

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

REC'D  
JUL 30 1975  
INSTITUTION

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FOURTEEN 289

APRIL 9, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

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BY HOWARD WEST

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These developments clearly reveal the intentions of the auto bosses as they now prepare for the upcoming contract as well as the gross betrayals of Woodcock's program adopted at the United Auto Workers special convention just one week ago.

Workers on both the day and night shifts averaged less than 21 hours last week. Management shut down the line, claiming "sabotage" and "refusal to work" and sent the men home. After the layoffs, the line speed was reduced from 57 cars per hour to 25, until the men could get used to the new job.

This meant getting used to three or four man operations, a number of workers claimed. While they intended to increase the line speed to 48 cars per hour, there was no way cars could be produced under these conditions.

By the third day, line speed was increased above the usual 25 cars per hour level and the shift lasted no more than two hours. This situation has not changed. Both the day and night shift have been cut, throwing all sections of the plant into the struggle.

Even on the front line, layoffs have been taking place and similar speedups must follow. The Corvette line is working nine to 10 hours per day.

Woodcock's program with its "sense of responsibility" is the very way the livelihood of thousands of auto workers and their families is being destroyed by General Motors. His refusal to lead a struggle against Phase Three, the wage freeze and the massive speedup and layoffs, following the introduction of the General Motors Assembly Division has been the open invitation for GM to carry out savage attacks.

Woodcock's acceptance of the wage freeze flows from his support to the Democratic Party. A political struggle for the construction of a labor party and general strike action against Phase Three becomes critical in this period to fight back.

Only the National Auto Caucus of UAW Local 25 is building a campaign against these attacks. The caucus is holding a public meeting, at 3 p.m. on Sunday, April 8 at 5858A Delmar to prepare for the fight to mobilize Local 25 against Woodcock, the layoffs in the branch and to prepare for the upcoming contract fight.

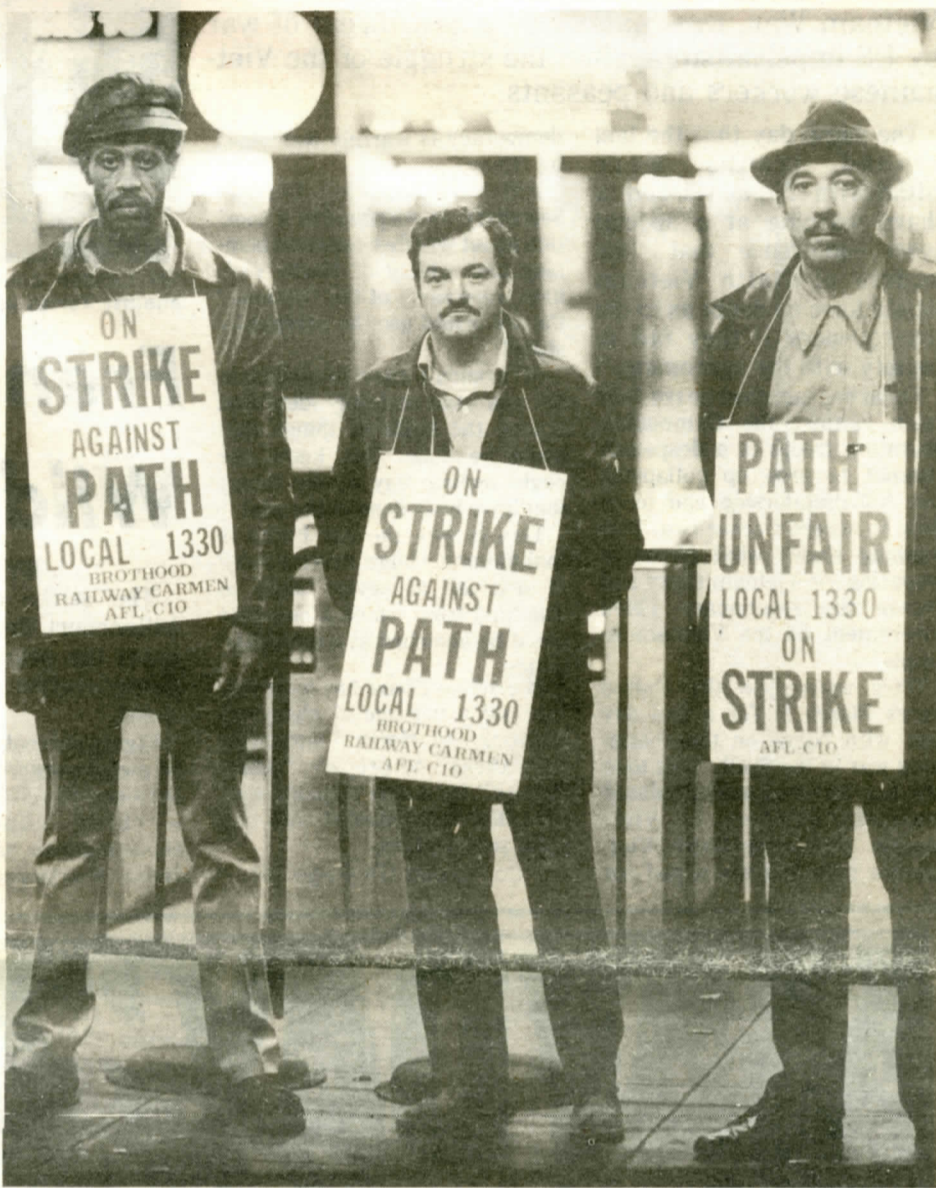
## Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party Statement REJECT ABEL'S NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

Steel workers and every section of the labor movement must repudiate the "no strike" pact approved last week by I.W. Abel which sacrifices every basic union right to the steel bosses and the Nixon government.

According to the terms of the agreement, steel workers are to accept binding arbitration of a contract that is to remain in force until 1977. A national strike before the contract is signed and during the entire life of the contract is prohibited. If individual plants are shut down by workers over local issues of layoffs and speedups, they will receive no support from the United Steel Workers of America.

Furthermore, Abel has accepted a formula that will keep annual wage increases over the next four years in the area of three percent. While he claims that the so-called "impartial" arbitrators can grant more than three percent, Abel knows full well that such a panel—which of course will represent only the steel companies—will be strictly bound in any case to the wage controls established by Nixon.

What this pact means is that Abel is handing back to the steel companies the very rights for which steel workers fought and died in the 1930s. In justifying this treachery, Abel claims



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### Bulletin Expansion Drive

### We're Over The One-Third Mark

Through a big effort by branches across the country \$4,854 has come in this past week. This brings our grand total of \$20,246.50, over the one-third mark, on our \$50,000 Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive.

The following branches deserve thanks from all supporters of the Bulletin for achieving the one-third goal: Fort Greene, Bushwick, Brownsville, Lower East Side, Chelsea, Bronx, New Haven, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Dayton, Madison, Detroit. The Bay Area, with a very large quota, has come close.

Now we must go all-out to raise \$33,000 by the two-thirds mark which is May 1. This means we must receive \$3,250 a week for the next four weeks. We must celebrate May Day as the international holiday of all workers by completing this next stage of the drive on time. This way we can assure publication of the Bulletin this fall as a twice-weekly to lead the American working class in the next stage of its struggle to defend its basic rights and living standards against the attacks of Nixon and the large corporations.

that if the ranks "support" the domestic industry by giving up the right to strike, the steel companies will lay off less men.

But the fact is that the steel companies have not given up their power to lay off thousands as the economic crisis deepens, and they will use this retreat by the bureaucracy to step up their attacks on the rank and file in the plants.

The criminal agreement with the steel companies flows from Abel's refusal to mobilize the ranks in a fight against Phase Three. Because he knows that the defense of the steel workers' rights and living conditions requires a confrontation with the government, Abel is entering into open collaboration with the companies to head off that fight.

During the past two weeks, it has become clear that every section of the labor bureaucracy is plotting with Nixon against the ranks in support of Phase Three.

First, Woodcock refused to discuss wages at the Special Bargaining Convention of the UAW which then adopts a resolution for the 1973 negotiations that takes no position on the guidelines and does not press for a specific wage increase.

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BY MELODY FARROW

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Nixon has launched heavy B-52 raids against the Cambodian liberation troops is a desperate attempt to prop up collapsing Lon Nol dictatorship and force them to accept a cease-fire. This bombing shows what Nixon is preparing for Vietnam to try and impose the reactionary Thieu government on the Vietnamese people.

Thieu arrived in the United States March 31 for a two day visit with Nixon on the continuing war in the South. This man who has tortured and murdered countless numbers of Vietnamese people in South Vietnamese jails and has wiped out

democracy is warmly welcomed by Nixon.

Elliot Richardson, Defense Secretary, in response to a question about whether renewed bombing and mining of North Vietnam were some of the "options" the US would use, he arrogantly stated:

"I wouldn't care to speculate but you have certainly identified among the kinds of things that could be done. You know one could include any of the things that have been done in the past."

This is why the Air Force is maintaining a huge striking force of aircraft at seven bases in Thailand from which a new war could be launched at a moments' notice.

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## French Workers Wildcat Renault

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The strike of 400 workers at the sprawling Boulogne-Billancourt Renault auto plant outside Paris is threatening to upset the peaceful relations sought by the Stalinist General Confederation of Labor (CGT) with the Pompidou government.

Eighty percent of the specialized metal workers who have been out since March 21 in a fight over working conditions and classifications are immigrants from Portugal, Spain and

Algeria. Long exploited as cheap labor by the French employers, these workers are fighting alongside their French brothers for their basic rights.

They are demanding a higher classification which is granted to workers who have the necessary technical skill without a diploma. They are being supported by another section in the plant who were on strike in February over the same issue.

This strike has implications far beyond the demands of the workers. The struggle was launched with the approval of the CGT union which, in accordance with the policy of the Communist Party, only wants partial stoppages and at all costs wants to prevent an unlimited strike that could spark off the massive discontent in the French working class that was held back during the national election campaign.

### TESTIMONY

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If the largest French company is building up a private army of armed police to use against the workers, then it is clear that all of Pompidou's talk about "negotiations" with the unions is a cover for actual preparations for civil war.

The Communist Party wants to turn every struggle into a pressure tactic on the government and evade any mention of a political fight. This is their role in the strike wave of high school students who are fighting a revision of the draft law that will force them to drop their university studies to enter the army at 18. The CP has declared that "the government must retreat" and warns these students not to "sidetrack the action towards ends that are alien to their interests."

With the election over, a big battle is shaping up between the workers and the Stalinists and reformists who more and more function to police the working class for Pompidou.

## General Strike Movement Hits Denmark

BY FRED MULLER

Denmark has been hit by the biggest strike movement since 1936. On March 21, 258,000 workers went on strike or were locked out. The employers and trade union federation began negotiations last October.

The first stage of strike action which has begun includes printers, metalworkers, seamen, hotel workers, and transport workers. The second stage, set to begin April 3, will include hundreds of thousands of other workers, from the air, oil, fuel, distributive and power industries.

The employers are stubbornly resisting union demands for equal pay, cost of living protection and various fringe benefits. However, as the French newspaper *Le Monde* states, "the confrontation has causes far deeper than either side, at least for the moment, cares to admit."

The snowballing world economic crisis is behind the big class movements and complete disruption of the long history of class collaboration in which the Danish labor leaders are so experienced. The workers of Denmark have now joined their brothers in Sweden and Norway in rudely awakening the assorted reformists and revisionists who have viewed the relative class equilibrium in Scandinavia as an indication that the class struggle was a thing of the past.

The highly developed conciliation machinery involving the employers, unions and government has been used to tame the labor movement in Denmark. Now this detailed mechanism is turning into a nightmare for the bosses. It provides for a six month negotiation period every two years to settle all union contracts.

### CONFRONTATION

In the present crisis, this only increases the size of the confrontation and the expectation and period of preparation for the working class. When the strike deadline was delayed for two weeks after March 10, the reaction of most workers was anger and impatience. As the next deadline came around, the union chiefs found themselves in a position where they could no longer evade action.

The crisis is intensified in Denmark by the political situation after the recent entry into the Common Market. Referendum approval for entry into the European Economic Community was secured last year with the aid of big promises. The working class now can see that these were completely empty, as Market entry leads to a deepening of the crisis.

Large sections of the unions had been in opposition to Market entry, while the Social Democratic leaders had backed it. Neither the Social Democratic nor union officials can hold back the rank and file today as they were able to in the past. The conditions are rapidly developing for the construction of a revolutionary leadership.



The May Day Rally will:

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

**RALLY** WORKERS LEAGUE, YOUNG SOCIALISTS,  
TRADE UNION ALLIANCE  
FOR A LABOR PARTY  
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**TUALP MEETING:**

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# Rocketing Rates Panic Wall Street

BY A REPORTER

Fears of sudden commercial bankruptcies, prompted by the sharp rise in interest rates, are responsible for the heavy losses on Wall Street that continued into this week.

The tremendous uncertainty about future developments exposes the fact that the major capitalist countries have been unable to come up with any solution to the monetary crisis which flared up in February and are now faced with the danger of collapse.

Despite Nixon's efforts to control them, interest rates are rising to defend the existing money supply against the mountains of artificial credit used in the inflationary expansion of production—particularly over the last two years.

Because every major corporation is desperately dependent upon the credit arrangements of the Federal Reserve, the Nixon government has attempted to maintain a policy of low interest rates in direct defiance of the fundamental laws of value.

Without a currency backed by gold—the dollar has not been convertible into the precious yellow metal since August 15, 1971—the expansion of credit actually creates its opposite, debt.

The rise in interest rates reflects the movement of the capitalist economy to purge itself of this massive debt.

## BURNS

Arthur Burns, Federal Reserve Chairman, who has been in the forefront of the fight to hold down interest rates, admitted Friday that the continuation of easy credit policies was having a dangerous effect upon the entire economy. His proposal to allow a "floating" system of credit is an acknowledgement by Burns that interest rates are subject—like currency rates—to the laws of value.

Interest rates rose during the past week within sight of the 1969-1970 high which threw the economy into the biggest recession since the 1930s.

However, the new rise poses

not simply recession but all-out collapse because the disintegration of the monetary system is undermining the very basis for production.

With the latest report that the balance of trade in February recorded another enormous deficit—\$467.2 million—the role of the dollar as the world trade currency has been further undermined.

But there exists no currency that can replace the dollar as the guarantor of real value. This was shown in the fruitless talks of the IMF last week which failed to

find a way to end the system of floating currencies before world trade comes to a halt.

A statement by the Committee of Twenty ludicrously proposed a new system for "stable but adjustable par values." Herbert Stein, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers jokingly declared that "This wonderful phrase, 'stable but adjustable,' lends itself to some interpretation."

While paying lip service to exchange rates—which they know is the basis of world trade—the

(Continued On Page 16)



The 375 production workers of UAW Local 375 enter twelfth week of their strike against Robertshaw Controls Co., which as a subcontractor for Westinghouse has been trying to create sweatshop conditions since the last strike in 1963.

## Morrissey: 'Pressure' Nixon On Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, April 2—Seamen began voting today in an election in which the bureaucratic clique around Joseph Curran faces a serious challenge from dissident Jim Morrissey for the leadership of the National Maritime Union (NMU).

Morrissey is following the lead of Arnold Miller and the Miners For Democracy, who upset UMW President Tony Boyle in an election supervised by the Labor Department. Morrissey is using the same dangerous precedent in relying on the bosses' government and courts to oust the corrupt Curran leadership.

Morrissey and Miller shared a

platform Thursday with liberal labor lawyer Joseph Rauh during a press conference in which Miller announced his full support for Morrissey's campaign.

## ISSUES

Morrissey, like Miller, is centering his campaign on the issues of union democracy and the corruption of the leadership, which has looted the union's pension funds.

On the central issue of the enormous loss of deep sea jobs, Morrissey calls for a referendum on the question of establishing the two crew system, but he has put forward absolutely no program to actually fight for jobs, and he embraces the economic nationalism being used by Nixon to foment his trade war with Europe and Japan.

Instead of insisting on the NMU's right to organize the foreign flag ships used by the shippers to decimate NMU jobs, and insisting that they be brought up to NMU standards, Morrissey said:

"We should put pressure on the government to do something about bringing these flags back. It may be done in a manner such as taxing them, taxing the export of American capital and using this money to subsidize our own seamen's pension fund."

Putting pressure on the government is Morrissey's entire perspective for fighting for jobs and the other planks in his program or in fighting Phase Three, and he joined with Miller in opposing strike action and the formation of a labor party to fight Nixon and the shipowners.

"There's something that could be done if the right kind of pressure is put on Washington," he said.

"I would approve of filling up 50 buses with seamen and getting down and having a massive peaceful demonstration, if necessary, jumping up and down on the White House lawn. We could get into the living room of every American worker on the six o'clock news."

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Common cause: Miller and Morrissey

## McCord Reveals Nixon-Mitchell Spy Plot

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The real character of the Watergate break-in as part of Nixon's preparations for dictatorship is being clearly revealed as the principals in the case tell their story to Senate investigators and a special Grand Jury.

The highest levels of the Nixon Administration have been directly implicated in the testimony of former CIA agents James McCord and E. Howard Hunt, two of those convicted for their part in the burglary of Democratic Party headquarters last year.

Even more sensational are the disclosures which show the Watergate burglary on June 17 as only one episode in a far reaching political espionage and sabotage operation masterminded by Richard Nixon.

Caught in the net are such high

ranking Nixon aides as former Attorney General John Mitchell, presidential lawyer John Dean II, White House chief of staff H.R. Haldeman and deputy Republican campaign director Jeb Magruder.

McCord reportedly told a Senate subcommittee that Mitchell was directly in charge of the operation and that Mitchell, Dean, Magruder and convicted Watergate conspirator Gordon Liddy met in February 1972 to lay plans for a whole series of espionage forays against the Democrats and

various individual political figures.

Meanwhile, sources quoted by Newsweek said that some of the Cuban exiles involved in the break-in could testify to "a whole string of dirty tricks" which began in 1970 when Hunt recruited them.

According to Newsweek, the same group that broke into Watergate was involved in bugging the offices of prominent Democratic politicians like Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Senator J. William Fulbright and compiled a dossier on Senator Edward Kennedy.

With these revelations and more to come, it is not surprising Nixon has tried to invoke "executive privilege" to prevent his aides from testifying before Senator Sam Ervin's investigations committee, where testimony might leak out before the American working class.

Nixon's complete arrogance and hostility for Congress prompted Ervin to complain that Nixon is acting like a monarch, saying: "The divine right of rulers perished in America with the Revolution."

What Nixon really has in mind is the establishment of the "divine right" of capital in the form of a ruthless dictatorship designed to wipe away every basic right and economic gain won by workers in over a hundred years of struggle.



Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth

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

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# MAY DAY: The Struggle For The Eight Hour Day

BY NANCY FIELDS

The historic April 28 May Day Rally, called by the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists, will fight to develop an understanding among workers and youth of this history of the American working class, of its internationalist and socialist traditions, of the history of Trotsky's struggle for Marxism against the betrayals of Stalinism and of the need for a turn today to a political struggle against this government.

The rally will go back to the origins of May Day to show that all the gains of the American working class have only been achieved through bitter, violent struggles against the capitalists.

This history will be brought forward to show that in order for workers to achieve their basic rights, they had to turn away from the isolated, individualistic forms of spontaneous protest which had dominated the development of the American working class from its inception. Thus, the fight for a shorter work week, which culminated in May 1886, marked the turn to the development of massive labor organizations. On May Day 1973, the defense of these basic rights won in the past struggle requires the most decisive break yet taken by the working class: that is, a break from the pragmatic methods of militant trade unionism and the turn to a political struggle through the formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

May Day began in 1886 out of the battle of workers to win a shorter work week. This struggle had started in the middle of the century but by the mid-1880s, it became an urgent fight because of the bitter depression that hit the American working class between 1884 and 1887.

The massive eight hour movement reflected the convergence of the political and economic developments within the working class up to that point. Both the development of the eight hour movement and the growth of political organizations in the working class stemmed from the crushing defeat of the railroad strikes of 1877. While these strikes had signalled a new stage of working class militancy and solidarity, the workers were incapable of negotiating any demands from the employers.

Thus, the need for developed workers' organizations was recognized and this prepared the way for the huge leap in trade union membership and political activity which occurred between 1879-1883. The Knights of Labor emerged into the open in 1881, after years of an illegal, underground existence, and in its first year had a membership of 300,000.

The Knights differed sharply from the tiny, narrow, craft-minded unions that had existed up to that point. Their organization of the semi-skilled and unskilled marked the beginning, elementary groping for industrial unionism which would culminate with the explosive formation of the CIO in the 1930s.

On the other hand, the growth of political organizations reflected a turn by advanced workers to an understanding that the conservatism of the Knights and the single-purpose Grand Eight Hour Leagues would not be sufficient to defeat the capitalists. These early political organizations were marked by multiple divisions over the question of program, strategy, tactics and goals.

The major working class political party of the day was the Socialist Labor Party which was dominated by middle class conservatism and distant from the actual struggles of the working class. The SLP held that reform through the ballot box would be sufficient to beat back the vicious assaults of the employers.

Two other organizations grew up in opposition to the reformist conservatism of the SLP. The major one was the International Workingmen's Party led by Albert Parsons and August Spies, which was founded in 1883. It was this party which was to lead the actual struggle for the eight hour day.

The fight for the eight hour day was centered in Chicago. There, the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions, which was dominated by Parsons' Workingmen's Party, passed a resolution in 1884 that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886." The Federation devoted its activity to organizing strike action for that time to ensure that their motion would become a reality.

Initially, the Knights of Labor and the Socialist Labor Party, along with all the other craft unions, supported this resolution. But, as the strength of the movement grew with the approach of May 1, all these labor traitors joined with the capitalist class in a desperate attempt to call off the strike set for May 1.

In spite of their betrayal, the working class was determined to win this battle. On May 1, 40,000 workers walked out in Chicago alone. By May 3, that number had grown to 65,000 and the strike wave was spreading to all the major cities in the country. The railroads were completely shut down and with the walkout of the lumber workers, the entire buildings industry was paralyzed.

At this point, the employers launched an all-out offensive to halt this movement. They centered their first attack on the McCormick Harvester workers. These workers had been locked out since the winter and the plant was run by scabs. On May 3, over 6000 of them gathered in a peaceful rally addressed by August Spies. When the scabs began filing out of the plant, a violent confrontation occurred. The police arrived and carried out the policy they had been following against the McCormick workers since February of wanton shootings. They killed at least four workers and injured many more.

An outraged Spies rushed to his office and issued his now-famous "Revenge" circular. He and Parsons called for a mass meeting to be held on May 4 in Haymarket Square. The rally was entirely peaceful but, as it was about to break up, a bomb thrown by an employee of the capitalist class exploded. Thus, the necessary excuse was provided for the police to open fire hysterically. Several workers were killed and over 200 were injured.

The Haymarket incident provided the ruling class with the ammunition it needed to behead the eight hour movement of its most conscious leadership. It used its press to create the atmosphere necessary for a ruthless witch-hunt of workers' organizations and their leaders.

The eight men singled out and held responsible for the Haymarket bombing were: August Spies, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engels, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden and 20 year old Louis Lingg. All were members of the Workingmen's Party and leaders of the eight hour movement. Parsons and Spies were leading working class



Robert Koehler's "The Strike" was inspired by the great Pittsburgh railway strike of 1877. First reproduced by Harper's Magazine in its May 1, 1886 issue, the painting is believed to be the first ever to depict workers' struggles in this country.

fighters who not only had led tremendous strike struggles but were revolutionaries who began from the necessity of overthrowing capitalism.

Because they were revolutionaries, the ruling class—which was determined to smash the incipient trade union movement—sought to destroy them in order to prevent the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class. The capitalists set the stage for their frame-up trial by whipping up an anti-communist hysteria throughout the country. They were aided in their task by the lackeys of capital within the labor movement who all rushed to denounce these men as anarchists bent on violence. The Socialist Labor Party followed the same course.

However, the working class throughout the world rallied to demand the release of these leaders. They saw the attack on the men of Haymarket as an attack on the rights of workers everywhere. In spite of the treachery of the labor bureaucracy and the reformist socialists, the cause of the Haymarket martyrs was to become the cause of millions.

The eight hour movement solidified the class consciousness of workers and brought them together in a unified struggle. 1886 marked a leap in the development of the American working class. It was the year that the first serious workers party ran Henry George for Mayor of New York and received 67,000 votes. It was also the year 700,000 workers joined the organized trade union movement. The violent struggles led by revolutionaries to win the basic rights of workers marked the determination and strength of the American working class.

However, it is critical today that the weaknesses and dangers revealed in these early developments be brought forward in order for the working class to carry out the tasks posed before them today. The gap that was expressed in 1886 between the determination of the working class to fight and the theoretical limitations of its leadership is the gap that confronts the working class today as Nixon prepares for the destruction of the trade unions.

The eight hour movement, while led by revolutionaries, was dominated by the thinking of the capitalists, that is, by pragmatism. While these leaders were in opposition to the treacherous policies of the labor bureaucracy, they did not have a theoretical understanding of the alternative to the bureaucratic, reformist positions which the socialists of their day held.

Today, the working class confronts the capitalist class in a period far different than in 1886. While May Day of 1886 did signal a new stage of the class struggle, it occurred during a period of the rise and expansion of capitalism. Thus, the basic rights of the working class, that is, the shorter work week and the right to trade unions, could be won through the methods of the militant trade unionism of Parsons and Spies.

However, in 1973, we are celebrating

May Day in a period of unparalleled crisis within capitalism. The only way the capitalists can preserve their profit system now is by destroying the organizations of the working class and eliminating all its basic rights.

Thus, Nixon has created the Cost of Living Council which eliminates the basic right of trade unions to negotiate a decent wage. He has strengthened the repressive arms of the state in order to beat and jail strikers. He has launched a racist campaign in order to divide the working class and pit one section against another. And he has whipped up national patriotism to divide American workers from their class brothers in Europe and Japan so that he can launch a brutal trade war.

In all of these actions, this ruling class is aided by the labor bureaucracy just as they were in 1886. Thus, George Meany and I.W. Abel join in Nixon's campaign against the European and Japanese working classes. They, along with Woodcock, accept Nixon's policies and serve to prepare the way for the destruction of the unions.

Above all, these bureaucrats fear the development of a new leadership in the unions: a leadership which will fight in the interests of the ranks instead of in the interests of preserving their own privileged positions. Therefore, they join with Nixon in trying to whip up an anti-communist hysteria. Thus, Joseph Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America, faced with a massive opposition from the ranks of his union, has now declared that there is evidence to show that the communists are trying to take over the unions.

It is the development of a new leadership and a break from the old methods that is required today if all the basic rights of workers are to be defended. A leap must be made by workers to the understanding that the struggle today is a political struggle and can only be carried forward by a break with the parties of capitalism and the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

As the history of the American working class shows, this leap will not take place automatically but only through the conscious intervention of revolutionaries, of Marxists. Thus, above all, this May Day Rally will fight to construct the Trotskyist movement and train workers and youth to take forward the fight for a labor party and for socialism.

Continued Next Week



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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



# Job Crisis Hits El Diario

BY BRUCE MCKAY

NEW YORK, April 3—Printing craft workers at America's largest Spanish language daily newspaper, *El Diario-La Prensa*, face an uncertain future because of millionaire owner O. Roy Chalk's threat to subcontract the paper's printing work to an automated plant in New Jersey.

The move was originally scheduled to take place this week, but a deal between Chalk and the *Morristown Daily Record* apparently fell through, and the paper has offered workers a new one year contract which the printing unions are hastily lining up to sign after calling off a brief strike to avoid an immediate confrontation over the proposed move.

Workers interviewed by the *Bulletin* were angry about the proposed move. "They use you until they can get machinery to oppress you and throw you out in the street," said mailers' shop chairman William McCarthy.

"Now it's just a question of making more profits and destroying people in the process. That's how it's affecting people—it's destroying their lives. No matter how far or where they go to print, we're going to prevent them from doing it."

## PLIGHT

The plight of *El Diario* workers reflects the serious job crisis faced by workers throughout the printing industry as the capitalist owners step up their ruthless drive for profits against the craft unions and the Newspaper Guild. Those laid off have little prospect of finding new jobs in their trade.

The closure would affect a number of persons who have worked at *El Diario* for over 20 years, and especially hard hit would be the Spanish speaking workers in the composing room

who have just managed to achieve a decent wage scale.

"You've got people who have been working here for 25 years, and he's just going to leave them out in the street," stereotypers' shop chairman John Marino said.

"Now this is the situation. After you work in a place 25 years, what do you wind up with? You don't even know whether you're going to get your severance pay. This is the printing industry today."

The new contract settles nothing, and the unemployment lines workers thought they faced last week will loom even larger next year with the deepening international crisis.

One composing room worker told the *Bulletin*: "Everybody feels nervous. Everybody's going to lose a job. No matter what we offered to the owner of the paper to try to keep the paper here to serve the Spanish community in the city, he said no. He don't give a damn about the Spanish community. He wants to make money, that's all."

"It isn't just a question of Spanish people, either," Guild member Aida Martin Corana said. "We have different ethnic groups here. It's a whole job market that's going to close out for almost everybody."

The complete arrogance of the bosses was demonstrated in the fact that Chalk did not even bother to notify workers about his decision to move. They found out about it only through their unions.

Chalk has reportedly said he

can save one million dollars by moving to New Jersey, and he claims the paper will lose money in the next two years, without the move, even though it has never lost money in its entire history.

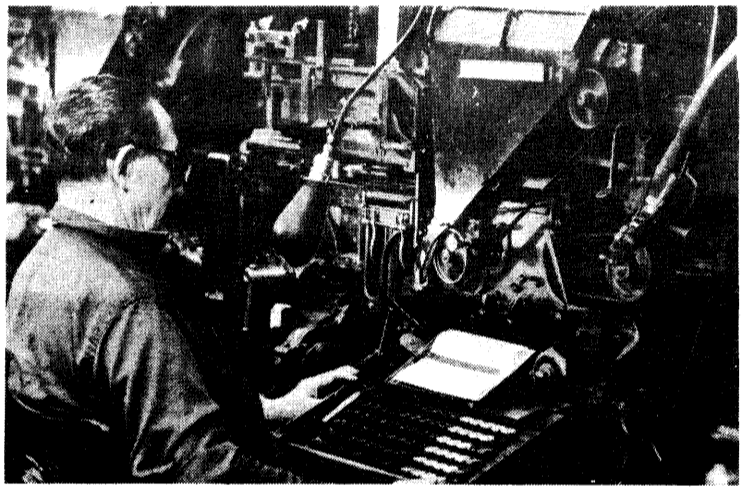
But the threatened shutdown of the paper's printing plant is more than a drive for automation and greater productivity. It is a vicious attack on the printing unions in New York City.

*El Diario* workers told the *Bulletin* their unions had offered Chalk a one year moratorium on new wage and benefit demands, agreed to accept automation and agreed to a 25 percent reduction in either wages or jobs in order to keep the paper's printing facilities in the city.

"The last insult was when they asked for a two week extension (of the contract) so they can shop around and find a place in which they can go and print," one worker said.

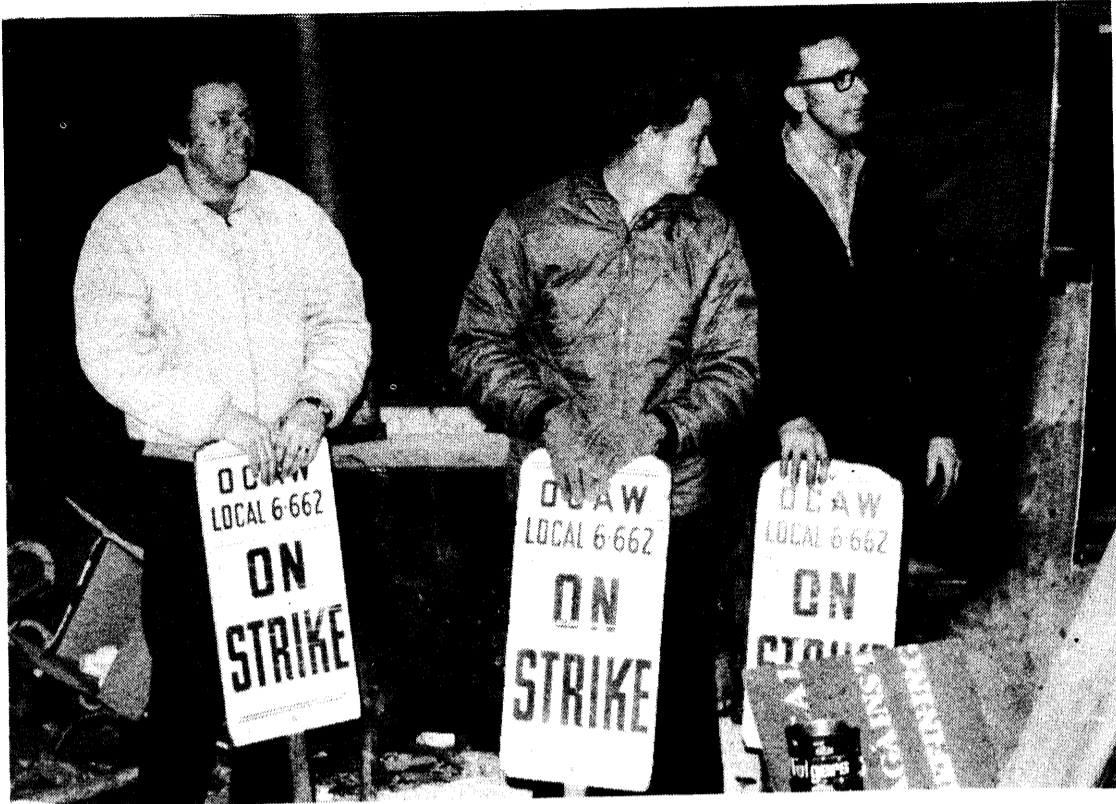
The threat to workers at *El Diario* must be taken in the context of the plans of John M. Shaheen, a business friend of Nixon, to start a fourth daily paper in the city using automated facilities. The new printing plant would reportedly use only a third the number of workers as the *New York Post*.

Craft workers and Guild members at the three major dailies, who are now working without a contract while negotiations proceed, must take these developments as a sharp warning of what their own capitalist bosses have in store for them.



Above are printing craft workers at *El Diario-La Prensa* who face eventual loss of their jobs. Composing room worker Jose Diaz, bottom; linotype operator, middle; stereotypers, at the top.

## Midwest News



OCAW workers in Pine Bend, Minnesota picket in face of courts and possible arrest.

# OCAW Strikers Defy Koch's Private Army

BY MIKE JAMES

PINE BEND, Minn., April—Striking Local 6-662 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers at Koch Refinery is solid and determined to bring the company to its knees. As one worker told the *Bulletin*:

"It was all prepared and totally planned. Consequently we were prepared. If he thinks that he can break us in three months, he's wrong. We're not going to break."

The union has taken on one of the largest conglomerates in the US after Koch demanded that the local sign over all its seniority rules and union control over jobs within the refinery. "We're the thorn in his side. He's come here to Minnesota to break the union and teach us northern hicks a lesson," said one striker smiling broadly.

Last week the negotiators sat down with a federal mediator and State AFL-CIO President David Roe for marathon sessions. After four days, they broke up. Company negotiator Marvin Martin insisted that Koch will prosecute and seek to imprison 29 pickets cited for contempt of court.

When the union made dismissal of charges part of any settlement, the company men got up and walked out. The company has begun an active campaign to blacklist the strikers. Some men have been looking for work and one reported, "When you sign up looking for jobs and you mention Koch, you don't get the job."

### FEAR

Behind all the arrogance, the army of private guards, the closed circuit TV network and the special road built to bring in

scabs is Koch's tremendous fear of the workers. He wants to run them and the union out of the Twin Cities.

Two weeks ago, it was reported that two locomotives were stopped at a siding just before they would have barreled into the refinery and blown it up. Koch has offered a \$25,000 reward for capture of the "vandals."

Company negotiator Martin has said: "The company can twist the laws around to make them do whatever they want. Koch, originally from Kansas, is up to his neck in right-wing activity. His father was a founder of the John Birch Society in Kansas."

The support already received from the unions must be mobilized in an all-out general strike throughout the state in defense of Local 6-662. This will mean an outright confrontation with the government. A break must be made with the leadership of compromisers like Roe and Local 6-662 President Kujawa and a leadership built which will not shrink from this fight.

## Wisconsin U. Firing Over 100 Teachers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON—As part of the largest aid cutbacks ever to hit the University of Wisconsin system, University President John Weaver announced the layoff of hundreds of academic personnel this week. Between Nixon's and Governor Lucey's budgets, the system stands to lose \$60 million of funding.

Weaver said that "from several dozen to a few hundred" academic positions will be eliminated. Most of the jobs lost will be for non-tenured professors and instructors, teaching assistants and specialists. It is "almost inevitable" that some tenured positions will also be cut, he said.

U.W. Vice President and Controller Ruben Lorenz explained: "The Nixon budget calls for phasing out many aids to higher education." He also said the cuts amounted to a 50 percent reduction.

The fight to defend education must be taken up by the entire campus around a program for:

- An end to budget cuts and price increases.
- The defense of tenure for faculty, no university layoffs.
- University-wide strike action with the support of city-wide labor unions in defense of the right to an education.
- Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

## Leaders Sabotage Fight Over Armour Speedup

BY JEAN BRUST

SOUTH ST. PAUL, April 1—Armour and Company, emboldened by the compliance of the union leadership in the closing of the beef side last January, launched a new attack against the workers in the South St. Paul plant.

Standard work load on the CPU loading docks (small packaging) is 5000 pounds per hour. Wednesday night, the men were told to load 8000 pounds and more. When they refused, three men were fired.

The entire night shift wanted to walk off in their support, but were refused permission by Dettwiler, president of Local 4, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of America. Instead of fighting, Dettwiler arranged a grievance settlement that forced the men to go back on the company terms and to lose three days' pay.

Dettwiler now acts as a company policeman enforcing the speedup on the loading docks and giving a green light to increase standards for the rest of the plant.

This latest speedup is one step in the implementation of the plan of Nixon's committee of food productivity, devised by the government and the meat trust. This calls for increased food productivity at the workers' expense, with the workers taking the blame for the inflation and

the skyrocketing cost of food. This then becomes an excuse to further attack the workers and attempt to destroy the union.

Almost one month after the national meeting in Chicago to make plans for a contract fight, not one man in the plant knows what the union's demands are, nor what the plans are to win a contract this year. That is why a campaign has been launched to organize a fight for a new

leadership around the following demands:

- Full pay for lost time for the three men.
- No layoffs. Rehire all workers laid off in the last six months.
- No speedups.
- A decent contract with a 20 percent wage increase and cost of living clause.
- For a Congress of Labor to map a defense against Nixon's attack on all workers and to launch a labor party.

## Oscar Mayer Pay Talks Start

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON—On September 1 this year the entire meatcutting industry comes up for contract renewals. The negotiations with Oscar Mayer will set the pace for 54,114 union members in Armour, Cudahy, Dubuque Pack, Morrell, Rath Packing, Hormel, Swift, Wilson and Oscar Mayers.

Already, the leadership of the union has indicated its willingness to capitulate to Nixon's controls. One Oscar Mayer worker said: "We don't have leadership in Madison; it's up to the International. These things are almost cut and dried. I talked

to the stewards and the president. They told me that they aren't going to ask for much, that we can't make it. They said that we're going for fringe benefits, maybe 25 cents more per year worked on the pension. But big wage increase—no deal."

In the last three year contract, the leadership negotiated away the cost of living clause. Since that time, workers have paid bitterly.

While about 80 percent of the 238 men laid off here last winter have been recalled now, many were unemployed for three months or more. When jobs open up, the company mails out a registered letter to the laid off employee's address. If the person fails to report to the company within 48 hours after mailing, then he is designated an "automatic quit." One older worker said: "I've worked here 27 years and never seen it as bad as this."

On March 8 and 9, a

Packinghouse Conference was held in Chicago to introduce the National Packinghouse Bargaining Committee. Eugene Cotton of the International's legal department spoke about Nixon's policies:

"During Phase One we were under a freeze, during Phase Two we were under a freeze, we continue to be under a freeze, during Phase Three and if Phase Four comes about, and with our 1973 contract coming up, we will continue to be under these guidelines unless some action is taken by Congress to overrule Nixon's stabilization tactics."

A new leadership must be built now to mobilize all of meatpacking for a 20 percent increase in wages, to regain full cost of living, to demand no layoffs, and for a pension that keeps up with prices. This means that the AMCBWA must prepare to take on Nixon and the Cost of Living Council. This must be done with a fight within the whole labor movement to build a labor party and fight for general strike action against Phase Three.

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# Abel Gives It All To Nixon

BY MARK McCONNELL

PITTSBURGH—Meeting with 600 high officials of the United Steel Workers of America here, President I.W. Abel forced through one of the most rotten agreements any major union has ever concluded.



I.W. Abel

Abel, whose last deal with the steel companies spelled unemployment for over 100,000 steel workers, has moved even farther toward open collaboration with Nixon on the 1974 agreement. A full 17 months before the contract is to expire, Abel gave away the only weapon the steel workers now possess—the right to strike.

## As the president of the huge School Board Says Teacher Strikes Are 'Unfair'

BY P. ARNDT

DeFOREST, WISC.—In a precedent setting move, the DeForest School Board has asked the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission (WERC) to declare the teachers' strike an unfair labor practice.

In reaction to a bitter teachers' strike last fall, the DeForest School Board is charging the Wisconsin Education Association with inciting a teachers' strike and the DeForest Area Education Association (DAEA) with engaging in an unfair labor practice by striking October 9 to 16, 1972.

Although the teachers were ordered back to work by a court injunction, there is still no contract agreement. This means the teachers have been without a contract since August 1972.

The School Board's action is a threat to every trade unionist, challenging the very basic right to strike. It must be fought not with the legal shortchange of Nixon's courts, but through a political fight against the government.

Hazelwood Jones and Laughlin local John DeFazie said, "It's like losing an atomic bomb." In return for this abject surrender, Abel has negotiated a measly three percent per year wage hike, which will not even cover four months of inflation. A \$150 cash bonus is supposed to be thrown in, which would add about an extra one percent.

In addition, Abel has sold away the right of locals to strike over plant issues. He will retain a veto over any strike decision even if it is unanimously favored by the ranks. Arnold Bell, the president of Local 4195, said that Abel's sellout meant that local contract changes are "out the window now." Abel claims that nobody has "expressed concern or an unfriendly attitude."

This is a lie. All Abel would have to do is to leave the Hilton Hotel and drive two miles to the mills which line the Monongahela River and he would be forced to eat his words. Almost every worker interviewed by the Bulletin at Hazelwood denounced the contract and their comments about Abel were bitter.

Despite Abel's claim that this arrangement will stop post-control layoffs, not a word has been spoken about the productivity clause and there is absolutely no mention of protection for even one job. As one 40 year old worker on Pittsburgh's Southside said: "I've worked here 18 years. Will I still be here 25 years from now? 15?"... Instead of protecting the jobs of steel workers, this deal which Abel would be terrified to let the ranks vote on, will, by giving away the union's only protection, the right to strike, open the way for layoffs that will make October 1971 seem like a boom and Second Avenue and East Carson Street look like part of a ghost town.

# Midwest News

# Ford Tells Auto Men To Expect Less

DETROIT—With record profits of \$870 made in 1972 behind them, Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Ford Motor Company, told shareholders last week in the company's annual report that: "Union demands must no longer reflect the expectation of high rates of inflation."

Ford President Lee A. Iacocca further said that the union "must be willing to settle, without prolonged work stoppages, for wages that reflect national productivity gains." These declarations came only days after United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock told UAW Bargaining Convention delegates that the union would seek a "responsible, non-inflationary" wage settlement which would not go beyond federal guidelines.

The Chrysler Corporation announced last week that it will put into effect a \$42 or 1.5 percent across the board price hike in 1973. General Motors and Ford have said that they will not have any across the board price hikes in 1973 "barring unforeseen economic development," although Ford has already raised the price of its lowest cost economy car, the Pinto, by \$24.

Detroit auto workers, already hard hit by this year's heavy inflation, told the Bulletin their feelings about the announcements of the Big Three. One River Rouge worker from the giant UAW Local 600 said: "All this stuff about no rise in the price of cars is just to get Ford through the contract year. After the contract is signed, up go the prices."

At the Chrysler Jefferson Assembly plant which was shut down three weeks ago by a wildcat strike, one worker told the Bulletin: "Chrysler is going to raise its prices. That's the whole thing: high prices today. I think the union is fighting for the wrong things. We have to have a decent wage increase. And grievances, the union won't do a thing about them."

NIXON

Chairman Henry Ford II revealed that he is relying on Nixon's government to force the UAW to accept the company's terms when he admitted that the union "will be reluctant to negotiate on this basis if the federal government does not provide the climate for non-inflationary settlements."

With a record sale of over six million predicted for 1973, Ford is determined that no strike interfere with production and is demanding that the government break any auto strike just as he demanded that Nixon break the Penn Central strike last month. In this contract year, the fight for a Congress of Labor against government wage controls and toward the construction of a labor party is posed before the UAW more urgently than ever.



Party held for Bulletin after meeting of Minnesota unionists.

# Hospital Ranks Demand Strike

BY AN AFSCME MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS, Mn—The growing sentiment for a strike to win a much needed contract and wage increase is bringing the ranks of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal 1164 employees at the University of Minnesota into direct conflict with the local leadership and their faithful supporters, Progressive Labor.

As one worker said: "If you can't come to an agreement across the bargaining table then you just have to withdraw your services, don't you. We've been going on for a long time."

## NEGOTIATING

The union has been negotiating for 11 months for its first contract and the workers in the hospital are sick and tired of waiting. With inflation cutting deep into every worker's paycheck, and with some hospital workers taking home as little as \$65 per week, the question of winning a big wage increase is central to the contract fight.

One maid commented: "I need a wage increase. I can't buy groceries off what I make.

Striking's the only way."

The 11 month long negotiations have won almost nothing for the workers. The university recently affirmed its hostility to every union on campus when the University President Malcolm Moos, reportedly a good friend of Eisenhower and Nixon, refused to even speak with members of the newly organized University of Minnesota Faculty over the question of a 30 percent reduction in Teaching Assistants for next year.


Even in the face of this tough position of the university toward organization of the workers, the local and Council 6 of the state workers' leadership have refused to put forward any strategy other than more talk.

The Stalinists of Progressive Labor allow the leadership to do nothing. They have given the Executive Board of 1164 the perfect opportunity to avoid any fight for a contract. Charges have been filed by them against two leading members of the Caucus for a Decent Contract to get them expelled.

## EXPEL

As one worker said: "It really burns me up that the Executive Board is spending all this time trying to expel two members of the union instead of mobilizing the hospital to win the contract."

The Caucus for a Decent Contract is turning the defense of their members and their union into an offensive to mobilize the hospital into a strike. In the process of exposing Progressive Labor and the local leadership, the caucus has won the support of many key sections of workers in food service and environmental services.



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# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## The Meat Boycott Fraud

Not one worker should be fooled by the reformists and liberal politicians who are claiming that the massive rise of food prices can be stopped by a boycott of meat for one week.

The fact is that Nixon himself proposed this useless charade, and its sole purpose is to divert the anger of the working class against the government into a harmless protest activity.

How does a boycott of meat hurt Nixon? American workers built powerful trade unions in order to guarantee their families the right to decent meals seven days a week. Now these reformists, backed by the revisionists of the SWP and the Communist Party, turn their backs on these struggles for basic rights and support Nixon's call for a meat boycott.

In the meantime, every effort is being made to use this boycott as a means of throwing a smokescreen over the fundamental issue facing workers today: preparation for a general strike spearheaded by the 4.5 million trade unionists up for new contracts this year for the purpose of smashing Phase Three and winning big wage increases.

Prices cannot be brought down through a boycott or any other protest activity. The wild rise in the cost of living is rooted in the insoluble economic crisis gripping every capitalist country. Even as the boycott gets underway, the conditions are already set for another leap in food prices this month.

As for Nixon's so-called price "ceiling," retailers have used it during the past week as a splendid opportunity to jack up their prices. Furthermore, Nixon's ceiling affects only wholesale prices, which are impossible to supervise, while livestock owned by the powerful cattle interests remained uncontrolled.

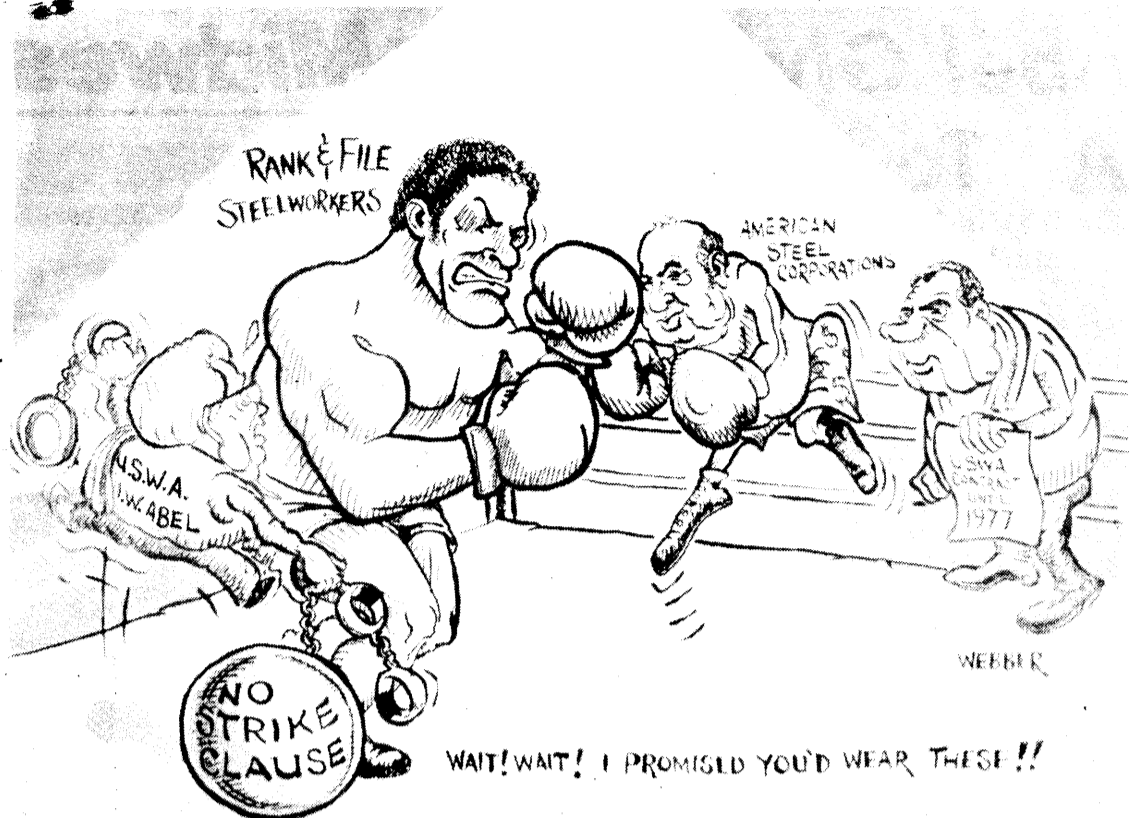
Nor does Nixon have any intention of controlling prices, because inflation is a major part of his program aimed at driving down the living conditions of the working class.

But Nixon is determined to control wages. The real meaning of Phase Three was spelled out last week by Federal Reserve chief Arthur Burns, who said that the test of controls would not be the movement of the price index but in "holding down wage gains in major bargaining contracts to reasonable amounts this year."

Collaborating with Nixon in support of the Phase Three controls is the entire trade union bureaucracy which refuses to challenge the wage guidelines. This betrayal of the crucial wages fight is being organized by George Meany, who admitted last week that the AFL-CIO Executive Board made a secret deal with Nixon to keep wage increases within the 5.5 percent limit.

There is only one way that the working class can defend its living conditions in the face of inflation and all of Nixon's attacks on the trade unions.

The call for a Congress of Labor must now be taken up throughout the labor movement. This Congress, attended by the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, Teamsters and open to all political tendencies, must forge the unity of the working class against Nixon through a general strike to smash Phase Three; and it must construct a labor party that will lead the political struggle to oust the Nixon administration and replace it with a government pledged to socialist policies.



## What we think

### CP Joins The Phase 3 Bandwagon

The American Communist Party is openly assisting the trade union leaders in their criminal policies to accept government control over wages and to hand over the labor movement to the dictates of the big corporations and Nixon.

Contrary to the contentions of the Communist Party, the prices which are now slashing workers' living standards cannot be controlled. The source of inflation is the capitalists' crisis and it is consciously being used against the working class. The central question before workers today in the fight to defend their living standards is wages. But it is precisely on this question that the Stalinists refuse to fight.

Last week they supported Woodcock's complete capitulation to Nixon's controls at the UAW Bargaining Convention and his pledge that he would not open a fight on wages. This week, the CP is supporting the "meat boycott" which was organized by the Nixon Administration itself. The Socialist Workers Party has joined the CP in supporting this fraudulent campaign.

Both the CP and the SWP deny the crisis of the capitalist system and seek to divert the working class away from the confrontation with Nixon and the government on wages and away from the fight to build a labor party.

In the March 29 issue of the CP's Daily World the New York Communist Party published its "Program for fight on inflation." Among the proposals for fighting inflation are to "write your Congressman"; "join the national meat boycott."

All of the CP's calls for boycotts and writing Congress are diversions into middle class protest politics. The CP calls on workers to rely on the good will of their Congressmen who stand together with Nixon on controls.

The real heart of the CP's perspective is revealed in its virtual call for controls by defending the freeze that was implemented in World War Two. "Prices do not have to rise! Nixon's inflationary policies can be reversed. During World War Two the government forced a real price freeze."

This is a complete lie. The CP is using it not only to support the trade union bureaucracy's acceptance of controls but also to support the Democratic Party's call for more vicious restrictions on wages under the guise of controlling prices.

The CP in the 1940s was the most vociferous supporter of Roosevelt's so-called program of "equality of sacrifice," of the "no strike pledge" and the wage controls enforced by the War Labor Board. This was part and parcel of the CP's support to Roosevelt and the imperialist war. It worked day and night in the unions to prevent a real mobilization of the

working class against the government and the building of a labor party. It even went so far as to conduct a vicious slander campaign of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers Union, virtually accusing them of being agents of Hitler, when the UMW said it would strike.

Contrary to the lies of the CP today, prices soared in this period. The United Auto Workers reported that prices increased over 30 percent in the period from 1941-1943. A joint AFL-CIO report showed that prices had risen 43.5 percent from January 1941 to January 1944. So much for the CP's World War Two controls!

The CP, during the war, rightly won the hatred of the ranks of the trade unions for their support to the government's attacks on the unions. At the 1942 UAW convention in August the Stalinist speakers were booed down by the delegates when they defended Roosevelt's program.

The American Communist Party is the representative in the US of the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and a defender of its policies of peaceful coexistence with capitalism. On this basis, it seeks to sell out all of the struggles of the working class. The CP will go even further than they did in the 1930s precisely because the crisis is deeper and the question before the working class is either the destruction of its living standards and organizations or the political fight now against Nixon and capitalism.

At every point the Stalinists seek to turn the working class away from the source of the attacks: the crisis of the capitalist system. They put forward the illusion that inflation and the attacks on the working class are simply a blemish on an otherwise healthy system that can be removed by pressuring Nixon and Congress. Thus the CP states in its program:

"Prices can be controlled without any restrictions on workers' wages. This is the policy in the socialist countries. But a capitalist government that is handing out billions in welfare payments to the super rich can and must be forced to reverse its

priorities and guarantee economic security for all people."

What the Stalinists are saying is that there can be capitalism today without crisis, whose priorities are not profits, and which can provide economic security for the working class. This is put forward to confuse and divert the working class from the necessary struggle against the government.

Inflation comes from the capitalists' international crisis which is centered on the dollar itself. First they printed millions of paper dollars year after year and distributed them throughout the world with no real backing. Since August 15, 1971, the collapse of the world monetary system has produced the greatest inflation of all. As the crisis deepens currency depreciation feeds inflation.

The money crisis today means not only higher prices but massive unemployment, as companies collapse and close down. "Controlling inflation" today for the capitalists means the destruction of the working class which alone produces real value.

This is why the fight today against inflation means beginning from the economic crisis and opening a wage offensive to defend the right to a decent standard of life. This means the mobilization of the entire labor movement in general strike action against Phase Three and a political fight against the government by building a labor party that will fight for socialist policies.

It is this real action that the CP, together with revisionists, oppose and aid the trade union leadership's alliance with Nixon against the working class. This urgent struggle requires the building of an alternative Trotskyist leadership in the trade unions against these forces. The ranks of the labor movement have shown in all their struggles the determination to fight Nixon. This must now be taken forward by the building of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party which is leading the fight in the unions against Nixon.

### Need Subscription Drive Push

This last week we received a total of 412 subs to bring our grand total to 4705, a bit short of our one-third mark goal of 5,000 subs. We must now make every effort so that every branch goes beyond the one-third mark next week and we are well on our way to the two-thirds goal of 7,500 by May 1. This is necessary if we are to achieve a total of 12,000 subs by June 1, giving the Bulletin a paid circulation of 25,000.

Chelsea and Los Angeles did exceptionally well this last week and the Bronx also did well. By and large most branches, however, did not send in the necessary quantities to properly pace the drive. This means each area must consider large mobilizations in the next week.

Next week our first trailblazing team will start out for a two week drive in the Michigan-Ohio industrial area. Their goal is 500 subs. The following week the Pacific Northwest, Southern and New England teams will begin work. We hope by next week to report preliminary results of this important work.

# RENEGADES IN ACTION— THE IS

The following is the third part of the series "Renegades in Action." It analyzes the tactics and strategy of the International Socialism Group in Britain and takes up the question of Marxism or rank and filism in the trade unions. An understanding and fight against the syndicalist "rank and filism" of centrists like the International Socialists is critical to building a Marxist leadership in the unions. This part of the series was written by Michael Banda and is reprinted from the Workers Press.

## The Tories' decision to enter the Common Market threatens British workers with the most savage attacks so far made against their living standards and their basic rights.

It is a significant and sinister step in the direction of the corporate state; the integration of the unions into the apparatus of the capitalist state.

It is no accident that the communiqué of the European Summit Conference combines the Bonapartist idea of ensuring 'the increasing involvement of labour and management in the economic and social decisions of the community' and 'consumer protection' with the plans for setting up mammoth continental monopolies, transferring capital, dividing up markets and centralizing research in preparation for the greatest trade war in history.

The essential condition for the success of this strategy of the bankrupt rulers of Europe, the heirs of Hitler, Mussolini and Salazar, is the integration of the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies in the Brussels political and administrative apparatus while, at the same time, strengthening the repressive powers of the state and its control over wages and the exercise of workers' rights.

This is the only way in which the European capitalists can even hope to raise European productivity to US and Japanese levels, realize a large export surplus and set up a monetary union.

If this plan fails—and there is no indication that it will succeed—the European and British rulers will have no choice but to try and defeat the working class with military-police measures and impose the naked dictatorship of monopoly capital unadorned by the fig-leaf of parliamentary democracy.

Police-military dictatorship and fascism is the logical end of the protectionist Utopia of the Common Market.

The entry into the Market gives an entirely new dimension and quality to the struggles of the working class. The most important feature of the coming period will be a tremendous acceleration of that process already seen in the Industrial Relations, Housing Finance, and Immigration Acts

whereby more and more power will be transferred from the legislature — parliament — to the state executive; not merely to Whitehall but to the Brussels Secretariat.

Parliament will be reduced to the status of the French National Assembly under the Fifth Republic—an impotent rubber stamp for bureaucratic decision. The degrading of parliament will expose further the blatant bankruptcy of the Social Democratic Oppositional safety valve.

Another equally important feature of the creation of the Market is that every major struggle of any section of European workers against their state implicitly poses the question of the destruction of the Market and the progressive unification of east and west Europe under the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe. There is no other road for Europe.

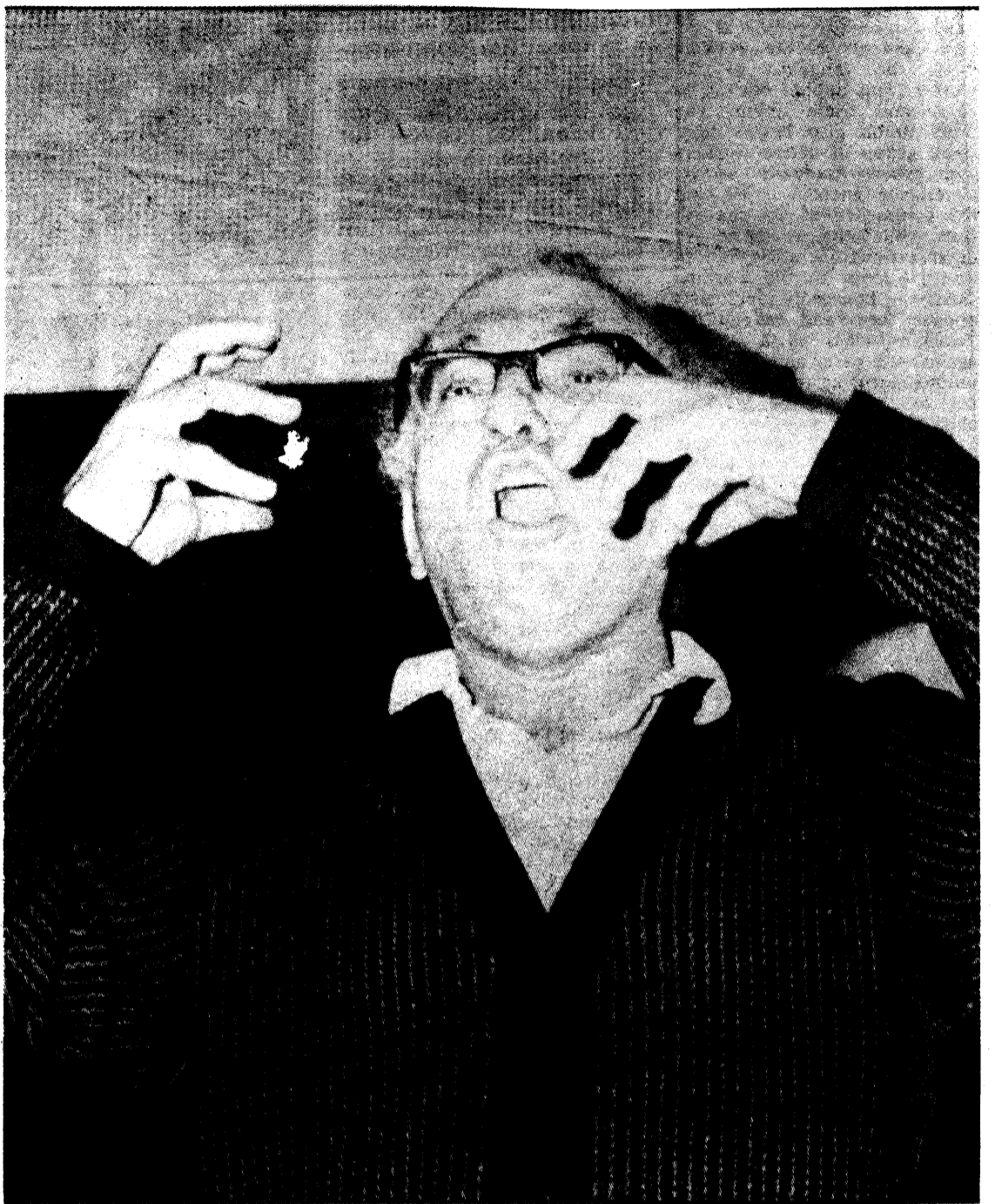
Lastly, unquestionably—and most important—the plans of the European monopolies to undermine and destroy the working class movement cannot be halted or defeated by the economic struggles of the working class waged by the trade unions.

By virtue of its entry into the Market the British capitalist class has increased considerably its margin for manoeuvre against the unions and its ability to attack them by the elimination of the fiscal and legal barriers to mergers, by the transfer of capital and the creation of unemployment. In this sense the Common Market is aimed principally at the British trade unions.

These features of the Common Market lead unalterably to the conclusion that the only way forward for British workers is the political struggle to create an alternative revolutionary leadership to Stalinism and reformism; to take the state power and construct a nationalized and planned economy with the help of the European working class.

This leadership is today being built by the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The building of such a leadership means essentially the organization of the most politically-conscious elements of the working class into a revolutionary party which fights constantly against the prevailing non-revolutionary trade union consciousness of workers and for a clear Marxist understanding of the crisis, the role of the state and the re-



Mr. T. Cliff, leader of the International Socialists, who provides invaluable service to Stalinism in England.

volutionary nature of the political tasks facing the working class. This was the task set by the October 22 Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

The struggle for such a leadership, however, does not take place in a vacuum. As the economic crisis worsens the extent and intensity of trade union struggles, far from receding, will grow rapidly.

Trade union consciousness whose basis is the wages militancy and individualism of the class will be continually reinforced by the strike struggles. But at the same time the ruling class will defend itself with open and increasingly vicious, political measures.

The contradiction between the limited reformist aims and method of trade union militancy and the great tasks posed by the death agony of the capitalist regime must come—and are coming—into conflict. Out of this conflict will grow the conditions for the recruitment, education and training of a cadre of Marxist leaders who will lead the coming socialist revolution in Britain.

## Necessity for Theory

Revisionist sceptics will no doubt scoff at the idea that doctrinal training of the vanguard is more important than all the elemental struggles of the working class.

But history—including the history of bourgeois revolutionary movements in Britain—shows with compelling force, that the correct theory and practice of a conscious leadership—no matter how 'abstract' and 'sectarian' it may seem—can give an immeasurably greater impulse to historical development than all the

'spontaneous' struggles of an oppressed class.

Christopher Hill, in his biography of Cromwell, vindicates this argument when he reveals that the rise of the Puritan movement was intimately linked to doctrinal struggle and training. Commenting on the defeats of the 1590s Hill states:

... the underground Presbyterian movement was broken up, and in the last two parliaments of Elizabeth's reign (1597-1601) there was no vocal Puritan opposition, though there was plenty of opposition to government economic policies.

'The snake was scotched, not killed. For the fundamental fact of the gentry's wish to be free to control their parishes and their parsons without supervision from Bishops or High Commission was matched by the inner logic of Protestantism: its exaltation of preaching and the study of the Bible was continually training consciences which would stand out against any attempt to regiment them or dictate to them. After their defeat in the 1590s the Puritan clergy put more emphasis on preaching, character-forming, morale-building, less on forms of church organization and discipline. In the long run they forged a better weapon, which in 1640 was too strong to be broken as it had been in the 1590s.' ('God's Englishman' p. 24. Penguin Books.)

The British Marxists of today no less than their Puritan Independent predecessors of the 16th and 17th centuries, cannot advance the liberation of their class without the highest possible development of its theoretical consciousness through the practice of political struggle.

But every analogy has its limits. Whereas the Puritan bourgeoisie perfected their

own ideology—after borrowing it from their Swiss, German and Dutch predecessors—British Marxists base their work on the premise that the working class, i.e. the trade union movement, cannot, of its own accord, elaborate an independent ideology.

## Trotsky and syndicalism

No one in the early Communist International was more familiar with and more critical of syndicalism than Trotsky.

In the formation of the French Communist Party and in the course of its ideological and political purification Trotsky came into irreconcilable conflict not only with the elements of Freemasonry and right-wing social-democracy but also with the representatives of the 'absolute autonomy' of the trade unions from the party.

These syndicalists, like Robert Louzon, argued that the trade unions could not be subordinate to the political leadership of a revolutionary party because the trade unions represent 'the working class as a whole' while the party is 'only a party' and, therefore, the 'working class as a whole' cannot be subordinated to the party. The working class, wrote Louzon has 'its aim in itself', but the party can only 'serve the working class or itself'.

Trotsky's analysis of this extremely one-sided and formal argument is a brilliant example of the dialectical method:

'It is only in the course of long struggles, severe trials, many vacillations, and extensive experience, that insight as to the right ways and methods

dawns upon the minds of the best elements of the working class, the vanguard of the masses. This applies equally to party and trade union. The trade union also begins as a small group of active workers and grows gradually as its experience enables it to gain the confidence of the masses. But while the revolutionary organizations are struggling to gain influence in the working class, the bourgeois ideologists oppose them and set up the "working class as a whole" against the party and the trade unions, accusing them of wanting to "annex" the working class.

"Le Temps" writes this whenever there is a strike. In other words the bourgeois ideologists oppose the working class as object to the working class as conscious subject. For it is only through its class-conscious minority that the working class gradually becomes a factor in history...

"It seems to us that Comrade Louzon has not posed this question. 'The proletariat has its aim within itself'. If we strip this sentence of its mystical trappings, its obvious meaning is that the historical tasks of the proletariat are determined by the social position of the class and by its role in production in society and in the state.

"This is beyond dispute. But this truth does not help us answer the question with which we are concerned, namely: how is the proletariat to arrive at subjective insight into the historical task posed by its objective position? Were the proletariat as a whole, capable of grasping its historical task, it would need neither party nor trade union. Revolution would be born simultaneously with the proletariat. But in actuality the process required to impart the proletariat an insight into its historical mission is very long and painful, and full of internal contradictions.' ('Marxism and the Trade Unions'—SLL edition p.23-24 emphasis in original.)

In his appreciation of Rosa Luxemburg, written in 1935, Trotsky was unequivocally for Lenin's conceptions on spontaneity:

"There is no gainsaying that Rosa Luxemburg passionately counterposed the spontaneity of mass actions to the "victory-crowned" conservative policy of the German social democracy, especially after the revolution of 1905. This counterposition had a thoroughly revolutionary and progressive character. At a much earlier date than Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg grasped the retarding character of the ossified party and trade union apparatus and began a struggle against it.

"In these broad historical outlines, Rosa was proved right. For the revolution of 1918 was "spontaneous", that is, it was accomplished by the masses against all the provisions and all the precautions of the party officialdom. On the other hand, the whole of Germany's subsequent history amply showed that spontaneity alone is far from enough for success; Hitler's regime is a weighty argument against the panacea of spontaneity.' ('Writings of Leon Trotsky—1935-36', Pathfinder Press p.111.)

These basic principles are as decisive for the victory of the working class today as they were when they were first enunciated. The task of the SLL, the YS and the ATUA and Workers Press is to carry forward the struggle begun by the Bolsheviks and the early Communist International by building a revolutionary party to liberate the working class from its reformist trade union

consciousness and imbue it with the outlook of revolutionary socialism.

### Revisionism: cover for idealist backwardness.

This means a struggle not only against the Stalinists and Social Democrats but especially against those like the International Socialists (IS) who masquerade as 'Marxists' and 'Trotskyists', but in reality pander in the crudest way possible to the reformist politics and idealist backwardness of the spontaneous movement.

Marxism for these revisionists is a mantle to cover-up all that is weak, backward and false in the ideology of the working class, a means by which the working class is diverted from the struggle for state power and kept politically subject to the agencies of capital.

Probably the greatest falsifier of Leninism in this field today is Mr T. Cliff—leader and 'theoretician' of the International Socialism group.

Proceeding from the untenable and completely unscientific thesis that capitalism is expanding<sup>2</sup>—though rather spasmodically—Mr Cliff's chief aim is to show that there is no conflict between the party and the spontaneous movement of the class and to belittle the crisis of leadership in the class.

In a recent article in 'Socialist Worker' called 'The battle won the war goes on' Mr Cliff makes it abundantly clear that for him socialist politics is an adjunct to the spontaneous pressure of the masses and that there is little prospect of an overthrow of Toryism.

The first half of his article Cliff devotes to what he calls the 'ineffectiveness of Tory oppression' i.e. the Pentonville events, the wage struggles etc. This section proves that Cliff is a consummate artist in telling workers what they already know—in the most pedestrian, if somewhat facetious way.

But when Cliff tries to explain the 'ineffectiveness' of the working class in forcing the Tories out, despite two years of strikes, he finds himself treading water.

Instead of a critical analysis of the real weaknesses of the working class—its reformist consciousness and its opportunist leadership—Cliff provides his readers with a completely non-historical, supra-objective interpretation which leaves no room at all for the intervention of the subjective factor—the conscious leadership of the revolutionary party.

Says Mr Cliff: 'The other side of the coin of the ineffectiveness of Tory oppression is the fragmentation and volatility of the workers' struggle.'

What is this 'fragmentation'? According to Cliff in a previous article in No 36 of 'International Socialism', April-May 1969, this new sociological category is an objective process beyond the conscious control of workers:

"The full employment (or near full employment) of the war and post-war period gave the workers new confidence,

but at the same time fragmented the working class...

Not to despair though, because, as Cliff quickly reassured his troubled followers, history was working (at least in the palmy days of the French General Strike) relentlessly in the opposite direction:

'Now, with the new stage—the increasing similarities between the experiences of workers in the different fragments and the trend to break down the borders of frag-



Lenin addressing the delegates to the Third Congress of the Comintern held in July of 1921. He took up the sharpest struggle against syndicalism and the Comintern defined its task as "to lead the present defensive

ments, a revolutionary agitation that is both general and specific can start having a greater impact than ever before.'

If this was true in 1969, why isn't it working any more? Is there any guarantee that even if there were no 'fragmentation' the spontaneous struggle of the class could secure the overthrow of the Tories? Of course not!

### IS defends Stalinism

This unscientific and mystical

argument answers nothing. The reason for the continued existence of the Tories is the anything but fragmented treachery of the trade union and Labour Party leaders.

The same argument applies to Mr Cliff's subterfuge about 'volatility' (he hadn't discovered this category in 1969). Strikes do not develop in a straight line nor appear all at once. They proceed dialectically. They arise out of the class struggle and not according to a preconceived plan. But the outcome of all these strikes is determined by subjective considerations; by the politics

of their leadership.

As an example of this so-called 'volatility', Cliff quotes the example of the agitation against the Industrial Relations Act. When the TUC refused to give a lead in the struggle against the Bill, the militants, according to Cliff, 'made an immediate 180 degrees turn': 'The militants' slogan now was "Stop the Retreat". This volatility affects largely the advanced sections of the working class. It is rooted in (1) the feeling of the militant that quite often he cannot carry the majority of his own workmates with him and (2) his isolation from militants in



— struggles of the proletariat, to extend their scope, to deepen them, to unify them...to transform them into decisive political struggles for the ultimate goal."

other places of work and even more, in other industries.'

Cliff's method is here clearly revealed. Rather than make a concrete analysis of the tactics and policies of the 'militants' who led the unofficial movement against the Bill—and in particular their attitude to the 'lefts' on the TUC General Council—he presents his readers with the disembodied abstraction of 'volatility'.

By means of this sterile argument Cliff justifies the worthless reformist-Stalinist policies of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and attributes the weakness of the movement

to, his favourite scapegoat—the working class.

The truth is that the Stalinists did not develop the initiative and militancy of the working class in the direction of a political struggle to force the Tories out. They confined the anti-Industrial Relations Bill movement to a gesture of protest and scrupulously avoided any action which would have embarrassed their left friends on the TUC. The so-called '180-degree turn' which followed the March 18 sell-out by the TUC was, in fact, a chaotic retreat rather than a defensive posture. That is why

the Stalinists gave little or no support to the SLL demand for a recall of the TUC and eventually gave critical support to the TUC's talks with the government. (Under pressure from the workers they have now supported the demand for the recall of the TUC.)

Neither 'volatility' nor 'fragmentation' but Stalinism was responsible for the failure of the 'militants' campaign.

Mr Cliff cannot and will not present this analysis to his readers—because he and his fellow leaders in IS consciously participated in the fraud of protest, pressure and total

opposition to forcing the Tories to resign and for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

### Cliff and Lenin

Since T. Cliff of the International Socialists is fond of misquoting Lenin to convince untutored workers that he is an orthodox Leninist, it would be appropriate to restate Lenin's contempt for the kind of apologetics which Cliff employs.

In 'What is to be Done', Lenin writes about the Russian 'Economists': 'Why do the Russian workers still manifest little revolutionary activity in response to the brutal treatment of the people by the police . . . ? Is it because the "economic struggle" does not "stimulate" them to this, because such activity does not "promise palpable results", because it produces little that is "positive"? To adopt such an opinion we repeat, is merely to direct the charge where it does not belong, to blame the working masses for one's own Philistinism (or Bernsteinism)' ('What is to be done?' p.70.)

Lenin never—repeat never—used the subterfuge of 'fragmentation' of the class as an answer to the unfulfilled responsibilities of leadership. When the Russian 'economists' tried to blame the workers' 'lack of strength' for the failure to conduct a nationwide struggle against the autocracy, Lenin retorted:

'Yes, we have indeed lost all "patience" "waiting" for the blessed time, long promised us by diverse "conciliators", when the Economists will have stopped charging the workers with their own backwardness and justifying their own lack of energy with allegations that the workers lack strength.' ('What is to be done?' p.90. Moscow 1969.)

Following from his idealist and metaphysical interpretation, Cliff advances a form of organization which is the antitheses of all that Lenin argues for in 'What is to be Done?'

Writing in the August 5, 1972 'Socialist Worker', Cliff contrasts in a mechanical way what he considers to be the vanguard of the working class and the organized labour movement:

'Let's assume that we had in this country a revolutionary socialist party, a combat organization, steeled in struggle and schooled in the art of strategy and tactics for the overthrow of capitalism. Let's assume that we had 50,000 members.

'There is no question that this would indeed be a powerful cog wheel. However one cog wheel of this size could not have moved the cog wheel of 11 million (trade unionists) . . . A connecting cog wheel is necessary between the two.

'This is the organization of militants in different unions and industries who work together round specific issues, issues wider than those affecting a small group of workers in one place of work and not going as far as to aim at a complete emancipation of the working class by the overthrow of the capitalist system.

'IS members participate in building such a cog wheel in the form of rank-and-file organizations . . .

'The rising conflict will disclose to workers the magnitude of the struggle, will widen their horizons and will help clarify their ideas. It is very important for members of IS to do their best to recruit militants into our political organization as well as to strengthen all exist-

ing rank-and-file industrial and trade union organizations.' ('Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972, No. 283. Our emphasis.)

In three paragraphs Cliff has managed to concentrate all the idealist syndicalist confusion, indifference to Marxist theory, opposition to socialist politics and patronizing condescension towards workers which characterize the IS group.

Is it not interesting that at a time when millions of workers are being forced into political battle with the Tories over state pay laws, inflation, housing, immigration, Common Market and the Industrial Relations Act, when the political role of the union bureaucracy becomes apparent to hundreds of thousands of trade unionists—precisely at this time when the situation cries out for a revolutionary party to lead the workers—Mr Cliff rushes in brandishing his wand of non-political rank-and-fileism like some fairy godmother in a pantomime?

This syndicalism—despite Cliff's chatter about 'revolutionary organization' and 'political revolutionary struggle'—arises from a basic deviation from Marxist theory.

This is explicit in Cliff's already-quoted article in the 1969 IS journal where he wrote:

'The point of departure of a revolutionary organization is the experience—the action, thinking and organization—of the workers, and the aim of its operation is raising the historical initiative and drive of the working class.' And again: ' . . . the duty of a revolutionary is to raise theory to the level of practice.'

### The Economism of IS

How far removed all this is from the standpoint of Marxism is best seen by contrasting Cliff's eclectic generalization to Lenin's precise and scientific definition:

'Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up not solely with a full clear theoretical understanding—it would be even truer to say, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical understanding—of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life. For this reason the conception of the economic struggle as the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, which our Economists preach, is so extremely harmful and reactionary in its practical significance.'

Lenin was so irreconcilably opposed to these syndicalist fetishes that he returned to them 18 years later in 'Left-Wing Communism' when he fought the anti-parliamentary prejudices of certain leaders of the British Communist Party:

'Politics is a science and an art that does not drop from the skies . . . and science demands, first the calculation of the experience of other countries, especially if these other countries, also capitalist countries, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience; second, science demands the calculation of all the forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in the given country, and does not demand that policy be determined by mere desires and views, degree of class consciousness and readiness for battle of only one group or party.' (Left-Wing Communism' p.61. Little Lenin Library Vol. 16.)

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In these broad historical outlines, Rosa was proved right. For the revolution of 1918 was "spontaneous", that is, it was accomplished by the masses against all the provisions and all the precautions of the party officialdom. On the other hand, the whole of Germany's subsequent history amply showed that spontaneity alone is far from enough for success; Hitler's regime is a weighty argument against the panacea of spontaneity." (Writings of Leon Trotsky—1935-36, Pathfinder Press p.111.)

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consciousness and imbue it with the outlook of revolutionary socialism.

### Revisionism: 'cover for idealist backwardness'

This means a struggle not only against the Stalinists and Social Democrats but especially against those like the International Socialists (IS) who masquerade as 'Marxists' and 'Trotskyists', but in reality pander in the crudest way possible to the reformist politics and idealist backwardness of the spontaneous movement.

Marxism for these revisionists is a mantle to cover-up all that is weak, backward and false in the ideology of the working class, a means by which the working class is diverted from the struggle for state power and kept politically subject to the agencies of capital.

Probably the greatest falsifier of Leninism in this field today is Mr T. Cliff—leader and 'theoretician' of the International Socialism group.

Proceeding from the untenable and completely unscientific thesis that capitalism is expanding—though rather spasmodically—Mr Cliff's chief aim is to show that there is no conflict between the party and the spontaneous movement of the class and to belittle the crisis of leadership in the class.

In a recent article in 'Socialist Worker' called 'The battle is won the war goes on' Mr Cliff makes it abundantly clear that for him socialist politics is an adjunct to the spontaneous pressure of the masses and that there is little prospect of an overthrow of Toryism.

The first half of his article Cliff devotes to what he calls the 'ineffectiveness of Tory oppression' i.e. the Pentonville events, the wage struggles etc. This section proves that Cliff is a consummate artist in telling workers what they already know—in the most pedestrian, if somewhat facetious way.

But when Cliff tries to explain the 'ineffectiveness' of the working class in forcing the Tories out, despite two years of strikes, he finds himself treading water. Instead of a critical analysis of the real weaknesses of the working class—its reformist consciousness and its opportunist leadership—Cliff provides his readers with a completely non-historical, supra-objective interpretation which leaves no room at all for the intervention of the subjective factor—the conscious leadership of the revolutionary party.

Says Mr Cliff: 'The other side of the coin of the ineffectiveness of Tory oppression is the fragmentation and volatility of the workers' struggle.'

What is this 'fragmentation'? According to Cliff in a previous article in No 36 of 'International Socialism', April-May 1969, this new sociological category is an objective process beyond the conscious control of workers:

"The full employment (or near full employment) of the war and post-war period gave the workers new confidence, but at the same time fragmented the working class."

Not to despair though, because, as Cliff quickly reassured his troubled followers, history was working (at least in the palmy days of the French General Strike) relentlessly in the opposite direction:

"Now, with the new stage—the increasing similarities between the experiences of workers in the different fragments and the trend to break down the borders of frag-



Lenin addressing the delegates to the Third Congress of the Comintern held in July of 1921. He took up the sharpest struggle against syndicalism and the Comintern defined its task as "to lead the present defensive

ments, a revolutionary agitation that is both general and specific can start having a greater impact than ever before."

If this was true in 1969, why isn't it working any more? Is there any guarantee that even if there were no 'fragmentation' the spontaneous struggle of the class could secure the overthrow of the Tories? Of course not!

### IS defends Stalinism

This unscientific and mystical

argument answers nothing. The reason for the continued existence of the Tories is the anything but fragmented treachery of the trade union and Labour Party leaders.

The same argument applies to Mr Cliff's subterfuge about 'volatility' (he hadn't discovered this category in 1969). Strikes do not develop in a straight line nor appear all at once. They proceed dialectically. They arise out of the class struggle and not according to a preconceived plan. But the outcome of all these strikes is determined by subjective considerations; by the politics

of their leadership.

As an example of this so-called 'volatility', Cliff quotes the example of the agitation against the Industrial Relations Act. When the TUC refused to give a lead in the struggle against the Bill, the militants, according to Cliff, 'made an immediate 180 degree turn': 'The militants' slogan now was "Stop the Retreat". This volatility affects largely the advanced sections of the working class. It is rooted in (1) the feeling of the militant that quite often he cannot carry the majority of his own workmates with him and (2) his isolation from militants in

other places of work and even more, in other industries.'

Cliff's method is here clearly revealed. Rather than make a concrete analysis of the tactics and policies of the 'militants' who led the unofficial movement against the Bill—and in particular their attitude to the 'lefts' on the TUC General Council—he presents his readers with the disembodied abstraction of 'volatility'.

By means of this sterile argument Cliff justifies the worthless reformist-Stalinist policies of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and attributes the weakness of the movement

to his favourite scapegoat—the working class.

The truth is that the Stalinists did not develop the initiative and militancy of the working class in the direction of a political struggle to force the Tories out. They confined the anti-Industrial Relations Bill movement to a gesture of protest and scrupulously avoided any action which would have embarrassed their left friends on the TUC. The so-called '180-degree turn' which followed the March 18 sell-out by the TUC was, in fact, a chaotic retreat rather than a defensive posture. That is why

the Stalinists gave little or no support to the SLL demand for a recall of the TUC and eventually gave critical support to the TUC's talks with the government. (Under pressure from the workers they have now supported the demand for the recall of the TUC.)

Neither 'volatility' nor 'fragmentation' but Stalinism was responsible for the failure of the 'militants' campaign.

Mr Cliff cannot and will not present this analysis to his readers—because he and his fellow leaders in IS consciously participated in the fraud of protest, pressure and total

opposition to forcing the Tories to resign and for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

### Cliff and Lenin

Since T. Cliff of the International Socialists is fond of misquoting Lenin to convince untutored workers that he is an orthodox Leninist, it would be appropriate to restate Lenin's contempt for the kind of apologetics which Cliff employs.

In 'What is to be Done', Lenin writes about the Russian 'Economists': 'Why do the Russian workers still manifest little revolutionary activity in response to the brutal treatment of the people by the police...? Is it because the "economic struggle" does not "stimulate" them to this, because such activity does not "promise palpable results", because it produces little that is "positive"? To adopt such an opinion we repeat, is merely to direct the charge where it does not belong, to blame the working masses for one's own Philistinism (or Bernsteinism)' ('What is to be done?' p.70.)

Lenin never repeat never—used the subterfuge of 'fragmentation' of the class as an answer to the unfulfilled responsibilities of leadership. When the Russian 'economists' tried to blame the workers' 'lack of strength' for the failure to conduct a nationwide struggle against the autocracy, Lenin retorted:

"Yes, we have indeed lost all "patience" "waiting" for the blessed time, long promised us by diverse "conciliators", when the Economists will have stopped charging the workers with their own backwardness and justifying their own lack of energy with allegations that the workers lack strength." ('What is to be done?' p.90. Moscow 1969.)

Following from his idealist and metaphysical interpretation, Cliff advances a form of organization which is the antithesis of all that Lenin argues for in 'What is to be Done?'

Writing in the August 5, 1972 'Socialist Worker', Cliff contrasts in a mechanical way what he considers to be the vanguard of the working class and the organized labour movement:

'Let's assume that we had in this country a revolutionary socialist party, a combat organization, steeped in struggle and schooled in the art of strategy and tactics for the overthrow of capitalism. Let's assume that we had 50,000 members. There is no question that this would indeed be a powerful cog wheel. However one cog wheel of this size could not have moved the cog wheel of 11 million (trade unionists)... A connecting cog wheel is necessary between the two.

This is the organization of militants in different unions and industries who work together round specific issues, issues wider than those affecting a small group of workers in one place of work and not going as far as to aim at a complete emancipation of the working class by the overthrow of the capitalist system.

IS members participate in building such a cog wheel in the form of rank-and-file organizations...

'The rising conflict will disclose to workers the magnitude of the struggle, will widen their horizons and will help clarify their ideas. It is very important for members of IS to do their best to recruit militants into our political organization as well as to strengthen all exist-

ing rank-and-file industrial and trade union organizations.' ('Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972, No. 283. Our emphasis.)

In three paragraphs Cliff has managed to concentrate all the idealist syndicalist confusion, indifference to Marxist theory, opposition to socialist politics and patronizing condescension towards workers which characterize the IS group.

Is it not interesting that at a time when millions of workers are being forced into political battle with the Tories over state pay laws, inflation, housing, immigration, Common Market, and the Industrial Relations Act, when the political role of the union bureaucracy becomes apparent to hundreds of thousands of trade unionists—precisely at this time when the situation cries out for a revolutionary party to lead the workers—Mr Cliff rushes in brandishing his wand of non-political rank-and-fileism like some fairy godmother in a pantomime?

This syndicalism—despite Cliff's chatter about 'revolutionary organization' and 'political revolutionary struggle'—arises from a basic deviation from Marxist theory.

This is explicit in Cliff's already-quoted article in the 1969 IS journal where he wrote:

'The point of departure of a revolutionary organization is the experience—the action, thinking and organization—of the workers, and the aim of its operation is raising the historical initiative and drive of the working class.' And again: '... the duty of a revolutionary is to raise theory to the level of practice.'

### The Economism of IS

How far removed all this is from the standpoint of Marxism is best seen by contrasting Cliff's eclectic generalization to Lenin's precise and scientific definition:

"Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up not solely with a full clear theoretical understanding—it would be even truer to say, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical understanding—of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life. For this reason the conception of the economic struggle as the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, which our Economists preach, is so extremely harmful and reactionary in its practical significance."

Lenin was so irreconcilably opposed to these syndicalist fetishes that he returned to them 18 years later in 'Left-Wing Communism' when he fought the anti-parliamentary prejudices of certain leaders of the British Communist Party:

"Politics is a science and an art that does not drop from the skies... and science demands, first the calculation of the experience of other countries, especially if these other countries, also capitalist countries, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience; second, science demands the calculation of all the forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in the given country, and does not demand that policy be determined by mere desires and views, degree of class consciousness and readiness for battle of only one group or party." (Left-Wing Communism' p.61. Little Lenin Library Vol. 16.)

Of course every revolutionary party bases itself on the working class as the only class capable of overthrowing capitalism. But no Marxist would make 'his point of departure' the 'thinking' and 'experience' of the working class which is confined almost entirely to the economic struggle. Socialists who perpetrated such a stupidity would be doing what some of the early Russian socialists did.

'They would be depriving the workers of a fulcrum in their struggle, they would be depriving them of the possibility of concentrating their efforts and aiming their blows at the social organization set up by the exploiters. Instead, the workers would have to wage partisan warfare against individual exploiters, or at most separate groups of those exploiters, who would always have on their side the organized powers of the state . . . By preserving the political indifference of the workers as a most important sign of the radical nature of their economic demands, we gave indirect support to modern absolutism.' ('Socialism and the Political Struggle'—1883. Plekhanov, p.91-92. Selected Philosophical Works.)

Replace the words 'modern absolutism' with Toryism and we have a cogent description of the policies of the IS as they exist today. From this can be seen the banal nature of Cliff's remarks on the relation of theory to practice.

Whereas Lenin fought all forms of tail-ending the working class and to 'raise the spontaneous movement to the level of Marxist programme' (p.52 'What is to be Done?') Cliff, on the contrary, proposes to 'raise theory to the level of practice.'

### Dialectics and apologetics

**Marxism unequivocally repudiates IS leader Mr T. Cliff's assessment of the historic task facing revolutionaries. It is not, as he says, to 'raise theory to the level of practice', but consists of 'overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard'. ('Transitional Programme of the Fourth International', New Park Publications.)**

This means, first and foremost, a constant struggle between the theory and practice of the revolutionary party in order that the political consciousness of the vanguard, and through it the vast majority of workers, can be raised to the level of the historical task: the conquest of power.

This also presupposes a continuous struggle of the vanguard minority against the dominant bourgeois ideas in the working class.

The Marxist prognosis does not base itself on a fatalistic acceptance of the *status quo* in society or the consciousness: which such a situation generates in the majority of workers.

On the contrary, and unlike the revisionist empiricist who accepts implicitly and exclusively what his senses tell him—i.e. 'facts' and the identity of things as they are—Marxists cannot content themselves merely with what their perceptions inform them. They do not dismiss facts, but grapple with the contradictory reality which lies behind every fact.

They criticize the facts in order to transform them.

The empiricist does not wish to go beyond what things seem to be—their appearance.

The Marxist, on the other hand, seeks to discover the essence of things through a process of perception, abstraction and practice. In this cognitive process, practice is the decisive criterion of the truth. It is only in this way that the contradictions within everything can be revealed, their manifold relations grasped, that a more profound knowledge is gained of the lawfulness and necessity of every process and the scope for subjective control, i.e. leadership, enlarged.

This is the nub of the Marxist theory of knowledge which is cogently expressed by Hegel in his 'Doctrine of Essence' quoted by Lenin in his Philosophical Notebooks:

**'If now the primary Determinations of Reflection—Identity, Variety and Oppo-**

tion confirmed and very clearly revealed in a comparison between the method of Cliff in his 'Socialist Worker' article and that of Trotsky.

In his article, Cliff has only a passing reference to the deepening crisis of capitalism. Nowhere is there even an attempt to explain the titanic conflicts which will lead inevitably to an attempt by the Tories to establish a corporate state and ultimately to social revolution. (Significantly, neither the word corporate state nor revolution occurs once in the compass of his article.)

Thus after a lyrical description of the spontaneous militancy of the workers, Cliff virtually dismisses the need for a conscious leadership by reserving one paragraph—the concluding one—to the question of the party:

'Because the ruling class is highly centralized, its ability to manoeuvre is much greater than any individual section of

said that politically the bourgeoisie attains its greatest powers, its greatest concentration of forces and resources, of political and military means of deception, of coercion and provocation, i.e. the flowering of its class strategy, at the moment when it is most immediately threatened by social ruin . . . Let us not forget also that the bourgeoisie finds itself face to face with mortal danger, after having accumulated colossal political experience.

The bourgeoisie has created and destroyed all sorts of regimes . . . All this varied and rich experience which has entered into the blood and marrow of bourgeois ruling circles has now been mobilized by them in order to maintain themselves in power at any cost.' ('First Five Years of the Communist International', Vol. II, pp. 4 and 5. New Park Publications. Our emphasis.)

The politics of the capitalists antedates that of the workers.

of proletarian dictatorship, but as a 'school of tactics and strategy' and as a 'combat organization', i.e. an organization that fights but does not seek to conquer power.

Moreover the necessity for this party, according to Cliff, is not present now, but only in a future sense. Thus there is neither 'vitality' nor 'impulse' in Cliff's analysis because his outlook eliminates all real contradiction and motion.

That is why there is no independent practice of the revisionists and why they accept uncritically and, in the case of Mr Cliff, euphorically, the spontaneous practice of the working class as their starting point. That is also why IS theory is never enriched and becomes a sterile dogma. This is the surest path to scepticism and subjectivism.

The history of revisionism is a brilliant demonstration that those who reject the conflict of thought and practice eventually end up by completely and arbitrarily separating the unity of thought and being. This method opens the door to the most reactionary forms of idealist thought—to the substitution of intuition, myths, etc. for reason, to the rejection of materialism and to complete prostration before the capitalist class and its state.

The differences with Cliff, therefore, are clear and unbridgeable.

They are:

- a complete rejection of the Trotskyist premise that 'the objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only ripened they have begun to get somewhat rotten' ('Transitional Programme');
- a blind indifference to the prospect of a major catastrophe threatening the working class in the event of the failure of the socialist revolution;
- a total rejection of the Marxist principle that the 'chief obstacle in the path of transforming the pre-revolutionary into a revolutionary state is the opportunist character of proletarian leadership', Stalinist and social democratic ('Transitional Programme');
- a conscious refusal to see the historical crisis of mankind and the substitution of the 'self-mobilization of the working class', i.e. capitalist ideology for the conscious struggle for dialectical materialism and for the raising of the political consciousness of the working class to the level of the revolutionary tasks.

### CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

<sup>1</sup> Right-wing reactionary French newspaper.

<sup>2</sup> 'The main features of the immediate period are, to recapitulate: quick changes, fluctuations, economic, social and political, reflecting both the expansion of capitalism and its intermittent, unsystematic nature . . .

'After World War II three options were opened to Marxists in the evaluation of the immediate future of capitalism:

a) to assume that the war changed the features of capitalism very little, i.e. that massive unemployment, very low wages etc will continue. (This, basically, has been the line of the SLL) [This basically, is a complete distortion of the SLL's line]

b) Capitalism has changed completely, is no more irrational and anarchic. (This was the position of Anthony Crosland and John Strachey).

c) Capitalism is as irrational as ever but now its irrationality (is) not so much in non-use of productive capacity, but in misuses—the permanent arms economy. [This is the perspective of the state capitalists i.e. that the conflict between property relations and productive forces—the basis of Marx's analysis of capitalism—no longer existed.]

(These extracts are from Cliff's article 'On Perspectives' printed in 'International Socialism' No 36—April-May 1969.)



The All Trades Unions Alliance conference of the SLL set the task of building the revolutionary party

sition—are established in a proposition, then the determination into which they pass over into their truth [namely Contradiction] should much more so be comprehended and expressed in a proposition: all things are contradictory in themselves, in this meaning, that this proposition as opposed to the others expresses much better the truth and essence of things . . .

'But it has been a fundamental prejudice of hitherto existing logic and of ordinary imagination that Contradiction is a determination having less essence and imminence than Identity; but indeed, if there were any question of rank, and the two determinations had to be fixed as separate, Contradiction would have to be taken as the more profound and more fully essential. For as opposed to it Identity is only the determination of simple immediacy, or of dead being, while Contradiction is the root of all movement and vitality and it is only in so far as it contains a Contradiction, that anything moves and has impulse and activity.' (Lenin's emphasis.) (Lenin's 'Collected Works', pp. 138-139 Vol. 38.)

### Cliff ignores crisis

What Lenin presents in the quotation from Hegel is more

the working class. Therefore the need for a revolutionary party, to repeat, as a school of strategy and tactics, and at the same time an active combat organization, will become more vital than ever.' ('Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972. Our emphasis.)

Everything here is wrong and centrist to the core. The manoeuvrability of the ruling class is determined not so much by the fact that it is 'centralized', but mainly because the ruling class has a very acute sense of its desperate political situation flowing from the insoluble crisis of the economic system. Trotsky analysed the crisis of the capitalists in his speech to the Third World Congress of the Communist International in July 1921:

'If the further development of productive forces was conceivable within the framework of bourgeois society, then revolution would generally be impossible. But since the further development of the productive forces within the framework of bourgeois society is inconceivable, the basic premise for the revolution is given. But revolution in and of itself signifies a living class struggle. The bourgeoisie, even though it finds itself in a complete contradiction with the demands of historical progress, nevertheless still remains the most powerful class.

'More than that, it may be

This, however, is a relative advantage which can and will be overcome only to the extent that the conscious vanguard 'must train its own proletarian "class politicians" who will be as skilled as the bourgeois politicians'. ('Left-Wing Communism', Lenin, p. 61.)

### The task of the party

In contrast to the bourgeoisie the working class remains politically tied to the apparatus of reformism and Stalinism and, through this apparatus, to bourgeois politics. No amount of the trade union struggle can alter this fact. Only the revolutionary party, fighting for political power and based on Marxist theory, can solve this contradiction.

Trotsky urged the European communists in 1921 to set up communist parties with the principal aim of setting up the dictatorship of the working class because he was absolutely convinced that the insoluble crisis of imperialism and the class contradictions in Europe threatened the working class with barbarism. The victory of Hitler proved how correct was his struggle against opportunism and for new leadership.

There is no such urgency in Cliff's pedantic analysis which determines his conception of the party, not as the instrument

# David North Books

# The Turn To A New International



1932: At a meeting of students in Denmark, Trotsky delivers his famous speech, "In Defense of October."

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

## PART THREE

This volume makes clear that Trotsky was concerned above all with the development of a leadership within the working class based upon an international perspective. He overcame the extraordinarily difficult conditions of his exile and gave the cadres of the Left Opposition in 16 countries invaluable theoretical leadership.

Trotsky fully grasped the central role which he occupied within the revolutionary movement due to the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Stalin. Therefore, when he received an unexpected invitation to visit Denmark to address a social democratic student organization, Trotsky took advantage of the opportunity to arrange discussions with the leaders of the Left Opposition.

The improvised meetings were of critical importance because events that would decide the fate of the Stalinist Third International were coming to a head. It was necessary to draw a balance sheet of the international experience of the struggle to reform the official parties of the Comintern.

When Trotsky arrived in Copenhagen in November 1932, where he delivered one of his most brilliant speeches, "In Defense of October," he was greeted by 24 comrades and six sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

With the Stalinists in enormous crisis both within the Soviet Union and in all the sections of the Comintern, the size and influence of the LO had grown considerably since 1928. In order to wreck the conference, Stalin informed the Danish police

by radio of the discussions Trotsky was holding.

However, the meetings were held over several days and proved successful. The theoretical basis for a pre-conference planned for February 1933 was established. But significant problems were exposed as Trotsky came into sharp conflict with tendencies whose political point of departure were so-called "national peculiarities."

### INSULAR

In a discussion bulletin that he wrote upon his return to Prinkipo, Trotsky placed special emphasis upon the insular perspectives of the Spanish section led by Andres Nin which failed to have its representatives in Copenhagen on account of last minute difficulties.

"...I take the liberty of expressing my certainty that the leading Spanish comrades," wrote Trotsky, "if they locked themselves less into their environment and showed more interest in their international organization, would have found the way to Copenhagen without difficulty. "But that is precisely the chief misfortune of the Spanish Opposition. Its leaders have persistently kept their organization completely away from the internal life and the internal struggles of the other sections, and thereby shut it off from access to irreplaceable international experience."

This was among the earlier warnings made by Trotsky about the Spanish Opposition's adaptation to petty bourgeois nationalism and its substitution of subjective considerations (such as Nin's personal friendship with the Right Oppositionist Maurin) for the principled politics of Marxism.

Another difficulty arose over the interpretation by some members of the LO to a letter written earlier by Trotsky in which he had suggested that the working class could take power under a left-centrist leadership. This possibility, which had been raised in reference to the Comintern in 1931 and only as a highly speculative exception, had encouraged certain tendencies to minimize the decisive historical role of the LO.

Though Trotsky had presented this hypothesis originally in arguing against those who had objected to the Left Opposition's fight for reform of—rather than premature break with—the Comintern, he decisively clarified his position to prevent any distortion of his real ideas on the struggle against Stalinism:

"To weaken the struggle against Stalinism on the ground that under certain conditions even the Stalinist leadership would prove unable to prevent the victory of the proletariat (as the leadership of Thaelmann could not prevent the growth in the number of Communist voters) would be to stand all of Marxist politics on its head."

### PABLOITES

It is important to bear in mind that these articles were written before Trotsky declared the Stalinists to be counterrevolutionary agents of world imperialism. Therefore, the historical background of his speculative remarks and his vigorous clarification stand in complete opposition to the Pabloites who declared that the Stalinists could lead socialist revolutions in 1953—20 years after Trotsky declared the Third International dead for that purpose and began to construct the Fourth International.

"The International Left Opposition, Its Tasks And Methods" was a document written in December 1932 in which Trotsky made a detailed assessment of the reasons for the degeneration of the Comintern and put forward the principled foundation upon which the Left Opposition fought for its reform. He explained that the failure of the proletariat of any advanced country to seize power during the period after the October Revolution had no less profound an effect upon the European sections of the Comintern than on the Soviet Communist Party.

"When the Soviet bureaucracy," Trotsky asserted, "exploiting the disappointment of the Russian workers in the delay of the European revolution, set forth the national-reformist theory of socialism in one country, the young bureaucracies of the other sections breathed a sigh of relief; the new perspectives offered them

a road to socialism independent of the process of international revolution. In this way, the reaction within the USSR coincided with the reaction in the capitalist countries and created the conditions for successful administrative repression of the Left Opposition by the centrist bureaucracy."

In preparation for the Paris pre-conference of the Left Opposition, Trotsky declared that its cardinal principles were: the independence of the proletarian party; the rejection of the theory of socialism in one country; and, the recognition of the USSR as a workers' state.

Regarding the last point, Trotsky wrote: "Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against world imperialism is such an elementary task of every revolutionary worker that the Left Opposition tolerates no vacillations or doubts on this question in its ranks. As before, it will break ruthlessly with all groups and elements which attempt to occupy a 'neutral' stance between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world (Monatte-Louzon in France, the Urbahn group in Germany)."

A number of articles in this volume reveal the concentrated attention with which Trotsky followed the developments within all the sections of the Left Opposition. He maintained constant correspondence with his co-thinkers all over the world, anxiously encouraging the development of their base within the working class. Learning that a particular section was ready to expand its press was, for Trotsky, cause for great satisfaction.

To the Belgian section he wrote: "You recently transformed your publication into a weekly. Now you are enlarging its format. An excellent achievement. We must rejoice all the more in that your journal depends not on occasional contributions but exclusively on a proletarian organization. In this connection, the Belgian section can and must become an example for many others."

### AMERICAN SECTION

Trotsky made a critical intervention in the work of the American section that proved to be of great importance for its political growth. When Arne Swaback

(Continued On Page 14)



# The Turn To A New International (cont'd)

visited Prinkipo in February 1933, he told Trotsky that the Communist League of America was on the verge of a split stemming from bitter factional disputes between James Cannon and Max Shachtman.

While Swabeck most likely had expected to win Trotsky's support for the Cannon faction, Trotsky instead proposed that a basis be found for conciliation. He emphasized in a letter to the International Secretariat that he found no principled differences that could warrant a split between the two factions.

Trotsky suggested that the objective basis of the disputes were actually rooted in the propagandist character of the League's work. Without a strong base in the working class, personal differences reached exaggerated proportions and tended to dominate over principled considerations. Trotsky then criticized Cannon's method of handling disputes within the movement:

"In the impatient organizational maneuvers which in a disruptive fashion are agitating the entire League by bringing prejudices to bear upon each group separately, it is impossible not to see the harmful influence of the methods and the procedure of the epigone Comintern, which has accustomed an entire generation to seek a way out of all sorts of difficulties through apparatus combinations at the expense of the whole organization. Therein lies one of the worst traits of bureaucratism!"

Insisting that a split would do great damage to the theoretical development of the Marxist movement in the United States because the differences were "incomprehensible to all except those who initiate the split" and therefore undermine the authority of the Left Opposition among advanced workers, Trotsky issued the following warning:

"The two groups should fully understand that in case of a split neither of them could nor would be recognized as a section of the International Left Opposition. The two halves, condemned to impotence for a long time, would find themselves in a situation similar to that of the present groups in Czechoslovakia, who are not now members with full rights in the international organization but only sympathizing groups."

As his first article had been interpreted by Cannon to be overly favorable to Shachtman, Trotsky wrote another letter on the American dispute in which he made clear that this had not been his intention. He simply wanted the Americans to find a means to end the factionalism which expressed serious theoretical weaknesses within the leadership. Only in that way could a movement be constructed.

Trotsky's intervention had an important effect upon the American movement. Cannon and Shachtman were able to begin a fruitful collaboration that was to last several years and bring about an important growth in American Trotskyism.

It is important to note, however, that the present leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, which published this volume, returns to this old dispute for reasons that are worth examining. It must be said that in past volumes of Writings of Leon Trotsky, the extensive footnoting has been accurate. But the notes prepared for this dispute deliberately counterpose Cannon's assessment of the earlier factional battles to that of Trotsky. On page 349 can be found a quote from Cannon's *The History of American Trotskyism* in which he recalled that the first major dispute between Shachtman and himself "weren't fully comprehensible to the membership because the great political issues which were implicit in them had not yet broken through. However, they were not mere personal quarrels as they so often appeared to be, but, as is now quite clear to all, the premature rehearsal of the great definitive struggle of 1939-40 between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois tendencies within our movement."

## MECHANICAL

It was nothing of the sort. Cannon was



Jean van Heijenoort and Max Shachtman secure Trotsky's French visa, July 1933.

simply reading back into history to explain the development of the SWP with mechanical formulas rather than confronting the essence of the great battle of 1939 to 1940: the defense of Marxism against the philosophical agnosticism of Shachtman and the open attempt of Burnham to uphold pragmatism over dialectical materialism.

Understood properly, the intervention of Trotsky in 1933 was to warn the Americans of the dangers of subjective circle politics.

As for the SWP, it dredges up this quote, which shows Cannon at his weakest, in a spirit of bankrupt epigonism. At a time when revisionism in the United States and internationally is in deep crisis, when the SWP must taste the bitter fruit of its unprincipled reunification with the Pabloites by being forced to split with their fraudulent Unified Secretariat, and when the SWP is finding it impossible to masquerade as a Trotskyist party, it seeks to defend itself by marching under the banner of "orthodoxy." This is what lies behind the deep bow before Cannon.

The Paris pre-conference was an important success. Trotsky declared:

"The deepest significance of the work of the conference is precisely that it was not engaged in repeating commonplaces of Marxism and strategic projects but that it summarized precisely the conclusions of the real workers' movement and the tasks of its communist vanguard. Here precisely lay the difference between the Marxist faction (however small it is today) and all and every kind of sectarianism."

elements within the left socialist organizations might be turned from centrism to Marxism by the intervention of the Left Opposition.

Explaining the process which opened new opportunities to the Left Opposition, Trotsky wrote: "The independent socialist organizations and left-oppositionist factions within the Social Democracy are either avowedly centrist organizations or they contain within their ranks strong centrist tendencies or survivals. Their positive side is that they develop in a revolutionary direction under the pressure of the historic blows received by them. For us to seriously approach these organizations on a clear principled basis will signify a new chapter in the development of the Left Opposition and thereby of the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in the world workers' movement. A great international revolutionary organization inspired by the ideas of the Left Opposition would become a center of attraction for the proletarian elements of the official Communist parties."

For 10 years, the Left Opposition had struggled for the reform of the Third International. Because the Stalinist parties led millions of workers in the advanced countries and the Soviet Union, Trotsky was not prepared to dismiss them with a wave of his hand. Instead, the Left Opposition "had to fully exhaust all the possibilities of the old situation" because Trotsky took the actual class struggle as his point of departure and this was the only way in which a new leadership could be trained.

Trotsky had stated very clearly that if the catastrophe in Germany could not change the policies of the Stalinists, nothing else could. Therefore, on July 15, 1933, the document "It Is Necessary To Build Communist Parties And An International Anew" was completed by Trotsky. He called upon all the sections of the ILO to prepare for the building of the Fourth International.

As he declared the need for a new International, Trotsky once again went over the reasons for the degeneration of the old one:

"The dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy arose as a result of the backwardness of the USSR (the predominance of the peasantry) and the tardiness of the proletarian revolution in the West (the absence of independent revolutionary parties of the proletariat). In its turn, the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy has led not only to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but also to the terrible weakening of the proletarian vanguard in the whole world. The contradiction between the progressive role of the Soviet state and the reactionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy is one of the manifestations of the 'law of uneven development.' In our revolutionary politics we must take this historically given contradiction as our point of departure."

To those who wanted assurances that a Fourth International would not meet the same fate as the Second and Third, Trotsky replied:

"Those who demand guarantees in advance should in general renounce revolutionary politics. The causes for the downfall of the Social Democracy and of the official communism must be sought not in Marxist theory and not in bad qualities of those people who applied it, but in the concrete conditions of the historical process. It is not a question of counterposing abstract principles, but rather of the struggle of living social forces, with its inevitable ups and downs, with the degeneration of organizations, with the passing of entire generations into discard, and with the necessity which therefore arises of mobilizing fresh forces on a new historical stage. No one has bothered to pave the road of revolutionary upsurge in advance. With inevitable halts and partial retreats it is necessary to move forward on a road crisscrossed by countless obstacles and covered with the debris of the past. Those who are frightened by this had better step aside."

TO BE CONTINUED

The conference was held under the shadow of the greatest defeat in the history of the proletariat. Less than one week before Hitler had taken power in Germany. The heaviest burden for this catastrophe lay upon the Comintern under Stalin.

Following this event, the Left Opposition declared the German Communist party dead and broke with the Stalinists in that country. However, it left open the question of its future relations with the Third International. Trotsky maintained that the Left Opposition would not decisively break with the Comintern unless all its sections proved unable to assess the defeat in Germany and thereby prepare for the regeneration of the international party.

Within several weeks, the actions of the Stalinists confirmed that they would not confront their monumental errors. The Soviet bureaucracy declared that the policies which had paved Hitler's road to power were correct. Not one national section protested the resolution of the leadership of the Comintern, published April 1, 1933, in which the infallibility of Stalin's disastrous policies was proclaimed.

In the face of this historic betrayal, the question of a break with the Comintern and the building of a new International was posed. Trotsky first proposed that the Left Opposition, now confronted with great new tasks, seek to win the best forces emerging from the wreckage of the European workers movement. He said that

**BY DAVID NORTH**  
**The treacherous role of centrism in the trade unions was exposed at the Special Bargaining Convention of the United Auto Workers, held March 22 and 23 in Detroit, by the United National Caucus.**

Without the deliberate decision of the leadership of the largest opposition caucus in the UAW to abandon the fight for the labor party supported by a majority of its members at the recent UNC conference, the Woodcock bureaucracy would have faced a major challenge to its bankrupt bargaining program, which gives Nixon and the auto bosses the right to control wages and attack the working and living conditions of the ranks.

At a time when the Nixon Administration has made every contract a political issue through the establishment of laws which give the government the right to rip up any gains won by the working class, the UNC entered into an alliance with the Stalinists of the American Communist Party to prevent the raising of any political issues at the convention.

Furthermore, because the UNC insisted that the UAW convention was not the place to raise political issues like the labor party, it dropped from its auto program all those basic contract demands that can be won only through the political mobilization of the working class against Nixon.

It is for this reason that the UNC cynically retreated from its earlier demand for a minimum annual wage of \$12,000 for auto workers and actually raised no demand on wages whatsoever. Therefore, the United National Caucus collaborated with the Woodcock bureaucracy on the most fundamental issue before the trade union movement.

**PHASE THREE**

While raising limited criticisms, the UNC never objected to the political heart of the UAW bargaining program: acceptance of the 5.5 percent Phase Three guideline established by Nixon.

When Pete Kelly, co-chairman of the UNC, was asked by the *Bulletin* why he refused to raise the demand for the labor party against Woodcock's collaboration with Nixon, he replied:

"You people are always talking about the labor party. What does that have to do with this convention? There are workers here and we have to talk about the bargaining issues."

The fact is that Kelly, only one year before, had called for a labor party at the UAW Convention in Atlantic City. Standing before the delegates, who had just heard a speech from Democrat Edward Kennedy, Kelly declared: "We support a labor party in Canada and by god, we ought to fight for a labor party in this country."

Later, Kelly told the *Bulletin*: "There is something that is happening and that is that you can talk about a labor party in the plants today and people will listen and give credence to it. That's what has to be done."

But today Kelly is at the forefront of the fight against politics in the unions, which really means—in this period—lining

up against the labor party and behind Woodcock's alliance with Nixon.

The independent meeting called by the UNC on the first evening of the convention revealed that it had no policy to counterpose to the Woodcock bargaining program. At a meeting attended by about 40 delegates, who had come to hear Kelly outline a real opposition program, they heard instead a lengthy presentation by ex-Western Director of the UAW Paul Schrade, who had been voted out of office last year in Atlantic City because of his complicity in the massive aerospace layoffs.

In a brief introduction, Kelly

alliance between the UNC and the Stalinists of the Communist Party was cemented. Schrade has always been backed by the Stalinists as a progressive bureaucrat, who, like Woodcock, is a staunch opponent of the labor party. Schrade maintains that the trade unions should use the McGovern "reforms" to win influence within the Democratic Party.

Schrade, of course, had nothing to say about wages. The main issues, he declared, was "humanizing" the plants.

What characterized the UNC throughout the convention was its absolute prostration before

UAW.

Thus, because the UNC does not challenge Woodcock on the fundamental issue of his collaboration with Nixon, it actually serves as a useful cover for the bureaucracy. Therefore, when Kelly spoke on the floor and ran out of time, Woodcock—for all his heavy-handed control of the floor debate—graciously granted a time extension without even a formal vote. It was all part of the game.

**WOODCOCK'S COVER**

The UNC acted as Woodcock's cover by refusing to raise the issue of wages. It is this question that terrifies Woodcock because

Woodcock's acceptance of Phase Three and plan to prevent a strike in auto.

What makes the case of the UNC particularly important is that one of its leaders, Art Fox, was once a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and fought in that party for a perspective around the labor party. In 1962, he declared that the labor party had to be taken off the shelf.

But he refused to see the labor party through the struggle to construct a Marxist leadership in the trade unions. Hostile to questions of theory, refusing to learn from the struggle against revisionism, he adopted the anti-communist position that the Soviet Union is a state capitalist society and broke with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Later, he broke with the revisionist SWP when it came into conflict with his isolated trade union work.

Functioning as a syndicalist, he next dropped the issue of the labor party and actually turned against it. At the last UNC conference, he spoke in opposition to the resolution on the labor party. Though he was defeated on this question, Fox and Pete Kelly went ahead with the abandonment of the labor party as they prepared the UNC "intervention" in the bargaining convention, for they were determined to maintain their ties with the Stalinists and the bureaucracy.

Operating without principles, the UNC have been unable to build anything inside the UAW. Only rarely can they even publish an opposition paper. But they play a dangerous role because they seek to tie the ranks to Woodcock through their opposition to the building of a labor party.

**NATIONAL AUTO CAUCUS**

Today, there is only one real opposition caucus within the UAW, and that is the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. If insists that the struggle to defend work conditions against brutal discipline measures and speedups, to win a decent wage, and to ensure job security requires a confrontation against the Nixon government.

The labor party is the central question. Only through the mobilization of the working class in such a party can a real alternative to the Woodcock policies of collaboration with Nixon be developed. A labor party would forge the unity of the working class in defense of their rights and their unions.

The National Auto Caucus calls upon all auto workers to reject the bargaining program passed at the UAW Convention and build a new leadership around the following program:

- Twenty percent wage increase the first year with a 100 percent cost of living escalator for each year of contract!
- No layoffs! 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay!
- Stop the speedup! Abolish Paragraph 8!
- Right to strike over all contract violations. Abolish Paragraph 117!
- No involuntary overtime!
- Real 30 and out at \$650 per-month with 100 percent cost of living!
- Decent grievance procedures—guilt must be proven before discipline is assessed!

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

# Woodcock's Loyal Opposition



Pete Kelly speaking at UAW Bargaining Convention. Insert, Leonard Woodcock.

confined his criticisms of the Woodcock program to picking points about the "harmony clause," as if such a clause were surprising in a contract proposal which had nothing to say about wages and speedup and job security. Kelly himself skipped over these points, refusing to confront the necessary fight for a 20 percent wage increase, preparation for a national strike against the "Big Three" and the struggle against the GMAD speedups.

When Paul Schrade spoke, he breezily admitted that as a former member of the UAW bureaucracy, he was well acquainted with the sellout policies of the leadership.

This prompted one delegate to ask: "What the hell were you doing when you were in the leadership?"

"Well, I'm not in the bureaucracy now," replied Schrade.

It was through Schrade that the

Woodcock bureaucracy. The caucus has existed for seven years and sees the relationship within the union as something fixed and unchanging: there is Woodcock and there is the UNC. The latter has certain criticisms of the former. But as far as the UNC is concerned, nothing really can be done. Woodcock will always be there.

This sense of paralysis was revealed somewhat incidentally at the conclusion of the convention. Pete Kelly could be seen standing at the entrance to the convention floor. A supporter of the UNC walked by, shrugged his shoulders and said to Kelly: "Well, we'll try again next year." Only total blindness to the economic crisis which is producing the movement of millions of workers against Nixon could produce this perspective. The UNC has no policy to lead the working class against the attacks. Instead, it functions as the loyal opposition within the

he knows that millions of workers are prepared to fight the controls he accepted.

But because the fight for a decent wage increase means a confrontation against the government and poses the critical need for an independent labor party to establish a workers government, the UNC had nothing to say about this in Detroit.

Like all the official, non-political syndicalist opposition groups—like Morrissey in the National Maritime Union or Miller in the Miners Union, the UNC plays a reactionary role because it cannot lead the workers in a period when the very survival of trade unions is threatened.

Miller invited the government into the miners' union, Morrissey proposed last week that NMU members fight unemployment by sending a delegation to jump up and down on the White House lawn during the six o'clock news, and the UNC agreed to cover for

## Ranks Shut PATH For 15% Pay Hike

BY BRUCE McKAY

NEW YORK, April 3—PATH commuter trains ground to a halt Sunday as 214 members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Local 1330, went on strike for a big wage increase.

Pickets at the Pennsylvania Station stop told the *Bulletin* the central issue in the strike is the pay hike, which would bring them up to the same level as other transportation workers in the area, as well as help fight the ravages of Nixon's inflation.

"The working man doesn't realize the same thing's going on now that went on during the

'30s," said one worker.

"We realize that two or three months from now we're not going to be any better off financially with three or four hundred dollars a year more than we are now, with the way the cost of living is going up," he said.

Another worker said: "If anyone has read Nixon's Phase One and Phase Two and Phase Three policies, they can see they're not designed to control prices. They're to hold down wages."

One worker showed a *Bulletin* reporter his paycheck stub, which showed his week's take home pay at only \$110.

"You take the average guy here on the road," a worker said. "He might take home even as much as \$140 to \$150 a week, but he can't support a family on that with the way prices are."

## TUALP . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Bal Harbour to accept the 5.5 percent guidelines—a fact he has denied up to now.

Finally, Abel comes to this unprecedented agreement with the steel bosses to let them, with Nixon's help, write the contract of 350,000 steel workers.

All the bureaucrats, from Fitzsimmons to Woodcock, will not fight Nixon because this would require political action against the government by the working class—something these men totally oppose.

The response of steel workers to this betrayal by their leadership must be swift and decisive. Mass membership meetings must be called in all the USWA locals to reject Abel's collaboration with the companies and Nixon.

In repudiating the pact, the TUALP calls upon all steel workers to demand that the USWA prepare for a serious struggle against Nixon's attacks on the labor movement and for a new contract that defends their living conditions with a big wage increase and guarantees against layoffs.

We demand that the USWA call for a Congress of Labor that will mobilize the entire trade union movement in a general strike against Phase Three and construct a labor party pledged to the nationalization of the steel industry under workers control—the only way jobs can be safeguarded.

It is only through the struggle for this fighting policy that a new leadership will be constructed against Abel in the USWA.

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

B-52s are pounding liberation troops in Cambodia in an effort to prevent a complete takeover of the capital by the liberation forces and to force them to accept a ceasefire.

The North Vietnamese representatives on the Military Commission have issued a statement accusing the US of "sabotaging" the agreement and of "creating an extremely serious situation in South Vietnam, threatening the implementation of the agreement in its entirety."

The NLF cited 19,000 incidents of "landgrabbing" in which Saigon troops are attempting to regain control of NLF villages and are using the official Military Commission helicopters to attack the population. They also charged Thieu with the liquidation of countless prisoners in South Vietnamese jails.

Over 9000 "advisors" will permanently remain in Saigon. These men, under cover of various technical jobs, will provide Nixon with an essential base of operations. In addition, an unlimited number of CIA



One of the strikers out against PATH interviewed by the *Bulletin*.

## Philly Schools Face Rizzo's Budget Axe

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—At a stormy meeting of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers on March 30, teachers made clear their determination to protect their union.

This was the first rank and file meeting since ratification of the contract and the members forcefully expressed their understanding that government is attempting

what teachers refused to allow in the recent contract fight—to break the PFT.

The government's attacks did not end with ratification of the contract and School Superintendent Costando has even announced that Philadelphia schools may not open this fall because of a more than \$71 million deficit in the school budget.

The leadership of the PFT has refused to fight these attacks. Just as they cooperated in stifling a general strike of Philadelphia workers in support of the teachers, just as they accepted Mayor Rizzo's "suggestion" of how to bring the teachers to a four year contract, just as they accepted a contract which makes no provisions for the rapidly rising cost of living, they have once again betrayed the teachers in calling this rank and file meeting for the announced purpose of raising dues to pay the fines imposed on the PFT during the strike.

Limiting the debate to the dues increase, the leadership was able to ram it through by obscuring the real issue in the controversy: how can the teachers protect the PFT from the government's attacks and the capitulation of the leadership to those attacks.

The betrayals of the Ryan and Sullivan leadership create the conditions for the emergence of all sorts of opportunists with their eyes on the May 5 union elections. Specifically, a slate running under the name "MS3" has emerged from a split on the Executive Board of the union. This slate is claiming to be an alternative to Ryan and Sullivan.

It is an alternative based on personality, not program. At the March 30 meeting, MS3 attempted to capitalize on the hostility to the leadership's proposal and this opportunism

would not let the meeting center on a more fundamental issue: whether or not the PFT should remain in the American Federation of Teachers.

It is in the midst of such controversy that the Stalinists' Progressive Caucus exposes its true character. This caucus claims to offer the teachers a principled opposition to the present leadership, and it pleads for "a union which is responsible to its members."

At the meeting, for example, the PC put forward an amendment to the leadership's dues increase proposal which would establish a strike fund once the fine was paid. The controversy between the Ryan leadership and MS3 has now thrown the PC into tremendous crisis.

The controversy which erupted at the meeting over the betrayals of the leadership forced Ryan to speak from the floor in support of many of the PC's reforms to Executive Board proposals to make them more acceptable to the rank and file. This outright cooperation between Ryan and the PC exposes the role of these Stalinists.

The bankruptcy of the present leadership, opportunist slates and the Progressive Caucus in the midst of the fight of the teachers to defend their union poses the urgency of forming a caucus which will fight for leadership against the government's attacks by taking up the program of the teachers section of Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party: the only movement fighting to keep the PFT in a merged AFT and NEA and fighting for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

It is this caucus which will fight for the understanding among Philadelphia teachers that this is the only way the past gains of the working class can be carried forward.

## ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

capitalist finance ministers admitted that floating currencies represented by worthless paper will remain in force.

It is significant that the IMF statement made no mention of gold.

The economic situation poses grave dangers. While American workers are justly concerned with the rise in prices, this is not the fundamental aspect of the economic crisis. The massive inflation of credit pursued by the capitalists for a generation in order to maintain production is now leading straight toward collapse.

As living conditions are driven down through the rise in prices, the imminent business failures with the ensuing layoffs of hundreds of thousands is the central danger facing American workers.

## MORRISSEY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

And he added: "How else do you do this under the system? You want to change the system? I'm not out to change the world. I'm only out to change the NMU."

The Workers League gives critical support to Morrissey in the election as a blow against the corruption and dictatorship of the Curran regime, which will only be continued if Curran's hand-picked candidate, Shannon Wall, is allowed to win. But no seaman or pensioner must place any confidence in Morrissey's ability to lead the NMU forward against the attacks of Nixon and the capitalist shipowners.

For this task, caucuses must be constructed in the NMU around the fight for a labor party and the struggle to develop an alternative Marxist leadership in the union.

agents will continue to function in the South.

When Senate aides asked Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Sullivan what was the "constitutionality" of the Cambodia bombing, he simply replied "the re-election of the President."

## PREPARE

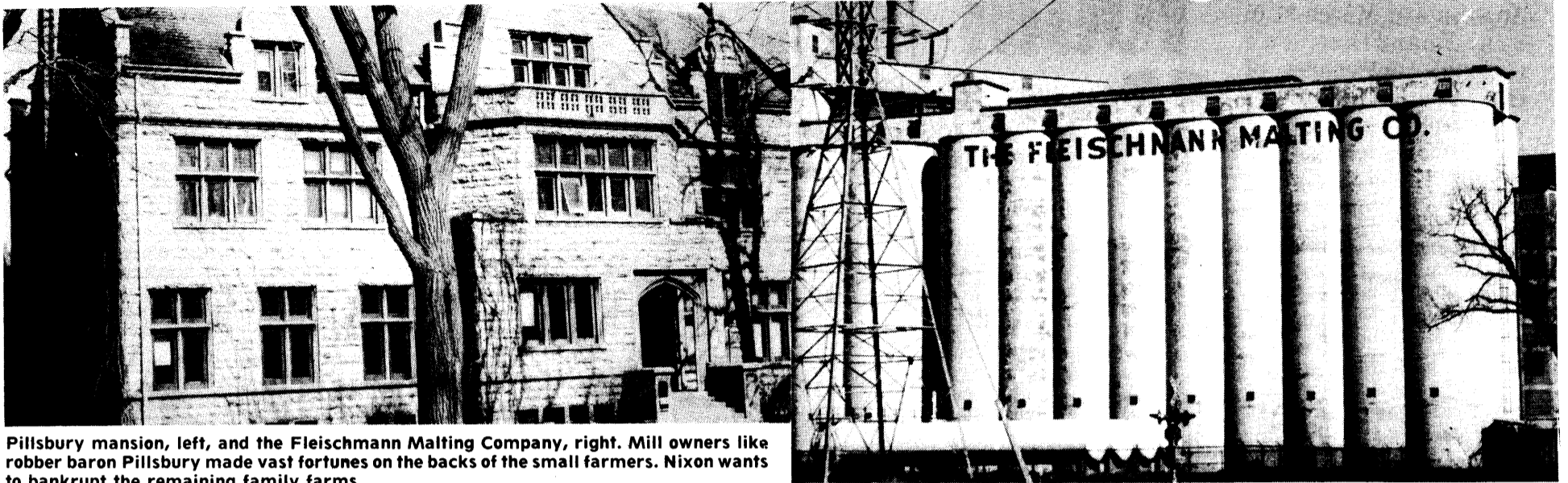
The Paris agreement, hailed by the US Communist Party and the Soviet leadership as a great "victory" has fallen apart. The Stalinist theme of forcing Nixon to "comply" with the agreement has helped Nixon prepare for the present situation by obscuring his real aim of cutting the NLF off from supplies in order to openly liquidate the revolutionary movement in the South.

If Nixon says that his re-election gives him a "mandate" to do as he wants in Cambodia then he fully intends to use the same "mandate" to carry out his attacks on American workers.

The brutal methods Nixon has used against the Vietnamese people will now be turned against the workers here as they move into struggle to defend their living standards against the soaring inflation and the wage freeze.

This means that a defense of the Vietnamese working class can only go forward through a fight to mobilize the labor movement against Phase Three and for the construction of a labor party to defend the interests of the working people.

# Farmers Under Nixon's Plow



Pillsbury mansion, left, and the Fleischmann Malting Company, right. Mill owners like robber baron Pillsbury made vast fortunes on the backs of the small farmers. Nixon wants to bankrupt the remaining family farms.

BY PERRY IVERSON

Since December Nixon has used skyrocketing food prices as a cover to eliminate every major government farm program. These drastic measures are not designed to lower food prices but to liquidate the family farm. On behalf of the large corporation farms and super agribusinesses like Tenneco, Ralston Purina, Cargill and Green Giant, Nixon is determined to finish the process that began in the early 1900s. With the turn of the century, small farmers finished settling the West and large scale capital immediately began to drive these farmers off the land into the cities.

In 1776, 95 percent of the United States' population were farmers. Today about five percent till the soil. In 1970, there were two and one-half million farms. Twenty percent of these farms produced 75 percent of all the food. About 50,000 farms produce 34 percent. The other side of these figures is the fact that three-quarters of all farms gross less than \$10,000 each year. Out of that amount farmers must pay all farm expenses and eek out a living for their family.

Nixon has declared his determination to bankrupt and destroy the vast majority of small farmers left in this country. To accomplish this task Nixon persuaded Earl Butz, former agriculture advisor to Dwight D. Eisenhower, to leave his comfortable position at Ralston Purina and become Secretary of Agriculture.

Butz first swung his axe on December 27, 1972 when he terminated the Emergency Disaster Loan Program that grants farmers low percent loans in case of natural destruction such as floods, hail and wind. Thousands of farmers in Western Minnesota—where crops were devastated by floods last year—depended on aid from this program. Bob Arndt, a farmer from Yellow Medicine County, Minnesota, one of the hardest hit areas, complained: "Emergency disaster loans—we've got to have them. Mr. Butz said that farm income is up, that we can take care of ourselves in agriculture and that we don't need emergency disaster loans any more. Well, what about those farmers who didn't get a crop this year? What about the farmers who didn't get higher prices last year? The Administration's termination of disaster loans and other farm programs has created a black day in rural American agriculture."

A Scott County farmer not directly affected sympathized, saying: "I can feel it for those guys. I don't know how they'll make it. A lot of farmers out there will close up."

Nearly every farm program is being wiped out. Most of these programs date back to the 1930s and the New Deal. Rural Environmental Assistance Program (REAP) was to use \$225.5 million to share with farmers' costs for conservation programs this year. In the past the government paid of portion of the expenses for projects such as spreading lime, planting trees for wind breaks, draining swamps, and flood prevention, designed to improve the land and protect against natural disasters. REAP no longer exists. One farmer said that was "akin to inviting back the Dust Bowl."

## ELIMINATED

Butz also attacked the Farmer's Home Administrations' plans to make \$1 billion available for rural housing. This program affects 80,000 families each year. It has been eliminated. During the 1930s, the government began a program to bring electricity and telephone service to every area of rural America. The Rural Electrification Administration was able to accomplish this through two percent interest loans. Nixon ended this subsidy.

Also terminated is the acreage restriction program, or soil bank. To stabilize prices, the government paid farmers to set aside out of production a certain number of acres. This allowed many small farmers to retain ownership of their land by placing the poorest ground in soil bank, although they were unable to compete. Now 40 million acres of the 60 million "set aside" will be opened to production.

By eliminating this program Nixon returns to 1933 and the very first desperate acts of the New Deal, which frantically tried to save a collapsed system. From 1929 to 1932 the per capita net cash income of American farmers fell from \$162 to \$48. Farm prices had fallen 55 percent. Mortgage debts, assumed when prices were higher, were impossible to meet and in many areas farmers were unable to clear the cost of production. Since the individual farmer saw no way to fight falling prices except to increase production, all he did was put more produce on the market and drive prices down faster and further.

The Agriculture Adjustment Act (AAA) passed May 12, 1933 aimed to increase farm income by controlling production. This act gave the government the authority to pay benefits to farmers for withdrawing land from cultivation. In the spring and summer of 1933 alone, 10 million acres of cotton were plowed under. The AAA proceeded to increase the prices of hogs by buying, slaughtering and burying five million pigs.

The absolutely reactionary character and anarchy of production under capitalism could not be revealed more starkly than in these actions of the New Deal during the depression. While millions of workers and their children stood in soup lines and starved in this country and around the world, Roosevelt destroyed millions of tons of food. His Secretary of Agriculture made the arrogant statement: "We must play with the cards that are dealt. Agriculture cannot survive in a capitalist society as a philanthropic enterprise."

Acreage restriction or soil bank and direct price supports were the central aspects of a concept developed in 1933 known as "parity." The object of parity was to restore to the farmer the same relationship of prices to costs that he had from 1909 to 1914. As these programs went into effect, production declined and gross farm income rose 50 percent between 1932 and 1936.

## PARITY

The direct effects on small farmers by a drop in parity is dramatically demonstrated today in the dairy industry. Since the mid-1960s small dairy farmers have been selling their herds because of the relation of the price of milk to the price of feed necessary to produce the milk. This was halted and milk production increased because parity was increased to 85 percent in April, 1971. On March 8 of this year the government announced a drop in price supports of milk to 75 percent of parity, the lowest allowed by law.

Publicly, the government announced that this action would lower the price of dairy products for the consumer. The opposite is true. Inflation is pushing the prices the farmer must pay to maintain a herd of cows sky high. One farmer reported to the *Bulletin* that a particular feed supplement he needs "costs \$13 per hundred weight. Six months ago it cost \$6 per hundred." Because of this dairy farmers are again selling their herds. A shortage is developing that will drive prices working people must pay for milk even higher.

Now however, with the contempt of a member of Nixon's super-cabinet, Earl Butz recently responded to a newsman's question with, "Yah, what about parity? That's a bunch of nothing."

But the announcement that the government is phasing out all price support programs is the most drastic measure of all. As early as 1890 the populist Southern Alliance proposed a "Subtreasury System" to aid the small farmer. With AAA in 1933 the basic form of this system was instituted. In 1936 the Commodity Credit Corporation was permanently established.

Under the CCC price support program the farmer places his grain under a support loan guarantee of, for example, \$1.20 per bushel. After harvest, the government stores and seals the grain in CCC bins. The farmer may redeem the loan at maturity or before if the market price rises. If the market price does not rise above \$1.20 the government gains title. The farmer is able to borrow capital to produce and is assured of a price floor.

Price supports have been a central tool in stabilizing prices and establishing a percentage of parity. Before this program small farmers who couldn't afford to store their grain were forced to sell at harvest time when everyone else was selling and prices were lowest. They were completely at the mercy of railroads—which charged "a bushel of grain to haul a bushel of grain" to market—the giant milling industry, and the city bankers. Robber barons like J. J. Hill and mill owners like Pillsbury accumulated vast fortunes off the plight of these small farmers.

Behind these moves is the insoluble crisis of the capitalist system itself. Suffering from an intolerable \$6.5 billion balance of payments deficit in 1972. Nixon must intensify a trade war with Europe and Japan. Small farms are less productive, and their goods less competitive than the giants. Farm programs are too expensive. They are eliminated. Hundreds of thousands of small family farms must be destroyed. These people will be driven to look for jobs in the sweat shops of middle size towns and into the cities to join the swelling ranks of the unemployed. Nixon is determined to intensify the process of the domination of large scale capitalism in agriculture at the expense of small farmers.

This process has continued through bitter conflict and often armed battles since Shay's Rebellion of 1786 to 1787. During the 1860s farmers began to band together in the Patrons of Husbandry or the Grange. Co-operatives were formed in a futile attempt to compete with large milling, rail and banking capitalists.

During the depression of the late 1890s the populist movement grew enormously, culminating in the Presidential election of 1896.

## POPULISM

In 1932 and 1933 the Farmers' Holiday Association organized farm strikes. Armed pickets of hundreds of farmers closed off large towns to prevent the sale of livestock or grain. In Council Bluffs, Iowa, the sheriff arrested 66 striking farmers. He threw them in jail and stationed deputies armed with submachine guns around the building. The next day 1000 armed and angry farmers marched into town, surrounded the jail and demanded the release of the 66 men. This kind of activity was widespread.

The entire history of the populist struggle of small farmers has been characterized by certain common demands: cheap money and low interest loans, better transportation, protection against the banks and milling industries and price security.

Populism is essentially the radical reformism of the middle class. It has always characterized the struggle in society as one of the "poor against the rich," of the people against the conspiracy of Wall Street. All that is necessary therefore to return justice and morality to government is to weed out the corrupt and greedy individuals. It views the future with fear and longs for the impossible—to bring back the past. The whole struggle for parity is an attempt to return to the conditions of pre-World War One. But with that war, international capitalism irrevocably entered a stage of decline. Populism is the hopeless struggle of the individual, of the small producer, against the very logic of capitalism which must destroy the small producer.

Nixon is making it clear that every gain won, every reform granted in the past must now be taken back. Survival today depends not on reform but on the struggle of the working class against capitalism for power. The small farmers must join their fight with the struggle today to build a labor party which will fight for socialist policies.

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTING TEAM

On March 24 in Los Angeles and March 31 in San Francisco two regional conferences of the Young Socialists were held to prepare for the founding conference of the Young Socialists in New York on May 26.

The conferences were addressed by Abby Rodriguez, editor of the *Young Socialist*, on a national tour to build the YS conference. The Los Angeles conference marked a historic step forward in the construction of a Trotskyist youth movement to lead the struggle of youth in Southern California. Southern California perhaps more than any other area of the country expresses the sharpness of the contradictions of the entire post-war capitalist boom, which is now breaking up.

COLLAPSE

As this is written, the newspapers are reporting the collapse of the three billion dollar Equity Funding Life Insurance Company in Los Angeles and one of the biggest financial scandals in history.

In the Los Angeles area is one of the greatest concentrations of industry in steel, auto, rubber and aerospace of any city in the country, and a working class that has built up big traditions and powerful organizations in the period since the war. It is also the home of some of the most anti-union, rabidly right-wing employers in the country, who have been forced to tolerate and make concessions to the labor movement during the entire period of the boom.

Thus held down by an absolutely corrupt and complacent labor bureaucracy, grown up under conditions of compromise, the Los Angeles labor movement has never really tested its enormous strength. It is this compromise which is now beginning to break up, preparing the way for some of the sharpest class battles this country has ever seen.

YOUTH PAPER

Precisely because the Workers League bases itself on the real movement of the working class and an understanding of the economic crisis that now make impossible the continuation of any compromise, it has prepared for this situation. On the basis of this fight for perspective against the revisionists the Young Socialists movement has been launched and its paper developed.

This tremendous strength of our movement was expressed at the Los Angeles conference with the attendance of a big delegation of youth from Watts who came seeking a lead from the only movement that can construct a leadership to see to it that the next rebellions are not crushed as the Watts rebellion was.

It was this strength that threw the middle class radicals into a frenzied attack on the Young Socialists. Summing up all the hatred of the radicals for the working class, insisting that this is a period of peace between the classes that requires only a passive propaganda existence, the Spartacist League mobilized virtually its entire West Coast membership to picket the YS

Young Socialists West Coast Tour

# Youth Fight For Marxist Leadership



Abby Rodriguez addressing Bay Area YS Conference, while the Spartacist League, insert, picketed outside to show their displeasure with building a revolutionary youth movement.



conference.

This demonstration was in essence an anti-communist demonstration which under conditions in Los Angeles to which the Spartacists are completely oblivious could have led to police provocation.

Any doubts of this were expelled that evening when the West Coast organizer of the Workers League and the *Young Socialist* editor were picked up in Watts. Both were thrown in jail for suspicion of grand theft for driving the auto of another comrade. Needless to say, the police found no need to contact the owner to determine if the car was stolen so determined were they to find an excuse to break up our movement.

LABOR PARTY

Spartacist, which refused to campaign for a labor party, which has never called a demonstration or meeting to mobilize workers against Nixon, was still able to mobilize its entire membership against us.

The demonstration was summed up by an older worker who passed by and, seeing the insane spectacle of Spartacist, demanded to know why they didn't call a demonstration against the prices

of meat. Needless to say, it was not answered, as the demonstrators seemed to think the worker had come from the moon.

STEP FORWARD

The conference itself represented a big step forward. All the problems of constructing a movement in Los Angeles were posed among the 45 youth present. A section of youth, largely from the middle class, raised questions as to why all tendencies could not unite, really refusing to come to grips with the sharpening crisis which demands that the YS be constructed in the fight against revisionism.

Many other contributions reflected the complacency of the tendency picketing outside, which it was necessary to expose, both for the best elements in the middle class and to train a youth leadership in that fight.

At the same time, youth from Watts came forward to discuss the budget cuts and the big attacks on the youth and the need to reach out to the working class to prevent a repeat of the Watts rebellion. Several of these youth fought to give a real lead, stressing the life and death questions of constructing the YS as a leadership organization to

prepare the workers and youth for the coming explosions.

Out of this struggle, a big section of the youth present began to see the actual urgency of going forward to construct that movement. This was reflected in a unanimous vote to proceed with the construction of the YS and a massive May Day meeting in Los Angeles.

It was also expressed in a magnificent fund collection of well over one hundred dollars and youth without any money pledged themselves to raise as much as 10 to 20 dollars to build the daily *Bulletin*.

A very big development was reached with the decision of the conference to go into the Watts area late in the afternoon for the sale of the new YS paper and a fight to build for a party later that night. A section of the youth who were tired and had not eaten proceeded into Watts to begin this important work. A party later that night represented the real beginnings of the work of the Watts Young Socialists which can now develop as a living, fighting movement against all the hostilities of the radicals.

BAY AREA

In the Bay Area, 70 youth

attended the conference. This conference as well took place on the eve of historic changes precisely at the point that the Bay Area labor movement, one of the most powerful in the country with a rich history of struggle, is preparing an offensive.

From the experience of the University of California Medical Center in which Bay Area unions threatened solidarity strikes, to the Emporium Department Store strike, which mobilized Bay Area unionists to sit-in at the store, the labor conferences of six counties are now being forced to prepare for massive demonstrations to mobilize the trade union movement against the attacks of Phase Three.

The YS conference was once again picketed by Spartacist, with somewhat depleted forces, apparently wearied from their constant journeys up and down the coast. This time however, actual Spartacist supporters were secretly sent into the conference to seek to break it up.

The report by Abby Rodriguez emphasized the absolutely fundamental nature of the attacks upon the youth and the need to bring forward the movements of youth in defense of their basic rights, appealing to the trade union movement for support in the struggle. He stressed the criminal role of the Stalinists and the revisionists in seeking to hold back these developments.

Speakers from Spartacist rose to attempt to put forward the idea that there is really no crisis. The distance from the youth was expressed in the contribution of one speaker, who said essentially that the youth could do nothing but get into the unions and do long, patient propaganda work against the union bureaucracy, which he saw as all-powerful.

Clearly, this individual has never so much as spoken with a youth from East Palo Alto or San Jose, as he would have discovered that many had never been able to get a job of any sort. Spartacist tried to tell the youth that the fight against the budget cuts was hopeless and reformist and to leave them with no perspective to fight.

NATIONALISTS

These comments were put forward precisely at a point when the fight of the Young Socialists against the budget cuts at San Jose City College was bringing forward a big response from working class youth who feel these attacks directly, and in forcing the nationalists, who fear the development of the YS and its paper, into a bitter anti-communist attack on our movement.

A number of youth came forward to discuss the attacks on medical care among the poor and the school closings in Palo Alto. The questions being raised were not on whether to fight, but on how to fight.

One youth raised the question of whether the YS perspective was for taking up guns, posing the problem of developing youth to understand the fight to bring out the strength of the working class.

An extremely important development was participation of people from Seattle, one of whom came forward and insisted against Spartacist that the fight for wages and basic rights was a political question that raised the question of power to the working class because of the crisis.

The conference unanimously decided to build a mass May Day meeting for May 4 in San Francisco and a collection for the daily *Bulletin* raised over \$80.

## West Coast News

# Stalinists Urge Vote For Cop

BY MITCH PATTERSON

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles mayoralty race has aroused no response among voters. With all the major candidates running vicious law and order campaigns aimed at any sign of working class resistance to the present assault on living standards, there have been occasions where 16 candidates for city office have spoken to crowds of 11 people.

Precisely at the point where the two party system is in collapse, with the leading liberal Democrat being twenty year cop Tom Bradley, the Stalinist Communist Party comes out openly to prop it up.

Communist Party Central Committee member William C. Taylor is running for city comptroller on a completely reformist

program. "We can provide jobs," he says. "The federal funds have been allocated but the city won't use them properly." This is outright lying to the working class.

There is not a word in his campaign literature about the budget cuts, inflation, anti-union laws, any of the basic issues facing the working class.

The whole campaign is designed to foster illusions that the system can be reformed and that a "good Democrat" can do the job. Taylor himself stated at a candidate meeting at Los Angeles City College: "I will cast my vote for Tom Bradley. Getting a Black man in government is better than the sectarian Trotskyite vote. As for the labor party, the only reason why we didn't have one in the 30s and 40s is because the Trotskyites refused to support the United Front because they wouldn't be able to control the labor party."

This vicious slander shows the desperation of the Stalinists at the break which is being prepared between the working class and their friends in the Democratic Party. The Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s did everything in its power to channel the upsurge of the working class which created the CIO into support for Roosevelt. It was the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists of that time, who led the fight for the labor party.

The SWP, however, is something quite different today from what it was in the 1930s and 1940s. A spokesman for the SWP responded to Taylor: "We'll vote for you if you'll vote for Olga Rodriguez, our candidate for mayor."

The SWP seeks agreement with Taylor instead of defending the historic struggle of the Trotskyist movement for the labor party. The Rodriguez campaign for mayor totally drops the labor party fight and appeals instead to Chicano nationalism.

It is only the Workers League and the Young Socialists that is waging a consistent fight to lead the working class to answer Nixon's attacks politically through the building of a labor party.

thrown out of work.

In addition, more than 30,000 jobs will be slashed, mostly in the Pacific Northwest. Seven small ports which do more than half of their business to logs may be shut down completely.

The most recent issue of the *Dispatcher*, newspaper of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, attacks the Packwood bill for the devastation it will cause in West Coast ports and urges protest before Congressional committees to stop it.

But this policy is completely bankrupt in the face of the economic crisis. All the ILWU leadership can do is try to persuade the capitalists that they should try some other way of running a trade war.

The logic of defending the "national interest" in the trade war means that the working class must pay through mass unemployment and enormous inflation for the crisis of their "own" capitalist class. The Packwood bill is only the first glimpse of the economic chaos which is being unleashed by the floating of all major currencies.

This crisis requires an end to pleading for concessions and a turn by the labor movement to fighting for political power by the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

## TEACHERS. . .

(Continued From Page 20)  
status of collective beggars," the UTLA is hanging its hopes on the state Supreme Court.

Vice President Larry Sibelman told the *Bulletin* that the "union will carry this to the state Supreme Court which is a more liberal court, and I think we can get a more favorable ruling." Sibelman went on to say that he has great faith in the two Democratic gubernatorial candidates who are advocating collective bargaining for public employees. No strike action is planned against the court's decision.

The court's ruling is based on the fact that public employees are not specifically granted the right to strike under state law and therefore the court holds that such a right does not exist.

With the UTLA demanding a 12.5 percent wage increase in the upcoming negotiations, twice the Phase Three limit, teachers will need more than a little pressure on the liberals even to defend the right to have a contract. According to the ruling, the Board of Education can implement rules and regulations agreed to by both parties, but they "must be subject to change at the board's pleasure."



The Watts Young Socialists took a big step forward at the LA youth conference.

# No-Strike Trade War Bill Pact Angers Ranks Threatens 30,000 Jobs

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Uncontrollable inflation in the price of lumber is sparking trade war measures by the government against Japan and Canada. A bill has been introduced in Congress by three West Coast Senators to ban all exports of logs from the United States by 1977.

Prices of finished lumber have leapt more than 15 percent in the last year, adding more than \$2000 to the price of a single family home. Home builders estimate that more than four million working class families have been driven out of the housing market by the price rise.

Lumber and building industry spokesmen claim that the Japanese are outbidding them for logs cut on the West Coast, and that this is the cause of the skyrocketing prices. Already six saw mills in Idaho have been shut down because there are no logs for them to cut.

Senator Packwood of Oregon revealed the real purpose of the bill by citing US balance of trade figures. The US is a net importer of wood products, exporting \$400 million in raw logs, mostly to Japan, and importing upwards of

\$1.5 billion in finished lumber, the bulk from Canada.

According to Packwood, if the logs now exported were diverted to American saw mills for processing, they would replace more than \$800 million in imported lumber, thus reducing the US trade deficit.

### FRAUD

This reasoning reveals all the concern about high prices for houses to be a cynical fraud. The bill will be used not to increase the supply of timber so as to reduce prices, but to drive out cheaper Canadian lumber and replace it with more expensive American goods, sending prices up still further and making a killing for the lumber industry, which is already enjoying record profits. The Canadian lumber industry will be devastated and thousands of Canadian workers

BY A REPORTER  
FONTANA, Calif.—Local 2869 Steelworkers in the Kaiser mill here angrily denounced USWA President I.W. Abel's "no-strike" pact with the major companies in interviews held with *Bulletin* reporters.

### RIGHT

"Our union was built on the right to strike," declared one rank and file worker. "Without that right we might as well forget about negotiations. We won't get a damn thing."

Another worker told the *Bulletin*: "It's terrible, but not surprising. Abel is on Nixon's Cost of Living Council, trying to hold wages to 5.5 percent, while inflation eats up our paychecks. I'm sure he knows we won't put up with even the 5.5 percent, let alone 3.5. Abel is trying to make it impossible for us to fight the government."

Ernie Mason, an older worker, said: "We all know that none of those big politicians are doing us any good. We have to organize the working people against what is happening. Mr. Abel's family doesn't feel anything as far as the money crisis goes. Just watch the big change here at Kaiser because of this. We need the right to strike."

Steelworker Shadwick stated that the ranks would reject Abel's pact with the companies. "Just because Abel signed something doesn't mean that a half million steel workers are going to go along," he declared. "Striking is the only way we have to fight."

### SOLDOUT

A young worker denounced Abel: "He sold us out in the last contract with the productivity clause and now he has sold us out again."

## Political Committee Statement

### Spartacist Stalls On Debate

AS we go to press Spartacist will not commit itself to a public debate of its differences with the Workers League under conditions in which those to whom Spartacist has spread its slanders can attend and participate.

We proposed that such a debate take place at "UCLA or any other convenient location in the Los Angeles area." We mentioned UCLA because it has been at UCLA that Spartacist has conducted its campaign of slander. It has not been in Watts because Spartacist never ventures into Watts. It has not been downtown Burbank nor has it been on the Santa Monica Freeway.

Spartacist has insisted that the debate be held only over the weekend and at night. It would debate at UCLA at such a time. As everybody knows, there is not a soul at UCLA at night or on a weekend. We have not been slandered at UCLA during the evening hours of the weekend.

Spartacist has worked up the energy to picket two conferences of the Young Socialists in an action which can only be interpreted as anti-communist. Their total activity in the current period has been to seek to denounce and disrupt the development of the Workers League. They literally do nothing else.

Why then can they not fit into their agenda the time for a debate at UCLA where students exposed to their slanders can participate? Our proposal still stands. No reasonable proposal will be turned down.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WEST COAST OFFICE: 3327 24th Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94110

Phone: 824-4096



Buyers line up at J&H Horsemeat in Portland, Oregon. The store has sold out of meat three times in the last month. One customer said: "When I started buying here the highest price was 69 cents a pound. Now it's \$1.05 a pound. Soon it will be \$2.05 a pound."

## Hospital Closure Slashes 500 Jobs

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Six Public Health Service hospitals will be shut down and 4400 jobs slashed under plans announced last week by the Nixon Administration. All in-patient care is to be transferred to private hospitals over the next six months. The hospitals serve merchant seamen and some federal employees in San Francisco, Seattle, Galveston, New Orleans, Baltimore, and Boston.

At the San Francisco hospital, at least 500 of the 660 workers will lose their jobs by September 1. A switchboard operator told the *Bulletin* bitterly: "I've been trying not to think about it. I haven't got any chance to transfer if I lose the job."

A young medical records clerk said: "Instead of closing down they ought to take in more public patients. At San Francisco General Hospital there are long lines. We need a lot more hospitals, not fewer."

### CYNICAL

A hospital administrator made clear the cynical economics behind the shutdown. "Their hope is that without a hospital of their own where they are guaranteed admission these patients will disappear and costs will go down. The patient load is to go down right away to 45,000 in-patient days from 85,000 days. Otherwise it makes no sense economically, because we give complete care here for \$80 a day, while the likely contractor is bidding \$167 a day."

### FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

About 35 percent of the patients at the San Francisco hospital are federal employees injured on the job. Now they will have to compete for the few places in other city hospitals where waiting lists run to several months.

The merchant seamen who make up the bulk of the patients are guaranteed free medical care by law. But they will suffer from

being dumped into already overcrowded facilities. The leading bidders, a consortium of Pacific Medical Center and St. Francis Hospital, plan to absorb the additional 200 patients per day with little or no increase in staff.

Even the two biggest PHS hospitals, at New York and Norfolk, are threatened. The only reason they are not slated to go with the rest is that no bidders could be found among private hospitals to take over the enormous number of patients involved. They will be kept open on a temporary basis.

### NIXON

Nixon is at war with all public services won by the working class in struggle against the government. This is not limited to the gains of the 1960s or even the 1930s. Merchant seamen have been guaranteed decent medical care by law since the 1790s, as small compensation for the brutal conditions aboard ship. Now this right is being destroyed.

The leadership of the unions has no strategy to fight these cutbacks. Both the seamen's union and the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) which organizes the hospital workers are pinning their hopes on pressuring the liberals in Congress. What is required is immediate strike action by all the hospital workers to defend their right to a job and a campaign throughout the labor movement for a general strike against the budget cuts.

## Editorial

### Nationalists Redbait Young Socialists

Somos Raza, a Chicano nationalist organization at San Jose City College has launched a vicious red-baiting campaign against the San Jose Young Socialists.

Somos Raza, appealing to the school administration and right-wing organizations, is demanding the ouster of the YS from the campus on the grounds that the fight for socialist policies is against the interests of Raza students and the community.

These reactionary nationalists are forced to undertake this campaign because there has been a big response from the Chicano students for the fight of the YS to unite students with the working class against the budget cuts which threaten the right to an education.

Their attacks on the YS come precisely at the time when the fight to develop a revolutionary youth movement is taking great strides forward.

•Two regional conferences of West Coast Young Socialists in San Francisco and Los Angeles brought forward new layers of student and working class youth into a political struggle against the government around the fight for a Congress of Labor that will build a labor party to defend the youth.

•Armed with their own monthly paper, the Young Socialists are building for the National Conference of the Young Socialists in New York City on May 26 that will open the way for a mass revolutionary youth movement.

•The YS Draft Program—which outlines the struggle of the YS to defend every basic right from a decent job to decent entertainment—is now being sold by the thousands to students in areas like Watts in preparation for the National Conference.

Somos Raza is terrified by these developments. The struggle of the YS exposes their bankrupt nationalist perspective which divides youth and isolates them from the working class. Somos Raza is paralyzed by Nixon and can only tell youth to adopt the useless policies of protests and appeal to liberal politicians.

Joining Somos Raza are hysterical middle class forces like the Spartacist League, who have no program to fight Nixon but assemble anti-communist picket lines outside the youth conferences held by the YS in Los Angeles and San Francisco in order to sabotage the building of a revolutionary leadership of the youth.

The program of the YS is clear for all to see. It is fighting for the repeal of all budget cuts through strike action of students and teachers to be combined with a campaign throughout the labor movement for strike action and the convening of a Congress of Labor to smash Phase Three and build a labor party.

## Magee Jury Says No To Government

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO, April 3—Despite the most open strong-armed attempts by Judge Morton R. Colvin to force a conviction of Ruchell Magee for murder and kidnapping, the jury refused to bring in a unanimous guilty verdict. The jurors who deliberated for eight days said for the fifth time that they were deadlocked. Today Colvin was forced to declare a mistrial.

Moses Shepherd, a member of the jury, told a reporter he

had refused to vote to convict Magee. "I was staunch for acquittal on both counts. I didn't believe he was guilty. The prosecutor didn't prove his case."

### HATRED

The enormous difficulty of the government in getting a jury to convict Magee reflects the tremendous hatred and distrust of Nixon among millions of workers and the middle class.

The hung jury is a blow against this government and a victory for the working class.

There must be no illusions in the courts, however. Nixon's answer to the resistance to his policies reflected in such a turn of events in the Magee case will be to speed up the complete dismantling of the legal system and all constitutional rights

## Courts Void Teachers Contract

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The State Court of Appeals reaffirmed last week that it is illegal for California teachers to strike. The decision forbids "any binding, written contracts or agreements" between the teachers' union and the school boards.

The appeal court's decision upholds a ruling nullifying an agreement which ended a five week strike by Los Angeles teachers in 1970. The United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) were fined \$12,000 for that strike.

Opponents of the agreement that had been reached between the union and the Board of Education, the Citizens Legal Defense Alliance, sued to block the settlement claiming that the Board of Education improperly offered to share its powers with the union.

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