

Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

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UNION LABEL 6

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Over 7000 trade unionists from Montreal, Canada and the surrounding area march in support of transit workers strike. See story page 3.

NCR To Ax

DAYTON
least 600 workers possibly as many will lose their jobs. National Cash Register Corporation by January 1, 1975.

A bluntly-worded company letter released Tuesday stated that the layoffs are the result of a decision to phase out two mechanical proof machines and replace them with electronic systems developed at other NCR plants.

Also, the company is cutting production of mechanical book teller machines and a line of mechanical cash registers.

Robert Travis, Secretary-Treasurer of the 4800-member United Auto Workers Local 1616 said that the union had no advance word of the layoffs. The union had known that NCR planned to reduce the work force, but had been led to believe that this would be done by normal attrition.

NCR division general manager William R. Schnitzle said that he regretted to inform the workers of the layoff without warning, "but the changes and their impact were not apparent at the time of the last employee meeting."

The NCR layoffs are an indication of the mass unemployment that is developing throughout industry as a result of the economic slump.

Earlier, NCR had stated that employment will not fall beyond the 4000 mark.

"However," declared Schnitzle, "subject to a number of variables, such as the general economy, inflationary factors, and the competitive position of the Dayton factory—the figure could eventually be less than 4000."

The UAW gave no indication that it plans to fight the layoffs. Travis indicated that the local would not make any demands in upcoming negotiations that would in any way challenge the company.

The developments at NCR show the suddenness with which unemployment may develop. Earlier, this year, 250 workers that had been previously laid off were recalled to meet a momentary upturn in demand.

Now, NCR is stating that it can meet production requirements with one-third of the work force.

In the Midweek
Edition

James P. Cannon:
1890-1974. Part Two of
an assessment of his
life by Tim Wohlforth.

Fight Unemployment-Inflation

BY THE EDITORS

The meeting of 28 trade union leaders with Gerald Ford in the White House on Wednesday is a betrayal which exposes the working class to enormous dangers.

By participating in this "summit conference," the labor bureaucracy has made itself the tool of Ford's strategy of making the working class pay for the deepening economic crisis with an enormous increase in unemployment combined with a cut in living standards brought about by inflation.

Ford and his spokesmen have already made it clear that they will not budge from the policies of tight money and high interest rates that has already tipped the economy into a recessionary slump.

He invited AFL-CIO President George Meany and other leading bureaucrats to the White House not to discuss various ways of dealing with the economic crisis, but to enlist the bureaucracy in his corporate state plans that would strip the trade unions of their independence and serve to paralyze the working class politically.

No amount of militant phrasemongering by Meany or anyone else about opposing unemployment and wage controls can cover up the fact that they have taken a stand against the working class by attending this conference and that they intend to visit the White House again on

CALL A CONGRESS OF LABOR

September 27 and 28.

In their statements at the conference, the labor leaders demonstrated that they will not confront the objective crisis of the capitalist system which now threatens every working class family with a catastrophe.

ADVICE

As they sat around a huge table in the East Room, the bureaucrats instead offered Ford advice on how to best prop up the economy.

Gerald Ford was not in the least bit interested in their pleading recommendations. He will not listen to their proposals for a loosening of credit and money restrictions. Even if Ford did, such measures would in no

way solve the economic crisis.

Ford and Rockefeller, in consultation with the banks, have worked out recessionary policies designed to weaken the working class with a massive dose of unemployment. They seek to use these policies to create the conditions favorable for a direct attack on wages, trade union organizations, and basic democratic rights.

The meeting, of course, could bring about no solution to the economic crisis. The very fact that there was nothing to discuss only underscored the treachery of the bureaucracy in participating in the summit.

The tension at the meeting expressed the enormous fear of the bureaucracy of unemploy-

ment and the breakup of the peaceful class relations they rest upon. But they will not fight unemployment because they accept the capitalist system.

Meany emphasized several times that any form of wage guidelines or controls would meet tremendous opposition in the working class.

He also warned: "The prospect of a deepening recession and mounting unemployment, even in the name of the glorious battle against inflation, is a frightening prospect for millions of Americans."

But words are cheap for Meany and the other 27 bureaucrats at the meeting.

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Chile-The Record Of Stalinist Betrayal

September 11, 1974 marks one year since the Chilean generals, aided by the US government, overthrew the Popular Unity coalition of Salvador Allende and established a bloody reign of terror over the Chilean working class.

This date is not the occasion for empty speeches and pious memorials, but for understanding how the coup was prepared and of the deliberate betrayal and treachery of Stalinism that opened the door to defeat.

The lessons of Chile are more urgent than ever for American workers.

What We Think

Dictatorship is not simply an issue facing Latin American workers, but is a direct threat here.

Only last month, it was revealed that Nixon, just prior to his resignation, was in touch with certain

military units and the Pentagon feared he would attempt to order the military to move against Congress to prevent his impeachment.

Even more important, in the course of this report, it was revealed that the Pentagon and the Defense Department were already working out independent plans to use the military in a "national emergency."

This threat now exists in the US and in every major capitalist country because the ruling class knows that as the economy stands on the brink of collapse, it must take measures to destroy workers' living standards that will produce revolutionary struggles.

There is no question that the CIA was directly involved in Allende's downfall. CIA director William Colby revealed last spring that Nixon and Kissinger's "40 Committee" authorized \$8 million to undermine the regime.

But the CIA and the fascists in Chile would never have succeeded if the Chilean workers had not been disarmed by the policies of Allende and the Chilean Communist Party.

They want to bury all discussion on the true record of

the Popular Unity government in a big solidarity campaign that turns Chile into a glorified corpse.

The appeal of the American Communist Party in the September 7 issue of the *Daily World*, for a "restoration of the democratic duly elected government in Chile" through pressuring US imperialism, is based on the very same conception of a "peaceful road to socialism."

Allende never mobilized the working class against the capitalist state. On the contrary, as soon as the bourgeoisie fiercely resisted even the most minor reform proposals, Allende compromised and eventually capitulated completely.

Poor peasants who seized land were attacked and threatened with jail. Transport, copper, and railway workers who waged strikes for higher wages were slandered and arrested.

While Allende pledged to pay back millions of dollars in loans owed to mining companies and international bankers, the Chilean working class was exhorted to work harder and moderate its wage demands.

The "irreversible march towards socialism" hailed by the Stalinists in Chile was abruptly brought to a halt. All proposals for nationalizing industry and land reform were scrapped.

It was the vacillation and weakness of the Allende government in face of the economic crisis that drove a large section of the middle class into the arms of the fascists.

In November 1972, after repeated ultimatums by the military, a new cabinet was organized, composed of three officers from the army, navy, and air force. On November 4, 1972 the American CP wrote:

"The Allende government was strengthened against the rightist drive towards civil war by including armed forces in the cabinet."

Time and again, the Chilean working class came into the streets and demonstrated its willingness to fight the right wing. But in the critical weeks before the coup, Allende refused to arm the working class and instead was in negotiations with the army and the Christian Democrats who were soon to organize his overthrow.

The policy of forming a "Popular Front" with sec-

tions of the capitalist class is the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union to prop up the capitalist system and preserve its relations with imperialism.

The Chilean working class paid a heavy price for this: Thousands have been murdered, arrested, and tortured. Trade unions have been outlawed and wages slashed.

Today the Stalinists in Greece, Portugal, Italy, and France, and wherever they play a leading role in the labor movement, attempt to put together even more reactionary popular fronts.

In Portugal, the CP leaders joined with the military in a government that has banned strikes and frozen wages. In Spain, on the eve of revolutionary explosions, the Spanish Stalinists have formed a "Democratic Junta" with the monarchists and a section of the armed forces.

In the United States, the American Communist Party appeals to Ford to attend his economic summit to offer their "advice."

The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party for all their "left" criticisms of the Communist Party, in practice, join the Stalinists in united front rallies over Chile. In abandoning the fight to expose Stalinism and build the alternative to it, they act as its left cover, and base their actions on the same policy of pressuring the capitalist parties for reforms.

In the period of the crisis and decay of the capitalist system, the American working class can only defend its basic rights and living standards by fighting for its own independent political party, a labor party, and in a fight for socialist policies.

Today, in Chile, the economic crisis and a renewal of resistance by the working class has made it impossible for the junta to stabilize anything. It is the revolutionary consequences of this crisis that creates the conditions to smash Stalinism.

Only the International Committee of the Fourth International has conducted a bitter and principled struggle against the betrayals of Stalinism that has prepared our movement to lead the coming struggle for power and socialism.

British Unions Vote To Accept Social Contract

BY A REPORTER

Leaders of Britain's trade unions carried out an historic betrayal last week at the Trades Union Congress meeting by lining up in support of government proposals for a "social contract" with British capitalism.

The social contract commits the labor leaders to a policy of voluntary restraint on wages in the face of runaway inflation and soaring unemployment.

Acceptance of the social contract represents a bid by the labor leaders to openly assist the capitalist class in imposing wage cuts and mass unemployment on the working class.

The slump is already well under way in Britain. Inflation is currently raging at over 17 percent a year. A wave of factory closures and bankruptcies is already pushing up unemployment.

While billions of pounds have been wiped out in the stock market, the balance of payments deficit is now estimated to go over \$10 billion for 1974. Even the largest banks, insurance companies, and industries are facing collapse.

The Labor government of Harold Wilson is preparing for a new election in October committed to a program to defend the bankrupt employers and bankers.

Wilson allows unemployment and inflation to rise, but refuses to take any measures to nation-

alize basic industry or the banking and financial system.

The TUC capitulation provides the government with time to prepare for a new wage freeze and legislation against the unions.

Communist Party trade union leaders joined Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, in withdrawing a motion to impose militant demands on the Labor government in return for wage restraint. Scanlon and the CP members then allowed the social contract to pass unanimously.

Precisely at the point that enormous class struggles loom, the Stalinists and reformists refuse to fight the right-wing.

The TUC decisions will do nothing to resolve the crisis. The capitalist class is well aware after two miners strikes and a massive engineering walkout, that they face massive wages struggles and factory occupations in defense of living conditions and jobs.

While Wilson and the TUC leaders desperately seek to hold these back, well financed paramilitary organizations have been launched by several ex-military officers with considerable support from the Tory politicians and the military. These groups aim to intervene against the labor unions in the event of a general strike.

The American working class must take warning from the developments in England. The trade union leaders by attending Ford's economic summit are preparing to follow in the treacherous footsteps of their counterparts in England by imposing a similar social contract on the American working class.



Students in Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa demonstrate against Selassie.

Army Arrests Ethiopian Emperor

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Ethiopian armed forces have arrested 81-year-old Emperor Haile Selassie.

Last week they accused him of exploiting public funds for his own benefit.

And for the first time since the committee began stripping the Emperor of his power in February, he was repeatedly referred to as "King" and not "Emperor" over Ethiopian radio and television in an announcement of the scandal.

The committee said the Emperor had benefited to the extent of \$7 million from income from a brewery established in Addis Ababa 50 years ago.

News of the scandal surrounding the city's oldest brewery—started by the Emperor in agreement with another party—follows an announcement by the committee about the Emperor's personal financial interests in the city bus services.

According to the broadcast, the Emperor authorized the establishment of the brewery in

a contract he signed. Conditions of the contract were later altered resulting in his withdrawing profits at his own will without any government control.

The committee had charged that although the Emperor had ordered part of the brewery's income devoted to promote science, arts, literature, industry, and agriculture in Ethiopia and Africa under a Haile Selassie Trust Scheme, the

awards had—with a couple of exceptions—gone to privileged people.

The charge is the first armed forces move against the Emperor. Early this week, when several thousands demonstrators chanting "hang the Emperor" and "the Emperor is a thief" ran through the capital's streets, the committee banned further such demonstrations.

Victory In Mozambique

An offensive by black workers throughout the East African country of Mozambique has crushed a four-day rebellion by right-wing white settlers and commando units of ex-soldiers.

The rioting broke out last Saturday when it was announced that Portugal will hand full control of Mozambique over to Frelimo, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, which has led the 10-year guerrilla war for independence.

In many areas, Portuguese army troops acted to quash the rebellion, an important factor in the collapse of the movement.

Demonstrations continue in the city's Black shantytowns, and Black workers have moved to barricade the highways that provide access to neighboring South Africa.

Just before the independence pact was signed, colonial police moved with submachine guns against sugar workers in northern Mozambique who were demonstrating for more pay and better conditions. At least four workers were killed.

Economists See No Unemployment Drop

BY

JEFF SEBASTIAN

Even before the American trade union leaders met with President Ford in Washington, Ford's economic advisers have spelled out fundamental ruthless decisions to deepen the plunge into recession and create mass unemployment.

Commenting on the most recent rise of unemployment to 5.4 percent, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, declared:

"At this particular moment, I don't think any significant policy can be taken that can lower the unemployment rate and keep it there."

Greenspan also solidarized himself with the Federal Reserve Board's tight money policies stating that "no useful purpose" would be served by easing up on credit.

Treasury Secretary Simon declared that monetary restraint "must be exercised patiently and consistently for a sustained period of time." Most recently, at an emergency economic conference of six major capitalist countries, Simon warned: "We are not optimists. We are determined."

Fortune magazine explained this determination in its September editorial advising that President Ford "must tell the American people the plain truth about the economic crunch now confronting them...there is no getting around the fact that years of subpar growth are going to affect the material well-being of millions of Americans, and it is essential that the president prepare them for this fact now."

RECESSION

All the signs of recession are already here. Unemployment is racing upwards. For the first time since January 1971 new

orders have stagnated, production has turned down, and inventories of raw materials have risen.

Strapped for cash, companies unable to raise capital on the stock, bond, and mortgage markets are desperately seeking short term bank loans to pay bills and finance investments.

Most ominous of all, profits are taking a severe beating. Business Week's estimate on second quarter profits after allowing for inflation and inventory profits shows business profits up by only two percent over the same quarter last year.

In this same period, auto profits have dropped by 52 percent; real estate and housing, by 48 percent; and the appliance industry, by 37 percent.

The cash squeeze faced by American companies are magnified a hundredfold by the credit crisis now ripping through Europe.

Every day brings reports of new bank failures. Most recently, Lloyds Bank Ltd. of London announced huge losses on the currency markets and on Monday the Cosmos Bank of Zurich announced that it was unable to meet its debts.

Many small and middle size banks are facing a similar crisis unable to borrow from the larger banks and in danger of a mass of withdrawals from their depositors.

The situation is now so serious that a meeting of the finance ministers of the 10 leading industrial nations in Basel on Tuesday declared that "means are available and will be used if and when necessary" to prop up failing banks.

The statement was left deliberately vague with no actual commitments spelled out. It is clear that no central bank is eager to act as "lender of last resort" to international banks faced with liquidation.

Such proposals advanced largely to hold off an immediate panic can do nothing to halt the crisis. If such measures are undertaken, they will threaten even the largest banks by forcing

them to absorb the losses of the smaller ones. In addition, they can only intensify the inflationary crisis by forcing the central banks to pump even more credit into the banking system to temporarily avert collapse.

A huge section of European credit is now held together by short term deposits from the oil producing countries which the largest banks have been using for long term loans to industry.

Any withdrawal of these funds by the oil exporters would mean a collapse of credit to industry and a calling in of existing loans, precipitating an industrial collapse.

Britain, in particular, has been a major recipient of these oil funds. There are already signs that the oil producing countries are preparing to shift funds out of England to the United States.

Charles A. Coombs, a senior vice-president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, recently reported that Middle Eastern investment in bank deposits and securities in the US may total as much as \$6 billion since the beginning of the year.

Such a flow of funds out of Europe to the US threatens to precipitate a European banking collapse.

The US is in no way insulated from this crisis. The major American banks are deeply involved in foreign operations. Bank of America has almost one-third of its deposits abroad. The First National City Bank of New York has only a little less than one-half abroad. The situation is similar for the other large American banks.

Major failures in the European credit system would mean a rash of financial and industrial collapses here with millions thrown out of work.

Ford and his big business masters are making it clear that they are preparing this. The labor movement can only fight back by calling its own summit to launch a labor party pledged to replace this government with one pledged to socialist policies.

Ford Retreats On Pardons

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

Ford has been forced to retreat from a plan to pardon all of Nixon's co-conspirators, for the time being.

In the midst of the storm that followed Ford's sudden declaration of a "full, free, and absolute pardon" for Nixon, White House Counsel Philip W. Buchen informed the press that the president was considering a blanket pardon of all 48 of Nixon's aides as well.

On Wednesday, Ford was forced to say that he had been "misinterpreted" and planned only to give normal attention to any requests for pardon that might come in.

Ford's pardon for Nixon, made without the knowledge of Congress, cabinet members, or Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski, makes it clear that it was part of an agreement.

Two lawyers from Jaworski's staff have left their positions, and there are persistent rumors

that Jaworski himself will resign.

The Nixon pardon, even without further action, will make it almost impossible to carry through the Watergate coverup trial of former Attorney General John Mitchell, H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and others that Jaworski is preparing for September 30.

Ford went ahead with the Nixon pardon even after Nixon refused to make any public acknowledgement of guilt.

Ford acted following the arrival of a memo from Leon Jaworski, outlining 10 separate areas that could have led to criminal indictments of Nixon in the near future. These include: illegal tax deductions, obstruction of justice in the Ellsberg records theft case, the transfer of FBI wiretap records to the White House, illegal wiretapping of government employees, use of IRS records for political harassment.

Nixon's lawyer, Herbert Miller, replied with a long memorandum claiming that the "two-year fixation of the media

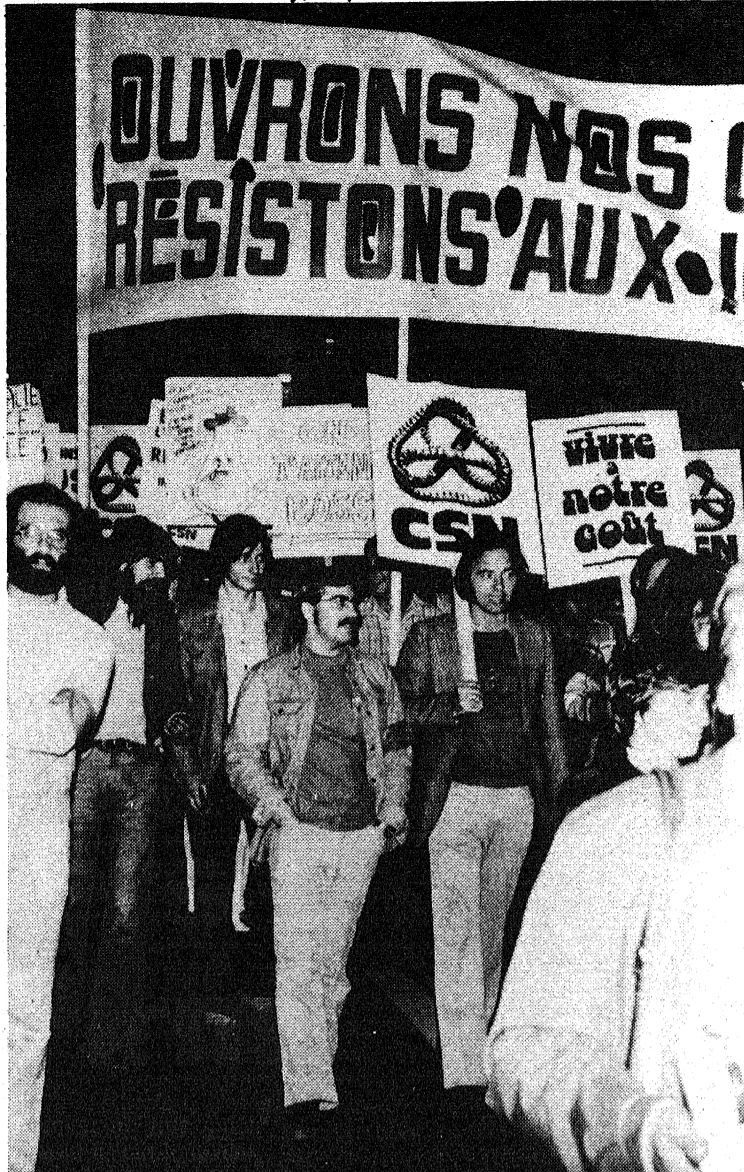
on Watergate" has influenced Americans so much that the government cannot guarantee Nixon a trial "free of prejudice, passion, and excitement."

In the midst of the furor over the pardon, an unnamed member of the Nixon family called the press and insisted that Nixon was a sick and desperate man on the edge of suicide.

Ford has sent to Congress a request for an \$850,000 appropriation to cover Nixon's expenses over the next 11 months. This \$80,000 a month allowance is earmarked to cover Nixon's pension, travel money, office supplies, and moving expenses.

It has been hastily revised to include \$100,000 to build a secure vault for storing the tapes that were turned over to Nixon's personal control.

It also includes \$340,000 to pay for Nixon's staff, 13 of whom are still drawing \$202,000 in White House payroll money. The appropriation does not include \$622,000 in Secret Service expenses or the \$17 million already spent on the Key Biscayne and San Clemente estates.



A section of the 7000-strong march of Canadian workers in Montreal on September 5 in support of striking Metro workers and cost of living increases.

Transit Strikers Defy Arrests

BY

A CORRESPONDENT
MONTREAL, Quebec

—Maintenance workers on Montreal's giant bus and Metro (subway) system have entered their second month of strike action.

They are defying police and court threats and a massive campaign for strikebreaking legislation.

The strike began August 7 when the Montreal Transport Commission suspended 73 members of the CNTU (Montreal Transportation Union) for not working on St. John Baptiste Day and Dominion Day. These are legal holidays for CNTU workers, but the entire force of 1600 stayed off the job together in order to push their demand for a cost of living escalator clause.

When the city won a back-to-work court order August 8 and arrested 71 men on contempt of court charges, the union voted unanimously to stay out on strike until all the workers were cleared and the cost of living won.

The 71 have been convicted and 88 more strikers face the same charge, even though some of the men have proved that they were on holiday or sick leave. Twenty-four union officials face combined fines of \$54,000 or a total of 274 days in jail.

One striker said that the courts had singled out the young workers:

"Since the conflict around Christmas (when 8 workers were suspended after transport workers refused to work Christmas and New Years Days), they have brought in the

young members—guys with little experience—one by one into the supervisory office to tell them to toe the line or they will be out.

"We must defend the young workers, because it's true, it is them that push us in the first place to defend our rights.

The right-wing leadership of the Bus and Metro Drivers signed a pact with the city on August 27 that drivers would not support the maintenance strike. These bureaucrats are constantly at the picket lines warning drivers that they will be fired if they do not cross the lines.

There are more police than pickets at the garages, where mobile squads escort buses through the lines. Armed police ride the buses and are stationed along every route.

CENTRAL

The fight for a cost of living is the central question before the entire Canadian labor movement, as prices soar to record levels.

As one picket said: "We are the most militant union of the city workers; the MUC wants to break us before it faces a strike of all 45,000 workers of the city of Montreal at once."

Last week the Tory-dominated Ontario Legislature, used such legislation to break the strike of Metropolitan Toronto transit workers. 5700 bus and subway workers organized by Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113 stayed out 23 days in an attempt to win a 40 percent wage hike, cost of living, overtime pay, and other demands.

For the last four days of the strike, every worker faces a fine of \$1,000 a day, and the union could be fined \$40,000 under the terms of the special strike-breaking law.

Clerks Strike Washington Supermarkets

BY RAOUL RIZIK
WASHINGTON, D.C.—Over 30,000 retail clerks at 500 Washington food chain stores have given a resounding "No" to the latest contract offered by the companies and have gone on strike.

Pickets were set up at the Giant, Safeway, Grand Union, A&P, Acme, and Food Fair stores throughout the city on September 5.

Union negotiators were forced to break off all negotiations with the Food Employers Labor Relations Association.

Joe Smith, retail clerk at the Mount Pleasant Safeway and a member of Local 400 told the Bulletin, "Well, I guess it's like you said a couple of months ago. I wouldn't have believed it. I figured the company would come across and give us what we wanted. We asked for a one-year contract and what the company has offered us is a three-year contract. That's what the strike is all about."

Another worker said, "First they offered us a 15 percent raise this year and 4 percent the next year and the year after that."

"That's why we rejected the contract. We aren't going to get stuck with a three-year contract. It's a one-year contract or nothing."

"We voted down our leadership at the August 25 meeting, where there were 4000 of us," another worker said. "Let me tell you, some of those boys were really angry at the offer. Eighty percent voted to reject the contract and go on strike."

Only when confronted with

such massive opposition, did Local 400 Vice President Vic Lewis approve of the strike.

An even more treacherous role has been played by Vic Sellman, head of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the leadership of the Teamsters, who have refused to honor the clerks' picket lines.

There are reports that Sellman made an agreement with the clerks' leadership that if the rank and file rejected the contract approved by the negotiators, the other union would not have to honor the strike.

Sellman recently agreed to a contract similar to the one rejected by the clerks, but there is such massive opposition to this, among meat cutters that they may try to reopen negotiations and go on strike.

The Bulletin talked to many residents of working class communities and almost all to a man supported the strike.

"Of course it's an inconvenience and I have to feed my children, but if they don't fight, who will? I'm behind them 100 percent. Somebody has got to fight, right?" said Sam, an Ethiopian worker.

Elvira, a hospital worker who lives in the Columbia Roads area said, "You know, I used to pay 44 cents for a two-pound box of Domino Sugar."

"You know how much I paid last night? One dollar and four cents. I support the strikers. I wouldn't be surprised if the hospital workers went on strike too. It's getting impossible."

"Look, it isn't going to be just the clerks," said Tom, a government worker. "It's going to be the whole city. I mean, Ford is even denying us a measly 5.5 raise. The whole city's ready to go, and you know, Washington is a government employees' town."



Bulletin salesmen talk to supermarket clerks on strike in Washington, DC.

Boston Rightists Create Anti-Busing Frenzy

BY CATHY BROWN
BOSTON, Mass.—On Monday, 10,000 demonstrators against busing marched on the JFK Federal Building in Boston chanting, "Hell no, we won't go," in a reactionary frenzy whipped up by local politicians around school desegregation and forced busing.

Demonstrators from South Boston, Roslyndale, Hyde Park, and other areas affected by Judge W.A. Garrity's court order for desegregation gave Senator Edward Kennedy a hostile reception.

When Kennedy attempted to speak, he was hit by eggs and tomatoes, his microphone was unplugged and he was forced to

seek cover in a nearby building.

Kennedy has been virtually unseen in Boston for the last month in an attempt to maintain this "low profile."

The Boston school system is completely segregated nine years after the state's racial imbalance law was passed in 1965. The conscious effort to mobilize racist fears was expressed at the rally where people were shouting to Kennedy, "Why don't you send your one-legged kid on a bus to Roxbury?" and "Do you want your daughter going to school in Roxbury and getting raped by them?"

DIVIDE

The issue of forced busing is being used to whip up racism to divide the working class as a cover for the situation which exists in Massachusetts and in Boston in particular. Unemployment is rising, food costs are skyrocketing and the cost of living is the highest in the United States.

The hysteria that was mobilized was by no means spontaneous. For a week, Louise Day Hicks, former school committee member and congresswoman has been parading around South Boston on a right-wing campaign over "forced busing."

School committeeman, Democrat John Kerrigan, a candidate for District Attorney, played the same role, dubbing himself as Boston's "fighter" against busing.

Democratic candidate for governor, Robert Quinn, campaigned on the basis of having voted against the racial imbalance law nine years ago and his Democratic opponent, Michael Dukakis, came out for "community control of the schools" which only means the continuation of the segregated system in Boston.

"Liberal" mayor Kenneth White makes his position clear: "We are all of us faced with the unpleasant act of implementing a federal court order."

CONFLICT

School opens Thursday and the stage has been set for racial conflict. Police have been mobilized throughout the city, and bus monitors have been hired.

All the pleas now for the safety of the children, "rational civilized behavior" are hypocritical in the face of the hysteria consciously whipped up and maintained by the Republicans and Democrats.

The situation is extremely dangerous for the working class which must be united to fight against the massive assaults on its living standards by the government.

The labor leaders who back the Democrats and refuse to pose any alternative to them are actually helping to create a situation where right-wingers can exploit discontent over school conditions, unemployment, and inflation and turn it not against the government which is responsible for these conditions, but against Blacks.

The trade union movement must defend integration and at the same time take up an immediate struggle for a break with both the Democrats and Republicans and for a labor party with a socialist program to unite the working class in defense of its rights.

One Third In CWA Rejects Contract

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—Some 320 craftsmen from AT&T's Long Lines Division have received four-day suspensions following a wildcat that exploded just as the ratification of the new phone network contract was announced.

One-third of the nation's telephone workers organized by the Communications Workers of America voted against the union's first national contract. Local agreements were rejected by New England telephone directory sales personnel, Western Electric factory workers in Phoenix and Atlanta, and the warehouse-distribution workers for Western Electric.

Western Electric workers organized by the IBEW struck for four weeks with no strike benefits and then were forced into accepting basically the same settlement.

The wildcat was touched off by news that workers would be

switched to a noon-to-eight o'clock schedule and a weekend of mandatory overtime work to prepare phone service for the city's primary elections.

The three-year CWA contract provides 10.7 percent in wages for the first year, with starting pay scales increased 7.1 percent.

A new cost of living clause has no ceiling, but adjustments will be made only on the contract anniversaries and base pay hikes in the second and third year are limited to 3.3 percent and will not affect starting pay.

HARASS

The union won only a vaguely worded agreement that the Bell System would "review" the Absentee Control Programs which have been used across the country to harass and suspend workers. Credits for absence due to all authorized strikes were left to the locals to negotiate.

Also left for the local agreements were the crucial provisions governing supplemental pay for workers who are downgraded or forced into short-time. This has left the company virtually a free hand to impose both practices on a massive scale.

Under the agreement covering the Western Electric sales force,

for instance, Article 43 provides that the company can short-time up to 10 days a year. New workers receive no wages for hours not worked, and workers with six months seniority are upward compensated from 35 percent to 85 percent of full pay.

Under the same local agreement, any employee can be downgraded at any time. With less than 10 years seniority, the only compensation is a 13-week salary adjustment.

As the economic crisis

SSEU Demands More Hiring

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—Welfare clerks from Local 1549 and members of the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) 371 will demonstrate on September 12 to demand new hiring, in spite of a recent report that Mayor Beame will hire 800 new workers for the welfare centers.

Understaffing at the centers is so severe that welfare clients have begun lining up before daylight to guarantee an interview. Eight hundred workers have been fired, transferred, or quit since last December 31.

deepens, Western Electric and the Bell system as a whole will impose new speedup and cuts in the work force in order to preserve profits which are declining in spite of the network's virtual monopoly status. A new leadership must be prepared now to replace Beirne's hand-picked successors in the CWA bureaucracy, which begins with the defense of workers' rights and the political struggle against the government that this defense requires.

One of the new measures is a plan to keep welfare offices open 7 pm weekdays and on Saturday mornings. In spite of contract provisions, present workers would be working mandatory overtime.

What Beame is really after is a massive force of new, nonunion workers to maneuver through the reorganization he has planned for the Human Resources Administration.

The "hiring now" demonstration will be held as scheduled, according to the union, because: "We can't live with this, even if they do hire 800. It serves no purpose for us to get back up to last year's level."

James P. Cannon 1890-1974

A POLITICAL APPRAISAL PART ONE

The MILITANT



James Cannon, center, in Moscow in 1922 with Max Eastman, left, and Big Bill Haywood. Right, the first issue of the Militant, appeared in 1928. Inset, Carl Skoglund, a Trotskyist worker.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH
James P. Cannon, founder of the Trotskyist movement in America, died of a heart attack August 21 at his home in Los Angeles at the age of 84.

It was in founding Trotskyism in America as part of an international movement that James P. Cannon made his greatest contribution to the American and world working class.

His life was wrapped up completely in the building of the Trotskyist movement here and internationally. Because of this, much of the strengths as well as weaknesses of the Trotskyist movement were expressed in Cannon's life. This was not a matter of individual traits, but of the political development of a movement—the movement which today through the International Committee of the Fourth International supported by the Workers League has the task of building the revolutionary leadership in all countries.

Cannon began his political activity as a youth in the tumultuous period prior to World War One. The fantastic growth of American industry in the last two decades of the nineteenth century created a massive industrial working class, largely made up of the foreign born. At the same time, mechanization was introduced in agriculture, forcing millions of small farmers off the farms. The United States in a few short years was transformed from a predominantly agricultural land subordinate internationally to England, into a mighty industrial power which would in the period following the war supplant England as the dominant world imperialist power.

Cannon was a part of the struggle of millions of workers in the United States against the conditions created by this rapid development of industry. He joined the Socialist Party at the age of 18. Three years later he joined the Industrial Workers of the World, a revolutionary trade

union movement which sought to organize the masses of industrial workers.

James P. Cannon was thus part of the first attempt of masses of workers to organize themselves politically in a socialist party, as well as to create industrial unions as a defense against the attacks of the capitalists and as part of the preparation for the overthrow of capitalism. It was particularly as a member of the IWW that Cannon was active in the prewar period.

LATE

The American working class was politically born very late. It took its first steps towards its own political and economic organizations right at the moment when capitalism as a world system had entered the period of decay and collapse. Out of this decay and collapse, which brought about World War One, emerged, on the one hand, the Russian Revolution, and, on the other, American imperialism dominating a declining world order.

It was these international events which posed to this fledgling workers movement tasks for which everyone was completely unprepared. James P. Cannon was one of an important layer of working class fighters who sought to meet this challenge. Cannon, together with Debs, Big Bill Haywood, and many others in the Socialist Party and IWW, fought bitterly against the war and America's participation in it. Then Cannon with Haywood and a section of the IWW, and the majority of the SP, rallied to the Russian Revolution and participated in the organization of the American Communist Party.

In the period following World War One, the IWW virtually disappeared and the Socialist Party became a minor force. The class conscious American worker had become a Communist, an internationalist. The American working class, forged out of theoretically backward pragmatic America, was forced by the very development of American capitalism in a period of general capitalist decay to reach out for the most advanced

thinking and the most advanced movement in the world, the Communist International. Of course, this pragmatic backwardness persisted in the new movement, which developed only in a continuous struggle against it. This, too, was part of James P. Cannon.

Cannon participated fully in the life of the new Communist Party, fighting along with the leadership of the Communist International to turn it into the American working class on the basis of a revolutionary perspective.

In 1928, at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, Cannon read a document of Trotsky's and decided to support his positions against Stalinism. In this way, the continuity of Marxism in the United States passed through Cannon.

The American Stalinists reverted to the most backward political positions in America. They embraced every pragmatic, every opportunist trend which developed in the workers movement through the intervention of the middle classes.

TURN

James P. Cannon's decision in 1928 to support Trotsky represented a sharp turn towards international perspectives within the vanguard of the American working class. He took the single copy that he possessed of a section of Trotsky's Third International After Lenin to individual after individual, fighting over its basic perspectives and in this way assembling the early cadre of the movement. This theoretical struggle for Marxism against Stalinism educated a layer of workers and intellectuals.

Cannon described his reaction and that of the Canadian Maurice Spector to Trotsky's document: "We let caucus meetings and the Congress sessions go to the devil while we read and studied this document. Then I knew what I had to do, and so did he. Our doubts had been resolved. It was as clear as daylight that Marxist truth was on the side of Trotsky. We made a compact there and then—Spector and I—that we would come back home and begin a struggle

under the banner of Trotskyism."

Trotsky's document stated clearly right at the beginning: "In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa. Herein lies the basic and primary difference between communist internationalism and all varieties of national socialism."

Third International After Lenin contained Trotsky's basic criticism of Stalinism. Above all, it was a polemic against Stalin's theory of building socialism in a single country. Trotsky explained how this perspective meant an abandonment of a strategy to international revolution. It reflected the conservative outlook of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union which had usurped the party from the working class and crushed working class democracy.

Trotsky assessed how this policy of socialism in one country led to Stalin's support of the labor bureaucracy during the British General Strike of 1926, an abandonment of revolutionary perspectives in Germany during the 1923 crisis brought about by the French occupation of the Saar, and open support to Chiang kai-Shek in China.

The Chinese events, which had occurred during the year before Cannon's trip to Russia, were particularly indicative of the role Stalinism would play in the future.

Stalin actually admitted Chiang kai-Shek into the Third International as a sympathizing section, subordinating the Chinese Communist Party to the capitalist party and military machine of Chiang. In the end, Chiang virtually turned upon the CCP, murdering militant communist workers and delaying the Chinese Revolution for decades.

INTERNATIONAL

All these policies, Trotsky insisted, were not accidents, but the result of a theory which abandoned international perspectives and substituted the narrow interests of the bureaucracy. Significantly, Cannon as-

sembled his first cadres—no more than one hundred people in the first few years, on the basis of these international questions. Thus, the early years of Trotskyism in America did not just represent a return to the international perspectives and principles of the early American Communist Party. It represented an important development of those perspectives. It is particularly for this that we must remember James P. Cannon today.

Cannon fought tenaciously, in collaboration with Trotsky, to construct the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

Cannon led this movement, called the Communist League of America (Opposition) and oriented towards the ranks of the Communist Party. Later, this organization merged with the Muste group which had been active in the leadership of the Toledo Autolite strike of 1934, forming the Workers Party. Then it entered the Socialist Party, functioning as its left wing. When the Trotskyists were expelled in 1938, the Socialist Workers Party was formally organized, in which Cannon remained up to his death.

ASSEMBLE

Cannon battled to hold every comrade in those difficult days and to assemble a party. Cannon was above all a party man. He had broken from the syndicalist views of the IWW which were only a left expression of Gompers on the question of the party. He had worked closely in the Comintern, particularly with Zinoviev. While Zinoviev himself was a man of great weaknesses, he was the closest collaborator of Lenin's during the critical years of building the Bolshevik Party between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions.

To Cannon's great credit, together with Trotsky and with the help of such important communist workers as Carl Skoglund and the Dunne brothers, he assembled a cadre of workers and built a base in the trade unions. Only the American party was able to accomplish this in the 1930s.

TO BE CONTINUED

VOL. 1, No. 1 NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 11, 1928 PRICE 10 CENTS

For the Russian Opposition!

Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America!

A STATEMENT TO AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BY JAMES P. CANNON, MARTIN ABERN AND MAX SHACHTMAN

1. In the view of the necessity of concentrating the full attention of the Party on the election campaign, we have refrained up till now from any statement or step calculated to open a Party discussion on disputed questions until the election campaign will have been ended and the pre-convention discussion opened.

2. We have definite views on a series of fundamental questions vitally affecting the whole future of the Party and the Comintern which it was our intention to bring before the Party in the pre-convention discussion period.

3. The "discussion" of these questions conducted up till now has not been a real discussion since many of the documents in our opinion some of the most important political documents of our time have been suppressed and concealed from the parties of the Comintern or presented to them in garbled form.

4. We have intended to undertake the task at the opening of the Party discussion after the election campaign. However, the arbitrary actions already taken against us (our removal from all positions on October 16) and the plain indications shown in the present hearing of the intention to take further organizational measures

On October 27 the underground members of the Central Executive Committee were declared expelled from the Party by the vote expressed in our statement to the Political Committee on the same date, which is printed below. This action, taken by the Political Committee in violation of the Party constitution, without even the formality of a meeting of the Central Executive Committee to hear our views and to insure themselves against any opposition in the forthcoming Party discussion and elections to the Party convention. Our views relate to principle questions upon which it is not possible for revolutionaries to remain silent. We proposed to defend these views in the Party according to the rules for Party discussion laid down in the Party constitution. The abrogation of the Party constitution and the denial of our rights as Party members compels us to take the method of direct appeal to the Party members in order to bring our position before them. We will continue to expose our views in the columns of The Militant until our Party rights are restored.—Editor.

and to begin a public campaign against us in the Party press make it necessary to state our position without further delay. It must be made clear to the Party that the measures are being taken against us solely because of our views on these issues. These views must as they really are.

5. We present them will elaborate on them in the Central Executive actions taken by the Political Committee.

6. We stand on the entitled "The Right 1. Party (excepting secret dealing with the world scan imperialism), pre-Congress of the United the Opposition in the d be participated. As we believe that the present mechanically imposed a C. I. against the will of actively developing up actions are all in the d the position of the Part activities since the pres- The Right 1. Party, the World Congress, h futed this statute. The the factional degenerat caption of the Leninist organ, part of ac fect.

7. The latest d. C. C. I. which und acres of principle opment of the Party leader giving in answer what questions of the Party

mental correctness of the document. It also demonstrates the political instability of the leaders which hampers the process of developing an opposition to the present right wing leadership and line of the Party on a principled basis. We have no doubts that the supporters of the Opposition who have regarded the struggle against the right wing leadership as a principle question will continue to adhere to this position despite all vacillations and maneuvers of a section of the leaders.

8. The problems of the American Party are organically bound up with the fundamental questions confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and cannot be solved separately from them. The key issue, of the American Party, taking shape in the present struggle against the right wing leadership of the Party (Lovestone-Pepper group) will be to expose, only as a necessary step, the necessity of a struggle against the right danger on an international scale and links up its fight with the fundamental tenets of Leninism in the Communist Party of



Trotsky and Radek Seriously Ill

The most alarming reports have reached us concerning the condition of health of Leon Trotsky and Karl Radek, leaders of the Russian Opposition who were lastly called to Tukuman and Western Siberia respectively.

We have just received a message from Moscow, from an unquestionably reliable and authentic source, which tells of the repulsive and degrading conditions in which they are given the most careful medical attention great concern is felt for their lives.

The Valdivia, organ of the Russian opposition on report a letter written by L. Sosnowsky to the Moscow Press, official organ of the Soviet Government, in which

A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists

In the spring of 1974 a bulletin called "Workers Revolutionary Party Perspectives—A Discussion Document" (Author: John Markham) was published by a group of Trotskyist renegades. The leaders of this group—Robin Blick (Robert Black) Mark Jenkins (John Markham) and Nick Peck—left the Socialist Labour League, forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party, several years ago. They have recently been joined by T. Hillier, an ex-Trotskyite, ex-anarcho-syndicalist and ex-state-capitalist engineering worker.

While this group at present lacks a name, it works in close political collaboration with the French centrist organization, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. The OCI split from the International Committee of the Fourth International in August 1971 when it publicly defended the betrayal of the Bolivian Revolution by Guillermo Lora, leader of the centrist POR (Workers Revolutionary Party of Bolivia). (For further information on this split see in Defense of Trotskyism published by the Socialist Labour League in February 1974).

In 1972 the OCI leaders—Pierre Lambert and Stéphane Just—tried to set up a rival organization to the International Committee of the Fourth International on completely centrist lines. But this failed when their chief supporters—the leaders of the emigré Hungarian Revolutionary Socialist League—partially opposed their liquidationist attempts. The Hungarians were bureaucratically expelled and were slanderously attacked in the OCI press as "GPU-CIA Agents." The WRP denounced these attacks as a method reminiscent of Stalinism.

The principal aim of their British group is complete opposition to the formation of the WRP last November. They want the WRP to dissolve itself in the Labour Party and become an adjunct of the bureaucracy in the same way as the so-called Militant group led by Mr. E. Grant. They oppose any attempt to create a revolutionary leadership in the unions and openly defend the policies of the "left" bureaucrats and the Stalinists in the unions.

The Bulletin is reprinting the following series, in seven parts, from the Workers Press, daily newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party. This series deals with questions of principles, particularly in relation to the nature of the period, the role of the trade union bureaucracy and the party's attitude to it; questions of empiricism and the Marxist method; and the fundamental question of the necessity for the revolutionary party itself.

For these reasons, the lessons of the struggle against this group have critical importance for the building of the revolutionary party here.

BLICK-JENKINS USE OF QUOTATIONS

The entire Blick-Jenkins document is based on a series of quotations taken largely from the Workers Press, designed to show that the Workers Revolutionary Party has made serious mistakes on many important political questions, especially since 1970.

Each of these quotations is torn from its material context and juxtaposed to other quotations so that Blick-Jenkins can "prove" their point.

This is precisely the method once more of the idealist—he picks bits and pieces out of reality to establish any position which he wishes to establish.

Engels long ago characterized such a method of reasoning as metaphysical. To such an idealist, said Engels (Anti-Dühring pp. 34-35):

"Things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation, fixed, rigid, given once for all...For him a thing either exists or does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else...Positive and negative absolutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in a rigid antithesis one to the other."

Here in a nutshell is Blick and Jenkins. Each quotation they take is considered purely in isolation, not in its development, as a reflection of a continually changing process. For them knowledge is not sensuously derived from the practical struggle and the theoretical comprehension of the struggle to prepare the working class for power. Instead, as philosophical idealists,



—Third of six parts by Michael Banda & Peter Jeffries—

they assume that knowledge is intuitively derived from the head of the individual thinker.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the metaphysical mode of thought could be historically "justified" on the grounds that the development of the productive forces, including science, had not advanced sufficiently to allow man to trace the real interconnections in the material and social world. Science and philosophy inevitably took on a metaphysical form—society and nature were seen as a series of unconnected entities, each to be investigated separately and in isolation. Today, however, a return to metaphysics expresses only the most reactionary form of idealism. It reflects the attempt of a frightened petty bourgeoisie to take out the bits and pieces from reality which he likes and finds to his taste, while ignoring all the "bad" sides of this reality. "The fundamental flaw of vulgar thought," wrote Trotsky, "lies in the fact that it wishes to content itself with motionless imprints of a reality which consists of eternal motion." (In Defense of Marxism—p. 65—ec. cit.)

It is for this reason that the middle class sceptic must reserve his most venomous attacks for dialectical materialism which insists on starting from an all-sided study of the objective nature of every process in nature and society in order to reveal the many forms and manifestations of the universal connection of phenomena, i.e. causality, interaction, necessity, law, essence, appearance, etc. To understand and apply this method is to insist on the necessity and inevitability of the present crisis which engulfs every layer in society, not least the middle class which seeks desperately to avoid it.

Trotsky's words, directed at the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy in 1923, can today be directed with equal justification at Blick and Jenkins:

"Lenin cannot be chopped up into quotations suited for every possible case, because for Lenin the formula never stands higher than the reality; it is always the tool that makes it possible to grasp the reality and to dominate it. It would not be hard to find in Lenin dozens and hundreds of passages which, formally speaking, seem to be contradictory. But what must be seen is not the formal relationship of one passage to another, but the real relationship of each of them to the concrete reality in which the formula was introduced as a lever. The Leninist truth is always concrete!" (New Course, p. 41, New Park Publications Ltd., March 1972.)

We must remind Messrs. Blick and Jenkins that it was of course Stalinism which pioneered this method in its struggle to discredit and then destroy Trotskyism. The Stalinist method consisted precisely in taking quotations entirely out of context, bringing them together and finally "proving" that...Trotsky was an agent of Hitler. In his "Trotskyist" days Blick devoted considerable time to answering such Stalinist slanders (see for example Stalinism in Bri-

tain Ch. 13, especially pp. 179-183.)

A REVISIONIST DEFENSE OF BUREAUCRACY

Middle-class sceptics such as Blick and Jenkins, who begin their perspectives from the plans of the ruling class, must also inevitably start from the representatives of this ruling class within the working class—the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracy. Throughout their document they eliminate completely the independent role of the working class and equate it with the bureaucracy.

Just as they set out from the ruling class and its intentions, so now they base themselves on the splits within the bureaucracy rather than seeing that these splits reflect the movement of the working class in struggle against the capitalist class and its state.

"...it is incorrect to dismiss all tensions that arise between the two wings (i.e. 'left' and 'right') as simply a division of labor for the purpose of duping the working class. The Party must learn to utilize these splits, to drive wedges into the bureaucracy and weaken its hold on the working class."

Bureaucracy is not an abstraction to Marxists. It is a very concrete and contradictory phenomenon whose role and history can only be understood from the standpoint of the class struggle. Marxists not only analyze the social origins of bureaucracy, but trace the dialectical relation of bureaucracy to all other classes in its development which alone can show the contradiction between the social origins of the bureaucracy and its political function as a parasitic and reactionary formation.

Only those who start from the class struggle can grasp the nature of bureaucracy. For the bureaucracy represents the ideological and political interpenetration of the ruling class into the working class.

In his struggle against the imperialist war and the Second International, Lenin provided an indispensable model of the Marxist critique of a labor bureaucracy which was incorporated into the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International:

"1. One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the super profits gained by finance capital, etc., the capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labor bureaucracy, a section which comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of the reformists and the 'centrists'; at present it might even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible, even in the preliminary sense, unless

an immediate, systematic, extensive and open struggle is waged against this stratum, which, as experience has already fully shown, will no doubt provide the bourgeois White guards with many a recruit after the victory of the proletariat." (Lenin on Trade Unions, p. 366, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1970.)

Trotsky enriched Lenin's analysis of bureaucracy through his struggle against the degeneration of the Soviet state and the Communist International. In his writings on the USSR, Trotsky showed in a very concrete way that the existence of a labor bureaucracy could not be separated from the class struggle nationally and internationally.

"The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes every class regime. Its power is of a reflected character. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with a ruling economic class, feeding itself upon the social roots of the latter maintaining itself and falling together with it." (Trotsky, The Class Nature of the Soviet State.)

And again: "The Soviet (it would be more correct to say, the anti-Soviet) bureaucracy is the product of social contradictions between the city and the village; between the proletariat and the peasantry (these two kinds of contradictions are not identical); between the national republics and districts; between the different groups of peasantry; between the different groups of consumers; and finally, between the Soviet state as a whole and its capitalist environment. Today, when all relationships are being translated into the language of monetary calculation, the economic contradictions come to the forefront with exceptional sharpness.

"Raising itself above the toiling masses, the bureaucracy regulates these contradictions. It uses this function in order to strengthen its own domination. By its uncontrolled and self-willed rule, subject to no appeal the bureaucracy accumulates new contradictions. Exploiting the latter, it creates the regime of bureaucratic absolutism." (Trotsky, The Workers' State and the Question of the Thermidor and Bonapartism.)

Where Lenin and Trotsky, by analyzing the contradictory nature of bureaucracy, reveal its reactionary role, Blick-Jenkins, by eliminating contradiction, derive the opposite conclusion. They consciously belittle the revolutionary role of the working class and exaggerate and embellish the role of bureaucracy. Hence we have statements like:

"The WRP leaders...do not agree that the trade union bureaucracy can come into genuine conflict with the Tories."

The assumption here is obvious. Without showing how the working class forces the bureaucracy into conflict with the ruling class, which does not alter the character of the bureaucracy—these formalists see only



The Blick-Jenkins group wants to subordinate the working class to the trade union bureaucracy, and attacks the constant warning of the Workers Revolutionary Party that the bureaucracy is counterrevolutionary. Left, mass meeting of British workers. Right, Hugh Scanlon, leader of the AUEW, accepted wage controls in Britain.

the bureaucracy coming into "genuine conflict" with the government. That is why Blick-Jenkins refuse to answer the question they ask in the document:

"But what happens (to the bureaucracy) when the capitalist class is no longer in favor of peaceful collaboration? Of course, the trade union leaders don't want this conflict. Of course they would prefer peaceful collaboration." (p. 11.)

They will not answer because they believe that though the bureaucracy "doesn't want this conflict," they can come into "genuine conflict" and play a role contrary to their reactionary character, i.e. a revolutionary one. This fits in completely with the Blick-Jenkins presentation of the bureaucracy as an expression, however distorted, of the interests of the working class.

When the working class moves forward in struggle it turns to its existing organizations; but this by no means exhausts the content or the forms of the struggle. The Marxists start not from the reflections of this movement in the bureaucracy, but from the struggle of the working class to break from the bureaucracy. The predominant feature of bureaucracy is its counterrevolutionary nature. Trotsky says: "In periods of acute class struggle, the leading bodies of trade unions aim to become masters of the mass movement in order to render it harmless." (Transitional Program, p. 19, Socialist Labour League, 1970.)

The Workers Revolutionary Party has never been insensitive to the contradictions produced in the bureaucracy by this living struggle, but the only way to proceed is along the line of a principled fight against the trade union bureaucrats who adopt centrist positions to head off the mass movement. To avoid the independent role of the working class and the struggle of the revolutionary party to give leadership to the working class is to defend ideologically the bureaucracy. The masses must go through a centrist phase as they move from reformism to revolutionary struggle, but the centrism of the bureaucracy is working in the opposite direction to that of the movement of the working class and it is designed to prevent further development and return the working class to safe reformist channels.

By demanding that the bureaucracy break from the bourgeoisie and take the power, the Marxists expose the bankruptcy of the centrist bureaucracy and help the working class to break from centrism. From this analysis Trotsky drew conclusions on the trade union work of the revolutionary party which are written into the Transitional Program:

"They (the sectarians) propose turning their backs on the 'old' trade unions, i.e. the tens of millions of organized workers, as if the masses could somehow live outside of the conditions of the actual class struggle." (Transitional Program, p. 54.)

"Therefore the sections of the Fourth International should always strive not only to renew the top leadership of trade unions,

boldly and resolutely in critical moments advancing new militant leaders in place of routine functionaries and careerists, but also to create in all possible instances independent militant organizations corresponding more closely to the tasks of mass struggle against bourgeois society; and if necessary not flinching even in the face of a direct break with the conservative apparatus of the trade unions. If it be criminal to turn one's back on mass organization for the sake of 'fostering' sectarian fictions, it is no less so to passively tolerate subordination of the revolutionary mass movement to the control of openly reactionary or disguised conservative ('progressive') bureaucratic cliques." (Transitional Program, p. 19, Emphasis added.)

The first paragraph is taken from the section of the Program called "against sectarianism." Blick-Jenkins, in their document quote only four lines of this section while deliberately ignoring that section of the Program which deals with the struggle in the trade unions. We can now see why! The perspective outlined there by Trotsky is entirely in agreement with the Workers Revolutionary Party's struggle for revolutionary trade union leadership, particularly through the All Trades Unions Alliance, which is not a "red union," as Blick falsely alleges, but is the kind of organization proposed by Trotsky in the latter half of this section quoted above.

CORPORATISM AND FASCISM

Blick and Jenkins in their document continually assert that we treat the trade union leaders as fascists. They tell us it is a return to "third Period" "Ultra-Leftism." Once more, as we shall see, their attack is based on the crudest sleight-of-hand. Their document says:

"Among a section of WP writers the characterization of the trade union leaders as described up to now does not go far enough. They maintain that the trade union leaders have become 'corporatists.'"

They then quote another passage: "These men (i.e. the trade union leaders) started as reformists, devoted to the belief that capitalism can be changed or improved peacefully...In the epoch of imperialist decay these men move more and more towards corporatism—the total merging of the trade unions and bureaucracies with the institutions of capitalist rule."

Now we have warned, and warn here again, that the dominant trend within the bureaucracy in this period of capitalist disintegration is towards the merging of the unions with the institutions of the capitalist state. And we are the only ones who have issued these warnings. Once again, it must be stressed, our analysis is in no way based upon any estimate of the subjective intentions or desires of the trade union and Labour leadership. This is Blick's idealist method, not ours. On the contrary, following Trotsky, it is based upon a grasp of the material forces of this epoch. We do absolutely insist on the complete rottenness of reformism today. We insist that the unions cannot remain reformist bodies that exist in a "normal" period of capitalist development. They will either become appendages of the state, used to discipline the working class, or they will be transformed into powerful instruments in the struggle of the proletariat for its liberation. But the absolute precondition, if the latter possibility is to be realized, is that the present Stalinist and reformist leadership is destroyed politically and replaced by the leadership of the revolutionary party.

The first Marxist to analyze this trend in imperialism and give warning of its implications was Trotsky. In his notes for Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay, Trotsky wrote:

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration of modern trade union organization in the entire world; it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power. This process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the Social Democratic and Communist and 'anarchist' trade unions. This fact alone shows that the tendency towards 'growing together' is intrinsic not in this or that doctrine as such, but derives from conditions common for all unions.

"Monopoly capitalism does not rest in competition and free private initiative, but on centralized command. The capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, etc. view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter. In their turn the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find them-

selves deprived of the possibility of profiting by the competition between the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized, capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e. on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation...By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."

Trotsky did not conclude from this that the unions had ceased to be unions under monopoly capitalism merely because they had ceased to be organs of democracy under the conditions of free capitalism. Instead he advised:

"It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy...The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

This is clear enough. Trotsky's chief concern is that the struggle to defend the independence of the unions from the state is indissolubly bound up with the struggle to overthrow the trade union bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. Even in countries where sections of the trade union bureaucracy were forced to lead struggles against the monopolies, as happened in the USA in the 1930s, Trotsky did not depart from his overall estimation of the role of bureaucracy.

"In the United States the trade union movement has passed through the most stormy history in recent years. The rise of the CIO is incontrovertible evidence of the revolutionary tendencies within the working masses. Indicative and noteworthy in the highest degree, however, is the fact that the new 'leftist' trade union organization was no sooner founded that it fell into the steel embrace of the capitalist state. The struggle among the tops, between the old Federation and the new, is now reducible in large measure to the struggle for the sympathy and support of Roosevelt and his cabinet."

Trotsky's writings on the trade unions were the product of the most profound and mature thought embracing over four decades of vital experience. They are for us the guiding line of our trade union work and the work of the All Trades Union Alliance. It is, therefore, highly instructive that the reformist critics of our trade union work deliberately ignore Trotsky and openly introduce a shameful apology for bureaucracy and Stalinism. In the section devoted to "revolutionary consciousness" Blick and Jenkins allege:

"Reformist leaders in the trade unions will continue to exert their influence either until they end up in labor camps with the rest of us, or until a revolutionary alternative can wrest the initiative from them. But that cannot be done if you start by spreading falsehoods about their real role."

This statement is remarkable for the fact that it is the nearest approximation to an elucidation of bureaucracy's role in the whole document. What the "real role" is of, bureaucracy, Messrs. Blick and Jenkins do not tell us. Why their inscrutable silence on this most decisive question facing the working class? Trotskyists have always defined the role of the labor bureaucracy as that of a reactionary and counterrevolutionary caste, and nothing that has happened in recent history will alter this basic political definition—and that includes the miners' strike.

But this attitude is diametrically opposed to that adopted by these revisionists who use certain formulations in the Workers Press (formulations which were inevitable in the course of a strike) to argue by implication that anyone who criticizes the

bureaucracy is a "Third Period Stalinist." They carefully confine themselves to the trade union role of the NUM leaders in the wages struggle, but leave unposed and unanswered the central question which must guide Marxists in the trade unions: where will these bureaucrats stand in the event of revolution and civil war in Britain? With the working class against the state, or with the state against the working class? We say unequivocally that this bureaucracy fears the revolutionary working class far more than it does the bourgeoisie and will take the side of the capitalists.

It can be said with certainty that since the mid-1960s in particular, a definite trend towards a de facto, and even a de jure acceptance of state control of unions has been exhibited by the trade union bureaucracy. Even though the TUC refused to accept the registration of unions under the Industrial Relations Act, it made sure not to lead any mass struggle against the Act and consciously fought against every attempt to do so. This tacit collusion with the Tories became the basis, later on, for the acceptance of Phase Two and the "reluctant acquiescence" to Phase Three. What was a thousand times more important for the working class was not the phoney opposition of the TUC to the Industrial Relations Act and the NIRC, but the real and willing acceptance of state control of wages in 1973. If we are to learn anything from the events of 1972 (Sally and Pentonville) and 1974 (miners' strike) it is that the working class successfully defied and forced the Tory government to resign—despite the bureaucracy, not because of it.

Does this make Murray, Jones, Scanlon, Wilson and the rest fascists? Of course not. Blick cannot find a single quotation in any of our Party Press where we have ever said that they were. Far from being fascists, they represent the bureaucracy. But it is a bureaucracy in deep crisis. It cannot remain where it was in an earlier stage of the class struggle. Its tacit acceptance of the Industrial Relations Court, the Counter-Inflation Bill and the whole panoply of Tory legislation was testimony to the complete inability of the reformists and Stalinists to fight the plans of the ruling class. Their refusal and inability to prepare the working class, and their determination to continue collaboration with the Tories and the employers, do take the working class a dangerous step along the road to the corporate state. But, we repeat, this does not make these leaders fascists.

It is significant that Blick refers to us in this connection as "ultra-lefts." Yet, as he well knows, it was Stalinism, not Trotskyism, which in the 1930s held the theory that the trade union and social-democratic leaders were "social fascists," a policy with such terrible consequences for the German working class in the period after 1928-1929. Blick distorts our absolutely principled attitude to the leadership of the unions and the Labour Party. Our whole history shows that we have always stood for the full democratic rights of all tendencies to fight for their politics inside the working class movement. Every serious worker knows that this right has extended always to the labor and trade union bureaucracy. Again, for us, this is a vital principle. We do not believe that the differences in the movement can be clarified, and reformism and Stalinism defeated except on the basis of a full discussion on all matters of theory, program and policy.

Once more this reflects the materialist basis on the revolutionary party's practice. Fundamental differences within the working class movement always have definite social and historical bases.

But we must also say that while we have always defended, and will always defend, the right of other tendencies to fight and exist freely within the working class movement, this is in no way a platonic defense.

Their charges of "sectarianism" arise from an opposition to our continual insistence on the fight for principles within the working class movement. This is what Lenin and Trotsky always understood by the United Front. What Blick and Jenkins are demanding is not a policy of united front, for which we have always stood, but a policy of a spurious, unprincipled "unity" which in practice means complete subordination to the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracy. We will never as Trotskyists subordinate our right to criticize an opponent organization if we believe their politics to be wrong, to any agreement we may have made with them.

TO BE CONTINUED

economy today

tim wohlforth

The Bankruptcy Of Part Two The Writers On Bankruptcy

Capitalist economics never gets beyond a surface description of economic facts. When these facts change drastically—as in a period of crisis like now—the economist is at a complete loss to explain why this change took place. He sees it either as the result of some unknowable natural process, or caprice, or the bad policies of some individual.

Seeing the problem in this essentially idealist manner, such economists can only pose surface solutions. Their great difficulty today is that any such solution not only solves nothing, but actually aggravates the problem.

Marxist economics proceeds in an essentially different, materialist way. Marxists see economics as relations between people formed into classes for the purpose of producing what man needs through a struggle against nature.

The difference between these two counterposed methods can be seen if we return to the quote from Edwin Dale Jr. of *The New York Times*. He sees the present crisis caused, "because the governments of all the leading industrial countries, including the United States, let inflation get away from them...."

These governments are the tools of the ruling capitalist class of the respective country. To have acted decisively against inflation then would have meant, as is so clear from Ford's actions now, a direct confrontation with the working class. To cut government spending would have meant slashing the social gains of masses of workers. To have restricted money supply would have meant high unemployment and a clash with the working class.

Thus economic relations are at heart relations between classes. If governments around the world did not act in the past against inflation, it was because of these class relations—their fear of the strength of the working class. If today these very same governments—faced with a far worse crisis—now begin to act, this means class warfare and revolutionary struggle.

In 1944 at Bretton Woods, the capitalist world's economic leaders sat down and made a series of decisions which would shape the future relations between classes.

Unable to tackle the powerful working class which emerged from the war—in many countries with guns in hand—these leaders decided to compromise with these workers through an inflationary policy. The dollar was declared the equivalent of gold as backing for all the world currencies. In this way, a tremendous expansion in money supply took place, an expansion which grew year by year.

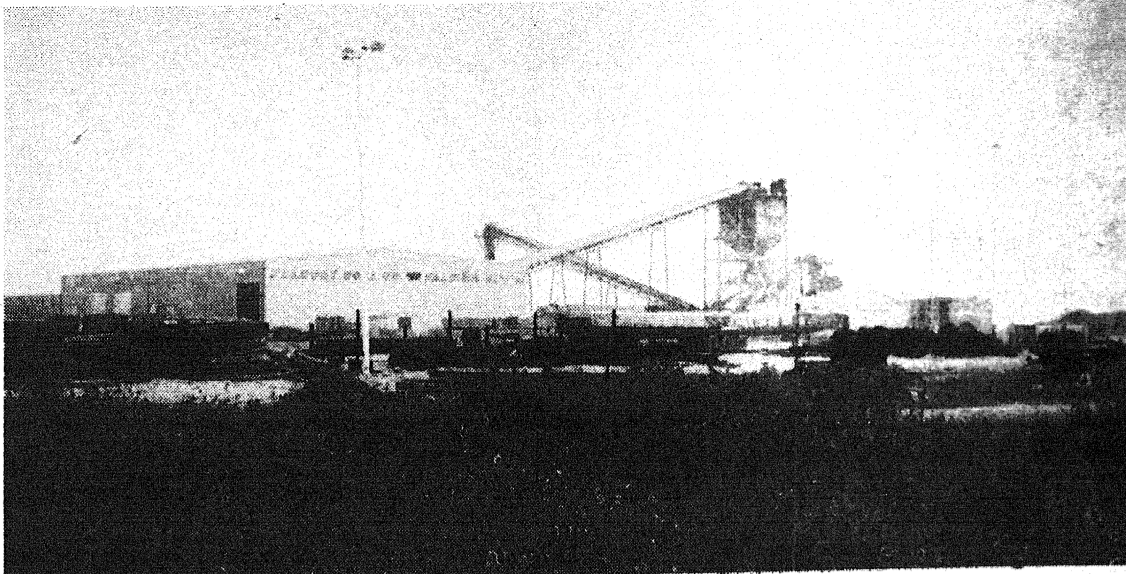
Money is a symbol of value and value is produced by the labor of men. Once the symbol gets out of line with what men actually produce, conditions are created for the breakdown in the whole economic system. This breakdown in turn requires a struggle between the classes such as is now breaking out.

The present wild movement of inflation, accompanied by all the signs of a full scale economic collapse, is the result of the final desperate act taken by Nixon on August 15, 1971 to forestall the effect of these iron economic laws. By separating the dollar completely from gold, whatever delicate stability remained in the monetary system was destroyed. No one now knows the real value of anything.

At this point, the crisis is an objective fact which dictates policies to all classes. At heart, it means the social relations of production under capitalism have completely broken down. They can only be restored to some sort of equilibrium through class action—the violent overthrow of existing conditions—the establishment of fascist rule over the working class to impose the full burden of the crisis on the working class.

The only alternative to this fate open to the working class is likewise class action. Workers must overthrow capitalist social relations themselves so that the productive forces of mankind can move forward through a socialist organization of production.

This is why it is so important to construct a leadership within the working class which refuses to remain on the level of the capitalist thinkers—the surface of the crisis. Such a leadership must grasp the whole nature of the crisis in order to construct consciously a party capable of bringing about this revolutionary change.



ILLINOIS MINERS — WAGES MAIN ISSUE

BY HOWARD WEST
ST. CLAIR COUNTY,
Ill.—Coal miners here in the southern Illinois coal fields are preparing for strike action in support of contract demands when the present contract expires in November.

"It's money in the hand that's important," Jim Kinchhoefer told the *Bulletin* when interviewed about the contract demands. Jim operates a tractor at Peabody Coal's River King No. 2 strip mine, just south of Marissa.

"There'll be a strike for sure, but I don't think it will be too long. I'm earning \$6.24 an hour, but I want between \$8 and \$9 an hour. That's about a 20 percent wage increase.

"I started as a miner 13 years ago and I was living better then.

"I think retirement age should be lowered to 50. As it stands with all my contributions into social security, I'm going to collect \$30,000 after I'm 62. I'll never spend that. I won't live long enough. We should retire earlier.

PROVE

"Arnold Miller has to prove himself. He's been talking about safety conditions, but for strip miners, anyway, we don't need anymore safety conditions.

"We have to get a good contract and I'm afraid Miller might play politics with this with Ford. He should keep away from Ford from now on."

Beth Stelmark's husband works at the Baldwin underground shaft near Marissa. She said: "Well, a strike seems pretty inevitable. We've been worrying about how we're going to make it through the strike.

"Some people say it will be for two weeks, others as long as three months. But I think the miners deserve the same wages as construction workers.

"My husband is a repairman. He earns top money—that's about \$6 an hour. Others earn as little as \$4.20.

"But for us to make ends meet, he has to work 9 hours a day, 6 days a week. I think we should be able to live on 40 hours pay.

"They say the major issue in the strike will be safety conditions. This mine here is one of the safest around. If the company tries to cut corners, the younger miners, especially, will refuse to work under unsafe conditions and the mine owners have to back down. My hus-



Jim Kinchhoefer, a strip mine tractor operator for Peabody Coal.

band's done that and the bosses really get mad."

In this coal rich area which extends across southern Illinois, from the Mississippi Valley to Indiana, coal production is expanding. Many of the mine operators are planning on sinking new shafts as prices increase because of the shortages of other energy sources.

RUTHLESSNESS

The ruthlessness of the mine operators in their drive for profits can be seen in the operations of the strip mines. Coal which lies 10 to 20 feet beneath the surface is being mined by digging up all the earth along the seam. This has transformed the fertile fields of corn and soybeans which abound in this area into barren wasteland, marked with water filled gullies and covered by nothing except patchy grass. This technique destroys all the land left behind and now has been banned by certain environmental bills passed by the state legislature.

Many of the miners in this area live in mobile homes in trailer parks. Debbie, another miner's wife, told the *Bulletin* why she supported the strike.

"We find it hard to make ends meet. We have to pay lot rent in the park as well as gas and electricity. These bills, especially, have gone up.

"The trailers need more air conditioning in the summer and heat in the winter to make them

comfortable. So this adds to our costs.

"What we really need is a cost of living clause. I can't understand why they don't have that. I think in this contract, with the way prices are going, it is a must."

Strike action will receive solid support from miners in this area. The central question facing them is wages. The skyrocketing cost of living is forcing these workers to spend more and more time in the mines.

Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers is trying to side step this fight by emphasizing the issue of safety in the mines. The owners are strengthened for this battle by the recent increased demand for coal as an energy source throughout many sections of industry.

MOBILIZE

These conditions mean that any disruption of coal production will be used by the coal mine operators to mobilize every resource of violence and repression backed by the Ford-Rockefeller government.

Miners must demand that Miller break off all talks with Ford and his economic summit meetings. Instead, these conditions require the UMW call on the rest of the labor movement to convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies, including the nationalization of the mines under workers control.

Michigan Teachers On The Offensive

BY A REPORTING
TEAM

EAST DETROIT, Mich.—The week-long strike of teachers in East Detroit became the focal point for school districts all over the state of Michigan on September 10.

Twelve districts remain on strike, out of 118 still without contracts.

On Monday, the school board obtained a court order issued by three Macomb County Judges ordering the teachers back to work. One of the three is Hunter Stair, who used injunctions against Dodge Truck workers as an excuse to hold court at the plant gate last March and arrest dozens of workers on the picket line.

Members of Local 698, East Detroit Federation of Teachers, voted unanimously on Monday to continue the strike which has the full backing of the Michigan Federation and the American Federation of Teachers.

ISSUES

Hugh Jarvis, union president, explained the issues involved: "The main areas where we can reach no agreement are on class

size, preparation time, and cost of living. We feel we had no choice but to strike after the refusal on the part of the school board to reach agreement.

"We're going to need all the help we can get in the light of this injunction, but we are determined to win. We know the board may use dismissals as a weapon as well as hiring noncertified teachers to replace us, but we have a lot of support."

At 10 am, all teachers massed at the school administration building, where parents and students joined in the demonstration with signs that read: "We Want School," "Impeach Emlaw,"

TOO MANY

A first grade teacher from Crescentwood Elementary School told the Bulletin: "I have 32 children in my class and that's just too many to give them any kind of special attention.

"There are two empty rooms at our school, but the board refuses to hire more teachers so we can have decent class sizes. Some of my children need special attention. For years, the contract has read that the board would take 'corrective measures' against some of the abuses of these children's education.

"What we need are concrete plans, not just more words. They

won't give us adequate preparation time, and they want to take away some of the gains we've made, like special education.

"We have no choice but to strike. It's not just for an increase in pay, like some of the parents have been told, we're out here for their children."

One angry parent, Mrs. Judy Schafnitz, said: "I'm with the teachers all the way.

"Sure, I want my children back in school, but how else can these teachers fight back, except by striking?

"I've been to many school board meetings, and I know that these people who sit on the board, especially Emlaw, don't care about us or the kids. Only the teachers do. That's what they're proving here."

STUDENTS

A group of students marched with signs in support of the teachers. A spokesman for the group, Marie Wilyard, a senior at East Detroit High, stated: "We know the teachers are right, we should be picketing the superintendent, let's show him which side we're on."

East Detroit teachers must have the support of the United Auto Workers to defeat any attempts to break this strike and a joint strike action by all teachers in the state.



Students in East Detroit schools support teachers strike.

Chicago Area Teachers Fight For Decent Pay

BY JACQUI PETERS
CHICAGO, Ill.—Representatives of the Chicago Teachers Union voted on September 6 to authorize a strike vote in one week if an agreement has not been reached on a contract.

They are demanding a 12 percent wage increase. The board of education's first offer was less than 2 percent.

Other major issues in the negotiations are a fight to keep jobs by keeping open 15 school playgrounds that the board wants to close, and reducing class sizes.

In Evanston, a northern suburb of Chicago, teachers accepted an 11.8 percent wage increase in a one-year contract.

Teachers in Oak Park, just west of Chicago, were on strike for three days after the board refused to meet their demands to increase the starting salary to \$9400, which is the starting salary in most suburban districts. The new contract was signed September 9 and sets the starting salary at \$9150.

The Cook County College Teachers voted 95 to 5 on September 4 to reject the board's 10 percent raise offer and go on strike.

Strikes began on September 9 in the Addison Elementary District 4 and at Marine Valley College. The Addison teachers are also demanding a base salary of \$9400.

The teachers at Marine Valley College are demanding a 10 percent wage increase, more academic freedom, lower class size, and work security. They plan a mass rally at their school this weekend of teachers and students.

The school boards are claiming in most cases that they cannot pay wage increases.

In Chicago, the school board has transferred \$35 million from the school rehabilitation fund to the school general fund in order to pay the teachers salaries.

The state legislature authorized the city of Chicago to sell \$250 million in bonds to raise the money needed for the rehabilitation program but only \$60 million was raised. In August, the school board was unable to get any bids in another bond issue of \$30 million, because the maximum interest rate can only be 7 percent, which cannot compete with the interest rates of 11 and 12 percent in the general market.

Lester Mattox, the assistant superintendent of Operations Services for the Board of Education in Chicago said that another attempt to sell the bonds will be made on September 24, but there is no guarantee that there will be bids this time either.

Lordstown Grievances Unresolved

BY NANCY RUSSELL
LORDSTOWN, Ohio—"There don't seem to be any changes." This sums up the way Local 1112 workers feel about the local contract settled August 27.

Dennis added: "As far as changes, the prices in the cafeteria and canteens are higher. We were supposed to have eliminated mandatory overtime, but we're doing it everyday.

"We're still being hassled, the foremen still bug us.

"To put a bind on GM, all unions should go out together and at the right time. This time we went out at GM's convenience, and went back at their convenience."

Ronald Morgan reported from the ratification meeting: "I went, but I didn't stay.

"We didn't stay out for seven weeks to hear them say they'll spend \$20,000 for new parking lot facilities. They didn't go into the issues. They seemed just interested in getting it ratified.

"Woodcock told the International that the strike had to end. It ended at that point. 78s weren't settled. Men thrown out for disciplinary layoff weren't getting their money.

CHANGEOVER

"We delayed changeover one month. This hurt the company a lot. If we had stuck it out longer—they were already that far behind—we would have been able to get over. This didn't make sense."

Most workers have heard no real explanation of the contract, but have seen nothing changed in

their departments and are bitter.

Chuck told the Bulletin: "The line speed is the same, in fact, they still go over to 104-5 an hour.

"Ventilation is a big problem, especially in the paint department where I work. I know many times it's over 100 degrees. It averages 92 degrees to 102 degrees, especially in the summer.

"We won provisions to have seniority for shift changes and jobs to be good plantwide, rather than being locked in your flow chart and only applicable to your classification.

"Believe it or not, Lordstown is a new plant. Everything needs more inspection and more maintenance.

"You see, I am an ex-coal miner. They're supposed to go out in November. They all go out at one time.

"We're getting our contract at Lordstown one year after the national contract. We should have a real national settlement. There are no such things as regional issues.

"It's where we have two fractions in this country. It will be the businesses or the people.

"The government is in the hands of big business. Ford proved it today by giving Nixon a full pardon.

"I like your paper and I'm for getting labor together for a labor party. We need some leaders who will do it. Don't be surprised if you see me around."

WOODCOCK

Woodcock is clearly GM's right-hand man for containing the growing offensive of auto workers.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is committed to policies for 20 percent wage gains, for ending speedup, and

for full employment of all DLOs and laid off UAW members.

These policies can only be implemented by a fight for socialist policies for all unions through constructing labor's own political party.

Strikes by themselves, no matter how militant and determined the membership, cannot win all these necessary rights from the corporations. We must prepare now by constructing the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in all auto plants in the country.

Betrayal In Midland

BY A REPORTER

MIDLAND, Mich—Workers at the giant Dow Chemical complex here have ended their bitter 25-week strike.

Despite a vote of 3273 to 1158 to return to work, resentment runs high against the negotiated settlement. Bill Wittbrodt, President of United Steel Workers Local 12075, said: "It was not a good agreement. I don't think they voted for the agreement. They voted to go back to work, because they couldn't stay out any longer."

Picket lines were violently attacked by state police and hired scabs throughout the strike and many workers were arrested on charges of alleged sabotage. Despite mass picketing, Dow managed to keep the plant operating with salaried employees who received free shares of Dow stock in return for their services.

While successfully defeating the company's attempt to abolish the existing cost of living agreement, workers were unable to eliminate the cap on cost of living allowances. Union negotiators accepted the company plan to eliminate 319 jobs, which the membership opposes. The company also retains its prerogative over job reassignment.

The criminal role of the union leadership was to allow Local 12075 to fight alone for six months. Only in the final week, when representatives of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, the building trades unions, and the Maritime Union attended contract negotiations, was any attempt made to rally the support of other unions involved in Dow operations. Actions by these unions could have shut Dow completely.

For striking, 146 probationary employees lost their jobs permanently.

In addition, fourteen workers are to be disciplined with up to six month layoffs and the fate of seven other workers charged with alleged destruction of company property will be left in the hands of arbitrators.

books by Tim Wohlforth
Writings Of Trotsky
Part One
1930-1931

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1930-31), Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York, 1973. 441 pages. \$3.95.

This new volume in the Writings series, is, like other volumes, of the greatest importance. We have here a moment, a very critical moment indeed, in Trotsky's long struggle to build the Fourth International. It was in fact one of the most difficult periods in this struggle.

The volume contains extremely valuable material on the development of Stalinism. Most of this material deals with the great distortions introduced into the Soviet economy by the bureaucratic methods and fantastic pacing of the First Five Year Plan. The most important article in this respect is "Problems in the Development of the USSR."

Also important is Trotsky's impassioned defense of the Old Bolshevik Kote Tsintsadze who died in 1931, exiled by Stalin, and of Ryazanov who was treated to a campaign of slander based on his Menshevik past. It is important that Trotsky's defense of Ryazanov is republished the same year as the slanderous introduction written by Stalinist Dirk Struik to Ryazanov's best known work, Marx/Engels. These issues are very much current today as the tasks of constructing a new leadership for masses of workers in struggle requires an implacable battle against Stalinism.

Most significant for us today is the extensive material in this volume on Trotsky's internal struggle to develop the cadres of the International Left Opposition. There are, of course, certainly difficulties in understanding this material related to the decision of the publishers to issue the volumes in the series in reverse chronological order.

This is particularly severe in this volume because it is clear that 1930 and 1931 represented an important watershed in the development of the world Trotskyist movement.

It will help therefore in understanding the volume to briefly sketch its place in the history of the Left Opposition. The sketchy introduction to the volume is totally inadequate in this respect.

Trotsky's expulsion from Russia in 1929 coincided with an important stage in the development of the Left Opposition. Cut off from the internal struggle within the USSR, Trotsky was forced to, and finally able to, devote his energies to assembling an international cadre—the skeleton around which the Fourth International would finally be formed in 1938. The perspective of this cadre was to penetrate the existing official Communist Parties, winning as many of the ranks as possible away from the policies of Stalinism.

Trotsky necessarily had to begin this international work with the material at hand—and it proved to be most difficult material indeed. Because of the restrictions posed upon Trotsky as a minority within the Russian party, he was unable to build any international faction of significance before his exile. So he had to gather together various individuals and episodic personal groups which emerged independently from various national Communist Parties and sort them out on the basis of the principles of the International



Leon Trotsky in exile.

Left Opposition. This was an extremely laborious process which at times seemed almost hopeless.

The material in this volume marks the coming to an end of a whole stage in this process. It was in this period that the Rosmer-Naville group in France and the Landau group in Germany broke with Trotsky.

This period would be shortly followed by tremendous international developments as the world economic crisis dramatically worsened and the Nazi movement gained great influence within Germany. This is why 1932 and 1933 would be years of transition for the Left Opposition during which Trotsky would shift over to the construction of a new international against the degenerate Third International. The ability of the Left Opposition to make that decisive turn in 1933 was prepared in these bitter and extremely difficult struggles outlined in this volume.

What made the struggles in this period so extremely difficult was their personal and clique character. Factions would develop in various sections, acting autocratically towards any dissension within their own sections while resisting the discipline of the international movement. All the time these factionalists would claim to adhere to all the political positions of the international leadership. In actual practice they did not agree with the perspectives of the international. They rebelled against the requirements of the building of a communist movement under difficult conditions. This became clear as soon as they broke with Trotsky.

Revisionists like Isaac Deutscher could never understand this side of Trotsky—his devotion to the development of the cadres of the Fourth International. But Trotsky well knew this was his most critical work. A movement is not preserved in manifestoes or books alone. It must take the form of human beings, with all their weaknesses, who live and breathe and fight to realize the program in practice.

"Events will bring with them the necessary change," Trotsky said, "as they have in Spain and Germany. But it is precisely the example of these two countries which shows how important it is, even before the revolutionary turn in development, to prepare as homogeneous and as solid an organization as possible, one that has passed through a serious experience of an internal struggle."

TO BE CONTINUED

BY SHEILA BREHM
 LOS ANGELES, Calif.—The strike of over 3700 bus drivers and mechanics against the Southern California Rapid Transit District has now entered the fifth week.

Before the strike, well over 650,000 people used the bus system, which is LA's only public transportation.

Both the drivers and mechanics are holding firm. The strikers are demanding a 42 percent wage increase over two years to catch up from the loss they took when wages were held down to 5.5. The biggest issue in the strike is the fight for the cost of living clause, which RTD is trying to eliminate.

As one driver told the Bulletin: "The government won't even say how high inflation will go, or how long it will last, so we're sure not going to give up the only protection we have on our wages. Any hopes I had about the Ford government vanished when he pardoned Nixon."

Although the LA bus line is the fourth largest system in the country, drivers' wages rank eighteenth—\$5.32 an hour. "Our wages are lower than the Oakland bus drivers before they had their two month strike."

Although there is a great deal of anger over work rules which can lead to immediate termination being written into the last contract, Frank, a driver, said: "We can live with the work rules, but we aren't standing for RTD taking something we had in the last contract away, that's the cost of living."

"As it is now, although overtime isn't compulsory, we have to put in overtime just to make a living wage."

Currently, RTD is receiving over \$40,000 subsidy per day from the state. Negotiations between RTD and the two unions, Amalgamated Transit Union, and the United Transpor-



Los Angeles bus drivers in front of their union hall.

Bus Drivers Holding Firm

tation Union have repeatedly broken off.

Jerome Long of the ATU said: "I was surprised to find that morale among the strikers is still very high. In fact, after the membership meeting last week I was instructed not to come back unless I could bring a decent offer."

Last April, there was a movement among bus drivers to affiliate with another union in response to the lack of action by union leaders concerning the harassment of drivers and work rules.

The new union lost by a slim margin. One driver explained: "That's why we're on strike now. If we hadn't tried to get

that other union in, this union would have sold us out long ago, and there probably wouldn't have been a strike. They're under a bit of pressure now, because they know we want action."

Contrary to what the press is publicizing, there is big support for the strike. Curtis Carter, a Manual Arts High School student, said: "I hope they get someplace."

"I think they should get paid more. They have to put up with a lot, they get beat up and spit on."

Irv Mack, a student from Fremont High School said: "I don't blame the drivers. How can people go on with this inflation?"

Oakland Teachers Vote To Stay Out

BY TED BAKER
 OAKLAND, Calif.—AFT Local 771 has rejected the tentative settlement of the Oakland teacher's strike by the near unanimous vote of 269 to 32.

The strike was the first ever by Oakland teachers. Whether the strike continues now depends on the outcome of voting by members of the Oakland Education Association.

One teacher leaving the OEA meeting told the Bulletin: "They waited until the meeting had dragged on for hours, and after everyone had gotten up to speak against this deal, then they got their people up there to speak for the settlement, after four or five of them, they called for the vote, the leaders set it up and I think they'll get their way."

While the AFT leadership unanimously rejected the settlement, the OEA leadership unanimously accepted it. OEA President Gene Clennon told the press: "I think we've got a great deal."

But teachers outside of the

OEA meeting thought differently. One high school teacher told the Bulletin: "This offer is barely different from what we voted down to start with—a six and one-half percent raise instead of six percent, and they're still not hiring back all the teachers who were laid off."

At the start of the strike, the OEA and AFT 771 were demanding a 10 percent raise, the rehiring of all 104 teachers laid off at the end of last year, five preparation periods a week for elementary school teachers, reduced class sizes, and an increase in spending on school supplies.



Engineers, reporters and production assistants for KQED, an educational television station in San Francisco are on strike over job security. The sign above illustrates the fraud of the station's claim to be "non-profit."

The following article is reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

The Italian Christian Democratic Party is being forced to think seriously about the prospect of a Popular Front-style coalition with the Communist Party, the largest party in the Italian working class.

The Christian Democrats are traditionally hostile to any such arrangement and the fact that they are now discussing the question in public is a tribute to the strength of the Italian workers.

Despite five years of uninterrupted backstage plotting, punctuated by a series of vicious bomb explosions, the Italian right wing have been unable to carry out the imposition of authoritarian rule for which so many of them yearn.

The overthrow of the Portuguese fascist dictatorship and the fall of the Greek junta have caused many capitalists to have second thoughts about the need for immediate fascist dictatorship as the answer to state bankruptcy and inflation.

According to The Times correspondent, "the severe economic difficulties expected in the autumn have prompted some people, including certain Christian Democrats, to reconsider the question of some form of official understanding with the communists in the hope of trying to keep labor content."

The Communist Party heads the CGIL, the largest and most influential trade union confederation which has repeatedly emerged, particularly since the so-called "hot autumn" of 1969, as the most conservative force in the working class.

The economic situation in Italy is so serious that even the Socialist Party Minister of Labor, Signor Bertoldi, expects a million unemployed by Christmas. In reality, as the financial position of the state corporation IRI demonstrated, the country is on the very edge of state bankruptcy.

The clamor for an "opening to the left" inside the Christian Democrat Party has reached such a pitch that the Party's secretary and elder statesman, the extreme reactionary Amintore Fanfani last week published a long list of reasons for not bringing the CP into the government.

The list included the danger of a change in Italy's international standing as well as "more adventures of neo-Nazi-fascist inspiration." The list, according to Fanfani's subordinates, was written in a mood of "perfect serenity without having been stimulated by pressures of any kind."

His other reasons, besides the ones already cited, were that the Christian Democrats would lose ground, that there would be changes in relations with other unimpeachably democratic parties; both allies and adversaries would be helped; Christian Democratic membership would change; the changes in the political, social and economic situation could not safely be foreseen as advantageous.

The response from the Stalinists was immediate and predictable. A year ago Enrico Berlinguer, the general secretary, called for a "historic compromise" between the two parties and ever since the CP has been grooming itself as a responsible coalition partner waiting for the call.

Its attack on Fanfani was

couched in terms of the "national interest"—the CP claimed the Christian Democrat leader was seeing the problem in terms of his own party and not the country as a whole!

ILLUSIONS

In a front page article in L'Unita, the party newspaper, CP secretariat member Carlo Galluzzi asserted the party's right to participate in government. "The fact is that the Communist Party is, and always has been, a party of full constitutional legitimacy."

By this grandiose parliamentary phrase, Galluzzi presumably means that the party has always upheld the bourgeois constitution. This at least has the merit of being a clear statement of the Stalinists' opportunism and should dispel the illusions of those who believed the leadership had the slightest intention of challenging bourgeois rule.

Galluzzi continued: "The relationship between the PCI and the other democratic forces cannot but be a constitutionally correct relationship, one, that is, which recognizes...the full right of the PCI to participate in the political direction of the country."

He strongly attacked Fanfani's suggestion that a Christian Democrat-Communist alliance would have a harmful effect on "European, Mediterranean and world balance" or would lead to "Nazi-fascist inspired adventures." He might have pointed to the example of Portugal where the Stalinists have held prominent posts since the end of April in the cabinet of a NATO-member country with close ties to the US.

Galluzzi went on: "It is not good for anyone—and certainly not for the country—to falsify the terms of the problems or to try to color the debate by almost apocalyptic tones, with references to the dangers for world equilibrium."

He went on to refer very directly to the growing section of capitalist opinion moving round to favor a Popular Front period in Italy. It was logical, he said, that at a time when the problems of Italian society were deepening, the parties should find it necessary to discuss the relationships between them, and the so-called "Communist question."

In what was widely interpreted as a reference to the prospect of widespread strikes and occupations in the coming months, Galluzzi stressed the service his party could provide for the employers. "In many areas today people are aware of the need for the power and influence of the PCI to have an adequate weight in the government of the country," he said.

BREAKDOWN

Galluzzi said the Italians wanted change and there was a widespread feeling that "without the communists...things cannot change." But a new relationship with the Communist Party "would not demand a radical change in the methods and choice of government."

The same theme was developed at the weekend by Berlinguer himself, also writing in L'Unita. He said the ruling coalition had shown it was no longer capable of governing the country. Complete breakdown had been avoided only as a result of the "extraordinary robustness of Italy's democratic and anti-fascist traditions," he claimed.

Berlinguer makes no attempt to warn the working class about the great dangers now in front. On the contrary, he treacherously claims that breakdown

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS GROOMED FOR COALITION



Left, Enrico Berlinguer, Italian CP General Secretary. Right, Amintore Fanfani, leader of Christian Democrats.



Italian workers demonstrate against fascism.

has been avoided, whereas in fact, breakdown is right in front. As for the robustness of the Italian democratic tradition, it should not be forgotten that Berlinguer is making overtures to the same bourgeoisie who tried to resolve their last severe crisis with the aid of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party.

Berlinguer stopped short of demanding the immediate inclusion of the PCI, Italy's second largest political party, in the coalition, but said the existing state of affairs could not continue.

He said communists must prepare as soon as possible a

positive, democratic, and lasting solution to the crisis which was paralyzing the country.

"This must come through a deep overhaul in the structure and aims of the economy, in the life of the state, in political relationships, and in the values which guide society," he said.

Meanwhile members of the three-party center-left coalition which has governed Italy for most of the last 12 years were divided over the attitude they should take to the communists.

While Fanfani warned that an alliance would have serious international repercussions, Christian Democrats, close to

Foreign Minister Aldo Moro described a pact with the PCI as inevitable, if not imminent.

The Socialists, who entered the government after the last "opening to the left" in 1962, have been reserved about the prospect of working in the shadow of the PCI.

They have tended to dismiss the question by concentrating on the need to attack unemployment.

At the last election, the Italian Communist party polled over 9 million votes, 27 percent of the electorate.

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Chile: La Traición Stalinista

En la edición del 7 de setiembre del **Daily World** (periódico del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos) aparece una declaración firmada por Gus Hall, Secretario Nacional del PC, llamando a "la participación de este país en la semana de solidaridad con Chile, recordando que hace un año, el 11 de setiembre de 1973, la junta fascista derrocó al gobierno de Unidad Popular."

En su declaración, Gus Hall culpa a las Fuerzas Armadas chilenas, la CIA y especialmente a las corporaciones ITT, Kennecott y Anaconda, de la derrota de la clase obrera chilena.

Pero lo que no menciona es que fueron los stalinistas del PC chileno, que con su política traidora de "Frentes Populares" prepararon la derrota, haciendo posible para la CIA y las corporaciones yankees establecer el regimen fascista del General Pinochet.

El Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño, PSP, y los revisionistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, SWP, unen fuerzas con los stalinistas haciendo pública su protesta contra los fascistas chilenos y rehusando denunciar la traición stalinista.

Hace un mes más o menos, el Pentágono reveló que durante el gobierno de Nixon se estaban haciendo preparativos para una posible intervención armada por parte de un sector de las Fuerzas Armadas.

Esta es una amenaza contra la clase obrera que tiene que ser contestada con la construcción de un partido revolucionario independiente. Es por esto que es tan importante hacer una evaluación del papel que Allende y los stalinistas jugaron en Chile.

Durante los tres años que duró su gobierno, Allende dedicó la mayoría de sus energías en impedir el avance de la clase obrera chilena.

En primer lugar, fue la crisis capitalista la que crea en 1970 una enorme base para la revolución.

El año anterior a que Allende asumiera el poder, los datos oficiales gubernamentales afirmaban que el costo de vida había subido en más de 1000 por ciento en solo 10 años. El 50 por ciento de los niños menores a 15 años se encontraban mal nutridos, 500 mil familias carecían de vivienda y un número similar vivía en condiciones abominables, sin desagüe, sin agua potable, luz ni condiciones mínimas de higiene.

El programa reformista de Allende, que tanto alaba el PSP, no consistió en la expropiación de las minas, el acero, los bancos, etc, sino en la adquisición de ellos. Allende, refiriéndose a los capitalistas extranjeros dijo: "Nosotros hacemos cumplir la ley y compensaremos de un modo justo."

Los stalinistas, obedeciendo a los intereses de la burocracia del Kremlin son los responsables directos de la política de Allende.

Cuando los mineros de la enorme mina de cobre nacionalizada "El Teniente" sostuvieron una huelga de 70 días por aumentos salariales, los stalinistas se opusieron a la apertura de Allende hacia los mineros y la condenaron como "inadmisible vacilaciones." La zona de la huelga, O'Higgins, fue puesta bajo control militar.

Fueron los stalinistas los que llevaron a los militares al gobierno con el propósito de usar a las Fuerzas Armadas en contra de la clase obrera.

Aún después del frustrado golpe de junio de 1973, Luis Corvalán, Secretario Nacional del PC chileno, declaró:

"Nosotros continuamos apoyando absolutamente el carácter profesional de las fuerzas armadas."

En la medida que los obreros chilenos empezaban a perder la fe en el gobierno y a organizar espontáneamente su propia autodefensa, los stalinistas empezaron a hacer los llamados más oportunistas a la Democracia Cristiana (que apoyó el golpe), pidiendo un "diálogo" para evitar la guerra civil, "para unir nuestra patria, y evitar divisiones artificiales entre los chilenos que tienen un interés común."

El ataque final del 11 de setiembre fue entonces el golpe final de un plan que pudo ser concebido solo debido a la capitulación del gobierno y del partido stalinista.

Las lecciones de Chile son la imposibilidad de la "vía pacífica hacia el socialismo" y el rol contra-revolucionario del stalinismo y su estrategia de Frentes Populares que defienden al Estado burgués contra la clase obrera.

En el próximo número trataremos la cuestión de la política de "Frentes Populares" y la lucha de la clase obrera americana contra el estado capitalista.

UAW Shelves Strike At Delco-Moraine

BY DAVID NORTH DAYTON, Ohio, Sept. 11—The shutdown of Delco-Moraine, producer of General Motors brake parts, ended suddenly this afternoon after the leadership of United Auto Workers Local 696 announced a tentative settlement.

International representatives of the UAW had joined the negotiations to force a rapid settlement of the strike, which had just completed its first week.

A ratification meeting was hastily called, and second shift workers were ordered back on their jobs even before the ballots were counted.

NO DISCUSSION

There was no discussion of the settlement allowed at the meeting, and the vast majority of workers had no way of knowing what they were voting for. Several hundred workers were unable to get into the packed union hall.

Local 696 leaders said that details of the agreement will not be published by the union before the end of the month.

However, it is clear from the details available that none of the basic issues which led to the strike are resolved.

The terms of the agreements covering a number of departments where production standards grievances were filed indi-

cated that the UAW leadership conceded to the company the right to raise job speeds.

With the exception of 5-Department, the union leadership appears to have compromised on production speed by splitting the difference between the new speed demanded by the company and the old speed which existed before the speedup drive began this year.

EXCESSIVE

The union bureaucracy also has given the company leeway on renewing the speedup drive by accepting a contract clause that only restricts the employer from demanding "excessive" jobs. There is no specific definition of "excessive."

Furthermore, in 24-Department, the union has accepted a clause in which the company is entitled to demand the completion of a certain number of good parts per day.

Formerly, the workers were responsible for only a specific number of parts, good and bad.

The manner in which the union leadership approached the negotiations was stated clearly by Local 696 President Dennis Duft who declared: "We didn't work for anything more than the workers involved said they could live with."

The settlement gives Delco-Moraine workers no guarantees either on working conditions or job security. Both questions are closely related.

The slump in auto must lead to a decline in the demand for brake parts and, therefore, heavy layoffs. The speedup during the past years has

already proven that the Delco management will use unemployment as a means of defying established work rules and attacking working conditions.

The defense of jobs and working conditions requires a nationwide strike by the UAW against the entire auto industry around the demand for a national standard on working conditions and a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

POLITICAL

Such a strike would pose a political confrontation against the Ford-Rockefeller government which is committed to a policy of mass unemployment and speedup to save the crisis-stricken capitalist system.

Woodcock, president of the UAW, refuses to take any measures to defend the living standards of auto workers.

On the very day that Delco-Moraine workers were ordered back to their jobs, he was in Washington, DC conferring with Ford in a summit with the representative of the banks.

The Local 696 branch of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party demands that the UAW break off its talks with Ford and launch a national strike around the following demands:

- A nationwide standard on line speed and jobs with no change possible without the mutual agreement of the union.
- An immediate wage reopener to meet skyrocketing inflation with an across the board increase combined with a 100 percent cost of living clause.
- Build a labor party.

CONGRESS OF LABOR. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Ford stated bluntly that unemployment would rise. His proposals for unemployment aid in the form of 84,000 new jobs is an insult when there are already five million out of work, with the jobless statistics rising every day.

At the same time, Ford stated that the government "will make a concerted effort to cut the budget and reduce our expenditures to show our willingness to sacrifice."

Not only did Meany listen to this, but he told Ford: "So, Mr. President, we will cooperate, I'm sure, to the fullest extent."

These words at the conference leave no doubt that the bureaucracy will offer no resistance to unemployment and Ford's preparations for wage controls.

What defense of the working class can be expected from men who are willing to sit down with Ford, a notorious labor-hater for 25 years, who is now carrying forward all the sinister conspiracies against the labor movement developed by Nixon.

Of course, none of these leaders made any references to the pardon of Nixon and the new stage of the Watergate conspiracy.

DRESSING

Floyd Smith, president of the International Association of Machinists, called the meeting "nothing but window dressing." He added: "I got the impression they've already made up their minds as to what they're going to do. I hope the inflation program works, and we'll try to help make it work. But I just don't

like being used as a tool."

If Smith is being used as a tool, it is because the labor bureaucracy wants to be used as a tool. If Smith does not want to be a tool, he knows how to walk out of the gate of the White House.

This is a time for action. The working class will not allow itself to be dragged down into the depths of unemployment and defeat by the bureaucratic cowards like Meany, Woodcock, and Smith.

What is required now is a fight in every union to demand that the labor movement pull out of these summit meetings, break with Ford, and organize its own summit to map out policies to defend the working class.

The capitalist crisis requires that this emergency congress of labor be held immediately. The most important task of this congress would be to launch a labor

party, based on the trade unions, to fight for policies to meet the crisis.

The principle policies of this labor party would necessarily include the following demands:

- Full employment through a shorter work week. No layoffs!
- Nationalization under the control of the workers of any plants whose owners refuse to maintain full employment and decent wages.

•Wage increases to make up for the fall in the living standard of millions of workers backed up by full escalator clauses.

•No laws or government actions against the unions.

We urge all workers to take up the fight for this program by joining the Workers League and building the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in their plants as the alternative to the bankrupt bureaucracy.

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