

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

RECOVER  
JUL 30 1976  
INSTITUTION

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIFTEEN 290

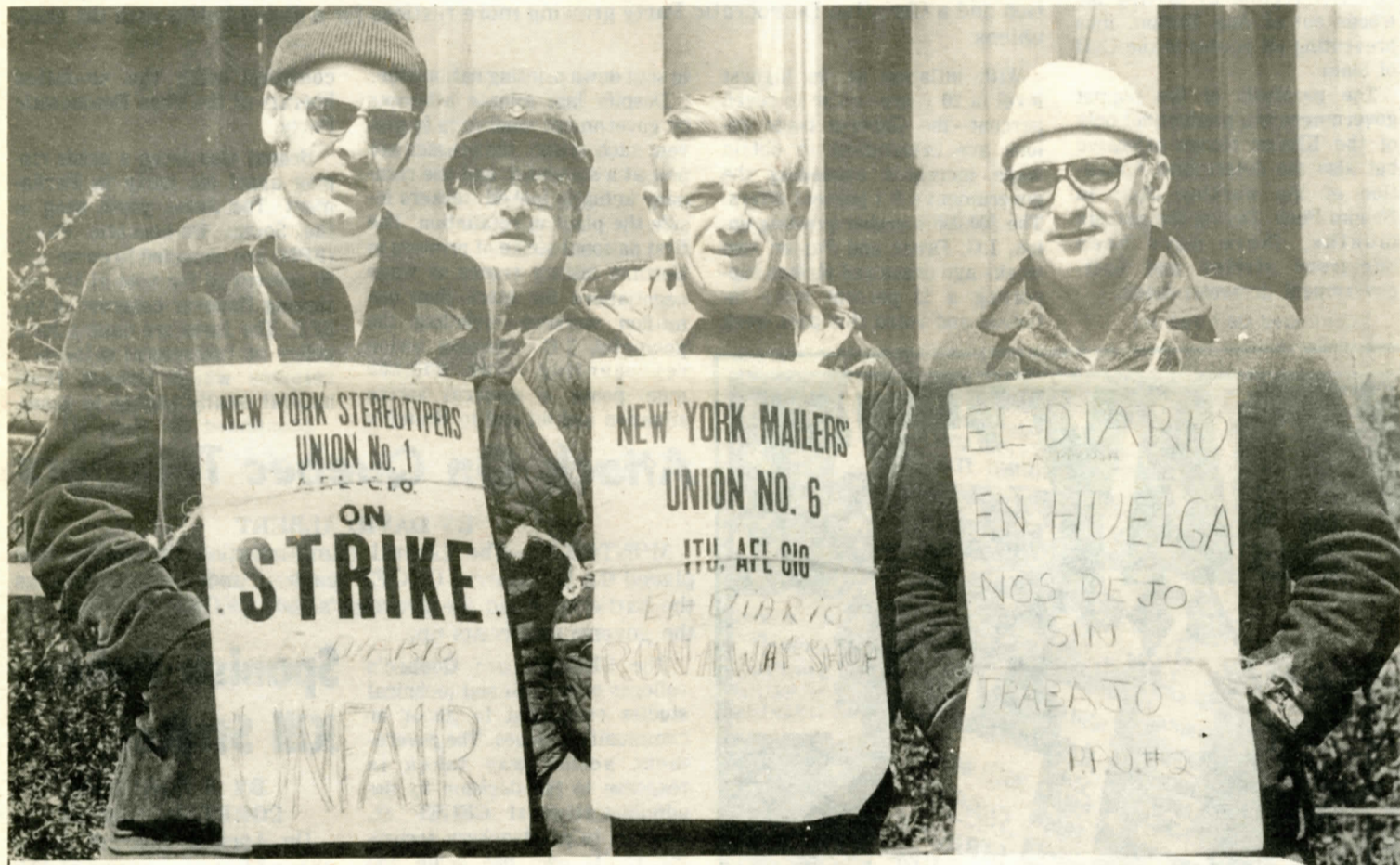
APRIL 16, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

Call a Congress of Labor as

# CRISIS SHAKES NIXON GOVERNMENT



BY THE EDITORS

The Workers League calls on the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and all trade union organizations to convene an emergency Congress of Labor in order to establish a labor party to mobilize the working class politically against Nixon's attacks.

This action would rally millions of workers precisely at a time when the Nixon Administration is in the grips of a deeper crisis than any American government has faced since 1933, and which—because of its weaknesses—launches its most savage attacks on the working class.

There is no time to lose. As the Economic Stabilization Act which gave Nixon the power to control wages is about to expire, the Democrats in the Congress are screaming for a total wage freeze and Nixon is about to dictatorially abolish the right of workers to bargain for a decent wage increase by imposing such a freeze.

For this reason the trade unions must prepare their own Congress to organize the fight against Nixon which millions of workers are now demanding. American workers cannot defend themselves through the Congress of big business whose Democratic and Republican members are up to their ears in corruption.

(Continued On Page 8)

Workers from the three different unions at El Diario in New York City out on strike. Story, page 3.

## What we think

### Are Wages Important?

#### Bulletin Expansion Drive

This week \$2456.96 has come in on the Fund Drive which brings our total of \$22,703.46 on our Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive. We must raise \$50,000 by June 1 in order to be able to proceed with our plans to launch the Bulletin twice-weekly this fall.

Hartford, with the help of a collection at their successful Young Socialist conference, sent in \$306.85.

We are running about \$1000 under what is needed each week to get in two-thirds of the money by May 1. Each branch and supporter must now tackle this problem and not wait to the last week.

Just two weeks after the United Auto Workers convention in Detroit—in which the Woodcock bureaucracy entered into direct political alliance with Nixon and pledged its support to Phase Three—the Spartacist League has lined up with the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the centrist United National Caucus in support of this criminal betrayal of auto workers.

In the April issue of Workers Vanguard, the Spartacist League covers for Woodcock's refusal to commit the UAW to the struggle against speedup, in defense of jobs and for any wage increase by dismissing those demands which are centered on such issues as "simple trade unionism."

According to Spartacist, the fight for a 20 percent increase, full employment through sliding scale of hours, reduction in line speed—in short, every basic issue facing auto workers today—amounts to "playing Woodcock's game."

Thus, Spartacist, along with the UNC, the Stalinists, and Woodcock himself, denounces the auto program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for raising the very issues which directly pose a political struggle by the UAW against the Nixon government.

It is important to study the Spartacist polemic against our struggle in auto not because it has important forces in the UAW—Spartacist is a political organization that considers the inability to rally workers around its banner as the clearest proof of its "revolutionary" integrity.

Rather, Spartacist must be studied because it states in the most vulgar form those positions held more discreetly by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. The very arguments advanced by Spartacist against the struggle in the trade unions—and against the labor party—expose the theoretical basis of the SWP's refusal to fight the Stalinists through the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Spartacist says essentially the following about the struggle in auto. Wages, line speed, job security, grievances, and the right to strike are all trade union demands. But Marxists, at least according to Spartacist, are for revolution as opposed to winning these "reformist" demands. Spartacist therefore concludes that the basic demand that must be made is: "Communism!" Nothing less will satisfy these ferocious blabbermouths.

"As long as 'revolutionaries' restrict themselves to simple trade unionism," writes Spartacist, "it is the real trade unionists (?) who will ultimately win out."

This nonsense is buttressed by a short quote from the "Theses on Tactics" from the Third Congress of the Comintern—ripped out of context—which is supposed to portray Lenin and Trotsky as idle propagandists opposed to a serious struggle in the trade unions. In the discussion of trade union work, the Comintern

(Continued On Page 8)

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

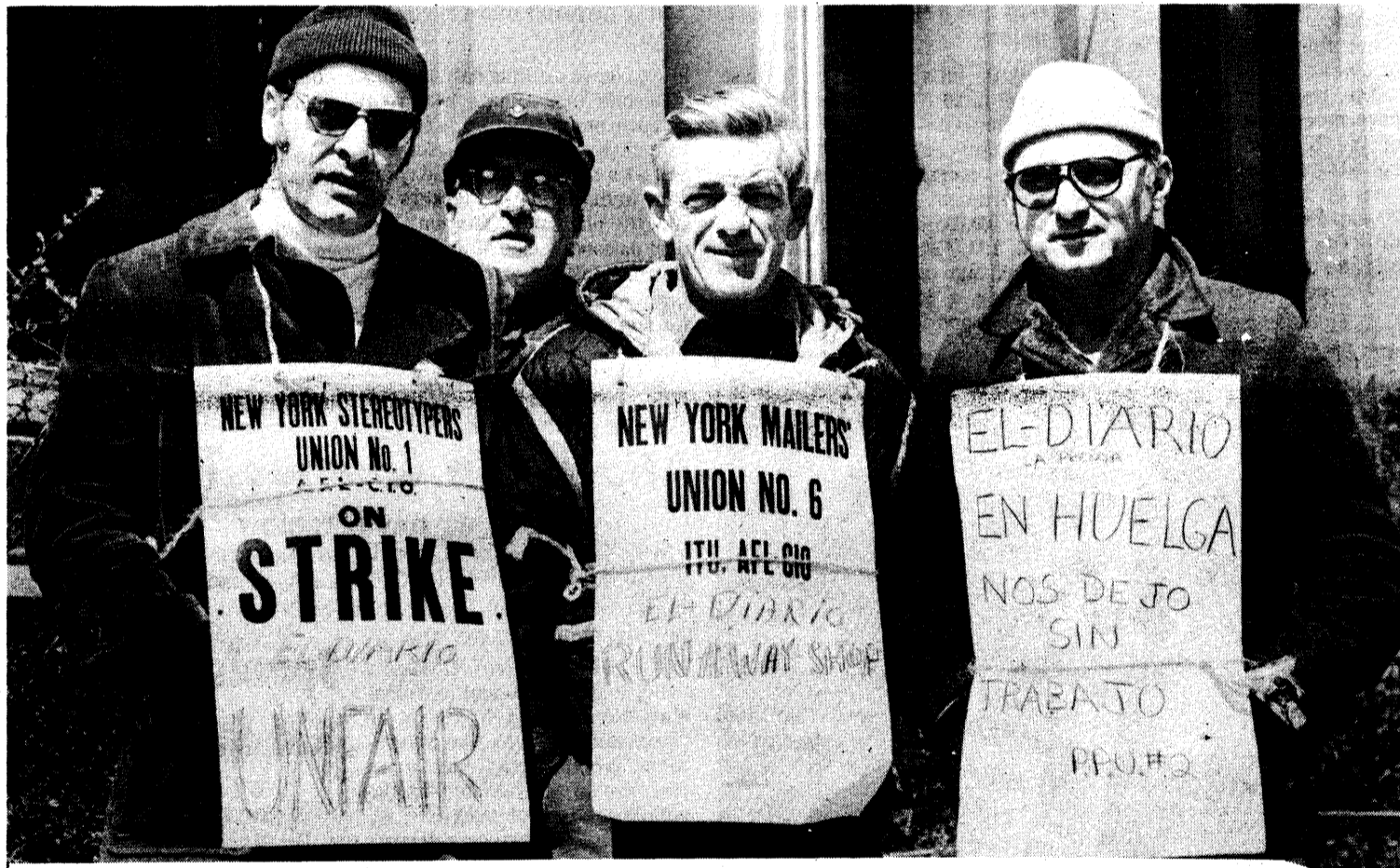
VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIFTEEN 290

APRIL 16, 1973

FIFTEEN CENTS

Call a Congress of Labor as

# CRISIS SHAKES NIXON GOVERNMENT



Workers from the three different unions at El Diario in New York City out on strike. Story, page 3.

BY THE EDITORS

The Workers League calls on the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and all trade union organizations to convene an emergency Congress of Labor in order to establish a labor party to mobilize the working class politically against Nixon's attacks.

This action would rally millions of workers precisely at a time when the Nixon Administration is in the grips of a deeper crisis than any American government has faced since 1933, and which—because of its weaknesses—launches its most savage attacks on the working class.

There is no time to lose. As the Economic Stabilization Act which gave Nixon the power to control wages is about to expire, the Democrats in the Congress are screaming for a total wage freeze and Nixon is about to dictatorially abolish the right of workers to bargain for a decent wage increase by imposing such a freeze.

For this reason the trade unions must prepare their own Congress to organize the fight against Nixon which millions of workers are now demanding. American workers cannot defend themselves through the Congress of big business whose Democratic and Republican members are up to their ears in corruption.

(Continued On Page 8)

## What we think

### Are Wages Important?

Just two weeks after the United Auto Workers convention in Detroit—in which the Woodcock bureaucracy entered into direct political alliance with Nixon and pledged its support to Phase Three—the Spartacist League has lined up with the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the centrist United National Caucus in support of this criminal betrayal of auto workers.

In the April issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the Spartacist League covers for Woodcock's refusal to commit the UAW to the struggle against speedup, in defense of jobs and for any wage increase by dismissing those demands which are centered on such issues as "simple trade unionism."

According to Spartacist, the fight for a 20 percent increase, full employment through sliding scale of hours, reduction in line speed—in short, every basic issue facing auto workers today—amounts to "playing Woodcock's game."

Thus, Spartacist, along with the UNC, the Stalinists, and Woodcock himself, denounces the auto program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for raising the very issues which directly pose a political struggle by the UAW against the Nixon government.

It is important to study the Spartacist polemic against our struggle in auto not because it has important forces in the UAW—Spartacist is a political organization that considers the inability to rally workers around its banner as the clearest proof of its "revolutionary" integrity.

Rather, Spartacist must be studied because it states in the most vulgar form those positions held more discreetly by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. The very arguments advanced by Spartacist against the struggle in the trade unions—and against the labor party—expose the theoretical basis of the SWP's refusal to fight the Stalinists through the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Spartacist says essentially the following about the struggle in auto. Wages, line speed, job security, grievances, and the right to strike are all trade union demands. But Marxists, at least according to Spartacist, are for revolution as opposed to winning these "reformist" demands. Spartacist therefore concludes that the basic demand that must be made is: "Communism!" Nothing less will satisfy these ferocious blabbermouths.

"As long as 'revolutionaries' restrict themselves to simple trade unionism," writes Spartacist, "it is the real trade unionists (?) who will ultimately win out."

This nonsense is buttressed by a short quote from the "Theses on Tactics" from the Third Congress of the Comintern—ripped out of context—which is supposed to portray Lenin and Trotsky as idle propagandists opposed to a serious struggle in the trade unions. In the discussion of trade union work, the Comintern

(Continued On Page 8)

### Bulletin Expansion Drive

This week \$2456.96 has come in on the Fund Drive which brings our total of \$22,703.46 on our Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive. We must raise \$50,000 by June 1 in order to be able to proceed with our plans to launch the *Bulletin* twice-weekly this fall.

Hartford, with the help of a collection at their successful Young Socialist conference, sent in \$306.85.

We are running about \$1000 under what is needed each week to get in two-thirds of the money by May 1. Each branch and supporter must now tackle this problem and not wait to the last week.

# Khmer Rouge Tightens Siege Of Phnom Penh

BY DAVID NORTH

The army of Cambodian puppet Lon Nol is rapidly disintegrating as liberation forces close in on the capital city of Phnom Penh.

As we go to press, the Khmer Rouge—military arm of the Cambodian workers and peasants—have succeeded in cutting off all the major roads out of the capital and also control the banks of the Mekong.

Only eight ships have managed to break through the blockade while several large

tankers have been destroyed. Most ships have simply turned back toward South Vietnam.

Massive B-52 bombings have failed to break either the siege of Phnom Penh or the massive offensive throughout Cambodia. While the demoralized government army limits its military activities to looting the city it is supposedly defending, the Khmer Rouge has advanced well beyond its traditional strongholds in the Kardomon Mountains.

It struck a crippling blow to the Lon Nol regime by driving his troops out of Ang Tasson, thus preventing all access to the Gulf of Siam.

The paralysis of the puppet government is a product not only of the Khmer Rouge offensive but also the determined opposition of the working class in Phnom Penh. During the past six months, there have been numerous strikes and anti-government demonstrations.

(Continued On Page 16)



Frankfurt, Germany was the scene of one of the most violent clashes over the last few weeks between students and police. Youth all over Germany are protesting cuts in education grants and NATO troops.

## German Printers Strike

BY DIANNE ISAACS

The Social Democratic government of Germany's Chancellor Willy Brandt is now facing its sharpest crisis, confronting a working class demanding wages that keep up with soaring inflation and a Christian Democratic Party growing more restless for a direct battle with the trade unions.

With inflation at its highest level in 20 years—close to seven percent—the German trade unions are determined to obtain wage increases exceeding the government's 8.5 percent offers. The 200,000 member printing union, I.G. Druck and Papier, two weeks ago organized strikes supporting a 13 percent wage increase and voted this past week

to shut down printing nationwide.

Despite last minute attempts by government mediators to prevent such action, the presses are now at a standstill, and one company actually locked workers inside the plant in retaliation. The first national strike of printers in German history comes as wage negotiations for more than one million workers—including the powerful I.G. Chemie union representing over 600,000 men—poses a general strike situation and an end to Brandt's

coalition with the so-called liberals of the Free Democratic Party.

Brandt also faces a crisis ripping apart his party in Parliament. The Jusos, youth wing of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) are expected to command 40 percent of the vote at the upcoming Hanover congress of the SPD. The Jusos are calling for a policy of "structural reforms"; reforms which Brandt finds himself totally unable to grant.

(Continued On Page 16)

### It's In The Stars

After having fired his personal astrologer—formerly promoted to the rank of captain—for not having foreseen the attack on his palace, Lon Nol has thrown the most eminent astrologers in prison.

The astrologers, about 50 of them, announced publicly that Lon Nol wouldn't be in power after April.



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

**TUALP MEETING:**

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

## Attack On Quebec Teachers

BY DAVID ALBERT

MONTREAL—The Liberal administration in Quebec has placed the St. Laurent CEGEP teachers under trusteeship, as the battle between the province's 5000 CEGEP teachers and the government heats up.

The CEGEPs are Quebec's colleges of general and technical studies equivalent to junior or community colleges. The government action was taken in response to the decision by the administration at CEGEP St. Laurent to pay teachers according to its own pay scale and thereby defy the provincial Ministry of Education's new pay set-up. The administration at Dawson College has taken a similar decision.

Louise Ethier, president of the St. Laurent teachers' association, described the recent choice of trustee as a "provocation" by the Liberal regime. Claude Benjamin, the man appointed trustee, is a former director of the CEGEP, whose dispute with the teachers in 1971 led to the college being placed under trusteeship at that time.

Protest actions have erupted among teachers and students at six other CEGEPs in the Montreal area. Teachers at CEGEP Ahuntsic (Montreal) have suspended classes indefinitely. The actions are expected to spread shortly to the Quebec City area, followed by the rural colleges.

The CEGEP teachers are responding angrily to government decrees of December 15 which were issued as a result of the inability to reach a negotiated settlement. The Liberal government has a history

(Continued On Page 16)

## Spanish Police Kill Striker

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On April 3, Spanish police opened fire on a crowd of 2000 striking building workers in San Andres, near Barcelona, and killed a young worker, Manuel Fernandez Vasquez, 27, and critically wounded another. Following the attack, many of the strikers were arrested.

At the beginning of April, the underground workers commissions banned by the regime but supported by the masses of Spanish workers, formulated demands for a 40 hour week, a salary increase, payment for sick days and accidents and 30 days' vacation a year. When the employer rejected these demands out of hand, the workers struck and occupied the site.

This takes place just as the trial of Marcelino Camacho and 10 other members of the workers commissions is about to begin. The prosecutor is asking for 20 years in jail.

The official trade unions, which are controlled by Franco and collaborate in his corporate state, are scheduled to open their National Congress this month in Madrid.

# Khmer Rouge Tightens Siege Of Phnom Penh

BY DAVID NORTH

The army of Cambodian puppet Lon Nol is rapidly disintegrating as liberation forces close in on the capital city of Phnom Penh.

As we go to press, the Khmer Rouge—military arm of the Cambodian workers and peasants—have succeeded in cutting off all the major roads out of the capital and also control the banks of the Mekong.

Only eight ships have managed to break through the blockade while several large

tankers have been destroyed. Most ships have simply turned back toward South Vietnam.

Massive B-52 bombings have failed to break either the siege of Phnom Penh or the massive offensive throughout Cambodia. While the demoralized government army limits its military activities to looting the city it is supposedly defending, the Khmer Rouge has advanced well beyond its traditional strongholds in the Kardomon Mountains.

It struck a crippling blow to the Lon Nol regime by driving his troops out of Ang Tasson, thus preventing all access to the Gulf of Siam.

The paralysis of the puppet government is a product not only of the Khmer Rouge offensive but also the determined opposition of the working class in Phnom Penh. During the past six months, there have been numerous strikes and anti-government demonstrations.

(Continued On Page 16)

## It's In The Stars

After having fired his personal astrologer—formerly promoted to the rank of captain—for not having foreseen the attack on his palace, Lon Nol has thrown the most eminent astrologers in prison.

The astrologers, about 50 of them, announced publicly that Lon Nol wouldn't be in power after April.



Frankfurt, Germany was the scene of one of the most violent clashes over the last few weeks between students and police. Youth all over Germany are protesting cuts in education grants and NATO troops.

## German Printers Strike

BY DIANNE ISAACS

The Social Democratic government of Germany's Chancellor Willy Brandt is now facing its sharpest crisis, confronting a working class demanding wages that keep up with soaring inflation and a Christian Democratic Party growing more restless for a direct battle with the trade unions.

With inflation at its highest level in 20 years—close to seven percent—the German trade unions are determined to obtain wage increases exceeding the government's 8.5 percent offers. The 200,000 member printing union, I.G. Druck and Papier, two weeks ago organized strikes supporting a 13 percent wage increase and voted this past week

to shut down printing nationwide.

Despite last minute attempts by government mediators to prevent such action, the presses are now at a standstill, and one company actually locked workers inside the plant in retaliation. The first national strike of printers in German history comes as wage negotiations for more than one million workers—including the powerful I.G. Chemie union representing over 600,000 men—poses a general strike situation and an end to Brandt's

coalition with the so-called liberals of the Free Democratic Party.

Brandt also faces a crisis ripping apart his party in Parliament. The Jusos, youth wing of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) are expected to command 40 percent of the vote at the upcoming Hanover congress of the SPD. The Jusos are calling for a policy of "structural reforms"; reforms which Brandt finds himself totally unable to grant.

(Continued On Page 16)

## Attack On Quebec Teachers

BY DAVID ALBERT

MONTREAL—The Liberal administration in Quebec has placed the St. Laurent CEGEP teachers under trusteeship, as the battle between the province's 5000 CEGEP teachers and the government heats up.

The CEGEPs are Quebec's colleges of general and technical studies equivalent to junior or community colleges. The government action was taken in response to the decision by the administration at CEGEP St. Laurent to pay teachers according to its own pay scale and thereby defy the provincial Ministry of Education's new pay set-up. The administration at Dawson College has taken a similar decision.

Louise Ethier, president of the St. Laurent teachers' association, described the recent choice of trustee as a "provocation" by the Liberal regime. Claude Benjamin, the man appointed trustee, is a former director of the CEGEP, whose dispute with the teachers in 1971 led to the college being placed under trusteeship at that time.

Protest actions have erupted among teachers and students at six other CEGEPs in the Montreal area. Teachers at CEGEP Ahuntsic (Montreal) have suspended classes indefinitely. The actions are expected to spread shortly to the Quebec City area, followed by the rural colleges.

The CEGEP teachers are responding angrily to government decrees of December 15 which were issued as a result of the inability to reach a negotiated settlement. The Liberal government has a history

(Continued On Page 16)

## Spanish Police Kill Striker

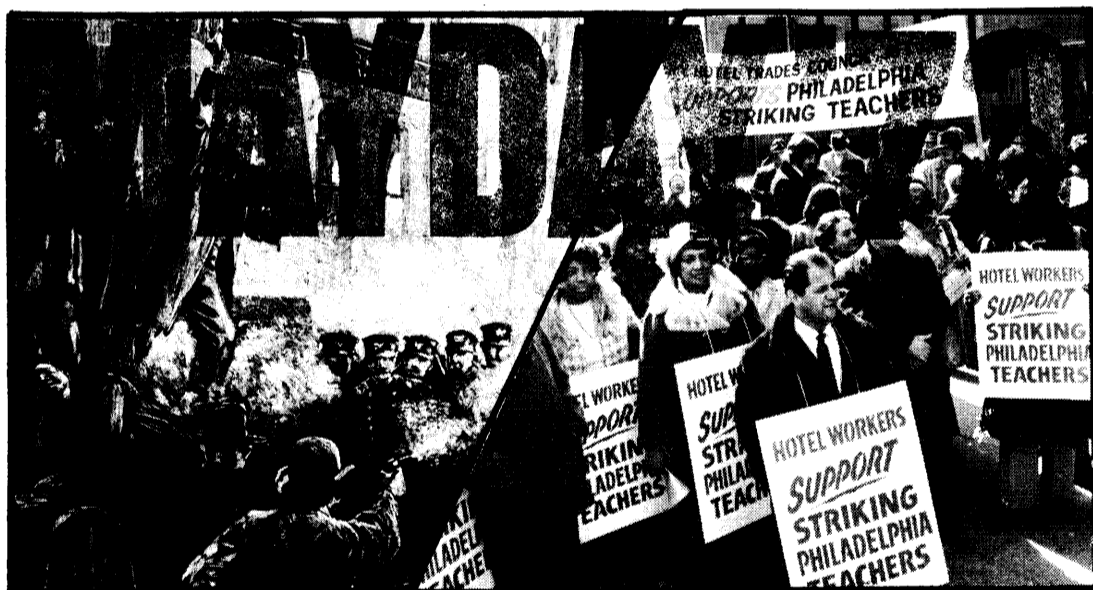
BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On April 3, Spanish police opened fire on a crowd of 2000 striking building workers in San Andres, near Barcelona, and killed a young worker, Manuel Fernandez Vasquez, 27, and critically wounded another. Following the attack, many of the strikers were arrested.

At the beginning of April, the underground workers commissions banned by the regime but supported by the masses of Spanish workers, formulated demands for a 40 hour week, a salary increase, payment for sick days and accidents and 30 days' vacation a year. When the employer rejected these demands out of hand, the workers struck and occupied the site.

This takes place just as the trial of Marcelino Camacho and 10 other members of the workers commissions is about to begin. The prosecutor is asking for 20 years in jail.

The official trade unions, which are controlled by Franco and collaborate in his corporate state, are scheduled to open their National Congress this month in Madrid.



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

TUALP MEETING:

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

# Prices Jump At 26% Annual Rate

BY A REPORTER

As Nixon and the Democrats in Congress prepared a new wage freeze, the government announced last week that wholesale prices in March registered their biggest gains in 22 years. Nixon's inflationary policies and his plans to reimpose a complete freeze on wages—the "club in the closet"—now threaten every wage increase, every improvement in living conditions won by workers in the past.

## Equity Crash A Rehearsal

BY BRUCE MCKAY

The specter of major corporate bankruptcies and bank failures has arisen in every center of finance capital in the wake of the collapse of the multi-billion dollar Equity Funding insurance empire.

The bogus policies used by Equity officials to bloat the company's assets and make it one of the fastest growing issues on the New York Stock Exchange are in reality no different than the billions of dollars of worthless paper which are now appearing in the form of record-breaking corporate profits.

Uncertainty is now gripping all sections of the capitalist world as corporate executives, brokers and bank officials begin to wake up to the fact that they face nothing short of the complete collapse of their system of exchange.

Credit increasingly appears in the form of its opposite—debt—and the demand for credit takes on an independent and very explosive development in the form of a demand for means of payment for past debts.

Bank borrowing from the Federal Reserve has sharply increased. Banks are now being forced into a position where they must borrow at short term to meet the demand for long term loans, while extending credit to more and more unsound business ventures.

At the same time, the volume of outstanding credit for stock transactions on the New York Exchange last year rose by more than 40 percent to over nine billion dollars, while a steadily increasing proportion of this debt was backed up by nothing whatsoever.

At the very center of this growing credit crisis is the breakdown of all relationships of value reflected in the international monetary crisis. Paralyzed in the fact of this crisis, the capitalist finance ministers are preparing to "sprinkle holy water" on the present system of floating exchange rates, in the words of the head of First National City Bank's international operations. It is the apparent stability of this "dirty float" over the past few weeks, however, which is perhaps the sharpest warning of all of the impending collapse of international exchange.

While the dollar has apparently strengthened, the price of gold remains consistently above \$90 an ounce, and experts are predicting prices of up to \$175 an ounce and the reopening of the old unproductive gold mines.

What the quietude on the world's money markets really means is that all paper currencies must now come under attack, that the present system of international exchange cut off from all ties to real exchange value can no longer continue to exist.

The working class must be prepared to meet this collapse, which will mean a tremendous surge of inflation followed by the closure of thousands of factories and small businesses, bank failures, and unemployment in the tens of millions as the inflationary bubble is explosively transformed into its opposite.

Farm produce and wholesale prices for processed food leaped 4.7 percent last month, according to official figures—an annual rate of over 56 percent and the largest increase since the government began keeping price statistics in 1947. At the same time, the prices of industrial commodities jumped at an annual rate of nearly 15 percent.

### EXPOSE

These official statistics expose the complete sham of Nixon's "ceiling" on meat prices. Their meaning is that every worker will be paying more and more for all his groceries, for housing, for heat, for automobiles, for TV sets, for shoes, for clothing—for everything.

Included in the list of industrial commodities which rose in price last month are such basics as lumber, fuels, textiles, crude rubber, copper, zinc, paper and paperboard products, metal cans and hides.

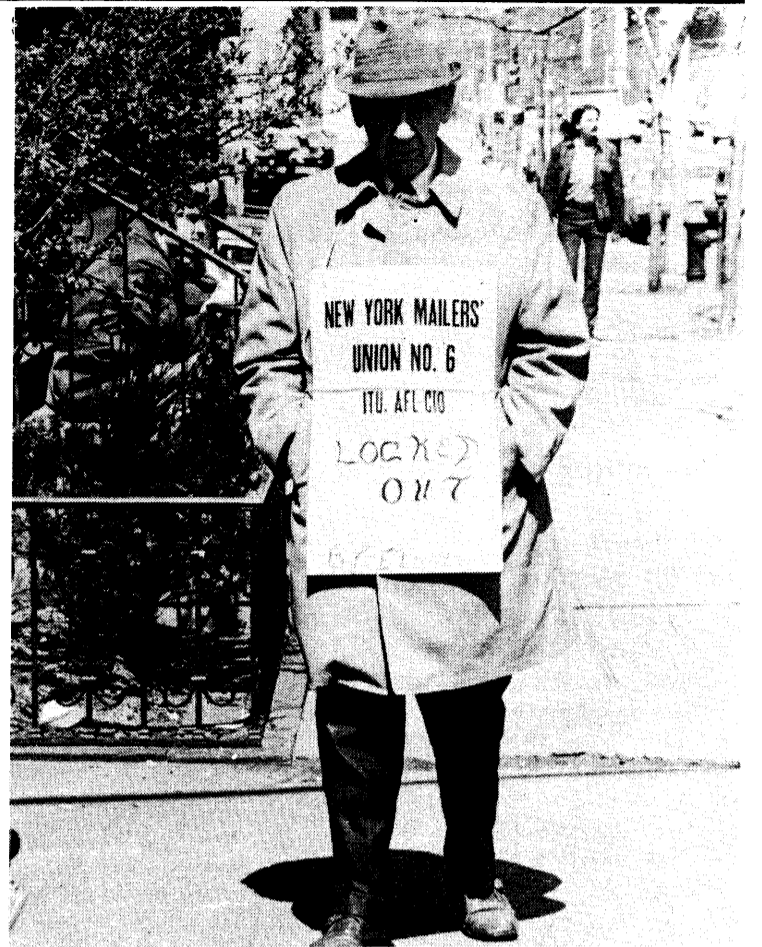
### PRICES

All of these price rises for industrial commodities will soon be reflected in higher prices in shops, supermarkets and department stores as the increased costs are passed along. It is the worker who will pay in the form of a lower standard of living.

Workers, for example, pay 10 percent more for shoes than they did a year ago, because the cost of hides has almost doubled.

Raw lumber prices are now 29 percent above a year ago, while plywood prices are 37 percent higher, putting decent housing out of reach for many workers.

All of these increases reflect the waning faith in paper money at the same time as credit is being rapidly expanded in an attempt by the capitalists to prop up their international economy. They expose protests like the meat boycott for what they really are—diversions created to prevent the working class from taking up a political fight against Nixon over the basic issue of wages.



## El Diario Workers Fight Scab Printers

BY BRUCE MCKAY

NEW YORK, April 8—Twenty-six printing craft workers at El Diario-La Prensa have been locked out in what amounts to a ruthless attack on the very existence of the newspaper unions in New York City.

Millionaire owner O. Roy Chalk had originally planned to farm out the newspaper's entire printing operation to an automated plant in New Jersey last week, and all 106 craft workers were terminated with the expiration of their contract at midnight Friday, March 30.

The deal fell through, however, and in order to buy time to shop around for another place to print, Chalk offered the unions a new one year contract.

### CONCESSIONS

"We actually gave them all the concessions we got from the last three years to keep the paper here," said one Spanish worker. "We were willing to give them what they asked for—at least 90 percent of what they asked for. We couldn't give them no more. We couldn't—unless we have to dig in our own pockets to pay them to work in here."

International Typographical Union President Bertram Powers reportedly signed the agreement on March 31, and the other unions agreed to enter negotiations. The men were ordered back to work Sunday by their unions.

the Bulletin: "Powers signed a secret agreement with Chalk on Saturday night without even notifying the men. Nobody knew what the agreement was."

According to Glabere, an official of Pressman's Local 2 called the workers back to the job Sunday night. "He intimated and he made everybody assume that we had a contract. We would get the same contract as the printers.

"They refused to bargain with us until Tuesday," he said. "Tuesday we went in—the Pressman's Union and the Stereotypers Union—and were negotiating for better than two hours, when they got some phone calls. After the phone calls, they

turned around and came in and said: 'We don't want you. Your severance pay is available.'

"During this whole time, the room was bugged and all our phone calls—every time we made a phone call, they were on the other line," Glabere said. "They have now refused to pay us our severance pay, and previous to this, they refused to pay us our day's pay, our vacation pay and personal leave days."

The Newspaper Guild honored the workers' picket line Wednesday, but Chalk obtained injunctions against both the Guild and Typographical Local 6. Attempts by Chalk to print the paper at non-union shops in Brooklyn and Wayne, New Jersey, however, have been thwarted by the refusal of drivers to deliver it.

### DETERMINATION

Workers on the picket line expressed their determination to fight to defend their unions and their right to a job. Pressman Tom Stevens told the Bulletin: "We can see where they need a little automation here and there where it won't take away jobs. We've all taken it at times, but this guy's got nothing to do with automation—he just wants to try to break the unions."

It is precisely the defense of the printing unions and a fight for the right to a job and decent standard of living which confronts all printing workers today. Chalk's vicious attack on El Diario workers is the sharpest warning to workers at the city's three major dailies who are now working without a contract.

This fight cannot be taken up without a political struggle—the struggle to construct a labor party—against Nixon, who has been in the very forefront of the attacks on the rights of newsmen and who seeks to destroy every gain won in past years through unemployment, inflation and wage controls.

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

### 20 Years Of The International Committee

- April 15: The Split with the SWP: Balance Sheet on Cuba.
- April 22: Vietnam: The SWP's Decade of Betrayal.
- April 29: Spartacist: Radicalism vs. International Marxism.
- May 6: The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI.
- May 13: The International Committee Today.

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

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

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

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

Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth



# Phase Two Takes Effect In Britain

BY FRED MUELLER

On April 2, the Tories Phase Two Pay Laws took legal effect in Britain. Under these laws, no union can secure a wage increase greater than one pound (\$2.40) plus four percent. This makes millions of workers fighting for wages against massive inflation potential criminals subject to harsh penalties.

At the same time, the Value Added Tax has been put into effect, three months after British entry into the Common Market. This tax, originally developed in the Market, is a vicious attack on living standards, increasing the prices of most necessities by 10 percent.

In a situation of deepening capitalist crisis and class struggle, the Tories are exploiting the retreats of the union leaders to the fullest. In the last few months, millions of workers have demonstrated their determination to fight the Tories. Civil servants, gasmen, railwaymen, hospital workers and others have taken strike action, but the union

leaders have so far succeeded in keeping these struggles isolated.

## POLITICAL

More and more workers realize that without a political struggle to bring down the Tories and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, they will not be able to turn back the most vicious attacks on trade union and democratic rights they have ever faced.

As a Yorkshire coal miner stated during the recent balloting on strike action: "The men have started to realize that if they are going to have a strike, it will not be a battle with the NCB (National Coal Board), but one (Continued On Page 16)



Militant dockworker John Lloyd, now blacklisted on Philadelphia docks, interviewed by the Bulletin.

## Docker Fights Witchhunt

BY DENNIS HAULING

PHILADELPHIA—"I'm trying to survive, to eat and sleep in peace, but I can't do it with no money." These were the words of John Lloyd, a 33 year old dockworker, who is fighting to maintain his job after 13 years of work on the piers of Delaware Avenue in Philadelphia.

Two weeks ago, Lloyd was accused of stealing \$89 in goods from Lavino Shipping Company. He was convicted of petty larceny by the courts and put on probation for one year, fined \$250 and suspended for six days from the waterfront.

After his six day suspension, he came back to register and found that the Philadelphia Maritime Trade Association (PMTA) had circulated a letter telling all the companies not to hire Lloyd. What they in effect were doing, as one man told the Bulletin was "trying to starve him out." Lloyd received a job the first day and went to work off of a pier in New Jersey and in the middle of the afternoon the Grady men (the company cops) came to get Lloyd off the ship.

He refused to get off, telling them: "If I get off, every man here will walk off with me."

An agreement was worked out with Askew that Lloyd would not work at Lavino, but that he did have the right to work on any pier. On the following day, he went to register for work and was stopped again by the companies in collusion with the union leadership.

Lloyd is not the first man to be arrested for stealing but he is the first man to be attacked on his right to a job. The companies have every intention of clearing the docks of every militant in the union. He has had a history of militancy in the union and plans to run for a delegate seat in the next election.

In 1965-1967, he was a leader of the Betterment Committee which fought for payment of the royalty fund. He led the men in that struggle, halting the unloading of ships until the fund

was paid.

Lloyd told the Bulletin: "We need a labor party. It does not make a difference whether you have a Democrat or a Republican, they both kick the little man in the ass. A labor party will defend the working man. You can't have a wage freeze if you have a labor party which runs the government."

## AFRAID

"The company is afraid of me and that's why they've written that letter. They're afraid I'll take over some part of the union."

The situation on the Philadelphia docks has become very serious. Some men are lucky if they find work for two days in the week. The men are forced now to get their money from the unemployment checks.

The fight to defend Lloyd and every other militant who now takes up a fight is the fight to build a caucus which can defend the dockers against Nixon's attacks. The caucus must fight on a political program against the attacks by the companies and the government.

The Workers League urges all dockworkers to attend the city-wide Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party meeting Sunday, April 15 at the Franklin Motor Inn at 1 p.m. at 22nd St. and the Parkway.

## HEW Threatens Halt To AFGS Newsletter

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Nixon has launched an attack on government workers' rights to freely leaflet and pass out literature on the job as part of his plan to cut back the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Advocate, an independent newsletter published by H.E.W. workers, has recently come under attack. Through a General Services Administration regulation which prohibits the distribution of unauthorized material and provides a maximum penalty of 30 days in jail and a \$50 fine for violators, Nixon is attempting to silence all forms of dissent and to head off a growing fight of the rank and file of the American Federation of Government Employees against threatened layoffs.

Caspar W. Weinberger is the recently appointed Secretary of H.E.W. In a memo to all H.E.W. department heads he stated: "We cannot afford to place decentralization low in the order of our management priorities."

The Advocate newsletter, discusses the questions of decentralization, downgrading, cutting of social programs, and the protection of workers' democratic rights but it poses no way forward. Its appeal for demonstrations, lobbying congressmen, and mass sick-ins offers a futile, reformist perspective.

The publishers of the Advocate were warned by Norman B. Houston, deputy assistant secretary for administration at H.E.W., that they face possible arrest if they continue to distribute copies of their paper.

Rank and file members of

AFGS must take up a struggle against their union leadership

Government employees must fight decentralization and downgrading by preparing for strike action if a single job is lost. All back money taken by Phase Two and Phase Three must be restored as well as a yearly wage increase. AFGS must officially endorse and demand that a Congress of Labor be convened to end Phase Three and to build a labor party.

## Tilden Parents Reject Canarsie Phase-Out

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BROOKLYN—Close to 50 parents and youth attended a special meeting in Brownsville called by the Concerned Parents of Tilden Houses.

The purpose of the meeting was to answer the plan of the Board of Education which will allow the 31 Black students presently enrolled at Canarsie Junior High School 211 to remain but will phase out any students from attending the school over the next eight years.

This decision is a complete capitulation to the racist politicians in Canarsie who support Nixon, including Democratic Party members who ran for election last year.

The meeting was addressed by Reverend Miller, leader of the Concerned Parents of Tilden. Parents were angry on hearing the Board's decision and were determined to keep fighting for

the right of their children to attend decent schools. Miller proposed the following strategy:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has filed a law suit in court against this decision. We are prepared to take it to the Supreme Court if necessary. We are also calling for a city-wide demonstration within a few weeks to protest."

Every political tendency at this meeting, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and Youth Against War and Fascism, endorsed this bankrupt policy of depending on the courts and calling for mere protest.

A member of the Brownsville Young Socialists opposed this perspective and said that the Canarsie school boycott was part of Nixon's strategy to divide the working people and youth by whipping up racism to cover the fact that it is his government that is slashing the budget and is

responsible for the deteriorating school conditions.

By creating this confusion, Nixon is laying the ground for the layoffs of thousands of teachers, elimination of programs and the destruction of the right of every youth to a decent education.

## TEACHERS

The Young Socialists proposed that the demonstration be called around the demand that the United Federation of Teachers take strike action in defense of the Brownsville youth and link this with the demand for no budget cuts, no layoffs of teachers and decent schools for all youth. The YS called on the UFT to fight inside the AFL-CIO for a Congress of Labor of all unions to take general strike action against Nixon and begin the construction of a labor party. These proposals received applause from the parents. No vote was allowed on proposals at this meeting.



EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: David North  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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.

**'Law and Order, that's his style  
Party bosses, he'll not Sieg Heil  
Challenge evil, face to face  
Everyone knows that Mario's  
The best man in the race.'**

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

This little tune was sung for Mario Biaggi, New York mayoral candidate of the Democratic Party at a party in his honor at the Lambs theatrical club in the Bronx last week. The master of ceremonies introduced it with: "Mario Biaggi is no Godfather, but he'll make you an offer you can't refuse—law and order."

Biaggi may not be a godfather, but he had plenty of them behind him. And he is not the only man in the race with these connections.

Taking their lead from Richard Nixon, every politician in this race is up to his neck in the corruption that has become the hallmark of this capitalist government in crisis. Like Nixon, these men, Democrats and Republicans alike, crusade for "law and order" and are engaged in advocating and supporting the most vicious attacks on the working people and youth from budget cuts to wage freezes to open racism.

There is Biaggi, a candidate of the Democratic Party, the party boosted by the labor bureaucracy as the "friends of labor." Biaggi was groomed in the Police Department of New York City. His major power base is the Columbian Association, "a fraternal organization of Italian Americans" in the police force.

Biaggi has also played a big role in the Italian American Civil Rights League, the organization founded by Joseph Columbo, the Mafia chief who was shot two years ago in a "family war." According to some reports, Biaggi's leadership in the Columbians brought him "into frequent contact with politicians, city contractors, hangers-on," and "organized crime." Biaggi in the first part of his career earned medals for killing an arrestee whom he was taking in a police car.

In 1955 he was essentially demoted when the Commissioner arrived at Biaggi's post on Election Day and found he was mysteriously missing. In 1959, in what even the police termed a questionable explanation, Biaggi shot a man whom he claimed had climbed into his car when he was off duty one night. Biaggi—without even seeing the man—turned around and started shooting. After he "retired" from the police force he made close to a quarter of a million dollars as a "lawyer" for a bogus insurance company: the Citizens Casualty Company that was brought into court for liquidation by the State Insurance Department.

#### FRIENDS

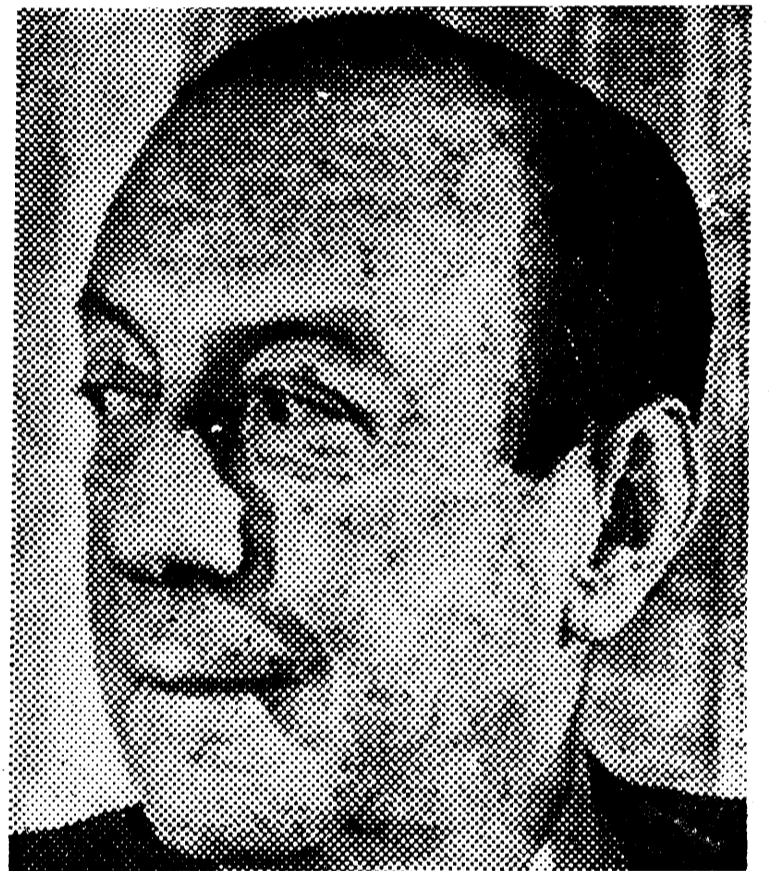
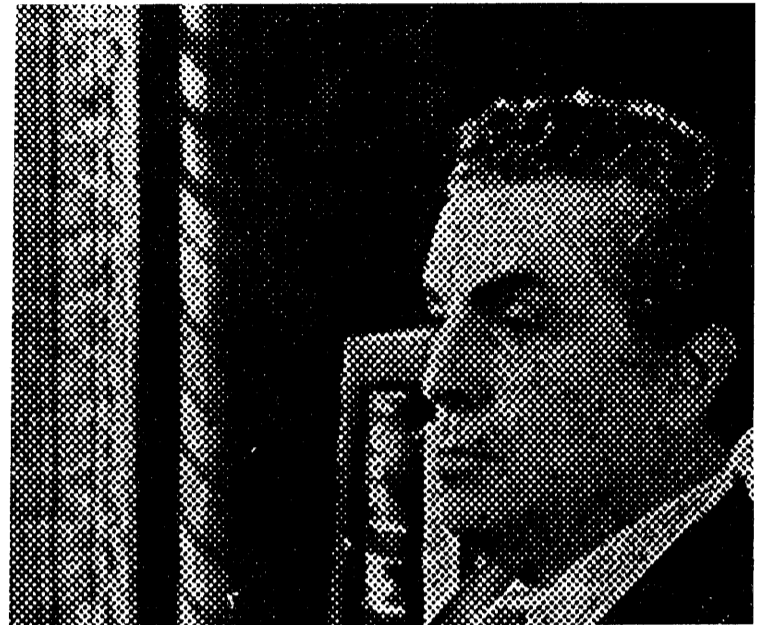
Last Saturday Biaggi was linked once again to some of the corruption that has become standard in the work of New York's finest. On Friday night two cops were arrested for trying to steal \$80,000 in cocaine from three men they thought were dealers but turned out to be undercover agents. One of those arrested was Richard Bell. Bell's father, Chester Hamilton Bell, is one of Biaggi's best friends who served with him in the Police Department and is presently working on his campaign staff. The young Bell appears to be following in his father's footsteps. Bell's first wife was killed in 1944 when Bell claimed his gun went off "while he was donning his holster." His second wife was seriously wounded about 10 years later in a "similar accident." Bell was kicked off the police force in 1964 when he was convicted for extortion and oppression.

This is Biaggi's idea of "law and order" and "challenging evil face to face." Biaggi is the spokesman for some of the most right-wing, reactionary forces that gather around the Italian American Civil Rights League—who were the main forces whipping up racism in Canarsie and attacking the United Federation of Teachers last fall.

#### WAGNER

But Biaggi is not the only man in the race who is into such things. Robert Wagner, former Democratic Mayor of the city and the man Rockefeller, after consultation with Nixon, picked to run on the Republican ticket, is now involved in a \$30 million law suit in connection with the

# Law And Order Biaggi Style: 'An Offer You Can't Refuse'



Before and After: Biaggi the cop, left, and now, right. Below right is Wagner.

Real Estate Fund of America. Wagner, who has been called the "labor mayor" because he received the support of the city's labor leaders, has termed his role in this affair "a mistake." This recalls Reginald Maudling's remarks. Maudling is the former Deputy Prime Minister of Britain and Home Secretary who was forced to resign last year because of the exposure of his involvement in the Real Estate Fund and other such financial adventures.

The Real Estate Fund of America (REFA) was set up by Jerome Hoffman, who was convicted of mortgage fraud after an investigation by the New York Attorney General of his Institutional Monetary Corporation in 1968. The REFA, a mutual funds operation based in Liberia with headquarters in the Bahamas—supposedly to avoid US controls—sold certificates in real estate in the United States. But according to the latest law suit, it "had not built any income-producing properties." Like many similar offshore funds the REFA got its funds from wealthy citizens in underdeveloped countries who wanted to get their dollars out of their own unstable countries and into investment on Wall Street. Like the Equities Funding Corporation, most of these investments amounted to nothing but paper or were non-existent.

Wagner now denies he received anything, although last week the New York Times quoted him as saying that he received "some remuneration." But there is no mistake about Wagner's connections with the REFA. Hoffman's case was

notorious in New York. Like Nixon and the whole line of Democrats and Republicans, capitalist politicians like Wagner are intimately connected with the bankers, the real estate tycoons and the speculators. All of their connections now come out as the mountain of paper credit and currency begins to collapse.

#### TRACK

While Rockefeller denounces New York City for being corrupt and mismanaged, his own candidate is caught rehanding in one of the biggest financial scandals.

Rockefeller's Republican cohort in New Jersey, Governor Cahill, is now under investigation on charges that checks from several \$100,000 contributions collected by Cahill's campaign fund raisers ended up being cashed at the windows at Garden State Park, a race track in Cherry Hill, N.J.

The corruption of men like Cahill, Wagner and Biaggi is not the corruption of individuals but of a class, the capitalist class, that becomes all the more greedy and desperate as its system is threatened by crisis and by the powerful movement of the working class. That is why they all cry "law and order": law and order not for their class but for the working class, laws to cut wages, jail unionists, slash budgets, and attack the unions, and laws to protect the profiteers.

This is defended by every capitalist politician whether he calls himself liberal, conservative or otherwise. Al Blumenthal, another Democratic hopeful posing as the great liberal in the mayoral race, has been

campaigning throughout New York city to become the "first Jewish Mayor of New York." Recently the Jewish Press, published by a committee headed by a businessman who supported Nixon in the last election, printed an ad for Blumenthal which stated that he would prevent Flatbush "from becoming another Brownsville." While Blumenthal now is trying to cover for this, this has been the heart of his campaign in the middle class areas like Flatbush. There is very little difference between this and the racism that Biaggi's supporters in the Italian-American Civil Rights Committee are stirring up in Canarsie.

Blumenthal is the man who was recently invited by the Communist Party, the Third World Federation and other nationalists to speak at a meeting on the budget cuts at Brooklyn College. Two weeks ago these same forces together with the Socialist Workers Party invited Robert Wagner Jr., who is running as a Democrat for City Council, to a similar meeting.

These politicians are boosted by these forces in a direct attack on the fight now to build a political party against the Democrats and Republicans, who are today so openly exposed as the instruments of the big corporations, the banks and the Mafia.

From Watergate to the Police Department to the Real Estate Fund of America, the lesson is that American workers must now take up a fight to convene a Congress of Labor to build a labor party which will throw out the whole rotten lot.

## Teachers Lose Pensions In Equity Bust

BY A REPORTER

DAYTON—The Ohio teachers' hard earned pension fund took up to a \$10.8 million loss from the Equity Funding Corporation bankruptcy. That much of the teachers' earnings were tied up in this stock.

Ohio teachers have seven percent of their salaries taken out for this retirement fund. Like many other workers' retirement funds, the State Teachers' Retirement System is enmeshed in Wall Street's collapsing stock market. Jenkins, Ohio's first assistant attorney general, lamely states that Equity funding stock until about two weeks ago "had been considered one of the best investments in the nation by many of the top investment houses."

STRS has 185,000 members and an investment portfolio of \$2.5 billion. The continuing collapse of the monetary system and the stock market clearly poses the need for the Ohio Federation of Teachers and the Ohio Education Association to call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party to nationalize the banks and basic industry under workers control.



Wagner-Lockheed IBEW workers on the picket line after negotiations broke down. Ranks want reinstatement of cost of living escalator.

## Wagner Ranks Not Content To Accept 5% Deal

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, April 8—The seven day old strike by 3000 Wagner-Lockheed employees continued into its second week today. Disagreements between the management and the negotiating committee of the union, Local 1104 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, arose over the wording of the contract which would have allowed the company to remove many items originally offered. The day before Paul A. Mosley, secretary treasurer of the union, told the press that he believed it was a good contract and the negotiating committee would recommend it to the rank and file.

As yet, information on exactly what is contained in the contract has not been given out to the union members. What has been agreed upon by the negotiating committee is a three year contract with raises of 15 cents the first year, 12 cents the second year and eight cents the third year on a regular pay scale of \$3.72 an hour. There also will be two more paid holidays. No cost of living escalator was included. One worker said, "We lost our cost of living in the 1970 contract."

against taken on little white slips of paper which said yes or no on them. At the next union election the leadership responsible for this settlement was voted out.

TIE

What this new proposed contract does is tie the Wagner employees to Nixon's Cost of Living Council's wage guidelines as well as leave the workers without a way of keeping up with the rampant inflation. One woman on the picket line said, "We'd better get a decent pay increase, it cost enough to live as it is." Another said, "Twenty dollars a week on groceries doesn't get you anywhere."

Most workers on the picket line were angry about the company proposing compulsory overtime which would mean taking dollars out their pockets.

One worker said about a labor party, "If union members all over would stick together, we'd get what we needed. If we don't stick together, we'll get sold down the river."

SOLD OUT

In 1970, the workers were sold out by the union leadership with a contract which took away the cost of living escalator and allowed the company to implement piecework where they chose to. The vote on that contract, which no one knew about until the day of the voting, was 925 for to 875

## NLRB Rules Against IUE Militant

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—The National Labor Relations Board ruled against Ray Barrett, the Frigidaire worker who was fired for allegedly leading the walkout last year against speedup and the wage cut. Barrett had filed charges with the NLRB against Arnold Thompson, president of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 801.

Barrett charged that Thompson had attempted to get him to frame the Vice President, Hector Downing—an opponent of the wage cut—in return for getting Barrett reinstated by the company. When Barrett exposed this deal at the so-called trial of Downing, Thompson had withdrawn even the pretense of getting Barrett reinstated. He had attempted to put the blame for the wildcat on Downing.

Barrett's futile attempt to expose Thompson by taking his case to the N.L.R.B. was doomed from the beginning. The N.L.R.B. is a government bureau that will side against the workers and their fight to defend their union at every turn.

DEFEND

The only way to defend I.U.E. Local 801 is to fight inside the union for a new leadership that will fight to nullify the sellout local agreement that split the plant into two parts and shoved a wage cut on the appliance workers. Such a caucus for a new leadership must fight for an emergency Congress of Labor and a labor party as the only way forward against Nixon and the two parties of capitalism.

Thompson's sellout agreement with Frigidaire-General Motors created the conditions which led to the wildcat: unbridled speedup, wage cuts, and a split union with separate contract expiration dates six months apart. These conditions continue at Frigidaire and the struggle has taken a new turn.

FRENZY

In the parts department, the company moved to fire a trucker for an accident he was involved in. His fellow workers left their

work and milled around. This put the foremen into a frenzy.

One foreman came up to the workers shaking excitedly and asked them, "You're not going to walk out again, are you?" The workers responded in the negative but proceeded to stand around for more than an hour. The union and the company got the message from the truckers

and the worker was recalled with full back pay.

But the fight against the Thompson-Little misleadership must take the form of an all-out campaign to defend the union and to build a new leadership dedicated to the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party program, and the reunification of the local under one contract.

**MEETINGS TO CELEBRATE**

**MAY DAY '73**

**Dayton**

**SATURDAY APRIL 28 7:30PM**

**Downtown YMCA 117 W. Monument**

**Triangle Room**

**Speaker: David North, Labor Editor of the Bulletin**

**Meetings will also be held in:**

**St. Louis APRIL 27**

**Detroit APRIL 29**

**Wayne State University**

**Minneapolis**

**TUESDAY MAY 1 8pm**

**Labor Hall 924 Second Ave. So.**

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary**

**of the Workers League**

**\$1**

## YS Campaigns In Minnesota U. Vote

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Only 1800 of the University of Minnesota's 50,000 students went to the polls on April 6 in the MSA (student government) primary elections.

The responsibility for this turnout lies with the reformist leadership of the MSA which has isolated the student government from the needs and interests of the masses of students. Students demand a leadership willing to fight the budget cuts and tuition hikes. The leadership of the MSA has never taken up this responsibility.

Far from mobilizing the students in defense of education the reformists, who won the primary elections, pit the students against the faculty and staff on programs of student power. Accepting the right of the government to cut the budgets, the reformists resort to the crudest and most reactionary and bankrupt demands—such as student input in deciding which departments and programs should be slashed and which faculty should be laid off.

The YSA, running a full slate of candidates in the primaries at no time fought against this perspective. While calling for a "revolutionary change in the MSA" the YSA put forward a

program which was a rehash of protest actions. The YSA agrees with the reformists that there is no crisis in the capitalist system that stands behind the attacks on education. By propping up the illusion that Nixon and Governor Anderson can be pressured by protests to reallocate resources to patch up the educational system, the YSA provided not a "revolutionary change" but rather a cynical left cover for the reformists.

LABOR MOVEMENT

The Young Socialists ran candidates for president and vice-president of MSA on a program to mobilize students, faculty and staff for joint strike action in defense of education. The Young Socialist campaign called on the students to demand the labor movement take political action to stop Nixon's attacks on the youth. The Young Socialist candidates received 30 votes in the election. The YS campaign points the way forward for students to fight the budget cuts.



# Woodcock Praises NCR Layoff Plan

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, April 7—Leonard Woodcock made a special trip here to fully endorse National Cash Register's job destruction program against Local 1616 workers and to sell the bosses on his "statesmanship." Woodcock came to speak and wine and dine not at a workers' meeting, but at the Harvard Business Club luncheon.

## Thermo-King Militants Get Large Vote

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS, April 5—Well over half the membership of Local 2175, United Steel Workers of America turned out today to elect the negotiating committee for upcoming contract talks with the Thermo-King Corporation, a Westinghouse subsidiary. Splitting up the 438 votes cast were 25 candidates, with five to be elected. Of the winners, only two polled a clear majority of the votes cast.

What was significant was the vote received by two candidates, Fred Ersfeld and Mark Pilder, who ran on a program demanding a 75 cent immediate wage increase, a full cost of living clause covering wages and pensions, a shorter work week, and improved benefits. These candidates put forward a strategy to win these demands including the demand that the local become part of coordinated bargaining with the other GE and Westinghouse unions, force the international union to take action to organize a non-union plant in Louisville, Georgia, and call for a Congress of Labor to build and prepare general strike action against Nixon's attacks.

Pilder received 66 votes and Ersfeld 29. With the exception of one other candidate who put out a handful of xeroxed campaign cards, none of the others came out with a single statement as to where they stood on the issues. Every single other candidate lined up with the local leadership to vote down a proposal to join coordinated bargaining. This plant is one of the few Westinghouse plants still outside the coordinated bargaining process.

After the results were in, Pilder told the Bulletin: "The vote received for this program means that the present leadership of this local is going to have a difficult time pulling off any fast ones. They all line up together against coordinated bargaining and against the labor party, and at the same time stand silent when asked for their program, their strategy. The vote means that a basis exists now in this union for building a movement and a leadership that can take on Westinghouse and Nixon."

which is in the process of destroying over 11,000 blue and white collar jobs, for special praise. He stated that the union is "particularly appreciative" of NCR's keeping part of the work force and complimented them on their "modernization" program. He spent the entire day with company officials and union bureaucrats ingratiating himself with them. That he was successful is borne out by the headlines in the capitalist press.

The Journal Herald headlined his disgusting performance "Woodcock Backs NCR." The Dayton Daily News trumpeted Woodcock's sellout of the union's fight for NCR workers' jobs in the headline: "Woodcock Thanks NCR For Commitment To Dayton!"

### LAYOFFS

Woodcock told the luncheon the massive permanent layoffs at NCR are "a transitional situation, one which is inevitable" and "unavoidable because for NCR to stay competitive" there is no other course.

Woodcock turned to the national labor scene and held up I.W. Abel's sellout agreement with the steel bosses as "eminently sensible." Woodcock, who never once came to speak to the Norwood workers during their six month long strike against speedup, arrogantly brushed off the question of fighting speedup:

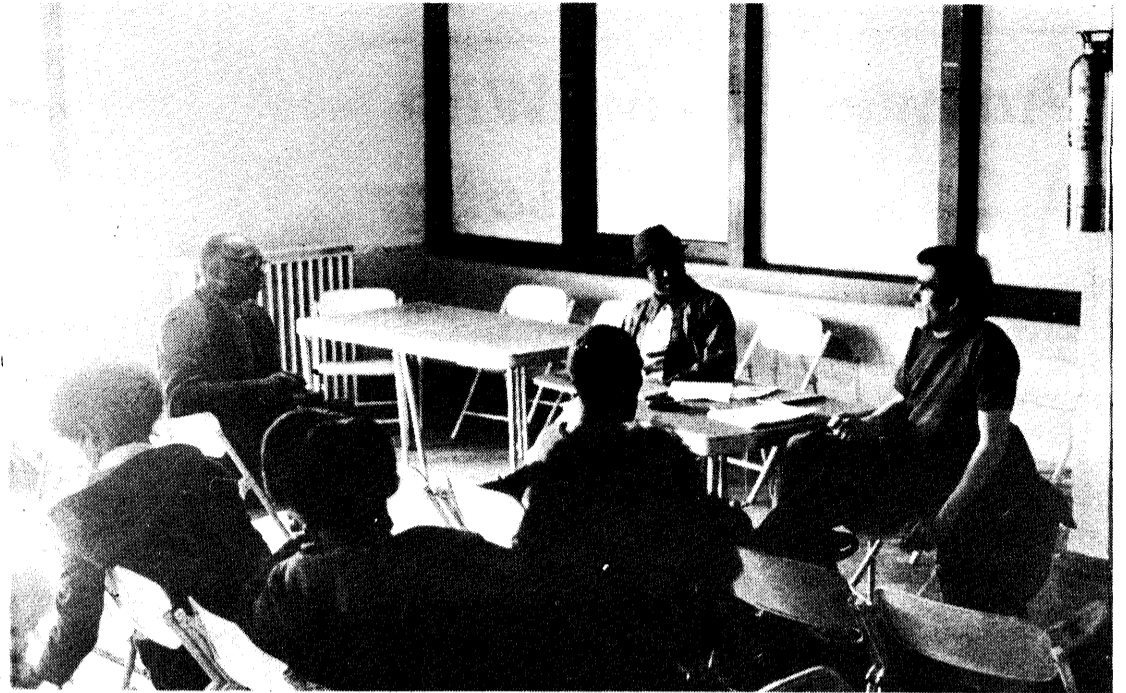
"Well, if their jobs are dehumanizing that obviously means the people who work in the automotive industry are sub-human—a concept I reject." In Detroit at the pre-bargaining convention, he openly sided with GM on the question of speedup: "Ideologues who say we never address ourselves to the problem of the workplace are either liars or fools. The UAW has not abolished the assembly line and has no magic wand that will do it."

### NORWOOD

At Norwood, Woodcock let the workers of Local 674 fight a lone battle against speedup and thereby forced them back to work at the same inhuman conditions that they sacrificed and fought to correct for six months.

At the press conference, Woodcock, attempting to dodge the fight for the wage increase, told the reporters that the UAW's cost of living escalator clause will save the union from battling for seven or eight percent wage hikes with the Big Three. As every auto worker knows the escalator clause is only a partial shrunken version of a real 100 percent cost of living escalator. With the wiping out of overtime, mounting layoffs and short work weeks, a wage increase of 20 percent becomes a necessity.

# Midwest News



Auto workers from St. Louis discuss fight against speedup at a TUALP National Auto Caucus meeting.

## GMAD Slashes Hours

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Autoworkers at both the General Motors and Chrysler plants here faced continuing attacks on jobs and working conditions this week. Shifts on the passenger line at General Motors continued to last no longer than two hours.

Last Friday a further 1600 workers were temporarily laid off from the passenger line. They are expected to be back at work

on Monday. However, with only nine or 10 hours work for the week, the men are finding it necessary to use their sick days.

Workers on the GM truck line are also facing the back breaking speedup. One worker reported to the Bulletin, "I couldn't keep up with the work and for that I received a DLO (disciplinary layoff) for one week."

At the Chrysler plant production of cars is supposed to be increasing with the introduction of a second shift. Over 20,000 men applied for the 2000 jobs originally offered. Only 1200 were actually hired.

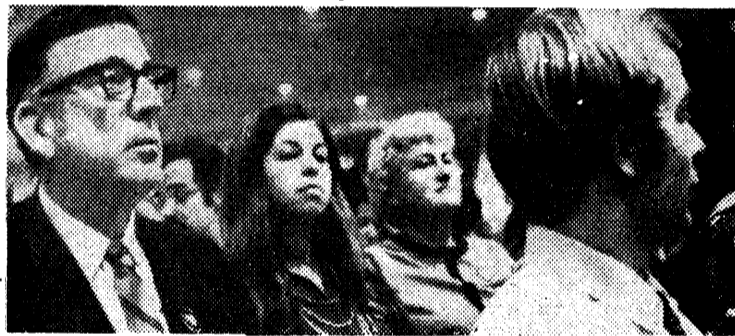
### PRODUCTION

While the second shift started last Monday, production has averaged between 100 to 200 cars per shift on both days and nights. One Chrysler worker described conditions:

"Everything is too overloaded. The second shift doesn't have enough men. They need another 500 workers to produce cars."

With the heavy overloading of jobs, completion of cars is impossible and most of the time is spent finishing off the piled up "cripples."

Sunday's meeting of the National Auto Caucus of UAW Local 25, representing workers at the GM plant, prepared for the upcoming union meeting to lead a fight to reject Woodcock's bargaining program adopted at the special convention.



Avid interest in GM stockholders' meeting: Woodcock. Antiwar Airman 'Guilty'

BY A REPORTER


First Lieutenant Bruce Ashley, the 26 year old physician who refused to work for the Air Force as a protest against the Vietnam War, had the book thrown at him. He was found guilty on two counts of disobeying orders.

Ashley was ordered dismissed from the Air Force, to forfeit all pay, to serve one and one-half years at hard labor and pay a fine of \$25,000. Ashley was accused of "willful disobedience of a lawful order."

Ashley became a Quaker and a conscientious objector while in the Air Force. He was jailed

after the court martial but has been since released pending an appeal.

The trail took place in the repressive atmosphere generated by the return of the POW bomber pilots. Using the statements made by these pilots, Ohio Senator Saxbe (Republican) openly raised the threat of dropping the atom bomb on the North Vietnamese workers and peasants. When asked by a TV newscaster whether he thought N. Vietnam would get any aid, Saxbe said: "They'll be lucky if we don't drop the bomb on them."



**Bulletin**  
weekly organ of the workers league

**Labor Party Fight Rips St. Louis**

**Subscribe Now!**

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

\$1.00 FOR 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB

\$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS

\$4.00 FOR ONE YEAR

135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Answer Nixon With A Congress Of Labor

(Continued From Page 1)

The working class must create out of the labor movement its own Congress to build its own party to fight for its own policies. The working class has the power to create its own independent force that would make it impossible for Nixon to implement a wage freeze, lay off workers, and attack basic democratic rights. It is held back from taking this step only by bureaucratic leaders who have no intention of fighting Nixon.

An emergency Congress of Labor would declare that American workers have had enough of wage controls, inflation, layoffs and anti-union injunctions. This Congress would have to put forward the solution of the working class to the economic crisis through the adoption of a program that demands the nationalization of industry under workers' control, the ending of all guidelines on wages, the guarantee of full employment, and the construction of a labor party to take power and carry out these policies.

The Congress of Labor would have to prepare for strike action in support of wage demands defying Nixon's Phase Three guidelines.

Now is the time to take these decisive measures, as all the conditions for the greatest political crisis in US history emerge:

- In spite of the criminal betrayals of international Stalinism, the workers and peasants of Cambodia are inflicting an historic defeat over the forces of American imperialism, opening the way for the victory of the socialist revolution in Vietnam and all of Indochina.

- The world monetary system is once again on the verge of collapse. The price of gold has risen beyond \$90 per ounce, reflecting the evaporation of confidence in all paper currency.

- Prices are completely out of control; the rate of inflation in food prices is above 20 percent.

- One politician after another is implicated in brazen crimes as gangsterism has penetrated every level of the ruling class. Virtually the entire White House staff and Nixon himself is dripping with the slime of the Watergate Conspiracy.

- The bursting of the Equity Funding bubble is certain to undermine all confidence in business. Reflecting in miniature the progress of the entire capitalist system, \$340 million has vanished overnight.

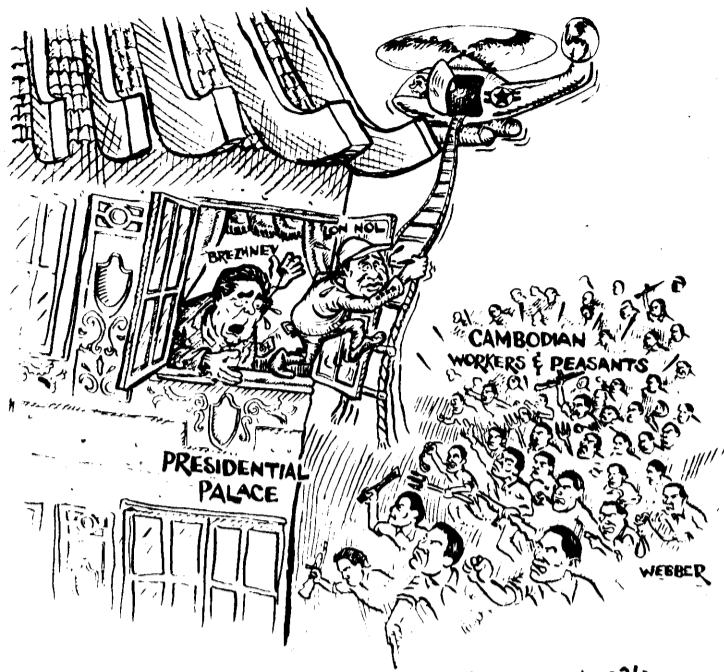
Just as Nixon is at his weakest—and when decisive action by the working class could smash his anti-labor policies—the trade union bureaucracy openly collaborates with the government and seeks to prevent the working class from fighting.

In a criminal betrayal of the interests of steel workers, I.W. Abel signs a "no-strike" pledge that hands over to the bosses the most basic right won by the ranks in the bloody battles of the 1930s.

These policies of betrayal are supported by the Communist Party, which refuses to fight for political action against Nixon and attempts to confine the working class to feeble protest activities.

Under these conditions, the fight for the Congress of Labor is linked to the struggle for a Marxist leadership in the trade unions and among the youth.

The Workers League is preparing for its historic May Day rally to raise the fundamental political tasks before thousands of workers, and draw new layers of workers and youth into the struggle to build the Young Socialists, caucuses of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in every union, and prepare for the launching of the twice-weekly Bulletin in the fall.



BUT LON!... IF YOU LEAVE, WHO WILL WE RECOGNIZE?!

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)  
fought those French syndicalists who argued that the mass trade union organizations could not be subordinate to the Marxist party. As Trotsky demonstrated, the syndicalist arguments against the party led to a capitulation to spontaneity.

However, Lenin and Trotsky vehemently insisted that opposition to syndicalism from a Marxist standpoint has nothing to do with abstaining from the struggle to win trade union demands. Far from opposing such demands, the Marxist party—in a revolutionary period—is the only force prepared to lead the working class in the struggle for wages and the right to strike.

Spartacist deliberately seeks to create an amalgam of the Stalinists, anti-communist IS, and the Workers League by writing: "One is struck by an amazing similarity between these programs: higher wages, shorter hours, the right to strike, a range of minor reforms and the complete absence of anything that would qualitatively distinguish them from old-fashioned 'pure and simple' reformist trade unionism."

The fact is that the CP and the IS, which has a number of members in the UNC, raised no specific demands around any of these issues and gave invaluable assistance to Woodcock at the Bargaining Convention. Above all, they opposed the fight for the labor party to break the working class from the capitalist parties and provide it with a political arm to defeat and replace the Nixon Administration.

As the Spartacist League must know—because it mobilized its entire Midwest membership for the Bargaining Convention for the sole purpose of encircling the literature table of the TUALP at Cobo Hall—only the Bulletin demanded rejection of the Woodcock program, and put forward a program with the demand for general strike action by the entire labor movement to smash Phase Three.

Everything Spartacist says about

the struggle in auto shows how far the revisionists stand from the working class and how little they understand the crisis gripping American capitalism. They sneer at the question of wages, shrug their shoulders at the speedup in the plants, and turn their noses at the demand for the right to strike as if it were a bad odor.

But these demands are life and death questions to millions of workers. Whether Spartacist likes it or not, workers cannot accept wage controls under conditions of wild inflation, they will not endure the brutal speedups which accompany growing layoffs, and will not surrender the right to strike.

However, Nixon is determined to force these conditions upon millions of workers because capitalism cannot continue to live with wage increases, nor any of the basic rights won by American workers during the past 40 years.

The point is that trade union questions are becoming revolutionary issues. In struggling against syndicalist thinking, Marxists do not oppose trade union demands but understand that these demands cannot be won without the building of a revolutionary leadership. It is through the raising of these demands that millions of workers are pitted against their leadership which will not fight, and a development in their thinking takes place.

Spartacist simply covers for the bureaucracy by refusing to raise either the demand or the question of the political struggle around the labor party.

Spartacist proceeds from the same position as the SWP. They turn their backs on the actual fight to mobilize workers against the vicious attacks of the government. Instead, they claim that nothing more than socialist propaganda is required, today—propaganda abstracted from any struggle in the real workers movement. So while Spartacist writes volumes on why nothing should be done by socialists, the SWP

runs a farcical electoral campaign in New York City that is totally distant from the working class.

The heart of the matter is the agreement of the SWP and Spartacist on the bankrupt and discredited perspectives of Pabloism. Both organizations stand against Marx's Capital, which analyzed capitalism from the standpoint of its internal contradictions. They arrogantly reject the understanding that the production of value under capitalism is a violent process which pits class against class at every point, and, at a certain historical juncture, in actual revolutionary conflict.

Contemptuous of theory and the actual living developments, the Pabloites see only the general crisis of capitalism. As last month's issue of Workers Vanguard puts it, there has been a crisis since 1914 and nothing much has changed. There is nothing to be excited about.

But the fact is that the fundamental contradiction within capitalism, suppressed for an entire historical period through wild inflation, is radically transforming the relations between classes. The speedup on the GM assembly lines which drive workers beyond the limits of endurance is a policy that is rooted in the economic crisis. The system of value, disrupted by the overproduction of credit, can be restored only by brutal assaults on workers through speedup and wage cuts, accompanied by massive unemployment.

This is why simple trade union demands are so profoundly revolutionary today. And the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will develop forces in the trade unions as Marxists to lead the fight for these demands, explaining tirelessly to the working class that these demands—the basic rights of American workers—can be fought for only through the political mobilization of the trade unions in a labor party that will replace Nixon and establish a government pledged to socialist policies.



## Building the Bulletin

The Midwest Trailblazing Tour is now well on its way and is meeting an enthusiastic response to the Bulletin. In the first two days of the tour, 82 subs and 150 papers were sold to trade unionists and students in the Kalamazoo, Michigan area. Some 59 subs were sold in a single day along with 91 papers in Detroit.

The impact of the capitalist crisis is now being felt in Kalamazoo, the Trailblazers report. Some 70 teachers are being laid off at Western Michigan State, while the Pioneer Paper Mill has been shut down, creating considerable unemployment in the region. In Detroit the Trailblazers report widespread anger of auto workers over Woodcock's proposal to put binding arbitration in the next contract.

Subscription work by branches has brought in 531 subs this week, bringing us over the one-third goal to 5252. However, we are now running one week late in the drive and it will be necessary to receive subs at the rate of 700 a week to meet our two-thirds goal of 7500 by May 1. The comrades can learn from the trailblazers and organize all day mini-trailblazing campaigns in each area.

Next week we will not only be able to report more fully on the Midwest trailblazing campaign, but also on the Southern, New England and Pacific Northwest drives.

# 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.

## PART TWO

### Cogs or party?

It is from a totally anti-Marxist outlook that International Socialist leader Mr T. Cliff derives his theory of cogs. Readers, however, must be careful here to distinguish this idealist rubbish from the analogy made by Lenin in his debate with Trotsky and Bukharin on the trade unions in 1920.

Lenin recognized the vital and indispensable role of the trade unions in participating in and assisting with the administration of the national economy after the seizure of power.

At the same time he defended the independence of the unions and their right to defend their members, even by strikes, against the bureaucratic distortions of the workers' state. For the same reason he chided Trotsky for trying to prolong in the post civil-war period the very effective methods of administration adopted towards the unions during the period of 'War Communism'—and compared the unions to 'an intricate transmission system'.

This function of the unions can be exercised only after the seizure of power when the unions become a unique part of the dictatorship of the working class. This uniqueness is explained succinctly by Lenin in his polemic with Trotsky and Bukharin.

'But what is their [the trade unions] part? I find that it is a most unusual one, as soon as I delve into this question, which is one of the most fundamental theoretically.

'On the one hand, the trade unions, which take in all industrial workers, are an organization of the ruling, dominant, governing class, which has now set up a dictatorship and is exercising coercion through the state. But it is not a state organization; nor is it one designed for coercion, but for education. It is an organization designed to draw in and to train; it is, in fact, a school: a school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of communism.

'It is a very unusual type of school, because there are no teachers or pupils; this is an extremely unusual combination of what has necessarily

come down to us from capitalism, and what comes from the ranks of the advanced revolutionary detachments, which you might call the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. To talk about the role of the trade unions without taking these truths into account is to fall straight into a number of errors . . . (Lenin: 'Collected Works', Vol. 32, p. 20.)

The absolute necessity for this complex system of cogs was pointed out by Lenin in his speech to the Communist Delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets:

' . . . he [Trotsky] has lost sight of the fact that we have here a complex arrangement of cogwheels which cannot be a simple one; for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised by a mass proletarian organization. It cannot work without a number of "transmission belts" running from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from the latter to the mass of the working people.' (*Ibid*, p. 21.)

Stalinist maligners of Trotsky always try to depict Trotsky's role in the 1920 controversy in the worst possible light, alleging that he was 'anti-party', 'a factionalist' and that he never understood the role of the trade unions under socialism.

Lenin on the contrary fully recognized the importance of Trotsky's group in Tsektran—the Central Committee of the Joint Trade Union of Rail and Water Transport Workers—which restored the shattered transport system in the immediate aftermath of the civil war, as well as in Glavpolitput—the Chief Political Administration of the Peoples' Commissariat for Communication which rehabilitated the ruined Soviet railway system in 1919-1920.

In his speech to the Communist delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, Lenin reminded the Bolsheviks that these organs did not err 'in their use of coercion: that goes to their credit'. He criticized them for failing 'to switch to normal trade union work at the right time and without conflict . . . they failed to adapt themselves to the trade unions and help them by meeting them on an equal footing'. ('Collected Works', Vol. 32.)

An explicit refutation of this Stalinist slander is also contained in Trotsky's appreciation of trade unions written five years after the event—much of it certainly reads as if it came from Lenin's pen and



In reply to Shlyapnikov, leader of the "Workers Opposition" in the Bolshevik Party, Lenin warned that "syndicalism makes the party superfluous."

shows how completely Trotsky assimilated the lessons of the trade union discussion.

'On the contrary, a great future still lies before the industrial unions of the British working class. It is just because there is no further prospect for the trade unions within the framework of a capitalist society in Great Britain's present situation that the industrial workers' unions are forced to take the road of the socialist reorganization of industry. After being reconstructed accordingly, the trade unions themselves will become the main lever of the economic transformation of the country.

'But the indispensable prerequisite of that is the seizure of power by the proletariat—not in the sense of the miserable and contemptible farce of the MacDonald Ministry, but in a real, material, revolutionary class sense.' ('Trade Unions and Bolshevism', p. 111 'Where is Britain Going?' New Park Publications edition.)

### Party and trade unions

Both Trotsky and Lenin, in this sense, never imparted either to the unions or to rank-and-file bodies, based on reformist and centrist ideology under capitalism, a role complementary to the party.

There could be no question of trade union bodies serving as 'cog wheels' to the party since there is at all times an implicit conflict between the type of consciousness represented by the party and that expressed in the reformist-dominated trade unions.

Before the unions can become part of the transmission mechanism to Soviet power they have—as Trotsky wrote—to be 'reconstructed accordingly' i.e. brought under Marxist leadership.

That too is why both Lenin and Trotsky—notwithstanding their differences on the tasks

of the unions—were implacably opposed to the 'Workers Opposition' and the Democratic Centralists who wanted to replace the Bolshevik party and the dictatorship of the working class by placing the national economy under the control of an All Russian Congress of Producers organized in industrial trade unions.

Significantly despite their heroic conduct and unsparing devotion to the cause of the revolution many of these oppositionists later went over to the revisionist position of state-capitalism and became completely disoriented. A few joined Trotsky.

What Lenin said and wrote about this tendency—despite the very different origins of Cliff's group and their personnel—is very applicable to the method of IS syndicalism:

'Communism says: the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat, leads the non-Party workers' masses, educating, preparing, teaching and training the masses ["school" of communism]—first the workers and then the peasants—to enable them eventually to concentrate in their hands the administration of the whole national economy.

'Syndicalism hands over to the mass of non-Party workers, who are compartmentalized in the industries, the management of their industries ("the chief administrations and central boards"), thereby making the Party superfluous, and failing to carry on a sustained campaign either in training the masses or in actually concentrating in their hands the management of the whole national economy.' ('The Party Crisis'—'Collected Works', Vol. 32, pp. 50-53.)

Lenin correctly described this method as the 'repudiating of the Party's leading role in relation to the non-Party masses' and urged the Party to 'combat the syndicalist deviation, which will kill the Party, unless it is entirely

cured of it'.

When Cliff talks of 'practice he means, not the consciously-guided practice of the party to transform the consciousness of the class, but the 'experience, action and thinking' of the working class which is the opposite to Marxist consciousness. Cliff bases his group's policies not on Marxism, but on trade union consciousness.

Thus the purpose of Cliff's 'cog wheels' is not to move the working class into action against the Tory government, but to divert the class from the impending political battles into the blind alley of rank-and-file syndicalism—to raise theory to the level of [trade union] practice'.

**An organization within the unions which helps the working class forward in its struggle against state control of unions, against the treachery of the reformist bureaucracy and for political power can be a powerful support weapon to the construction of a revolutionary party.**

This is precisely what Trotsky meant when he wrote in the 'Transitional Programme':

' . . . the sections of the Fourth International should always strive not only to renew the top leadership of the trade unions, boldly and resolutely in critical moments advancing new militant leaders in place of routine functionaries and careerists, but also to create in all possible instances independent militant organizations corresponding more closely to the tasks of mass struggle against bourgeois society; and, if necessary, not flinching even in the face of a direct break with the conservative apparatus of the trade unions.'

But these tasks are based on a prognosis diametrically opposed to that of the state capitalist International Socialists: As the Transitional Programme points out, trade unions 'do not offer and in line with their task . . . cannot offer a finished revolutionary programme; in consequence they cannot replace the party. The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch'.

### The rank-and-file road to defeat

The 'central task' of the IS group, however, is the construction of permanent rank-and-file bodies which 'do not aim at a complete emancipation of the working class by the overthrow of the capitalist system' and which base themselves on the idealist theory that the spontaneous conflicts of workers 'will clarify their ideas'. ('Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972.)

Such bodies are reformist-centrist and syndicalist organs which, instead of aiding the working class to liberate itself from the ideological filth of Stalinism and reformism, in fact bind it even more securely to the bureaucratic apparatus. These bodies are not an ancillary support to the party—they are a reformist alternative to it.

That is why IS leader Mr T. Cliff can call, without the slightest embarrassment, for IS members 'to strengthen all existing rank-and-file industrial and trade union organizations'. It does not require much intelligence to know that invariably this means strengthening Stalinist-controlled bodies such as the London Action group and 'Flashlight' tendency in the EPTU, the Charter movement in the building industry and the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

All these groups are completely opposed to a campaign to get rid of the Tories and deliberately restrict the scope of the militants' struggle to putting pressure on the bureaucracy and reforming capitalism.

In the docks strike this policy led IS to denigrate the dockers in order to defend the reformist policies of the shop stewards.

As one IS docks steward supporter blurted out at an All Trades Unions Alliance meeting in East Ham: 'You'll never get a General Strike in Britain because the working class are a thick lot of b—s.'

This man was neither drunk nor facetious. He meant what he said—and never retracted what he said.

Support for these bodies reinforces the reformist illusions of militants in a paradoxical way.

On the one hand it deprives them of a generalized political knowledge of capitalism and its crisis and thereby strengthens the belief that you can't overthrow the system.

On the other hand it encourages workers to believe that real wages can be constantly raised and democratic rights defended by militancy exerted on an industry-wide basis. To the extent that syndicalists organize workers on an industry-wide basis as an alternative to the party, to the same extent do they accentuate the division of the class and prevent the class from seeing its historical role as the gravedigger of capitalism. Syndicalism strengthens Toryism. Such is the dialectic of rank-and-file-ism as practised by Cliff.

When the Russian Economists' spokesman Martynov tried to justify an exclusive reliance on economic struggles as the

only way to develop the political consciousness of workers, Lenin replied:

'Everyone agrees that it is necessary to develop political consciousness of the working class. The question is how that is to be done and what is required to do it? The economic struggle merely "impels" the workers to realize the government's attitude to the working class.'

'Consequently however much we may try to "lend the economic struggle itself a political character" we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers [to the level of Social Democratic political consciousness] by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow . . . Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of all classes and strata to the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between all classes.'

### A case history

To savour the essence of the reactionary method and outlook of the Cliff group it is necessary to read the history of the Merseyside Building Workers' Movement by the IS writer Martin Barker ('International Socialist', Vol. 32, Spring 1968). From the beginning to the end this essay is permeated with a spirit of cringing subservience to wages militancy and absolute scepticism towards the political capacities of the working class. Here we can quote only two extracts:

'We may now summarize our conclusions about what the attitude of the rank-and-file movements should be towards the unions; it appears that the majority of the unions cannot be reformed, because the period of union irrelevance has meant that they have been integrated into the state system; the rank and file have neither the consciousness nor the interest in carrying through such a reform, due to the fragmentation of class consciousness.'

'Rank-and-file movements, being composed primarily of political militants, who have the consciousness to understand the role of the union bureaucracies, must in the long term aim to take over the functions of these unions by proving themselves in local activity. The aim and reason for this appearance of rank-and-file movements is to recruit the fragmented working class; and this cannot be done by attempting primarily to reform unions, since if the unions could be reformed then the workers would already be united.'

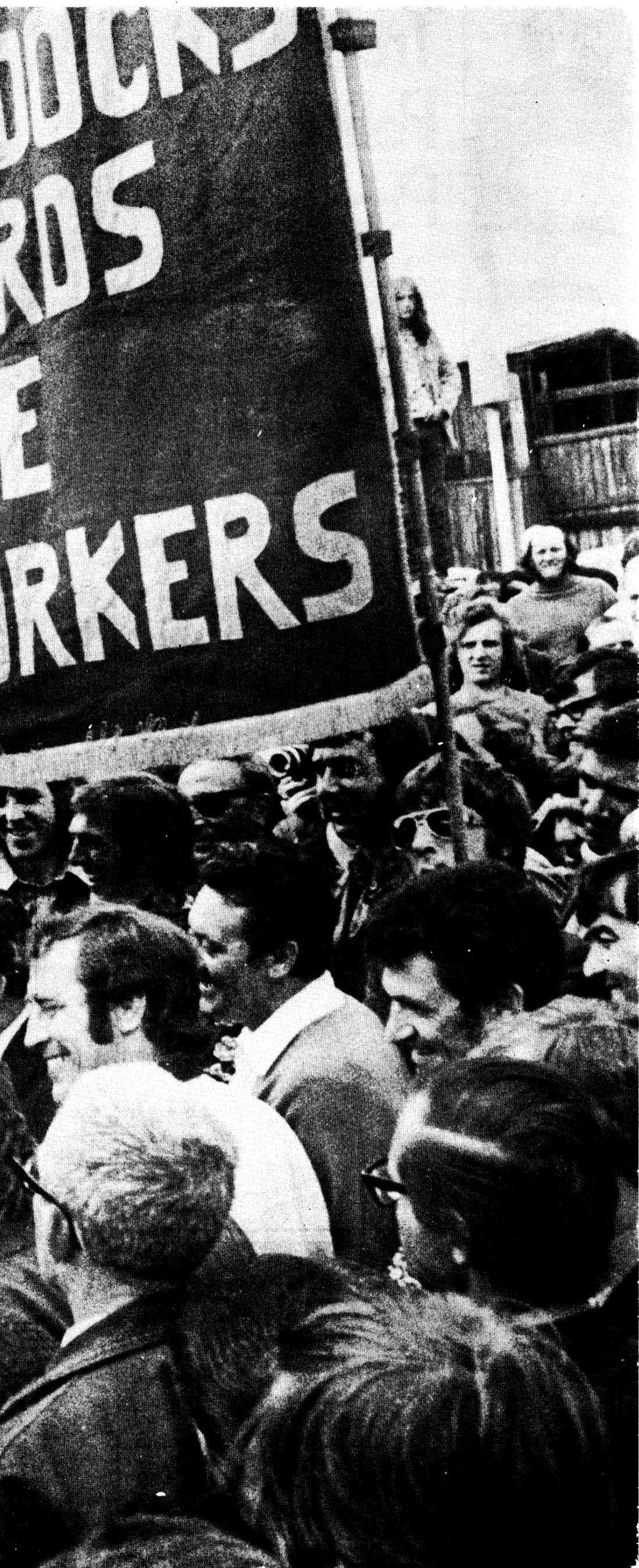
'They are not, and the role of the rank-and-file movements is first and foremost to organize inter-site and inter-factory solidarity, which will itself entail opposing the actions of the union bureaucracies.'

After surveying the history of this movement the author concludes:

'The first stage was wrong, since it stressed one aspect of rank-and-file activity, the negative aspect of opposing the union bureaucracy without developing the positive aspect of taking over the functions of the bureaucracy. To fight the union hierarchy would not have involved the mass of the members and the attempt would have foundered as only



IS paper Socialist Worker blamed defeat of dock strike on rank and file longshore



longshoremen in order to defend Stalinist leadership on docks.

one section could have been involved at a time. The third stage has to be one that overcomes the fragmentation of the struggle; and most important, it has to involve them in day-to-day issues.

'The second stage was wrong because it stressed the isolation of the militants by demanding a high level of consciousness from the start, instead of working to develop one by drawing on the day-to-day experience of the workers at the only level they understand at present—site-level.

'The third stage therefore must be one that is centred entirely on local activity, developing support for disputes, and thereby laying the roots of inter-site solidarity. It must not demand a high level of consciousness from the start, and must therefore involve the mass of the workers at a level of their understanding.'

This article, incredible as it may seem, was written in the last period of the Wilson government, after the devaluation of sterling in 1967, the setting up of the Prices and Incomes Board and while the Royal Commission on Trade Unions was sitting. Yet nowhere does the reader find a single reference to the economic and monetary crisis or to the preparations of the ruling class, aided by the Labour leaders, to crush the unions and break the power of the shop stewards' movement.

Instead we have (a) the improbable and fantastic claim that the unions were already integrated into the state, (b) that the workers lacked the consciousness to fight the bureaucracy or the Labour government, (c) that it is wrong to demand a high level of consciousness from workers, (d) that workers can only generalize on the basis of local activity, and (e) that they must be treated on their own level of understanding and only told that which they like to hear.

In the diction of the International Socialists this is known as being non-sectarian, flexible and showing 'readiness to experiment systematically' and 'raising theory to the level of practice'.

Marxists, however, will recognize in Barker's syndicalism a crude contempt of IS for the working class and its ability to master the ideas of scientific socialism and through it the historical process.

What Barker is saying in an unobvious way is that socialism is for educated mystifiers like Cliff and cultivated ex-public school boys like Foot but not for the working class.

'We must encourage their illusions and let them remain backward, ignorant and chained to the wheels of pure and simple militancy,' IS says.

Don't let them receive a political education and training because they will only abuse it and wreck our reformist dreams. Above all keep the Trotskyists from influencing the working class.

### Plekhanov

Anticipating the International Socialists by 90 years almost, Plekhanov in his remarkable work 'Socialism and the Political Struggle' ridiculed and condemned in the sharpest manner all those who disparaged the revolutionary role of the working class and doubted its ability to assimilate political ideas. Quoting the German economist Rod-

bertus who said:

'We look upon the workers as children whereas they are already head and shoulders above us.', Plekhanov wrote: 'Can the working class understand "abstract" questions of social economics and socialism at least as well as, if not better than, people who have spent years and years on their education?

'... the working class has many chances of understanding correctly the "most abstract" laws of social economics and of mastering the most abstract principles of scientific socialism ...

Once the fundamental principles of social economics are mastered, the understanding of scientific socialism no longer presents any difficulty: here too the worker will only follow the directions of his practical experience. This aspect of the question was magnificently explained by Marx: "By heralding the dissolution of the hitherto existing world order" we read in a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, "the proletariat merely proclaims the secret of its own existence, for it is the factual dissolution of that world order. By demanding the negation of private property, the proletariat merely raises to the rank of a principle of society what society has raised to the rank of its principle, what is already embodied in it as the negative result of society without its own participation."

'So we see that the proletariat needs no material wealth to attain an understanding of the conditions of its emancipation. Its pauperism, determined not by the poverty or the barbarism of society, but by the defects in the social organization—this pauperism far from making the understanding of these conditions more difficult, makes it easier.' ('Philosophical Works', Vol. I. Lawrence and Wishart 1961. pp. 97-98. Emphasis in original.)

In case anyone gets the impression that Plekhanov was arguing for a spontaneous development of socialism within the working class, it should be pointed out that Plekhanov was careful to qualify this statement with a quotation from the Communist Manifesto indicating the 'other social phenomena which also increase the probability of the proletariat's political victory.'

Among these, he includes the important role of the bourgeois intellectuals who join the revolutionary struggle:

'Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands ... so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and, in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.' ('Communist Manifesto.')

One allegory, it is said, is worth a hundred arguments.

At the risk of oversimplifying the question, but for the benefit of the backward intellectuals of IS we reproduce the unique allegory of Plekhanov:

'There is a very remarkable legend among the Negroes of North Guinea. "One day," it says, "God summoned the two sons of the first human couple.

"One of them was white, the other dark-skinned. Placing

But these tasks are based on a prognosis diametrically opposed to that of the state capitalist International Socialists: As the Transitional Programme points out, trade unions 'do not offer and in line with their task . . . cannot offer a finished revolutionary programme; in consequence they cannot replace the party. The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch'.

### The rank-and-file road to defeat

The 'central task' of the IS group, however, is the construction of permanent rank-and-file bodies which 'do not aim at a complete emancipation of the working class by the overthrow of the capitalist system' and which base themselves on the idealist theory that the spontaneous conflicts of workers 'will clarify their ideas'. ('Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972.)

Such bodies are reformist-centrist and syndicalist organs which, instead of aiding the working class to liberate itself from the ideological filth of Stalinism and reformism, in fact bind it even more securely to the bureaucratic apparatus. These bodies are not an ancillary support to the party—they are a reformist alternative to it.

That is why IS leader Mr T. Cliff can call, without the slightest embarrassment, for IS members 'to strengthen all existing rank-and-file industrial and trade union organizations'. It does not require much intelligence to know that invariably this means strengthening Stalinist-controlled bodies such as the London Action group and 'Flashlight' tendency in the EPTU, the Charter movement in the building industry and the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

All these groups are completely opposed to a campaign to get rid of the Tories and deliberately restrict the scope of the militants' struggle to putting pressure on the bureaucracy and reforming capitalism. In the docks strike this policy led IS to denigrate the dockers in order to defend the reformist policies of the shop stewards.

As one IS docks steward supporter blurted out at an All Trades Unions Alliance meeting in East Ham: 'You'll never get a General Strike in Britain because the working class are a thick lot of b—s.'

This man was neither drunk nor facetious. He meant what he said—and never retracted what he said.

Support for these bodies reinforces the reformist illusions of militants in a paradoxical way.

On the one hand it deprives them of a generalized political knowledge of capitalism and its crisis and thereby strengthens the belief that you can't overthrow the system.

On the other hand it encourages workers to believe that real wages can be constantly raised and democratic rights defended by militancy exerted on an industry-wide basis. To the extent that syndicalists organize workers on an industry-wide basis as an alternative to the party, to the same extent do they accentuate the division of the class and prevent the class from seeing its historical role as the gravedigger of capitalism. Syndicalism strengthens Toryism. Such is the dialectic of rank-and-file-ism as practised by Cliff.

When the Russian Economists' spokesman Martynov tried to justify an exclusive reliance on economic struggles as the

only way to develop the political consciousness of workers, Lenin replied:

'Everyone agrees that it is necessary to develop political consciousness of the working class. The question is how that is to be done and what is required to do it? The economic struggle merely "impels" the workers to realize the government's attitude to the working class.'

'Consequently however much we may try to "lend" the economic struggle itself a political character' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers [to the level of Social Democratic political consciousness] by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow . . . Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of all classes and strata to the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between all classes.'

### A case history

To savour the essence of the reactionary method and outlook of the Cliff group it is necessary to read the history of the Merseyside Building Workers' Movement by the IS writer Martin Barker ('International Socialist', Vol. 32, Spring 1968). From the beginning to the end this essay is permeated with a spirit of cringing subservience to wages militancy and absolute scepticism towards the political capacities of the working class. Here we can quote only two extracts:

'We may now summarize our conclusions about what the attitude of the rank-and-file movements should be towards the unions; it appears that the majority of the unions cannot be reformed, because the period of union irrelevance has meant that they have been integrated into the state system; the rank and file have neither the consciousness nor the interest in carrying through such a reform, due to the fragmentation of class consciousness.'

'Rank-and-file movements, being composed primarily of political militants, who have the consciousness to understand the role of the union bureaucracies, must in the long term aim to take over the functions of these unions by proving themselves in local activity. The aim and reason for this appearance of rank-and-file movements is to re-orient the fragmented working class; and this cannot be done by attempting primarily to reform unions, since if the unions could be reformed then the workers would already be united.'

'They are not, and the role of the rank-and-file movements is first and foremost to organize inter-site and inter-factory solidarity, which will itself entail opposing the actions of the union bureaucracies.'

After surveying the history of this movement the author concludes:

'The first stage was wrong, since it stressed one aspect of rank-and-file activity, the negative aspect of opposing the union bureaucracy without developing the positive aspect of taking over the functions of the bureaucracy. To fight the union hierarchy would not have involved the mass of the members and the attempt would have foundered as only



IS paper Socialist Worker blamed defeat of dock strike on rank and file longshoremen in order to defend Stalinist leadership on docks.

one section could have been involved at a time. The third stage has to be one that overcomes the fragmentation of the struggle; and most important, it has to involve them in day-to-day issues.

'The second stage was wrong because it stressed the isolation of the militants by demanding a high level of consciousness from the start, instead of working to develop one by drawing on the day-to-day experience of the workers at the only level they understand at present—site-level.'

'The third stage therefore must be one that is centred entirely on local activity, developing support for disputes, and thereby laying the roots of inter-site solidarity. It must not demand a high level of consciousness from the start, and must therefore involve the mass of the workers at a level of their understanding.'

This article, incredible as it may seem, was written in the last period of the Wilson government, after the devaluation of sterling in 1967, the setting up of the Prices and Incomes Board and while the Royal Commission on Trade Unions was sitting. Yet nowhere does the reader find a single reference to the economic and monetary crisis or to the preparations of the ruling class, aided by the Labour leaders, to crush the unions and break the power of the shop stewards' movement.

Instead we have (a) the improbable and fantastic claim that the unions were already integrated into the state, (b) that the workers lacked the consciousness to fight the bureaucracy or the Labour government, (c) that it is wrong to demand a high level of consciousness from workers, (d) that workers can only generalize on the basis of local activity, and (e) that they must be understood on their own level of understanding and only told that which they like to hear.

In the diction of the International Socialists this is known as being non-sectarian, flexible and showing 'readiness to experiment systematically' and 'raising theory to the level of practice'.

Marxists, however, will recognize in Barker's syndicalism a crude contempt of IS for the working class and its ability to master the ideas of scientific socialism and through it the historical process.

What Barker is saying in an unobvious way is that socialism is for educated mystifiers like Cliff and cultivated public school boys like Foot but not for the working class.

'We must encourage their illusions and let them remain backward, ignorant and chained to the wheels of pure and simple militancy,' IS says.

'Don't let them receive a political education and training because they will only abuse it and wreck our reformist dreams. Above all keep the Trotskyists from influencing the working class.'

### Plekhanov

Anticipating the International Socialists by 90 years almost, Plekhanov in his remarkable work 'Socialism and the Political Struggle' ridiculed and condemned in the sharpest manner all those who disparaged the revolutionary role of the working class and doubted its ability to assimilate political ideas. Quoting the German economist Rod-

bertus who said:

'We look upon the workers as children whereas they are already head and shoulders above us,' Plekhanov wrote: 'Can the working class understand "abstract" questions of social economics and socialism at least as well as, if not better than, people who have spent years and years on their education?'

'... the working class has many chances of understanding correctly the "most abstract" laws of social economics and of mastering the most abstract principles of scientific socialism . . .'

'Once the fundamental principles of social economics are mastered, the understanding of scientific socialism no longer presents any difficulty: here too the worker will only follow the directions of his practical experience. This aspect of the question was magnificently explained by Marx: "By heralding the dissolution of the hitherto existing world order" we read in a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, "the proletariat merely proclaims the secret of its own existence, for it is the factual dissolution of that world order. By demanding the negation of private property, the proletariat merely raises to the rank of a principle of society what society has raised to the rank of its principle, what is already embodied in it as the negative result of society without its own participation."

'So we see that the proletariat needs no material wealth to attain an understanding of the conditions of its emancipation. Its pauperism, determined not by the poverty or the barbarism of society, but by the defects in the social organization—this pauperism far from making the understanding of these conditions more difficult, makes it easier.' ('Philosophical Works', Vol. I. Lawrence and Wishart 1961. pp. 97-98. Emphasis in original.)

In case anyone gets the impression that Plekhanov was arguing for a spontaneous development of socialism within the working class, it should be pointed out that Plekhanov was careful to qualify this statement with a quotation from the Communist Manifesto indicating the 'other social phenomena which also increase the probability of the proletariat's political victory.'

Among these, he includes the important role of the bourgeois intellectuals who join the revolutionary struggle:

'Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands . . . so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and, in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.' ('Communist Manifesto.')

One allegory, it is said, is worth a hundred arguments.

At the risk of oversimplifying the question, but for the benefit of the backward intellectuals of IS we reproduce the unique allegory of Plekhanov:

'There is a very remarkable legend among the Negroes of North Guinea. "One day," it says, "God summoned the two sons of the first human couple.

"One of them was white, the other dark-skinned. Placing

# David North Books

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

## PART FOUR

How scandalous appears George Novack's diatribes against "sectarianism" in philosophy in the light of this latest volume of Trotsky's writings! While showing the utmost patience in the struggle for a correct political orientation within the cadres of the Left Opposition, Trotsky never retreated one inch from the position that dialectical materialism was the only theoretical foundation upon which a revolutionary party could be built.

Concessions to empiricism and pragmatism, clothed in the liberal "live and let live" attitude toward philosophy, met Trotsky's relentless opposition. He was at war with the Novacks of his day.

So that there could be no question of his irreconcilable defense of dialectical materialism, Trotsky vehemently disassociated himself with Max Eastman's smug attempts to belittle the Marxist method. "During the recent period I have repeatedly had occasion to become convinced that Max Eastman is carrying on a systematic fight against materialist dialectics," Trotsky wrote to the editorial board of *The Militant*.

While expressing his admiration for Eastman's splendid translation of the *History of the Russian Revolution*, Trotsky declared that "as soon as Eastman attempts to translate Marxian dialectics into the language of vulgar empiricism, his work provokes a feeling in me which is the direct opposite of gratitude."

In the same vein, he wrote to Sidney Hook, the American professor, a sharp protest over the latter's claim that Marxism is not an objective science. Hook had defined Marxism as nothing more than a "realistic method of class action."

"What means here the word 'realistic'?" asked Trotsky. "Obviously it means based upon the true knowledge of the objective—in that case, social—processes; the knowledge of the objective is a science. The Marxian philosophy is realistic insofar as it is based upon Marxism as a science."

The clearest exposition of Trotsky's views on the defense of dialectical materialism is to be found in the article entitled "The Party's Policy in the Field of Art and Philosophy." He made a sharp distinction between the intervention of the party in the domain of art, where it is "obliged to permit a very extensive liberty," and that of philosophy.

## ART

Trotsky explained that the party must usually confine itself to "firm but tactful" criticism of incorrect political conclusions flowing from the individual creativity of the artist. He cited Lenin's great admiration for the novelist Maxim Gorky, who not infrequently collided with the political principles of Bolshevism.

But the same leniency was not available for Gorky's mentor, Bogdanov, whose philosophical defense of Machism posed great dangers to the Russian revolutionary movement in the first decade of the twentieth century.

"In philosophy," wrote Trotsky, "the party itself occupies a distinct militant position, which is not the case—at least not to the same extent—in the field of art. Objections to the effect that by 'dogmatization' and 'cannonization' of dialectical materialism, the party prevents the free development of philosophic and scientific thought do not

deserve serious attention. No factory can work without basing itself on a definite technological doctrine. No hospital can treat its patients if the physicians do not base themselves on the established teachings of pathology. It would be sheer folly to permit dilettantes to experiment arbitrarily in the factory or in the hospital, on the pretext that they consider themselves 'innovators.'"

Every sentence is a repudiation of the position taken by Novack in his recent attacks on the defense of Marxism by the International Committee against Pabloite revisionism. By merely suggesting that there is such a thing as "sectarianism" in philosophy, Novack is relegating the principles of Marxism to the level of tactics—which of course must vary with the changing developments. To suggest that the Marxist method must be balanced with pragmatism as the situation warrants is to betray the fundamentals of Trotskyism.

Every article in this volume reveals Trotsky as a master of the Marxist method, always deepening his understanding of the contradictory relation between the objective changes in the material world and the development of the political thought of the masses. An invaluable contribution to historical materialism is the article "What Is Historical Objectivity?" which Trotsky wrote to explain the method he employed in his monumental *History of the Russian Revolution*.

## PHILISTINE PREJUDICE

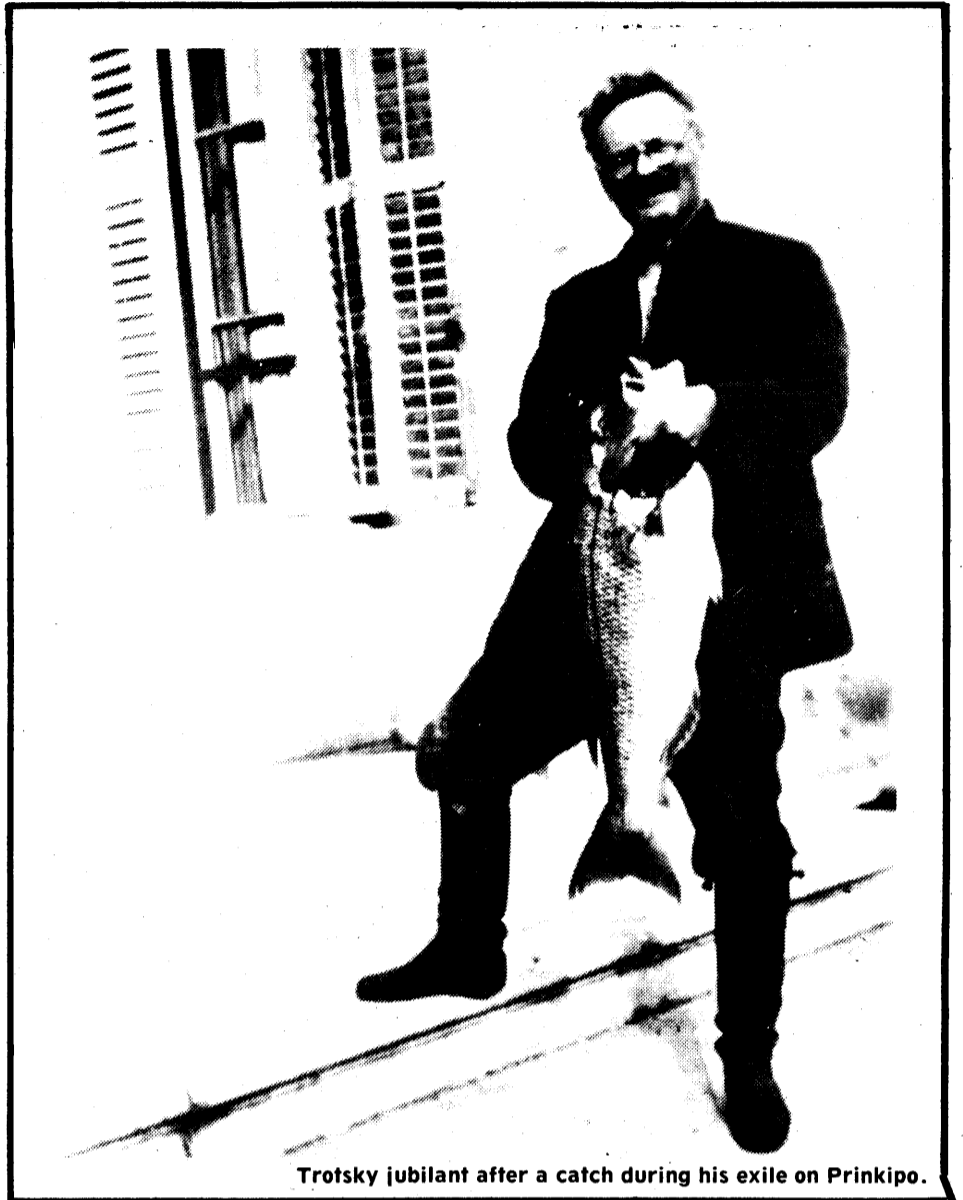
As was to be expected, his *History* came under criticism from bourgeois academicians who insisted that Trotsky's role in the Russian Revolution and his continuous defense of Soviet power deprived the book of "objectivity." Trotsky answered his critics by pointing out that it is a common philistine prejudice to regard the inability to understand anything as the highest example of objectivity: history is simply measured by the yardstick of common sense. In opposition to this view, Trotsky wrote:

"The demand of science, and not parlor-philistine 'objectivity,' really is that one should expose the social conditioning of historical events, no matter how unpleasant they may be for the nerves. History is not a dumping ground for documents and moral maxims. History is a science no less objective than physiology. It requires not a hypocritical 'impartiality' but a scientific method. One can accept or reject the materialistic dialectic as a method of historical science, but one must reckon with it. Scientific objectivity can be and must be lodged in the very method itself. If the author did not manage its proper application, it must be pointed out exactly where.

"I attempted to base my *History* (of the Russian Revolution), not on my own political sympathies, but on the material foundations of society. I considered the revolution as a process, conditioned by all the past, of the direct struggle of classes for power. The center of attention for me was the change in the consciousness of the classes taking place under the effect of the feverish tempo of their own struggle. I considered political parties and political agents in no other light than that of mass shifts and clashes. Four parallel processes conditioned by the social structure of the country thus formed the background of the whole narrative: the evolution of the consciousness of the proletariat from February to October; the change of the moods in the army; a growth of peasant vindictiveness; the awakening and resurgence of the oppressed nationalities. By revealing the dialectic of the consciousness of masses thrown out of equilibrium, the author sought to give the nearest immediate key to all the events of the revolution."

It is impossible to appreciate fully the great contribution which these writings represent to the construction of the Fourth International without grasping the personal hardships under which Trotsky labored. The conditions of Trotsky's third—and final—exile do not find comparison in history. The articles contained in this volume were written during the

# Partisanship In Philosophy



Trotsky jubilant after a catch during his exile on Prinkipo.

final year of his 53 month exile on Prinkipo, a small island off the coast of Turkey, the circumference of which he could walk in less than three hours. His life was in constant danger from fascists, white Russian emigres, and the political police of Stalin. With all the so-called democratic countries denying him the democratic right of asylum, Trotsky lived in—as he called it—the "planet without a visa."

## STALIN

Stalin's brutality grew in direct proportion to the crisis within the regime. As always, the repression fell first of all on Trotsky's family. In an act of barbaric vindictiveness, Stalin deprived Trotsky's daughter of her Soviet citizenship. This action was responsible for a chain of events that led to Zinaida's suicide at the age of 30.

At the same time, Trotsky's closest comrade-in-arms, Christian Rakovsky, remained in exile in some forsaken wilderness—his life in constant danger.

"And how many other revolutionary workers," asked Trotsky, "how many of ours are falling today, when more than ever their firmness and their experience are indispensable to the revolution?"

Trotsky wrote that "Prinkipo is a fine place to work with a pen"; his literary production while on the island was prodigious. This volume does not nearly contain all of Trotsky's writings from December 1932 to July 1933. His correspondence alone during this period could fill a large book. Also, there are his articles on Germany and Spain which have been published separately.

Despite the island's remoteness, Trotsky met urgent demands on his time from a constant stream of visitors. And then there was the daily mail, whose diverse quality gave him some amusement: "The post brings fresh newspapers, new books, letters from friends, and letters from foes. This pile of printed and written paper holds much that is unexpected, especially from America. I find it difficult to believe that so many people exist in this world who are urgently concerned with the salvation of my soul. In the course of these years I have received such a quantity of religious literature

as would suffice for the salvation not of a single person, but of a brigade of confirmed sinners."

Trotsky noted that the proportion of mail devoted exclusively to religion grew with the worsening of the world depression.

It is well known that Trotsky, in addition to treasuring his political contributions, especially loved the personality of Friedrich Engels. More than once, when writing or speaking of Engels, he quoted the epithet: "Nothing human was alien to him." The same could be said of Trotsky. It was characteristic of the man that while he lived on Prinkipo, Trotsky passionately engaged himself in the life of the small island, devoting his few free hours of recreation to the "art" of fishing. This he described with haunting simplicity in his "farewell to Prinkipo" which he wrote shortly after he received a visa to enter France:

## SEA OF MARMORA

"During these fifty-three months, with the help of my invaluable tutor, I have become very intimate with the sea of Marmora. His name is Charolambos, and his universe is described by a radius of approximately four kilometers around Prinkipo. But Charolambos knows his universe. To an undiscerning eye the sea seems identical throughout its whole extent. Yet the bottom of the sea enfolds an immeasurable variety of physical organisms, minerals, flora, and fauna. Charolambos, alas, is illiterate, but he reads with artistry the beautiful book of the sea of Marmora."

On July 19, 1933, Trotsky left Prinkipo aboard a ship bound for France.

In publishing these volumes of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, which contain material that was unavailable to a past generation of revolutionaries, the Socialist Workers Party has rendered an important service to the Marxist movement. Armed with the lessons contained in these irreplaceable writings, the Fourth International will go forward to construct a revolutionary leadership of the working class against the SWP revisionists—who have betrayed every principle Trotsky defended in these writings.

CONCLUDED

# May Day '73: What Stalinism Did To Union Square

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 take forward Trotsky's struggle for Marxism and the international socialist revolution against the betrayals of the Stalinist American Communist Party. It will mark the first Trotskyist May Day Rally to be held in Union Square in the history of the American workers' movement.

The major theme of this section of the rally will center on the socialist history of the American working class and the class struggle traditions of the Union Square May Day demonstrations. It is critical today to reassert these socialist traditions in order to educate a new generation of young workers as well as to dispel once and for all the anti-communist propaganda which has been used by the ruling class to divert the working class from its historic tasks.

As the capitalist crisis deepens and Nixon prepares to take on the trade union movement, the gap between the tasks confronting the working class and its counterrevolutionary leadership must be overcome. The rally will fight to expose the role played by the most vicious misleaders of the working class; the American Communist Party, which at all points props up capitalism to preserve the privileged Soviet bureaucracy at the expense of workers internationally. The rally will trace the history of May Day demonstrations to reveal how the militant, socialist meaning of May Day was consciously betrayed during the 1930s by the CP.

Today, the fight against Stalinism is a life and death question for the working class and for all of humanity. The present crisis presents only two roads to the working class: either forward through socialism or destruction through fascist barbarism. Above all, the workers today must form their own political party if they are to beat back the offensive of Nixon.

The Stalinists are the most conscious enemies of the political independence of the working class because such a policy immediately raises the question of power. They will fight in every way possible against the labor party. Thus, the 1973 May Day Rally will fight to reveal that the struggle for a labor party cannot go forward without the most relentless battle against the American Communist Party.

The history of the May Day demonstrations must be placed in the context of the development of the class struggle—its defeats and its gains—from the inception of May Day to the present in order to understand the sharp changes that have occurred in the celebration of May Day from 1886 to 1973.

## GENERAL STRIKE ACTION

Following the Haymarket Square incident of 1886 and the hanging of the four leader of the eight hour day movement, May 1 became the official day when workers throughout the world walked out in general strike action against capitalism. By 1890, May Day was firmly established in the US as the day of all-out class battle.

From 1890 to 1914, the demonstrations were led by socialists and conducted on the basis of the policy of the Second International. That policy, laid down at its Second Congress, stressed the "Class character of May 1 demonstrations for the eight hour day and the other demands which would lead to the deepening of the class struggle."

Throughout this period, the May Day demonstrations were held on a working day so as to effectively cripple capitalist production. They were not called simply in

a fight for economic reforms but rather, they were seen as political battles: battles directed against the system of capitalism itself. Lenin, writing from prison in 1896, emphasized the political and revolutionary character of these demonstrations:

"The demand for an eight hour day, however, is the demand of the whole proletariat, presented, not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the whole of the present day social and political system, to the capitalist class as a whole, the owners of all the means of production."

Lenin's understanding of the political character of May Day stood in sharp contrast to the labor bureaucracy's policies. During this early period, these traitors tried to turn the day into a peaceful holiday: a day of rest and relaxation for the working class. They sought to organize demonstrations on the Sunday nearest May 1 so workers would not strike.

However, workers rose up in powerful numbers to defy these misleaders and abandon the factories in massive strike struggles on May 1. In 1890, hundreds of thousands of workers marched throughout the country demonstrating to the employers their growing power. The Union Square demonstration was attended by 75,000 workers who heard Peter McGuire, the socialist leader of the Carpenter's Union, declare that "the building trades shall enter a general strike until the demand for the eight hour day is legally recognized."

## REVOLUTIONARY

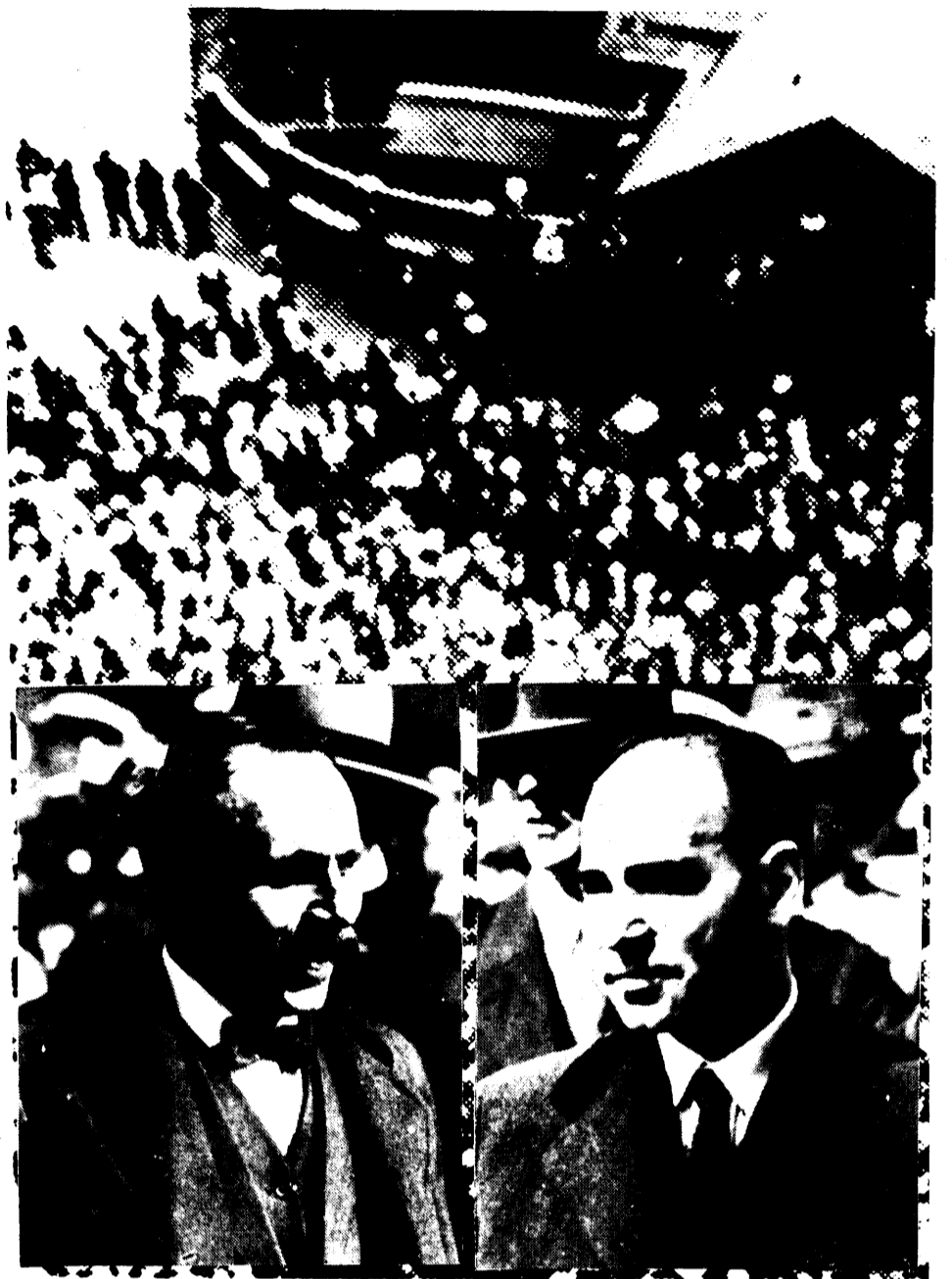
Each year between 1890 and 1914, May Day demonstrations became increasingly revolutionary in content and grew in size to encompass more than one million workers. However, with the outbreak of World War One in 1914, a sharp change in the policies of the Second International led to a turn away from the class struggle traditions of May Day in the US.

The war propelled the parties of the Second International into the arms of their own ruling classes as they lined up against the interests of the international working class. They called on workers to stay in the factories to produce the war materials necessary for the capitalists to carry out their own war.

However, by 1917, the left wing of the Socialist Party asserted itself and passed an antiwar resolution. On May 1, 1917, 50,000 workers flooded Union Square to protest against the imperialist war and to reestablish their solidarity with the international working class.

Following these demonstrations, the Communist Party was founded by the left wing of the Socialist Party. While this early history of the CP was one of constant struggle, split and reunification, it did carry forward the traditions of May Day throughout the first half of the 1920s. Throughout this period, the May Day strikes grew in size and militancy.

To understand the reasons for this, as well as to understand the sharp turn first to the reformist demonstrations of the early 1930s and then to the open betrayal of the working class in the late 1930s and 1940s, it is necessary to examine the early development of the Communist Party: its origin and the theoretical preparation of its leaders.



May 1, 1927: thousands rallied to free Sacco (right) and Vanzetti (left).

The American Communist Party carried over all the contradictions which dominated American working class politics since the 1860s. It was formed by leaders shaped by the American radical tradition, that is by Populism and syndicalism.

The major theoretical doctrine of the early CP was simply one of mass action. It was dominated by the same pragmatic syndicalism that had characterized the development of all the workers' movements up to that time. The leadership held to the concept, earlier represented in the "Chicago idea" of Albert Parsons' International Workingmen's Party, that the working class would spontaneously rise up in massive class actions, such as a general strike action or some ill defined "political mass action" and overthrow capitalism. Thus, the CP did not understand the need to mobilize workers politically through the formation of their own party in order to concretely pose the question of seizing state power to the working class.

## MARXIST THEORY

At the time, what was necessary in the US was to create the kind of party that had lead the Russian workers to power. This could not be done simply by copying the forms of Lenin's party and calling for the revolution here. What was required was to develop a party capable of understanding Marxist theory and developing this theory in the concrete, daily struggles of the American workers. The early CP learned some fundamental lessons from Lenin and Trotsky and they did break from their early ultra-left, sectarian outlook.

Because of the growing bureaucratization of the Communist Party, 1927 actually marked the last great revolutionary celebration of May Day in this country on a mass scale. After that time, the CP was to lead millions of workers away from an all-out struggle against capitalism and toward reformist demonstrations based on pressuring the capitalists for a few crumbs. Nevertheless, the 1927 demonstrations marked the highest development of the class struggle to that date.

The Daily Worker, newspaper of the CP, began preparations to mobilize millions in strike action three months before May 1.

Each issue carried articles on the history and traditions of May Day and on the need for revolutionary action to smash capitalism. The celebration of May Day in 1927 coincided with the last, tremendous mobilization of the working class to save the two framed up leaders of the working class: Sacco and Vanzetti.

Thus, on May 1, over 175,000 workers marched from two points in New York, Battery Park downtown and Bryant Park uptown, behind a sea of red flags. Their chants of "Down with capitalist tyranny" and "Free Sacco and Vanzetti" were greeted by tens of thousands who lined the parade route. Over 500,000 workers went out on strike in the greater New York area alone. Because of the enormous crowd, it was necessary to set up four different speakers platforms in Union Square in order for the more than 40 speakers to reach all who had gathered there.

However, by 1930, the policies of Stalinism were firmly entrenched in the American Communist Party and led to a sharp change in the May Day demonstrations. Because of the defeats in Germany—first in 1919, then in 1923—and later in China and because of the isolation of the first workers' state, a bureaucracy developed inside the Soviet Union.

Reflecting the pressure of imperialism on this isolated workers' state, small privileged sections of the working class and peasantry combined with sections of the middle class and the government apparatus in this bureaucratic formation. They chose Stalin as their chief spokesman and, in order to carry out their aims, they waged a ruthless struggle against Trotsky, drove him from the country, murdered all his followers and finally murdered him in 1940.

The Stalinist bureaucracy based itself on the theory and practice of socialism in one country which was expounded by Stalin after 1924. This theory rejected the perspective of world socialist revolution and thus, rejected the necessity of constructing parties throughout the world to bring the working class to power. Above all, the bureaucracy was based on an anti-Marxist, pragmatic ideology. It carried forward its hostility to theory into all the parties of the Communist International.

From 1930 to 1933, the American CP faithfully followed the ultra-left policy of





1929 was the last year the Daily Worker called for workers to go out on strike on May Day due to the ultra-left turn in the Kremlin.

third period Stalinism. This policy held that all other workers' organizations, including the trade unions, represented a variety of fascism. They were labeled as "social fascist" and the major energy of the CP was concentrated in attacking them. This treacherous policy prevented a united workers' struggle in Germany and led to the devastating defeat of the working class with Hitler's victory in 1933.

The major theme of the May Day demonstrations during this period was "against the fascists and social fascists of the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party and the Muste group." In 1930, May Day took place with over seven million workers unemployed in the US and 20 million internationally. The capitalists were determined to drive the working class into destitution to save their system of profits. Millions of workers demonstrated throughout the year, clearly expressing their determination to get rid of capitalism once and for all. What was lacking was the mass revolutionary party to lead them forward to power.

The Communist Party openly revealed that they had no intention of challenging the ruling class whatsoever. Thus, it cautioned that "the Party must avoid the boasting generalizations about a 'general' political strike 'to be called' on May 1." Nevertheless, 150,000 employed workers struck in New York and rallied at Union Square only to hear that all the workers needed to fight back against the vicious onslaught of capitalism was more "militancy" and "solidarity."

**LIBERALS**

By May 1, 1933, with over 17 million unemployed and three million school age children out of school, 350,000 workers attended the New York rally. This rally was held in the middle of the trial of the Scottsboro youth who were ruthlessly framed up in classic Southern, capitalist, racist justice. The CP called on the liberals and the ministers to defend these youth. At the same time, all references to the class struggle were completely dropped from the rally as the CP moved to establish its ties with the so-called liberal section of the capitalist class. The middle class policy of pressuring the government for reforms was being substituted for the mobilization of the working class in total

opposition to the government. Thus, the Daily Worker stressed that: "The central point, the central rallying slogans must lead to a struggle against hunger and for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and the employers."

**PEOPLE'S FRONT**

By 1935, the CP had completed this rightward turn to keep in line with the policies of Moscow. They wholeheartedly embraced the theory of the People's Front which called for the collaboration of the working class with the liberal parties of capitalism to oppose fascism. In reality, this theory meant the subordination of the working class, and its parties, throughout the world to the middle class apparatuses which controlled the People's Fronts.

The Stalinists worked fervently to curb the strength and determination of the working class to meet the demands of this so-called democratic alliance. From 1935 onwards, the May Day demonstrations were turned into liberal gatherings dominated by slogans which could be palatable to the ministers and middle class ladies who appeared on the speakers' platforms.

During this period, it was Trotsky and the early Trotskyist movement which alone fought against these treacherous policies of the CP. Trotsky noted in 1935 that the new turn to the People's Front "consolidates the social-patriotic camp, bringing together the parties of the Second and Third International." Just as the Second International dissolved into national chauvinism with the onslaught of World War One, the approach of World War Two found the Stalinists scrambling behind their own ruling class.

By 1937, the CP demonstrations dropped all calls for the independent mobilization of the working class and came out openly against the labor party. They also dropped the slogan of "Down with Imperialist War" in favor of the signing of the "collective security" pact between the capitalist nations and the Soviet Union. At the time, the Socialist Appeal, newspaper of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, correctly warned the working class that: "The 'People's Front' is the policy of support of murderous capitalism just because

they pretend that it is a sacred war for 'democracy.' Born out of defeats, it leads to defeats."

By 1938, the Union Square rallies had shrunk dramatically in size—from 150,000 in 1936 to 35,000—because of the treacherous policies of the CP. Replacing the militant rallying cries of former years, the main slogans called for "jobs, peace and democracy." Throughout this period, the Stalinists constantly evoked the banner of the Russian Revolution to hurl it in the swamp of peaceful coexistence and social patriotism.

**PATRIOTISM**

In 1939, the main themes of the May Day rallies were: "Support President Roosevelt's Peace Policy!" and "US-USSR Cooperation against Fascist Aggressors!" The CP consciously failed to warn the working class about the preparations being made for a new imperialist war. The Union Square rally was used to trumpet the greatness of Roosevelt, herald the traditions of the American pioneers and praise the glory of the American flag. The Socialist Appeal described the open display of patriotism and support for American imperialism at this rally:

"Carrying 15 star spangled banners for every red flag (which was hidden in the middle), they chanted 'Up Democracy,' and here and there lifted banners proclaiming that such triumphs as 'Housing Projects and the W.P.A. are the American Way!' Little children carried little American flags."

1941 marked the last May Day demonstration called by the Stalinists for the duration of the war. The class collaboration policies of the CP led to the adoption of the policies that the Social Democratic parties followed during World War One but now they were brought forward in a far more fundamental period of capitalist crisis and therefore, they represented a betrayal of the working class on a much deeper level.

In the name of "national unity," the CP exhorted workers to stay on the job to produce arms for their own ruling class. Furthermore, they called on workers to contribute a day's pay to the USO

Throughout the war, the Stalinists loyal-

ly served Roosevelt: They held no May Day demonstrations. They supported the wage freeze and were the most rabid right-wing tendency within the labor movement. Only the Socialist Workers Party fought to carry forward the traditions of May Day and its demonstrations grew in size during this period. It mobilized thousands of workers across the country under the slogans of "No surrender of labor's rights and labor's just demands in the name of patriotism." They fought for the understanding that labor's enemy was in their own country.

They consistently opposed the imperialist war and, in sharp opposition to the Stalinists, declared that: "If many of us are doomed to die, then let us die in the one war worth fighting for—the war of the international working class against the international capitalist class."

Following the war, May Day demonstrations were again called by the CP in order to harness the massive strike wave and tie the working class to the "left" section of the capitalist class. These demonstrations, however, were never again to encompass the size and scope of the earlier movement. This was because capitalism was given a temporary new lease on life both because of the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the temporary stabilization of the economy achieved through the inflationary Bretton Woods agreement.

Furthermore, the CP had no intention of reviving the early traditions of May Day. Their postwar demonstrations sunk to the lowest level of class collaborationist treachery. The more than 80,000 marchers in the New York parade were addressed by the Reverend Glenn White, New York director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion. They were told that their task was to fight to "reestablish the Big Three Agreements" and "Strengthen the United Nations."

By 1950, May Day was held under the slogan of "Loyalty to Peace is Loyalty to America." The Daily Worker of May 2, 1950, proudly described the character of the demonstration: "As the band struck up John Browns' Body, the leaders of the march, two veterans, one a Negro and one a white, stepped out, each carrying the stars and stripes."

The large outdoor rallies celebrating May Day came to an end in the mid-1950s because of the vicious anti-communist witch-hunt launched by Joseph McCarthy. The CP was totally incapable of fighting McCarthyism and turned to the liberals for their defense. In one of its last rallies, it put forward the completely absurd plea to the liberals:

"To show the world that the real America is the America which proudly challenges McCarthyism and the rent-gougers in the spirit of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, in the spirit of the international brotherhood of labor, in the spirit of peace and democracy.

"Let this rally of the people be so strong and patriotic that labor will regain its May Day right to march, so that no McCarthyites will dare tamper with the people's democratic freedoms next year."

The Workers League rally in 1973 will be held in sharp contrast to "the spirit of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln" and the patriotism demanded by the Communist Party. It will carry forward the fight that Trotskyism began in the 1930s the early May Day struggles and bring them to a higher level today. But, in bringing forward the past traditions of May Day, we will fight to turn the working class to a political struggle against the Nixon government.

The early May Day demonstrations were characterized by the lack of a theoretical understanding that a political party of workers was the elementary step necessary to overthrow capitalism. Then, the conscious war was waged by the Stalinists to prevent the development of an independent labor party. For all their heroic militancy and solidarity, the May Day demonstrations were never able to pose concretely the steps necessary to establish a workers government and socialism.

Thus, above all else, the fight on May Day 1973 will be for the political independence of the working class through the formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

**TO BE CONTINUED**

## ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 4)  
between the union and the government."

When the union leaders halted the fight last year just as the miners were on the point of removing the Tories, they gave Heath valuable time in which to gather his forces and prepare for this year's onslaught.

The miners' understanding of this is expressed in a contradictory way in last week's nearly two to one decision to accept the NCB pay offer and reject the union executive's recommendation for strike action.

Miner's President Joe Gormley was the man who several weeks ago put the so-called left union leaders on the spot by insisting that the unions faced the choice of either organizing general strike action against the Tories or accepting Heath's attacks.

Neither Gormley nor any of the other leaders took any steps to mobilize the rank and file. This is clearly shown by Gormley's reaction to the miners' vote: "Our members are aware of the political situation—and the ballot

vote has told us we ought not to be involved in industrial action."

### DISTRUST

The miners obviously did not trust their own leaders to carry out the fight. This, and not the acceptance of the Tories' attacks, is behind the vote result. Gormley and the other officials try to pass the responsibility onto the workers when in fact the vote reveals a complete distrust of their own leadership.

The so-called lefts in the unions are more exposed than ever. This is the meaning of the truce offer to the Tories made by Engineers' leader Hugh Scanlon. After many months of warning that trade unionism was on the line, Scanlon has now made a speech openly accepting the Common Market, and the Industrial Relations Act and state control of wages in principle.

Scanlon has become the very first union leader to openly propose the amendment of the hated Industrial Relations Act, instead of its outright repeal under a Labour government. In exchange for the "privilege" of proposing certain "improvements" in this vicious act, Scanlon promises to collaborate

in holding down wages. He wants to accept Phase Two in order to "influence" Phase Three.

### COMMUNIST PARTY

The British Communist Party refuses to criticize Scanlon. The Stalinists have consistently provided a crucial left cover for Scanlon and the other leaders whom they boost as fighting the Tories. Now they are desperately seeking to evade the meaning of Scanlon's remarks, absolutely refusing to condemn them or to call for a general strike.

This is the lineup facing the British working class. From the Tories to the Communist Party, there is support for Scanlon's treachery. This includes the revisionists like the International Socialist group, who refuse to fight the Stalinists because they too accept the line that the workers will not fight and that capitalism is stable.

### IS

At the recent conference of the Stalinist controlled Liason Committee for the Defense of the Trade Unions, the IS squabbled on minor issues and then voted to a man for the Stalinists' policy of refusing to fight Scanlon and the other traitors by fighting for a

general strike to bring the Tories down.

It is one thing to strip the British working class of its basic rights in the law, and quite another to make this stick in actual battle. The main battle is still to come. The next months will be crucial. That is why the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League, have stepped up their fight to build the mass revolutionary party, with the launching of a \$250,000 fund drive for the development of the daily *Workers Press*.

Heath knows of course that the fight is still ahead. That is why the Tories are moving ahead with attacks on democratic rights at the same time as they attack the unions directly.

Last week Jonathan Guinness, head of the ultra-right Monday Club and official Tory candidate in the recent Lincoln by-election, called for the re-introduction of the death penalty. Guinness suggests beheading as a means of execution and says he would be quite willing to do the job if it were assigned to him.

Guinness is now facing opposition within the Monday Club on account of his "moderate views" by a candidate with direct links

to the neo-fascist National Front.

Heath is taking his cue from Nixon, the leader of world counterrevolution. After his recent trip to Washington, he is patterning his political and economic moves more and more on the law and order style of his transatlantic partner. At the same time, the economic crisis forces British, European and US capitalism into greater collision.

The much more advanced stage of the crisis in Britain reveals many lessons for the American working class. As the unions go into battle in the US they face the same lineup of Stalinists and trade union officials who oppose any fight against Nixon and oppose the call for a labor party. The so-called progressive head of the United Auto Workers, Leonard Woodcock, says he has no quarrel with Nixon. And the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the *Daily World* have no quarrel with Woodcock. The building of a Marxist leadership in the unions must take place in ruthless struggle against these cozy collaborators of Nixon.

## GERMANY . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

especially after the reevaluation of the mark which threatens exports. For all its confusions and limitations, this development among social democratic youth expresses the increasing hatred for Brandt's moves to the right.

The extremely sharp economic crisis is propelling the Brandt government into making more cutbacks, hitting hardest the students and young apprentices, as huge firms merge and relocate to areas more amenable to profit—such as fascist Spain—leaving thousands of workers in the largest industrial center of Europe, the Ruhr, unemployed.

### PRIVATE PROPERTY

Brandt frankly stated his position in an interview with *Der Spiegel*: "Private property is a legitimate form of public control and it must be observed that no modern nation would deny that."

And the last "modern nation" to deny that is the Soviet Union and its representative in Germany, the KPD. When all the political questions are put squarely to the fore for the working class, the German Stalinists refuse to insist that the SPD break its coalition with the liberals and demand that the SPD adopt socialist policies. Their sole aim is to facilitate Brandt's Ostpolitik and his detente with Moscow on May 12—only 10 days after he returns from meetings with Nixon in Washington.

But as thousands of workers enter struggles to defend their standard of living, great opportunities open up for the building of the Trotskyist movement to win the leadership of the working class.



Germany's Brandt

## CAMBODIA . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Confronted with the prospect of losing all of Cambodia, the Nixon Administration is reported to be considering a desperate airlift of supplies into Phnom Penh. However, military sources have admitted that such an action would do little to save Lon Nol.

But the preparation of the American imperialists for a new wave of terror bombings against North Vietnam is revealed in the hysterical outcry by Nixon spokesmen over the shooting down last week of two helicopters operated by the fraudulent cease-fire commission. White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler told reporters that Nixon considered the loss of the helicopters, which had been engaged in provocative missions against NLF forces, to be "very serious."

With fighting in South Vietnam at the highest level since the start of the big NLF offensive in March 1972, Nixon realizes that the loss of Cambodia would create the conditions of the rapid collapse of the Thieu regime.

This is why Nixon pledged continued military assistance to the puppet regime during Thieu's visit to the United States last week.

The victorious advance of the Khmer Rouge is a stunning repudiation of the cease-fire deal arranged in January between Nixon and the Stalinist bureaucracies of Moscow and Peking. Attempts to extend the cease-fire to Cambodia have been vigorously opposed by the Khmer Rouge. It is reported that liberation forces last seek denounced Prince Norodom Sihanouk for saying that he would be willing to accept a cease-fire which has been proposed by Lon Nol.

While the Stalinists would like to maintain the puppet regime, even the officials in Lon Nol's entourage no longer believe that the semi-paralyzed dictator will remain in power much longer. The resignation of the Minister of Finance indicates that the primary concern of the degenerate politicians in Phnom Penh is saving their own skins.

Motivated by similar concerns, the Tokyo government has ordered the evacuation of all Japanese nationals in Phnom Penh.

## Hartford Young Socialists Holds Successful Meeting



In a highly successful meeting of the Hartford Young Socialists, over 50 youth from campuses and high schools met to discuss strategy to fight the budget cuts and build the YS national founding conference on May 26-27 in New York.

## QUEBEC . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

of such decrees in construction, in dealing with primary and secondary school teachers and with civil servants.

The decrees have resulted in the declassification, on a province-wide average, of 35 percent of all CEGEP teachers. This means a cut in real wages. No confidence whatsoever can be placed in the CEGEP administrations. Independent strike action by all CEGEP teachers and students is required against the new classification system.

Both the Liberals and Tories have plans to institute wage controls and attacks on all the unions throughout Canada.

It is clear that major battles are on the agenda. The presentation of Bill 89, the jailing of the three union chiefs, the attacks on University of Quebec students

and renewed attacks on teachers, set the stage for a massive response from the working class. The Trudeau-Bourassa regimes are much deceived if they think the class struggle has been resolved by government decree.

What must now be confronted in the trade unions is the necessity to construct an alternative, revolutionary leadership in the struggle to turn the isolated strikes into a unified political campaign for a general strike and an NDP government in Ottawa pledged to socialist policies and the repeal of all anti-strike, anti-union legislation and to abolish wage freezing.

The trade union leaders and the Lewis leadership of the New Democratic Party supported by the Communist Party and the revisionists have capitulated to Trudeau.

A step forward was taken to

building an alternative leadership on March 31 when over 30 trade unionists and youth attended a public meeting called by the Workers League of Canada. The subject of the meeting was the demand that the trade unions fight to force the Trudeau government to resign and bring in an NDP government pledged to socialist policies.

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, opened the meeting by discussing the international economic crisis. Frank Martin of the Workers League of Canada then spoke on the political situation in Canada and the tasks confronting Canadian workers.

It was announced at the meeting that the Canadian Workers League will produce the first printed issue of their paper, *International*, in the summer and campaign across Canada with it.

*On August 13, 1968, Alexandros Panagoulis was arrested in Greece. Three months later a military court sentenced him to death on two counts and committed him to prison for 18 years. One death sentence was for being a deserter. Panagoulis, then a 27 year old student, was doing his military service at the time of the colonels' coup on April 21, 1967. He refused to serve those reactionary officers. The second death sentence was for "trying to overthrow the legal regime." Panagoulis maintained that the colonels' regime was illegal. Two years' imprisonment were for contempt of court. He told the members of the military court that he did not recognize their right to judge him. One year was for possessing explosives and the remaining 15 years were for his alleged attempt to kill the military dictator George Papadopoulos. After suffering years of the most brutal torture, Alexandros Panagoulis managed to smuggle a letter out of prison. This is the statement:*

"I am writing with the hope that my letter will reach every human being who feels his duty to be indignant about crime and to fight for its abolition. With the hope that the support of the world opinion for the struggle of our people for freedom, democracy, justice and progress will become more substantial.

I am writing with the confidence that the progressive powers of all the world will help the many prisoners of the junta and with their assistance prevent our physical destruction.

I am writing lastly so that from the isolation of a prison of the junta the anathema of someone who suffers reaches all the world and hits all those who help the completion of the crime that is perpetrated against our people. At the same time I want our gratitude to reach all those who stand by us at this terrible moment.

For two years now I am in absolute isolation. I have been subjected to terrible tortures. In summary I report:

Whipping with wire and wire rope all over my body. Beating with clubs on the soles of my feet with the result that my right heel was fractured. Beating with iron bars on the chest and on the ribs with the result that two or three ribs were broken. Burns with cigarettes on my hand and genitals.

They put a long metal needle (wire) inside my urethra and heated the extended part of the needle or wire with a cigarette lighter.

With their hands they closed my mouth and nostrils (ways of breathing) till almost to the point of asphyxiation. Kickings. Punching with the fist. Pulling the hair. Beating of my head against the wall and floor. Preventing me from sleeping. (The protagonists were Major

Theofyloyannakos, Police Officers Mailios and Babalis.)

Brutal and torturing ways to force feed me by Dr. Panagopoulos. I was permanently handcuffed. I was refused every possibility of defending myself by their refusal to allow me to see the brief of the prosecution prior to my trial and their refusal to allow me to see my lawyer except once on the eve of the trial and this in the presence of officers of the junta.

Threats and pressure by Theofyloyannakos during the trial. Withholding the charges I

detachment came outside my cell and I could hear orders being given—after a while the detachment left. I was notified that they would execute me the following day because "today is the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and executions cannot take place." I refused again their suggestion that I should make confession and ask for pardon. In the morning of November 22 I was told again that the execution would take place on the morning of the 23rd.

In the afternoon I was transferred to Nafstathmos with

strike lasted until December 21 when they allowed my mother to visit me and promised to improve my prison conditions. However, I remained handcuffed and on the floor until the end of March.

My wrists had ulcerated and pus was running from them. My cell smelled so badly that the guards couldn't stand outside the door. Inside the cell there was a hole which I had to use for all bodily functions.

From March 20 it was impossible for me to bear the handcuffs (because of the wounds), but all they did was to remove them for

Boyati in strict isolation. I continued the hunger strike until September 5 (47 days). Then they promised that they would allow me to get out in the yard when I could walk and that I would get food from home and newspapers.

I started taking food. On September 10 I started again a hunger strike because, except for the newspapers, there was no other improvement. On September 24 they gave me food that my mother had sent and I started eating again. On October 18 I was arrested while trying to escape.

Handcuffs, chains at my feet, removal of the bed, no newspapers, no cigarettes, no food from home—I started a hunger strike. I was absolutely exhausted from November 13 and they started subjecting me to different tortures, psychological pressures, etc.

The sort of tortures I reported to the Representatives of the International Red Cross who visited me on January 16. I have no room and I need to write many things to give you a clear picture. My hunger strike ended on December 21 (44 days) when in a coma they put me on a bed they brought into the cell. And they removed the handcuffs, and they gave me newspapers. It took many days for me to recover. On January 16 the International Red Cross visited me.

On January 19 I was transferred to KESA strict isolation and was tortured. On February 9 I was transferred again to Boyati to a special cage-cell of cement measuring three metres by one and one-half metres (conditions known to the Red Cross). They went on tormenting me. I am writing in summary so it is difficult to give a full picture of the conditions I face. Now I am coming to the most tragic, for me, and more telling event for the criminal mentality of the junta.

On April 9, 1970, they attempted to murder me and after this failed they tried to present it as an attempted suicide. I told in as clear a way as I could all that had to do with the attempted murder to the Representatives of the International Red Cross on June 1. I asked to see the Public Prosecutor at the hospital where I was transferred in the evening of April 11 as well as at the prison where I was transferred while still ill. This was refused. They also refused to allow me to get in touch with my lawyer.

To protect myself from similar acts of the fascist junta who have not for a moment left their murdering intent, I make this accusation publicly. With the hope that this letter of mine will be a testimony with the power and the ability to protect also the life of other prisoners who are in strict isolation.

I certify on my word of honour and on oath the truth of my denunciation. I would not have done this publicly if I didn't know that as perfectly as the junta had prepared my murder they did make one mistake.

When there will be justice in our country again I will bring all the evidence and testimonies which prove this criminal act. From the personnel of the prisons only one or two people are involved in this. From April 22 until May 21 (30 days) I did not take food. They brought in the Military Dr. Panagopoulos who repeated his tortures on May 20. On the 21st I was told they would allow me to see my mother and I accepted food.

Let the world's morals and sense of justice protect us."

Signed: A. Panagoulis

## Letter From A Greek Prison



Alexandros Panagoulis managed to smuggle a letter out of Greek prisons.

made and submitted to the Military Tribunal against Major Theofyloyannakos and Hadzisis for forging (which is proved) my supposed defence plea produced in the brief of the prosecution document which is not valid and has not got my signature.

These all before the trial. After the "trial" transfer from KESA (Centre of Training of the Military Police) in gangster-style November 20, 1968 to the arsenal (Nafstathmos) and from there in a naval boat under the signal R.25 (P.25) to a cell at the back of the prisons of Aegina (Island of Aegina).

They notified me that I would be executed the next morning and asked me if I wanted to ask for pardon. I refused. At dawn a

the naval boat P.21 and from there to the special questioning department of ESA. A sergeant (surely under orders) told me that the newspapers had announced that I had been executed adding that now 'they are going to question you as they like.'

At dawn on November 23 they put me in a car telling me 'Now all this gimmickry is over and we are definitely going for the execution.' And we went to the prison of Boyati. They threw me into a cell without a bed. The walls were damp and green with mould. Still permanently handcuffed.

I started a hunger strike, or rather I continued it because from the day after the trial I was not taking any food. The hunger

two to three hours in the morning daily. From May 8 after I had been on hunger strike since Easter they put a bed in my cell and a table. And they accompanied me for 15-20 minutes in the prison yard when they had closed the other prisoners into their cells.

On June 5 I escaped—I was betrayed by Patitsas and Perdikaris and I was arrested on June 9. I stayed handcuffed in a cell in the security of Neo Ioania. I refused to make any testimony.

I went on hunger strike. I was transferred to KESA, on July 13 they removed the handcuffs. They locked me in a cell. On July 20 I went again on a hunger strike.

On July 24 I was transferred to



## UFW Target Of Trade War Attacks Nixon Takes Aim At Farmworkers

**BY JEFF SEBASTIAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—The United Farmworkers union under the leadership of Cesar Chavez has pursued a policy of support to the Democratic Party, appeals to the church and liberal politicians in the name of morality and justice, and pressure on the government to support the basic trade union rights for farmworkers.**

The UFW has been the target of terrorism by the growers and of legislative attacks designed to take away the right to strike and smash the union by the political agents of the growers.

What farmworkers must confront is that the drive to organize, always bitterly opposed by the growers, now comes into headlong confrontation with the preparations of the US government to gear up for international trade war

with its Japanese and European rivals.

The enormous efficiency of the US agricultural industry and its ability to outproduce and cut costs on any of its competitors makes agricultural produce the spearhead of the US drive toward international trade war.

Last year the balance of trade deficit for the US was \$6.8 billion. In agriculture however, exports have steadily risen from \$5.7 billion in 1969 to a projected \$11.1 billion for 1973. This figure represents a rise of 40 percent over 1972 and after subtracting imports and foreign aid foodstuffs an enormous \$3.3 billion cash trade surplus will remain.

A confidential report circulated by the Department of Agriculture entitled "Agricultural Trade and the Proposed Round of Multilateral Negotiations" projects the Administration's most optimistic forecast with a cash surplus in trade of over \$9 billion by 1980.

Two successive dollar devaluations have increased the competitiveness of US food and as American workers are rapidly discovering, they are paying for the export drive directly with enormous price increases for all basic foodstuffs.

### EXCUSES

All the excuses of the Nixon Administration cannot conceal the fact that food prices are skyrocketing at a time when actual food production is at the highest level ever. The shortages which drive up prices are not the result of "acts of God," as Ronald Reagan claimed in order to justify the millions he is raking in from his cattle ranches.

They are the product of a deliberate government policy of ransacking the country for food to be used as a weapon against Japan and Europe.

The Administration is determined to reverse agricultural policies dating all the way back to the 1930s which restricted acreage to prevent surpluses. Direct crop subsidy payments will be ended over the next five years and this spring, 40 million acres that had been set aside to prevent surpluses will be brought into production for soybeans, wheat, corn, and grazing land to free even more grain for the export market.

US capitalists are gloating over projections of a potential market of \$2.5 billion for grain and soybeans in Russia and Eastern Europe. With eight pounds of grain required to produce a single pound of beef vast grain exports will push up the price of foodstuffs for meat animals, driving the price of beef to incredible heights.

It is not to India and other countries with enormous deficits in food production, but to hard cash that the US is looking in order to dump these large surpluses. The export drive is centered on Europe and Japan, particularly the Common Market countries.

The US is determined to bring down the barriers to American foodstuffs which has been the hallmark of Common Market policy. This policy maintains a high price for all crops grown inside, the Common Market and uses tariffs to keep out US grains. Billions have been lost in exports and the entry of Britain, Ireland and Denmark now places another \$550 million a year in ex-

ports in jeopardy.

The complete collapse of stable currencies already threatens the Common Market agricultural policy with ruin and the US is now preparing to bring the whole house down by threatening massive tariff bars to European goods unless its agricultural products are allowed to destroy European agriculture.

Meanwhile Nixon is preparing huge increases in farm production which can be used later on for worldwide dumping if necessary to force down world prices and break up agricultural protection in Europe.

What all this means is that food, a basic necessity of life, is being used as a central weapon in trade war and that the lives of millions are to be destroyed in the ruthless drive for profit.

Those who picket supermarkets and organize food boycotts are engaging in pitiful protest actions against an Administration determined to produce the food it needs for all out trade war through a policy of encouraging the big farmers with massive increases in prices.

### PRODUCTIVITY

A report released by the Cost of Living Council Committee on Food, whose chairman is George P. Schultz, Secretary of the Treasury, makes it very clear that this policy is to be accompanied by a ruthless drive for productivity much of which will be directed against the farmworker. The National Commission on Productivity has identified 80 different ways to improve efficiency. The government will be going all out in a drive to see to it that every penny possible is saved in food produc-

tion so that there can be the maximum gain in the export drive.

These attacks will also be centered on transportation workers. During the last dock strike on the West Coast longshoremen were the targets of movements whipped up among farmers in the Pacific Northwest to break the strike and urge federal intervention with troops.

There can be no doubt that the Administration will attempt to whip up frenzied movements against dockers as they move to defend their rights claiming that strike action jeopardizes the farmer and the national interest.

The insane logic of a capitalism hurtling towards monetary chaos and trade war is that the US—with the productive capacity to feed the world—must now see to it that the underdeveloped countries continue to starve, that millions of peasants in Europe are wiped out while the American working class is forced to work harder than ever while eating less.

These are the conditions which expose as absolutely bankrupt the pacifist appeals of a Cesar Chavez for "justice." The fight of the farmworker for unionization and decent wages and conditions is in all-out conflict with the central drive of the Administration to use agriculture as an economic weapon. It is for this reason that every repressive institution of the state is now directed at smashing the UFW.

This fight can only be taken forward in the struggle to mobilize the labor movement in a political fight through the construction of a party of labor that will nationalize the agricultural industry under the control of the working class.

## West Coast News



Portland dockers will be among 15,000 ILWU members joining one day strikes against a proposed ban on log exports which threatens their jobs.

## Stalinists Back Meat Protest To Blunt Wages Fight

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Over 200,000 workers have been laid off because of the meat boycott. In Los Angeles alone, 5000 meatcutters and butchers have been forced out of work, and more are expected to go this week. Between 20 and 30 percent of some union locals have been hit.

A spokesman for Farmer John, one of the largest slaughter houses here, said the plant might close down altogether if the boycott continues.

While union leaders from the meatcutters and butchers union have condemned the boycott as reactionary, the Peoples' World, West Coast paper of the Communist Party, has given its wholehearted endorsement to the protest with the slogan "No meat, we can do it." The CP is trying to bolster illusions that a protest can halt the inflation.

Most housewives from working class areas in Watts told Bulletin reporters that the meat boycott did not mean much to them, because through no choice of their own they were forced to cut back in meat purchases anyway because of high prices.

All the liberal politicians who support the boycott at the same time are calling for more stringent wage controls, condemning Phase Three as "too voluntary." It is with these liberals that the Stalinists have joined to channel the tremendous anger over inflation into protests which avoid the fight for a big wage increase which would mean a confrontation with the government and the union leaders who refuse to fight.

The large Retail Clerks local in

Los Angeles has shown the way by announcing that it will challenge Nixon's 5.5 percent wage limit by demanding a 21 percent increase when their contract expires April 20.

The Supermarket Association, which has played along with the futile boycott, is coming down

hard on the clerks' demands, calling them "irresponsible."

Last August the meatcutters union called for all workers to go on strike against the Pay Board and the wage freeze. This call must now go out to the whole LA labor movement to back up the retail clerks.

## Spartacist Refuses Debate Challenge

Two weeks ago we proposed to Spartacist that they debate us on questions of basic strategy at UCLA or some similar place where they have conducted hysterical campaigns of slander against us. Last week we noted that Spartacist was stalling and maneuvering over the question. After years of insisting that we were afraid to discuss publicly with them they refuse to accept a reasonable offer.

In the interim Spartacist has stepped up its hysterical campaign at UCLA, harassing our literature table and devoting their main efforts at UCLA to seeking to disrupt our work there. At the same time they write our Los Angeles branch to reject the proposal for a debate at UCLA. They continue to harass us at UCLA but they refuse to debate us publicly at UCLA. The negotiations are over. The matter is closed.

## Construction . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

marching with seven league boots to line up behind the Administration's corporate state plans.

Their policy has been spelled out in a position paper drafted by the San Francisco Construction Trades Council and signed by Del Carlo.

This paper accepts controls and requests that the construction trades be placed under the same controls as the rest of the labor movement with a minimum standard increase

allowed equal to that in other industries.

The Council even demands uniform standards and regulations to apply to controls on all crafts in the construction industry and to beg the CISC that all denials of increases shall be accompanied by a detailed explanation.

They crawl to the construction employers and all business men who back these attacks 100 percent, arguing that controls on labor today will mean controls on business tomorrow.

The heads of the construction trades are issuing phony protests

in order to place their unions firmly on the side of state controls, demanding only that they be treated as "fairly" as unions under the 5.5 percent freeze.

Construction workers now facing the sharpest attacks on their conditions and jobs are not likely to see it this way. What is required is a movement to force the Raffertys and his fellow pie cards off the CISC while demanding that Del Carlo carry out his threat of a general strike to smash Phase Three and carry it forward with the construction of a labor party.

# Docks Struck As Trade War Threatens Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) is joining the parade of labor bureaucrats lining up behind Nixon's plans for trade war against Europe and Japan.

The ILWU has called for strikes in the Pacific Northwest on April 11 and in California on April 13, to protest against the bill proposed by Senator Packwood of Oregon to ban export of logs from the US. Congressional committee hearings will be held on those days at Portland and San Francisco.

The Packwood bill is a reactionary trade war measure which would cost 30,000 jobs in the Pacific Northwest and boost profits for saw mill operators and home builders. It is a sectional bill opposed by the Nixon Administration, which wants centralized direction of the trade war and complete flexibility in choosing how to bludgeon its capitalist rivals.

The onslaught on dock jobs and wages requires strike action against the government. The ILWU leadership is being forced to call its first political strike since the 1930s.

### CHAUVINISM

But at the same time they completely cave in to Nixon by basing their defense of longshore jobs on chauvinism and allying with the big companies which for the moment want to hold off from so blatant a restriction on trade.

In the latest issue of the ILWU newspaper the *Dispatcher*, Northwest Regional Director G. Johnny Parks is quoted as saying: "If I thought that a ban on the export of logs would create more jobs...reduce the national trade deficit, and stimulate foreign trade, I would

join those who propose the ban."

The logic of this statement is to accept whatever measures Nixon proposes to defend American capital, even when it requires the destruction of every right won by the labor movement in 40 years. The *Dispatcher* even quotes approvingly from Cost of Living Council director John Dunlop, the same man who axed the ILWU 30 cent increase two months ago.

The ILWU leadership knows that the real threat to jobs on the docks is the all-out trade war against Japan that Nixon is preparing. The Packwood bill is certain to be defeated in Congress by the Administration even without the intervention of the union.

### HANDOUT

The leadership will try to use such a "victory" to argue for pressure on the liberals in Congress for a handout instead of an all-out strike this summer to win a 20 percent wage increase and an iron-clad guarantee.

During the 135 day strike of 1971-1972, Nixon invoked Taft-Hartley to break the strike, claiming it was hurting the US balance of trade. The money crisis is drastically deeper now and the measures Nixon will take will be even more brutal.

There must be an immediate fight to construct a new leadership on the docks pledged to an all-out fight against the trade war and the attacks on the union through strike action this summer and a campaign to rally general strike support against any government intervention.

## Equity . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

The capitalist press has dwelt on the gross fraud and the ingenuity of the officers. They cannot confront the real cause of the collapse—the breakup of the boom. The fraud simply postponed the bust, making it even bigger when it came.

The press has been completely silent on Equity's ties with the top levels of big business and with the notorious mutual fund swindler Bernard Cornfeld. Next week the *Bulletin* will investigate these connections.

### WRECKAGE

Equity will default on over \$150 million in loans and corporate bonds placed with the big New York and San Francisco banks. The banks are desperately picking through the wreckage to recover their losses. The press is campaigning for a clean-up, to shore up business confidence and head off a chain-reaction collapse.

This patchwork cannot save

their rotting system. Hundreds of big companies are now starved for credit because of inflation and the collapse of the dollar. Many have doubtless already resorted to the sort of desperate expedients that led to Equity's crash.

These companies must now seek to make the working class bear the brunt of their crisis by bringing back the mass unemployment and depression conditions of the 1930s. In order to do this they will launch the most vicious attacks on the unions to smash them up.

### WARNING

Every worker must take warning. Any big failure can bring down the whole house of cards and completely transform the relation between the classes into one of civil war. The labor movement must turn to a fight for political power by building a labor party pledged to socialist policies to destroy the anarchy of capitalism.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

Phone: 824-4096



Representatives of unions from all six Bay Area counties meet to call a mass rally against Phase Three April 28 in San Francisco.

## Insurance Crash Panics Wall Street

BY MARTY MORAN

LOS ANGELES—The collapse of a multi-billion dollar Los Angeles insurance company has exposed the financial rot in the US economy, now ripe for catastrophe. The collapse has shaken Wall Street, where more and more there is muttering about another 1929.

Equity Funding Life Insurance Company was seized by the California Department of Insurance after investigation revealed that the company had forged more than a billion dollars in phony life insurance policies and then sold them for cash to other companies.

The parent company, Equity Funding Corporation, was ordered to file for bankruptcy. Three top officials, including

financial whiz-kid Stanley Goldblum, have resigned, and six others have been fired.

Equity was the fastest growing life insurance company over the last five years, rocketing from \$109 million to \$6.5 billion in insurance in force, acquiring insurance companies and mutual funds along the way.

GIMMICK

Goldblum pioneered the gimmick of selling mutual fund

shares which in turn were pledged as collateral for loans to pay premiums on expensive life insurance policies. The scheme was based on the booming mutual fund market of the late sixties, requiring high dividends and capital gains.

Mutual funds began to collapse in 1970. The company became dangerously squeezed for cash, as its "leverage" began to work in the direction of destroying paper values rather than creating them. The solution was found in selling its policies to reinsurers for cash. Company salesmen had written \$370 million in policies in the first 46 weeks of 1970. In the last six, \$458 million was written as office employees worked long hours creating paper to meet December 31 sales targets.

PHONY

By selling phony policies, Equity gained much needed cash. But as soon as a year rolled around, premiums had to be paid on all policies, enormously increasing the requirement for cash. The solution: print up still more phony policies which in turn required still more cash to pay the premiums the following year.

INSANE

This insane pyramiding scheme continued with great success for three years. Equity Life sold \$1.74 billion in policies to reinsurers. The state audit estimates that more than two-thirds are fictitious.

Company officials invented more than 60,000 policy-holders, provided medical records and death records on demand (by means of after hours forging parties at the office) and repeatedly fooled auditors.

Intricate computer programs were devised to process the data files so that only company officers could know what the real situation was.

(Continued On Page 19)

## Editorial

### Smash Phase Three— All Out April 28th!

A mass labor demonstration against Phase Three and the Nixon budget cuts is planned for San Francisco on April 28.

This demonstration, which will rally every union in the Bay Area, is endorsed by six Bay Area labor councils.

While committing themselves to call a rally, the labor leadership views it simply as a protest and refuses to put forward a policy to defeat Phase Three.

Prices are skyrocketing, major contracts are coming up in auto, longshore, and the electrical industry, and whole new attacks are being launched on construction workers. Youth face the destruction of jobs and the right to an education.

Phase Three cannot be defeated with a protest. Only general strike action by the entire labor movement combined with a fight for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party can answer these attacks.

A protest rally and abstract calls for labor solidarity will not defeat a government which is committed to nothing less than the destruction of the trade union movement.

This rally offers the opportunity to every trade unionist and youth to come out for a real fighting policy. The trade union leaders must be told in no uncertain terms that wage controls and every form of state control on the unions must be smashed.

This means that very concretely the coming contract struggles must be backed by the labor movement through general strike action to defeat the wage freeze and that the labor leadership must take forward this fight or get out of the way.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists will be fighting to give a political lead to the thousands of workers who will respond to the call for this rally. We urge trade unionists and youth to join our contingent at the rally.

•For 20 percent wage increases and a full escalator clause in every contract.

•General strike action to smash Phase Three and the budget cuts.

•For a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.

## Construction Board Plots Dictatorship

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Recent developments in the construction trades here make it clear that the Nixon Administration is taking its attack on the labor movement to new levels.

Through the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, a virtual dictatorship is being imposed to reduce the unions to rubber stamps for decisions already made by the Administration.

In the Bay Area plumbers have had wage increases cut from 80 cents to 25 cents while carpenters and laborers have been working ten months with their contracts completely tied up by the CISC.

According to Daniel Del Carlo, Secretary Treasurer of the San Francisco Construction Trades Council, the CISC is now establishing a "standardization" in California requiring better paid areas to stand still until the low paid areas catch up.

Del Carlo claims that the CISC is acting in such a high-handed manner that hundreds of thousands of construction workers have simply been denied increases without explanation.

OMINOUS

Most ominous of all, according to Del Carlo, is that the CISC has already decided how much may

be negotiated by various crafts in Northern California even in cases where negotiations have not commenced.

The union leadership is simply to be informed as to the amount they can have and told to settle as anything else will be cut.

The situation is so explosive that the president of the International Brotherhood of Painters, S. Frank Rafferty has circulated a letter to all general presidents of unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department announcing his intention of walking off the CISC.

DICTATORSHIP

Del Carlo stated that these measures were preparations for dictatorship and were exactly what was done to the labor movement in Nazi Germany. He said these attacks could only be fought with a "general strike throughout the country by the entire labor movement as no one can do it alone."

These are very fine words but at the same time Del Carlo and his fellow union heads are

(Continued On Page 19)

# MAY DAY '73

## San Francisco

**SATURDAY MAY 5 8PM**

**Holiday Inn Gold Room**

**50th & 8th St.**

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League**

**\$1 contribution**

## Los Angeles

**FRIDAY May 4 8PM**

**Hall 201 Embassy Auditorium**

**839 So. Grand St.**

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League**

**\$1 contribution 678-3528**

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

Phone: 824-4096



Representatives of unions from all six Bay Area counties meet to call a mass rally against Phase Three April 28 in San Francisco.

## Insurance Crash Panics Wall Street

BY MARTY MORAN

LOS ANGELES—The collapse of a multi-billion dollar Los Angeles insurance company has exposed the financial rot in the US economy, now ripe for catastrophe. The collapse has shaken Wall Street, where more and more there is muttering about another 1929.

Equity Funding Life Insurance Company was seized by the California Department of Insurance after investigation revealed that the company had forged more than a billion dollars in phony life insurance policies and then sold them for cash to other companies.

The parent company, Equity Funding Corporation, was ordered to file for bankruptcy. Three top officials, including

financial whiz-kid Stanley Goldblum, have resigned, and six others have been fired.

Equity was the fastest growing life insurance company over the last five years, rocketing from \$109 million to \$6.5 billion in insurance in force, acquiring insurance companies and mutual funds along the way.

GIMMICK

Goldblum pioneered the gimmick of selling mutual fund

shares which in turn were pledged as collateral for loans to pay premiums on expensive life insurance policies. The scheme was based on the booming mutual fund market of the late sixties, requiring high dividends and capital gains.

Mutual funds began to collapse in 1970. The company became dangerously squeezed for cash, as its "leverage" began to work in the direction of destroying paper values rather than creating them. The solution was found in selling its policies to reinsurers for cash. Company salesmen had written \$370 million in policies in the first 46 weeks of 1970. In the last six, \$458 million was written as office employees worked long hours creating paper to meet December 31 sales targets.

PHONY

By selling phony policies, Equity gained much needed cash. But as soon as a year rolled around, premiums had to be paid on all policies, enormously increasing the requirement for cash. The solution: print up still more phony policies which in turn required still more cash to pay the premiums the following year.

INSANE

This insane pyramiding scheme continued with great success for three years. Equity Life sold \$1.74 billion in policies to reinsurers. The state audit estimates that more than two-thirds are fictitious.

Company officials invented more than 60,000 policy-holders, provided medical records and death records on demand (by means of after hours forging parties at the office) and repeatedly fooled auditors.

Intricate computer programs were devised to process the data files so that only company officers could know what the real situation was.

(Continued On Page 19)

## Editorial

### Smash Phase Three— All Out April 28th!

A mass labor demonstration against Phase Three and the Nixon budget cuts is planned for San Francisco on April 28.

This demonstration, which will rally every union in the Bay Area, is endorsed by six Bay Area labor councils.

While committing themselves to call a rally, the labor leadership views it simply as a protest and refuses to put forward a policy to defeat Phase Three.

Prices are skyrocketing, major contracts are coming up in auto, longshore, and the electrical industry, and whole new attacks are being launched on construction workers. Youth face the destruction of jobs and the right to an education.

Phase Three cannot be defeated with a protest. Only general strike action by the entire labor movement combined with a fight for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party can answer these attacks.

A protest rally and abstract calls for labor solidarity will not defeat a government which is committed to nothing less than the destruction of the trade union movement.

This rally offers the opportunity to every trade unionist and youth to come out for a real fighting policy. The trade union leaders must be told in no uncertain terms that wage controls and every form of state control on the unions must be smashed.

This means that very concretely the coming contract struggles must be backed by the labor movement through general strike action to defeat the wage freeze and that the labor leadership must take forward this fight or get out of the way.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists will be fighting to give a political lead to the thousands of workers who will respond to the call for this rally. We urge trade unionists and youth to join our contingent at the rally.

•For 20 percent wage increases and a full escalator clause in every contract.

•General strike action to smash Phase Three and the budget cuts.

•For a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.

## Construction Board Plots Dictatorship

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Recent developments in the construction trades here make it clear that the Nixon Administration is taking its attack on the labor movement to new levels.

Through the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, a virtual dictatorship is being imposed to reduce the unions to rubber stamps for decisions already made by the Administration.

In the Bay Area plumbers have had wage increases cut from 80 cents to 25 cents while carpenters and laborers have been working ten months with their contracts completely tied up by the CISC.

According to Daniel Del Carlo, Secretary Treasurer of the San Francisco Construction Trades Council, the CISC is now establishing a "standardization" in California requiring better paid areas to stand still until the low paid areas catch up.

Del Carlo claims that the CISC is acting in such a high-handed manner that hundreds of thousands of construction workers have simply been denied increases without explanation.

OMINOUS

Most ominous of all, according to Del Carlo, is that the CISC has already decided how much may

be negotiated by various crafts in Northern California even in cases where negotiations have not commenced.

The union leadership is simply to be informed as to the amount they can have and told to settle as anything else will be cut.

The situation is so explosive that the president of the International Brotherhood of Painters, S. Frank Rafferty has circulated a letter to all general presidents of unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department announcing his intention of walking off the CISC.

DICTATORSHIP

Del Carlo stated that these measures were preparations for dictatorship and were exactly what was done to the labor movement in Nazi Germany. He said these attacks could only be fought with a "general strike throughout the country by the entire labor movement as no one can do it alone."

These are very fine words but at the same time Del Carlo and his fellow union heads are

(Continued On Page 19)

# MAY DAY '73

## San Francisco

**SATURDAY MAY 5 8PM**

**Holiday Inn Gold Room**

**50th & 8th St.**

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary  
of the Workers League**

**\$1 contribution**

## Los Angeles

**FRIDAY May 4 8PM**

**Hall 201 Embassey Auditorium**

**839 So. Grand St.**

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary  
of the Workers League**

**\$1 contribution 678-3528**