations since March 1968, and before that.

● It is absolutely implicit in the statement of aims of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC), which has been our main instrument of intervention in this field for five years.

● It is embodied in our political practice of selling flags and distributing badges with the NLF flag on.

● It is the policy of the (Unified Secretariat of) Fourth International to advocate using this slogan in those countries which have not got troops in Vietnam as the main focus (see Ernest Germain's report to the December 1969 IEC). (My emphasis J. G.)

So, you don't demand 'Victory to the NLF' if the troops of your 'own' country are fighting them! It is almost impossible to open a single page of Lenin without finding a refutation of this cowardly social patriotism. Leninism developed in opposition to exactly this. We give only one reference—from Lenin's 'Socialism and War':

'A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot help wishing the defeat of its government, it cannot fail to see the connection between the government's military reverses and the increased opportunity for overthrowing it.'

We defy a single member of IMG—or any other section of the Unified Secretariat—to reconcile Lenin's position with that of Germain (Mandel) and Jordan.

(3) In Glasgow tendency members ignored a request of the

'Red Mole' editorial board to send in material on UCS until the Stalinist work-in had been in operation for almost a month. Indeed, the editorial board complained to the entire membership:

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(4) At the 1971 conference of the International Marxist Group, tendency supporters abstained on a message of support to the PRT/ERP in Argentina on the grounds that it endorsed the kidnapping of Stanley Silvester, the British consul in Argentina.

As has been pointed out in previous articles, the split in IMG mirrors an equally deep split within the Unified Secretariat. The tendency supports—in fact is dependent on and maintained by—the Socialist Workers' Party, which itself supports a minority position within the revisionist International (although, for legal reasons, it cannot be an actual member of it).

Since the 1963 reunification—by which the SWP declared its political solidarity with the Pabloite International—was carried through without any principled discussion, it is equally impossible to hold a principled discussion within the Unified Secretariat today. To do so would blow it apart.

Thus, political differences within Unified Secretariat sections are dealt with, not in a principled way, but with the most bureaucratic authoritarianism. When this brings the organization to the point of breakdown, an international 'Fact-Finding' Commission is appointed. The purpose of this commission is not to deal with the political issues involved, but to paper over the cracks and hold the strife-ridden section together.

This is certainly the situation within the International

Marxist Group. The incidents mentioned in previous articles—IMG members playing darts with a picture of Joseph Hansen as the target, NC members throwing beer-bottles through the glass door of an IMG member's house because they were refused admittance to a party (p.122)—are only two of many.

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The atmosphere within the

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branch, they said, was 'almost indescribably bad—personal and political, enmities have become inextricably mixed up'.

'One half of the branch is scarcely on speaking terms with the other half.' When people sought to speak on behalf of the national IMG leadership they were 'subjected to a barrage of abuse, laughter, jeering, name-calling, constant interruptions for two and a half hours'.

They concluded, with some under-emphasis: 'This situation, of course, has its effect on branch meetings' (pp.89-90).

The International Marxist Group faced such an enormous split in 1970 and 1971 between its leaders and the minority tendency supporting the Socialist Workers' Party of America, that serious work was impossible (see yesterday's Workers Press for the repercussions in the Glasgow branch alone).

Yet IMG leaders Pat Jordan, Tariq Ali and company were unable to deal with this politically. They could resort only to bureaucratic measures.

The disciplinary action taken against Alan Harris, without affording him any democratic rights, has been discussed in an earlier article. But this was standard practice.

One Glasgow tendency supporter was suspended without charges. Following protests, the leadership wrote to him saying they did not need to present charges because they had not suspended him from the IMG, but only from its Glasgow branch. 'Your status at the moment,' wrote Jordan, 'is that of a member at large.' (Page 83.)

The fact that the tendency had a majority in the Glasgow branch was neatly overcome by sending in people from other parts of the country and giving them voting rights in the branch. (Page 84.)

When this proved insufficient, the Political Committee sent in an organizer and placed him in charge of the entire branch. (Pages 96-97.)

This man had one member charged for not moving a resolution at a trades council meeting which he had handed to him as he walked through the door two minutes before the meeting began and which had not been discussed anywhere. (Page 84.) He had another charged for not giving up his job to build a Claimants' Union branch. (The IMG's intervention at UCS, when they finally got round to it, was to attempt to start a Claimants' Union.) This also had not been discussed anywhere. (Page 84.)

Another member went out of the country on holiday and returned to learn that his expulsion had been proposed in his absence. There were, of course, no charges. A commission was appointed by the leadership to investigate objections. This commission laid charges against him after hearing a report from the majority (which supported the leadership) but without listening to the minority (to which the member concerned belonged). (Page 84.)

The case of the Nottingham women was equally extraordinary. Here, as has been said, the tendency members were subordinating themselves entirely to the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee and its paper 'Socialist Woman'. It is fair to point out that the IMG leadership did not bother to correct this opportunist turn until the faction fight hotted up and they were able to use it in organizational measures

against the tendency.

The Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee had been in existence for over a year, and 'Socialist Woman' for almost as long, before the IMG leadership discovered any objection to this activity.

However, when they wished to move against the tendency women supporters in Nottingham, they simply:

(a) Announced a policy of forming a national network of 'Socialist Women's Groups'. This national network never got beyond one branch—in London.

(b) Took over 'Socialist Woman' by edict—i.e. they published a new address for it (with an increased subscription) and told their Nottingham women to get the line accepted in the NSWC.

(c) Appointed a new editorial board, from which every member of the board of the existing 'Socialist Woman' was excluded.

(d) Instructed the Nottingham tendency members that they were barred from work among women.

(e) Abandoned an earlier project of a 'Red Mole' broadsheet which had been in preparation for five months.

The Nottingham women who were not in IMG, of course, would not accept all this, so that at the Women's Demonstration of March, 1971, two separate versions of 'Socialist Woman' appeared—with the Nottingham issue containing a duplicated slip condemning IMG.

Subsequently, the IMG leadership presented the Nottingham tendency women with a statement saying that they fully approved of the new 'Socialist Woman', and that 'personal reasons' had prevented them being active in the Nottingham group. In fact, of course, they did not approve the change and they had been barred from activity in the Nottingham group by the IMG leadership.

When they refused to sign this statement on the grounds that it contained lies, they were charged.

All this came to a head at the 1971 Congress. The attitude of Jordan, Tariq Ali and company at this conference is best illustrated by one of their supporters who resigned from IMG on the grounds that they had not been tough enough with the minority tendency. We quote:

'Comrade T.W. at the "kangaroo" majority meeting of November 6 and 7, 1971, told the meeting explicitly that democratic centralism was not a necessary principle of Leninist organization and that the IMG was only "sometimes democratic centralist" and this was quite sufficient.' (Page 124.)

Nowhere in the 151-page long report of the Fact-Finding Commission is this challenged.

Be that as it may, at the 1971 IMG Congress prominent IMG members who were supporters of the tendency were removed from the National Committee. In fact, tendency representation on the NC was halved, from two to one, although its support at the Congress was doubled.

NC members were removed for belonging to the tendency or for being 'too soft' on it. (Page 82.)

Equal time with majority National Committee presentation was not given to tendency documents on the grounds that the tendency had nothing 'relevant' or 'new' to say. In fact, the minority tendency was given ten minutes on Women's Liberation and seven minutes on youth work. (Page 95.)

There was, indeed, ample justification for the complaint of the minority tendency that: 'The method of election of

the leadership at the national conference, with the full knowledge of the supporters of the majority, effectively excluded from the NC the views of those comrades in Scotland who, at that time, indicated their support of the general line of the tendency documents.' (Page 87.)

By this time, IMG was in such a state of internal collapse, that Jordan and company were compelled to ask the Unified Secretariat to come in and sort it out. This was the reason for the Fact-Finding Commission.

But even this created problems. Several hard-liners felt that the minority should simply have been 'dealt with' and no messing about with International Commissions.

One NC member wrote to the NC in the crudest terms objecting to people, being 'let off the hook':

'We have pissed about on this long enough. The conference was six months ago. Resolutions have been passed at NCs like confetti and still the PC prevaricates. What do comrades, not on the latter select body, have to do to get the PC to carry out decisions?'

'The trouble is that you, the PC, are allowing yourselves to be intimidated by the SWP and its allies... Each inconsistent action will add to the arguments of the opposition

... We must proceed with the charges quickly, otherwise the SWP will make shit of us.' (Pages 77-78.)

How did the Unified Secretariat deal with this situation of open war within one of their sections? By urging both sides to get together and work amicably!

They did not deal with a single political issue in the whole sordid mess. They simply instructed the IMG leadership to withdraw all disciplinary measures—and this was not by any means due to any regard for democratic centralism.

When a minority was expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party for political disagreement (and subsequently became the American Workers' League) the Unified Secretariat showed no such touching concern for minority rights.

What they were concerned with in the case of the IMG was simply patching up a dying organization in order to preserve a 'section' in Britain in opposition to the only real Trotskyist movement in this country—the Socialist Labour League.

So the Unified Secretariat, on receiving the report of its Fact-Finding Commission, simply said: drop all charges and find something that those who have fundamental dis-

agreements can do so they don't have to leave the organization. Let them do 'defence work, the expansion of British circulation of "Intercontinental Press", and the abortion-contraception campaign—where their specific opinion cannot come into conflict with efficient and enthusiastic engagements'. (Page iv.)

If Lenin had sought, after the 1903 Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, to find fields of work for the Mensheviks 'where their specific opinion' could not 'come into conflict with efficient and enthusiastic engagement' there would have been no revolution in Russia in 1917.

And the political methods of the Unified Secretariat as revealed in the IMG case would prevent a revolution in this country—if it were left to them.

However, it will not be left to them. There is a principled Trotskyist organization in this country—the Socialist Labour League. And our organization will, as part of the preparation for the British revolution, politically destroy revisionism in every form in which it shows itself.

CONCLUDED

BOOKS



Trotsky's Political Profiles \$2.50

Sketches of the leading members of the Second International including: Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Plekhanov and Karl Kautsky. Never available before in English.

The Spanish Revolution \$3.95

Invaluable collection of articles, many never published before in English, records Trotsky's struggle to construct a Marxist leadership in Spain during the period from the fall of the monarchy to the defeat of the working class by Franco. Of critical importance to revolutionaries today are Trotsky's articles on the tasks posed to Marxists during the growth of the mass movement of workers in the pre-revolutionary period before 1936, the role of Soviets, syndicalism, and Stalinism. Includes correspondence with the centrist Andre Nin.



THE SPANISH REVOLUTION (1931-39) LEON TROTSKY

Order from: Labor Publications, Inc., 135 West 14th St., 6th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

David North

Books

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

This newest volume of Leon Trotsky's writings covers the extremely critical six month period from December 1932 until July 1933. International developments, primarily the defeat of the German proletariat by Hitler, brought the 10 year struggle of the Left Opposition to a historic turning point.

Since 1923 the Left Opposition had existed as a faction fighting, in spite of expulsions and brutal persecution, for the reform of the Comintern through the rejection of Stalin's policies and the regeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was suffocating beneath the bureaucratic apparatus.

But the catastrophe in Germany, which had been brought about by the disastrous misleadership of the German Communist Party blindly guided by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, and the refusal of any section of the Comintern to critically evaluate the policies that had brought the most powerful section of the working class in Europe to ruin, required a new orientation on the part of the International Left Opposition.

This volume, rich in previously unpublished internal documents, records the final struggle for the reform of the Comintern. In these writings we can trace the evolution of the Left Opposition from its existence as a faction to a break with the German Communist Party to, finally, the historic split with the Stalinized Comintern.

Trotsky declared the Comintern dead for the purpose of revolution and put forward the perspective of building a new international. While explaining that the time had not yet come to proclaim the Fourth International, Trotsky insisted that the continuity of the Marxist movement demanded that the cadres of the Left Opposition function as the embryos of new parties.

This turn met considerable opposition, not the least vocal emanating from those within the Left Opposition who had disagreed with the position of reforming the Comintern held by Trotsky until March 1933, when the Stalinists once again endorsed the "social-fascist" policy of the German Communist Party.

OBJECTIVE DEVELOPMENTS

But, as the invaluable articles in this collection demonstrate, Trotsky fought on the basis of objective developments: "We take as the point of departure not our own subjective 'dissatisfaction' and 'disillusionment' but the objective march of the class struggle," he wrote. "All the conditions of the development of the proletarian revolution imperiously demand a new organization of the vanguard and provide the necessary prerequisites for it."

In probing the reasons for the degeneration of the Comintern, Trotsky continually sought to deepen the Left Opposition's theoretical understanding of the nature of the Stalinist regime within the Soviet Union. By 1932, he warned that bureaucratic centrism was leading the first workers' state to economic and political ruin. Trotsky declared that only the struggle of the Left Opposition could prevent its destruction.

It must be understood when reading this volume that Trotsky had not yet concluded that the Stalinist bureaucracy could be removed only through political revolution. Nevertheless, his characterizations of the bureaucracy's method of rule were accompanied by the most urgent warnings that the severe crisis within Stalin's faction was leading to a profound change in the nature of the regime.

Noting the enormous dissatisfaction and open hostility toward the Stalinist leadership developing among the Soviet workers, Trotsky wrote: "All the more necessary is it now to pay sharp attention to the maneuvers of the bureaucracy, which is silently preparing a new 'surprise' for the working masses."

When Trotsky wrote these articles, the Soviet Union was still in the throes of the domestic upheaval brought about by Stalin's collectivization program. After having first made enormous concessions to the kulaks—wealthy peasants—and

is no party in the true sense of the word now. There is an organization which formally includes millions of members and candidates. But both alike are deprived of their rights. Within the framework of the same organization are the terrorized elements of two parties: the proletarian and the Thermidorean. Above all stands the bureaucracy. It bears the responsibility for the economic mistakes, for the smytchka being undermined. It bears the still weightier responsibility for the stifling of the party. At the same time that, through its policy, it sets the peasant

many in 1923, Estonia and Bulgaria in 1924, England in 1926, China in 1927, and, finally, Germany again in 1933.

The logic of "socialism in one country" was described by Stalin himself—unwittingly—in an interview with the American capitalist Thomas Campbell which lasted four hours one evening in the Kremlin. Stalin was flattered to be in the presence of a captain of industry and—as Campbell later described the scene in a book which Trotsky quoted—"Took my hand in both of his..."

In Campbell's autobiography, which Trotsky analyzed in the article "With Both Hands" dated December 1932, there was the following paragraph:

"He (Stalin) unhesitatingly admitted, with disarming frankness, that under Trotsky there had been an attempt to spread communism throughout the world. He said that was the primary cause of the break between himself and Trotsky. That Trotsky believed in universal communism while he wanted to confine his efforts to his own country. He explained that they (the Stalinist faction) had neither the time nor the money to try to communize the world, even should they wish to do so, and that his own chief interest was to improve the conditions of the people in Russia, without any interference whatsoever in the government of other countries."

Stalin had been shown the transcript of this interview by Campbell and then autographed it for him. Not until Trotsky wrote "With Both Hands" in which he described Stalin's manner with Campbell as "the crawling conduct of a petty bourgeois" did Stalin deny the authenticity of the interview. In vain! Campbell reproduced the autograph.

SUMMONED

With the German proletariat crushed by Hitler and the social turmoil in the USSR approaching the scale of civil war, Trotsky—virtually imprisoned on a Turkish island—summoned the cadres of the International Left Opposition to order. The policies of the bureaucracy were leading the Soviet Union to destruction.

"But should this happen," declared Trotsky, "it would be one of the most terrible episodes in all history. Our sole task lies in preventing it. Meanwhile, the danger approaches closer and closer. Sound the Alarm! We must sound the alarm!"

It was in this situation that Trotsky made his final appeal to the Stalinist bureaucracy to learn the lessons of history and change its course. In a secret letter to the Politburo on March 15, 1933, Trotsky said that the savage repressions by the apparatus could only worsen the conditions within the USSR. He continued:

"What must be done? Above all, revive the party. This is a painful process but it must be passed through. The Left Opposition—of this I have no doubt—will be willing to offer the Central Committee full cooperation in returning the party to the track of normal existence without upheavals or with the minimum of upheaval."

For Trotsky, the great historical task was the construction of the revolutionary party. Outside of the existence of such a party, he understood the victory of the working class to be impossible. As long as there remained the possibility that the CPSU could be reformed and lead the working class to victory, Trotsky was determined to persist in this course and train the Marxist cadre that would be placed at the head of the regenerated party.

"Is the situation hopeless?" he wrote on the eve of Hitler's rise to power. "Such words are not part of our vocabulary. Struggle will decide. On the side of the proletarian revolution are many negative historical possibilities: the horrible decay of capitalism, the furious conflicts among the imperialists, the bankruptcy of reformism; as well as positive ones: tempered cadres of Bolshevik-Leninists, an understanding of the course of developments, a clear perspective. Struggle will decide."

TO BE CONTINUED



Trotsky at the Gare du Nord on December 6, 1932 with his secretary Jan Fraenkel.

slandering the Left Opposition for calling for an increased tempo of industrialization while restricting the exploitive power of the kulak, Stalin was forced to reverse his position in 1928 in order to head off the disintegration of the USSR.

Although this change of policy actually confirmed the correctness of the Left Opposition's program, Stalin's industrialization program was conceived in a panic and carried out with the worst bureaucratic abuses. The industrial growth which took place during the first Five Year Plan demonstrated the strength of the planned economy, but the methods of the bureaucracy contributed mightily to mass suffering unknown even during the period of war communism.

The reckless attempt of the bureaucracy to bring about "the liquidation of the kulak as a class" actually strengthened the danger of counterrevolution. Because the mass collectivization was unprepared for in the sense that the Soviet Union had not yet developed the industrial base to allow the peaceful exchange of commodities between town and country, Stalin's policies served to alienate the peasantry from the working class and drive it into the reactionary orbit of the wealthy peasants, who could become the vehicle of a capitalist restoration. It is out of this smashing of the alliance between workers and poorer peasants—which Lenin had called the smytchka—from which Trotsky feared the Thermidorean reaction would emerge.

Trotsky maintained the economic crisis could be surmounted only through a break with the incorrect policies. In an article published January 11, 1933, entitled "The Danger of Thermidor," Trotsky stated:

"Despite the great difficulties there is nothing irreparable in the country's economy. Only something is needed to repair it. What is needed is a party. There

try in opposition to the state, it disarmed the proletariat politically. Not only do the workers wander physically from factory to factory, but they don't find a place for themselves politically."

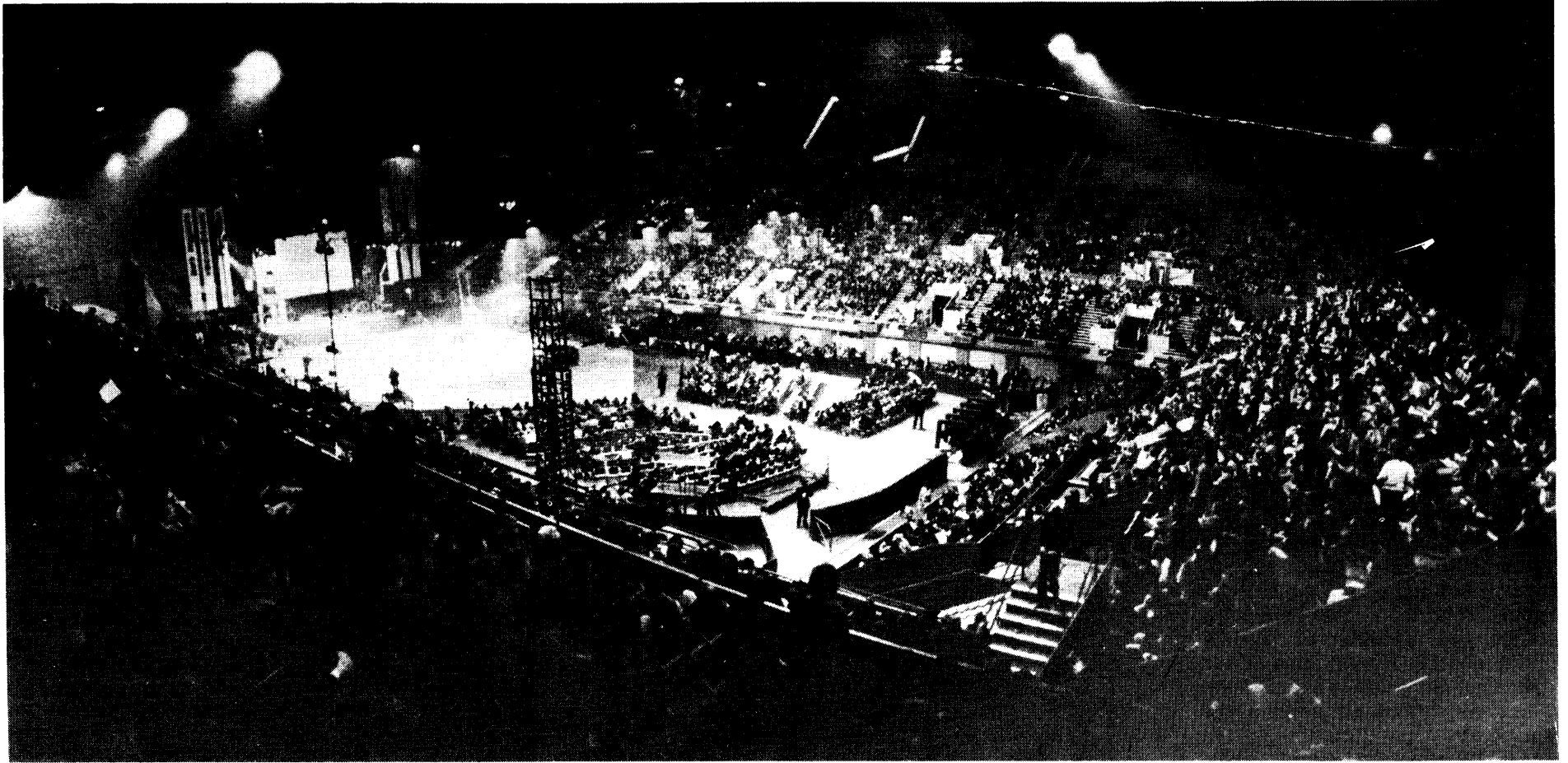
For an understanding of the way in which the Stalinists sabotaged the planned economy through naked bungling and dishonesty, many articles in the volume rank as brilliant preliminary readings to *The Revolution Betrayed*. While the latter book was the product of additional years of political experience and the theoretical culmination of his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, in these articles Trotsky was already able to show how the apparatus undermined the foundations of the Soviet state.

The downright falsification of economic data, the careless inflationary manipulation of the currency, the exaggerated and then unfulfilled quotas, and the brutal trampling upon the rights of workers which seeks to drain them of all individual initiative—detected by Trotsky in 1933—still characterize the handling of the Soviet economy by Stalin's heirs.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Trotsky emphasized, however, that the main issue involved in the disastrous economic policies of the bureaucracy was its political perspectives. No one understood more clearly than Trotsky the immense difficulties of developing the productive forces on the soil of backward Russia. But he indicted the Stalinists for their bankrupt perspective of "socialism in one country," which absurdly claimed that the construction of the planned economy could take place regardless of developments in the advanced industrial nations.

By this time, the policies of the Third International under Stalin had been responsible for a full decade of defeats: Ger-



SLL Pageant Begins Fight For Revolutionary Party



BY MELODY FARROW

The Road to Workers Power, the Socialist Labour League's pageant of working class history, performed at Empire Pool, Wembley before over 10,000 trade unionists and their families, was a historic step forward for Trotskyism and the fight to build a mass revolutionary party in Britain to lead the working class to power.

The success of this pageant and rally is a powerful blow to the plans of Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath to split and weaken the working class, destroy its basic rights and establish dictatorship. The Empire Pool pageant, the biggest anti-Tory rally since the 1970 election, brought forward a decisive force of workers and youth who will be in the vanguard of the struggle to build a movement to defeat the Tories and their system.

No other movement in Britain, not even the Labour Party with all its resources, could have undertaken such a historic task with such success. The Pageant was created out of the determination to carry theory into practice and construct the revolutionary party.

The four episodes in the Pageant dramatically brought to life the bitter struggles of workers in the nineteenth century, who with tremendous

heroism, determination and self-sacrifice, won the right to have a union, to vote, to have a decent wage and constructed a political party of their own. In the course of this struggle the workers learned that their demands could only be secured by building a Labour Party and holding the reins of power.

THREATENED

Today, when all the gains of the past are threatened by the Tories as the reformist Labour leaders refuse to challenge the system, the working class must construct a new leadership. This is why the last scene in the Pageant is the historic 1901 strike against the Taff Vale railway in South Wales when workers were taken to court and successfully sued by the employers. It was this event which sparked the beginnings of the British Labour Party. The question posed today to the working class was expressed by one young miner from Jarrow who performed in the Pageant:

"I am determined to see this play through to the end. I think it will make the workers rise up. They are going to say 'What have we been doing all this time?' They will see the play and see what is happening now and what was happening then, and they will organize against it. If it does this it will be good because it will be the start of the revolutionary

party to get rid of the Tories for good. That's what any real worker wants."

The Pageant was prepared out of several months of rehearsal and political struggle in the cities of Jarrow, Manchester, Merthyr Tydil in South Wales, and in London, where the events in the Pageant were originally fought out. Actors and actresses for the Pageant were recruited from the workers, housewives and youth in the areas, most of whom had never been on a stage in their lives.

The Pageant was not performed for the working class but was a political spectacle in which they recreated their own history and in this way developed the understanding to go forward and build the movement all over the country.

DEFIED

The Jarrow workers showed how the miners defied the government and went on to build their first union after their leader, William Jobling, was hung and put on display as a warning to others. A brass band of miners, many of whom remember the historic 1926 General Strike, came to London to be in the Pageant.

The Manchester contingent acted out the struggle of the Chartists, the first organized movement of workers which fought for the right to universal suffrage, for representation in Parliament and a shorter work day. It depicted the 1819 Peterloo massacre in which men and women were shot down for rallying for these rights. The first socialist leaders and organizations in Britain were born out of the setbacks and lessons of the Chartists.

The theme of the London group was the founding of the First International in 1864 and the role Karl Marx played in the British labor movement and the development of its leadership.

The formation of the First International by Marx raised the central question facing the working class—the building of an international revolutionary organization. Today this means building the Fourth International against the betrayals of world Stalinism.

Professional directors, actors, technicians and musicians contributed their talents to the Pageant and helped to make it a success. The bringing together of the four episodes on a specially erected stage at Wembley Pool, the largest indoor auditorium in Britain, was an enormous technical achievement.

ADVANCED

Technically the Pageant was one of the most advanced ever staged. Much of it was a spectacle, but there were detailed scenes which the audience was able to follow through the use of an Eidophor closed circuit television process. Four cameras were set up to transmit immediate television pictures of the scenes onto a huge screen mounted at the head of the arena.

Etchings, films of Lenin and Trotsky, and law and order speeches of Heath were shown in connection with the different scenes. All the props and costumes were prepared by the acting teams themselves.

In the last scene the Eidophor showed a film of Lenin and Trotsky and the storming of the Winter Palace during the Russian Revolution. The four main characters of the Pageant, the miner Jobling, the revolutionary Chartist, Karl Marx and the railway workers' leaders at Taff Vale came forward and spoke of

their struggle and sacrifice.

Roger Smith, a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, came forward to salute these men who struggled in the past. He pledged that the movement would struggle on until the working class had the power.

The Pageant culminated with the entire cast leading the audience in singing the Internationale, and a collection which raised over 1000 pounds (\$2500) to build the movement.

ENORMOUS

The effect of the Pageant was summed up by one young worker who said: "Seeing the enormous struggles the workers had in the past in order to survive drove it home about what we are facing today. Knowing how previous generations of workers stood up to terrible military and police repression makes it easier for us to face up to the forces of the state we have against us in the current situation."

Today, Heath's Industrial Relations Act and wage law which makes it a crime to fight and strike for decent wages, the soaring inflation and unemployment, the Housing Act that has doubled rents, have all legislated the workers rights out of existence.

The hospital workers and gasmen, who are presently on strike for wage increases, the engineering workers who were fined 50,000 pounds (\$150,000) last year by Heath's courts are confronted with the historic responsibility to defend these rights, by fighting for socialist policies and for the removal of the traitors in the labor movement who refuse to fight.

Only the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists of Britain are fighting to prepare workers for revolutionary leadership today because they base all their activities on the deepening and inevitable crisis in the capitalist system which forces the capitalists of all countries to take the road of war, dictatorship and fascism.

In the United States, the rights and standard of living that workers take for granted today, were won in bloody struggles in which many died in fighting for union organization, decent wages and working conditions. The trade union leaders in this country always prevented the working class from building its own party as their brothers did in Britain.

NECESSITY

This party is more of necessity today than ever, at a time when Nixon is assembling every legal repressive instrument of the state to destroy these rights and to consolidate a one man rule. Every struggle of American workers to defend their wages and jobs will come to a deadend unless political power is fought for.

In fighting for a labor party in the US, only a leadership that challenges the right of the capitalists to run society for profit, can resolve the crisis.

LESSON

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, was speaking to all workers when he said at the Pageant "The struggle for democratic rights today is a revolutionary task" and concluded:

"That is the lesson of history. That is the lesson of working class struggle in every country of the world. This lesson must be heeded here at this great meeting today."



Left, the start of the first miners union meeting in the Northeast. Top, Gerry Healy addresses the rally. Troops confront strikers, below, in the Chartist episode. Below that, Ammon Beasley, general manager of the Taff Vale Railway Company on the Eidophor screen.



Midwest News



Pickets in St. Louis School District 12

Chicago Transit Strike Unity Sabotaged By Union Leaders

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—By a narrow margin of less than 1000 votes, Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 voted not to strike on March 17 as scheduled.

All 19 unions that operate the Chicago Transit Authority including the International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Laborers and Clerks Unions, took strike votes in February and were set to strike at 11:59 p.m. on Saturday.

The determination of the workers to fight the vicious plans of the almost bankrupt CTA was demonstrated in the vote. Two thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight voted for striking and 3972 against.

"I can't understand why we're voting for fourteen and one-half cents," said Odell, an ATU member. "That's something that's already ours. They know no one's going to strike over fourteen and one-half cents—it's peanuts!"

The real issues that forced ATU members to follow other CTA unions in February and vote to strike have been consistently avoided by the union leadership. ATU members have been operating on an extension of the old contract since November 30.

From the beginning, McFadden and Beatty dropped the contract demands and dealt only with money cut by the Pay Board since last June. The recommendation by the presidents of 241 and 308 was a result of the collaboration with the CTA to present the fourteen and one-half cents as a victory.

By covering up the needs of the men and avoiding the strike, the ATU leadership has sabotaged the unity posed by the common strike date. This was the first unified movement ever.

What is faced by all CTA workers was revealed in the very bill passed on Thursday in the Illinois House, granting a 12.6 million dollar emergency subsidy for mass transit. A vicious drive against the trade unions is being masked by making the aid contingent on no service cutbacks or fare increases until June 30.

But the legislature is proposing that there be a stipulation that none of the subsidy be used for wage gains negotiated after the bill is signed into law.

A board member of the CTA

blatantly stated that the only way the CTA can stay in operation is by reducing the workers' wages. He told a meeting of angry commuters that whole runs would have to be cut because "the only way we can save money is to cut men."

This drive has already begun. An ATU member reported that 40 electricians were laid off in January when electric buses were replaced by fuel-run buses. Rapid Transit station clerks have charged that there have been huge layoffs under provisions in the old contract which allows for layoffs because of automation.

"They say they have to lay men off," Odell told the Bulletin.

"But they don't have enough men now. Every Saturday they call me to come in and work overtime. They are trying to keep a shortage of men."

There must be an immediate campaign in the other unions which work for the CTA to take the lead and strike immediately, bringing out the drivers with them and fighting for the contract demands. This campaign means returning to the Chicago Federation of Labor, which voted support to the CTA unions at their meeting last week, and demanding they call a general strike in support of the demands of the 19 unions, and a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Court Action Begins In Beverage Strike

BY A LOCAL 695 MEMBER

MADISON—Grand jury prosecution is now being threatened against Teamsters Local 695 in the three and one-half month old strike of General Beverage liquor drivers. Liquor store owners and the Madison Police Department are beginning procedures here to implement the legal action.

The General Beverage drivers went on strike November 30, as a result of the breakdown of contract negotiations. The company was offering an insulting two cent increase over the rates of \$2.65 to \$2.80 an hour. Drivers would not accept these crumbs and were subsequently locked out.

STALEMATE

A stalemate still exists over the reinstatement of five of the drivers, who were fired because of their political activity. The company refuses to settle. The union continues its demands that these five drivers be rehired.

The Teamsters are already facing various injunctions against striking. The courts are attempting to eliminate the effectiveness of strike action.

Donald Eaton, secretary treasurer, and James Marketti, business representative, are forcing a federal injunction by the National Labor Relations Board stemming from various violent

incidents which have occurred during the course of the strike. Stink-bombings of liquor stores have taken place and beatings have occurred during picket conflicts.

The Madison press is creating the atmosphere for a railroading of the union, and is now openly calling the strikers "law-breakers." The press is attempting to connect the violence to the union to whip up anti-union hostility within sections of the middle class.

The use of grand juries against the unions now makes every worker fighting for his rights subject to political prosecution.

Eaton, Marketti, and the 15 pickets currently under charges by the NLRB must be defended. Despite the refusal of the local leadership to mobilize all members in defense of General Beverage drivers, the government must not be allowed to fine, jail, and break the trade union movement.

Chicago IBT Opens Drive For Pay Hike

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—Local 705 of the Teamsters and the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union are jointly demanding 24 cents an hour in wages plus 5 cents an hour additional vacation pay effective immediately for a "catch up" pay hike. In exchange for this, they will extend the current contract, due to expire March 31, for 90 days.

It was the 13 week wildcat by Chicago truckers in 1970 that busted up Fitzsimmons' \$1.10 settlement and won a \$1.65 hike for drivers nationwide. However, the shorter Chicago contract has meant a total of 12 cents cost of living raise, compared to 16 cents nationally. The increases demanded now are supposed to make up the difference, as well as align the contracts.

What is really underlying this offer is a refusal to use the early expiration date as the launching of a drive for big gains this year, a refusal by the Chicago leadership to take the lead in fighting for what drivers and warehouse dockmen need.

This was clearly expressed by Truck Drivers Executive Director Edward Fenner last week when he met with Louis F. Peick, Local 705 secretary-treasurer, and representatives of Chicago area cartage associations. "There's massive confusion in Washington over controls," he said.

"We don't even know about the 5.5 percent guideline, and we don't know what will happen to the Economic Stabilization Act. Congress may throw it out. So the better part of wisdom is to wait...and continue our negotiations until the guidelines are clearly defined."

There is no confusion in Washington—the Teamsters leadership clearly understands that any contract which meets the guidelines will do nothing to meet the needs of the truckers and their families.

The ranks must demand that Peick and Fenner carry through their threat of strike action if the interim raise is not granted. Even more, strike action must now be prepared for around the demands for the July contract developed at the recent founding conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

This includes:

- A dollar an hour first year raise with full escalator and wage reopener in 1974.

- A 30 hours work at 40 hours pay and the merger of the Teamsters with the International Longshoremen's Association and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for joint action in defense of jobs.

- The caucus must lead a deliberate fight against Nixon's policies, demanding that Fitzsimmons get off the Cost of Living Council and that a Congress of Labor be called to prepare general strike action and construct a labor party.

Ranks Prepare GE Wage Fight

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

CHICAGO, March 10—Members of over 12 international unions must prepare for the sharpest fight against General Electric and Westinghouse as their contracts expire at mid-year. For the third time, the vast majority of these unions are joined in a Coordinated Bargaining Committee to achieve substantial wage and benefit gains.

At one of 17 rallies called by the CBC nationally for March 10, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Indiana delegates from GE and Westinghouse plants heard the perspectives of several CBC leaders.

Chaired by Sheet Metal Workers Local 571 Business Representative James Crouch, the delegates in large measure got evasive answers to their questions about the 5.5 percent guidelines. Promises were made by the meeting's leadership of "bending" and "budging" the guidelines.

Ernest DeMaio, District 11 president of the United Electrical Workers, a leading Stalinist supporter, jumped into the discussion to declare from the platform that "we will stretch it (the 5.5 percent guidelines) to its outer limits." At DeMaio's insistence no resolutions were taken in the interests of "unity."

Also speaking were William Wright, District 8 International Union of Electrical Workers president and Paul Stuckenschneider, research director of the Sheet Metal Workers. Wright had the nerve to blame the IUE ranks at GE, and not the union leadership, for being unwilling to stay out any longer during the 102 day GE strike in 1969-1970.

DANGER

Though the great majority of those present were on the steward and officer level, the anger which the GE and Westinghouse workers feel over wages and conditions was brought out.

The great danger to the 200,000 GE and Westinghouse workers is the refusal of the union leadership to prepare a fight on the contract. A leadership must be built now throughout the CBC unions that will fight for a 25 percent wage increase the first year and for national strike action.

1,000 St. Paul Residents Rally Against Cuts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Over 1000 youth, trade unionists, housewives and other city residents attended a rally here on March 10 to fight Nixon's Phase Three budget, which slashes nearly \$60 million from social service programs in St. Paul alone.

The part-time summer jobs youth could get through Neighborhood Youth Corps will be eliminated. Community centers will be forced to close down when funds to

Cops Provoke Racial Fight At Stivers High

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—In the midst of a total breakdown of the Dayton school system, fighting broke out Friday afternoon between Black and white students at Stivers High School.

The school administration, police and local press have deliberately fanned racial tensions to divide the students ever since the school, attended by working class youth, was integrated in 1969. Before the fighting began, police in plainclothes had swarmed through the corridors claiming that their presence was required to head off a riot.

They then proceeded to call in regular clothes policemen and to instigate the fighting by billy-clubbing numerous white youth. One student reported that a cop had threatened to shoot him.

"The cops are responsible for the fighting between the Blacks and whites. It's up to the Black students and us because they started to beat our heads and then they said they were in the school to protect the Black students.

"The Black students aren't any different than us, except for their skin. We both have the same problems—the areas we live in are just as bad as their part of the city."

The deliberate attempt to divide the students comes at a time when 550 teachers and teacher-aides are being fired in Dayton, which will make class sizes unbearable. Students described how the administration always sought to prevent Black and white students from discussing the conditions they face.

"You don't learn anything in the schools anyway," said one student. "We're not prepared for any jobs and we don't want to go into the army, but that's all that seems to be ready for us."

The press has begun a vicious smear campaign against the students. One article referred to the students as "flotsam."

The Young Socialists is calling a meeting of Stivers High School students to plan a united fight of teachers and youth against the layoffs, the cuts in education and to get the cops out of the schools.

staff them are wiped out April 30.

Twenty day care centers will be eliminated by a \$1.2 million budget slash. Many working mothers who cannot afford costly private day care will be forced onto welfare.

A planned public housing project for the elderly will not get a penny of the \$20 million budgeted for it. The \$3.7 million slated for low and moderate income houses and apartments will be cut.

Democratic Mayor Lawrence Cohen called today's rally in an attempt to head off residents' rising anger at these cuts. Upon returning from Washington last Thursday from a meeting of mayors with Nixon, he urged residents not to "raise voices" because "Nixon is thinking about the city of St. Paul."

The Young Socialists fought to expose this rotten attempt to cram the budget cuts down the throats of youth. YS members mobilized with banners outside the hall calling on the unions to convene a Congress of Labor to fight all of Nixon's attacks.

PRESSURE

From the platform inside, speaker after speaker told the rally that nothing could be done except to put pressure on Nixon.

Anthony DeZiel, business representative of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly (AFL-CIO), collaborated with this charade. "We know what this is going to mean for us," he admitted. "We're going to lose jobs, we're not going to be able to make house payments." Then he turned around to "assure our Congressmen and Senators that we will support every member of the community."

The audience refused to accept this situation. One woman interrupted Cohen as he introduced another speaker, demanding an open microphone: "The people are here, and we want to speak."

When a second such demand won enthusiastic support, Cohen was forced to open the floor to dozens of angry residents.

Mothers Defend Day Care

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, March 12—Working mothers held a press conference here to call public attention to Nixon's new Health, Education, and Welfare proposals which would virtually eliminate child care centers. The proposals are slated to go into effect on April 1, 1973 if no changes are made before March 19.

Don Checkett, Executive Director of the Child Day Care Association told the *Bulletin*, "Nixon has cut out OEO with a meat cleaver and us with a stiletto—either way it's just as deadly."



Press conference of working mothers in St. Louis denouncing Nixon's budget cuts.

PL Aids Attack On AFSCME Caucus

BY AN 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1164 is now negotiating its first contract for University of Minnesota hospital workers.

The proposed contract calls for \$500 minimum wage (some begin as low as \$344), 75 cent increase across the board, shift differential, and a five day work week. But after 11 long months of negotiations, the hospital administration has made it clear that it absolutely will not give the local these modest gains, gains that most organized workers won decades ago.

Faced with the intransigence of the administration at the bargaining table, the Council 6 (Minnesota State Employees Union) staff and the local leadership have offered no perspective but to continue the negotiations. This is absolutely in line with their refusal to fight Governor Anderson's hiring freeze, the LEAP Program (time-study on all state employees), a threatened closing of the largest state mental hospital that employes over 900 workers, and an announced five percent reduction in the state work force overall.

The bureaucracy could not maintain this position without the aid of others in the labor movement who seek to prevent the necessary fight now to defend and extend workers' rights and living conditions against Nixon—the Stalinists.

This is the role played by Progressive Labor Party, acting as agents of the bureaucracy by desperately attacking the

AFSCME 1164 Caucus for a Decent Contract. The CDC is campaigning for strike action.

Last week, the car of members of the Caucus for a Decent Contract was spray-painted. This was followed by threats of physical violence against members of the CDC. These Stalinist acts of hooliganism and violence are an expression both of PL-SDS' total opposition and fear of the mobilization of the working class in its defense, and also of their utter contempt for the workers' ability and right to hear, discuss and decide the critical questions facing them.

The relationship of the bureaucracy and the Stalinist apologists for the bureaucracy was made crystal clear at the March membership meeting of 1164. At this meeting, the CDC proposed and fought for a detailed program for the mobilization of the hospital workers for strike action to win the contract. This program includes plans to inform members of the state of the negotiations and to prepare for a strike vote in April with the hospital out on the anniversary date of negotiations in May.

This program—the only one that can win the contract—was fought against by PLP-SDS, who voted the motion down by a slim margin. In the course of this fight, they were forced to openly defend the local president, Charles Williams, who has never

once advanced a program for the winning of the contract, and who refuses to even inform the ranks of the dire state of negotiations.

In opposition to a strike, PL-SDS then cavalierly and on the spot proposed a one day sickout, which passed. This is a most dangerous action for the union. At this point, it is clear that the administration is not going to budge short of a real show of strength in strike action by the union.

A one day sick-out not only creates the illusion that pressure can be put on the administration with limited work action, but also opens up the most militant members of the union to victimization at a time when the administration would like nothing better than to destroy the union. The real meaning of PL-SDS' proposal was that they had no intention of ever fighting to win the contract. As one 1164 member stated, "They are real sell-out people."

The CDC issued a leaflet pointing out these dangers and calling for a special meeting to reverse the decision. It also clearly exposed PL-SDS as standing in the way of the necessary strike action.

It was this that provoked the attacks by PL. Finding that attempts at intimidation would not stop the movement toward a strike, they then moved to

(Continued On Page 18)



Car of Committee for a Decent Contract members after spray painting by Progressive Labor Party.

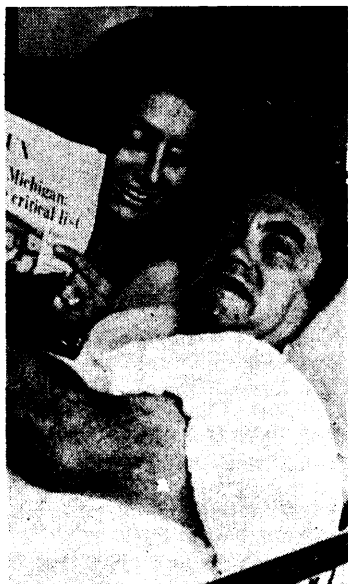
EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Organic Inflation

The "Victory Gardens" that the US government urged during World War One under the guise of patriotism to get the working class to accept rationing and starvation are beginning to grow again.

The Nixons, of course, are very much in favor of these as one more "helpful" tip to fight inflation—in addition to eating cheese and buying less. The latest to join the crusade is Cornelia Wallace, the wife of George Wallace. Mrs. Wallace already has started her garden at the Governor's mansion in Montgomery planting tomatoes, lettuce, cabbage, onions, peppers and turnips. She hopes to get the students in 278 schools in the state to set up similar gardens.

Mrs. Wallace's message is disgusting if not very subtle. To save your country (profits) don't fight for higher wages, don't even bother to go to the



grocery store, just plant some vegetables, get a cow and return to the state of your forefathers.

Fast For Nixon

George Wallace's wife was not the only one this week to develop schemes to boost Nixon's Phase Three. The Cost of Living Council whose edict it is that wages will be cut while prices are allowed to soar issued a "White Paper" on Tuesday. James McLane, deputy director of the council, didn't say eat cheese or fish, he just said don't eat.

"You might try," said

McLane, "something that I've tried recently—eat a bit less. I've joined a health club and I've found with exercise you eat a little less."

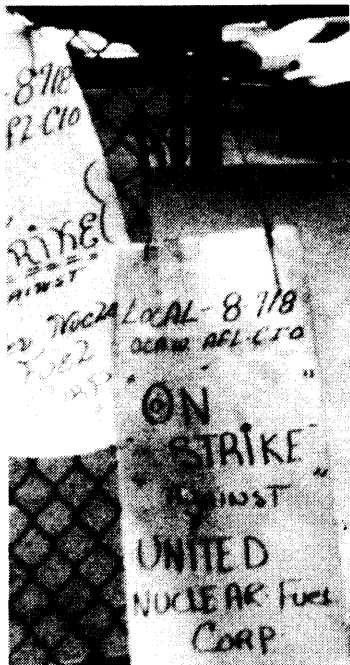
This arrogant statement by McLane, who obviously hasn't tried "exercise" on a production line, was combined with a clear statement by the Council that prices will continue to go up and will be much higher at the end of the year.

Silver Speculators

It appears that the Pentagon is having a problem with discipline within its own house. Pentagon officials were in a fury the other day having discovered that thousands of pieces of silverware are missing from the cafeteria. Some estimate it to be around 30,000 knives

and 29,000 spoons. They are now using this as an excuse to raise the prices in the employees cafeteria.

The hoarders could very well be the big brass, or even Nixon, who is selling government metal stockpiles in order to stem skyrocketing prices.



Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 871-8 from St. Louis on strike against United Nuclear Fuel Corp.

MAY DAY...

(Continued From Page 3)

internationalist traditions that the fourth and central theme of the May Day rally will be presented. This theme will focus on the leap that must now be made by the working class: a leap made necessary by the international crisis of capitalism.

If the working class is to survive and capitalism be defeated, there must be a break from the old forms of militant trade unionism and a turn to a political struggle against this government. This political struggle can only be carried out through the formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies. This is the fight that the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists will carry forward at this rally.

Preparations for the building of May Day are underway. A New York city-wide TUALP meeting will be held, as well as Young Socialists meetings and neighborhood meetings in all the communities to involve workers and youth in the actual preparations for the rally.

At the rally, trade unionists and youth will speak and entertainment will be presented. We urge all workers and youth to participate in the area-wide meetings and to contribute to the rally itself.

ECONOMY..

(Continued From Page 3)

Although the dollar strengthened slightly when trading opened on the world's money markets Monday after a two week suspension, trading volume was very light, with the big holders of dollars staying away.

The real instability of the monetary system was revealed in yesterday's trading, when the dollar fell against the Swiss and French francs and dropped sharply against the Japanese yen despite the massive purchase of dollars by the Japanese government.

As the authoritative Journal of Commerce was forced to comment in today's issue, "within the space of two months, the euphoria has been shattered and has been replaced by uncertainty, confusion over what is happening and may happen, doubts the Washington has any real solutions, and apprehensions that tomorrow or the next day will bring forth a fresh crisis of some sort."

FARINAS...

(Continued From Page 1)

peasants in Vietnam, whose heroic fight against United States imperialism and its corrupt puppet regimes has inspired a whole new generation of millions of workers and youth throughout the world, have been solved. The "peace" in Vietnam is an imperialist peace, imposed with the aid of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking and supported by their American cohorts, principally the CPUSA.

The fundamental problems facing the Indochinese workers and peasants that gave rise to their struggle and to the imperialist war haven't been solved. Neither have the attacks on the rights, and on the very right to exist really, of the American workers and youth

diminished. On the contrary, they have increased. But just as the workers and peasants continue their fight for their liberation so do the workers and youth in the United States and the other advanced capitalist countries continue their fight for their defense.

It is this fight which must be taken forward to the complete elimination of the root of all wars, exploitation, racism and oppression: the capitalist system. The fact that I am being released shows that this fight not only can but must be taken up: that only a principled, class fight can bring victory. It is this fight that I pledge myself to with renewed strength and I urge all those that have participated in my defense to take this fight up also."

AFSCME...

(Continued From Page 17)

eliminate two leading members of the CDC, Perry and Liz Tilleraas. At a union Executive Board meeting, a motion was passed stating that they "be asked to resign or legal charges for violation of the International Constitution would be filed."

The supposed base for these legal charges is that the CDC revealed the date for the sick-out, and therefore scabbed on the union's action. This is pure rubbish, an insult to the workers, and an indication of how little PL-SDS planned to even build the

sick-out. Every worker understands that no mass work action can be built secretly, and it was openly discussed at the union meeting by PL-SDS's themselves that the plans should be campaigned for in the union newsletter which is distributed openly at the hospital.

The CDC is going on the offensive against these traitors in the union movement. Every slander and lie will be answered. The mobilization of the hospital workers in defense of their union and its contract fight is well underway.

Now Open! Labor Bookstores

Baltimore—2202 Maryland Ave. Tues.-Fri., 4 pm-9 pm

Sat.-10 am-8 pm (301) 338-0777

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Mon., Wed., Fri., 6-9 pm, Sat., 10 am-6 pm

Minneapolis-808 E. Franklin. Weekdays-6:30 pm-10 pm

Tues. and Sat.-10:30 pm-5:30 pm

New York-135 W. 14 Street, 6th floor

Mon.-Fri.- 9 am-8 pm, Sat.- 10:30 am-6 pm



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Magee Says Court Denied His Rights

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—Ruchell Magee completed his testimony last week in his trial for murder and kidnapping stemming from the August 7, 1970 shootout at the Marin County Courthouse.

Magee denied shooting Judge Haley and defended himself on the grounds that the courts' systematic denial of his constitutional rights left him no alternative but to break out of prison.

When the opportunity presented itself on August 7, 1970, he took it. His only intention was to gain his freedom.

As Marxists we must bring the lessons of Magee's case before the entire working class, especially its dangers, as Nixon consciously prepares to drive the working class as a whole to conditions of slavery.

INDIVIDUAL

Magee's testimony was absolutely heroic. Nevertheless, it revealed in the clearest way his isolation from the movement and power of organized labor. He confronts the bourgeois state seeing himself as a victimized individual, rather than the representative of the working class.

The fact that Magee has never broken from nationalism effectively walls him off from the mass support that could be generated by a class defense, as millions of American workers enter into a life and death struggle with the same enemy.

The responsibility for Magee's isolation must be placed squarely where it belongs, on the shoulders of the Stalinist Communist Party.

The Communist Party began its "defense" of Magee by severing his case from that of Angela Davis.

Their defense of Davis was a liberal plea for justice from the bourgeois courts on the grounds of her innocence.

Nationalism was used to divert the masses of youth who came forward to take up her defense into protest and reformism.

In every way possible the

UFW . . .

(Continued From Page 20) farmworkers' organizing drive in the Arizona lettuce fields.

The law makes picketing and strikes at harvest time illegal, and provides penalties of one year in jail and a \$5000 fine for carrying a sign reading "Boycott lettuce" outside a supermarket.

POLITICS

Precisely at the point where politics has become a life or death question, the trade union bureaucracy is betraying the fight. Aycock has admitted to the press that he feels the recall will fail.

The labor bureaucrats would rather surrender to Williams than break with the Democrats. This criminal betrayal must be fought through the construction of a new leadership to call a Congress of Labor and build a labor party.

Stalinists sought consciously to use their campaign for Davis to disarm the working class in the face of Nixon's preparation for dictatorship and the destruction of all democratic rights.

Having stabbed Magee in the back, the Stalinists have never taken a clear stand in his defense.

In the latest issue of the *People's World*, the Communist Party showers praise on Ramsey Clark, the prosecutor of the Chicago Seven, who has joined Magee's court-appointed lawyer in order to cover up the class issues in Magee's case.

Magee, in order to defend himself and the rest of the working class against the government, must confront the Stalinists politically.

The *Bulletin* unreservedly stands with Magee and demands his release, and will continue the fight to bring forth massive support from the working class and defeat Nixon through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

West Coast News



Inglewood cemetery workers picket against wages of \$2.50 per hour.

Cemetery Workers Strike Against Poverty Wages

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The first cemetery workers ever to walk a picket line in Southern California now enter their fourth

month of strike action.

One of 45 strikers from the Social Employees Union said: "We're not only fighting this cemetery, but the whole Cemetery Association. We're the only place that is unioniz-

ed and so the Association is throwing its full weight against us. They fear that we will show the way for other workers to unionize."

FUTURE

Hank Belling, 71 years old, said he had worked for the Inglewood Park Cemetery for 27 years. Although he plans to retire when the strike is over, he said: "I'm here every day on this picket line, because I'd like to see the boys get a raise. There won't be any future for the younger workers if they break this union."

"When I started I got 75 or 80 cents an hour. Then you could live on that, but today you can't live on \$2.25 or \$2.50 an hour. Not with the meat prices you can't. One thing is certain, the cemetery owners will never pay more unless we fight for it."

CHRISTIANITY

The cemetery, one of the largest, is in the process of being purchased by the First Congregational Church. "They're keeping us at below poverty wages, all in the name of Christianity," said a picket.

The strike has caused serious hardship for the workers and their families, and some have been forced to find other jobs. In spite of the difficulties, many strikers told the *Bulletin* that they could not live with the 5.5 percent wage limit, which especially hits the lowest paid workers.

The strikers have charged the cemetery owners with unfair labor practices for not granting wage increases and vacations.

ISOLATED

Many strikers feel that their biggest problem and the reason for such a long strike is their isolation; and that if other cemetery workers would strike, they would be greatly strengthened.

One striker said bitterly: "If things keep up like this, we won't even be able to afford to be buried."



Striking workers at San Jose Hospital rally to demand union recognition. Teamster drivers have refused to supply the hospital warehouse as the strike enters its second week.

Mass Rally To Back Oregon Teachers

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND—The first teacher strike ever in Oregon began when 210 teachers in the Portland suburb of Hillsboro walked out last week. Strike action was called in response to an attempt by the school board to impose a two year contract.

Officials of the Hillsboro Education Association have accepted the first year contract offer, but oppose extending the contract a second year with only a cost of living increase to be paid.

One striking teacher said "if we would accept the second year we would not even be staying even. That's not enough money."

The school district attempted to recruit substitutes from sur-

rounding districts, including Portland, but was unable to open the schools.

Teachers unanimously defied reactionary state laws that make public employee strikes illegal. School board chairman Dr. Gordon Lind has threatened legal reprisals against the HEA and a mass firing of teachers if the strike continues three days.

A teacher told the *Bulletin*: "That kind of thing went out in the 1930s. We've been here longer than they have. We have our roots here so we plan to stay and fight them."

POWER

Another teacher said: "This is a non-tenure district. The whole group here could have been fired today. There is only one thing that keeps us from being

fired—power. Try to fire us, if we stick together."

Teachers at the strike meeting called for support from state and national teacher organizations. A state-wide teacher rally was called for March 25. Teamsters Joint Council 37 has sanctioned the strike and union truck drivers will not make deliveries to the schools.

The Hillsboro teachers strike is a first step to defend teaching conditions in public schools state-wide. The teachers must reject the HEA leadership's acceptance of the first year contract offer. There must be an immediate meeting to adopt new bargaining demands.

The Portland teacher organizations must prepare to defend the Hillsboro teachers with strike action.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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Phone: 824-4096

Editorial

SWP Props Up Panthers Campaign

The deepening crisis of capitalism is exposing every tendency which refused to base itself on a fight for the political independence of the working class.

At a point in which every basic right of the working class is threatened, the only defense is the political fight to mobilize the labor movement and the youth in a fight for power through the construction of a labor party.

Today the election campaign in Oakland in which Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale is running for mayor reveals the bankruptcy of nationalism.

Seale and the Panthers have come the full circle from the days of militant anti-capitalist rhetoric to complete acceptance and defense of capitalism.

They have registered thousands into the Democratic Party and are today participating in the elections by doing everything in their power to underplay any identification with the Panther Party and to campaign openly as Democrats.

This is a last ditch stand by the Panthers, who are in collapse across the country, to establish themselves as a respectable pressure group in Oakland with the support of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Youth who are fed up with the capitalist parties are being led right back into the Democratic Party through this campaign.

A vote for the Panther Party is a vote for capitalism and a vote to prop up the crisis-ridden Democrats.

It is precisely at this point that the Socialist Workers Party has stepped forward to offer support to the Seale campaign, plastering their own campaign literature with appeals for votes for Seale.

This is the real logic of the social democratic reform election campaigns opened up by the SWP. Abandoning Trotskyism, they now act under the cover of a few Marxist phrases to open the way to support for the Democratic Party itself.

The support of the SWP for the Black Panthers is the result of their refusal to fight Pabloism. Abandoning the fight for Marxist theory and seeking substitutes for the working class in petty bourgeois movements, they are today driven to defend the capitalist system itself.

The revolutionary party will be built in the fight to mobilize the working class politically through the construction of a labor party.

This requires a ruthless fight to expose those like the SWP who seek to head off this fight by revising Marxism.

Farmworkers Betrayed In Arizona Election

BY MARTY MORAN

PHOENIX, Ariz.—A campaign by the United Farmworkers Union to recall Arizona Governor John Williams has gathered enough signatures on petitions to force a new election. Spokesmen for the recall campaign announced here last week that more than 150,000 signatures would be filed on March 26.

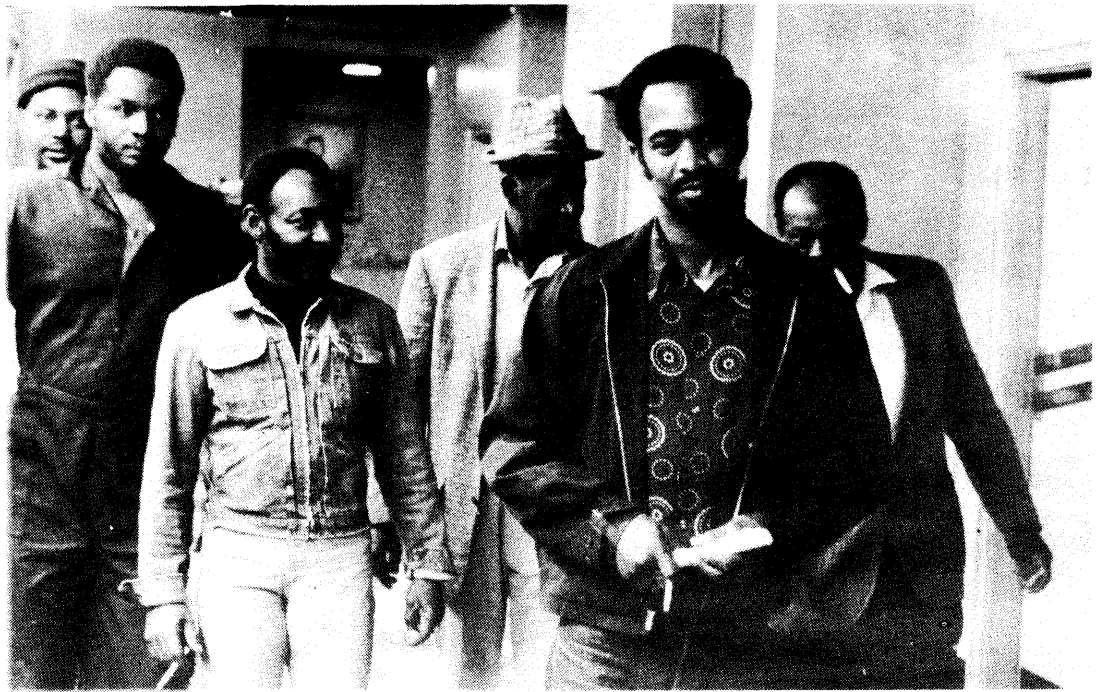
The recall campaign demonstrates the kind of strength that would come forward with the construction of a labor party. Thousands of signatures were gathered at enthusiastic meetings of AFL-CIO locals throughout the state, on Indian reservations, and in the Mexican-American barrios.

But this strength is being betrayed by the leaders of the labor movement. Rather than carry forward the recall through the independent mobilization of the working class behind a labor

candidate, the trade union bureaucracy is crawling to the Democratic Party politicians.

With the full approval of UFW leader Cesar Chavez, the candidate to face Williams in the recall election will be Jerry Pollock, veteran Democrat, who proclaims himself the "candidate of the middle class."

This is a complete denial of the class character of the recall campaign. The UFW and the state AFL-CIO were forced to act independently of the Democratic Party when Williams signed into law a bill to smash the
(Continued On Page 19)



San Francisco City Hospital workers leaving the union meeting which voted unanimously for strike action

Hospital Strike Vote Opens Pay Fight

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Hospital and Institutional Workers Local 250 voted unanimously to ask for strike sanction from the Labor Council, to be used if the city government does not budge from its offer of a 2.5 percent wage increase. The union is demanding a straight \$50 per month across the board increase.

Service Employees International Union Locals 535, 400 and 66-A, which represent the rest of city workers, are also holding meetings to reaffirm the \$50 demand and ask for strike sanction.

The determination of city workers to win a living wage is creating the conditions for an all out clash between the Alioto administration and the powerful San Francisco labor movement.

Already 30 x-ray technicians at General Hospital have led the way by striking and calling in sick all last week. They are demanding parity with technicians in private hospitals who make up to \$250 a month more.

One hospital worker told the Bulletin outside the union meeting, "Alioto is hitting labor one by one, little by little. Nixon and Alioto don't give a damn about the little man. I say that everybody must back everyone else. Bring 20,000 miscellaneous city workers to walk out, then we'll get everything we need. Bring out Teamsters, longshoremen, everybody, and we'll stop Nixon, Alioto, and all the rest, and win." Another said, "The situation is bad enough that people want to strike. Three and a half percent is as bad an offer as we've ever got."

INSULT

City workers have been saddled with increases ranging from 2.5 to four percent in each of the

last four years. Most workers agreed that the cost of living made it impossible to accept ment now. "Three and a half percent is an insult," said one.

The leadership of Local 250 tried to divert the overwhelming strike sentiment of the membership into pressure on Alioto and the Board of Supervisors. They proposed that strike sanction be asked for in order to "threaten" the city, not to carry it out. Alioto is being given a two week breathing space to try to work out some kind of compromise.

Already some union leaders have hinted that five percent would be acceptable. But one General Hospital worker declared at the meeting, "We're together, you can see that now. If we go out there's no sense in going out for an additional 1.5 percent. We have to go out for 7 percent or \$50 straight across the board. The Board of Supervisors and Alioto are playing politics with us."

Local 250 leaders made a vicious attack on the striking x-ray technicians, saying the technicians were disrupting the unity of the labor movement. This shows their panic in the face of the breakup of their cosy relationship with Alioto and the Democratic Party machine.

Local 250 ranks must demand immediate strike action against city hospitals to bring out every city worker around a program of \$50 across the board, full cost-of-living escalator, no layoffs, and a complete break with Alioto.

City workers must fight for general strike support from the rest of labor against any attempt by the government to break the strike.

Young Socialists Meetings:

Film showing:

British
Right-to-
Work March

Speaker: Abby Rodriguez

Editor of Young Socialist

Stop the budget cuts!

- No slashes in education, no layoffs or cuts in loan and work—study programs!
- Defend the right to an education!

Fight unemployment!

- No cuts in job programs!
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Editorial

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It is precisely at this point that the Socialist Workers Party has stepped forward to offer support to the Seale campaign, plastering their own campaign literature with appeals for votes for Seale.

This is the real logic of the social democratic reform election campaigns opened up by the SWP. Abandoning Trotskyism, they now act under the cover of a few Marxist phrases to open the way to support for the Democratic Party itself.

The support of the SWP for the Black Panthers is the result of their refusal to fight Pabloism. Abandoning the fight for Marxist theory and seeking substitutes for the working class in petty bourgeois movements, they are today driven to defend the capitalist system itself.

The revolutionary party will be built in the fight to mobilize the working class politically through the construction of a labor party.

This requires a ruthless fight to expose those like the SWP who seek to head off this fight by revising Marxism.

Farmworkers Betrayed In Arizona Election

BY MARTY MORAN

PHOENIX, Ariz.—A campaign by the United Farmworkers Union to recall Arizona Governor John Williams has gathered enough signatures on petitions to force a new election. Spokesmen for the recall campaign announced here last week that more than 150,000 signatures would be filed on March 26.

The recall campaign demonstrates the kind of strength that would come forward with the construction of a labor party. Thousands of signatures were gathered at enthusiastic meetings of AFL-CIO locals throughout the state, on Indian reservations, and in the Mexican-American barrios.

But this strength is being betrayed by the leaders of the labor movement. Rather than carry forward the recall through the independent mobilization of the working class behind a labor

candidate, the trade union bureaucracy is crawling to the Democratic Party politicians.

With the full approval of UFW leader Cesar Chavez, the candidate to face Williams in the recall election will be Jerry Pollock, veteran Democrat, who proclaims himself the "candidate of the middle class."

This is a complete denial of the class character of the recall campaign. The UFW and the state AFL-CIO were forced to act independently of the Democratic Party when Williams signed into law a bill to smash the
(Continued On Page 19)



San Francisco City Hospital workers leaving the union meeting which voted unanimously for strike action

Hospital Strike Vote Opens Pay Fight

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Hospital and Institutional Workers Local 250 voted unanimously to ask for strike sanction from the Labor Council, to be used if the city government does not budge from its offer of a 2.5 percent wage increase. The union is demanding a straight \$50 per month across the board increase.

Service Employees International Union Locals 535, 400 and 66-A, which represent the rest of city workers, are also holding meetings to reaffirm the \$50 demand and ask for strike sanction.

The determination of city workers to win a living wage is creating the conditions for an all out clash between the Alioto administration and the powerful San Francisco labor movement.

Already 30 x-ray technicians at General Hospital have led the way by striking and calling in sick all last week. They are demanding parity with technicians in private hospitals who make up to \$250 a month more.

One hospital worker told the Bulletin outside the union meeting, "Alioto is hitting labor one by one, little by little. Nixon and Alioto don't give a damn about the little man. I say that everybody must back everyone else. Bring 20,000 miscellaneous city workers to walk out, then we'll get everything we need. Bring out Teamsters, longshoremen, everybody, and we'll stop Nixon, Alioto, and all the rest, and win." Another said, "The situation is bad enough that people want to strike. Three and a half percent is as bad an offer as we've ever got."

INSULT

City workers have been saddled with increases ranging from 2.5 to four percent in each of the

last four years. Most workers agreed that the cost of living made it impossible to accept ment now. "Three and a half percent is an insult," said one.

The leadership of Local 250 tried to divert the overwhelming strike sentiment of the membership into pressure on Alioto and the Board of Supervisors. They proposed that strike sanction be asked for in order to "threaten" the city, not to carry it out. Alioto is being given a two week breathing space to try to work out some kind of compromise.

Already some union leaders have hinted that five percent would be acceptable. But one General Hospital worker declared at the meeting, "We're together, you can see that now. If we go out there's no sense in going out for an additional 1.5 percent. We have to go out for 7 percent or \$50 straight across the board. The Board of Supervisors and Alioto are playing politics with us."

Local 250 leaders made a vicious attack on the striking x-ray technicians, saying the technicians were disrupting the unity of the labor movement. This shows their panic in the face of the breakup of their cosy relationship with Alioto and the Democratic Party machine.

Local 250 ranks must demand immediate strike action against city hospitals to bring out every city worker around a program of \$50 across the board, full cost-of-living escalator, no layoffs, and a complete break with Alioto.

City workers must fight for general strike support from the rest of labor against any attempt by the government to break the strike.

Young Socialists Meetings:

Film showing:
British Right-to-Work March

Speaker: Abby Rodriguez
Editor of Young Socialist

Stop the budget cuts!
• No slashes in education, no layoffs or cuts in loan and work-study programs!
• Defend the right to an education!

Fight unemployment!
• No cuts in job programs!
• Jobs for all! 30 hrs. work for 40 hrs. pay!

Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party!

SAN FRANCISCO
Saturday, March 31 2 PM
Women's Clubhouse (across from Tresidder Union)
Stanford U. \$1 includes dance
824-4096

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, March 24 noon - midnight
Assembly Hall
Embassy Auditorium
839 S. Grand Ave. (near 9th St.)
\$2 includes dance 678-3528