

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THIRTY 305

AUGUST 13, 1973

UNION LABEL 6

UNION LABEL CME

FIFTEEN CENTS

NOW AGNEW! ANSWER NIXON WITH A CONGRESS OF LABOR

see pgs.
3 & 8



Part of the contingent of the July 21 labor demonstration in Delano, California, called in defense of the United Farm Workers union. For stories see pages 5 and 18.

STATEMENT OF THE TRADE UNION
ALLIANCE FOR A LABOR PARTY

UAW Must Prepare Strike

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These strike authorizations must be carried forward to prepare an answer to the offensive being readied by the auto bosses to destroy jobs and union working conditions in the plants. The Big Three are consciously preparing for a strike, knowing the maintenance of their profits in the next period depends on their ability to squeeze the maximum productivity out of fewer workers and drive back wages. The UAW must now prepare its offensive.

A 23-page list of demands presented to UAW nego-

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Coupled with the offensive of the auto bosses is Nixon's Phase Four. The negotiations are taking place in the midst of the most serious political and Constitutional crisis in American history as Nixon, his government shaken by scandal after scandal, prepares to rigorously enforce Phase Four 5.5 percent wage controls while prices are allowed to rise without any limits with the blessing of the Cost of Living Council. At the same time the international economic crisis is coming to a head, creating the conditions for massive unemployment, and the auto bosses are preparing mass layoffs and shutdowns.

Auto workers are demanding a real fight. They are now at the center of the struggle against Nixon and Phase Four and can give a lead to the entire labor movement through national strike action against the Big Three and in calling for a Congress of Labor for the purpose of constructing a labor party to carry forward the offensive of workers politically.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on

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What we think

Open Letter To The SWP

The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party this week takes place in the midst of the greatest economic and political crisis in the history of world capitalism. The effects of the rapidly worsening world economic crisis are now reflected directly in politics. The intensification of the trade war sets the stage for the development of conditions of civil war in Europe, Japan, and the colonial countries.

Watergate and the Constitutional crisis that is now coming to a head with Nixon's defiance of Congress reveal not only the plans of the American ruling class for dictatorship but the paralysis of the government before the strength of the working class. In every capitalist country the working class now goes forward under conditions where the necessity to take state power is posed.

Nixon's decisions on August 15, 1971 and the scrapping of the Bretton Woods agreement opened up a whole new stage of the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class internationally. With the removal of the gold backing from the dollar, all monetary stability has collapsed. The very dependence of capitalism on the Bretton Woods agreements which seemed for 25 years to give the appearance of stability now turns into its opposite.

Every measure taken since August, 1971 to resolve the crisis has only deepened it. There is no solution: the capitalist class is forced to recognize the inevitability of open confrontation with the working class.

At a time when the working class moves into revolutionary struggle, Stalinism internationally moves more and more into an alliance with imperialism to prop it up and aid its counterrevolutionary preparations against the working class. The victory of the working class requires the construction in all countries of mass Trotskyist parties rooted in the working class and fighting for a perspective to prepare the working class for power.

In the United States the center of this perspective is the fight for the American working class to construct a labor party. While Nixon is driving the capitalist class in Europe and Japan into civil war confrontations with their own working classes, his preparations for war with

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Lon Nol Troops Retreating

BY MELODY FARROW

The Khmer Rouge in Cambodia has gone on the offensive, forcing Lon Nol's troops to abandon their positions and steadily retreat towards the capital Phnom Penh. Despite the massive US bombing the corrupt puppet regime of Lon Nol is on the verge of collapse.

Liberation forces are now within three to four miles of the capital. The US is flying in massive quantities of arms and ammunition in a last ditch effort to defend Phnom Penh in anticipation of the bombing halt ordered by Congress for August 15.

On July 29 the Khmer Rouge attacked Samrong, only three miles from the airport, cutting off all telephone and telegraph communications and government broadcasts for 24 hours. The next day 200 of Lon Nol's soldiers were driven out of Dei Doh on the Bassac River.

In the capital, diplomatic missions are preparing to evacuate. All day the windows of buildings are shaken by the nearby bombings. Desertions and low morale plague the army. In desperation, the government has begun picking up poor workers and peasants off the streets at gunpoint and forcing them to enlist. Most of the people in Phnom Penh oppose Lon Nol and say the war is only to protect the rich.

Last week, Nixon sent a letter to Congressional leaders stating that the cut-off in bombing would have "dangerous potential consequences" for Southeast Asia. Nixon added: "With the passage of the Congressional Act, the incentive to negotiate a settlement in Cambodia has been undermined and August 15 will accelerate this process."

There are indications that Nixon's major hope is to arrange a deal with Chinese leader Chou-

en Lai that would ease out Lon Nol and establish some form of coalition headed by Prince Sihanouk. At the same time Nixon is relying on Thai and South Vietnamese troops to move in if necessary.

Despite the fact that Sihanouk has insisted that there is "absolutely no room for talks" and insists he will not meet with Kissinger, last month Huang Chen, the chief of China's liaison office in the US, met with Nixon in San Clemente to discuss Cambodia and later was given an honorary dinner by Kissinger in a plush Los Angeles restaurant. It is the Stalinists who have urged Sihanouk to hold back the liberation forces from overrunning the Cambodian capital.

In Laos, the Pathet Lao made concessions that will give the key Ministerial posts of Defense, Finance and the Interior to the present government. Prince Souvanna Phouma will remain as Premier and Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Laos leader, will be first Deputy Premier.

It is no longer possible to tie the workers and peasants of Indochina to deals that preserve the existence of the very reactionary forces they have fought for so many years. The Cambodian liberation movement which now is on the eve of victory will never accept a Laos style coalition. These are the conditions that are creating the biggest crisis for Nixon in the history of the Indochina war.



Cambodian troops watch US bombs explode only a few miles away.

Peruvian Trotskyists Released

BY A REPORTER

The Peruvian Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista have been released from jail on "provisional freedom" by the military regime but will be forced to stand trial.

They are charged with calling General Juan Velasco a dictator and his regime a dictatorship and also with attempting to overthrow the government through a general strike and install socialism.

Despite weeks of the most brutal torture, the members of the Liga Comunista refused to renounce their aims and were able to continue producing their newspaper, **Comunismo**, which was seized at the start of the crackdown.

The fight of the Liga Comunista has been strengthened by a massive strike wave that is now sweeping Peru. In the biggest strike movement since 1968, 40,000 workers are out against the regime's plans to cut their retirement benefits.

The Liga Comunista has been singled out for attack because it is the only movement that bases itself on the power of the working class and fights to mobilize it against all sections of the military and capitalists.

The nature of the charges against the Liga are all political. This is the so-called revolutionary regime supported by Castro and the Peruvian Communist Party.

The release of the Peruvian Trotskyists does not mean a respite in the repression. Velasco's police are still hunting other members of the organization, forcing it to go underground.

The campaign to win freedom for the Trotskyists in Peru must now be stepped up in the labor movement of every country.

Colonels Rig Greek 'Yes' Vote

BY MELODY FARROW

The Greek military dictatorship is moving against opposition newspapers and political figures who campaigned for a "No" vote in the July 29 referendum and who have publicly challenged the results as a fraud.

Three Athens newspapers are being investigated for charges of "spreading false reports likely to arouse anxiety" and Panayotis Kanellopoulos, former Premier and a leader of the Committee for the Restoration of Democratic Legality, has been brought in for questioning.

The referendum, which Colonel George Papadopoulos claims will initiate a democratic "Republic" and pave the way for elections by 1974, is actually an attempt to consolidate and tighten the colonels' dictatorial powers.

The Interior Minister announced the official results of the vote as 78.4 percent "Yes" and 21.6 percent "No," with a larger "No" vote in the cities. These figures were carefully worked out in advance to look "balanced."

The opposition charges that in many polling places, voters were only handed "Yes" ballots clearly marked with the national colors so that officials would know who discarded them and voted "No." Large forces of police and soldiers were stationed in the main areas. In Levadia, north of Athens, a curfew was declared. During the ballot count and in the first electoral district in Athens plainclothes police burst into a polling bureau shouting slogans against the Communist Party.

A split within the military itself is emerging between Papadopoulos and Colonel Dimitrios Ioannides, leader of the most right-wing officers and commander of the hated secret police, ESA, who fears that Papadopoulos wants to ease the military out of his regime.

Allende Moves Towards Military Coalition

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

President Salvador Allende declared a state of emergency in Chile as the Christian Democrats and the military intensified their drive to overthrow his regime. Full scale civil war is breaking out all over the country.

The crisis was deepened over the weekend of August 4 when General Manuel Torres de la Cruz, a regional Army commander, ordered raids against factories in Punta Arenas that left one worker dead and another wounded by a bayonet. At textile plants, soldiers broke down the doors and damaged equipment, claiming they were searching for arms. The Central Workers Union is demanding that Torres be removed.

On August 3, Allende's entire Cabinet resigned against his wishes. Discussions between Allende and the right-wing Christian Democrats have stalled over the opposition's ultimatum that the military be brought into the Cabinet.

STRIKE

The Christian Democrats have provoked a strike by the National Confederation of Truck Owners that has paralyzed transportation. They were joined on August 2 by private bus and taxi owners and doctors and other professionals are threatening to strike.

The fascist movement, Fatherland and Liberty, which went underground after the assassination on July 24 of Captain Arturo Araya Peters, a close friend of Allende, has launched a wave of sabotage and terror. Highways, rail lines and bridges are being dynamited at key points and a major pipeline was just blown up. On August 1, bombs went off at several offices of the Communist Party and at

trade union locals.

The Transport Federation, which opposes nationalization of the industry, is demanding that Jaime Faiovich, Under-Secretary of Transportation, resign for ordering police to seize trucks. This move provoked a clash that wounded four people. Truck drivers opposed to the strike have been attacked and severely beaten.

Despite the actions of the right wing, Allende has appealed to the Christian Democrat leader Patricio Alywin for "peace talks" and has conceded to most of their demands.

BAN

Allende has agreed to ban any paramilitary groups outside of the Army, which means that workers' defense squads set up after the attempted coup in June will be disbanded. He has also agreed to limit the socialized sector and prevent workers and peasants from seizing private property.

Allende appeals to the Army,

the very force that seeks to overthrow him, to "cooperate" in ending the truck owners' strike. The man who has been placed in charge of directing emergency transportation is Army General Herman Brady.

At every point, Allende has conciliated with the right wing. He is now preparing to accept a coalition government with the military that will turn against the working class.

Allende's doctrine of a "peaceful road to socialism"—fully supported by the Chilean Communist Party—has left the workers and poor peasants exposed to the organized reign of terror of the right. His policies have allowed the dissatisfaction of the copper workers at the El Teniente mine, who threaten a new strike August 7, to be used by the opposition.

The events unfolding in Chile bear out the urgent necessity to construct a revolutionary movement in Latin America that can prepare the working class to take power.

Investigation Of Agnew Deepens Watergate Scandal

BY MELODY FARROW

The opening of deliberations in Federal District Court on Nixon's legal authority to withhold the White House tapes from the Senate Watergate Committee brings the confrontation between Nixon and Congress to a head.

Nixon has made a decision to fight for his political survival in order to move ahead with his plans to drive down the wages and jobs of the working class. The labor movement cannot afford to remain silent another day but must act now to call a Congress of Labor to throw this entire rotten administration out and build a labor party.

What is at stake is Nixon's attempt to "interpret" the Constitution to justify his arrogant defiance of Congress, to place himself above Congress, the courts and their laws and to assume virtually unlimited powers.

The administration's reply to the subpoena delivered to Judge John Sirica pushes the confrontation with Congress all the way. The statement of Nixon's lawyers make these major points:

- Nixon cannot be prosecuted for any crime and is immune from all court orders until after he is impeached and convicted, even if there is a question of Presidential involvement in a crime.

- He has no obligation to provide Congress with information.

- Even if the Supreme Court orders Nixon to hand over the tapes, he has the right to refuse on the grounds that the judiciary cannot place itself above the President.

This is an outright challenge to Congress to try and impeach him. These arguments abolish any independent role for Congress and establish a precedent for dictatorship.

Just when Nixon is reaching a critical showdown with Congress, the Wall Street Journal has disclosed that Vice President Spiro Agnew is under investigation by a Baltimore grand jury for possible criminal charges of bribery, extortion and tax evasion, in connection with construction kickbacks as far back as 1967.

The investigation covers the period when Agnew was Baltimore County Executive, his two years as Governor of Maryland, and extends right through the Vice Presidency, when he reportedly influenced Federal contracts awarded to Maryland companies.

The letter informing Agnew of the investigation was cleared at the top by Attorney General Elliot Richardson. William Fornoff, a former Baltimore County Executive who worked under Agnew, may be indicted and Lester Matz, an influential

civil engineer, is seeking immunity in exchange for possibly damaging testimony against Agnew.

At a time when Nixon is fighting to maintain some shred of credibility, this news is a devastating blow. Agnew was one of the few people close to Nixon who carefully kept his name out of the Watergate hearings.

The Nixon government is stumbling deeper and deeper into crisis. Democrats and Republicans alike are divided and paralyzed on how or whether to try and salvage his administration. With every day the corruption and dictatorial methods of Nixon have been laid bare.

The trade unions must seize the opportunity opened up by this new stage in the government's crisis to launch a campaign demanding that Nixon resign.

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John Ehrlichman

Eggs, Chicken Lead Price Explosion

BY A REPORTER

The real meaning of the trade war and inflationary credit policies being pursued by the Nixon Administration is being painfully brought home to workers with every trip to the supermarket: workers are to be made to pay the cost of the capitalists' crisis.

Since the freeze on food prices (except beef) was lifted, the cost of feeding a family has jumped by leaps and bounds. Protein foods are becoming too expensive for most working class families to afford in the quantities they have become accustomed to, even when cheaper cuts of meat are substituted, and no end is in sight with the price of grains used in animal feed surpassing historic highs.

Beef is becoming almost unobtainable, with slaughterhouses closing down and black markets developing as cattlemen withhold their products from the market in anticipation of sharply higher prices once the freeze on beef prices is lifted September 12. Supplies have fallen off by 75 percent.

EGGS

Prices are now rising almost too fast to keep track of. A dozen Grade A large eggs, which before the freeze cost between 64 cents and 81 cents, depending on which part of the country they were bought in, now cost over 90 cents in almost every store and as much as \$1.15 in some places.

A quart of milk, which can still be bought for 33 cents in a few places, now costs 39 or 41 cents in most. Grade A fryers or broilers (chickens) now cost as

much as 89 cents a pound, and a **Bulletin** reporter found chicken breasts selling for \$1.39 a pound in one large chain store.

Pork chops are approaching \$2 a pound in most cities, while in San Francisco they rose to \$2.97 a pound immediately following the "thaw," according to **Newsweek**. The price of bacon is now generally over \$1.49 a pound and predictions are that it will top \$2 a pound.

A **Bulletin** survey of East Coast supermarkets found not only beef in short supply but virtually every other meat as well. Many supermarket meat counters were more than half empty. In one large A&P in the South, the supply had dwindled to one sirloin steak (at \$1.89 a pound), a few pounds of hamburger, a dozen packages of pork chops (at \$1.97 a pound).

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Trade War Threatens Recession

BY BRUCE MCKAY

Fears that the "boom" fueled by the unprecedented international expansion of credit will collapse into a world-wide depression are being more and more openly expressed as interest rates jump to all-time highs and the effects of monetary chaos and dollar devaluation and Nixon's trade war policies begin to have a sharp impact on Europe and Japan.

The actual relationship of forces between the United States and Europe was all too apparent at the recent Washington gathering of the International Monetary Fund's Committee of 20, where European finance ministers made a substantial retreat on the question of international monetary "reform."

US Treasury Secretary George Schultz called it "the best meeting we've had by a long shot."

The plan tentatively agreed upon is, in fact, yet another attack on European capitalism. It will also further reduce the value of the dollar by making dollars less and less desirable to hold.

FORCED

Under the plan, countries with dollar surpluses in their treasuries would be forced to place them on deposit with the IMF, being penalized at the same time with negative interest charges. This penalty would supposedly force European countries, like Germany, which hold large dollar surpluses to let down trade barriers to American products, thus reinforcing Nixon's trade war.

European industrialists are already suffering under the blows of this trade war and the dollar's devaluation. West German capitalists face an immediate threat of financial

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New Orleans Dockers Return After Wildcat

BY A REPORTER

Longshoremen in the port of New Orleans returned to work August 3 after a 10 day wildcat strike that shut down virtually all cargo shipments.

As of last Friday the dockers were waiting for the courts to rule on the issue of the container royalty money owed by the shippers and held up since 1968. Over \$892,000 is involved.

Rejecting their leadership's plea to return to work, the men wildcatted after repeated attempts to find out what had happened to their money failed.

The major issue was how the money was to be divided up. The dockers insisted that the entire sum, to be shared among all the

locals, including Local 1418, 1419 and the checkers, should be distributed directly to them while the union officials demanded that 75 percent be channeled into the pension and welfare fund with only 25 percent going to the men.

The workers finally won agreement that 90 percent would be distributed directly and 10 percent go to the union fund. This was placed before the judge for a final decision.

SSEU-371 Bargaining To Begin

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The current contract for Social Service Employees Union Local-371 expires December 31, 1973. Bargaining is due to begin in September. At the general membership meeting of July 31 SSEU President Bart Cohen told the members that the issue of reorganization of the Department of Social Services was no longer the big issue before the union and that the union must now put this aside and think in terms of the 1974 contract.

The leadership's attempt to separate these issues now poses a great danger to the unions. The fact is that at the very moment that collective bargaining is opening, the City is moving more rapidly than ever to dismantle the entire Department of Social Service right under the union's nose.

Here is what is now taking place: a federal and state auditing and computerized management program is to be introduced momentarily into the new Department of Services. Its purpose is to supply statistics justifying drastic reductions in federal funds for the salaries of the 1600 workers to be forced into this Department.

ELIMINATE

Under the reactionary new state Pizzani Law, the City is moving to eliminate its foster care program for children by forcing the children either back into the homes of parents from whom they have been temporarily removed or into permanent adoption. This is the latest in the drive to liquidate the City's entire Bureau of Child Welfare and its 1000 or more workers.

As revealed by Commissioner Jules Sugarman, the plan for state takeover of the City's welfare system is also proceeding at a rapid pace.

The Cohen leadership now shows every intention of going along with the City's game. So also do the supporters of the Communist Party and Progressive Labor Party, who

Big Corporations Go Tax Free

While federal income taxes chew up a big chunk of every worker's paycheck, 11 of the country's largest corporations got off last year without paying any income tax at all, according to Ohio Congressman Charles Vanik.

Vanik revealed the identity of the companies in a speech on the House floor August 1: McDonnell Douglas Corp., Republic Steel Corp., Occidental Petroleum Corp., Eastern Airlines, Trans World Airlines, United Airlines, Northwest Airlines, Consolidated Edison Company of New York, American Electric Power Company, Pennzoil and Burlington Northern Inc.

Nixon's favorite, ITT, did not fare quite as well—it had to pay a one percent tax.

"We're operating within the system established by the Congress," a Consolidated Edison spokesman said.

have completely opposed any resistance to the latest stage of reorganization.

The Committee for New Leadership is now opening up a fight around the demand that the union call a total halt to all cooperation with further reorganization throughout the Department until the 1974 contract is negotiated and voted on by the union membership.

The new contract must once and for all put an end to the City's drive to break up the Department and drive out the staff by giving ironclad guarantees on staffing and funding.

20 PERCENT

The contract must also restore the money robbed from SSEU members by the Pay Board in the past, insure 20 percent across the board annual increases and include a cost of living escalator clause to defend the members against inflation which is now out of control.

This must go hand in hand with an initiative by the SSEU on the fight to force Nixon out. The SSEU must now take up the call for the convening of a Congress of Labor and the launching of a labor party as an essential part of the preparation for the contract fight the union now faces.



Canada's New Democratic Party leader speaking at the recent NDP convention.

Postal Contract Threatens More Closures, Layoffs

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK—The postal contract accepted by Moe Biller, leader of 47,000 mail handlers and clerks in New York, has opened the way for mass shutdowns and layoffs of postal workers.

The Brooklyn Army Terminal is slated for closure in October and only senior workers will be shifted to the Secaucus plant which is crammed with LSM-ZMT machines, mail handling container operations and IBM computers. Only one third of the current work force will be needed to handle all foreign mail coming into New York.

The contract will allow the government to go ahead with automation, closing facilities in favor of highly automated stations employing much fewer workers and eliminating entire tours such as at Grand Central Station in New York.

Article XII, Section 4 of the

contract states that "when a major relocation of employees is planned the Employer must meet with the Unions at the National level at least 90 days in advance to fully advise the unions how it intends to implement the Plan." The Postal Service has the right to "discontinue" and "consolidate" its operations and "transfer" or "reassign" workers at will.

The responsibility for this lies above all with Moe Biller, who refused to call national strike action against acceptance of the settlement by the national leaders, Rademacher (Carriers) and Filbey (Handlers and Clerks).

Biller's retreat from his pledge on June 20 that "we can't

accept the agreement unless we get better wages shorter hours and the kind of pension our older members demand" is all the more criminal in light of the massive opposition vote.

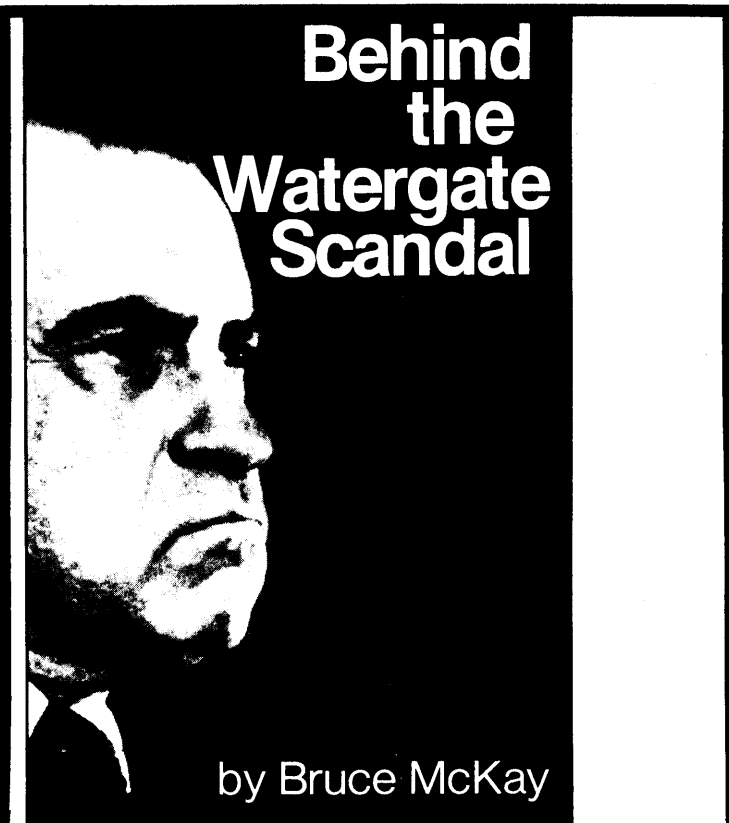
In New York the vote was 100 to 1 against the contract with many workers complaining they never received the mail ballots. Nationally the vote was 119,400 in favor and 21,000 against. The high rate of abstentions nationally expresses the lack of confidence in Rademacher and Filbey.

The agreement not only maintains the work week at 42 and one-half hours and the same inadequate pension plan but provides for only a 14 percent wage increase over two years with cost of living allowances every six months.

Despite the New York memberships' overwhelming mandate for strike action, Biller told a news conference on July 20 that "New York City couldn't go it alone."

The determination of postal workers to fight back against Nixon, especially in Dayton, San Francisco and New York, was shown in scores of interviews conducted at stations.

A handler with five years at Brooklyn Army Terminal said: "We're not letting them put this down without a fight. Biller was supposed to be militant. You know I don't think being militant is enough. Those who got ballots here all voted against. None of the guys will accept this. There's going to be trouble, big trouble."



Bulletin Pamphlet Series 15

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UFW member Edward Dorsey pointing to substandard housing in Avon Park which the union is trying to wipe out.

'If Those Goons Come To Florida...'

BY BRUCE MCKAY
AVON PARK, Fla.—

Farm workers here are anxiously watching as the United Farm Workers Union struggles for its very life in California's vineyards.

The grape harvest is over in the Coachella Valley, and picketing has begun in the San Joaquin Valley area around Delano, where Cesar Chavez first organized the National Farm Workers Association.

Minute Maid workers here, among the approximately 2500 Florida farm workers under UFW contract, are well aware that a union defeat in the California battle against the big growers and the corrupt Teamsters bureaucracy will open the door wide for a campaign to destroy the gains men here in the last 18 months.

Unionization of Florida's 150,000 agricultural workers has still barely begun. Since contracts were signed in early 1972 with Minute Maid (Coca Cola) and H.P. Hood & Sons, the union has failed to win another contract.

An effort to organize the big DiGiorgio citrus operation was stopped when the company sold out its groves. The drive to organize the sugar cane industry is still entangled in a court battle over the growers' use of West Indian laborers. Organizers have been pulled out to staff grape boycott campaigns across the

country.

The UFW organizing campaign had barely begun when Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons promised the big growers he would use the Teamsters union to destroy the UFW and began signing sweetheart contracts with vineyard owners in the Coachella area.

No doubt heartened by the attack launched in the union's stronghold in California, H.P. Hood has tried to break its contract, and the growers are planning a major new assault against the union in the state legislature with a bill which would put farm workers under a State Farm Labor Board, with tight controls over organizing campaigns, enforcement of the open shop and provisions outlawing strikes.

The *Bulletin* interviewed 64 year old Edward Dorsey, who began working as a farm laborer in Louisiana 52 years ago. Dorsey was one of the early participants in the union organizing drive at Minute Maid and serves as the union piece rate adjustment committeeman.

He told the *Bulletin* that the future of the union here hinges on a big victory in California, as well as a determined fight against the growers and the government here. He said workers here are expecting the Teamsters bureaucrats to begin signing sweetheart agreements in Florida unless decisive action is taken to stop them in California.

"The union is the only support we have, and people are ready to fight for it," Dorsey said. "Before the union came in, they

used to spray the oranges with different types of dope, and you'd break out in rashes and get sick and you couldn't do anything about it. Now, they can't do that sort of stuff.

"Before the union came in, too, and you got sick out there in the groves, you didn't have the money to go to the doctor and you just got messed up. Now the union sees to it that you go to the doctor and gets your bills paid. These are the kinds of things people need to live.

"Before, we were making the rich man richer all the time, and we were getting poorer and poorer—that's why the people here are fighting so hard to keep the union. Now we can make some money. It's something that's helping the poor people, and that's why the big companies are trying so to get rid of it.

"When that contract expires with Coke (early 1975), there's going to be trouble," Dorsey told the *Bulletin*. "Coke will begin to think that they're doing something more than anyone else is and will say, 'We're not going to have anything to do with the union any more,' and then they will try to throw the union out."

He said the "non-violence" of Chavez will leave the workers defenseless and said self-defense guards should be organized in California to defend pickets against Fitzsimmons' hired goons.

"I think that non-violence is a good method—if the other fellow is non-violent. But how I feel about this situation is this: If I don't hit you, you don't hit me. But if you hit me, then you can be

expecting me to hit back and good. You won't want so much to hit me if you know I'll hit you. If we hit back against these goons I think this would stop the problem.

"Right now, if those goons hit Florida, Cesar Chavez is not going to have anything to do with it," Dorsey said. "It isn't going to be like California. There's going to be some violence.

"This is a critical thing. The people here know what they're doing in California—they're watching it on television and reading in the newspapers what's going on out there. The people are already angry with that mess, so if they ever get here trouble's going to start."

POLITICS

Dorsey also told the *Bulletin* the big price increases and the Watergate scandal are turning workers' attention to politics, and he said the unions now need their own political party to defend them against the attacks which Nixon and the big companies are now getting ready.

"I'm telling you, if I was the highest officer in the country and I felt I was right and was doing things right, I wouldn't have anything to hide—all the books and tapes and stuff I would turn over and say take them. Now, if I was doing something wrong, I'd want to keep it hid. That's how I feel about it. If a man's in a position as a leader, then he's supposed to act like a leader.

"I feel we should have somebody on the lookout for us working people, and if we had a

labor party we could deal with Nixon," Dorsey said. "Nixon's done more against the working people and the poor people than any other President in history. He's freezing wages and letting all the other things go wide open. There's no way wages can come up to the cost of living.

"It would be a good thing to get rid of him. He's messed up so many times. A working man, they tell him he has to live on \$7500 a year. Hell, there's no way to do it. Especially with the cost of living. And Nixon, he makes \$200,000 a year and has big houses everywhere.

"I've been working for Coke for 25 years, and when I go to the store, I've got to pay 20 cents for a little bottle of Coca Cola. Then I see all those supervisors and executives riding around in shiny new cars every year, making good salaries—and where is the money coming from? People are beginning to think about that.

"Why is it that they can pay \$1 or \$1.25 a box for fruit when they used to pay only 50 cents? They could have been paying people these kinds of wages all the time, but they've been robbing the people all that time. That's why they want to get rid of the union now.

"I'm afraid they're going to start a war in this United States," he said. "We've been going around showing the life of Martin Luther King, and the people sit there and watch that, and you know they're not going to stand it any more. They're not going to take that. If the big companies try to start something, you know what's going to happen."

Whirlpool On Strike Against 3.5% Insult

BY B. WILLS

ST. PAUL—Fifteen hundred members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Local 827 are now in their third week of strike action against the Whirlpool Corporation here. The company's insulting 3.5 percent wage increase proposal on July 22 sparked the strike.

There have been no formal negotiations to date nor are any planned until after the plant's annual two week vacation shutdown period. The union is demanding a 50 cent an hour across the board increase for the first year, an average 14 percent raise. The company refuses to improve its meagre three cent cost of living clause. In response, many workers want a one year contract as protection against the soaring inflation.

Last week Whirlpool sent letters to the homes of all strikers accusing the union of rash and unjustifiable action, and urging each worker to contact the company to discuss wage proposals. These insults have been ridiculed by the strikers. An assembler on the freezer line stated that no one would talk to

Whirlpool because the latest 5.5 percent offer was far from enough.

The union must now respond to this lying letter by rejecting the company's offers. Local 827 has taken an important step forward; it has opened the struggle to break Nixon's 5.5 percent wage ceiling. Strikers must insist that the leadership issue a regular strike bulletin on the progress of negotiations, nailing every company lie.

In this way the membership can insure that the local bureaucracy does not retreat from the demand for 50 cents an hour. The fight for the 50 cents can break the 5.5 percent guidelines. In this way too the fight for a full cost of living and a one year contract can go forward.

Local 827 must see to it that the Minnesota Teamsters Joint Council gives full support to the strike.

Wohlforth Speaks At Midwest Park Outing

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

LAKE INDEPENDENCE, Minn., July 22—Over 100 workers and youth from the upper Midwest participated in an all day outing here at the Morris T. Baker Park. Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, spoke on Watergate and the fight of the working class to defend democratic rights.

Comrade Wohlforth emphasized that the American capitalist class from its very beginnings 200 years ago sought to protect itself from the overwhelming majority of the population of the United States. Today Nixon and the capitalists face a profound constitutional crisis because they are driven by their economic crisis to drive toward a Bonapartist dictatorship over the working class in the course of which all of the established form and procedures of the constitution must be ripped up.

The American constitution, Wohlforth stressed, was worthless in times of crisis. Today Nixon knows how difficult it is to remove him through constitutional procedures of impeachment and is prepared to continue his defiance of every law on the books.

Comrade Wohlforth explained that this political attack on democratic rights has its roots in the complete breakdown of the capitalist economic system. The corporations want to drive down wages and conditions in order to reduce the amount of money required to maintain the worker and his family.

The cowardly retreat of the union bureaucrats who refuse to say anything about Watergate even though their names are on Nixon's enemies list must be reversed. This can only be done by building a new leadership which fights to mobilize the working class in the present

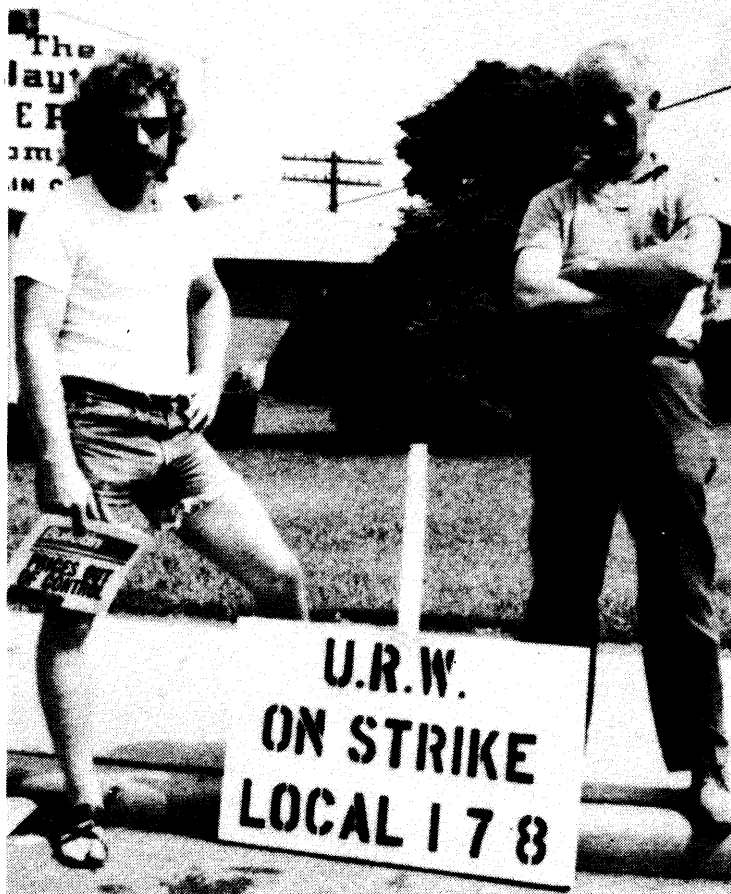
strike struggles around the fight to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies that can protect the workers gains.

In the discussion which followed, Roy, a foundry worker from St. Paul, said that he had come to the outing to learn how to organize his fellow workers to defeat the bosses' attacks.

He described himself as a "trouble maker" who had filed almost every grievance that had been filed in 30 years but that he did not see how the majority of his fellow workers could be mobilized. The discussion brought out that with the stepped up attack on workers everywhere, more and more people would be seeking out the "trouble makers" because they wanted some trouble to be made. For this reason every worker must prepare himself for the struggle in order to lead. The most militant fight must be waged at the foundry on the issues of wages and conditions, but it must be linked up to the whole fight to rally the entire working class, which is facing the same attacks, around the campaign to build a labor party.

Following the educational program Jean Brust, Workers League Midwest Organizer, told the group that the Annual Summer Camp being held later this month in Canada will be a great step forward in training the new leadership of the working class and youth. A magnificent \$215 was collected for the camp.

Midwest News



Strikers from United Rubber Workers Local 178 of Dayton.

Local Suspends Issues In Rubber Strike

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON—Without reaching an agreement on basic contract demands, the leadership of Local 175 of the United Rubber Workers suspended the week old strike at Dayton Tire and Rubber Company, a subsidiary of Firestone, pending a ruling by the National Labor Relations Board on whether one of the issues is negotiable.

At a point where workers are faced with the greatest attacks upon them as seen in Phase Four and Watergate, the workers are sent back to work without a contract, completely dependent on Nixon's courts.

Robert Yates, president of Local 175, upheld the decision to send to arbitration the issue of the company's attempt to force workers on limited hours to work overtime or be put on lower paying jobs. He declared: "There was no point in keeping 1400 people out on the street while awaiting the board's decision...Sometimes it takes months."

The strike began on July 20 when the insurance and pensions contract expired. The union has two contracts with the company. The contract on wages expires next April. The present demands on the limited hours workers, on improvement of insurance and pensions, and a common contract expiration date with Firestone have been turned down by the company. Workers told the Bulletin the company is offering nothing.

Workers expressed their bitterness over Phase Four and their disgust with the rubber workers not even having a cost of living escalator of any kind. A member of the shop committee stated that with the cost of living skyrocketing, "the 28 cents in the national contracts is like a 15 cent cut."

Close to 300 grievances have piled up over working conditions and pay cuts. For the last three years the company has been retiming most of the jobs in the tuber, bamberry and mills departments, amounting to cuts of \$2.00 to \$2.25 an hour in incentive pay. The contract says the company has to change the

construction of the job to retime it, so they will make a minor change like adding a sprayer or tuber as an excuse for retiming.

Also, the company has put in some huge automation machinery such as tuber that is a half block long and the 27 Bamberry that has the largest electric motor, and uses these machines for reducing the work force and retiming. Workers who were making up to \$7.00 an hour are now making approximately \$4.00 an hour.

Last year there were 300 seniority workers on a voluntary layoff negotiated as a stop-gap solution to cutbacks. Expecting to receive Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) pay, the workers found that quickly cut off as the \$24,000 SUB fund ran dry. The workers on the layoff received their SUB pay only every six weeks during the year's layoff.

A tuber who has worked at the plant for 28 years told the Bulletin he lost a dollar an hour on his job when it was retimed three years ago and that "many have lost more than that." He said, "The company just sets the standards up to where you can't make it. No matter what you put out, they pay you what they want—it just doesn't show up on your paycheck." About the skyrocketing prices, he said:

"It looks like we are going to have to get used to it—I don't know what the workers are going to do. The national got an increase of about 26 cents an hour and prices have already gone up that much." Asked about a labor party, he said, "We are going to have to have something. They made us believe we were voting for the right people, but none of them, the Kennedys or any of them, are for the workers."

Tilleraas Expulsion In Appeal

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The fight of the Caucus for a Decent Contract (CDC) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, Local 1164, for the reinstatement of Perry and Liz Tilleraas is now in the appeals stage.

A hearing was held before the Council 6 executive board in St. Paul on July 18 and 19. The decision should be announced by the end of the week.

The appeal was held de Nova, that is, like a new trial with original evidence. Throughout the trial the factual falsity of the charges and their red-baiting political basis was exposed. As Perry Tilleraas made clear in his opening statement, the charges were brought with malicious intent to drive the Tilleraases out of the union because of their fight to mobilize the ranks around the contract demands and for a political strategy the unions require to win those demands, especially the fight for a labor party.

DANGER

The danger to the union movement of this new outbreak of witch-hunting was clearly revealed as the Tilleraases linked it to the Watergate hearings and Nixon's unprecedented drive toward one man rule and the destruction of the basic democratic rights of the working class.

The accuser, Eric Nyberg, a supporter of SDS-PL, was able, in the course of six hours of time, to present only three witnesses: another supporter of PL; a supporter of the Young Socialist Alliance; and the union president. All of the evidence presented was hearsay. As one of the board members remarked in exasperation, "Are you going to present any hard evidence to back your charges or are we going to sit here all night listening to hearsay testimony?"

INNOCENT

As one member of a different Council 6 local said after witnessing the hearings, "If they consider the evidence at all, they have to find the Tilleraases innocent...And if they don't find them innocent, I want copies of that transcript of the hearing to show to as many members of Council 6 as I can, to show them what these people did."

Every worker across the country now must take up this defense of democratic rights within the union movement by demanding the reinstatement of the Tilleraases to: Hearing Body, Council 6, 475 Rice Street, St. Paul, Mn., 55102 with copies to the Tilleraas Defense Committee, 924 Second Ave., So. Mpls., Mn. 55402.

Sit-Down Shuts Line At Chrysler

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—The first sit-down strike to hit the auto industry since the late 1930s was started by two Chrysler workers at the immense Jefferson plant at 6:01 a.m. on July 24 and shut the plant down for 13 hours.

Larry Carter and Isaac Shorter, two Black workers whose grievance against the racist behavior of their foreman had been repeatedly frustrated by the union leadership, scaled the walls of the wire crib housing masses of equipment for the assembly line, cut the power to the line and locked themselves in.

A workman, tipped off about the "takeover," surrounded the crib, preventing both management and police from ending the sit-down.

Carter and Shorter left the crib when plant production manager Joseph Ghear filed a guarantee in writing that Thomas Halsey, the disputed foreman, would be immediately fired and Carter and Shorter would not be disciplined.

WILDCAT STRIKES

This sit-down strike, following a series of wildcat strikes over working conditions at the antiquated Jefferson plant, comes on the eve of the contract showdown between 800,000 auto workers and the Big Three auto companies.

UAW Vice President Douglas Frazer has cynically called the strike "the first in-plant hijacking I've ever experienced." One international UAW official who flew down to the plant during the strike had a victory rally after the sit-down. Carter told the audience: "We know the role the union plays. They sell us out."

No less cynical than Douglas Frazer is Leonard Woodcock, UAW President, who replied to this charge by saying: "Obviously anybody in a free society is entitled to his or her opinion. There's no point in trying to get into an argument about it."

Shorter, originally from Mississippi, transferred from the Commerde, California Chrysler plant to the Jefferson plant when the Commerde plant was shut down. Having worked with the Black Panther Party, Shorter says he is now dissociating from any form of political group. At the victory rally, Shorter told the audience that his goal is "the workers taking control of Chrysler. We share the profits, the community shares the profits, the country shares the profits, the world shares the profits."

"The strike," he said at another meeting, "was around organizing workers to socialism." Both Carter and Shorter emphasized that their acts will receive the support of both Black and white workers. Shorter said that the 200 workers who surrounded the control crib were well aware of their socialist beliefs.

Although Carter and Shorter have not completed the program which they say will be designed for struggle against Chrysler, Ford and GM, they say that workers must "fight independently" of the UAW. Shorter said, "There's a positive side and a negative side to the UAW. We must straighten the local out and make it positive. We must take control of the locals and work independently of the UAW." The two workers say this will eventually require the construction of a "vanguard workers' party."

Company Bugs UAW Meetings

BY ED SMITH

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—A unit of American Motors Corporation has admitted bugging United Auto Workers meetings at its plant here.

The bugging by AM General, which makes jeeps and delivery vehicles for the government, has been revealed in the middle of a UAW strike at the plant over the length of the contract.

Said James F. Beck, UAW Local 5 unit chairman: "The men feel justly or not that they lost out on grievances during the past few years because they believe private union strategy talks were overheard."

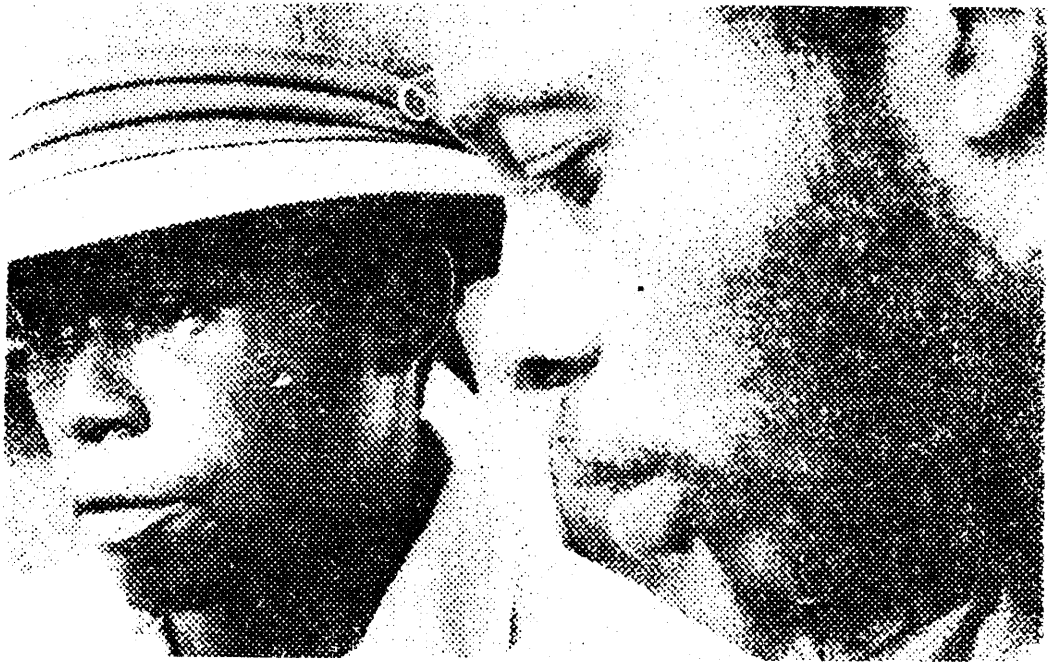
The union found out about the bugging only because it was tipped off by a guard who participated in the spying effort. As a result of the disclosure, two company officials, M.R. Buddemeir, director of industrial relations, and John St. Clair of plant security, have been forced to resign. The guard has dropped out of sight.

HISTORY

UAW workers must not be misled by the union bureaucrats' derisory description of the affair as "Puddlegate." The bosses are reaching back into the long history of company spying on the unions. Forced on by the darkening state of the economy, they are attacking the basic democratic rights of the working class, assaulting the principle of free collective bargaining, with the most sophisticated electronic techniques.

American Motors and all the big corporations drew their inspiration for these union-busting attacks from the biggest bugger and burglar of them all, Richard Nixon. These sinister campaigns of electronic espionage against the unions makes all the more urgent the fight for the labor movement to make Nixon resign and form a labor party that will put an end to the attacks on the working class.

Midwest News



Larry Carter and Isaac Shorter: "The strike was around organizing workers to socialism."

Auto Workers Prepare For Contract Showdown

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—Auto workers across the US, like those at Ford's Torrence Avenue assembly plant in Chicago are determined to defend their living standards in the approaching 1973 contract struggle.

One Ford worker told the *Bulletin*: "You know how long change-over took this year? Twenty-two minutes, that's all. They didn't invest anything for 1974, almost nothing. That way they're hoping not to get hurt so bad if people quit buying cars." "Or when we shut them down in September," added a second Ford worker.

Virtually every worker in the 3000 strong United Auto Workers Local 551 who was interviewed by the *Bulletin* indicated that he expected a strike this year. But the leadership of Local 551 is working closely with International President Leonard Woodcock against strike preparations. In fact, the campaigning by candidates in a court-ordered local election has been used as an excuse precisely not to wage any real battle for contract

demands.

John M. Nolan, Local 551 president since 1966, was ordered to stand for new elections by a June 18 ruling from US District Court Judge Richard B. Austin. Austin rescheduled the Local's 1973 elections for August 7, just weeks before the contract deadline. This move was obviously planned by Nixon's courts to split the local and divert attention from the fight against Ford.

WATERGATE

As the Watergate hearings reveal more fully each day Nixon's unprecedented conspiracy to destroy the basic rights of the working class, government encroachment in the affairs of the union must be bitterly resisted, and union

independence maintained.

Only in this way can Nixon's drive against democratic rights and his wage controls be confronted.

Yet Jerry Vail, Sr., Nolan's major opposition, was the one who ran to the courts in 1972, charging violation of the UAW constitution among other things.

ELECTION

At no time in the election campaign has Vail fought to battle it out on the question of the contract or the needs of the assembly workers. In spite of the fact that Nolan sat on the 1970 National Negotiating Team, and thus shares responsibility for the speedup, wage loss and harassment of the last three years, Vail limited his campaign to questions of union democracy and local issues. In spite of his limited campaign, Vail's strength among the workers reveals the growing opposition to Nolan and his support of Woodcock.

On contract questions, Nolan stands 100 percent behind Woodcock's refusal to fight for wages. When asked what "substantial wage increases" meant in his "Program for Progress," one of Nolan's supporters told the *Bulletin*: "That means getting below the guidelines. Getting more than 5.5 percent means fighting Nixon. That's Woodcock's job, not Nolan's. Nolan can only take care of the local problems."

The real opposition to Nolan must be rallied in a fight against the bureaucracy to prepare for the September 14 contract deadline. Local 551 must demand Nolan and Woodcock commit themselves to a 20 percent wage increase the first year, with a full cost of living. And in the face of the government's continuing intervention against the unions on every level, Local 551 must take a lead in demanding that the UAW rally the entire labor movement in the call for an emergency Congress of Labor for the purpose of establishing a labor party based on the unions.

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Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Unions Must Call Congress Of Labor

George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, said at the summer meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in Chicago last week that Nixon would not be invited to address the AFL-CIO's biennial convention scheduled for next October. Meany said that the evidence of corruption was piling up on Watergate and cited the work of Charles Colson, Nixon's special counsel, in sending provocateurs into the last convention. Meany said that Peter Brennan, Secretary of Labor, would also not be invited. The meeting of the Executive Council also denounced Phase Four for creating "something worse than a recession in 1974" and providing the framework for "job-destroying."

Meany has remained silent for the last two months during all the revelations on Watergate and as Nixon prepared his Phase Four. Meany is now forced to speak out as a major confrontation between the Nixon Administration and the trade unions is on the agenda.

Phase Four is a deliberate policy to drive down the living standards of workers by creating runaway inflation, by allowing prices to soar as wages are held to 5.5 percent. Recession now threatens masses of workers with unemployment. The big corporations backed by the government are opening a new drive to slash jobs and increase productivity to make the workers pay for the worsening economic crisis.

It is under these conditions that the AFL-CIO is planning its October convention. While Meany now attacks the administration and Phase Four, he refuses to put forward an alternative. Nixon must not simply be excluded from the speakers list to the convention, but removed from office. The ranks of labor must demand that the convention be turned into a Congress of Labor to launch a campaign to force Nixon to resign, for the calling of new elections, and to construct a labor party as the only alternative to this corrupt and anti-working class government.

Resolutions must be forwarded in every local demanding that Meany and the leadership of the AFL-CIO call on the Teamsters and the UAW to join in calling this Congress of Labor which would include representatives of all unions and workers organizations, to map out a strategy to defeat this government.

The government which is spearheading the attacks on the living standards and democratic rights of the working class now faces the greatest political crisis in history. If Nixon cannot establish his rule, the ruling class will seek a new instrument for the impending confrontation with the working class.

The construction of labor's political alternative to fight for socialist policies has never been more urgent. Meany's statement that his policy of neutrality in the last election has been proved "100 percent successful" is completely bankrupt. The refusal of the labor leaders to build an alternative left the working class without a political weapon against the wholesale attacks on democratic rights revealed in Watergate.

Now this task can no longer be avoided.

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"But what can I do? I'm afraid of loud noises."

What we think Open Letter To The SWP

(Continued From Page 1)

the American workers have been revealed in Watergate, in the bringing into the government of military men like General Haig and now in the Constitutional crisis. Watergate has exposed the weakness not only of Nixon but of the entire capitalist class which is divided and unable to defeat the powerful working class. Today the ruling class is paralyzed. But if Nixon cannot establish his authority, sections of the capitalist class will seek to replace him with an instrument that can take on the working class in the confrontation that is now on the agenda.

Watergate has had a deep impact on the thinking of workers at a time when all their gains are threatened. It is the trade union bureaucracy together with the Communist Party that seek to prevent the construction of a labor party to defend the working class.

This task now stands urgently before the labor movement and it is through this struggle and in a battle against the trade union bureaucracy and its Stalinist supporters that a Trotskyist leadership will be constructed in the working class.

The Socialist Workers Party has completely abandoned any perspective for the working class. Like Pabloism in every country, it has failed to prepare for the present situation. Ignoring the development of the economic crisis, the SWP has based its movement on the middle class and protest politics when the real question was one of preparation for power through a turn to the working class in the struggles created by the economic crisis.

It is this question of a revolutionary perspective for the working class and the building of independent revolutionary parties that has been at the center of the 20 year struggle of the International Committee against Pabloism. The theoretical lessons of this struggle have prepared the IC for this period and for the struggle to build a leadership in the working class.

Pablo and his supporters abandoned the Marxist method and the analysis of the epoch and perspective outlined by Trotsky in the Transitional Program. Pablo called for the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist parties. Instead of fighting Stalinism as the main counterrevolutionary force, the

Pabloite movement said that Stalinism had changed its character. It was against this liquidationism that the IC was formed in 1953.

In 1963 the SWP broke from the International Committee and reunified with the Pabloites, refusing to discuss the fundamental questions raised in the struggle in 1953 and Pabloism. It held this up as a principled unification. Since 1969 when the discussion broke out in the United Secretariat, the crisis has only deepened and accelerated with the developing crisis and class struggle. The United Secretariat is in a state of disintegration. Right-wing tendencies have emerged which openly defend Stalinism and the sellout of the Vietnamese revolution. The SWP must take responsibility for this. The SWP in fact rejected all the principles of the Trotskyist movement, unifying with the forces it had broken from in 1953. The political basis of this reunification was Pabloism. Today all of the questions which the SWP refused to discuss in 1963 explode in the crisis within the United Secretariat.

The last Convention of the SWP met on the eve of Nixon's August 15, 1971 announcement. The SWP was completely unprepared for this and the development of the crisis since. In fact, the leadership of the SWP has moved further and further to the right. Today in the midst of the greatest crisis in history, when the independent struggle of the working class is a question of life and death, the leaders of the SWP go into court to "sue Nixon."

During the whole period of the election campaign the SWP refused to campaign for the working class to break from the two-party system by forming a labor party to fight for socialist

policies. Instead, the SWP completely adapted to the Stalinists in the antiwar movement, refusing to expose their role, and joined in the coalition dominated by "Sign Now." At a time when the Stalinists were negotiating a sellout of the Vietnamese revolution and the Stalinists were using their peace campaign to aid Nixon's re-election, the SWP liquidated the antiwar movement giving them vital support.

Today the SWP joins with the Stalinists in calling on the police and the courts to defend itself against the vicious attacks of Labor Committee. Refusing to join in a common defense of workers organizations against these attacks, it unites with the Stalinists to call on the capitalist government to defend democratic rights.

The SWP today defends Mandel's perspective of neo-capitalism. Along with the United Secretariat as a whole, it is dominated by pessimism, seeing only "lulls" in the "radicalization." This is the skepticism of the middle class about the European and American working class. At the most critical time in history for the construction of the revolutionary party, the SWP has no perspective for the working class. It serves as an essential prop to the Stalinists.

The members of the SWP can no longer avoid a discussion of the roots of revisionism in Pabloism and its break from the International Committee. The members of the SWP must turn to all of the theoretical lessons of the 20 year struggle of the IC. We call upon members of the SWP to turn to Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism and the 1940 fight against pragmatism. Unless this struggle is taken up, there can be no preparation for the present period.

Building The Bulletin

Since the last issue of the Bulletin, we have gotten 739 Young Socialist subs. This brings our national total to 1573. Only a few of the branches have met their two-thirds goal.

Some of the branches have started to do big YS sub campaigns really showing what can be done—in one week Minnesota got 64 subs. New Haven and Boston continue to do good sub work, each bringing in 38 subs this past week. The rest of the branches must start big YS sub drives as central to their campaigns to build large YS branches in all the areas.

Only 397 Bulletin subs came in since the last issue. There was a sharp drop in Bulletin subs, especially this last week. Branches must fight for subscriptions to the Bulletin as they begin massive trade union sales with this issue.

BELLE VUE

JULY 1, 1973, ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE CONFERENCE

We reprint below excerpts from the discussion at the conference of the All Trades Union Alliance—industrial arm of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International—in Belle Vue, Manchester. Attended by more than 4000 trade unionists from all sections of industry, the conference represented a major step forward in preparing to transform the SLL into the revolutionary party this autumn.

Held under conditions of the rapid disintegration of the world monetary system, which finds particularly sharp expression in the drastic decline of the pound and uncontrollable inflation, workers at this conference confronted the issue of constructing a revolutionary party of the working class as the only weapon that can defend its living conditions and democratic rights.

The conference was also held in the midst of a critical turning point in the political situation in Britain. Shortly before, members of the engineering union had forced their president, Hugh Scanlon, to end his year-long negotiations with the Tory Prime Minister. During the past period, the Tories had maintained themselves in power through direct collaboration with the trade union bureaucracy—while legislating the rights of the working class out of existence and preparing for civil war.

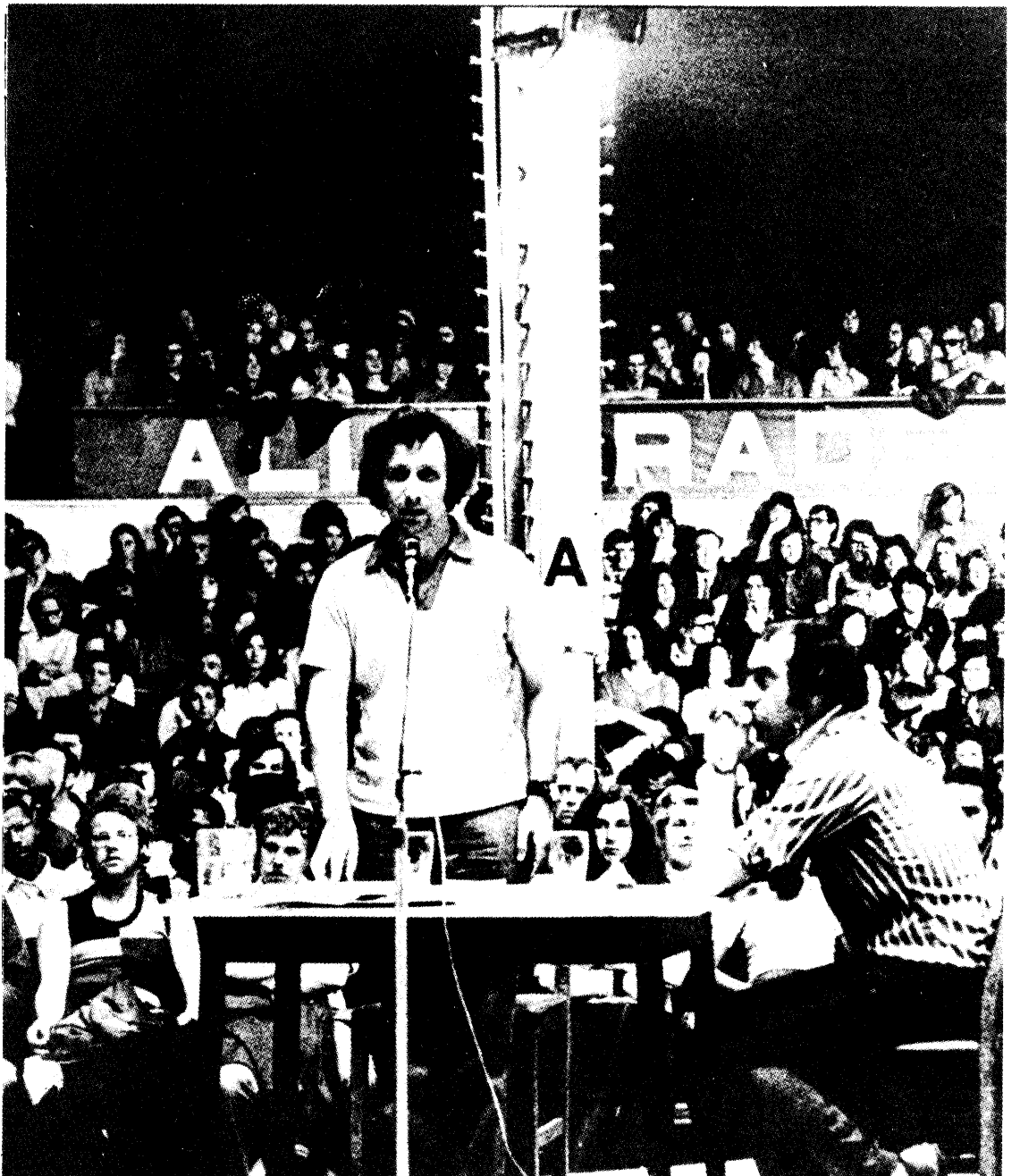
Now, a confrontation between the working class and the capitalists is on the agenda. The working class is moving forward powerfully against the government wage controls and anti-

union laws while the capitalists are forced to change from simply passing laws to implementing those laws.

The ATUA conference prepared the highly successful lobby of the conference of the Transport and General Workers Union, in which hundreds of workers demonstrated outside the meeting hall to demand that union president Jack Jones abandon his talks with the Tories and mobilize the working class to force the Tories out. This demonstration had an enormous impact on the conference, forcing the delegates to center the entire debate on this fundamental issue and exposing the role of trade union "lefts" like Jones.

The ATUA conference made clear that the basic tasks confronting the working class require a political solution through the construction of a revolutionary party that will defeat capitalism. As American workers face the most serious assaults under Phase Four on their standard of living since World War II and as Watergate reveals Nixon's conspiracy against democratic rights, every struggle in the trade unions becomes a political struggle that raises the question of power and socialism. The fight for the labor party—to break the working class from the Democrats and Republicans—is the number one task before the working class.

At the heart of this fight is the struggle of the Workers League for the development of a Marxist leadership in the working class. It is this task that was posed so clearly at the conference.



DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS! TRANSFORM SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

Bob Portsmouth, UCATT:

This conference is called on the question of democratic rights which the working class has fought for over the last 100 years.

The right that no longer should their children suffer from rickets and malnutrition and that they themselves should not suffer any more persecution from the employers and the ruling class.

Workers have fought bitterly for these rights, now under attack in 1973 from the Tory government.

The so-called leadership of the trade union movement—Jack Jones, Victor Feather, Hugh Scanlon and all the rest of them—collaborate with Heath, discussing what is the best way to implement what the Tory government are really planning to do.

Severely hit by the crisis, the Tory government must go all out to take away every single basic right of the working class and reduce workers to the conditions they were in 50 or 100 years ago.

What's at stake for us is the necessity to build a new leadership within the trade union movement.



Sam Gordon T&GWU,
Clapham, London:

Comrades, we have all gathered here for one purpose, to fight capitalism. Over the past months, the National Front and the Monday Club have put out odious propaganda trying to

show that when English working people have come into contact with black working people, their living standards have been lowered.

But that cannot be true. The black man in this country does not control the wheels of production. And only the people who control the wheels of production can dominate the standard of life of the working man.

When a worker loses union rights, the black worker and the English worker, they are in the same class.

Only by uniting together can we overthrow capitalism.

Hugh Nicol, AUEW, South Shields:

The All Trades Unions Alliance has consistently fought against the collaboration of the trade union leaders with any of the employers' bodies and particularly with this Tory government.

They were the first in the labour movement to demand the break off of these talks between the TUC and the Tory government. I think that every single worker, every single delegate in this conference must support

and applaud the decision of the AUEW to not only withdraw from the talks, but to instruct Scanlon to withdraw from the TUC team.

This marks a significant shift in the struggle that we've got ahead of us in Britain.

In my own area, we're very much aware that it was one of our delegates who moved the original motion and who spoke, not on the authority of a district mandate, but from the discussion that has taken place from inside his own trade union branch.

We were shown here that the working class is on the move. And I think that the original discussion and the big feeling that came over the branch and out of the packed meetings that were held arose from the attacks that were made on the engineering workers in the sequestration of its funds.

We insisted that it was time the TUC moved, not in collaboration with the government, but in fighting back. And what we now demand is a General Strike to bring down this Tory government.

We really had no confidence

Above: Conference Chairman, Alan Thornett opens the discussion.

in the TUC to do this. But this was the demand that had to be forced in order to pose the essential questions that were faced before the unions.

The ban on Scanlon was followed up 24 hours later when the Tyne district committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions became the first Confed to go on record for the breaking off of the talks.

It is within the reach of every single trade union branch, every single militant, every single ATUA member, to go forward and demand that every trade union general secretary and representative has to account for his position.

This government hates the trade unions, hates the working class. We have nothing to say to the Tory government. This is the message from the engineering conference and this is the message from Belle Vue. That we go forward to build the Party and the movement to bring this government down.



Arthur Lynn, Vauxhall Motors:

We have to explain why a Labour government has to come back into office and be pledged to socialist policies.

We demand this in order to explain to people that the Labour Party will never introduce socialism unless it is given a revolutionary push.

We must proceed to expose the Labour government for what it is, in that Wilson and all his cronies want to preserve capitalism. In serving capitalism, they can never introduce socialism for which they were first elected by the working people many years ago.

In explaining socialist policies, we must explain that nationalization is not just another way of running the economy, but also ensures the right to work of all men.

We cannot fight for democratic rights without a political struggle and to defend those rights we must expose the right wingers in the Labour Party by getting them into office pledged to carry out socialist policies.

Laurie Smith, AUEW, Sovex, South-East London:

I don't think we can overestimate the importance of the decision of the AUEW National

Conference which stopped Hugh Scanlon from any more participating in talks with the Tory government.

Because at the back of that has been the constant struggle throughout the whole of the trade union movement and especially the AUEW along those lines.

Branch resolutions, divisional area meetings that have taken decisions, stress the overall importance of the work inside the trade union movement.

I believe that we must put an end to the position where people like McGarvey from the boiler-makers can say that he supports the talks and he goes forward and he poses as a 'left' at the same time.

We must take up the position of Jones and the 'lefts' in the T&GWU who talk one way and act in support of the Tory government at every other opportunity.

We must understand also that the plans of the Tory government have been wrecked as a result of this. All their reliance has been on the fact that these talks could continue, that it would give them some basis for going to the working class by having agreements.

Workers have become frustrated and confirmed in the belief that everyone was going to betray them.

I want to make it clear though that but for the role of the Workers Press, there would not have been this organized and determined opposition to the rotten policies that have been pursued.

No one else has exposed them in the way that the Workers Press has done. And this raises the other important thing. The strength of the working class is one thing and it is because the Tories could not break through this that they have gone to the most devious lengths of trying to do a deal with the leadership.

But however strong the wor-

king class is, we would make a mistake, as so many of our militant comrades do in parts of the movement, of thinking that the working class on its own will automatically move forwards somehow or other and the Tories will automatically be defeated.

This is a dangerous illusion. The only guarantee of that is to build a party capable of leading the working class to power. That means building the Socialist Labour League. That means recruitment and work or everything else is so much empty talk.

That must be the perspective. It must be the major thing confronting us from now until October.

Ron Richardson, Clay Cross, Derbyshire, tenants:

When it comes to rents, they always go up, they never go down. Always up, because the Tories are putting them up. And in October, they go up again. Every time these people open their mouths, you pay.

Joe Jenks, T&GWU Vauxhall Motors, Ellesmere Port:

Motion 346 to the biennial delegate conference of my union next week urges the executive to 'call on the TUC to mobilize the trade union movement in a General Strike to remove the present government from office'.

We have instructed the delegates from Merseyside not to allow this motion to be composed.

I therefore call upon this conference of the ATUA to lobby the T&GWU conference on the day that this motion is on the agenda.

I also call upon this conference to support the march to be led by the 24 building workers to their trial in Shrewsbury in September from London.

Finally, let us be absolutely

clear on one point.

Only the building of the revolutionary party, based on Marxism, can save the working class from fascism. So let us go back from this conference today and help to build that party.



I. Lendayu, NUPE hospital worker, South Shields:

We have just gone through a phase of trade union action. Until today we felt we stood very much alone.

But by it, we have gained a great deal of strength in the hospitals. We are now ready for the second round. We feel that the last strike we had was only the beginning. And at Christmas, when the next pay rise comes into focus, we hope to be ready for the Tories.

And we feel that this time, there will be a real fight against the Tories and their government. We take home in the hospitals less than £18 a week to keep a wife and family, but the rents in South Shields are more than £5 a week, thanks to the Tory government.

I feel a great lift today from coming here and listening to all the speakers. It's a real revelation for me. We must stand together and fight for the future.

Until a few months ago, I didn't even know that this party

existed. But I can assure you that it will get every bit of backing from the hospital workers.

Bill Hunter, AUEW member, Liverpool:

We need to train and educate revolutionary leaders within the trade unions and not compromise with reformism and spontaneity. That means entering into a struggle against these tendencies.

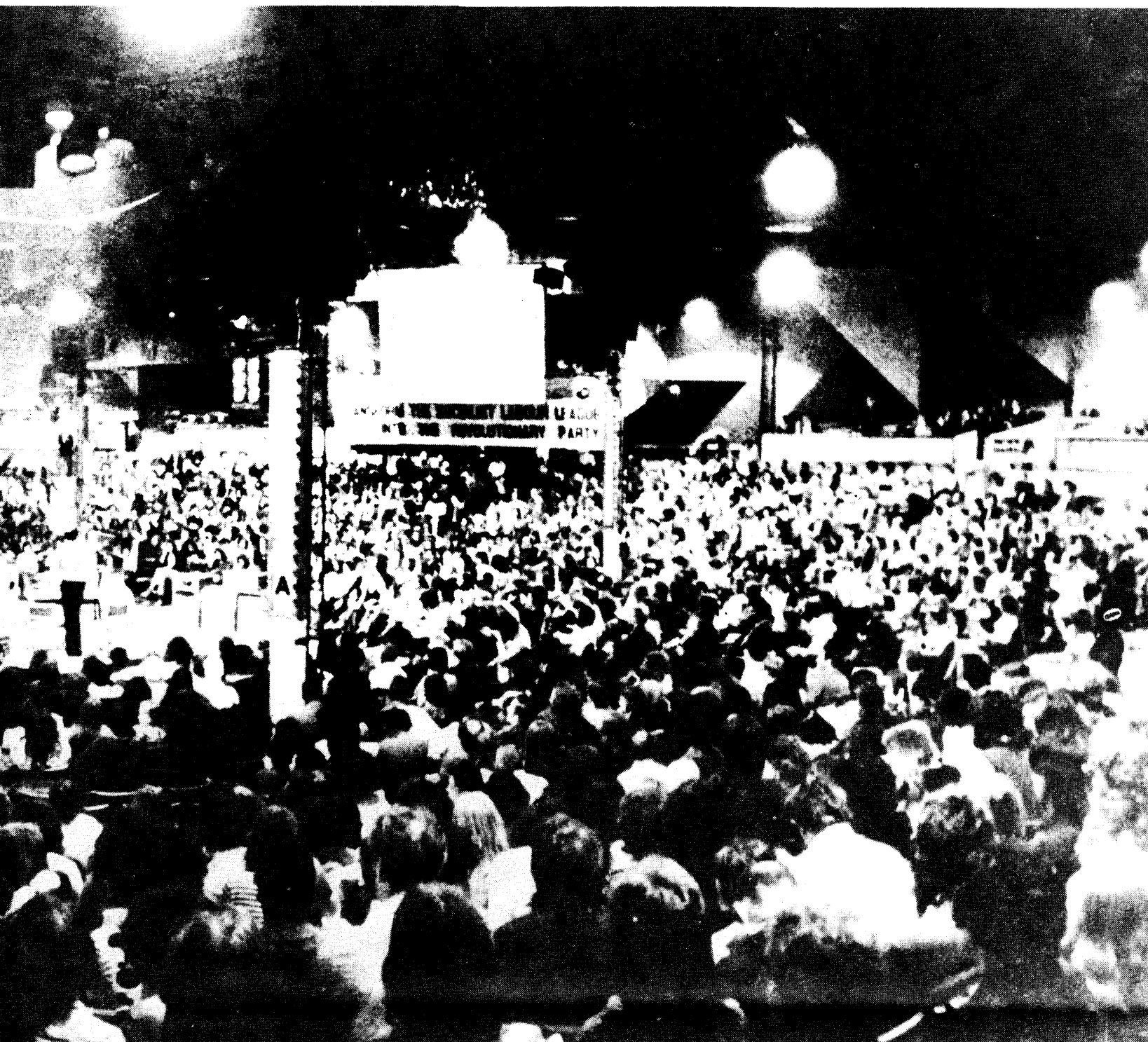


Arthur Pierce, Vosper Thornycroft, Southampton:

The working class is facing the political and economic difficulties because of the deliberate and conscious betrayal by the labour and trade union leadership.

The CBI has been discussing with the government over the last two months how to follow up Phase Two and make Phase Three harsher still. But during all this time, there has been no solid leadership from the trade union movement. That's a fact and we all know it.

The Workers Press has shown the way forward to a new leadership that can change this situation. More power to its arm.



Sid Hinchcliffe, Glasshoughton colliery Yorkshire:

The automation and mechanization taking place under the pressure of the crisis means that more and more workers are threatened with redundancy. At Glasshoughton colliery, productivity has risen since nationalization by 45 per cent. And in our industry, the workforce has been reduced from 650,000 to about 280,000.

The average miner is working 60 to 70 hours a week to meet his commitments and pay his rent. We must fight for a six-hour day and early retirement at 55.

Because of the reformist leadership in the labour and trade union movement, the Tory government is now getting away with big attacks on the standard of living of the working class. A revolutionary leadership is needed to defend those rights.

George Gubby, UPW shop steward, Leeds No 1 branch:

Comrades, we are not here today just to defend democratic rights. We are here to defend the very lives of trade unionists and the working class itself.

Never let us forget for one moment Germany 1933 when the trade unionists held their May Day rally under the surveillance of the Nazi Party.

After they held that rally, the trade union leaders and the leaders of the Communist Party were marched off to the cells and the concentration camps. And this is what the right-wing forces in Britain have in store for the working class today.

We must unite to prevent the reformist union leaders from leading us, just like they led the German working class, into the concentration camps.

Let us not fall into the trap of having illusions about a parliamentary road to socialism. Forward to the building of the revolutionary party.

Ken Tyrrell, Massey- Ferguson, Coventry:

Motor manufacturers are being driven by the slide in the value of the dollar and the instability of the world's money markets into attacking the workers in their factories in order to keep up the value of manufacturing profits.

This poses the question of leadership. Can we leave the motor car factories, clothing factories, mines, docks in the hands of the reformists and the Stalinists? The talks the union leaders are having with Heath cannot solve this crisis.



George Montgomery, boilermakers' shop steward, Massey- Ferguson, Kilmarnock:

I'm a delegate here from the shop stewards' committee along with an engineering delegate.

The erosion of the working class's basic rights makes it pertinent to point out the record of the Tory government and what it stands for. The pay laws, the Industrial Relations Act, the rent Act, the Poulson and Lambton-Jellicoe scandals, and Lonrho. I don't know how to pronounce that one, but they obviously do, they make enough money out of it.



Steve Coyle, Ford's, Dagenham :

Although we couldn't persuade the shop stewards' committee to send a delegation, a lot of us have come here individually and paid out of our own pockets in order to put our point of view forward.

The trouble with our pay struggle was that everybody met in Coventry before the fight and shouted loudly and said how militant they were. But they did practically nothing.

We had a young chap come to Ford's in the engine plant and he started selling Workers Press. He started arguing politically. He put up for shop steward, and not only was he challenged by the Ford Motor Company, but also by the unions. So I started asking myself why is he being challenged? Why are Communist Party members not challenged?

But then I found the answer. 'The trouble with you younger blokes,' they claimed, 'is that you want to rock the boat'. Well it's not the fact. We don't want to rock the boat. We want to turn the bloody boat over!

One of the biggest fights at the moment is the government legislation on wages. And if we don't all join together on this and stop fighting on separate

issues, we're never going to do anything. It means building a new leadership that's going to go forward.

Brian Cusack, steel erector, Rockingham Tenants' Association, Rotherham :

Like Clay Cross, we face the bailiffs over the rents issue. I could talk better if I had Lord Lambton in front of me.

We must remember that the trade unionists and the tenants have to work together. The housewives must see that the trade unions are backing them in their fight against higher rents.

John West, Swan Hunter boilermaker welder, ex-district secretary :

Dan McGarvey is a more dangerous reformist leader than Jones or Scanlon because he operates behind the scenes and does not come forward to be shot at.

The Tory government, despite saying they would not help lame ducks over the stile, have poured millions of pounds into shipbuilding, not to help us, but the shareholders. The only answer is total nationalization with no compensation payments.

H. Batty, AUEW member, Perkins, Peterborough:

We have been in dispute for 16 weeks over a pay parity claim compared with Massey Ferguson which is 40 miles up the road where wages are £20 a week higher.

We are picketing non-stop, but we need more funds. The men are getting no dole money and some have been thrown out of their digs.

We are prepared to go on with this fight despite the lock out. We will go to the bitter end.

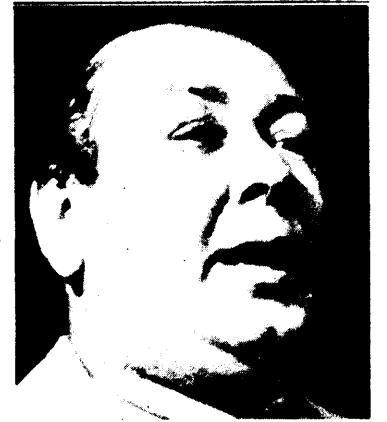
Mike Banda, NGA (personal capacity)

London:

The decision of the AUEW and the Confed to bar Scanlon from Downing Street is one of the most important in the post-war history of the British labour movement. But it raises the further question of how did the trade union movement get landed in this position in the first place?

Militancy alone cannot defeat the attacks of the employers and the Tory government. It was precisely the failure of the existing trade union and labour movement leaders to give a new kind of leadership in this crisis situation that has brought the working class to the brink of the corporate state through the collaboration of the TUC leaders at Downing Street.

The essential need of the working class is a new revolutionary leadership.



H. Glaysher, AUEW member, Perkins, Peterborough :

Despite what the Press have said, we have not been going slow or working to rule. We have just been doing our normal job, but banning overtime. The management have tried to provoke us into going on strike prematurely so that they would not have to pay the Massey Ferguson people at Coventry laying off pay.

The management refused to discuss the question of parity with Coventry rates and they locked us out. Our union official Bob Wright tried to tell us we had made a great breakthrough because of the promise to set up a sub-committee to talk about the problem if we went back to normal working.

But no guarantees, and so he was told in no uncertain manner 'Don't sell us. We've had a lock out. We don't want a sell out as well.'

Let me assure you that we are hanging out. We are picketing that place 24 hours round the clock and we are not going to be sold out by any national officials.

They had the audacity to suggest to us that our boys at Coventry were not prepared to let us have parity. And they're the men that are representing us at the national joint council. If we can't get better leadership at the top than that, they'll have to go.

We have a long haul ahead of us and being the poor relations of the car industry family, we are short of funds.

Jim Devlin, G&MWU shop steward, Scott Lithgow, Clyde :

The recent Booz-Allen report has questioned if there's going to be any future for the British shipbuilding industry at all. What the workers face in this industry is a massive attack on jobs, wages, and conditions which is part of the general attack of the Tories on all sections of the workers.

But outside of shipbuilding, there is no other work in this area, and it has already one of the highest unemployment rates in Britain.

We have had assurances from the managing director, but the Tories are going to carry on with their policies regardless of what he says.

The Labour Party's shipbuilding nationalization proposals are a reformist plan which won't deal with the capitalist crisis. We need nationalization under workers' control, along with the nationalization of all other basic industries.

Replying to the discussion, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League:

Listening to the many important contributions to discussion, one is left still with the impression that although the working class and its representatives on the shop floor are beginning to understand the seriousness of the situation, they are still far behind the ruling class in its preparations to meet the coming crisis.

The Tory government has used the trade union leaders in order to buy time for the showdown which they know is coming with the working class.

A considerable amount of valuable time has been lost by the working class in the period from March 5 until just over a week ago when Scanlon was given his marching orders to stop his talks with the Tory government.

During that time, this government has been preparing ceaselessly. Only last week, the department of government responsible for the arming of the police placed a record order for 600 rifles which will fire shots that will penetrate brick walls twice over and kill somebody on the other side.

So powerful are the weapons that sections of the police themselves have mildly protested.

What do you think this is all about? We have in France Pompidou banning left-wing movements. We have in this country a considerable tightening up of the judiciary and the preparations of the police.

The problem of today is this: that the crisis is coming far faster than the people are ready for it; that we are far behind the times; that we are still talking about wages and working conditions when every single fight over wages and working conditions is a fight against this government.

By implication, this is a fight to take the power. Why is it that we stress the necessity for revolutionary leadership? To answer that question, we will ask you one. What is the character of the coming struggles against this government?

If you have to fight the government for wages, don't you have to plan to beat the government?

And if you defeat the government, what are you going to put in the place of this government? Are you ready to take the power?

If we are not ready to take the power from this government, they will come back with the most extreme right-wing dictatorship in which we shall have no rights at all.

Because every single struggle today poses two alternatives. Either we are prepared to go forward for workers' power and socialism. Or we face the dictatorship of the right and fascism.

You cannot avoid these consequences of the present struggles, because such is the nature of the crisis of the capitalist system.

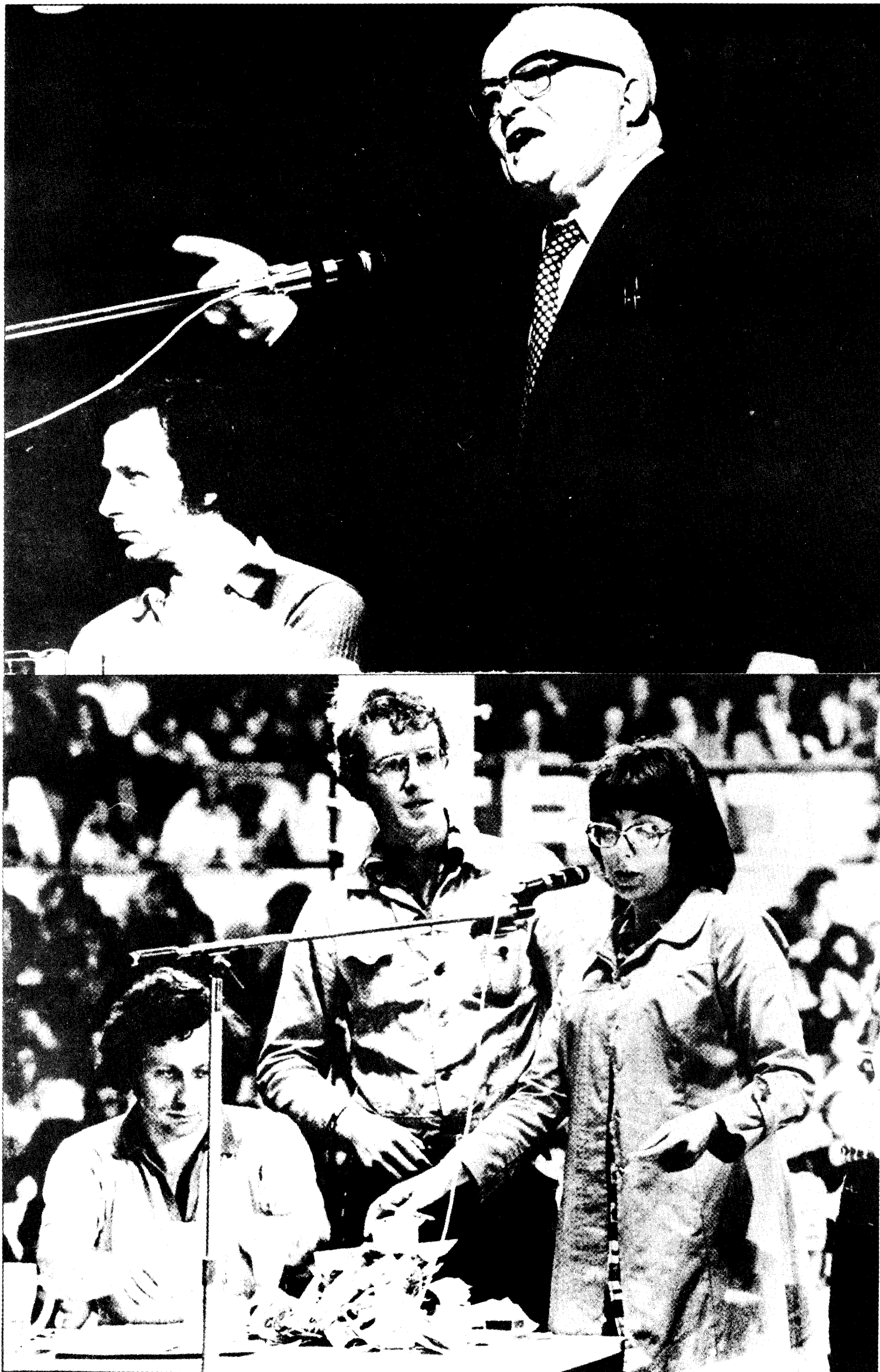
In the most powerful capitalist country in the world, the United States, there is not a single authoritative figure of rule. The entire leadership of the most powerful capitalist class in the world are revealed as gangsters and scoundrels before millions and millions of people.

The authority of the ruling class is undermined.

Likewise in this country in one scandal after another starting with Poulson, working through Lonrho, and arriving at the end with Lambton-Jellicoe, you have the same undermining of government authority.

The bourgeoisie are not going to limit themselves to parliamentary arguments in the coming months. They are not going to send you postcards arranging to meet you at a convenient time. They are going to come very early in the morning, and they are going to have a round up of militants quickly.

That's why every moment of the day they are testing out the strength of the working class. That's what is behind the trial of the Shrewsbury 24. That's what is behind the way the scabs were called in to Chrysler's in Coventry. That is what is behind the determination, especially of American-owned companies in Britain, to undermine and smash trade unionism.



The collection: Alan Thornett, chairman, with Corin Redgrave and Sheila Torrance, who made the appeal for funds. The response: a magnificent \$1600. Above: Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, replies to discussion.

The purpose of our conference is this. That in convening a conference to defend the democratic rights of the working class, it is implicitly a conference to prepare to take the power. How can you keep those rights in any other way? You cannot return to the past. There are no more concessions from this crisis-ridden system.

There is no possibility of further long periods of reform. The whole of this capitalist economic system is busting apart. From Frankfurt to New York, from Tokyo to the City of London, just read the financial pages of their Press in order to learn this from their own mouths each

day. We have said for months that the question of revolutionary leadership is the life-and-death question. For trade unionists it means the following thing. You cannot proceed only as a trade unionist. You must train yourself in the task for which only the revolutionary party can provide an answer.

While preparing to defend trade unions, we are preparing simultaneously for the overthrow of the capitalist system. To overthrow the system, we must train a leadership in this work. That is a scientific task.

That was the task posed before the Soviet workers in 1917. That

is the task that is going to be posed in every single capitalist country in the world.

That is the task which you must answer this afternoon. If you don't answer that, you have wasted your afternoon. You have in fact achieved nothing.

So I want to terminate our conference with this call. The All Trades Unions Alliance was founded because the problems of the trade union movement are common problems. Every trade union is threatened by this government and by the ruling class.

The common problems of the trade union movement can only be answered when the trade unions are brought together in

a common central struggle against the government. But this is precisely what the class collaborators and the reformists will not do. This is a special task.

That's why the preparation to measure up to this task requires you here and now not only to commit yourselves to a most active militant intervention in the unions.

It also requires you to prepare and to train yourselves as part of this revolutionary leadership for the purposes of taking the power from the hands of capital and establishing socialism in this country. That's why we ask you to transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party.

Fred Mueller books

DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The Formative Years (1933-40). Pathfinder Press, New York, 1973. \$3.95.

PART II

Five years elapsed between the International Left Opposition's decision on August 3, 1933 to build a new International and the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in September 1938. These were years of momentous struggles for the international working class, in the course of which the cadres of the Bolshevik opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy were tested and trained.

The capitalist world remained in the grip of depression, with only the most modest advances in economic activity from the depths of the collapse. Mass unemployment and poverty continued as the capitalists were forced to attack their own working classes as well as rival capitalist powers. The rise of fascism in Germany set the stage for the preparation of a new and more devastating world war.

At the same time the working class, after a period of relative passivity following the first years of the depression and the tremendous defeat in Germany, took up the struggle with renewed determination. This was the meaning of the massive strike wave in France in 1936, the Spanish Revolution, and the battle to build mass industrial unions in the United States.

The opportunity developed for the overthrow of capitalism in at least one of the advanced countries. A successful revolution would of course have been a mighty blow against the entire imperialist system and a death blow for the Stalinist bureaucracy which had usurped political power from the Soviet working class and sought to maintain its position by maintaining the isolation of the first workers' state.

During the 1934-1938 period the bureaucracy deepened its turn to the right. After affirming the correctness of its ultra-left line in Germany for a brief period, it abruptly shifted toward a policy of complete and open capitulation to imperialism. Moscow began to trumpet the cause of "collective security." Whereas previously it had called the Social Democracy the twin of the fascists, it now advocated complete collaboration with the masters of the Social Democrats, the liberal bourgeoisie. The new Comintern policy, under the name of the "Peoples' Front," was proclaimed at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in 1935, seven years after the previous Congress. There was never to be an Eighth Congress, as Stalin dropped all pretense of an international organization in order to prove his trustworthiness to the imperialists. The Peoples' Front was applied with particularly tragic results in France and Spain in the next several years.

EXTERMINATE

At the same time Stalin moved in the Soviet Union to exterminate the entire Bolshevik generation and internationally to decapitate the Bolshevik opposition to the bureaucracy. This was another signal of his reliability to imperialism, as well as the bureaucracy's desperate reaction to its own mortal crisis. It sought to silence not only its revolutionary opponents but all elements around whom opposition could group. The first of the infamous Moscow Trials took place in August 1936, followed immediately by the execution of



Leon Trotsky

Zinoviev, Kamenev and other prominent Bolsheviks.

These developments completely confirmed the correctness of the Left Opposition's assessment in 1933 that the Comintern was dead as a revolutionary instrument. But they did much more than that. Every betrayal by the Stalinists in the new situation, particularly in the new upsurge of 1936, made the creation of the Fourth International more urgent than ever.

These, then, were the circumstances under which the First International Conference for the Fourth International met on July 29-31, 1936. The French working class had just embarked on a strike wave unparalleled in scope and revolutionary determination. The Spanish workers had just answered the fascist uprising of Franco on July 17, 1936, opening up the three year Spanish Civil War. And in the Soviet Union the repression of opposition within the working class was stepped up in preparation for the first of the Moscow Trials.

The Fourth International's answer to the crisis was embodied in the struggles it engaged in prior to and at the conference, and in the resolutions and decisions it adopted. Although the Founding Conference of the International was not held until 1938, this was in reality the first conference of the Fourth International.

The 1936 conference issued an "Appeal to the Workers of Spain and the Workers of the Entire World":

"The conference, representing the various organizations fighting in Europe and throughout the world for the Fourth International, sends you the warmest salutation, with the impassioned hope that your magnificent efforts will be crowned with victory over all the enemies of the people in arms.

"Once more, by your heroism and your irresistible spirit, you are giving the workers and the oppressed of the whole world that demonstration which flows from all the social struggles of our epoch: only the rifle on the shoulder of the workers can guarantee freedom, bread and peace to the toilers."

The appeal explained the treacherous policies of the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals. It called for all possible help to the Revolution "by sending arms, by sabotaging the arming of the fascist camp, by feeding the revolution, by starving the counter-revolution, by organizing aid and shelter for the families and children of victims, by forming everywhere, immediately, committees of support of the Spanish Revolution...But the best means of aiding the Spanish revolutionists is to follow their example in the struggle against fascism in our own countries, to drive out those who want to disarm the workers, materially and politically, by conducting a revolutionary offensive against our own bourgeoisie, for its overthrow by the

soviets of workers and peasants."

The conference also decided on an international financial campaign on behalf of those sections of the movement in the front line of the struggle, in France, Spain and Belgium.

It addressed an appeal "To the Public Opinion of the Workers of the Whole World" which exposed the savage repressions begin carried out against revolutionary oppositionists in the USSR, and called for the launching of a campaign to uncover the truth about these acts by sending an impartial commission from the workers' movement to the Soviet Union for a complete investigation.

The struggles facing the movement as well as its internal problems were summed up in the main resolution, "The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International," written by Trotsky although he was unable to attend the conference in person.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

This resolution began from the new developments, particularly the revolutionary situation emerging in France: "...the readiness for struggle of the whole of the proletariat, the acute dissatisfaction of the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the confusion in the camp of finance capital, provide the basic prerequisites for the proletarian revolution."

Revolutionary struggles were developing in many parts of the world. But the official workers' movement was committed to the defense of capitalism. The first results of the new upsurge were the inevitable strengthening of the old organizations. These were the conditions under which the struggle for the Fourth International took place. The opportunities were greater than ever, but each new compromise and betrayal by the old leadership in the face of the fascist and war danger exposed the working class to the gravest dangers. The resolution summed up the policy of the Fourth International under these explosive conditions:

"...all the tasks of revolutionary struggle unfailingly lead to one task—the creation of a new, really revolutionary leadership, capable of dealing with the tasks and possibilities of our epoch. Direct participation in the movement of the masses, bold class slogans taken to their conclusions, an independent banner, irreconcilability towards compromises, mercilessness towards traitors, here lies the road of the Fourth International. It is both amusing and absurd to discuss whether it is yet time to 'found' it. An international is not 'founded' like a cooperative, but created in struggle. The June days provide an answer to the pedants who discuss its 'timeliness.' There is not room for further discussion.

"...Bolshevism, which appears to be sectarianism to philistines of all

The Birth Of The New International

descriptions, in actual fact unites ideological irreconcilability with the greatest sensitiveness with regard to movements of the masses. Ideological irreconcilability itself is nothing else than the purging from the consciousness of the advanced workers of routine, inertia, irresoluteness, i.e., the education of the vanguard in the spirit of the boldest decisions, preparing it to participate in the relentless mass struggle."

Trotsky ruthlessly condemned the skeptics and formalists, including those within the movement itself, who sought to evade their responsibilities with abstract discussions, which served to hide the most conservative fear of the movement of the masses. Against the lifeless idealists, the resolution put forward the struggle for dialectical materialism in the construction of the revolutionary party. Ideological irreconcilability and the greatest sensitiveness to the movements of the masses is the relationship of the party to the class, of the vanguard to the working class as a whole. It is a dialectical relationship, one of unity and conflict.

RESPONSIBILITY

Revolutionists avoid nothing. In the words of the resolution, "They contemptuously reject the policy of washing their hands of responsibility: they identify their fate with the fate of the struggling masses, however severe may be the blows which fall on them in the coming months and years. They participate in every act of struggle in order to bring to it the utmost possible clarity and organization." This is exactly what the passive centrist elements who saw their task as one of commenting on events refused to do.

Earlier, at the time of the "French Turn," when the Trotskyists entered the French Socialist Party, Trotsky had taken up the struggle against similar tendencies who held back the movement and sought to prevent it from changing to meet the new situation. In a resolution adopted by the International Communist League in October 1934, these tendencies were analyzed:

"The psychology, ideas, customs, usually lag behind the developments of objective relations in society and in the class; even in the revolutionary organizations the dead lay their hands upon the living. The preparatory period of propaganda has given us the cadres without which we could not make one step forward, but the same period has, as a heritage, permitted the expression within the organization of extremely abstract concepts of the construction of a new party and a new international...The best prepared propagandist cadres must inevitably disintegrate if they do not find contact with the daily struggle of the masses."

The adoption of a resolution on "The Situation in the USA" by the July 1936 conference was also part of the turning of the movement towards the new developments and the freshest layers of the working class in struggle. The resolution analyzed the economic crisis, the way in which the New Deal sought to "save" capitalism temporarily, and the revolutionary developments which were inevitable and fast approaching. It paid particular attention to the crisis in the labor movement and the first developments of the CIO. This resolution is of particular importance to revolutionists of this generation, as American capitalism heads towards a collapse of unique proportions.

The actual developments during this period showed once again, as in 1933, that without a continuous struggle against the internal expression of the enemy class within the revolutionary movement, there could be no struggle against capitalism and its bureaucratic agents. The First International Conference for the Fourth International was a tremendous step forward for the movement because it was the arena in which this battle took place.

TO BE CONTINUED

STALINISM AND THE UE/PART 4

Behind Fitzgerald's 'Left' Talk

BY DAVID NORTH

Twenty-five years after the most vicious witch-hunt ever conducted in the American labor movement, it is reported that the IUE and UE are preparing reunification. While the IUE bureaucracy—from the local to the international level—still engages in the most open red-baiting in order to intimidate militants, it finds no difficulty in collaborating with the UE. Especially since 1969, the time of the last great electrical workers' strike, the role of the UE has been to act as the left cover of the IUE and the entire right-wing AFL-CIO leadership.

The most treacherous expression of this collaboration came during the recent contract negotiations with General Electric and Westinghouse.

As we will point out shortly, every major demand of the ranks was abandoned by their leaders who had only one thing in mind—avoiding a confrontation with Nixon over wage controls and with the companies over the defense of jobs and the struggle against speedup.

However, the background of this collaboration in the contract fight was the earlier political bloc between the UE and IUE during the last Presidential election. Carrying out the policies of Stalinism in the trade union movement, Fitzgerald led the opposition of the so-called "progressive" section of the bureaucracy to the "neutrality" position of AFL-CIO President George Meany, who withheld an endorsement of either Nixon or McGovern. Fitzgerald fought in his own union and throughout the labor movement for the McGovern campaign.

POLICIES

The policies of Fitzgerald became closely linked to those of his former enemies in the IUE as Paul Jennings was one of three members of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee to vote against Meany's position of neutrality and in support of McGovern. In spite of all the bitter differences of the past, the IUE and the UE began their discussions of reunification on the basis of their mutual hostility to any political development among electrical workers.

In order to maintain his unearned reputation as a leading "labor left," Fitzgerald habitually speaks of the need for a labor party. But, when the task of fighting for a break with the Democrats is directly posed, Fitzgerald cynically maintains that the labor party is only a good idea that cannot be realized in the foreseeable future.

In June of 1972, speaking before his home local in Lynn, Massachusetts, at the North Shore Labor Solidarity Conference, Fitzgerald declared: "The salvation of the working class under the present political system is a myth. There are a few good Democrats, but they ought to be in a labor party in this country."

He continued: "Forming a labor party is no different from forming a union. On the industrialized North Shore, we could raise money, and field our own candidates, this could spread throughout the country."

But by the time the annual convention of the UE was convened that September, in the midst of the McGovern campaign, Fitzgerald personally intervened to rally his forces against a delegate from a UE local in Oakland who spoke in behalf of a resolution calling for the union to break with the Democrats and Republicans and construct a labor party. This resolution had been overwhelmingly approved by the membership of Local 1412.

MYTH

The delegate from Oakland urged the Convention to repudiate McGovern. He said that "the myth of non-class politics is assiduously preserved" when in reality the election of either party only decides "which millionaires should rule the roost." "We fight the bosses day in and day out but we deliver our votes to the politicians they control." The 400 delegates gave the speaker a strong ovation as he called on the UE to "organize our own ranks in a party of labor."

In the course of the next two hours, delegate after delegate registered their agreement on the need for a labor party, and said that they supported McGovern only because they did not know how to organize a labor party in time for the November election.

Disturbed by the development within the Convention, Fitzgerald took the floor to deliver a 45 minute diatribe against the labor party, summoning all the skills he had developed over a period of 30 years of collaboration with the Stalinists, to swing an endorsement for McGovern. Throwing out everything he had said about the labor party just two months before, Fitzgerald declared: "The primary job of a union is organizing the unorganized. But there are millions of workers who are not ripe enough to join a labor party. They aren't even ripe enough to join a union. The idea we can build a labor party overnight is a mistake."

Fitzgerald has been against building a labor party "overnight" since the late 1930s and now he tries to blame the

working class for his long history of betrayals.

Every struggle over contracts is a political struggle today in that trade unionists cannot talk about wage increases and defending their standard of living without coming into conflict with the government which has imposed controls on wages. It is under these conditions that the UE and IUE began their negotiations with the major electrical companies this past spring. From the start, the outcome of the struggle in the electrical industry was viewed as the critical test of Nixon's Phase Three. If the so-called "voluntary" guidelines were defied by the electrical unions, the controls could be broken down and would lead to an all-out offensive by nearly four million other workers still up for contracts over the issue of wages.

Furthermore, with the Nixon Administration paralyzed by the eruption over the Watergate scandal, this type of movement by labor against Nixon's wage controls would definitely pose the disintegration of the government and raise the political task of preparing the alternative to Nixon—the labor party pledged to socialist policies—before the working class.

It is for this reason that the lengthy negotiations were a carefully staged fraud perpetrated by the UE and IUE leadership upon the ranks. Jennings and Fitzgerald were determined, at all costs, to avoid a strike and to reach a settlement within the guidelines.

SUICIDE

The settlement which has been reached meets none of the demands that were originally outlined by the UE and IUE. The first demand advanced by both unions concerned the area of wages. Earlier in the year, Jennings had stated that acceptance of the 5.5 percent guidelines would be the equivalent of suicide. Both the IUE and UE calculated that inflation had eaten into 29 cents of the expiring contract.

Donning the cloak of trade union militancy, Fitzgerald said in the midst of the negotiations: "Forget about the Cost of Living Council for now...get every penny we can and after that we'll have plenty of time to worry about the government going along with us." But all along, Fitzgerald was determined to



1969 GE strike: sold out after nearly four months on the picket line.

avoid the confrontation with the government and went along with the IUE's wage settlement of a 3.7 percent wage increase for the first year with 10 cents cost of living now and another 5 cents in November.

Although the leadership still attempts to keep the members in the dark about the contract language, it is clear that they have also been sold out on the important issue of continuous operations.

Continuous operations means the operation of particular departments or steps in the production process on a round-the-clock basis for either six or seven days a week. This creates the conditions for the transformation of work patterns along the line of speedup and forced overtime, and also eliminates jobs. As GE is threatened with a curtailment of its foreign operations due to the development of the trade war and with profits driven down by the wild inflation stimulated by the dollar crisis, the company cannot tolerate the continuation of working conditions as they have been. Continuous operations is at the center of GE's strategy for breaking the electrical unions and the living conditions of its members.

The UE had singled out continuous operations as a major point of contention with GE, but signed the contract which leaves the door wide open for the company to introduce the device of speedups and layoffs throughout the country. The new position of both unions is that continuous operations must be fought on the local level. What this means is that electrical workers will be left to fight it out in each local against the company while the international leadership seeks to isolate the struggle.

EFFECTS

GE workers are already beginning to feel the effect of this contract. Six thousand workers at the Elmwood GE plant in Philadelphia face layoffs as the plant prepares to move South. The Lester plant of Westinghouse, in Philadelphia, is also being phased out as a new facility in Texas is developed. At Allentown, GE line speeds are increasing and new equipment placed on continuous operation means the beginning of the end of working conditions as the ranks have known them.

This contract was ratified in the face of enormous opposition. The leadership of the IUE and UE did everything it could to discourage a large turnout for the vote, scheduling membership meetings on the contract on Father's Day in a number of important plants. But even with its maneuvering, the contract passed only because the ranks, while disgusted with the sell-out, did not see a clear alternative to

their current leadership. Having experienced the betrayal of the 1969-1970 strike, when they were sold out after nearly four months on the picket line, the ranks had no faith in the willingness of the bureaucracy to conduct a serious struggle against the very contract they had signed.

DETERMINATION

However, the determination of the ranks to fight to defend their living conditions was shown by the series of wildcat strikes before and after the settlement. At the important Pittsfield plant, an entire department wildcatted against the layoff of 150 workers only two days before the ratification vote.

The contract signed last June by the leadership of the UE and IUE exposes the ranks to an all-out attack on their standard of living. The fight of the ranks to defend what they have won through bitter struggles must be taken forward in a fight against both Jennings and Fitzgerald in the struggle to construct a new leadership.

This fight must be organized around a program which meets the needs of electrical workers and faces up to the political tasks confronting the entire labor movement. It is on the basis of such a program that all the electrical unions, UE, IUE and the IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) can be united to defend their members' living conditions and basic rights.

PROGRAM

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on all electrical workers to demand that the contract be reopened in the light of Phase Four and the vicious attacks on living conditions as prices skyrocket. Workers must build a new leadership fighting for the following program:

- Wages: Smash the guidelines! For a 20 percent increase in the first year of the contract with full cost of living.

- Working conditions: No continuous operation, no speedups. National strike action to defeat the introduction of continuous operations in any plant.

- 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to stop the layoffs.

- Full pension at \$600 a month with cost of living after 30 years.

- The UE, IUE and IBEW must break with the Democrats and prepare for the struggle to force Nixon out by calling a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party as the political arm of the working class against the government. This labor party must be pledged to the nationalization of all basic industry—including electric—under workers control, which alone guarantees the defense of decent living conditions.

CONCLUDED



Lenin in a library preparing his "Philosophical Notebooks."

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

This is the last of a series of articles on Spartacist's reaction to the recent Workers League Class Series "20 Years of the International Committee."

Spartacist has the sharpest disagreement with us on the question of the Marxist method and its relation to political program and the construction of the party. Its position on this question, like its position on the economic crisis, is by no means original. It borrows its main arguments from the Socialist Workers Party and the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI).

Spartacist holds the SWP and OCI to be revisionist and centrist organizations. It disagrees with these organizations on a number of questions. It considers its agreement with them on method unimportant, along with its agreement with them on economic perspectives. We feel the agreement is far from an accidental matter. It expresses most sharply that Spartacist stands with revisionism on fundamentals; its disagreements are on secondary matters.

Even more so than in the case of political economy. Spartacist deals with questions of Marxist philosophy un-seriously, minimally and then only to deny their importance. It claims that the Workers League reverts to a discussion of the Marxist method as "a systematic denial of the importance of program," as a way of "belittling program." Marxist philosophy is not deemed worthy of any serious independent consideration, and we are accused of caricaturing Marxism "as a closed 'philosophy' unconnected to reality precisely in order to prevent consideration of the WL's history and program."

Spartacist resorts to well-worn quotes from the *German Ideology* in order to show that Marx felt that philosophy as an independent activity was finished with the emergence of the working class and the activity of constructing a revolutionary party. Having established that questions of philosophy and the Marxist method should not be considered separated from the question of the activity of the movement and its program, Spartacist fails to discuss the actual relationship of method to program and to revolutionary activity.

ABSTRACT

It can only mutter the most abstract and contentless truths:

"It is certainly true that a grasp of the living method of dialectical materialism is vital to an organization's ability to preserve and creatively extend Marxism; it is equally true that there must be a relationship between theory and practice."

If a grasp of the "living method" (whatever that means) of dialectical materialism is "vital," then one would think that a discussion of method would be in order. If there must be "a relationship" between theory and practice then is not the question of the character of that relationship a worthy subject of investigation?

What then is the relationship between method and program? We do not accept the position of the OCI that method is some sort of "first cause," that method was used to develop a program which we inherit. This program then has the method distilled within it, or concentrated into it. Therefore concern with method can be abandoned and the program simply promulgated. This is clearly also the position of Spartacist.

Can program be realized with a method foreign to that which brings it into being? Is the question of the realization of program a merely technical or organizational matter divorced of theoretical content and interest? Is not the question of the realization of program precisely the question of the relationship of theory to practice?

Our program is the program of socialist revolution. It is only the working class which can realize this program. To simply assert the program is insufficient. It must be taken up by millions of workers led by tens of thousands organized into a disciplined party. This means the consciousness of millions of workers must change. Changes in thinking will in the most fundamental sense be brought about by a change in being, by changes in the relations of class created by the capitalist crisis. Such a change is not an automatic process. It requires the intervention of the Marxist party which conflicts with the normal thinking of workers which is contained within capitalist limits.

COLLISION

A discussion of program cannot be separated from a discussion of its realization. Such a discussion abstracts the program from the objective changes taking place in capitalist society, the actual movement in the material world, and from the contradictions which arise from the collision of the program with workers' thinking in the course of the class struggle itself. The result is an abstract program. But truth is concrete. Change takes place concretely. That which is asserted abstractly, in general and for all time, but finds no concrete expression, is dead, lifeless.

Let us look into this a little more deeply. We begin, whether we wish to or not, with the present, with what is at the moment. We always posit this new experience, this practice, on the program which is abstract. The program is the development of past knowledge. It is in that sense at any moment dead and abstract, a negative.

Our task is the realization of program in

What Is Spartacist Today? Method And Program

Part Six

the present. This realization takes place through our conscious battle to negate the program as an abstraction resulting in changed conscious activity. This is a never ending process of the conflict of opposites for the changed activity must again change, the new knowledge derived is already dead and in conflict again with a new situation, etc.

LABOR PARTY

Spartacist proceeds differently, refusing to confront the questions of the Marxist method which arise from this concrete process. This can be seen most clearly in the Spartacist's position on the labor party. It favors a "workers party." We are for, of course, workers parties in all countries and at all times in the development of a country. The real question is how is a workers party to come into existence within the specific framework of the specific history of the American working class at this time in history, under these conditions of capitalist crisis? Spartacist never even poses to itself such a question. But it is this question which is posed by what we now face.

The American working class has no previous political history of mass socialist parties. It has, however, developed a very powerful trade union movement. Thus the question of the formation of a workers party in the United States is posed to the trade unions—the only organizations the working class has. This is why Trotsky posed the question not abstractly as the need for a "workers party" but specifically as the need for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

The specific period in this history of the American working class we are presently in is characterized, as we have explained in the past three articles, by the disequilibrium of capitalism, by intense capitalist crisis. This situation requires the capitalist class to seek the destruction of the trade unions and all democratic rights.

The only defense of the working class under these conditions is the socialist revolution. The socialist program, the socialist solution must now be posed. Thousands of workers must be educated as Marxists in the fight to win millions of workers to the banner of socialism. This fight for socialism, for the Transitional Program, must be developed within the specific form of the fight for the labor party. A socialist program must be posed as the necessary program of such a party and the creation of such a party as the only way the trade unions can be defended.

DENIES

Spartacist refuses to fight for the Transitional Program in this way. It therefore denies the program in the concrete as much as the SWP, which runs socialist electoral campaigns but refuses to fight for a labor party.

In this struggle to realize program the opposites are not determined by us subjectively and they are not resolved that way.

We cannot pick and choose the opposites, arrange and rearrange them, if we expect our thinking to reflect what is, so that we can change what is into what must be. So it is with the fight for the labor party. We cannot jump over necessary stages in the struggle with the consciousness of workers. The construction of an alternative leadership requires a wrestling with the existing leadership and all those intermediary forces which must arise in the course of the struggle.

LEADERSHIP

The working class will only break with these leaderships and follow us in the course of a struggle which puts all leaderships to the test of actual experience. This is why we pose political tasks to "what is," to existing leaderships. Only in this way can masses of workers be broken from existing leaderships and brought over to ours.

Spartacist denounces such an approach as "Pabloism" only to end up with the Pabloites by turning away from the actual struggle for a labor party under the conditions existing within the American trade union movement at a time when the capitalist crisis poses such a fight as the immediate necessity of the working class. No wonder Spartacist denounces us for "endless empty campaigns for a 'labor party'..."

We have fought consistently for a labor party. We have organized two national conferences within the past six months to carry forward this fight in the trade unions. We have organized caucuses in unions across the country, all of them completely committed to the fight for the labor party.

We have built the *Bulletin* into a weekly paper with a circulation approaching 25,000 and now plan to launch it as a twice-weekly to carry forward this struggle. Recently we have held the founding National Conference of the Young Socialists, made up primarily of working class youth, who publish a monthly paper with a 12,000 circulation and who are organizing the first national jobs campaign in defense of youth.

We will not end our campaigns for the labor party until it is constructed. It is through these campaigns that the socialist program will be realized.

With Spartacist the International is fictitious, the crisis non-existent, the program abstract, the pace of political life quiet and moderate, the press circulation most modest, and life in general quite peaceable. All in all the very model of a middle class dream world. But this radical dreaming is itself a product of the capitalist boom which is now so violently breaking up. Dreaming is today extremely dangerous.

The Workers League will continue to seriously prepare for the tasks which now confront the working class.

CONCLUDED

UAW . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
auto workers to introduce resolutions in every UAW local mandating the international executive board and the negotiating committee to prepare strike action and to insist that the new contract include the following: a 20 percent first year wage increase, full cost of living escalator, provisions barring any layoffs, the establishment of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, provisions halting all speedup and guaranteeing union control over production standards and the removal of all restrictions on strike action to enforce contract provisions.

While workers are demanding an all-out strike to end the inhuman conditions which exist on the assembly lines and to defend their living standards, the Woodcock leadership is desperately trying to arrive at a sellout compromise with the bosses. UAW President Leonard Woodcock has promised not to challenge Nixon's wage controls, while he is absolutely silent on the central questions of layoffs and speedup and on Watergate.

Instead of preparing to lead the fight against the auto bosses and Nixon, Woodcock is in complete collaboration with them, keeping the ranks in the dark about the negotiations while he serves on the Cost of Living Council's labor-management advisory committee. But while Woodcock says he can "live with" Phase Four, the ranks cannot.

For this reason the TUALP calls on all auto workers to introduce resolutions into their locals to now demand that the UAW international executive board, when it meets August 21, force Woodcock to resign from the labor-management committee and end all other talks with the Nixon government. In addition, the ranks must demand that the international executive board open up the negotiations in the sight of the rank and file and that it prepare to launch strike action against the entire industry—not just a "target company"—as soon as the present contract expires September 14.

This fight against the auto bosses for a decent contract now requires a fight against this

government, as well as the construction of an alternative to Nixon—a labor party.

Phase Four means that a contract won by workers in auto or any other industry which provides for wage increases and cost of living escalators which will adequately protect workers' standards of living against the uncontrollable price increases caused by Nixon's policies will be cut down to 5.5 percent by the Cost of Living Council—with the full support of the Democratic Party.

This means a sizable wage cut for auto workers as well as a further attack by the government on workers' basic rights!

The wildcats which have hit plant after plant in the auto industry demonstrate the anger of the ranks at the intolerable conditions in the plants and their determination to fight. At the same time, they expose the bankruptcy of the Woodcock leadership and its refusal to mobilize the ranks against the companies, leaving them in a dangerous and vulnerable position.

Workers can place no confidence in Woodcock to lead the fight against the Big Three and Nixon. He has consistently refused to bring the UAW into national strike action against the inhuman conditions on the assembly lines. He has refused to demand ironclad guarantees against layoffs and speedup. He has announced his intention to keep wage demands in the new contract within Nixon's wage guidelines, and he opposes any form of independent political action by workers.

While refusing to fight Nixon and the auto bosses on every critical question, Woodcock hides behind militant talk about voluntary overtime and pensions.

Auto workers can also place no confidence in the United National Caucus or the Stalinists of the Communist Party, neither of whom put forward any perspective and program to fight for this contract and who in fact support Woodcock's policies while trying to appear more militant and "left." On the eve of the biggest battle facing the UAW in its history the UNC has abandoned

any fight against Woodcock and has refused to prepare the ranks for the contract struggle and the fight against Nixon.

Instead, a new leadership must be built within the UAW around the program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the fight for a new contract, a Congress of Labor and a labor party.

In order to carry this forward, workers in every plant must immediately introduce resolutions in their locals mandating the international executive board and the negotiating committee to prepare strike action against the Big Three and center the contract fight on the following program:

- With the prices of key food staples up at least 15 percent in the last two weeks alone, a minimum 20 percent wage increase must be won in the first year of the new contract, in addition to a full cost of living escalator which adjusts wages on a monthly basis for any increase in prices.

- There must be an ironclad contract provision barring any layoffs. All UAW members currently laid off must be called back and new jobs opened up for young workers by establishing a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

- All speedup must be ended. The contract must provide for national standards on time, cycle and jobs. No more than 40 jobs per hour per worker. Abolish Paragraph Eight and demand union control over production standards.

- Abolish Paragraph 117. The ranks must have the right to strike over all contract violations.

- The UAW must immediately call on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters and all other working class organizations to convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of mapping out a strategy to defeat Phase Four and to construct a labor party to fight for labor's interests on a socialist program against the Republicans and Democrats.

- The UAW must demand the immediate resignation of Nixon, Agnew and all Cabinet officials and the scheduling of new national elections.

hitting historic highs. Most bankers are now talking of a 10 percent prime rate, while the Federal Reserve is expected to raise its discount rate—charged on loans to member banks—to an unprecedented 7.5 percent.

But soaring interest rates have not slowed the expansion of credit and the resulting price increases, both of which have assumed an uncontrollable character, and in fact are adding to the instability of the international monetary system.

At the same time, acting in conjunction with actual downturns in production, they are helping to create the conditions for a collapse of the speculative bubble.

It is now clear that powerful recessionary forces are already at work within the US, despite record profit reports.

Factory orders in June increased only .3 percent, compared with a May increase of 1.7 percent, while inventories jumped 1.3 percent.

Actual declines in production and new orders were reported last month by more purchasing agents than those reporting gains—the first time this has occurred since the lowest point

in the 1970 recession—while orders in the critical machine tools industry, which reflect the level of long-term industrial investment, fell 6.4 percent, the third decline in a row.

At the same time, shortages are becoming acute in some areas and backlogs in meeting orders piling up. Rather than investing in new productive capacity, many big companies are pouring their record paper profits into the wildest speculative schemes—land development, commodities speculation and international currency manipulation.

Big corporations like ITT and Gulf Oil, for example, are sinking hundreds of millions of dollars into developing entire cities in Florida solely on the basis of inflated land values which have risen 100 percent and more in the last year, with no real assurance that any substantial number of housing units will ever be sold.

The credit expansion is now mushrooming completely out of control on the basis of speculation as well as on outright fraud. It is now completely out of proportion to production—in which human labor power

Watergate . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Democratic Congressman Robert F. Drinan has introduced a motion in the House to begin impeachment proceedings but few Representatives are willing to move in that direction.

The testimony of John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman was a direct slap in the face to the Senate Committee. With cool arrogance and disdain Haldeman stunned the Senators by calmly announcing that he had been allowed to take the tapes home and play them after Nixon flatly rejected the subpoena from special prosecutor Archibald Cox.

Nixon's granting the tapes to Haldeman, who is no longer even a member of the White House staff, and then ordering him not to discuss the contents because the tapes are "privileged," shows his open contempt for the hearings and for democratic rule itself. It immediately raises the question of whether Haldeman has altered the tapes.

Both Ehrlichman and Haldeman defended every dirty trick of the government including lying, bugging, slander and burglary, in the interests of "national security."

Ehrlichman maintained that the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office was justified because "someone" was passing the Pentagon Papers to the Soviet Union as part of a "campaign to force upon the President a foreign policy favorable to the North Vietnamese" and because Democrats from the last administration were conducting "internal guerrilla warfare" against Nixon.

POWER

Ehrlichman, referring to a section of the criminal code, asserted that the Ellsberg break-in was part of the "Constitutional power of the President" to protect the country against foreign attack. This was sharply refuted by Ervin as a violation of the Fourth Amendment, which protects people from unreasonable seizures and searches.

One Democratic Congressman from Ohio, Wayne Hays, was forced to say: "Ehrlichman acts like a Nazi. Part of the Nazi program was to tell a big lie; tell it over and over until it is

provides the only source for the creation of real value. Time is running out for the speculators as the boom threatens to go bust.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The capitalist class intends to make workers bear the burden of this crisis through a massive growth in unemployment and a ruthless productivity drive and wage-cutting campaign.

Despite the Nixon Administration's boasts that the unemployment rate has fallen to 4.7 percent, the real situation is that in most places employment has either reached its peak or is declining as production begins to fall off and as most industries refuse to place any significant capital into expanding their productive capacity.

To answer the plans of Nixon and the big bosses for unemployment, for speedup and wage-cutting, for runaway inflation and for attacks on workers' trade unions and basic rights, workers must launch an offensive for a Congress of Labor and a labor party to force Nixon and his gang out.

lieved."

Haldeman was forced to acknowledge that he wrote a memo on February 10, 1973 to John Dean that proposed a "counter-offensive" to "tie all 1972 demonstrations to McGovern and thus to the Democrats" and to "get our people to put out the story on the foreign or communist money used in support of demonstrations against the President in 1972."

In another memo, Ronald Walker, an advance man in the 1971 campaign, wrote Haldeman that he expected demonstrations to be violent and obscene during a Nixon visit to Charlotte, North Carolina. Next to the words obscene and violent Haldeman had pencilled "good" and "great."

What emerges from this testimony is a conscious attempt to develop a strategy and a "legal" basis for abolishing democratic rights at a stroke. This plan involves whipping up a "red" scare against some fictitious "communist" threat and then declaring a national emergency as a pretext to usher in a dictatorship.

Haldeman's response to Walker's memo shows that this government is prepared to manufacture phony evidence and even provoke and encourage violent demonstrations to achieve these aims.

The rapid development of the economic crisis will not allow the capitalist class to remain paralyzed indefinitely. Either Nixon will show that he can defend their interests or they will dump him and bring in a new government. The first priority of such a government will be to ruthlessly pursue the needs of big business by freezing all wages, and driving prices and unemployment even higher than ever.

The New York Times has conducted a poll that shows only 67 percent of the country's corporation leaders would vote for Nixon today, as opposed to 90 percent before Watergate. Sixty six percent of those polled replied that they are opposed to Nixon's handling of the economic crisis and feel that Watergate has damaged his ability to deal with it.

The trade unions must act now and open up an alternative for the masses of workers and youth by fighting for a Congress of Labor for all workers organizations and demanding a new election and the construction of a labor party to win that election.

A labor party must be built to fight for socialist policies to meet the needs of the working people.

Prices . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

some poultry and a few cheap cuts like chicken necks.

Appliance makers have reported a run on home freezers as workers and their families, as well as the middle class, try to stock up on meat and frozen goods before prices rise still further.

The worst is still to come. The price of wheat this week topped the 125 year record high of \$4 a bushel; soybeans are continuing to soar out of sight, with corn and other grains soon to follow. American workers must take a warning from even higher prices in Europe, where in Denmark the price of steak is now over \$6 a pound.

Economy . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

collapse and recession—a situation sharply revealed by the recent bankruptcy of the \$200 million Dusseldorf Bau-Kredit Bank which followed the collapse of the Kun building group in which the bank had sunk fully 25 percent of its outstanding loan capital.

TIGHT CREDIT

Increasingly tight credit policies being introduced by European bankers threaten to expose the vast international overextension of credit and touch off a string of bankruptcies throughout Europe.

The tremendous demand for marks has sent call loan rates in Germany to 30 percent, and this in turn has led to competitive rate hikes throughout the world as banks try to attract foreign funds. The Bank of England has raised its minimum lending rate to 11.5 percent.

In the US, which is at the center of the monetary crisis and the speculative fever, the prime lending rate has soared to a record nine percent with many other interest charges also

Juan Peron Returns Danger To Argentine Workers

BY MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

The deepening of the international crisis of capitalism is creating today the conditions for civil war between the capitalist class and the working class in all countries. The massive upsurge of the working class in this situation is particularly true in the South American countries of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay.

The threat posed to the very existence of the capitalist system internationally by this crisis requires the move on the part of the capitalist class towards dictatorial and fascist methods of rule and the launching of civil war against the working class.

It is within this context that we must view the return to Argentina of former dictator Juan Domingo Peron and the developments taking place in that country. Peron's return marks a grave danger for the Argentinian working class and the attempt by Argentina's ruling class to favorably solve the economic and political crisis wracking the country.

This danger is most sharply expressed in Uruguay, where President Bordaberry succeeded in imposing a military-backed dictatorship because of the lack of a revolutionary leadership in the working class and the betrayals of Stalinism.

Hector J. Campora, the Peronist president elected last March, has resigned in order to make it possible for Juan D. Peron to assume the presidency directly without violating the Argentine constitution.

POWER

The fact that Peron himself, who at 77 years of age has returned to Argentina after an 18 year exile, has had to move towards the taking of full power directly, is a measure of the deepening political crisis shaking Argentina. It indicates a sharp turn of Peron to the right and a great danger to the working class in Argentina, which still is overwhelmingly under the influence of Peronism.

Two Cabinet members who were considered left-wing Peronists were removed from office and replaced with conservative Peronists. At the same time overtures are being made to have Dr. Ricardo Balbin, the leader of the other main bourgeois political force in the country, the Radical Civic Union, run as the vice-presidential candidate with Peron in the upcoming elections scheduled for September.

Campora, as the handpicked candidate selected by Peron, came to power in the first elections in Argentina after 7 years of military rule. There is no doubt as to the subservience of Campora to Peron, who picked Campora's cabinet and had given the main direction to the government during the last two months. The problem is that, as Peron himself declared in his speech after his arrival, Campora's government has started off in an "insecure and indecisive" manner. This refers to the fact that it had been unable, during its two months in power, to stem the wave of militant struggles on the part of the Argentinian working class. Even after Campora's as-

sumption of power mass occupations of factories were taking place in Buenos Aires. In the interior industrial cities of the country, which have always distinguished themselves for their militancy, the workers occupied government buildings and city halls to press for their demands.

BARBAROUS

In fact, despite its barbarous and ruthless methods, like the wholesale massacre of guerrilla prisoners in Trelew, the military dictatorship that had ruled the country since 1966 found itself incapable of throwing back the militancy and struggles of the Argentine workers, particularly since 1969. In that year, the workers of Cordoba, an industrial city in northern Argentina and the country's automotive center, took over the city in a virtual insurrection. This battle was led by both left-wing Peronists and new rank and file leaders opposed to the Peronist bureaucracy of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor). The "Cordobazo," as it was known, was followed by general strikes and uprisings throughout the interior cities of Argentina, particularly Rosario, Mendoza and Tucuman. In March 1971, Cordoba flared up again in another "Cordobazo."

MILITARY

This was enough to convince the military that the only way to avoid a full scale rebellion by the working class and the danger of an overthrow of the whole system was to turn over the regime to a civilian government under the tutelage of the armed forces. Alejandro Lanusse, the head of the military dictatorship, himself had to declare: "We are facing a different kind of enemy; the enemy we face now comes out of the population of the country itself...I think that we are at war." It was on this basis that the military, under Lanusse, sought a pact with Peron in order to hold elections that would return the Peronist movement to power so as to be able to break the back of the working class and the guerrilla movement. This pact of "national pacification" was largely achieved during Peron's first visit to Argentina last November.

This pact between the military and the Peronist movement was predicated on the stranglehold that Peron maintains on the majority of the working class. This hold is based on a demagogic and nationalist populism that goes under the name of "Justicialism" and on certain measures taken by the first Peron government (1943-1955) that were of benefit to the working class. Amongst these were the massive organization of the working class into trade unions, nationalizations of foreign owned companies, social security and welfare programs.



Peron, above, having trouble with young Peronists, below.

These concessions to the working class were possible on the basis of World War Two and the Korean War booms and the huge reserves accumulated through the sale of foodstuffs.

At the same time, Peron instituted the most ruthless corporatist methods that he learned from the German and Italian fascists while he was being trained in their military schools in the 1930s and as Military Attache in Italy in 1940. At one point Peron stated: "I will do what Mussolini has done but without his mistakes." Peron shackled the trade union movement to the bourgeois state, creating an enormous bureaucracy that to this day remains his principal power base. He also outlawed and repressed any opposition within the trade union movement, particularly the Communist Party.

REBELLION

In 1955, when faced with a rebellion in the armed forces that had the overwhelming support of the capitalists, the middle class and the Catholic Church, Peron refused to mobilize and arm the workers, who by the hundreds of thousands poured into the streets, and preferred instead to leave the country and go into exile. During the three month period in which the military and the rest of the capitalist class prepared his overthrow, Peron's main advice to the workers was to go "from home to work and from work to home," in other words, not to mobilize.

PREFERRED

This was not the first nor the last time that a nationalist regime, in spite of all its "anti-imperialist" demagoguery, preferred its own overthrow by the most pro-imperialist sections of the ruling class rather than face the possibility of a workers revolution, but it demonstrates

the real nature of Peronism as a bourgeois movement despite its large following within the Argentinian working class.

Without any doubt, Peron will try "to put things in their place" and try to impose a Bonapartist dictatorship during his second regime, with the one difference that whatever measures were taken during his first regime that benefitted the working class will be nowhere to be seen now. This is clearly shown in the acceptance by the Peronist led CGT of a meager wage increase that does not even keep up with the inflation raging over the country and the signing of a two year "truce" on economic and political struggles by the CGT and the CGE (General Economic Confederation, the capitalists' association). This new government of Peron is a government of reaction and comes into being in a period of the sharpest international crisis, a period very different from the first Peron government. It is a last resort attempt by the Argentinian capitalists to discipline and shackle the working class.

BOARD

Peron did not even wait for the elections in order to do this. Last December he ordered the CGT bureaucracy to join the Social-Economic Council (CONES). This is a board made up by the government, the CGE and now the CGT bureaucracy. Its main purpose is to integrate the trade union movement to the capitalist state apparatus.

Peron's and Campora's efforts to demobilize the working class and to put a stop to the growing influence of the left wing section of the Peronist movement continued throughout the electoral campaign and afterwards. Repeatedly Campora assured the military that he "would not tolerate guerrilla attacks on the armed forces" after he took office on May 25. Peron himself dismissed the head of the Peron-

ist Youth, (JP), Rodolfo Galimberti, after he proposed the formation of a "popular militia." The Peronist Youth is in the left wing of the Peronist movement and has in the past called for nationalization of key sectors of industry and for a "socialist fatherland."

However, the clearest indication of Peron's intentions were made as soon as he arrived in Argentina, in a speech the day after his arrival. In this he said the new government would be one of "national unification" that would bring together all those forces interested in bringing about the "pacification and reconstruction of the country," including the military. At the same time he launched a vicious witch-hunt campaign against the leftist elements within his own movement and against the "Trotskyist infiltrators."

SACKING

This policy resulted not only in the sacking of the leader of the leftist Peronist Youth but in a wholesale massacre of this same youth and members of Peronist guerrilla movements by right-wing goons furnished by the CGT bureaucracy and led by the ex-chief of the secret police during Peron's previous regime, Lieutenant Colonel Osinde. This massacre, which occurred during the massive reception given to Peron at his arrival, left 34 dead and over 400 wounded. These fascist elements and right-wing goons were used again in an armed attack against the CGT headquarters in Cordoba in the middle of July. The Cordoba CGT, led by leftist Peronists, was machine-gunned in an open terrorist attack to impose a right-wing leadership in the Regional CGT. It is on these protofascist forces and the extreme right-wing section of the CGT bureaucracy that Peron is increasingly relying in order to discipline the working class.

TO BE CONTINUED



The march through Delano from union headquarters to the park where the rally was held.

Showdown In The Delano Fields

BY MARTY MORAN

DELANO, Cal.—The United Farm Workers Union is fighting for its life in the fields around Delano where it was born. Every gain that farm workers have made in 10 years of battling to build their union is now threatened by the alliance of the growers and the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy of the Teamsters Union.

Every trade unionist must see the situation now facing the working class expressed most sharply in Delano. Nixon's Phase Four measures, unleashing the wildest price inflation in US history, launch the same kind of attack on the whole labor movement, threatening to wipe out the wage gains of decades in a few short months.

Every union faces not months of negotiations or weeks of peaceful picketing, but vicious intervention by the government aimed at taking away the basic rights to picket, strike, and boycott which built the unions.

More than 2000 farm workers have been arrested in the first two weeks of strikes in the San Joaquin Valley, the agricultural heart of California. Table and wine grape growers have been struck beginning at Arvin and Lamont, 70 miles south of Delano. Apricot and cantaloupe growers have also been hit, and union fruit pickets have struck throughout Fresno county, largest in the valley.

The strikes are expected to spread to Delano and the most powerful grape growers by July 29, when contracts there expire.

VICIOUS ATTACK

The growers have launched a vicious attack on the right to picket, which the farm workers exercised effectively in Coachella. Courts in Fresno, Tulare, and Kern Counties have granted injunctions restricting pickets to two to every 100 feet and limiting the use of sound equipment to win over non-striking workers.

Chavez' position has been to respect such injunctions and seek to get them overturned in a higher court. However, he was forced to announce that "at the demand of the worker" the union would defy the injunctions with mass picketing.

One UFW member told the *Bulletin*: "The reason they are demonstrating is because the sheriff will allow only one loud-speaker for one hour. This is not

enough. You can't explain everything to the people in the fields in only an hour. The union is putting pressure on the courts. Yesterday no one was arrested even though many hundreds were violating the injunction because the jails were full. They tried to let 180 people go without charging them because there was no room, but the people wouldn't leave."

Every day for a week hundreds of farm workers were hauled off in mass arrests. Some were taken as far as 50 miles in order to find an empty prison cell. In the latest arrest of 400 in Fresno, nine union leaders were beaten in the county jail, hosed down with fire hoses, and forced through a gauntlet of sheriff's deputies wielding rubber clubs.

The farm workers have come through Coachella and now the mass arrests with unbroken determination to defend their rights. One older woman said: "I have been a striker since 1965. I was one of the originals. They are putting us in jail to try to destroy our union. My husband is in jail now, but no matter how many they arrest we are not afraid."

PROTEST

Chavez seeks to turn this determination to defy the government into an impotent protest to appeal to the consciences of the growers and the courts by filling the jails. He proposed a strategy of civil disobedience to get the churches and the middle class liberals to put pressure on for a settlement.

It was to rally support for this bankrupt policy that a labor demonstration was called in Delano on Saturday, July 21. While 500 trade unionists traveled from the Bay Area and Southern California to join 1000 farm workers at the rally, the union leadership had absolutely no program for bringing forward the strength of the labor movement to defend the UFW.

The crisis facing the UFW, and every other union, is fundamentally political. The only way to mobilize the strength of

labor against this government is through a Congress of Labor called to force Nixon to resign, compel new elections, and organize a labor party to replace the government.

What the rally made clear is that the trade union leadership is absolutely hostile to any political fight. They seek now to call upon the long American tradition of trade union militancy and solidarity in order to blot out every political question.

Chavez summed this up after detailing the extent of the UFW strike wave, which now covers 13 counties in California, three in Arizona, and one in Colorado. "Workers never lose a strike as long as they keep fighting," he said. "It's impossible for them to lose. If the growers don't sign this year they'll sign next year. If not next year, then the year after. If not then, then the fourth year, the fifth, or the sixth."

According to Chavez, the rank and file farm workers "can take care of themselves, we don't have to tell them. Things are taken care of without formal organization."

This kind of radical rhetoric is merely a cover for the leadership's refusal to come up with a policy for how the farm workers can actually defeat the growers. The danger to the farm workers is not that they are not determined enough to fight, but that the fight they face is fundamentally different from what it was three or six years ago.

The growers, like the whole capitalist class, are in the throes of an economic crisis which is completely out of control and forces them to defend their profits by launching all-out attacks on the organizations of workers in order to return to the slave labor conditions of the bracero period, and worse.

John Giumarra, the largest table grape grower, told the press he would never sign a contract that included a union hiring hall. He demands the restoration of the hated labor contractor system.

The determination of the growers and the government to smash the farm workers union is so clear and the crisis of the labor leadership so absolute that they have been forced to call on the Stalinists and revisionists to prop them up in a new way.

The Communist Party's newspaper, the *People's World*, in the issue which was handed out in Delano, contained not a mention of Phase Four or the inflationary attack it represents. Instead of confronting the political attacks facing the working class, it hailed the fact that "an estimated 45 Catholic priests came to join the picket lines...It demonstrated anew that Chavez's powerful support has not lessened...This weekend it will be the turn of the labor movement."

The labor bureaucrats were so dependent on the CP and the other Stalinist groups to back up their treacherous policy that the Young Workers Liberation League, youth arm of the Communist Party, was publicly thanked for its support by a spokesman from the labor bureaucracy at the rally.

The revisionist Socialist Workers Party has come over completely to the position of the Stalinists in backing Chavez's pacifist strategy and abandoning even the pretense of an independent revolutionary policy.

In Los Angeles, they dominate the strike support committee which recently called a march and rally in support of the UFW. At the rally, SWP marshals tried to prevent the Workers League and Young Socialists contingent from raising banners calling for a Congress of Labor and a labor party.

The strikes in the San Joaquin Valley follow the six week struggle in the Coachella Valley, further south, where more than 1500 farm workers struck throughout the harvest. UFW leader Chavez pulled back picket lines there in the face of Teamster goon squad attacks. This pacifist retreat permitted a large portion of the crop to be harvested.

Despite Chavez's backing off, the growers took huge losses in Coachella, since the expenses of recruiting scabs and guards drove costs up to \$7.50 a box,

while they were taking in only four to five dollars a box in most markets.

The Militant joined the *People's World* in proclaiming Chavez' retreat a clever strategic move designed to get the Teamster goon squads removed by arousing public opinion and pressuring the Teamster leadership.

This is a deliberate lie. The Teamster goon squads are gone because the leadership faced strikes by 65,000 Teamster cannery workers and 500 lettuce wagon drivers that threatened to destroy their relationship with the growers. The lettuce strike is still going on and has completely disrupted the harvest in the Salinas Valley. The strongest delegation at the rally was that of 50 Teamsters from Los Angeles.

The Stalinists even opposed the cannery strike on the grounds that it would hurt the farm workers. But Chavez at the rally gave unconditional support to the cannery workers.

The Stalinists and revisionists wish to hide the fact that the Teamster bureaucracy is itself in crisis and unable to police its own membership. Above all, they seek to deny that the working class is moving as a class and attribute the strength of the farm workers to nationalism, religion, or some other reactionary ideology.

But it is the changes in thinking in the working class produced by the Watergate events and the economic crisis which is breaking up all the compromises of the last 25 years and throwing the labor bureaucracy and their Stalinists and revisionists hangers-on into a frenzy.

What is required is a fight in the UFW to force Chavez to give a call for a Congress of Labor to defend the farm workers and all other sections of the working class under attack by the government.

This Congress must declare the political independence of the working class by forming a labor party and immediately through general strike action against the wage controls force Nixon and Agnew to resign.

Only in this way can the farm workers smash the growers' plot to return them to the conditions of the 1930s when unionism was crushed in the fields for a generation.

West Coast News



Marching to Delano to defend their union, the UFW won support of teachers, longshoremen, and teamsters.

ULAC . . .

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of control while wages are held down by government edict.

This new situation is leading to a big change in the unions. Teamster truck drivers in Salinas and BART workers have struck and won settlements far beyond government guidelines and face possible Pay Board action. In San Francisco the NLRB has taken the unprecedented action of prohibiting the unions from picketing the scab operated McDonald's or even from passing out boycott notices. This ruling challenges the most fundamental rights of the unions.

CONDEMN

It is precisely because the labor leadership cannot contain the working class under these new conditions that ULAC met again on July 28. The political impact of the Watergate crisis and the attacks on the unions was immediately expressed in a resolution from IBEW Local 1327 demanding that ULAC "condemn Nixon and the Watergate conspiracy and demand the resignation of Nixon and Agnew so that new elections could be held immediately."

The ULAC leadership denounced the resolution insisting that the committee must not isolate itself by taking up politics. In this situation the Stalinists and leading members of the Socialist Workers Party came forward to defend the policies of ULAC. This is not simply a matter of adapting to the labor bureaucracy. Stalinism and revisionism now consciously act to strangle political developments actually taking place in the rank and file.

The IBEW resolution poses the enormous responsibility before the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. Masses of workers can now be won to a policy of political action to bring down the Watergate conspirators and replace them with a labor government. This requires a continuous exposure of the Stalinists and revisionists in the fight to take the struggle for a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party into every union local.

BART Strikers Break Nixon Pay Guidelines

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND, Calif.—The 23 day strike against the Bay Area Rapid Transit district ended Tuesday as workers voted 3 to 1 to accept a slightly larger offer from BART. The settlement fell far short of original union demands for immediate wage equalization for all employees, and met with strong opposition from many union members.

All workers, except those who transferred from other transportation systems, will receive 12 percent wage increases the first and second years of the contract, plus a guaranteed six percent cost of living increase in the third year of the contract.

But for the 136 BART employees who transferred from the other transportation systems, the contract imposes a wage freeze until the third year, since under a federal mediators ruling, these "13c men" can receive no wage increases until other BART employees' pay is brought up to the higher level paid to 13c men.

Even this completely inadequate contract, however, is in danger of being taken away, since the 12 percent increases are nearly double Nixon's wage limit. BART workers now face the immediate possibility that the gains of this strike will be

taken away by federal intervention. This has not been mentioned once by leaders of the two striking locals.

Already the strike has delayed the scheduled September

opening of the San Francisco Oakland line causing havoc with the important tourist industry which had been gearing up for the opening for over a year. To protect the profits of this industry local Democrats from Mayor Alioto down tried to bring about an end to the walk-out.

TREACHEROUS

The treacherous role played by local union leaders in this strike was described by a Local 390 shop steward: "All our leaders, especially Varacalli, were 100 percent for immediate equalization with no exceptions, before

the strike. As soon as we went out and the pressure was on, they turned around and did everything they could to get us to go back. What happened was that they split the union, we get 12 percent and 12 percent and a little more in cost of living. A lot of guys thought it was close to what we wanted, but the 13c men got left out in the cold. I voted against it because I know we could have won the whole thing, but most guys figured that with Varacalli and that bunch running the show, this was the best we could do."

Nationalists, SWP Halt Bulletin Sales

BY ROBERT CADE

LOS ANGELES—On July 22 a coalition of the various Chicano nationalist organizations in the Southwest—Casa, La Raza Unida, Mecha, etc.—and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party spearheaded an anti-deportation rally in East Los Angeles. It is this community which has been the focus of a concerted drive by the "migra," the immigration service, to deport all immigrants from Mexico with legal documentation.

Deportation for these people means returning to the conditions of abject poverty from which they fled. This mass scare parallels a similar drive initiated during the depression of

the 1930s when over one million Spanish-speaking residents, Mexican nationals and citizens alike were herded across the border by the Army and the federal government.

Now as then the government is seeking to divert the struggle of the working class under conditions of mounting unemployment by stirring up a vicious racist scare campaign. Democrats and Republicans alike seek to tell the unemployed that it is illegal aliens and not the capitalist class that stand behind their unemployment. It is no accident that these dragnets take place in the midst of the drive by the state and the growers to destroy the heavily

Chicano and Mexcian United Farm Workers Union.

NATIONALISTS

The response of the nationalists was one of seeking to deflect any possibility of a unified struggle of all sections of the working class by instead offering up the reformist panacea of community control and pressure upon the federal government.

So fearful were the nationalists, in particular the Maoist dominated section of La Raza Unida, of any political lead to unite the working class that they prohibited all sales of the Bulletin.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists will continue to fight for the only program which can defend immigrant workers: bringing down the Nixon government and replacing it with a labor party government pledged to abolish all restrictions on the free movement of workers.

press for a settlement.

The settlement fell far short of the original demands. One militant striker told the Bulletin he was going to fight all the way for the original pay demand of one dollar across the board for

LETTUCE . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

bail Nixon and the growers out. Using the threat of a Taft-Hartley injunction as a club, he pressured the local leadership to

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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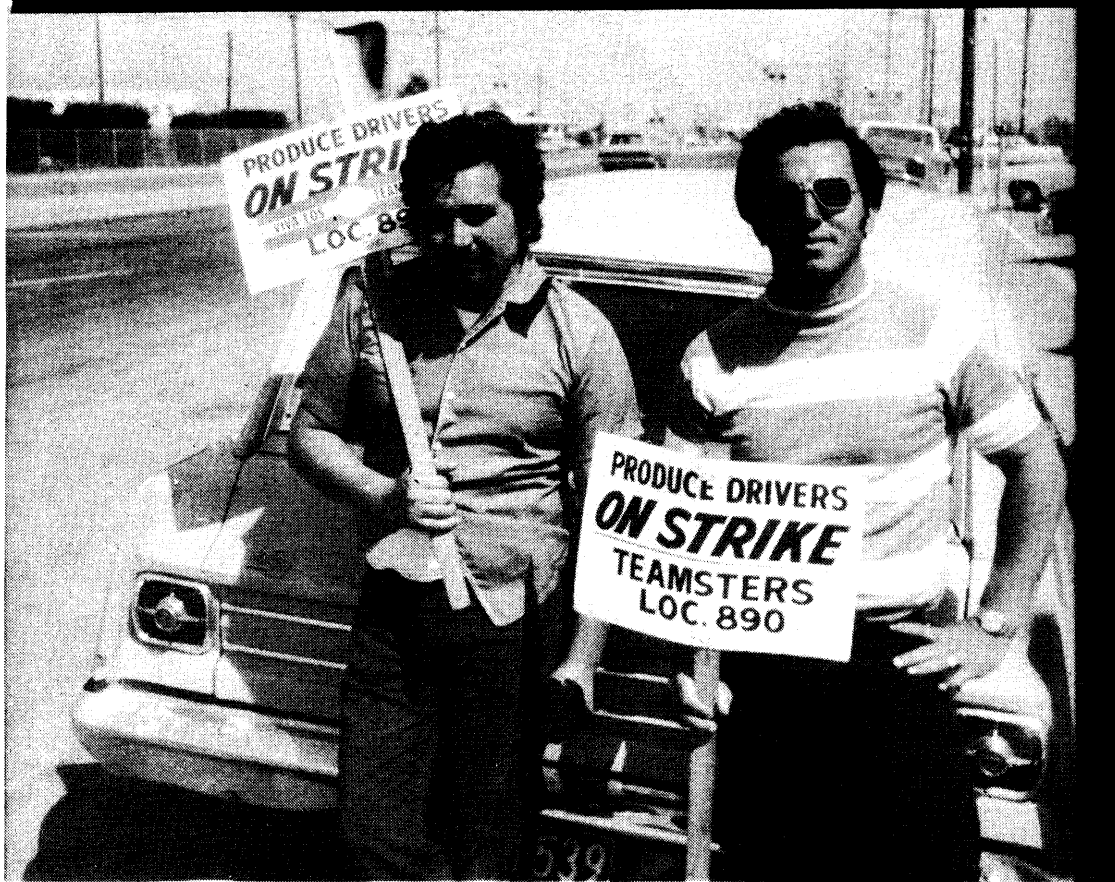
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West Coast News

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Produce drivers from Teamsters Local 890 on strike.

Lettuce Drivers Forced Back By Taft-Hartley Threat

BY BARRY GREY

SALINAS—By a vote of 206 to 162, Teamster lettuce drivers in the Salinas Valley ended a nineteen day strike with a wages and fringes settlement of 44 percent over three years.

Faced with the threat of a federal injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, Locals 890 of Salinas and 912 of Watsonville were forced back to work by the local leadership, over tremendous opposition from the ranks.

This settlement, which provides for 40 cents the first year on wages and 35 cents in the second and third years, is more than twice Nixon's guidelines and represents a direct challenge to Nixon's Phase Four.

The lettuce drivers are among the lowest paid truckers in the Teamsters. The old contract provided for wage rates of \$4.25 and \$4.75 for the different categories.

The strike was having a devastating affect on the growers' lettuce crop. It came at the peak of the lettuce harvest in Salinas, which produces virtually the entire crop for the country. An estimated seven million heads were rotting in the fields or being plowed under each day. About 15,000 workers in allied industries, including farm workers, were idled by the

strike.

The strike took place in the midst of the massive strike of farm workers, which was joined at one point by a strike of Northern California cannery workers. The entire agriculture industry of California was faced with a complete shutdown.

Faced with the complete loss of their crop and panicked by the truckers' strength, the Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association originally offered 39 percent. This was turned down by the strikers by a vote of 260 to 108.

At this point the growers sent a delegation to Nixon, demanding he invoke Taft-Hartley.

The fact that the growers came back with a new offer for an additional five percent underscores the extreme vulnerability of Nixon and his inability to confront the labor movement with any confidence at this point.

In this situation, William Grami, a representative for the Western Conference of Teamsters, did the backstabbing job against the strikers for Fitzsimmons, moving in to

(Continued On Page 19)

IBEW Calls For Nixon To Resign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A recent meeting of the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC) here expressed the enormous political changes now developing in the working class.

The ULAC was originally set up during the Emporium department store strike to organize Bay Area union solidarity. The committee organized the first trade union rally against the wage freeze mobilizing three thousand trade unionists last May.

The perspective of the ULAC which is led by James Herman of ILWU Local 34 and Walter Johnson of Local 1100 Retail Clerks has been that the vicious attacks against the labor movement by the government can be answered by a combination of union solidarity and militancy. From its very origin, this committee has insisted that every section of the labor leadership can be united if political questions are not raised.

The ULAC has refused to take up the question of the labor movement acting to bring down Nixon, it has refused to mobilize workers to force the labor bureaucracy off the government Pay Board, and it has acted continuously to oppose a wages offensive, to avoid a political clash with the government.

SELLOUT

Thus in the entire period since the May wage freeze protest, this Committee has stood by while electrical workers, teamsters, longshoremen, rubber workers and oil workers have had sellout contracts rammed down their throats forcing a decline in real wages. At the same time, the attack on farm workers has demonstrated that what is at stake in this period is the very right of the un-

ions to exist.

The ULAC has acted at every point to hold back the labor movement and provide time for

the government to launch Phase Four in which inflation rips out

(Continued On Page 19)

Editorial

Stalinists Sabotage Unity Of Teamster-UFW Ranks

The spread of the grape strike to the Delano center of the United Farm Workers Union poses in the sharpest way the dangers facing the entire working class.

The growers are determined to smash the union and to do this will use the full power of the state with mass arrests, beatings, injunctions, and the destruction of all the democratic rights of the farm workers.

The farm workers cannot defeat these attacks with the methods of the past: protest and trade union militancy. Their fight must become a political fight to mobilize the labor movement against the government in a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Central to this is the construction of a new leadership in the unions, and particularly to smash the stranglehold of the Fitzsimmons' bureaucracy over the Teamsters union.

This bureaucracy faces its alliance with the growers being ripped apart by the movement of Teamster workers in the canneries and the Salinas Valley lettuce trucks.

The strike by 65,000 northern California cannery workers struck a tremendous blow to the growers, coming at the height of the tomato and peach season. The brutal conditions in the canneries, where the 48 hour week is still in effect, and the low wages averaging under \$3.50 an hour led to a struggle which lays the basis for a real unity between Teamsters and farm workers in agriculture.

This unity must be founded on a common political struggle against the government, the growers, and their bureaucratic agents within the Teamsters. This is clearly shown by the capitulation of the Teamster leadership, which called off the cannery strike in the face of a government threat to intervene with a Taft-Hartley injunction.

This movement of the Teamster rank and file, raising all the political questions facing labor, has thrown the

Stalinists into erisis and forced them to come forward as open strike-breakers.

The Stalinist-led Cannery Workers Committee, the only organized opposition among cannery workers, refused to call for strike action over the questions of wages and the 40 hour week. Instead they waged a completely fraudulent campaign against a clause in the contract which they claimed would block UFW-picked produce from the canneries.

The Stalinist Peoples' World denounced the strike as an attack on the farm workers, headlining the story "Workers charge manipulation" and claiming "few knew why they were really striking." While millions of peaches and tomatoes were rotting and the bourgeois press issued strident calls for the government to break the strike, the Peoples' World said the strike "was called during the slack season" and that its effect would be "nil or minimal."

The Stalinists' verbal support for the struggle of the farm workers is a fraud. When they are actually in a position to lead a powerful section of the working class into united action with the farm workers, their radical cover is stripped off to reveal their real nature—the most counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement.

That is why the Peoples' World makes no mention of the fact that Cesar Chavez said he "absolutely supported" the cannery workers' strike and why it has blacked out all news of the Teamsters lettuce drivers strike in Salinas.

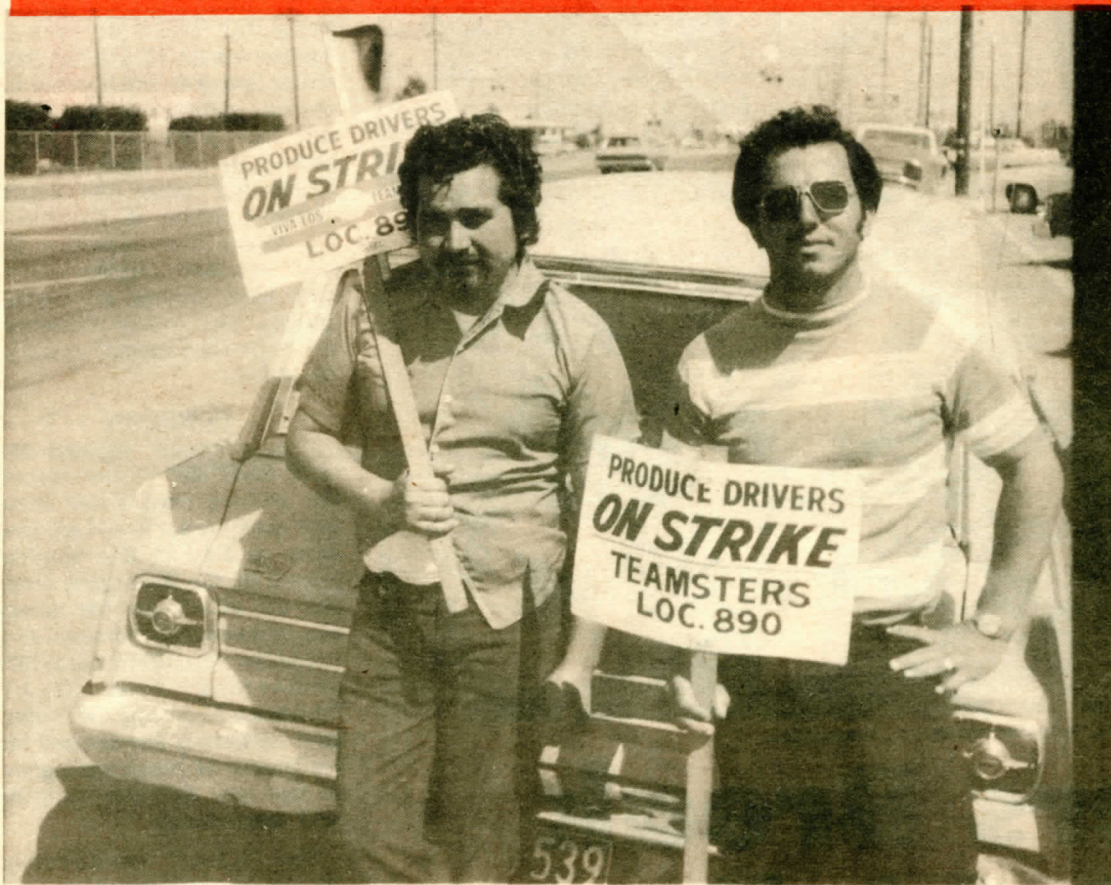
The farm workers can only go forward with a struggle against the Stalinists for a program of mobilizing the labor movement not through Chavez' protests but by an absolute ban on all scab produce. No longshoreman or retail clerk must handle these goods. The UFW must immediately issue a call for a Congress of Labor in its own defense and to declare the political independence of the working class.

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SALINAS—By a vote of 206 to 162, Teamster lettuce drivers in the Salinas Valley ended a nineteen day strike with a wages and fringes settlement of 44 percent over three years.

Faced with the threat of a federal injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, Locals 890 of Salinas and 912 of Watsonville were forced back to work by the local leadership, over tremendous opposition from the ranks.

This settlement, which provides for 40 cents the first year on wages and 35 cents in the second and third years, is more than twice Nixon's guidelines and represents a direct challenge to Nixon's Phase Four.

The lettuce drivers are among the lowest paid truckers in the Teamsters. The old contract provided for wage rates of \$4.25 and \$4.75 for the different categories.

The strike was having a devastating affect on the growers' lettuce crop. It came at the peak of the lettuce harvest in Salinas, which produces virtually the entire crop for the country. An estimated seven million heads were rotting in the fields or being plowed under each day. About 15,000 workers in allied industries, including farm workers, were idled by the

strike.

The strike took place in the midst of the massive strike of farm workers, which was joined at one point by a strike of Northern California cannery workers. The entire agriculture industry of California was faced with a complete shutdown.

Faced with the complete loss of their crop and panicked by the truckers' strength, the Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association originally offered 39 percent. This was turned down by the strikers by a vote of 260 to 108.

At this point the growers sent a delegation to Nixon, demanding he invoke Taft-Hartley.

The fact that the growers came back with a new offer for an additional five percent underscores the extreme vulnerability of Nixon and his inability to confront the labor movement with any confidence at this point.

In this situation, William Grami, a representative for the Western Conference of Teamsters, did the backstabbing job against the strikers for Fitzsimmons, moving in to

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IBEW Calls For Nixon To Resign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A recent meeting of the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC) here expressed the enormous political changes now developing in the working class.

The ULAC was originally set up during the Emporium department store strike to organize Bay Area union solidarity. The committee organized the first trade union rally against the wage freeze mobilizing three thousand trade unionists last May.

The perspective of the ULAC which is led by James Herman of ILWU Local 34 and Walter Johnson of Local 1100 Retail Clerks has been that the vicious attacks against the labor movement by the government can be answered by a combination of union solidarity and militancy. From its very origin, this committee has insisted that every section of the labor leadership can be united if political questions are not raised.

The ULAC has refused to take up the question of the labor movement acting to bring down Nixon, it has refused to mobilize workers to force the labor bureaucracy off the government Pay Board, and it has acted continuously to oppose a wages offensive, to avoid a political clash with the government.

SELLOUT

Thus in the entire period since the May wage freeze protest, this Committee has stood by while electrical workers, teamsters, longshoremen, rubber workers and oil workers have had sellout contracts rammed down their throats forcing a decline in real wages. At the same time, the attack on farm workers has demonstrated that what is at stake in this period is the very right of the un-

ions to exist.

The ULAC has acted at every point to hold back the labor movement and provide time for

the government to launch Phase Four in which inflation rips out

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Editorial

Stalinists Sabotage Unity Of Teamster-UFW Ranks

The spread of the grape strike to the Delano center of the United Farm Workers Union poses in the sharpest way the dangers facing the entire working class.

The growers are determined to smash the union and to do this will use the full power of the state with mass arrests, beatings, injunctions, and the destruction of all the democratic rights of the farm workers.

The farm workers cannot defeat these attacks with the methods of the past: protest and trade union militancy. Their fight must become a political fight to mobilize the labor movement against the government in a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Central to this is the construction of a new leadership in the unions, and particularly to smash the stranglehold of the Fitzsimmons' bureaucracy over the Teamsters union.

This bureaucracy faces its alliance with the growers being ripped apart by the movement of Teamster workers in the canneries and the Salinas Valley lettuce trucks.

The strike by 65,000 northern California cannery workers struck a tremendous blow to the growers, coming at the height of the tomato and peach season. The brutal conditions in the canneries, where the 48 hour week is still in effect, and the low wages averaging under \$3.50 an hour led to a struggle which lays the basis for a real unity between Teamsters and farm workers in agriculture.

This unity must be founded on a common political struggle against the government, the growers, and their bureaucratic agents within the Teamsters. This is clearly shown by the capitulation of the Teamster leadership, which called off the cannery strike in the face of a government threat to intervene with a Taft-Hartley injunction.

This movement of the Teamster rank and file, raising all the political questions facing labor, has thrown the

Stalinists into crisis and forced them to come forward as open strike-breakers.

The Stalinist-led Cannery Workers Committee, the only organized opposition among cannery workers, refused to call for strike action over the questions of wages and the 40 hour week. Instead they waged a completely fraudulent campaign against a clause in the contract which they claimed would block UFW-picked produce from the canneries.

The Stalinist Peoples' World denounced the strike as an attack on the farm workers, headlining the story "Workers charge manipulation" and claiming "few knew why they were really striking." While millions of peaches and tomatoes were rotting and the bourgeois press issued strident calls for the government to break the strike, the Peoples' World said the strike "was called during the slack season" and that its effect would be "nil or minimal."

The Stalinists' verbal support for the struggle of the farm workers is a fraud. When they are actually in a position to lead a powerful section of the working class into united action with the farm workers, their radical cover is stripped off to reveal their real nature—the most counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement.

That is why the Peoples' World makes no mention of the fact that Cesar Chavez said he "absolutely supported" the cannery workers' strike and why it has blacked out all news of the Teamsters lettuce drivers strike in Salinas.

The farm workers can only go forward with a struggle against the Stalinists for a program of mobilizing the labor movement not through Chavez' protests but by an absolute ban on all scab produce. No longshoreman or retail clerk must handle these goods. The UFW must immediately issue a call for a Congress of Labor in its own defense and to declare the political independence of the working class.