LAYOFFS BEGIN IN GENERAL MOTORS

BY HOWARD WEST
ST. LOUIS, March 31—Passenger car production was virtually eliminated at the General Motors plant here last week following layoffs of about 1000 men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What this pact means is that Abel is handing back to the steel companies the very rights for which steel workers fought and died in the 1930s. In justifying this treachery, Abel claims that if the ranks "support" the domestic industry by giving up the right to strike, the steel companies will lay off less men.

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

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

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

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

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New Threat Of Bombing In Vietnam

BY MELODY FARROW

March 28, the day Nixon hailed as the end of the Vietnam War, was marked by a new threat of war by US imperialism against the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The same day that the last ground troops were withdrawn Nixon issued a sharp warning at a special news conference that "the leaders of North Vietnam should have no doubt as to the consequences if they fail to comply with the agreement." Nixon has launched heavy B-52 raids against the Cambodian liberation troops is a desperate attempt to prop up collapsing Lon Nol dictatorship and force them to accept a cease-fire. This bombing shows what Nixon is preparing for Vietnam to try and impose the reactionary Thieu government on the Vietnamese people.

Thus arrived in the United States March 31 for a two day visit with Nixon on the continuing war in the South. This man who has tortured and murdered countless numbers of Vietnamese people in South Vietnamese jails and has wiped out democracy is warmly welcomed by Nixon. Elliot Richardson, Defense Secretary, in response to a question about whether renewed bombing and mining of North Vietnam were some of the "options" the US would use, he arrogantly stated:

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

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

The White House has been putting out a barrage of phony accusations of North Vietnamese "violations" to prepare "public opinion" for a new bombing war. This has been coupled with outright provocation.

(Continued On Page 16)

General Strike Movement Hits Denmark

BY FRED MULLER

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

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

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

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

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

CONFRONTATION

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

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

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Large sections of the unions had been in opposition to Market entry, while the Social Democratic leaders had backed it. Now that the Social Democratic unions can no longer hold back the rank and file today as they were able to in the past. The conditions are rapidly developing for the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

Rally
UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK
SATURDAY APRIL 28 NOON-3PM
TUALP MEETING:
Friday, April 13 7th floor, 135 W. 14th St.
8:00 PM

500 London civil service employees packed a March 30 meeting against Tories and walked off jobs throughout England.

French Workers Wildcat Renault

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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

Eighty percent of the specialized metal workers who have been out since March 21 in a fight over working conditions and classifications are immigrants from Portugal, Spain and Algeria. Long exploited as cheap labor by the French employers, these workers are fighting alongside their French brothers for their basic rights.

They are demanding a higher classification which is granted to workers who have the necessary technical skill without a diploma.

They are being supported by another section in the plant who were on strike in February over the same issue.

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

TESTIMONY

Many strikers have given eye witness testimony that Renault is sending special armed guards in civilian clothes inside the plant. If the largest French company is building up a private army of armed police to use against the workers, then it is clear that all of Pompidou's talk about "negotiations" with the unions is a cover for actual preparations for civil war.

The Communist Party wants to turn every struggle into a pressure tactic on the government and evade any mention of a political fight. This is their role in the strike wave of high school students who are fighting a sev- enfold of the draft law that will force them to drop their universi-

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With the election over, a big battle is shaping up between the workers and the Socialists and reformists who more and more have taken over the publication of the working class for Pompidou.
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The May Day Rally will:
• Focus on the history of the American working class' bitter struggle to organize its unions at a time when Nixon's Phase Three denies the basic rights of unions to negotiate wages.
• Support the international struggle of all workers against Nixon's attempts to pit workers of nation against race or nation.
• Carry forward Trotsky's struggle for Marxism against the betrayals of Stalinism and reestablish the real traditions of Union Square.
• Demand that the trade unions answer Nixon's attacks with a Congress of Labor which will call a general strike and launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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Rocketing Rates Panic Wall Street

By a Reporter

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

The tremendous uncertainty about future developments due to the fact that the major capitalist countries have been unable to come up with any solution to the monetary crisis which flared up in February and are now faced with the danger of collapse. Despite Nixon's efforts to control them, interest rates are rising to defend the existing money supply against the mountains of artificial credit used in the inflationary expansion of production—particularly over the last two years.

Because every major corporation is desperately dependent upon credit arrangements of the Federal Reserve, the Nixon government has attempted to maintain a policy of low interest rates in direct defiance of the fundamental laws of value. Without a currency backed by gold—the dollar has not been convertible into the precious metal since August 15, 1971—the expansion of credit actually creates its opposite, debt.

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

Burns

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

Interest rates rose during the past week within sight of the 1900-1920 highs which threw the economy into the biggest recession since the 1930s.

However, the new rise poses not simply recession but all-out collapse because the distortions of the monetary system is undermining the very basis for production.

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

But there exists no currency that can replace the dollar as the guarantor of real value. This was shown in the fruitless talks of the IMF last week which failed to find a way to end the system of floating currencies before world trade is frozen in a panic.

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

While paying lip service to exchange rates—which they know is the basis of world trade—(Continued On Page 16)

Morrissey: 'Pressure' Nixon On Jobs

By a Bulletin Reporter

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

Morrissey is following the lead of Arnold Miller and the Miners For Democracy, who upset UMW President Tony Boyle in an election supervised by the Labor Department.

Morrissey is using the same dangerous precedent in relying on the bosses' government and courts to oust the corrupt Curran leadership.

Morrissey and Miller shared a common cause: Miller and Morrissey

McCord Reveals Nixon-Mitchell Spy Plot

By A Bulletin Reporter

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

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

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

Caught in the net are such high ranking Nixon aides as former Attorney General John Mitchell, presidential lawyer John Dean III, White House chief of staff R.H. Haldeman and deputy Republican campaign director John Magruder.

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

Meanwhile, sources quoted by Howard K. Smith on the CBS program Tuesday night, said Cuban exiles involved in the break-in could testify to a "whole slate of dirty tricks" which began in 1970 when Hunt recruited them.

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

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

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

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

The 375 production workers of UAW Local 235 enter twelfth week of their strike against Roberts-Hawk Controls Co., which as a subcontractor for Westinghouse has been trying to create sweatshop conditions since the last strike in 1963.

(Continued On Page 16)

20 Years Of The International Committee

2. The Spilt with the SBP: Balance Sheet on Cuba.
5. The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI.
6. The International Committee Today.

Series begins Sunday, April 8 at 7:30 p.m. and continues consecutively on the following Sundays.

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

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

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

135 West 14 St. 7th Floor
Call 924-0853 for info.

Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth
MAY DAY: The Struggle for The Eight Hour Day

By Nancy Fields

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

The rally will go back to the origins of May Day to show that all the gains of the working class have not only been achieved through bitter, violent struggles against the capitalists.

This history will be brought forward to show that the struggle for workers' basic rights, they had to turn away from the isolated, individualistic forms of spontaneous protest which had dominated the development of the American working class over the last century. For instance, the shorter work week, which culminated in May 1866, marked the turn to the development of mass labor organizations. On May Day 1873, the defense of these basic rights won in the past struggle had been the most decisive break yet taken by the working class: that is, a break from the pragmatic methods of militant trade unionism and the turn to a political struggle through setting up a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

May Day began in 1886 out of the battle of workers for the eight hour work day, which lasted one week. This struggle had started in the middle of the century but by the mid-1880s, it became an urgent fight because of the bitter depression that hit the American working class between 1884 and 1887.

The massive eight hour movement reflected the convergence of the political and economic developments within the working class up to that point. Both the development of the labor movement and the growth of political organizations in the working class stemmed from the crushing of the Haymarket affair in Chicago in 1877. While these strikes had signaled a new phase in the fight for the eight hour work day, the growth of solidarity, the workers were incapable of negotiating any demands from the employers.

Thus, the need for developed workers' organizations was recognized and this prepared the way for the huge leap in trade union membership and political activity which occurred between 1877-1883. The Knights of Labor emerged into the open during the late 1870s after an illegal, underground existence, and in its first year had a membership of 300,000. The Knights were split along the lines of the tiny, narrow, craft-minded unions that had existed up to that point. Their limited rank and file participation of the semi-skilled and unskilled marked the beginning, elementary groping for industrial organization. The Knights joined the explosive formation of the CIO in the 1930s.

On the other hand, the growth of political organizations reflected a turn among workers toward the understanding that the conservation of the Knights and the single-issue Grand Army of the Republic Leagues would not be sufficient to defeat the capitalists. These early political organizations brought to the American working class divisions over the question of program, strategy and tactics.

The major working class political party of the day was the Socialist Labor Party which was a break from the American labor movement and distant from the actual struggles of the working class. It put forward that reform through the ballot box would be sufficient to beat back the vicious assaults of the employers.

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

The fight for the eight hour day was carried out in Chicago. Thus, the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions, which was supported by Parsons' Working men's Party, passed a resolution in 1884 that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work, to begin and end after May 1, 1886." The Federation devoted its activity to organizing strike action for that time to make sure that their resolution would become a reality.

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

In spite of their betrayal, the working class movement did win this battle. On May 1, 40,000 workers walked out in Chicago along. By May 3, that number had grown to 65,000 and the strike wave was spreading all over the major cities in the country. The railroads were completely disrupted and the McCormick Harvester workers, who consisted of a mass of skilled and unskilled laborers, the entire buildings industry was paralyzed.

This lead to banks closing, employers launched an all-out offensive to halt this movement. Finally, on the night of May 3, 1886, the McCormick Harvester workers were forced to sign a contract in which they agreed to 72-hour weeks.

Many of the leaders who had supported the movement had been arrested and were waiting to face the courts. This led to a growing sentiment among the workers that they had been betrayed by the leaders.

However, this turn was critical to the development of the working class movement. The strike of the McCormick workers February from Mayan shootouts. They killed at least four workers and injured many more. An outraged Spies roused to his office and issued his now-famous "Revenge" circular, in which he and Parsons called for a mass meeting to be held on May 4 in Haymarket Square. The rally was entirely peaceful but it was about to break up, a bomb thrown by an employee of the capitalist anarchist Cesare Borgia exploded. The immediate excuse was provided for the police to open fire hystically. Several workers were killed and over 200 wounded.

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

The eight men singled out and held responsible for the Haymarket bombing were: August Spies, Albert Parsons, Emma Goldman, Ludolph Fischer, George Engel, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden and August Spies. All but one, Spies, were members of the Workingmen's Party and leaders of the eight hour movement. Parsons and Spies were leading working class fighters who not only had led tremendous strike struggles but were revolutionaries who began from the necessity of overthrowing capitalism.

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

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

The eight hour movement solidified the class consciousness of the working class and brought them together in a unified struggle. 1886 marked the beginning of the development of the American working class movement. It was the first that the new union movement party ran Haymarket candidate William May Day to New York and received 87,000 votes. It was also the year that the Knights joined the organized trade union movement. The violent struggles led by revolutionaries to win the basic rights of workers marked the determination and strength of the American working class movement.

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

The eight hour movement, while led by revolutionaries, was dominated by the thinking of the capitalists, that is, by politicians. These leaders were in opposition to the treacherous policies of the labor bureaucracy, they did not have a theoretical understanding of the class struggle, and a native to the bureaucratic, reformist tendencies which the socialists of their day had.

Today, the working class confronts the capitalist class in a period far different than 1886. While May Day of 1886 did not see the beginning of an eight hour day, the two events occurred during a period of the rise and expansion of capitalism. Thus, the basic rights of the working class, that is, the shorter work week and the right to trade unions, could not be won through the methods of the militant trade unionism of Parsons and Spies.

However, in 1973, we are celebrating May Day in a period of unparalleled crisis within capitalism. The only way the capitalists can preserve their profit system now is by destroying the organizations of the working class and eliminating all its basic rights.

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

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

Above all, these bureaucrats fear the development of a new leadership in the union—a leadership which will fight in the interests of the rank and file instead of the in terests of preserving their own privileged position. These officials in in trying to whip up an anti-communist hysteria to divide the labor union movement in trying to equilibrate the labor movement who all rushed to denounce these men as anarchists bent on violence. The Socialist Labor Party followed the same course.

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Continued Next Week

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The BULLETIN, published by the Workers League, is circulated by Labor Publications, Inc., Box 109, 340 Front St., New York, N.Y. 10211. Published weekly except during the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business Office: 340 Front St., New York, N.Y. 10211. Phone: 342-3487. Subscription rates: USA—I year: $4.00; Foreign—1 year: $5.00; SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. PRINTED IN U.S.A.
Job Crisis Hits El Diario

BY BRUCE MCKAY

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

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

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

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

PLIGHT

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

The closure would affect a number of persons who have worked at El Diario for over 20 years, and especially hard hit would be the Spanish speaking workers in the composing room who have just managed to achieve a decent wage scale.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BY JEAN BRUST

SOUTH ST. PAUL, April 1—Armour and Company, the chief operator in the beef industry, announced a new contract effective in January, which has caused a strike. The company, however, claims the contract is in compliance with the union leadership and the conditions on the picket line.

Standard work load on the CPU loading stations (small packaging) is 5000 pounds per hour. Wednesday night, the pickets refused to load the 1000 pounds and more. When they refused, three men were fired.

The entire night shift wanted to walk off in support, but were refused by the picket line. Dettweiler, president of Local 666, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workers of America. Instead of fighting, Dettweiler arranged a grievance settlement that forced the men to go back on the company terms and to lose three days' pay.

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

This latest speedup is one step in the implementation of the plan by Armour's committee of food productivity, devised by the government and the meat trust. This calls for increased food productivity at the workers' expense, with the workers taking the blame for the inflation and the skyrocketing cost of food. This then becomes an excuse to further attack the workers and attempt to destroy the union.

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

1. No layoffs. Retire all workers laid off in the last six months.
2. No speedup.
3. A decent contract with a 25 percent wage increase and cost of living clause.
4. For a Congress of Labor to map a defense against Nixon's attack on all workers and to launch a labor party.

Oscar Mayer Pay Talks Start

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON—On September 1 this year the entire meatcutting industry comes up for contract negotiations. The negotiations with Oscar Mayer will cover the parities Wilson and Oscar Mayers. Already, the leadership of the union has indicated its willingness to capitulate to Nixon's controls. One Oscar Mayer worker said: "We don't have leadership in Madison; it's up to the international. These things are almost cut and dried. I talked to the stewards and the president. They told me that they aren't going to ask for much, that we can't make it. They said that we're going for fringe benefits, maybe to 25 cents more per week paid on the pension. But big wage increase—no deal."

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

While about 80 percent of the 208 men laid off here last winter have been recalled, many were unemployed for three months or more. When jobs open up, the company mails out a registered letter to the last off employee's address. If the person fails to report to the company within 48 hours after mailing, he is designated an "automatic quit." One older worker said, "I've worked here 27 years and never seen it as bad as this."

On March 8 and 9, a Packinghouse Conference was held in Chicago to introduce the National Packinghouse Bargaining Committee. Eugene O'Connor, the union's legal department, spoke about Nixon's policies.

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

A new contract must be built now to mobilize all of meat-packing for a 20 percent increase in wages, to regain full cost of living, to demand no layoffs, and for a pension that keeps up with prices. This means that the AMBWBMA must prepare to take Nixon and the Cost of Living Council. This must be done with a movement to build a labor party and fight for general strike action against Phase Three.
Abel Gives It All To Nixon
BY MARK McCONNELL
PITTSBURGH—Meeting with 600 high officials of the United Steel Workers of America here, President I.W. Abel forced through one of the most rotten agreements any major union has ever concluded.

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

As the president of the huge School Board Says Teacher Strikes Are 'Unfair'
BY P. ARNDT
DeFOREST, WISC.—In a precedent-setting move, the DeForest School Board has asked the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board (WERC) to declare the teachers' strike an unfair labor practice. In reaction to a bitter teachers' strike last fall, the DeForest School Board is charging the Wisconsin Education Association with enticing a teachers' strike and the DeForest Area Education Association (DATEA) with engaging in unfair labor practice by striking October 9 to 16, 1973.

Although the teachers were ordered back to work by a court injunction, there is still no contract agreement. This means the teachers were working without a contract since August 1972. The School Board's action is a threat to every trade union, challenging the very basic right to strike. It must be fought not with the legal shortage of Nixon's courts, but through a political fight against the government.

Midwest News

Ford Tells Auto Men To Expect Less

DETROIT—With record profits of $700 made in 1972 behind them, Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Ford Motor Company, told shareholders last week in the company's annual report that: "Union demands must no longer reflect the expectation of high rates of inflation."

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

The Chrysler Corporation announced last week that it will put into effect a $42 or 1.5 percent across the board price hikes in 1973. General Motors and Ford have said that they will have any across the board price hikes in 1973 "barring unforeseen economic developments."

Although Ford has already raised the price of its lowest cost economy car, the Pinto, by $24. Detroit auto workers, already hard hit by this year's heavy inflation, told the Bulletin their feelings about the announcements of the Big Three. One River Rouge worker from the giant UAW Local 600 said: "All this stuff about no rise in the future is nothing but just to get Ford through the next year."

At the Chrysler Jefferson Assembly plant which was shut down for a week by a wild- cat strike, one worker told the Bulletin his message to the company was to raise its prices. That's the whole thing—high prices today. I think the union is fighting for the wrong things. We have to have a decent wage increase and grievances, the union won't do a thing about them."

Hospital Ranks Demand Strike

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

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

NEGOTIATING

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

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

Expel

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

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

Ford tells auto men to expect less

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

With a record sale of over six million predicted for 1973, Ford determined that strike interference with production and is demanding that the company break any auto strike just as he demanded that Nixon break the United Auto Workers strike. In this contract year, the fight for a Congress of Labor against government wage controls and toward the construction of a better party is posed before the UAW more urgently than ever.
The Meat
Boycott Fraud

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contrary to the canards of the Communist Party, the prices which are now shaming workers’ living standards cannot be controlled. The source of inflation is the capitalist crisis and it is increasingly being used as a weapon against the working class. The central question before workers today in the fight to defend their living standards is wages. But it is precisely on this question that the CP refuses to fight.

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

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

But on March 30 issue of the CP’s Daily World the New York Communist Party said: “The moment has come for a Program for fight on inflation.” Among the proposals for fighting inflation are to “write your Congressman.” “Join the national meat boycott.”

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

The real heart of the CP’s perspective is revealed in its virtual call for controls by defending the freeze that was implemented in World War Two. “Prices do not have to rise! Nixon’s inflationary policies can be reversed.”

During World War Two the government forced a real price freeze. The CP is not only not a real price freeze, but it is demanding a further freeze. The CP is not taking the initiative by demanding a genuine price freeze, but is also to support the capitalist government of the White House in its moves to initiate new controls on wages and other sources of raising money.

The CP in the 1940s was the most vociferous supporter of Roosevelt’s so-called “equality of sacrifice,” of the “no strike pledge” and the freeze on profits advocated by the War Labor Board. This was part and parcel of the CP’s support to Roosevelt and the imperialist war. It worked side by side and in the unions to prevent a real mobilization of the working class against the government and the building of a labor party.

By doing away with control over wages and forcing us to sign away our hard-won rights, the SWP and the Communist Party are virtually accusing us of being agents of the Studio, when the SWP and the CP would not strike.

Contrary to the lies of the CP today, prices soared in this period. The United Auto Workers reported that prices increased over 80 percent in the period from 1940-1945. A joint AFL-CIO report showed that prices had risen 41.5 percent from January 1940 to January 1944. So much for the CP’s World War Two controls.

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

The American Communist Party is the representative of the US bourgeoisie and the destruction of the working class which alone produces real value.

This is the fight today against the capitalist government and its program of economic crisis and opening a wage offensive to defend the right to a $2.60 an hour standard of life. This means the mobilization of the entire labor movement to take action against Phase Three and a political offensive against the government by building a labor party that will fight for socialist policies.

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

Need Subscription Drive Push

This week the Bulletin of the Communist Party is being sold at 412 sales to bring in a grand total to 475, a bit short of our one-third mark goal of 5,000 sales. We must take up this drive from the previous week’s one-third mark next week and we are all on our way to the three-quarters mark goal of 7,500 sales in a total of 12,000 sales by June 1st, giving the Bulletin a paid circulation of 21,000.

Chicago and Los Angeles did exceptionally well last week and the Brady area did well. By and large most branches, however, did not do as well as they should have. This means each area must consider large mobilizations in the next week.

Next week our first training class will start out for a two week drive with a goal of 60 sales. The following week the Pacific Northwest, Southern and Eastern teams will begin work. Let’s work hard next week to report preliminary results of this important work.
The following is the third part of the series "Renegades in Action-The IS".

The Torpes' decision to enter the Common Market threatens British workers with a savage attack so far made against their living standards and their basic rights.

It is a significant and sinister step in the direction of the corporation state, the integration of the union into the apparatus of the state.

It is no accident that the communiqué of the European Economic Community contains a reference to the Bonnspider's idea of ensnaring 'the increasing involvement of labour in action-orientation in the economic and social decisions of the community' and 'consumer protection'. It is the plan to tie down mammoth continental monopolies, transferring capital, dividing up markets and centralising taxation for the greatest trade war in history.

The immediate condition for the success of this strategy of the banqueters of Europe, the heirs of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, is the destruction of the Social Democratic and Socialist-bourgeoisie of the Brussels' political and administrative apparatus, while at the same time the level of the repressive powers of the state and its control over wages and the exercise of workers' rights.

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

If this plan fails—and there is no indication that it will succeed—the European and British rulers will have no choice but to try and defeat the working class with military-police means and pose the naked dictatorship of monolithically understood by the fig-leaves of parliamentary democracy.

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

The entry into the Market gives an entirely new dimension and dynamics to the struggles of the working class. The most important feature of the coming period will be a tremendous acceleration of the process already seen in the Industrial Relations, Housing Finance, and Immigration Acts whereby more and more power will be transferred from the legislature—parliament—to the executive, not merely to Whitehall but to the Brussels Secretariat.

Parliament will be reduced to the status of the French National Assembly, the Fifth Republic—an impotent rubber stamp for a strategic decision. The degrading of parliament will expose further the blatant bankruptcy of the Social Democratic Opposition and fight against the syndicalist "rank and file" of centrists like the International Socialists is critical to building a Marxist leadership and the work of the IS.

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

Lastly, unquestionably—and most important—the plans of the European monopolies to undermine and destroy the working class must not be halted or defeated by the economic strategies of the working class waged by the IS or any other organisation.

By virtue of its entry into the Market the British capitalist class has increased considerably its margin for manoeuvre against the unions and its ability to attack them by the elimination of the social and legal barriers to mergers, by the transfer of capital and the creation of unemployment. In this sense the Common Market is aimed primarily at the British trade unions. These functions which the Common Market lead unalterably to the conclusion that the only way forward for British workers is to fight for a radical change in the leadership of the IS, to create an alternative revolutionary leadership to the Stalinist and reformism; to take the state power and construct a nationalised and planned economy with the help of the European working class.

This leadership is today being built by the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The building of such a leadership means essentially the organisation of the most politically-conscious element of the working class into a revolutionary party which fights constantly against the process of transforming non-revolutionary trade unions into Werbestaffs of the bosses and for a clear Marxist understanding of the crisis, the role of the state and the revolutionary nature of the political tasks facing the working class.

This was the task set by the October 22 Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

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

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

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

Necessity for Theory

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

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

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

"The underground Presbyterians movement was broken up, and in the last two parliaments...there was no puritan opposition, though there was plenty of opposition to government economic policies."

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

"(God's Englishman p. 24, Penguin Books.)"

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

But every analogy has its limits. Whereas the Puritan bourgeoisie perfected their own ideology—after borrowing it from their Scottish, German and Dutch predecessors—British Marxists base their work on the premise that the working class, i.e., the trade union movement, cannot, of its own accord, elaborate an independent ideology.

Trotsky and syndicalism

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

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

These syndicalists, like Robert Loubon, argued that the trade unions could not be subordinate to the political leadership of a revolutionary party because the trade unions represent 'the working class as a whole' while the party is only a party and, therefore, the 'working class as a whole' cannot be subordinated to the party. The working class, wrote Loubon has 'no aim in itself, but the party can only "serve the working class or itself."

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

"It is only in the course of long struggles, severe trials, many victorials, and extensive experience, that insight comes to the right ways and methods.
pages upon the minds of the best elements of the working class, the vanguard of the masses. This applies equally to party and trade union. The trade union also begins as a small group of active workers and grows gradually as its experience enables it to gain the confidence of the mass.

While the revolutionary organizations are struggling to gain influence within their class, the bourgeois ideologists oppose the set up the "working class as a whole" against the trade unions, accusing them of wanting to "annex" the working class.

This "Tempe" attitudes which there is a strike. In other words the bourgeois ideologists oppose the working class as object to the working class as conscious subject.

For it is only through its class-conscious organizations that the working class gradually becomes a factor in history.

So it is, the case of Comrade Louison has not posed this question. "The proletariat its aims within itself." If we strip this sentence of its mystical connotations, its obvious meaning is that the historical tasks of the proletariat are determined by the social position of the class and in role in production in society and in the state.

This is beyond dispute. But this truth does not help us answer the question with which we are concerned, namely: how is the proletariat arrive at subjective insight into the historical task posed by its objective position? Were the proletariat as a whole, capable of grasping its historical task, it would need neither party nor trade union. Revolution would be born simultaneously with the proletariat. But in actuality the process required to impart the proletariat an insight into its historical mission is very long and painful, and full of internal contradictions.[1] Marxism and the Trade Unions—SLL edition p.23-24 emphasis in original)

In his appreciation of Rosa Luxembourg, written in 1913, Trotsky unequivocally for Lenin's conceptions on spontaneity.

"There is no gaining say that Rosa Luxembourg's impassioned and counterposed the spontaneity of mass actions to the "victory-crowned" conservatively policy of the German social democracy, especially after the revolution began. This counterposition had a thoroughly revolutionary and progressive character. Much earlier date than Lenin, Rosa Luxembourg grasped the retarding character of the unified party and trade union apparatus and began a struggle against it.

In these broad historical outlines, Rosa was proved right. For the revolution of 1918 was "spontaneous", that is, it was accomplished by the masses against all the preexisting preparations of the party officialdom. On this point Marx wrote that Germany's subsequent history amply showed that spontaneity was a force enough for success; Hitler's regime is a development of the spontaneous factors of the masses.

What is this "spontaneity"? According to Lenin in a previous issue of the "International Socialism", April 1919, this new sociological concept is an objective process beyond the conscious control of workers.

"The full employment of the full employment of the war and post-war period gave workers new confidence, but at the same time fragmented the working class..." Always though, comrades, as quickly recovered his troubleshooting abilities, who was working (at least in the Bolshevik and the early Communist International) building a revolutionary party, to liberate the working class from its reformist trade union consciousness and imbue it with the outlook of revolutionary socialism.

Revisionism: "cover for idealist backwardness"

This is a struggle not against Social Democrats but especially those like the Independent Socialists (I.S.) who amalgamated as "Marxist".& "Trotskyist". Was the ideologist in the crudest way possible to the reformist politics and idealist backwardness of the spontaneous movement.

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

Probably the greatest falsity of Leninism is today Mr. T. Clift—leader and "theoretician" of the International Socialism group.

Proceeding from the untenable and completely uncritical position that capitalism is expanding—though rather spasmodically—Mr. Clift's chief aim is to show that there is no conflict between the party and the spontaneous movement of the class and to belittle the central role of leadership in the class.

In a recent article in "Socialist Worker" Clift that "the battle is won the war won't on" Mr. Clift makes it abundantly clear that for him socialist politics is an independent of the spontaneous pressure of the masses and that there is little prospect of an overthrow of Trotskyism.

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

But when Clift tries to explain the "ineffectiveness" of the working class in forcing Trotsky out, besides two years of strikes, he finds himself tedious writing.

Instead of a critical analysis of the real weaknesses of the working class—its reformist consciousness and its opportunistic leadership—Clift devotes his readers with a pietistic sentimental, supra-objective interpretation that leaves no room for the intervention of the subjective factors—the conscious leadership of the revolutionary party.

Says Mr. Clift: "The other side of the coin of the ineffectiveness of Trotskyism is the fragmentation and volatility of the workers'.

What is this "fragmentation"? According to Clift in a previous issue of International Socialism, April 1919, this new sociological concept is an objective process beyond the conscious control of workers.

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This argument answers nothing. The reason for the continued existence of the Trotsky is the any thing but fragmented leadership of the trade union and Labour Party leaders.

The same argument applies to Mr. Clift's indifference about "volatility" (the lack of it). This category in 1969: Strikes do not develop a "right line" but appear at once. They proceed dialectically. They arise out of the class struggle and not according to a preconceived plan. But the outcome of all these strikes is determined by subjective considerations; by the policies of their leadership.

As an example of this so-called "volatility", Clift quotes the example of the agitation against the Industrial Relations Act. When the TUC refused to give a lead in the struggle against the Bill, the militants according to Clift, "made an immediate 100 degree turn". The "militants'" slogan now was "Stop the Reforms!". This volatility affects largely the advanced sections of the working class. It is rooted in (1) the feeling of the militant that he quite often he cannot carry the majority of his own workmates with him and (2) his isolation from militants in
opposition to forcing the Tories to resign and for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Cliff and Lenin

Since T. Cliff of the International Socialists is so frequently being Leninist, it is appropriate to restate Lenin's contempt for the kind of apologetics which Cliff employs.

In 'What is to be Done?', Lenin writes about the Russian workers: 'Why do the Russian workers still manifest little revolutionary activity in response to the brutal treatment of the people by the police . . .? Is it because the "economic struggle" does not "stimulate" them to that degree, because such activity does not "provide a material guarantee" for it, because it produces little that is "positive"? To adopt such an opinion, we repeat, is merely to direct the blame where it does not belong, to blame the working masses for one's own Putilism (or Bernsteinism)!' (What is to be done? p.76.)

Lenin once more repeats quite correctly that the subjugation of 'fragments' of the class as an answer to the unfilled responsibilities of leadership. When the Russian 'economists' try to blame the workers' 'lack of strength' for the failure to conduct a nationwide struggle against the autocracy, Lenin rebuts:

"Yes, we have indeed lost all "patience" waiting for the seven long years promised us by diverse "conciliators", when the economists claim to have "stopped" the workers with their own backwash and justified their own lack of energy with allegations that the workers lack strength." (What is to be done? p.90. Moscow 1969.)

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

Writing in the August 5, 1955, Socialist Worker, Cliff contrasts in a mechanical way what he considers to be the vanguard of the working class and the organized labour movement. "Let's assume that we had in this country a revolutionary social party, a combat organization, rooted in struggle and schooled in the art of strategy and tactics for the overthrow of capitalism. Let's assume that we had 50,000 members."

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

This is the organization of militants in different units, and industries who work round specific issues and questions of the working class. This is the stage of the complete emancipation of the class by the overthrow of the capitalist system.

"It is member participation in some such a cog wheel that forms the bulk of rank-and-file organizations . . ." The rising conflict will disrupt the workers' struggle and will help class consciousness. It is important that members of IS to do their best to recruit militants into our political organization as well as to strengthen all existing rank-and-file industrial and trade union organizations." (Socialist Worker, August 5, 1972, No. 283. Our emphasis.)

In three paragraphs Cliff has managed to concentrate all the idealist syndicalist confusion, indifference to Marxist theory, opposition to socialist politics and patronizing condescension towards workers who are to characterise the IS group. He clearly states that at a time when millions of workers are being forced into political battle with the Tories over state pay laws, inflation, houses, housing, immigration, Common Market and the Industrial Relations Act, when the political role of the union bureaucracy emerges apparent to hundreds of thousands of workers, Cliff refuses to consider this time when the situation calls for a revolting party to lead the workers—Mr Cliff rushes in hallowing his hand of non-political rank-and-file, like some fay godmother in a pantomime?

This syndicalism—despite Cliff's call for the old-time organization and political revolutionary strategy—arises from a basic deviation from Marxist theory.

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

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

The Econimism of IS

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

"Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class by their own example, by their own conduct, by their own struggle, and not solely with a full clear theoretical understanding— it would be even truer to say, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical understanding of the relationships between all the various classes in society, acquired through the experience of political life. For this requires the exercise of the economic struggle as the most essentially harmful reactionary in its practical significance.

Lenin was so irreconcilably opposed to these syndicalist fellows that he returned to them 18 years later in 'Left-Wing Communism' when he fought the anti-parliamentary, syndicalist policies of the British Communist Party: "Politics is a science and an art that one cannot learn from the skies . . . science that does not drop from the experience of other countries, other countries, also capitalism that does not drop from other countries, and communism that does not drop from other countries."

Therefore, science demands the calculation of all the forces, groups, that does not drop from the experience of the other countries, other countries, other countries, also capitalism that does not drop from other countries, and communism that does not drop from other countries."

"Left-Wing Communism" p.61. Little Lenin Library Vol. 16.)
This struggle is a result of the economic and social conditions that exist in modern society. The working class, especially the unemployed and underemployed, are the main victims of this system. They are oppressed and exploited by the capitalist class, who control the means of production and society itself. The working class is organized in trade unions, which are the main instruments for the struggle against capitalism. The trade unions are fighting for better working conditions, higher wages, and protection of workers' rights. They are also fighting against the government's policies that favor the rich at the expense of the working class. The working class is also fighting against the capitalist state, which uses violence and repression to maintain its power. The working class is fighting for a world where the means of production are owned by the working class itself, where the working class controls society and its affairs. This struggle is a struggle for freedom, democracy, and socialism. It is the struggle for the future of humanity.
Of course every revolution- ary party bases itself on the working class and is capable of overthrowing capitalism. But it must make 'his point of departure' the fight of the working class which is constantly and inevitably beset by economic struggle. Socialists who perpetrated such a serious error in the last days of the some of the early Russian revolutions.

'They would be depriving the working class of its struggle, they would be deceiving the working class in the possibility of concentrating their own strength by joining the other social groups at the social organization set up by the exploiters. Instead of organizing the working class against the bourgeoisie, they would be organizing the working class against each other.

Preserving the political independence of the workers as a most important sign of the natural order of their economic demands, we gave indirect support to modern alienism, to Socialism, to the Political Struggle'—1883.

Philosophical Works, p. 71. Select Philosophical Works.

Rejection of the 'modern alienism' with Toryism and the consequences of the policies of the IS as they exist today. From this can be seen the nature of the criticism Clfiff's remarks on the relation of this practice.

Wherein Lenin fought all against the working class and to 'raise the socialist literature' of the level of Marxist 'level' (p. 53 'What is to be Done') and the contraproposals to 'raise theory to the level of practice'.

This means, first and foremost, a constant struggle between the theory and practice of the revolutionary party in order that the political consciousness develop and through it the vast majority of working class as the only class at the level of the historical task: the abolition of capitalism.

This also presupposes a continuous struggle of the vanguard minority against the opportunism and 'proletarian' view in the working class.

The Marxist proponent does not overcome the theory and practice of the party by the acceptance of the status quo in its society where the struggle effects such a situation gener- ation. On the contrary, and unlike the Bolsheviks, accepting implicity and exclu- sively the 'facts' and the ideology of things as they are—Marxists- marxists struggle constantly with their per- ceptions and ideas, and there are no facts disaffirm, but grapple with the除夕- theary always which lies behind every fact.

They criticize the facts in order to transform them. They do not wish to go beyond what things seem to be—these perceptions. The Marxist, on the other hand, seeks to 'disappear' the essence of things through a process of perception, abstraction, actual practice. In this cog- nitive process, practice is the decisive criterion of truth. It is only in this way that the contradictions within everything can be revealed, their manifest relations grasped, that a profound knowledge of the laws and necessity of every phenomenon can be attained, i.e., the concrete ideological and political practice.

Thus, the beginning of the Marxist theory of knowledge and political practice is Hegel in his 'Doctrine of Essence' quoted by Lenin in his Philosophical Notebooks:

'Now the primary Determination of Reflection—Identity, Variety and Oppo-

The All-India Congress Party is the sole remaining bastion of the socialist movement in India.

The All India Congress Alliance conference of the SCL let the task of building the revolutionary part-

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

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

'It is the further development of productive forces which is con- ditioned on the framework of bourgeois society, then revolution would generally be impossible for a long time. But that is not the only development of the future, bourgeois or socialist. 'Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972. Our emphasis.

The question of the party

In contrast to the bourgeoisie the working class remains committed to the economic and political goals of reformism and Stalinism and so it is able to win the bourgeois politics. By amount of property and number of persons it is the most important political power and based on Marxist theory, can solve this contradiction.

Trotsky urged the European Bolshevik movement of 1921 to set up an anti-communist party with the principal aim of fighting the dictation of the working class and the idea of the working class was the same as was his opposition to the framework of bourgeois society and only one that is the Bolshevik party is the only solution of this contradiction. The bourgeoisie, even though it is a real socialist in a complete contradiction with the masses, is 'not only a bourgeois in process; nevertheless it remains: the most powerful class.

'The capitalist is a hanger on the side of the working class. His very existence is determined by the needs of the working class. His very existence is in the working class alone. The capitalist is the working class's servant, the working class's spy, the working class's servant. The capitalist is the working class's servant, the working class's spy, the working class's servant.

Cliff ignores crisis

What Lenin presents in the quotation from Hegel is more than customary and clearly revealed in a comparison between the method of Lenin's 'Socialist Worker' article and that of his 'Socialist Worker' article.

In his article, Cliff has only one 'perception' to the deepening crisis of capitalism. nowhere is there even an attempt to explain the class conflicts which will lead inevitably to an attempt by the bourgeoisie to establish a corporate state and to call for social revolution. (Significantly, neither the word corporate state nor revolution occurs in the compass of his article.)

Thus after a lyrical des-

is to be seen is the spontaneous mobilization of the workers. Cliff virtually dismisses the need for a conscious leadership by re-

spective conclusion—"the ques-

Because the ruling class is highly centralized, its ability to manoeuvre is much greater than any individual section of the proletariat, dictatorship, but as a 'school of tactics and strategies of the socialist organization', i.e. an organization that fights but does not fight. Moreover the necessity for the party to struggle, is not present now, but only in the future. Thus we do not need a party at all. But the party is neither "virility "nor 'impossible' because its existence is threatened by "social revolution. (Significantly, neither the word corporate state nor revolution occurs in the compass of his article.)

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The Turn To A New International

1922: At a meeting of students in Denmark, Trotsky delivers his famous speech, "In Defense of October."

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

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

PARABLES

It is important to bear in mind that these articles were written before Trotsky declared the Stalinists to be counterrevolutionary agents of world imperialism. Therefore, the historical background of his speculative remarks and his vigorous clarification stand in complete opposition to the Pablosites who declared that the Stalinists could lead socialist revolutions in 1925-30 years after Trotsky declared the Third International dead for that purpose and began to construct the Fourth International.

"The International Left Opposition, Its Tasks And Methods" was a document written in December 1922 in which Trotsky made a detailed assessment of the reasons for the degeneration of the Comintern and put forward the principal foundation upon which the Left Opposition fought for its reform. He explained that the failure of the proletariat of any advanced country to seize power during the period after the October Revolution had no less profound an effect upon the European sections of the Comintern than on the Soviet Communist Party.

"When the Soviet bureaucracy," Trotsky asserted, "exploiting the disappointment of the Russian workers in the delay of the European revolution, set forth the national-reformist theory of socialism in one country, the young bureaucracies of the other sections breathed a sigh of relief, the new perspectives offered them a road to socialism independent of the process of international revolution. In this way, the reaction within the USSR coincided with the reaction in the capitalist countries and created the conditions for successful administrative repression of the Left Opposition by the centrist bureaucracy."

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

Regarding the last point, Trotsky wrote: "Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against world imperialism is an elementary task of every revolutionary worker that the Left Opposition tolerates so vacillations or doubts on this question in its ranks. As before, it will break ruthlessly with all groups and elements which attempt to occupy a "neutral" stance between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world (Monatte-Louzon in France, the Urbahn group in Germany)."

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

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

AMERICAN SECTION

Trotsky made a critical intervention in the work of the American section that proved to be of great importance for its political growth. When Arne Swabeck
The Turn To A New International (cont’d)

visited Priština in February 1923, he told Trotsky that the Communist League of America was on the verge of a split stemming from their factional squabbles between James Cannon and Max Shachtman.

While Swabek most likely had expected to win Trotsky’s support for the Cannon faction, Trotsky instead proposed that a basis be found for conciliation. He emphasized in a letter to the International Secretariat that he had no principled differences that could warrant a split between the two groups. Trotsky suggested that the objective basis of the disputes were actually rooted in the propagandist character of the League’s work. Without a strong base in the working class, personal differences reached exaggerated proportions and tended to dominate over principled considerations. Trotsky then criticized Cannon’s method of handling disputes within the movement.

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

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

The two groups should fully understand that in the case of a split either of them could not be recognized as a section of the International Left Opposition. The two halves, condemned to impotence for a long time, would find themselves in a situation similar to that of the present groups in Czechoslovakia, who had members with full rights in the international organization but only sympathetic groups.

As his first article had been interpreted by Cannon to be overly favorable to Shachtman, Trotsky wrote another letter on the American dispute in which he made clear that he had not been his intention to initiate a split and that he simply wanted the Americans to find a means to end the factionalization quite clearly pointing out their theoretical weaknesses within the leadership. Only in that way could real progress be made.

Trotsky’s intervention had an important effect upon the American movement. Cannon and his followers were unable to develop a fruitful collaboration that was to last several years and bring about an important growth in American Trotskyism. It is important to note, however, that the present leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, which published this very Bulletin, was in this case highly justified for the very reasons that are worth examining. It must be said that in past volumes of Workers of Leon Trotsky, the positive footnoting has been accurate. But the notes prepared by the editors of this volume deliberately counterpose Cannon’s assessment of the earlier factional battles to that of Trotsky. On page 249 one can find a quote from Cannon’s The History of American Trotskyism in which he recalled that the first major dispute between Shachtman and himself were “worn-tout comprehensible” to the Trotskyists, and that the resulting political issues which were implicit in these battles were clear to all.

However, they were not mere personal quarrels as they often appeared to be, but rather the more general conflicts between the premature rehearsal of the great definitive struggles between the proletariat and petty-bourgeois tendencies within our movement.

MECHANICAL

It was nothing of the sort. Cannon was

Jean von Heijnefort and Max Shachtman secure Trotsky’s French visa, July 1923.

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

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

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

In the face of this historic betrayal, the question of a break with the Comintern and the building of a new International was posed. Trotsky first proposed that the Left Opposition, now confronted with great new tasks, seek in to win the forces emerging from the wreckage of the European workers movement. He said that elements within the left socialist organizations might be turned from cir-cumstances to Marxism by the intervention of the Left Opposition.

Explaining the process which opened new opportunities to the Left Opposition, Trotsky wrote: “The independent socialist organizations and left-oppositionist fac- tions in the Social-Democratic parties are either awed by centrist organizations or they contain within their ranks centrist tendencies or survivals. Their positive side is that they develop in a revolutionary direction, but also the negative side of the historic blows received by them. For us to seriously approach these organizations on a clear, principled basis will signify a new chapter in the development of the Left Opposition and thereby the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in the world. The movement toward an international revolutionary organization inspired by the ideals of the Left Opposition would become a center of attraction for the proletarian elements of the official Communist parties.”

For 10 years, the Left Opposition had struggled for the reform of the Third International. Because the Stalinist par-ties led millions of workers in the advanced countries and the Soviet Union, Trotsky was not prepared to dismiss them with a wave of his hand. Instead, the Left Opposition “had fully demonstrated the possibilities of the old situation” because Trotsky was the actual leader and as such as his point of departure and this was the only way in which a new leadership could be trained.

Trotsky had stated very clearly that if the catastrophe in Germany could not change the policies of the Stalinists, nothing else could. Therefore, on July 15, 1933, he announced “It is Not Too Late To Build Communist Parties And An International New” was completed by Trotsky. He called upon all members of the ILO to prepare for the building of the Fourth International.

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

“The dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy arose as a result of the backwardness of the USSR (the predominance of the peasantry) and the tardiness of the proletarian revolution in the world (menace of the third international revolutionary parties of the proletariat). In its turn, the rule of the Stalinist bourgeoisie led to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, that is to the terrible weakening of the proletarian vanguard in the whole world. The contradiction between the two sides of the Soviet state and the reactionary role of it, the degeneration of the manifestations of the law of uneven development. In our revolutionary politics we must take this historically given contradiction as our point of departure.”

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

“Those who demand guarantees in ad- vance should in general renounce revolutionary politics. The causes for the downfall of the Social Democracy and of the general collapse of the socialist movement not in Marxist theory and not in bad qualities of those people who apply it, but in the concrete conditions of the historical process. It is not a question of human errors, but rather of the struggle of social forces, with its inevitables ups and downs, with its sometimes disastrous confrontations, with the passing of entire generations into the history of the world, the Bolshevism which therefore arises of mobilizing fresh forces on a new historical stage. No one has been able, nor will anyone be able, to move forward on a road crosscorresponding with obstacles and cover the the,last three decades. This is the road to be followed.”

To BE CONTINUED
BY DAVID NORTH   TRACHTENBERG

The crucial role of centrism in the trade unions was exposed at the Special Bargaining Convention, held March 22 and 23 in Detroit, by the United National Caucus.

The caucus, which has long been the leader of the largest opposition caucus in the UAW, has always put the labor party supported by a majority of its members at the top of its list. At this year’s UNC conference, the Woodcock bureaucracy would have faced a strong challenge from the Woodcock-Free bargaining program, which gives Nixon and the auto bosses the right to control wages and attack the working and living conditions of the rank and file.

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

Furthermore, because the UNC insisted that the UAW con- vention was not the place to raise political issues like the labor party, it dropped from its auto program all the basic contract demands that can be won only through the political mobilization of the rank and file against the alliance.

It is for this reason that the UNC cynically retreated from its earlier demand for a minimum annual wage of $12,000 for auto workers and actually raised no demand on wages whatsoever.

Therefore, the United National Caucus collaborated with the Woodcock bureaucracy on the most fundamental issue before the trade union movement.

PHASE THREE:
Who was raising limited criticisms, the UNC never ob- jected to the political heart of the UAW bargaining program—acceptance of the 5.5 percent Phase Three guideline established by Nixon.

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

"People are always talking about the labor party. What does that have to do with this conven- tion? There are workers here and we have to talk about the bargaining program.”

The fact is that Kelly, only one year ago, had called for the labor party at the UAW Conven- tion in Atlantic City. Standing before a delegate, he had just heard a speech from Democratic Vice President Kennedy. Kelly declared: “We support a labor party in Canada and by god, we’re going to support a labor party in this country.”

Almost all the leaders of the Bulletin:—“There is something that is happening and that is that you can’t get a delegate who the plants today and people will listen to. We’re giving credit where credit is due—that’s what has to be done.”

But today Kelly is at the forefront of the bargaining politics in the unions, which relies—mean in this period—lining

up against the labor party and behind Woodcock’s alliance with the auto bosses.

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

In a brief introduction, Kelly alliance between the UNC and the Stalinists of the Communist Party was cemented. Schrade has always been backed by the Stalinists as a progressive bureaucrat, while Woodcock is a staunch opponent of the labor party. Schrade maintains that the trade unions should use the McGovern “reforms” to win in- terest within the Democratic Party.

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

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

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

WOODCOCK’S COVER

The UNC acted as Woodcock’s cover by refusing to raise the issue of wages. It is in this question that terrifies Woodcock because Woodcock’s acceptance of Phase Three and plan to prevent a strike.

What makes the case of the UNC particularly important is that it was once a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and that it still looks at the labor movement as a perspective around the labor party. Therefore, if the labor party had to be taken off the table.

But he refused to see the labor party through the struggle to con- trol the trade unions. Hostile to questions of theory, refusing to learn from the May 1st struggle against UAW, he adopted the anti-communist position that the United Union is a state capitalist society and broke with the International Com- munist Labor Army of the Fourth International. Later, he broke with the revisionist SWP when it came into conflict with his isolated trade union work.

Functioning as a syndicalist, he next dropped the issue of the labor party and actually turned against it. At the last UNC con- ference, he spoke in opposition to the resolution on the labor party. Though he was defeated on this question, Fox and Kelly went ahead with the abandon- ment of the labor party as they prepared for “bargaining co-opera- tion” in the bargaining conven- tion, for they would not maintain their ties with the Stalinists and the bureaucracy.

Operating without a labor party, the UNC have been unable to build anything inside the UAW. Only rarely can they even publish an opposition paper. But they play a dangerous role in that they play a leading role in the workers’ movement. That the UNC have been unable to build anything inside the UAW. Only rarely can they even publish an opposition paper. But they play a dangerous role in that they play a leading role in the workers’ movement.

NATIONAL AUTO CAUCUS

Today, there is an anti-revolu- tionary opposition caucus within the UAW, and that is the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. In con- flicts that the struggle to defend work conditions against brutal discipline measures, and pressures, to win a contract, and to ensure job security re- quires a confrontation with the Nixon government.

The labor party is the central question. Only by the mobilization of the working class in such a program, can there be an alter- native to the Woodcock policies of collaboration with Nixon be developed. A labor party would forge the unity of the working class in defense of their rights and their unions.

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

Twenty percent wage in- crease the first year with a 10 percent raise for the second, plus a $100 labor party starter for each year of contract!

*No layoffs!* 30 hour work week at all plants.

*Stop the slowdown! Abolish the UAW 'Pay to Win.'*

*Fight to strike over all con- tract violations. Abolish the 'UAW Loyalty Oath.'*

*No involuntary overtime!*

*End the 10/53 rule!*

*End the 60/50 rule!*

*End the 50/50 rule!*

"As long as the union has 50 percent of the workers to vote it has 100 percent of the living!"

Every grievance procedure—guilt must be proven—no contract violation cases.

The fight for this program can- not be separated from the fight for a CIO type of leadership to prepare national strike action against Phase Three and to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.
Ranks Shut PATH
For 15% Pay Hike

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

Patrick, the Pennsylvania Station stop told the Bulletin the central issue in the strike is the question of hire, which brings them up to the same level as other transportation workers in the area, as well as help fight the ravages of Nixon's inflation.

"The working man doesn't realize the same thing's going on now that went on during the '30s," said one worker.

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

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

One worker showed a Bulletin reporter his paycheck stub, which showed his week's take home pay at only $10.

"You take the average guy here on the road," a worker said.

"He might take home even as much as $140 to $200 a week, but he can't support a family on that with the way prices are."
Farmers Under Nixon’s Plow

Nearly every farm program being considered this year dates back to the 1930s and the New Deal. The Rural Environmental Assistance Program alone is estimated to cost $200 million to share with farmers’ costs for conservation programs this year. In the past the government paid part of the expenses for projects such as spreading lime on slating dies for wind breaks, draining swamps, and flood prevention. It has also been determined to finish the process that began in the early 1900s. With the turn of the century, small farmers finished settling the West and large-scale capital immediately began to drive these farmers off the land into the cities.

According to the 1950 percent of the United States’ population were farmers. Today about five percent till the soil. In 1970, there were two and one-half million farms. Twenty percent of these farms produced 75 percent of the food. About 75,000 farmers produce 34 percent. The other side of these figures is the fact that three-quarters of all farm families live in poverty. Out of that amount farmers must pay all farm expenses and eat out a living for their family. Nixon has declared his determination to bankrupt and destroy the vast majority of small farmers left in the United States. He will accomplish this task Nixon persuaded Earl Butz, former farm advisor to Dwight D. Eisenhower, to leave his comfortable position at Ralph Purina and become Secretary of Agriculture.

But first swing his axe on December 27, 1972 when he terminated the Emergen-

City disaster loan program that grants farmers low percent loans in case of natural destruction such as floods, hail and wind. Thousands of farmers in Western Minnesota—where crops were devastated by floods last year—depended on this program. Bob Arndt, a farmer from Yellow Medicine County, Minnesota, one of the hardest hit areas, complained: “Emergency disaster loans—we’ve got them. But Elzied said that farm income is up, that we can take care of ourselves in agriculture and that we don’t need emergency disaster loans any more. Well, what about those farmers who didn’t get a crop this year? What about the farmers who didn’t get higher prices last year? The Ad-
mistration’s termination of disaster loans and other farm programs has created a black day in rural America agriculture.”

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

Nearly every farm program being to U.S. history of which Farm has been, in the past, a disaster. The 1933 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1935 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1937 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1939 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1941 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1943 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1945 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1947 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1949 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1951 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1953 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1955 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1957 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1959 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1961 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1963 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1965 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1967 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1969 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1971 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1973 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1975 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1977 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1979 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1981 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1983 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1985 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1987 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1989 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1991 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1993 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1995 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1997 Farm Act was a disaster. The 1999 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2001 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2003 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2005 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2007 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2009 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2011 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2013 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2015 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2017 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2019 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2021 Farm Act was a disaster. The 2023 Farm Act was a disaster.

Apart from political considerations, the direct price support programs were the central aspects of a concept developed in 1933 known as “parity.” The object of parity was to restore to the farmers a stable price relationship of prices to costs that he had from 1900 to 1914. As these programs went into effect, production declined and gross farm income rose 50 percent between 1932 and 1938.

PARITY

The direct effect of parity is that the sum of price supports and direct payments is dramatically decreased today. Since the mid-1900s small dairy farmers have been selling their herds because the ratio of the price of milk to the price of food necessary to produce the milk. This was halted by parity. This cost increased because parity was increased by 85 percent in 1971. On March 8 of this year the government’s dairy policy is a drop in price supports of milk to 75 percent of parity, the lowest level.

Publicly, the government announced that this action would lower the price of dairy products for the consumer. The op-

Behind these moves is the insoluble crisis of the capitalist system itself. Suffering from an intolerable struggle in balance of payments deficit in 1972 Nixon moved the world into a trade war with Europe and Japan. Small farms are less productive, and their goods less competitive than the giants. Farm programs are too expensive. They are eliminated. Hundreds of thousands of small farms had been “outrun.” These people will be driven to look for jobs in the sweat shops of middle class America; and for the swelling ranks of the unemployed. Nixon is determined to bring about the complete liquidation of the domination of large scale capitalism in agriculture at the expense of small farmers.

This process has continued throughout the seventies. Milk and dairy products were cut in 1964 and 1965. The same thing happened in 1972. This kind of act-

The entire history of the populist movement of small farmers has been characterized by certain common demands: cheap money and low interest rates, better transportation, protection against the banks and mortgage companies, and price supports. Populism is essentially the radical extension of the middle class. It has always been a radical social movement in society as one of the “poor against the rich.” It has always been centered at the core of the state, Wall Street. All that is necessary therefore to return justice and morality to government is to return to the principles of the founders. That is why the 1933 Farm Act was so fruitful.

The benefits of the populist movement are the same as those of the middle class. They are the benefits of the capitalist system. The benefits of the populist movement are the benefits of the capitalist system. The benefits of the populist movement are the benefits of the capitalist system.

Populism is the hopeless struggle of the indi-

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

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

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

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

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

YOUTH PAPER
Previous Bay Area City College Workers League bases itself on the real movement of the working class and an understanding of the economic crisis that now make impossible the continuation of any compulsion, it has prepared for this situation. On the basis of this fight for perspective against the revisionists the Young Socialists movement has been born and its paper developed.

This tremendous strength of our movement was expressed at the Bay Area Youth Conference, the attendance of a big delegation of youth from Watts who came seeking a lead from the only movement that can construct a new society, the understanding that the next rebellions are not crushed as the Watts rebellion was.

It was this strength that threw the necessary meat for the next frontal attack on the Young Socialists. A delegation from Watts with hatred of the radicals for the working class, insisting that this is a class war. The building of the classes that requires only a nucleus of leadership is essential. The YS Spartacist League mobilized virtually its entire West Coast membership to picket the YS meeting.

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

STEP FORWARD
The conference itself represented a big step forward. All the problems of constructing a movement in Los Angeles were posed among the 45 youth present. A YS youth presented a large section of youth, largely from the middle class, raised questions as to why all tendencies could not unite, really refusing to continue arguments with the other group that the YS is constructed in the fight against revisionism.

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

The same time, youth from Watts came forward to discuss the budget cuts and the big attacks on the youth and the need to reach out to the working class to prevent a repeat of the Watts rebellion. Several of these youth, who were tired and hadn't eaten proceeded into Watts to begin this important work. A party later that night represented the real beginnings of the work of the Watts Young Socialists which can now develop as a living, fighting movement against all the hostilities of the radicals.

BAY AREA
attended the conference. This conference as a whole took account of the ever changing class situation, that at the YS labor movement, one of the most powerful in the country with a rich history of struggle, is preparing an offensive.

From the experience of the University of California Medical Center in which YS and YS allies threatened solidarity strikes, to the Emporium Department Store strike which mobilized Bay Area youth to go out at the store to defend their YS conference of six counties are now being forced to prepare for massive demonstrations to mobilize the trade union movement against the attacks of Phase Three.

The YS conference was once again packed with people with somewhat depleted forces, apparently worn out from their constant journeys up and down the coast. This time however, actual Socialist supporters were secretly sent into the conference to seek to break it.

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

Speakers from Watts rose to attempt to put forward the idea that there is really no crisis. The distance from the community is expressed in the contribution of one speaker, who said essentially that the youth could do nothing but get into the military and do long, patient propaganda work against the union bureaucracy. This, he said, was the real solution.

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

NATIONALISTS
These comments were put forward precisely at the height of the fight of the Young Socialists against the budget cuts at San Francisco and Oakland, and was the first time the YS gave a big response from working class youth who feel these attacks directly, and in forcing the nationalists, who had the development of the YS and its paper, into a bitter anti-communist attack on our movement.

A number of youth came forward to discuss attacks on medical care among the poor and the students for higher education. The questions being raised were not on whether to fight, but on how to fight.

One youth raised the question of whether the YS should be trying for gains, pressing the problems of fighting and understanding the necessity in the student movement.

The conference unanimously decided to call the meeting for May 4 in San Francisco and a collection for the daily Bulletin raised over $100.
West Coast News

Stalinists Urge Vote For Cop

BY MITH PATTISON

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

In contrast, at a recent trade union election, where the two party system is in collapse, with the leading liberal Democrat being twenty-two year old Tom Bradley, the Stalinist Communist Party comes out openly to prop him up.

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

No-Strike Pact Angers Ranks

BY A REPORTER

FORTANA, Calif.—Local 2869 Steelworkers in the Kaiser mill here angrily disapproved today of the new six year agreement with Kaiser Presi-dent I.W. Abel's "no-strike" pact with the major companies in interviews held with Bulletin reporters.

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

Another worker told the Bulletin: "It's terrible, but not surprising. Abel on Nixon's Out of Living Council, trying to hold wages to 5.5 percent, while inflation takes up our paycheques. I'm sure he knows we won't put up with even the 5.5 percent, let alone 3.5. Abel is trying to make it impossible for us to fight the government." Ernie Mason, an older worker, said: "We all know that none of these big politicians are doing us any good. We have to organize the working people against what is happening. Mr. Abel's family doesn't feel anything as far as the money crisis goes. Just watch the big change here at Kaiser because of this. We need the right to strike." Steelworker Shadwick stated that the ranks would reject Abel's pact with the companies. "Just because Abel signed something doesn't mean that a half million steel workers are going to go along," he declared. "Striking is the only way we have to fight."—SOLD OUT

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

Trade War Bill Threatens 30,000 Jobs

BY MARTY MORAN

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

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

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

Senator Packwood of Oregon revealed the real purpose of the bill by giving the following figures: The US is a net importer of wood products, exporting $400 million in raw logs, mosty to Japan, and importing upwards of $1.5 billion in finished lumber, the bulk from Canada. According to Packwood, if the logs now exported are diverted to American saw mills for processing, they would replace more than $800 million in im-ported lumber, thus reducing the US trade deficit.

FRAUD

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

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

The recent report of the Disrubutor, newspaper of the International Lumberman's and Warehousemen's Union, attacks the Packwood bill for the devastation it will cause in West Coast ports and urges protest before Congressional com-mittes to stop it.

But this policy is completely bankrupt if we look at the face of the economic crisis. All the ILWU founding men can do is to try to per-suade the capitalists that they should try some other way of running a trade war.

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

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

TEACHERS

(Continued From Page 20)

TEACHERS...

The court's ruling is based on the fact that public employees are not specifically granted the right to strike under state law. The state Supreme Court has held that such a right does not exist. With the UTLA demanding a 12 percent increase in pay and the UTLA demanding a 10 percent increase in pay, the upcoming negotiations, twice the state's monthly income. The settlement will need more than a little pressure on the liberals even to defend the right to have a contract. According to the ruling, the Board of Education has no choice but to agree to the demands and regulations agreed to by both parties, but they "must be sub-jected to change at the board's pleasure."
Magee Jury Says No To Government

BY BARRY GREY
SAN FRANCISCO, April 3—Despite the most open strong-armed attempts by Judge Morton R. Colvin to force a conviction of Russell Magee for murder and kidnapping, the jury refused to bring in a verdict. It was a surprise verdict for the prosecution. It was delivered for eight days, and the jury was deadlocked. Today Colvin was forced to declare a mistrial.

Moses Shepherd, a member of the jury, told a reporter he had refused to vote to convict Magee. “I was staunch for acquittal on both counts. I didn’t believe he was guilty. The prosecutor didn’t prove his case.”

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

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

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

Courts Void Teachers' Contract

BY SHEILA BREHM
The State Court of Appeals reaffirmed last week that it is illegal for California teachers to strike. The decision for bids “any binding, written contracts or agreements” between the teachers’ union and the school boards.

The appeal court’s decision upholds a ruling nullifying an agreement which ended a five week strike by Los Angeles teachers in 1970. The United Teachers of Los Angeles (ULTA) were fined $12,000 for that strike. Opponents of the agreement that had been reached between the union and the Board of Education, the Citizens Legal Defense Alliance, said it blocked the settlement claiming that the Board of Education improperly offered to share its powers with the union.

Through the ruling deals with Los Angeles teachers, it applies to all teachers in the state.

While UTLA President Robert Ranson declared that the decision reduces teachers' rights (Continued On Page 19)
Magee Jury Says No to Government

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

Moses Shepherd, a member of the jury, told a reporter he had refused to vote for convict Magee. “I was staunch for acquittal on both counts. I didn’t believe he was guilty. The prosecutor didn’t prove his case.”

HATRED
The enormity of the difficulty of the government in getting a jury to convict Magee reflects the tremendous hatred and distrust of Nixon among millions of workers and the middle class. The hung jury is a blow against this government and a victory for the working class.

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

Courts Void Teachers Contract

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Although the ruling deals with Los Angeles teachers, it applies to all teachers in the state.

When ULTA President Robert Ransom declared that the decision reduces teachers’ “to the

(Continued On Page 19)