LEADERS SELL OUT
BRITISH DOCK STRIKE

By a Foreign Correspondent

London, August 1—Tory politicians and big business spokesmen in Britain are applauding the betrayal by national union leaders and local officials of the first national dock strike since 1926.

In London, local T & G WU officials including several under Communist Party influence were able to ram the sell-out down the dockers’ throats at mass meetings at which actual votes were never taken. As a result, the London dockers are returning to work without a single solitary penny increase in their basic rate.

As one of the dockers at the London meeting put it, “All we got at this meeting was Big Brother.” His diatribe was shared by rank and file dockers throughout London and other ports. Earlier, militant dockers demonstrating for a rejection of the representatives at the delegates conference, greeted the decision with cries of “sell-out” and made clear they wanted to continue the strike as an “unofficial” action.

The will to fight on the part of the rank and file was never lacking throughout the strike. What was needed in the British working class. The bosses are preparing for a full scale stepping up of the drive for increased productivity by the implementation of “modernization” of the docks under “phase two” of the infamous Devlin Report.

The “modernization” over which the port employers and the entire capitalist class are rubbing their hands in glee will mean a further destruction of the conditions and jobs on the docks by abolishing piece work, devastating Manning scales, and virtually freezing wages while speedup and unemployment gather steam.

The betrayal by the union leaders is not only a green light for war on the Workers Press, daily newspaper of the British Trotskyists has pointed out, this will be followed by Tory attempts to impose “government legislation against all unofficial strikes and every expression of militancy on the docks. Speed-up at one end, the dolce-queue (breedades) at the other.”

During the course of 1970 the economic crisis has reached a new pitch. The drop in the rate of profit, the mounting inflation, the fall in capital for investment has driven the bosses in only one direction. They must make the working class pay for this crisis. They must recreate the conditions of the 1930’s, but we are not living in 1929. This must be stressed. The capitalist class now faces a working class organized, disciplined and confident as never before. Workers have achieved standards of living (continued on page 2)
UNION LEADERS BETRAY BRITISH DOCK STRIKE

that they are determined to maintain at all costs.

The immediate cause of the strike is the drastically cut wages paid by the British National Anomalies Stevedores and Dockers, known as the 'BNA' because of the color of its union cards.

JONES

The national dock strike, the first official national strike since 1926, as originally scheduled by the union leadership—union leaders, for July 14. On the night before the strike deadline, the chief of the TGWU, the Transport and General Workers Union of Britain, made a sudden televised appeal to the dockers. He asked for the union membership to remain at work for 48 hours until the national dock clubs delegates conference could have the opportunity to analyze the vote and judge upon what Jones called other offers from the dock employers. Included in this "new" offer was a no rise in the basic rate: 30,000 dockers ignored this latest appeal on behalf of the bosses and walked out. The strike became the collective bargaining contract which in 1964 charged with producing a report on the state of the docks. They did.

"The report they produced was an employer's propaganda, to be used as legal documentation for modernization, reduced manning scales and the use of unorganized ports. By the introduction of the Dockers' Board, the wage rate's the possibility of pushing ahead with the wage offensive would be lost. In other words, it was to be the unions back in jobs, and crushing conditions were to be imposed on those who remained.

The employers knew, and it terrified them, that if the dockers were to win the $48 basic wage, phases two of the Devon scheme could well be dead. The average earnings would rise sharply and it would be much more difficult for the employers to tempt the dockers into accepting job cutting rationalization through the offer of further increases. That is to say, the $48 basic wage rate would eliminate the possibility of a rationalization which could be used as a basis for negotiation.

The election of the Tory government on June 16, with which Wilson has his treacherous anti-working class policies so well in line, is a new political situation. This government is the most vicious, right-wing Tory administration since the Second World War. It has to be, it has fundamental class tasks to carry out. It must take in the working-class and it must try to win.

PEARSON

An 'impartial' third party commission, the Pearson Inquiry was set up to investigate the dispute. But there can be no such thing as impartiality in this conflict. The commission report is an open declaration of war on the dockers. Hattersley, Pearson and the bosses want to smother the political in the bosses' position. No wonder then that they immediately embraced all the proposals.

In the face of the employers' attacks, with the definite possibility of troop intervention, the trade union leaders, the Socialists and revisionist allies moved swiftly. So swiftly that in a startling turnaround, Jack Jones said it quite explicitly: "We are not taking the decision on the present government. The Communist Party, which has never more than mildly criticized Jones, immediately declared that Trojan is a government that seeks to control the trade unions. If it17 is a government that seeks to control the trade unions, it is not a government that seeks to control the trade unions. The government itself is beyond the jurisdiction of the union leaders."

ALTERNATIVE

The Socialist Labour League, the British dockers.

COURT MARTIAL THREAT BREAKS STRIKE IN SPAIN

After the first strike ever on Madrid's underground since it was opened 51 years ago, 4,000 Metro workers returned to work under a threat of military discipline and court martial authorized by General Franco.

Bus workers were considering sympathetic action when the Spanish Cabinet decided at an emergency session Wednesday night to place all strikers under military discipline.

Refusal to work would then have been treated as mutiny, and court martial courts were certainly at hand.

Despite this threat, the vote to return to work was very close. Franco's fascist regime is fighting for its very existence against one of the biggest workers' offensives in Spain since the end of the 1936-1939 Civil War.

Following the shooting of three striking building workers in Granada last week, fascist police raided a secret Madrid meeting of the illegal trade union organization, the "workers' commissions", and arrested about 100 militants.

Workers demonstrating near the Granada strikers were attacked by police yesterday in Pamplona, in the northern province of Navarra. Several arrests were made.

This demonstration by Pamplona workers is highly significant in that the politically backward Navarra region provided the first major organized support of the workers during the early stages of the Civil War.

And while Franco's jails once again begin to fill up with workers, the Soviet bureaucracy comes to his aid with its usual adroit sense of timing.

The Soviet Deputy Minister for Coal attended the recent International Mining Congress held in Madrid, and while he was in Spain, visited the Asturias miners in the North.

This Stalinist bureaucracy is simply following the trail blazed earlier this year by the Polish government, which, after breaking the January strike of Asturian miners by exporting coal to Franco, sent mining technicians and productivity experts into the mines to help Franco restore production and place the mines on a profitable footing.

Now it seems the Polish bureaucratic cannot cope with the task on its own, for, according to the journal "El Economista": "The Soviet Union has agreed with HUNOSA to collaborate on the solution of problems of modernization and mechanization of the coal mines..."

Shortly after this deal was concluded came the Granada shootings followed by the Czech government's openning of diplomatic relations with the Francisco regime. This chain of events has a consistent pattern.

The more the Spanish working class fights to throw off the fascist oppressors, the more the East European Stalinists come to its aid with political and economic assistance.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Malory Jones

Asbury Youth And Black Politicians

BY PAT CONNOLLY

ASBURY PARK, N. J., July 21—The basic causes behind the rebellion by unemployed black youth which shook the Jersey Shore three weeks ago are the same as those expressed internationally in the growing crisis of capitalism.

Growing unemployment, especially among young people that has been caused by the bosses and their governments on the living standards of workers, and the use of racism to divide working people is the situation all over the world. The riots in Belfast and London, and the police brutality in other cities have had the background as those in Asbury Park, New Bedford, Massachusetts, and Highland Park, Michigan.

But neither the "Black Patrol" set up by community leaders to keep young militants occupied in "cooling it," nor the meetings with black and white clergymen, who are just as concerned with calming the will of the community, will prevent any program with which to confront these underlying problems.

Many of those who were involved in the rebellion, in which more than 90 persons were wounded by police shotgun blasts, are still in jail, some under bail and some in jail, but all have been released.

In Asbury Park unemployment is one of the sharpest expressions of the economic crisis that has depressed racism and aggravated the conditions leading to the rebellion—either mental jobs at low pay or no jobs at all. This has led to total inadequacy of housing, parks or recreational facilities.

LEADERS

Although White and Barnwell, two of the community leaders, is quoted in the Militant, the leader of the Black Labor Party, as saying that "More people have been hired on community projects in the last four days than in the last five years," the unemployment rate among black youth remains in the 30-35% range.

The black patrol organized by community leaders to aid the police in "cooling it."

There is no doubt that this "short notice" hiring has not been matched by the surface of unemployment on the West Side. These black South Side workers laid off as quickly as they were hired, as the bosses and businessmen go into as deep a panic as ever. A few reforms, a few makeshift jobs, will not solve any of the problems confronting youth in Asbury Park.

SUSPICIOUS

The tremendous military and willingness to fight back is shown in the rebellion as potential not for a few crumbs of reform but for the complete smashing of the capitalist system which exploits and oppresses working people.

Speaking to youth at the West Side Community Center this week made this clearer than ever. Many youth were suspicious about the intentions and program of community leaders like Hammond, who was involved in negotiating with the city and with the clergymen, as well as channeling the energy of the youth into policing themselves.

As we spoke with people downtown, they got extremely suspicious about the conditions facing black workers, but they represent the interests of the bosses and the government. Stoker called out the National Guard against the Teamster's strike. Gibson will do the same thing against the ghetto if necessary.

As one youth we spoke with said: "He may say he can do something, but he can't do it at all. He can't go beyond the capitalist system. They can't change the system itself from inside. It's too rotten."

The community leaders who are concerned with demands like a black member of the board of education, or getting the troopers out of the ghetto but keeping the white police in, and thinking that reforms will solve the problems, actually misled the youth.

These community "leaders," and the so-called community leaders in this crisis in Asbury Park is part of an international crisis hitting workers all over the world. Fighting back against this, against the government and the bosses who reserve their profits through increasing unemployment and paying low wages, requires a program to unite the unemployed youth with the fight of the labor movement.

POLITICAL

What is required is political mobilization of youth against the capitalist class. Even more, the building of a socialist youth movement around the fight against racism, unemployment, police attacks, bringing these problems into the labor movement.

The fight to build a labor party, opposed by the Democratic and Republicans who are both responsible for the conditions we are fighting, the attacks on the working class, the war, is not the political expression of the fight by the youth in Asbury Park.

The demands which must be raised in this fight are—jobs for all, for a shorter work week at full week's pay, for an end to racism, guaranteed job training and jobs at union level wages for youth. This is the way forward for the unemployed youth to unite their fight with the fight of workers everywhere, posing the question of the working class taking power and running society in its own interests.

CALIFORNIA AEROSPACE UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Los Angeles—Unemployment in the Southern California aerospace industry is rapidly increasing with new layoffs by North American Rockwell and TRW Systems. At North American 40% of the workers have already lost their jobs and the remaining 10,000 employees by the end of the year. Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, and Northrop are planning additional layoffs, wage freezes or cuts, and the elimination of various employee benefit programs.

According to a survey in this area is already down 15% from last year and will probably reach 25% by the end of December. This means a total loss of over 100,000 jobs.

The majority of aerospace workers are not organized. The UAW is the largest union in aerospace but its leadership has done virtually nothing to defend the interests of its members. Only a few locals have raised the issue of a campaign to organize the workers in the plant along the lines of the Aerospace Workers union, which is starting to organize.

Unemployed aerospace workers find it impossible to find new jobs and those that do usually have to take large wage cuts. Most are turning to jobs in raining or retailing and unemployment insurance.

The aerospace workers have started a new class pay for the war in S.E. Asia is being felt with full intensity by aerospace workers here and also in such cities as Seattle, St. Louis, and Marietta, Ga.
Arab Masses Protest U.S. ‘Peace Plan’

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER
Response to the treachery of Nasser’s “unconditional acceptance” of the “peace plan” is a wave of protest by the masses.

Under pressure from this movement, the Iraqi leaders have opposed the deal, and announced that 10,000 Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan are to be put under the command of the guerrilla Central Command.

The Syrian government, led by a different wing of the Baath Party from that which has opposed the plan, has more equivocally. Nasser’s Prime Minister, Rifaat, who has favored the plan, is at present in Damascus to the Syrian leader.

STRIKE
On July 30, a two-hour strike was called in Jordan by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

On July 29 there had been a demonstration in Baghdad against any acceptance of the settlement leaving Palestinian positions under Zionist control.

Radio stations, closed down by Nasser and his Sudanese associates, are now operating again from Syrian territory.

The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Yasser Arafat, has issued a statement denouncing Nasser’s action as “an admission of the existence of hostilities against the resistance war which is stemming from an attempt to subvert it.”

So, while the Central Committee of the guerrilla organizations, dominated by Al-Fatah, has not commented on the rivalité between the camps of the guerrilla broadcasts.

MOSCOW
The Soviet army build-up on the Soviet front was designed as a deal with the Americans, in which Egypt unification on Moscow would force Nasser to agree.

Nasser’s Moscow trip, prolonged for three weeks, coincided with great diplomatic activity between the Russians and the Israelis.

Now comes the payoff. The Arab guerrillas, who had been backed by Nasser as a way of bargaining with the United Nations, are now faced with liquidation as the Egyptian-Lebanese partitioning of the right of the Zionist state to remain in Arab territory.

The setting up of the State of Israel in 1948, it must be remembered, was only possible because of the support given to it by the United Nations.

Even clearer was the role played by Moscow in opening the way for Israeli aggression.

The Soviet leaders warned Nasser of the new threat, but he refused to issue sufficient arms to meet it.

While the Israelis destroyed the Egyptian air force and other powers with Napalm, the Egyptian air force, so far as was known, was unable to supply planes.

On June 6, as the Zionist armistice captured the Sinai area, Moscow forced Nasser to stop all resistance.

In November, the Israelis supported the Security Council resolution on which the present deal is based.

Thus the Egyptian government consistently given privileged support to the Arab revolution, of which the struggle against Zionism forms the major issue today.

SSEU RANKS FACE THREAT
BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER
NEW YORK, N.Y.—There is a credible rumor leaked by the administration of the Central Services that the “reorganization” is to be extended to the Boulevard, Bay Ridge and Euclid welfare centers. This move if allowed to go through will involve the elimination of 50% of the welfare staff and also the closing of the centers.

But it is reorganization and the job cuts that we resist as agreed by the workers of the Central Services to the leadership of the SSEU in the last contract that led to the first trouble of staff opposition. The SSEU leadership, the most increased rate of “pending” (the incessant last minute for refusal by the scorers), the increase of cases for refusal, the increasing numbers of uncovered cases, SSEU-371 chapter of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was told by St. Nicholas have taken votes towards pending actions following the lead of Waverly and Berlin. This military, because it is localized, because it does not exist itself to the citywide if not the nationwide Nixon strategy of calculated unemploy only spoils and falls into the trap of that strategy. The reward for the fight against reorganization is more reorganization.

The Hill leadership, which was elected because of the membership was forced by the “Morgensterns betrayed takes giant steps down this new betrayal path by actually military into important but basically liberal scenes. worker relations struggle against the advance of bourgeois elements and the economic gains and democratic liberties.

REPRESSION
The repression became a trial of Ivo Kamboum, who, during a discussion organized by the Serbian Philosophy Association of the Belgrade Philosophy Faculty on the theme, “cultures and crushes”, arrested in front of an audience of hundreds that Kamboum was condemned as a homosexual, without basis. He added that the majority of those condemned to the infamous prison “GOLI OTOK” (Naked Island) were not traffickers. He also termed the process by which he was sentenced as a “kangaroo court”.

Ivo Kamboum participated in the Yugoslav revolution from its outset in 1940 and as a militant combatant he was imprisoned by the Goli Otok. He was one of the organizers of the armed struggle in Montenegro. Before his imprisonment he rose to the rank of general in the Partisan army. The Belgrade daily newspaper POLITIKA has covered the trial of Kamboum in numerous articles. Not once, however, has the newspaper mentioned the speech he delivered at the trial. He delivered the speech in the Montenegrin trial for all those who participated in the discussion. The trial is the real trial of Montenegro. Before this trial, it is but another front in the all-out attack unleashed by the Yugoslav government against the other Yugoslav guerrilla movements, which are now fought in the Montenegrin army against the war leadership, and the other Stalinist bureaucracies of Eastern Europe against the workers, youth and intellectuals.

1199 OPPOSITION FIGHTS CONTRACT
NEW YORK, N.Y.—The Rank and File Committee of Hospital Workers Local 1199 in the New York City Health Department is the first step in overturning the sellout contract by the leadership. The petition demands that a new vote be held at a mass membership meeting, with equal time for both sides of the issue.

The ratification vote to date does not reflect the will of the membership. There is no satisfaction with the contract among the membership. The only contact with the sellout is in no defense against the deepening exploitation of the worker. The leadership has been able to push through this contract by only frustrative voting practices, through the use of its majority, and through the use of a signature

1199 contract fight is not over but has just begun. The 1199 opposition is fighting the contract by joining in the campaign for a new vote.
WHAT IS SPARFACIST?

"If we subtract everything accidental, personal and episodical, if we reduce the present groupings in struggle to their fundamental political types, then indubitably the struggle of comrade Abern against comrade Cannon has been the most consistent. In this struggle Abern represents a propagandistic group, petty-bourgeois in its social composition, united by old personal ties and having almost the character of a family.
—Leon Trotsky - In Defense of Marxism p. 61

PART SIX- The Class Nature Of The Spartacist League

"ANY SERIOUS FACTION fight in a party is always in the final analysis a reflection of the class struggle," stated Trotsky in In Defense of Marxism. "The Majority faction," Trotsky continues, "established from the beginning the ideological dependence of the opposition upon petty-bourgeois democracy. The opposition, on the contrary, precisely because of its petty-bourgeois character, does not even attempt to look for the social roots of the hostile camp."

The split between Spartacist and the International Committee represented a fundamental break and as such was as much a reflection of the class struggle as the split in the SWP in 1940. As with the Sharonian opposition the Spartacist has been unable to make any sort of class analysis of the split nor is it able to this day to give a coherent account of its differences with the International Committee.

It was precisely this question which came up at the Western Regional Conference in the floor debate with Spartacist:

"The Spartacist spokesman was asked from the floor to explain what exactly was the central principled difference Spartacist held with the International Committee. The spokesman could not do so. What the Spartacist spokesman did state was that since the American working class was not in motion, what was needed was to intervene whenever things were happening, like the Women's Liberation Movement, and to seek to bring about a 'regroupment.' Another Spartacist later amplified on this, stating that our tactics must be adjusted to the fact that we live in peaceful times."

DIFFERENCES

Of course Spartacist has many "differences" with the International Commit-

Spartacist answers the charge that it broke from internationalism in its split from the International Committee. It accords us of being a "miniscule parody of the old Moscow-oriented Communist parties—only in this case it is a tiny band of pseudo-Trotskists spoiling British chauvinism instead of Russian." This charge of "British chauvinism" is then repeated at the end of the article.

Spartacist does not approach seriously the question of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International itself. Was this just a matter of "Russian chauvinism" and if it was what was and is the political content of "Russian chauvinism"? If Russian chauvinism is meant to indicate simply that the Russian Communist Party was the leading party of the Comintern and if "Moscow-oriented" is also meant to mean that Communist Parties in other countries looked for political leadership to Moscow then Spartacist is repeating the slanders of the social democratic betrayers in the first years of the Com-

Let us first take a look at the way Spartacist answers the charge that it broke from internationalism in its split from the International Committee. It accords us of being a "miniscule parody of the old Moscow-oriented Communist parties—only in this case it is a tiny band of pseudo-Trotskists spoiling British chauvinism instead of Russian." This charge of "British chauvinism" is then repeated at the end of the article.

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The trade union bureaucracy supports Green and Lewis precisely because their views, as able to be defended, can safeguard the material interests of the labor bureaucrats. But upon what does its "bureaucratic conservatism" rest in the SWP? Obviously not on material interests but on a selection of bureaucratic types in contrast to another camp where the bureaucrats, ideologues and propagandists have combined. The difference of course exist and in fact are of a fundamental nature. But since the very essence of the sectarian character of the Trotskyist's unprincipled break with the international movement, and it is this materialistic premise that the Trotskyist cannot confront, everything is necessarily reduced by the Trotskyists to the level of acelian and thus that isolated position.

We will seek to back our way through Trotskyist West's exposition of its conception of its differences with us and reveal in the process its method and its real political interests.

"We do not, of course, believe these are 'questions of principle' in the political sense, only in the sense that they oppose the sending of British troops into U.S. territories. But the SWP, like many other British Trotskyist groups, also supports the interests of British imperialism! Or is it simply that Trotskyists assert that the Socialist Labour League carries considerable political weight? Once again we come to this section in the International Committee?

BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM

The political fallout of their split with the International Committee goes all the way back to the 1962 split in the International Socialist League inside the SWP. At that time they wrote:

"The leadership of the NYC comrades that they stood fast and refused to be intimidated by the Arsenal of bureaucratic-centralism which surrounded the now-defunct Com- munist International in the Nineteen Twent-
ies..." (4)

In 1962 they once again raise the charge of Stalinism. The editors of Spartacist state:

"While Healy largely just rehashes the Bulletin's previous arguments and thus further reveal the man's Stalinist-conditioned view of an international..." (5)

Further on there is reference to "Healy regime's anti-Leninist bureaucracy." Harry Turner, among others, stand as the "Healy Reconstitutes" collection.

"The International Committee anti-Leninist Lytton party: A bureaucratically degenerate Communist Party, that has a greater concern for the welfare of the bureaucracy than for the welfare of the people they are supposed to represent."

"The total lack of an international character in the manner of Stalin's Comintern, permitted with security one Comrade Lytton to call for the Internacional in 1960.

"The International Committee's anti-Leninist anti-Leninist anti-Stalinist and anti-bureaucratic approach should be the basis on which we can concretely and scientifically determine a revolutionary, bureaucratically degenerate Communist Party and our revolutionary approach towards the bureaucratic state. Stalinism may have a role as a possible tool for revolutionary petit-bourgeois British imperialism to carry out a restoration of internationalism. An adequate answer will be the further development of an ILL leadership which will not tolerate pressures of social classes."

"The leadership of the Comintern in the final final analysis of a class struggle."

"First it is charged that the IC was very concerned to maintain the IC's committed to the"..." (7)

Again we see the same line of attack: the "bureaucratic centralism" of the Comintern in Russia and reflected in open counterrevolution and the Communist Party. Next it is simply asserted that this bureaucracy is responsible for all the bad things not only with evidence but without a material explanation of the roots of such bureaucracy.

ORIGINS

Then we arrive at what the political origins of Healy may be a factor. It is of some interest. The IC may be one factor. What makes this argument of original sin so absurd is not only that one can explain a political tendency as important as Stalinist bureaucratic centralism on the basis of the political origins of a single individual but that if we applied the method to the author of this accusation it would be even more damaging! Here is Harry Turner who spent over 20 years in the Communist Party attacking Healy when he was the Communist Party in the middle 1930s and who was the time Turner spent in the CP on the fundamental question of bureaucratic centralism while the Stalinists were harrassing both the Social- and the bourgeois..." (8)

Leon Trotsky insisted on a class analysis of every factional struggle and split. The political origin of a single individual but that if we applied the method to the author of this accusation it would be even more damaging! Here is Harry Turner who spent over 20 years in the Communist Party attacking Healy when he was the Communist Party in the middle 1930s and who was the time Turner spent in the CP on the fundamental question of bureaucratic centralism while the Stalinists were harrassing both the Socialist- and the bourgeois..." (8)

"We then get to the argument stolen from the Pabonites of 'tradiational petit-bourgeois British imperialism.' It is true, as was pointed out in the polemic with the Pabonites, that Britain is an island and for that state of affairs we certainly cannot blame Comrade Healy! This is another version of the accusation of 'British chauvinism.' It is Turner seriously asserting that the Socialist Labour League is giving in to the pressures of the British ruling class through the media of the British middle class? If this is the case then there must be a political ex-
pression in the politics of the ILL of con-
ciliation with imperialism, with the labor bureaucracy in England which serves the interests of imperialism and the like. But no such concrete material analysis is provided. The ILL is reduced to the objective ide-
alist judgments of the capacity or incapacity of individuals. Oh, how the middle class individualist seeks to bring everyone else down to his own level of thinking. Great historical events become reduced to per-
sonal characteristics just as they them-
seives decide their own political course in the basis of personal prestige and subjec-
tive feelings.

SHACKMAN

It is not accidental that the Robertson group virtually stole their characterization of the International Committee from the Schachtman group in 1940. While Shacht-
man said "bureaucratic centralism" Robertson says "bureaucratic centralism" in both cases we have a petty bourgeois rebellion from petit-bourgeois discipline and from principled politics. Here is how Trotsky assessed their position at the time:

"Conyon and his group are after all the opposition to the 'expression of a type of opinion which is too closely linked with the bureaucratic conservatism.' What does this mean? The domination of the conserva-
tive sentiment from the Fourth International by the technocrats, the bureaucratic centralists who have a share in the profits of the national bourgeoisie, would be unthinkable without direct or indirect support of the bureaucratic state. The role of the Stalinist bureaucracy would be unthinkable without the GPU, the GPU and the GPU, the GPU, the GPU..." (9)

Max Shachtman (above) was originator of Robertson theory of "propaganda group."
"The drying up of important areas of work in the past two years (especially the truly international union growth) with a general rightward shift in the general political climate has caused considerable membership turnover, including a faction fight and split."[12]

Not only is there no crisis but the "political climate" is shifting to the right. This is the actual perspective of Spartacist as put forward in their own resolution. No wonder this perspective came into such a sharp collision with the outlook of a group of black students and workers at the W.E. Western Regional Conference. What is also clear is that for Spartacist, this assessment of the political climate and objective situation becomes the excuse for its own failures. The disintegration of Spartacist is thus blamed on the "left" perspective of Spartacist and its break from the International Committee but on the objective situation and the failure of the working class. Such is the depth of the totally subjective perspective of this group.

PARTY

The next sentence: Spartacist West states: "We have a perspective of building a Marxist-Leninist party in this country and a truly international movement."[13]

We have gone into some detail on the Spartacist's "perspective" for building a "Marxist-Leninist" party in this country. They have shown not only to be nothing more than a "Marxist-Leninist" group with internationalism but also a completely unprincipled and totally fruitless endeavor. Why don't they ever answer the question of "Marxist-Leninist party in this country?"

We can only give a reply: "Yes." We answer the question, of the 44th Conference that Spartacist at that time discarded their perspective of the revolutionary party into the "tactic" of building a "Marxist-Leninist" group (i.e. a communist movement of itself) rather than on any objective considerations and not having to work in the years the large propaganda group of 1966 ends up in 1969.

"We must recognize that we are a sub-propaganda group whose primary goal over the next period remains the establishment of a stable propaganda group perhaps ten times our present size."[14]

This question of a propaganda group is not a matter of size or even of day to day tasks. Clearly in this period regardless of the size of the movement much day to day tasks remain on a propaganda level. To simply be a part of a period of revolutionary struggle propaganda work never ceases to lose its importance. To take the "strategy" of a party and transform it into the "tactic" of a propaganda group involves the destruction of the "Marxist-Leninist" strategy of a party and substituting the "Marxist-Leninist" group, which floats independent of a material revolutionary movement, in the international movement, not guided by principle, and above all free from the responsibility to give leadership to the working class.

LEADERSHIP

For instance, leadership in the working class is concerned Spartacist writes: "Instead, we frankly term our perspective a fighting propaganda orientation, recognizing that for us in the work class movement has little value unless it can carry its involvement will be more than a next drain of resources from the revolutionary movement to the mass organizations."[15]

This means that work in the trade unions is seen as a showpiece with which to push propaganda to impress the middle class. Those conducting this work assume no responsibility for leadership of the working class. This means that the leadership of the class is left in the hands of the leaders bureaucratic and the revisionists and all the left talk of Spartacist is exactly what they say it is—propaganda not leadership. Of course if there is no capitalist crisis and there is a general rightward political climate there is little objective basis for playing a leadership role. Thus this lack of an understanding of the objective capitalist crisis reinforces the propaganda group perspective of Spartacist leading to a complete abdication of leadership in the trade unions.

It is precisely this policy which Spartacist carries out in the only union it has been active in for any length of time—Local 371-SEIU of the Welfare Workers in New York City. The result has been that it opposed the necessary unification of the union with the AFL-CIO precisely in order to defend the old SEIU as a nice little fishing pond for propagandists. The question of unification at the time was a life and death matter for the union precisely because we live in a period of capitalist crisis in which the municipal government in New York City, in deep crisis, has every intention of trying its tricks to destroy the jobs of welfare workers and generally beat back the gains of all its employees. In the last election, the Workers Committee sponsored by a New Leadership posed the only serious opposition to the two sections of the union leadership running in the election. The Spartacist supported state delegates to the electoral efforts to attack our slate of candidates as most slanderous and unprincipled way.

Not only does Spartacist take no responsibility for the leadership of the working class it does not even take responsibility for the future of the working class. It states: "Our goal of a regroupment along a revolutionary program remains unaccomplished."[16]

Spartacist does not see itself as the force which must lead the working class to power in the future but rather simply as propagandists which will bring about some sort of "regroupment" of "factions" for this task. Thus the conception of a propaganda group becomes an organizational expression of Spartacist's theoreti
cal sectarianism. Since it clearly states that it does not hold the position "we are the party" its theoretical conceptions have only a very relative validity.[17] It is very much an organization cut loose from any international morning and history, seeing itself floating through a relatively tranquil period of non-crisis, carrying out certain propaganda tasks until such time as a revolutionary party can be built by whom, it is not quite sure, and around what program is also not clear.

ARGUMENT

In August of 1940 Max Shachtman wrote an article: "Problems of Propaganda,"[18] -The Position and Orientation of Our Party.- Here is the essence of Shachtman's argumentation:

"Our aim is to become a revolutionary mass party, that is, a political vanguard organization capable of leading the class struggle for proletarian power and the establishment of socialism... We are not talking about some permanent change one.

"The Marxist movement, even if we do not confine it to the Trotskyist movement (the Comintern and the Stalinists) who claim adherership (from the Trotskyist movement) to the left of the Bolshevik party, the Comintern and the Stalinists) is a mass movement, we mean, as we should, a vanguard organization which carries the same struggle in the name of a really significant section of the working class and with its conscious support.

"The course which we have proposed to the Marxist movement, wherever it is possible to pursue it, is well known. "Leading" the struggle against a party of the proletariat, including the name "party" in the battle against the party of the proletariat."

In our view, this means that the Marxist group should everywhere enter the broadest possible strikes, the broadest possible political movements of the working class and con
tact, the broadest possible influence, the "Loyal," here, means the delib
erate struggle to win through the experiences of the workers in these movements—again and again, if necessary, to build, to forge, to
form, and defend the common movement for the whole class, and to assume the broad left wing which seeks to convert them into genuinely socialist organizations into a "radical" that is, a Commando opposition organization which, after their own hearts and withdraws them for the purpose of recon
structing and building mass party.

"What are we doing is to follow the good old advice of saying what is. We are not a party at all, so let us stop calling ourselves a party. We are not a propaganda group, let us say so and act like one. Let us stop trying to liquidate ourselves in "broad left wings" of the tradi
tional workers' organizations and parties.
in a "loyal" way seeking to influence their direction in a broad "socialist" way. Thus the attacks on "sect," "narrowly-proclaimed roads" and "Commando raids." The function of a propaganda group as Shachtman put it is to try to take up its program and propaganda and make them a living experience for itself, to be loyal and self-loyal to the traditional parties and their traditions, to "try to make the preconceived dogmas" simply an expression of skepticism about Marxism itself.

Starting this way Shachtman ended up being a member of the Left wing, the Liberal Party, ADA, finally the "Pirate Party" which developed into a pro-war and pro-Humburry wing of the Social Democratic Party. Even Shachtman himself supported the "loyal left wing" of the Social Democratic Party, the "Bay of Pigs in Cuba!" Needless to say these formulations of Shachtman were to find a place in his own work a year or so after Shachtman first formulated them.

For Spartacists the propaganda group formulation serves a similar political function. Shachtman proposed integration within the "mass movement" without class avoidance of serious struggle with the traditional leaderships of these movements. Spartacists oppose doing anything in the mass movement outside of exemplifying the conscious leadership of the Spartacist group. This is the meaning of Spartacist West's statement:

"Part of this struggle must involve workers to a working-class perspective those groups involved in special struggles, e.g., those of the lumber, SDD, black, etc.

Beginning with what is that is at present the core of the class struggle. Very often the organization of clauses in unions, and this is not a question of the both anti-working-class forms of organization, but it necessarily emerge from those forms, the organization of a working class group which takes up as part of general fight of the class around international demands against all powerful anti-working and "vomitor". We see the political aspect of this in the fight for a new party.

SDD

The same goes for SDD, Spartacist West marks out the "basic" function of SDD as "solidarism". It is the central demands which come up to our characterizing the Progressive Labor movement as a whole and the character of PL.

"On impulse, PL might be characterized as a working-class group with a prefrontal lobe.

PL's strength has been its desire to include everyone, it is in a nutshell the essence of the Thompson, a form which comes up as the core of the working-class positions which are essentially an unconscious bad paranoia which is a maniacal outburst later and after having denounced as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism".PL has been to the extent it is a matter of a prisoner of the Independent "if Wohlfarth is a political "opposition", we mean a look for a sober group which has been compiled group as to what he has built and has come together into a certain political posture which he is sympathetic, superficially, and a James Bardslam-like person, a "third person" position as Healy or Mao. Thus the Wohlfarth-Warka Young Workers League is the organization for serious, conscious workers of working-class youth.

the class line" against the SWP. "TSA forces. Just as Spartacist not lately conflicted against the SWP against us particularly with "the "Reconstructionist" and "TSA" as so much more lately it lines up with PL and devote almost its entire efforts. Since Pomeron 1500 people in a violent polemic against the Workers' League. This is back the question of abstaining from intervening in SDS and now suddenly attacked the intervention in the more recent period in SDS and in the SMC. What Spartacist confusion is a principal intervention in SDS or PL which opposes the essence of SDS as an organization of a radicalism and the essence of PL as a Stalinist organization, with an adaptation to student radicalism and Stalinism. To the extent that the Working League has from time to time made this confusion in the form of abstaining from any serious intervention it is a principal intervention of the Working League's adaptation. This was certainly the case a year or so ago.

SLANDER

When we come to the evidence:

"For them, this means advocating union activity which avoids political opposition in favor of simple broad-and-bitter demands, as they did when they supported a recent call for a crusade of city workers in the Bay Area which contained not a single political demand, not even a labor party or any call of racism or the war in Vietnam!"

This "dashing" indictment is repeated at the end where "mindless trade union or radical intellectuals or black militants other group such as Wohlfarth's, which can make no contribution to the coming American-Cuban October, it must be ruthlessly divisive and partisan." (23)

What we have been essentially the same kind of personal subjective slander and "analysis" which characterized Marx's position of the late 19th century. It has become increasingly difficult for Spartacist to write a coherent sentence against our movement which has any serious political content. Such statements about "ruthlessly" sweeping the Workers League's "fifth column" is all right and they have that ability to do this is another question.

PSTITCIONS

The Spartacist group has, of course, a number of political positions. Some of these, such as its formal assessment of Pabloism, come from the International. Others, such as its support to the Liu faction in China against the World League, have role in the Pabloite movement. Others, like its conception of itself as a propaganda group, come from the Shachtman movement from which Robertson never fully broke. Still others, like its position on Cuba, were actually false political conceptions worked out in an early period of our development only to be rejected in the further development of the international.

There is however nothing distinctive about the politics of the Spartacist group in the requirement of the Fourth International, the combination of positions at any time may be distinct from that of other organizations or that they possess as such always bare the mark of origin somewhere else. In this sense Robertson is very much the political "rat" who has constructed for himself a political nest out of bits and pieces of ideas and programs he has picked up over the years. One cannot reach any understanding of the essence of the Spartacist on the level of the individual positions of the organization.

ABERN

When we strip away the political cover all the class to the "vomitor" the whole group comes to exist all that is left is the individual demands and the moral void which supports him. Since the group does not proceed from any international principle it can only proceed from itself. It is in this sense that the Robertson group is, in the words of the International, first and foremost in the "vomitor". If we understand anything accidental, personal and epiphenomenal, if we reduce all group positions to the sum of its fundamental political types, then inductively the struggle of comrade Abern for the International is a non-issue, because first and foremost in the "vomitor".

"If the "labor" which Robertson began with all along was its protection which he had from the International's "climate" and the lack that he presently devotes his energies. This "climate" does not exist isolated from social classes. In fact the essential characteristic of the middle class is its subjective idealism—that it begins with the immediate.

Through an organization like Spartacist movement operates in a world organized into a weapon aimed directly at the revolutionary body politic. Some consistent and politically active of concrete political forces since 1966 has been its attacks on the Workers League and the Workers League's opposition to the revolutionary vanguard and objectively those organizations that are the "accurate" pamphlets on the International's "fifth column" are all pamphlets the League is treated to such epithets as: "a parallel imperialist pattern of frame-ups, justifications of violence with the workers movement to suppress the opposition, the League's refusal to incorporate capitalist courts to silence working-class opponents, lies, and the writing up of liars, in the characteristic trait of the Wohlfarth group under its successive sets of names and initials." (25)

HATED

Precisely because it is motivated by subjective considerations and lives perhaps on its deep hatred of the Trotskyist movement its role in very much that of a gift for hire. Neither tradition nor any objective political consideration places any principled limit on what this group can and will do. Its only criteria is, as is true of any middle class philistines, that it is useful. The group is not the best available to determine exactly where this group's leadership is going to take it. It is an example of what it is to exist as long as Robertson desires that it is to do. It can continue to maintain a consistent stance in the editors of the middle class radical movement.

It is only the movement from the weakness of the movement and as the working class grows in strength and maturity that it will be able to make, and throw it into irrational struggles. It is within this context, the way it has reacted in the recent period to the development of the International and the "vomitor" internationally, particularly the publication of the "Daily Worker" in England, and the Workers League with the launching of the weekly "Bulletin".

Because idealism has a class base in the middle class, it is at bottom a movement in the direction of the movements of the middle class and working class towards materialism and a working class struggle it must continue to assert itself in our movement and in the whole of the working class, out of a pragmatic and nationalist outlook. What is necessary is a consistent and clear opposition to the perspective and needs of the proletariat.

This is why this series on Spartacist shows the dead end of subjective idealism. Our main concern is not with Spartacist as that is but a matter of a group of revolutionaries who can learn some real lessons from their own experience our movement west through with Spartacist in the critical period of its formation.

FOOTNOTES

5. Spartacist, Number 8, November-Decembe
6. Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth Interna
7. Spartacist, op. cit., page 3.
8. "Propaganda and the ‘Climax’", Bulleti
11. "Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth Interna
12. Ibid., page 5.
17. "B皇冠", pp. 9, 10.
20. Spartacist West, op. cit.
23. "What is the Workers League?", No
24. Ibid., op. cit., page 61.
'I-J' Strikers Face Bitter Fight Calif.  
BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
San Rafael, California is not the sort of town where one would expect to find the class struggle. The suburban homes, small stores, and the appearance of middle-class America that is shown every day on T.V. ...But the typographers employed by the "Independent Journal" of San Rafael have been on strike for the last 7 months—in one of the bitterest strikes since the 1930's.

The owners of "I-J" are demanding that certain provisions of the International Typographical Union contract be eliminated. "Theacters," as the union members are known, are forested workers and the union leadership is firm in its support of the strikers, but the newspaper owners are demanding a reduction in the wages of the workers. The strike has dragged on for weeks and the newspaper has suffered. The strike has disrupted the newspaper's operations and the owners are demanding a reduction in the wages of the workers.

HEART
The Hearst Newspaper Strike has been in effect for three weeks. The strike began as a result of the Hearst newspaper's efforts to force the Typographical Union to accept a new contract that would reduce the workers' wages and benefits. The Typographical Union has拒绝ed to accept the new contract and the strike has continued. The strike has caused a disruption in the newspaper's operations and has led to a loss of revenue for the publisher.

T.W.A. HOLDS CONFERENCE  
BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
MADISON, Wis.— The Teaching Assistants Association announced a conference of delegates from the Wisconsin T.A.A. for guidance because of its experience in the T.W.A. strike. The conference will meet this weekend to discuss the possibility of a T.W.A. strike. The T.W.A. is a major labor union for university teaching assistants and is currently involved in a strike at the University of Wisconsin.

ST. LOUIS: Y.S.A. OPPOSES LABOR PARTY AT HIROSHIMA DAY RALLY  
SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
St. Louis, Mo.— The revisionist leaders of the St. Louis Young Socialist Alliance have continued to block any discussion of independent political action at August 8th Action Committee meetings. At the same time they have been instrumental in inviting Marvin Madison, a wealthy capitalist lawyer and voice-hawk for the New Democratic Coalition, to give the main address at the August 8th Anti-Hiroshima Day rally. The Workers League is fighting for an orientation to the rank and file of the labor movement.

The T.W.A. leaders only see the trade union struggle in terms of an alliance with the labor bureaucracy. Thus after a series of unsuccessful letters to Teamsters and U.A.W. officials, the T.W.A. organizer has once again turned toward the middle class organization in the anti-war movement. He was completely willing to accept the bureaucrats' excuse of rank and file Wallace opposition as a valid argument for not allowing the August 8th demonstration to start at the Teamsters' Convention building.

I.T.U. ranks lead march of workers and students against union-busting in San Francisco.

STRIKEBREAKING AT N.W. ORIENT  
BY MICHAEL ROSS
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—July 31—The Northwest Orient Airlines has been organizing their workers to replace the striking workers at the airline.

Northwest management is pulling out all stops in its attempt to break the union. They have been trying to organize the 130,000 Northwest Airlines (NWA) members to cross BRAC pickets. However, the NWA cannot replace all the striking workers in N.W. Orient.

This is clearly understandable when a federal district judge in December, 1962, refused to issue an injunction requiring Hispanic workers to permanently replace the striking workers. The judge ruled that the strike was illegal and that the airline was not required to replace the workers.

At N.W. Orient

I.T.U. officials have given notice that their members are not going to be taken in by this sort of action. The main demand, as brought out in the last issue of the BULLETIN, is that all N.W. Orient workers who are still on strike are allowed to stay on the job. The membership of the International Typographical Union (ITU) has voted to continue the strike until the airline agrees to recognize the union.

The next step is that the airline will be forced to pay the workers the full amount of their wages and benefits. The airline will be forced to stop their illegal actions as well. The ITU is demanding that the airline recognizes their union as the sole bargaining agent for the workers.

GIBBONS
A Socialist Workers Party spokesman failed to see that Wallace opposition to the T.W.A. strike only grows as long as he continues to apologize for the National Guard which has driven truck drivers' walkout. This St. Louis SWP leader says that the T.W.A. strike is a major class struggle and that the union leadership is fighting for an orientation to the rank and file of the labor movement.

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The Workers League pointed out that this refusal was merely a reflection of the leaderships great fear on any political discussion among the rank and file. An advertisement with the bureaucrats is clearly not the way to carry out the struggle against right wing elements in the trade unions.

1. North American Socialists distributed leaflets which propose to create a "New American" and called for spreading the strike across the country, but the T.W.A. leadership has refused to do so.

2. The T.W.A. leadership has refused to call for a national agreement on the trade unions. Instead they offer solutions that are dependent on the trade unions and more boycotts.

BOYCOTT
Cesar Chavez led the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee also advised printing workers to orient toward boycotts. Chavez has confirmed that the grape boycott has been successful in forcing the grape growers to strike and that the trade union bureaucracy wants to make boycotts and strikes an integral part of the strategy. Actually, the grape boycott was notably ineffective until the question of the boycott on the grapes was brought to the boycott. There is no doubt that many consumers stopped buying grapes primarily for fear of DDT and not because of sympathy for farm workers. But that tactic is still hardly possible to prove there is DDT in the newsprint of the morning newspaper.

Chavez's speech was largely directed, however, towards winning clergymen to the cause of the union. "They have to give the leadership the help they need as they preach every Sunday."

This advice to the T.W.A. workers and the politically backward movement among the rank and file is the heart of the bureaucracy's new strategy. The T.W.A. leadership is fighting for an orientation to the rank and file of the labor movement. The T.W.A. leaders only see the trade union struggle in terms of an alliance with the labor bureaucracy. Thus after a series of unsuccessful letters to Teamsters and U.A.W. officials, the T.W.A. organizer has once again turned toward the middle class organization in the anti-war movement. He was completely willing to accept the bureaucrats' excuse of rank and file Wallace opposition as a valid argument for not allowing the August 8th demonstration to start at the Teamsters' Convention building.

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A number of rank and file workers from the other unions at N.W. Orient who have been working the Workers League at St. Louis held discussions on Sunday afternoons and have indicated a desire to participate in the August 8th demonstration.

What is now immediately needed at Northwest Orient is for the National Airline Pilots Association (ALPA). There are plans to organize a mass meeting to transcend the picketing actions of the picketing actions of the pickets and the National Airline Pilots Association (ALPA) is already preparing to try to settle the dispute.

Northwest management understands this and do so their collaborators in all levels of government. Nixon, Stenvig and company know that a full victory for the BRAC strikers at Northwest would mean a movement of lower paid workers for union organization that they do not want. This is why Nixon is trying to get through a bill to outlaw all strikes in transportation of all kinds.

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Lessons Of 119° Struggle
Davis And The Popular Front

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

New York hospital workers have led the way for millions of workers in the past few years in the attempt to change the world from a capitalist to a socialist basis. This is a sample of struggle especially for low paid workers, for minority workers who are forced by discrimination into the lowest paying deadend jobs. And they have shown that it is necessary to unite workers of different skills and levels of pay in the fight against the employers.

The 1970 contract negotiations took place at a time of mounting offensive for the entire working class against inflation and the threat of mass unemployment. This was shown explosively by the rank and file struggles of the postal workers and Teamsters earlier this year.

The question was posed before the hospital workers—would they take up this struggle, deepen the offensive of the entire working class and provide a lead to workers everywhere?

The 119° leadership refused to lead the offensive against the employers and their system. Its aim was not to win the hospital workers’ demands but to avoid a strike at all costs. The July 1 settlement, in which most of the workers’ demands were sacrificed, is a product of this fight for labor peace at all costs by the 119° bureaucrats.

The significance of this settlement of the tremendous opposition to it among the ranks, and of the ability thus far of the leadership to impose this settlement on the ranks, is that an alternative leadership must be built in Locals 1199.

LEADERSHIP

Militancy is not enough. What is needed is a leadership which understands the tasks facing the working class and the role of the union bureaucracy in betraying the workers. This means the fight for a Marxist leadership in 119° and throughout the union movement.

The bureaucrats can claim that the opposition to the contract was very small but they give the lie to this claim by their own behavior which shows that they are really worried. The 1968 contract was ratified by 98%, with only 84 votes cast against it in the entire union. The NO vote this year at four of the big hospitals, is 379.5% of the total vote.

The Stalinites sponsored “rank and file” conference was organized to bolster the 119° leadership.

The 119° leadership symbolizes the “progresivists” to which the recent National Hospital Rank and File Action Conference looked. Although 119° was not represented at this conference by officials of the same high stature as such as the United Electrical Workers and District 65, the 119° leadership was very much a part of the “left” section of the trade union bureaucracy.

In the AFL-CIO, the ALA and the independent unions, a section of the bureaucracy, which is no less committed to the defense of the capitalist system, has manoeuvred and his allies, to present itself as the literal opposition to the war, racism and repression. These officials become the darlings of the Communist offensive of the rank and file and the growing insurrection of the bosses which reflects the crisis and their need to attack the waterfront workers.

Forced to face up to an uncompromising fight against the bosses, Davis’ own record also illustrates this lesson. 119° has been considered a more “progressive” union, in which radicals of various tendencies could work together and become a part of the staff without fear of reprisals. And of course Davis himself has been the object of many red-baiting attacks by the employers and the open union bureaucracy that he is the “left” of Local 144 of the Building Service International.

LOGIC

But the red-baiting of Davis has stopped, and it is he who is now blocking with the right wing. This is the logic of pure and simple trade union militancy. The 119° leadership is turning its back even on the goals it set for itself, it is incapable of fighting the bosses. In 1963 the union leadership hailed a state law providing for all workers bargaining even bureaucrats also contained a no-strike provision. The leadership stated at that time that it was no longer to let such a provision stop the fight of the workers. Now exactly the opposite law is unilaterally submitted against a strike. The leadership finds itself deliberately supporting the judges’ courts and the state because it refuses to fight politically against the employers.

STALINISTS

The 119° leadership is perfectly willing to tolerate “radicals.” It uses these people, representatives of various unions, as a left cover. But serious revolutionaries, Marxists who are fighting for a working class program and a fight against the employers, are intolerable to the bureaucracy.

Not only do the Stalinists give 100% backing to Davis’ leadership, they condone his actions, but also Davis also uses the Stalinists and the revisionists to help him in the battle of the Communist Party, the ideology of Stalinism, the bureaucratic composition of the Party, to keep the ranks under control. He has used the reformists, the Communists, the Independent Party, that is to say, the bourgeois, as a cover for himself, as a buffer between the workers and the bureaucracy.

It is Stalinist politics, the fight for reforms through the popular front, which is silencing the call to the action together today. The 119° bureaucracy is busy with its anti-communist crusade. It is the logical consequence of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and to defend the Czech workers but from the right, from the bloated egos of the bureaucracy. The more open class collaboration politics of the Stalinist movement is in fact an attempt to neutralize the legal development of the policies of the 119° bureaucracy and the Communist Party in the 1930s and up to the present.

The rate of union membership grows on the basis of accommodation to the employers and their system. Its method is pure and simple militancy, pragmatism, contempt for theory and politics. This is why rank and file militancy is not enough. It represents the same method used by the bureaucrats and cannot possibly defeat them or the employers. The workers face an enemy which is conscious of its strength, that is to say, the bureaucracy and its agents. This enemy is not to be fought pragmatically, with the conception of “all unity is good unity.” No, it will do, that the bureaucrats must be replaced by militants, and that politics is unimportant.

The militants of yesterday become the bureaucrats of today and the bureaucrats of today is the logic of beginning with the fight for labor peace. There is no trade union understanding or struggle. It represents an acceptance of the enemy in the permanency of capitalism and the inevitability of its destruction through struggle alone. The latest 119° contract shows the danger of this view in practice.

Pure and simple militancy and rank and file solidarity with the bosses is the beginning of the end. This was the lesson of the recent resolution of the Local of Curran of the NUM, Brotherhood of Maritime and Allied Workers. Each of these men confirm the need for new policies, the need to fight to lead the rank and file against the employers on the basis of Marxism.
The "Facing Reality Committee" Faces Reality

BY EARL OWEENS

The "Facing Reality Committee" and its newspaper "Facing Reality" finally faced reality a few weeks ago and dissolved itself.

They write in their last gazette: "The origins of Facing Reality go back to 1941 when, under the leadership of C. L. R. James, the American Marxist began to work out a total application of Marxism. The Marxist revolution which has passed for Marxism has collapsed within it. It has been a victory of the barb of Stalinism and the total inadequacy of Trotskyism to explain the evolution of the world. The problem has become the contradiction between the continuous addition of international support and the increasing popular appeal, and our inability to utilize the great natural and financial resources required to continue the war until the victory of our allies."

What are the ideals of this new, defunct group? Despite all the Marxist type wars, the group rejected the Marxist analysis of the need for a "vanguard party." The "age of the vanguard party was over..." and thus they stated would not fight for a "vanguard party" and all vanguard parties. Supposedly, the masses would do what they could in the struggle, and leaders and socialism would develop spontaneity.

This view of history has been, no doubt, more fatalistically oriented by the Marxist class idealist than Trotskyism, which explains the development of class consciousness as the basis of "history" but on its historical role in which Stalinism attempts to balance between the working class and the working class in capitalism. Rather than presenting Marxs- million theory of "Facing Reality" attempted to teach workers its "guilt" feeling which identify the working class and felt moral of Stalinism, which as a result negated the need for organization, party, or anything.

SPONTANEOUS

Omitted from the political visions drawn by the "Facing Reality" fundamental question: What happens to the working class when it has no revolutionary leadership? Presumably "spontaneous" leaders would do as any aspiration requires coordination and planning and thus some sort of leadership. However, it is false to assume "Facing Reality" and many in the New Left do too, that leaders will be better or will not betray their conscious or may betray them. The collapse of Stalinism and Trotskyism has created the contradiction between the continuous addition of international support and the increasing popular appeal, and our inability to utilize the great natural and financial resources required to continue the war until the victory of our allies..."

C.L.R. James (above) started his break from the vanguard party and now his followers in "Facing Reality" have dissolved altogether.

JOSEPH NORTH WAVE THE FLAG AS STALINISTS HONOR AMERICA

BY FRED MUELLER

The Daily World magazine of July 4, 1970 contains an article entitled "Countdown to a Counter Attack: A Snow Job for Davis" by Melody Farrow.

The program was carefully planned to confuse the political aspirations of the people and the identification of the people. The film was consciously intended to give the impression that Davis single-handedly is the only man who can save America, and that the military was the responsibility of the war that were at the front line. The film is presented in the press releases at the top. Although the few scenes of the press release meetings were not included in the film because they were at the top, they are still included in the press release.

The program covered the final days of negotiations when the League offered 6% in a year in a three year contract and then 8% and 7% in a two year contract. If this latter offer is made it is Davis makes a tirade of abuse of the em- ployers, claiming that his contract benefits is the "nothing but contempt" for them. Davis says the contract is not acceptable and does not have to accept it and that they should not be treated as "race". The bosses Metzger and Ablowitz and shuns at them to get out. What do the bosses do? They simply wholesalers a word and leave. Davis then turns around to face his public and claims that the bosses are "race" and he will not allow them to get away with it. Davis in his speech brings home the real reason for the film. The whole thing was simply to break his contract and for the audience. Davis is portrayed as a fiery militant leader who really everything he could to get a good settlement to assuage the doubts of the many hourly workers who had a hard time surviving the final settlement. Davis

constantly refused to make any counter offer because although he knew he would have to make a decision if he were not actively seeking a compromise.

It seems that Davis is given so much attention by the TV networks and the black radio that he has recently published a book and a newspaper, the "Facing Reality". The paper has an increasing look of worker leaders like Davis to save their skins at a time when the rank and file are losing their umbrellas running right over the heads of the leadership of the film. The film shows clearly that Davis is seeking to save his reputation as he wishes to be a "reasonable" man who will compromise and avoid a strike. Davis reputation is built up precisely as a used in a club by the bosses, to the bossess to the bosses is no less than the so-called reactionary trade unionism in today's world. The bosses know very well and this is why they were not willing to make Davis any kind of a contract at all. It was only part of the act.

One minute Davis is screaming across the country and the next he is making statements to the President and other by their first names, a habit which they have not yet mastered from the bosses and their collaboration.

The real settlement is being voted on what the hospital workers must see is that everything Davis said in the film and the TV are not the talk of the trade union no wakes was quickly scrapped. Union members and the bosses talk of keeping things clean and they cannot abuse their power and that the bosses have not the right to abuse their power and the bosses and the workers." On TV Davis declared that the workers' organization has not contributed to the destruction of capitalism. He completely destroy the power of the class which consolidated its power partly through the Declaration of Independence.

North doesn't say a word about, because his real sentimentality is made to equate to the ideals of the bourgeois revolution with the struggles of today. The Stalinists consciously seek to limit the struggles of the working class to bour- gois democracy and avoid the idea that they may make so much of 1776, when so many of the as the Stalinists are concerned. Back in the 1930s they were beating up on CP Secretary Early Brower, by waving the DAR as the upholders of the film and seeing it as a national标志 as, general as, and eosv by the Louisian State CP, marking Americans

C.E. EARL BROWER (left) was in the forefront in the 1950s of patriotic flag waving of CP. He was an ardent supporter of the film "Facing Reality" which equaled to "plugging ourselves...to fight any 'ism' of any clique, group or minority from within our country or from abroad that would destroy or undermine our democra- tic institutions."

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The New Left is the only organization that poses a class alternative and thus it continues to function and grow while organizations like the Peace and Freedom Party and "Facing Reality" die.

E. Earl Brower (left) was in the forefront in the 1950s of patriotic flag waving of CP. He was an ardent supporter of the film "Facing Reality" which equaled to "plugging ourselves...to fight any 'ism' of any clique, group or minority from within our country or from abroad that would destroy or undermine our democratic institutions."
Auto Battle Shapes Up As Negotiations Begin

BY DAN FRIED

A major battle, even on a larger scale than the General Electric strike last fall, is shaping up in the auto industry when the contract between the UAW and the "Big Three" auto producers expires September 14.

In the negotiations now under way in Detroit, the employers led by General Motors have made it clear that whatever concessions they may have to grant on wages, they will not agree to terms that are "indefinite strike." This strategy is to wring concessions from the union on fringe benefits, "discipline," "absenteeism," and the curtailing of those UAW committees by which GM complains are "running grievance mills to harass management.

In short, the employers want their pound of flesh, from greater productivity, speed-up and discipline. This in part of the price in order to compete with foreign imports which they claim have cut into the U.S. market because of the lower wages of European and Japanese workers.

In the face of the preparations for battle by the "Big Three," the UAW leadership has adopted an approach of suicidal pacifism. President Woodcock announced the auto bosses that a "no-inflationary, equitable" agreement could be reached without a strike.

"We understand the concerns of a lot of our members today that we would do everything possible to achieve that end. Because if we can do it together, it would be the greatest contribution we can make to our troubled society," said Woodcock.

While Woodcock was being so reasonable, Ford Vice President Malcolm Denise was making it clear that he was 100% opposed. He was willing to take an indefinite strike, a major UAW demand which he termed "unnecessary." Denise denied GM's chief negotiator on the need to lower labor rates in order to compete with foreign imports.

Behind the negotiations is the shadow of the recent victory of the Teamsters in which the international leadership and the ranks have been forced to grant the same settlement won by Chicago drivers of 65 cents an hour over three years—a settlement which would raise Teamsters to more than 400,000 Teamsters across the country. This victory which was won by the ranks despite total opposition by the Nixon Administration and the virtual nonexistence of auto workers, is not going unnoticed by auto workers.

TEAMSTERS

Neither Woodcock nor the Teamsters' settlement being lost on the capitalist ruling class. The "liberal" New York Times warned that the settlement would be a "new low for all of the Teamsters' efforts to put an end to their struggles for just wages and wages for an eight-hour day."

"The leadership's call to all the workers to accept a similar settlement is being met with extreme reluctance by the workers who face the daily struggle to meet basic needs."

Woodcock may believe that if there is "no improvement in real wages, and devising a plan to keep the union from being "reasonable," but he really is going out of his way to avoid preparations for a battle.

"REASONABLE"

One of the outcomes of the Teamster's settlement is that the Teamsters' leadership tried so hard to be "reasonable" that they ended up trying to break the wildcat strike that broke out in a number of cities and that is likely to extend into the major auto plants. In the UAW the workers will use the action of Woodcock and his bosses to rally the leadership's call to employers to accept a "reasonable" settlement.

But the auto plants are bringing in younger militant workers who are even more determined to improve the conditions and pay and job security, not just the small improvements that Woodcock and the leadership's call to employers to accept a "reasonable" settlement.

In the UAW the workers will use the fight over the settlement to rally the leadership's call to employers to accept a "reasonable" settlement.

The recent battle for the Chrysler Corporation which was saved only through a massive review operation by U.S. banks, further postponing the crisis, shows that the Big Three must step up the drive for more productivity and automation. The only future they have in store for the auto workers in more speed-up and more threats of layoffs. But management arrogantly thinks they are losing the workers a favor. Fortune reports:

"Earl Bramblitt, the GM Vice President for personnel, says absenteeism occurs not because the jobs are dull, but because of the autoworkers' economic compensation and the high degree of security in the auto industry. He feels that the impressive gains in labor productivity and improvements in on the other hand, they show more appreciation for what they have." Security and "abundance" indeed! Auto workers would respond to Bramblitt's thirty less pittance. Far closer to reality for the auto workers is the description of some of the problems by a 31 year old Oldsmobile worker who has worked on the line for twelve years:

"You're tied down. You do the same thing every day, day in, day out, hour after hour...you're like in a jail cell—except they have more time off in prison."...

DECISIVE

What the present conditions in the auto plants together with the arrogant drive of the employers to boost profits at the workers' expense show, is that the nationalization of the automotive industry under the control of the workers must be raised together with the demand for labor party.

The younger workers who stand ready to take the struggle over the new contract are not satisfied with the old miserly contract. The struggle is for the union bureaucracy. They are very much influenced by the mass student movement in Europe and South Africa. But they are more enlightened than the "benefits" of an inhuman assembly line or unemployment compensation. The younger generation of workers must give management to the fight for beyond reformism and taking up the demand for nationalization of the entire automobile industry and the fight for a labor party.

Big Corporations Seek Security Against Revolution

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

"Life is a crime, horrible. Crime pays. It's a big profitable market. And it's your chance to make a killing on it. The thing that goes on in the way the sales pitch goes on is one of the newest in "security entrepreneurs." Needing to say the best ad man for the security business are no better Rockefeller, Agnew, Nixon, Kissinger, and Wallace. With all the talk about "law and crime" and "crime in the millions of people are ordering dogs, burglar alarms and security guards.

The most visible is in its July 20th issue reveals that the latest security companies are to be developed by the Federal in California. This company Newmark is building a system of 200-anti-anti and anti-riot underground shelters designed for two persons for up to 30 days; it will include all tennis a country to a dentist's...