

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FOUR 340

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Nixon Pushes Unemployment, Inflation—

THE CASE FOR A NEW ELECTION

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The Nixon government is going full speed ahead with a massive attack on the living standards of every American worker and his family.

Unemployment and inflation are being combined in a way that is threatening to destroy the livelihood of the working class.

The labor movement must demand a new election and build a labor party to allow workers to throw this government out of office.

The government is deliberately allowing whole sections of industry to collapse and reorganizing others, throwing thousands onto the streets. Workers in auto, textile, the airlines, and soon other industries face a future of permanent unemployment.

The announcement by the wheat industry that bread may go to one dollar a loaf means that inflation will at least double in the coming year.

Price increases have now reached the highest level since World War Two, while wages have been held to the bare minimum.

The latest figures confirm that in 1973 the living conditions of workers was physically reduced by these policies and statistics indicate that this trend will intensify in 1974.

The crisis of the capitalist system now affects the very life of every worker. This system can produce nothing but

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Tory troops remain encamped around London's Heathrow Airport as railroad engineers went on strike after British Railways threatened to send them home without pay for refusing to call off their overtime ban. See full report, page 3. Workers Press Photo

Pentagon Plots In White House

BY DAVID NORTH
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With the full extent of the spy ring's activity barely un-

covered, it is already clear that the Pentagon has been monitoring all aspects of government policy functioning as a law unto itself.

President Nixon's inability to dismiss Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, upon learning that he had organized the spying on Henry Kissinger and the rifling of White House files, exposes the power of the military over the civilian branches of government.

The following facts have been established:

•A ring of military spying was discovered in 1971 during the time of Henry Kissinger's negotiations with China.

•Highly classified information was passed from the National Security Council to the Pentagon. Documents were either stolen or illegally photocopied.

•At least six officials from the Pentagon assigned to the White

House were involved in the spy ring.

•An unnamed military official "blackmailed" Nixon by threatening to make the stolen secret documents public unless he was appointed to a more powerful military post. Sources report that the demand was not granted, but Nixon did not remove him from the post he then held.

•The military spy ring was uncovered by the White House secret "plumbers" unit, which informed Nixon that information on Kissinger's talks with China were being relayed to Admiral Moorer. Nixon declared that he would fire Moorer, but for unexplained reasons did not do so.

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Nixon's Conspiracy Against Democratic Rights

A massive conspiracy is being organized by the government, the CIA, FBI, and the police department to murder and jail hundreds of innocent people, whose only crime is their opposition to this government.

The police have invented totally fictitious organizations which are depicted as terrorist murder squads, to justify the most ruthless repression against youth and political activists.

This is clearly a coordinated nationwide campaign.

What We Think

While the right-wing New York Daily News prints a five part series about the "Black Liberation Army," two men are arrested in Oakland, California, for the murder of educator Dr. Marcus Foster, and accused of being members of the "Symbionese Liberation

Army."

In New York, Joanne Chesimard and Henry Brown, alleged leaders of the BLA face trial for murder. The Daily News series was timed to appear during their trial.

Every single word of these articles which quotes "diaries" and details the activities of the "BLA," is the fantastic invention of the police.

Not once has any independent evidence of the existence of this organization ever been produced. The entire "proof" comes only from police statements, prior to which no one had ever heard of either the BLA or the

Symbionese Liberation Army.

The Daily News simply reprints the police stories as irrefutable facts. At the end of the series, it comments that in Oakland the "August 7 Guerrilla Movement" has taken responsibility for shooting down a police helicopter, but neglects to add that this crash has been ruled a result of "mechanical failure" by the Safety Transportation Board.

The police department is seeking to widen the witch-hunt by linking the BLA with "20 or 25 political activists" who are supposedly giving them aid and comfort.

In each arrest, the police story is identical. A car is stopped for a "routine" check, and without reason the occupants, who turn out to be terrorists, open fire. The truth is that the police know who is in the car and deliberately provoke a gun fight.

One of the young men accused of murdering Foster, Joseph Remiro, is a known activist in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

These frameups are not without precedent in history. The leaders of the Eight Hour Day movement in 1886 and other leaders of the workers movement in this country were falsely accused of murder and railroaded to their deaths.

Provocations and judicial frameups become increasingly the methods of the capitalists and their police force in a period of economic and social crisis.

The government consciously whips up a scare campaign against a phony terrorist threat in order to strengthen its police state powers and prepare for repression not only against the left, but against the working class itself.

This repression goes in hand in hand with Nixon's drive to throw millions out of work and to slash real wages by allowing unlimited inflation.

The government fears the powerful movement of the working class against these attacks and is seeking to destroy the development of a leadership within the working class.

These frameups are not just isolated attacks on "militants," but are a warning that the government is training its police for a period when democratic rights are nonexistent.

In Britain, the Tory government has surrounded the airports with fully armed troops and tanks under the guise of an imminent terrorist attack on jets.

A series of mysterious bombs that have exploded all over London are being blamed on the Irish Republican Army, without any evidence whatsoever.

These are open preparations for a declaration of martial law, the suspension of democratic liberties, and mass jailings of socialists and workers.

The real conspiracy is not the Black Liberation Army, but exists in the inner circles of Nixon's government, between the military and a section of capitalists who are anxious to establish a dictatorship.

These frameups are a warning to every trade unionist of what the government is preparing for the whole working class.

It is the strength and power of the working class that drives the government to this frenzied repression.

The labor movement must defend Chesimard, Brown, Remiro, and all others who face the brunt of this attack as an inseparable part of the political fight to drive Nixon out of office.

Arabs On Alert For US Intervention

BY DAVID NORTH

Tensions are mounting on the Suez Canal front, where Israeli and United Nations forces are attempting to drive Egyptian troops back from strategic positions on the outskirts of Suez City which they occupied Monday.

Egyptian troops who have advanced over the past week to forward positions outside Qantara on the east bank of the canal have been under constant Israeli fire.

It is against this background of sharpening conflict at the front that negotiations in Geneva have broken down. Talks were suspended while Henry Kissinger makes another tour of the Middle East.

Ismail Fahny, foreign minister of Egypt, will meet with Soviet leaders in the Kremlin.

The struggle of the Arab masses against Zionism has reached a critical stage. For all the talk of reaching a "compromise" settlement, the imperialists are seeking to bring enormous pressure to bear on the Arab states to force an end to the oil embargo.

Before leaving for the Middle East, Kissinger called on the im-

perialists of Canada, Western Europe, and Japan to attend a February 11 conference in Washington to establish "an action program" on the energy crisis.

WARNING

Exactly what type of program he envisions was not explained by Kissinger. However, the belief in Arab countries that military action is at least being contemplated by the imperialists was expressed by the Kuwait government's warning that it will blow up its oil fields in the event of an invasion.

"Kuwait's oil fields have been surrounded by an explosive belt, explodable the moment actual American military intervention is sensed," Kuwait Foreign Minister Sabah Jaber Sabah said.

The Beirut newsletter Arab World said that the US should not disregard a Saudi plan to blow up its oil field in the case of military intervention.

At any event, Kissinger is entering into talks with Egypt without having anything new to offer in way of a compromise.

He claimed to have several "Israeli ideas" to reach a settlement, but the Zionists have denied making any suggestions of concessions.

The only plan which has been put forward has already been decisively rejected by the Egyptians. This plan calls for a withdrawal of Israeli forces to the Sinai mountain passes 20 miles east of the canal, in return for a thinning of Egyptian troops on the east bank.

INSISTS

This would in fact amount to an Egyptian surrender of its gains in the October war. President Sadat insists that he will accept nothing less than an Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai.

The role of the Soviet Stalinists is one of an open betrayal of the Arabs. Brezhnev is working hand and hand with Kissinger to impose a settlement.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is promoting the Geneva talks which serve only as a cover for the war plans of the Zionists and their imperialist supporters.



Dayan and Kissinger meet in Washington.

Thai Students Demand Ouster Of CIA Man

Four thousand students and professors held a mass demonstration in front of the United States Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand to demand that William R. Kintner, the US ambassador and former agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, be thrown out of Thailand.

Students also protested the intervention of the Japanese government in the affairs of Thailand by blockading the entrance to the hotel where Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka was speaking.

BIGGEST

These demonstrations marked the biggest movement of the Thai masses since the uprising of the students last October forced the military regime out of

the country.

The demonstrations were organized by the "People for Democratic Action" immediately following the announcement that the CIA was involved in a plot to negotiate a ceasefire between the Thai government and the Peoples Liberation Army fighting in northwest Thailand.

Premier Sanya received a letter proposing a ceasefire allegedly signed by a leader of the liberation movement. When the origin of the letter was checked, it was discovered that it had been sent from a CIA office.

Ambassador Kintner was a CIA agent himself from 1950 to 1952. The only statement he made was that the agent who mailed the letter was sent out of Thailand and "appropriate disciplinary action had been taken."

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THE BULLETIN, twice-weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Seventh Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published twice-weekly except the last week of December and the last week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$6.00, 6 months: \$3.00, 2 months: \$1.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

Europe Starts Oil Rationing

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Severe fuel rationing measures have gone into effect in Europe and workers in all countries are facing a steep rise in unemployment.

In Sweden, heating oil deliveries to homes was reduced 25 percent, and a 20 percent reduction in electricity will be instituted in February.

Sixty percent of Sweden's petroleum supplies come from the Arab countries.

Ration cards for gas limit Swedish drivers to 26.4 gallons in seven weeks, or just one half gallon a day.

The Swedish government says that rationing must continue until at least February 28 to avoid a big jump in unemployment.

German Cancellor Willy Brandt is preparing to return to a ban on Sunday driving. Unem-

ployment in Germany went from 332,000 on November 30 to over 450,000.

In Holland, gas is being rationed at 3.5 gallons a week.

German auto workers are facing a staggering rise in unemployment. The demand for new cars was half its former level by the end of 1973.

In France, plants are reducing the work week. The Peugeot plant is reducing the hours of 2100 workers from 44 to 40 hours a week. The Moulineux plant in Normandy is doing the same.

The Sterckeman caravan factory is placing 572 workers on a four day week after January 7.

At the same time, the price of gas and industrial fuel will go up 20 percent.

While the oil boycott has had a deeper impact in Europe, the European governments, like Nixon, are using the fuel crisis to push unemployment into the millions.

Rehearsal For Civil War In Great Britain

BY MELODY FARROW

British railroad engineers went on strike January 10, after British Railways threatened to send rail workers home without pay for refusing to call off their overtime ban.

Rail workers, together with British miners, have banned Sunday overtime and are working to rule in defense of their pay demands.

However, the union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) sent the men back the next day, and has postponed any further strike action until January 15.

This was the first full-scale walkout by a major union since Prime Minister Edward Heath declared a "state of emergency" and slashed the work week to three days.

Ray Buckton, head of the ASLEF, called the railroad's threat a "provocative action" and a "declaration of war," but in the same breath stated:

"I am surprised and sorry that Mr. Marsh (British Rail chairman) has seen fit to really take on the trade union in this way, instead of endeavoring to find a solution."

FORCE

The British trade union leaders will not confront the fact that the Tories will no longer negotiate, but are out to smash the working class and its unions by force.

As a further provocation, the

Shah Sentences Leftists To Death

Seven Iranian leftists were sentenced to death Wednesday and five others were sentenced to prison terms by a military tribunal on charges of terrorism.

In imposing the death sentence, the military prosecutor claimed that the seven had plotted to kidnap the Shah's wife, Farah, or his eldest son and heir in order to obtain the release of political prisoners.

The prosecutor stated that the kidnapping was to have oc-

Confederation of British Industry is preparing to scrap all wage agreements and slash the pay of all workers forced on a three day week.

There are now 650,000 unemployed and already there is speculation that it will reach six million.

The government is goading the unions into strike action in order to blame the crisis and the unemployment on the miners, railwaymen, and other unions.

Massive unemployment is being combined with a bomb scare and the placing of tanks around the airport to counter an alleged "terrorist" threat in order to create a "crisis" atmosphere and win support among the middle classes for repression against the left.



British soldier "guards" cargo.

These tanks are a dress rehearsal for moves against the working class in a general strike situation.

Under these conditions, Heath plans to call a new election after which he would move towards an open dictatorship.

The important thing for British workers in preparing for the general strike, is to establish positions of strength by occupying the plants, and to unite all sections of workers to force Heath out of power.

curred last November when Farah presided at an award-giving ceremony at a film festival.

The indictment also charged that the accused planned to assassinate the Shah.

Among those who stood trial are several journalists, photographers, and movie directors.

Those sentenced to death defied the military court, which they said had no legal jurisdiction over alleged crimes of a political character involving civilians.



Troops at London's Heathrow Airport. Workers Press photo.

Bakers Warn: \$1 For Loaf Of Bread

BY A REPORTER

The American Bakers Association has announced that before the end of spring, the cost for a loaf of bread could be one dollar.

William Mead, the head of the association stated: "Foreign buyers are hoarding American wheat and this will mean higher bread prices if, indeed, there is any wheat available to make bread."

Trade reports show that only one baking company in the country, the Campbell Taggart Company, has been able to ensure delivery of enough flour to continue bread production through July 1.

Agricultural goods, particularly wheat, are the backbone of the US export drive against Europe and Japan. The US depends on huge exports of American agricultural commodities to produce the balance of payments surplus. In 1973, US agricultural exports rose 80 percent over 1972.

Three-fourths of the wheat grown in this country is exported. Despite dwindling supplies of wheat reserves, the Nixon administration is determined to press ahead with its export drive.

SHORTAGES

The American worker pays directly for these trade war policies through shortages and skyrocketing prices here.

Prices continue to skyrocket in the cost of electricity as well. Consolidated Edison, the company that services all of New

York and Westchester, will increase the rates \$2.73 per month.

This increase is 100 percent higher than the last fuel adjust-

ment increase. The Public Service Commission has given permission to Con Ed to raise their prices without restrictions.

Yen Devaluation Sends Stock Market Plummeting

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The stock market continued to plummet following the devaluation of the Japanese yen.

Last Thursday, stocks fell another 11 points, with even oil stocks taking a beating.

It has become quite clear since the yen devaluation that Nixon is determined to create inflation and mass unemployment in Europe and Japan.

RISE

The general rise in the price of the dollar against the currencies of Japan and the Common Market countries means even higher fuel prices for US competitors as oil prices are quoted in dollars.

In the last few days, the central banks of all the major countries have been seeking to hold down the price of the dollar to prevent a new speculative rush.

The new situation is creating chaos in Europe, where most currencies float together against the dollar. A recent meeting of

Common Market ministers in Europe scrapped plans to create a pool of reserves for six months.

FLOAT

This means that funds are not available for any joint intervention to hold the float together.

This increases the pressure tearing apart the Common Market which depends for its existence on a stable relationship between currencies.

The United States has now announced its intentions to scrap current negotiations for monetary reform which were aimed at setting up fixed relations between currencies. The US will now insist on a continuation of worldwide floating currencies completely severed from any relation to gold.

DEFICITS

The rising oil prices and the huge balance of payments deficits faced by Europe and Japan guarantee that this will mean a whole new round of currency crisis, competitive devaluations, and intensification of trade war.



workers league young socialists public meeting

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF LEFT OPPOSITION

speakers:
tim wohlforth
david nortl,

special films

martin luther king 310 west 43rd st
labor center new york city

january 23
8 pm

\$1.50 trade unionists \$1.00 youth & unemployed

Steel Negotiations Get Underway

PITTSBURGH, Pa.— The 600 member Basic Steel Industry Conference held its prenegotiation session in Washington, DC to formulate the union's demands for negotiations with the 10 largest steel companies which began on January 30.

The conference was attended by the presidents of all steel locals representing workers in the basic steel industry.

The aluminum workers contract expires May 31, but union officials of the Aluminum Workers International Union are attempting to reach an agreement by January 30.

Fifty percent of the country's aluminum workers are in the AWIU, mainly in the middle and deep South, whereas the USWA represents 43,000 aluminum workers in other areas. There is no joint bargaining between the two unions.

The USWA also faces negotiations on the copper contract which expires June 1 and negotiations for the can workers is

already underway.

Abel told reporters that he considers the Nixon government's 5.5 percent wage guidelines "outmoded."

According to Abel, steel workers expect wage increases well above the three percent guaranteed in the strike-banning experimental negotiating agreement (ENA).

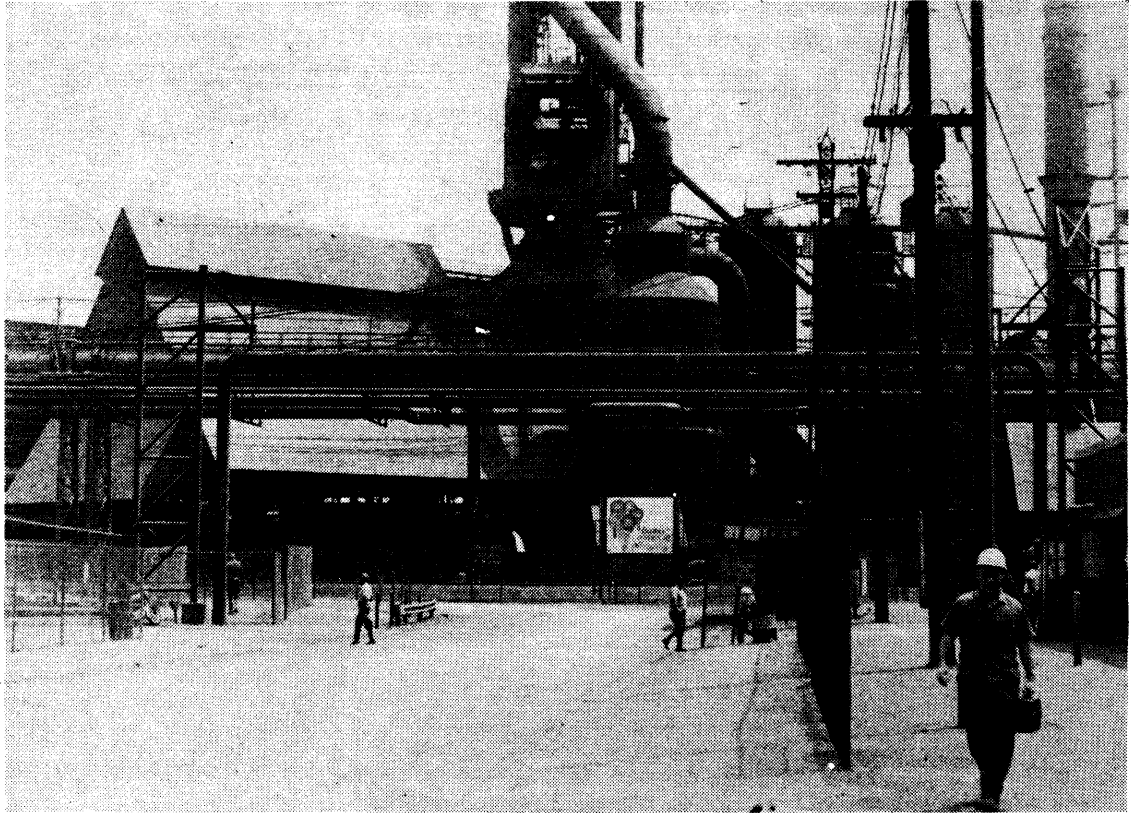
All of these demands are toothless under the provisions of the ENA, however, because all issues upon which the union and company cannot reach agreement will be subject to binding arbitration.

Despite tremendous opposition to the no-strike pledge among the ranks of the steel workers, no formal opposition was raised at the conference.

The conference also released a resolution on the energy crisis which blamed the crisis on "White House mismanagement and perhaps collusion among fuel corporations."

It urges an investigation of "alleged gasoline shortages" and calls for an excess profits tax on oil products, "to build defenses against profiteering by the major oil companies."

The resolution continues, however: "We realize that if indeed a shortage does occur, a rational



The Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore, where members of USWA are expressing big opposition to Abel.

and responsible system of priorities and rationing should be instituted.

"Our plants must continue to be able to produce and fuels must be allocated to them on a

higher priority basis."

Abel said that a rationing system was needed that would take workers who drive to and from their jobs into consideration and termed Nixon's plans to give each driver 35 gallons of gas a month, "wasteful."

These remarks make it clear that Abel will lead no fight against the corporations who are using the crisis to drive down the working class, but instead will cooperate with them and ask for a few crumbs for the workers.

OPPOSITION

A section of the USWA leadership is now seeking to turn the opposition to the no-strike pledge into a court case. There are over 35 defendants from United Steel Workers locals across the country listed in the case including Edward Mann and John S. Barbera, president and vice-president of Local 1462 of the United Steel Workers in Youngstown, Ohio.

The Bulletin spoke with Bill Lynch, a member of Local 1462 and the leader of the Rank and File Action Team which unsuccessfully challenged Abel in last year's election.

DISCONTENTED

"A lot of members are discontented," Lynch said. "The strike is our only weapon. We must have something to defend

ourselves with."

When asked about his plans to take the fight against the ENA beyond the court case, Lynch said: "Don't put the horse before the cart, before we have the cart."

Lynch said: "Nixon should step down and let someone else take over," and that "labor should take action" to stop Nixon and to fight against the unemployment facing the entire working class.

He stated: "The unions have an obligation for the laboring people to give a political lead." However, he disagreed that a labor party is necessary to fulfill this obligation, saying: "We must work with what we have."

A rank and file steel worker said: "If we give up the right to strike, we have to take what they offer."

PRODUCTIVITY

Earl King, from the Jones and Laughlin plant in Pittsburgh, said: "I am against the productivity clause. They cut the manpower in some departments and increased the bonuses. That way less men do more work."

"In one department, they had 25 men and cut 9. There is much more work for the men who are left."

"I am against the no-strike pledge. It cuts our power."

"We cannot let them take our only weapon away."

Steel Workers Picket Abel

WASHINGTON, D.C.— Steel workers from Baltimore Local 2610 picketed a prenegotiation session of the International Board of the United Steel Workers of America last week to protest the wages and working conditions of coke oven workers.

Widespread rebellion is spreading among steel workers against USWA President IW Abel's no-strike pledge and precontract agreement.

Union officials from the Sparrows Point local stated that the purpose of the demonstration was to "voice our dissatisfaction and discontent as United Steel Workers and to dramatize before the Inter-

national Executive Board the poor working conditions, inadequate wages, the urgent need for updating and reclassifying job categories, and the revision of job descriptions which daily subjugates the coke oven workers, really the hardest worked and lowest paid of all steel workers, throughout this International union."

Walter Scott, recording secretary of USWA Local 2610, assailed the Abel precontract agreement.

"Abel agreed nine months ago to just a \$150 bonus in September and has nothing to say about conditions or the cost of living facing steel workers."

"This is a big sellout. We are going to fight Abel's no-strike pledge."

Steel companies like all other basic industries are planning massive layoffs due to energy shortages. Early this week, Steward Cort, chairman of

Bethlehem Steel Corporation, announced:

"The most obvious threat to a continued high level of operations is the energy crisis. Without adequate supplies of fuel oil, we would have to shut down."

Cort, also chairman of the American Iron and Steel Institute, complained that the profits were "disappointingly low...too low to attract the funds we need for expansion."

A steel worker from the Rolling Mill at Sparrows Point told the Bulletin:

"Many departments are cutting the number of men and telling those of us left to do twice as much work."

Steel workers are also closely watching the layoffs at the automobile companies across the country. They will mean a cut in orders for steel and layoffs throughout the steel industry.

FBI Admits Bugging SWP

BY MITCH PATTERSON
In response to a suit filed against the federal government by the Socialist Workers Party, the government openly admitted that members of the SWP were under electronic surveillance from 1945 to 1963.

Moreover, the public statement issued by the government said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had a program of infiltration and disruption of the SWP from 1961 to 1969.

A document made public yesterday by United States Attorney Paul J. Curran revealed that the home of James P. Cannon, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was wiretapped in 1972.

The bug was placed after the local police submitted a report to the FBI on Cannon's activities.

This follows the disclosure last December 6 of an order that J. Edgar Hoover issued to all FBI offices in May 1968 "to begin an attack against groups and indivi-

duals who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands." The SWP was singled out for the FBI's "disruption" program.

The FBI plan was to send provocateurs and agents inside the organization to "expose, disrupt, and neutralize the New Left" and "capitalize on organizational and personal conflicts of leadership."

The suit is by 15 members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. The party is seeking \$27 million in damages and a permanent injunction against wiretapping and mail covers.

The SWP claims that the government led a systematic campaign of excessive interrogation, employment discrimination, and other illegal acts which "impaired the ability to participate in federal, state, and local elections."

The government's open admission to having committed these attacks on the SWP is a clear statement that Nixon intends to use every method at

his disposal to try and destroy any movement against the government.

We unconditionally defend the Socialist Workers Party and all working class organizations against the attacks of the government, but the complacency with which the SWP views its defense is dangerous.

The SWP sees this suit as a way to expose the corrupt and illegal methods of the government, but sees no need to turn to the working class and actually build a movement to force Nixon out. The suit only serves to build up illusions that pressure through the system will force the government to change.

They see no danger in the fact that General Haig and a whole section of the military have entered the White House, and are more and more influential in government decision making.

The recent developments around Watergate and the role of the military must serve as a warning that there are dictatorial moves taking place within the government.

City To Slash Welfare

NEW YORK—Thousands of disabled, elderly, and blind welfare recipients have been forced to mass outside of social security offices all over New York City seeking unreceived welfare checks.

Thousands of cases have been converted from city welfare rolls onto a new federal expanded social security program known as the Supplementary Security Income Program.

As many as 1000 recipients were lined up on Monday and Tuesday morning in front of the social security office at 230 West 125 Street in freezing weather with rain and snowstorms. On Wednesday the city brought in buses in which the elderly were forced to wait outside of social security offices for several hours in order to receive service.

Recipients who did not receive checks are now being told that they will have to wait six to eight

days for a full Treasury Department investigation before unreceived checks can be replaced.

In the meantime, they are literally being told to starve. The whole conversion plan under which all joint federal, local, and state welfare programs for the aged, disabled, and elderly have been wiped out and all such cases blanketed in under the federal program is part of the program nationally to dismantle welfare.

Under the program, all new recipients in the aged, disabled, and blind category will in many cases suffer large slashes in their grants.

At the same time, thousands of welfare jobs have been virtually wiped out overnight in the New York City Department of Social Services as a result of the conversion, with workers who had handled these cases being mass transferred all over the city.

Stranglehold On World Oil

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The impact of the worldwide crisis in oil is only beginning to be felt.

The decision of the oil producing Persian Gulf nations of Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oatar, and Abu Dhabi to more than double the posted price of a barrel of crude oil to \$11.65 will now feed an already runaway international inflation by staggering amounts.

The United States, which imports only six percent of its oil from the Middle East, still imports millions of barrels a day from Canada, Indonesia, Venezuela, and Nigeria which are following the price lead of the Persian Gulf states.

Gasoline prices here are already averaging over 50 cents a gallon with much worse to come and even administration economists anticipate a rise in the cost of living far above the 9.7 percent annual rate of the last six months.

While the United States is hit sharply, the impact on the advanced countries of Europe and Japan is nothing short of devastating.

The prices of literally thousands of products directly dependent on petroleum for their production, including such basic products as synthetic rubber, drugs, plastics, and fertilizers are surging upwards because of the oil increases with huge shortages developing as well.

What must be made clear is that the oil shortage is definitely not a matter of an actual shortage of oil reserves. In fact, the opposite is the case. The discovery of new deposits of oil throughout the world has actually been proceeding at a far faster pace than any rise in oil consumption.

Oil figures are notoriously hard to come by. The great oil monopolies not only hide these figures from the general public and greatly underestimate the amount of reserves they do admit to, but actually keep these figures secret from governments which depend on them for all statistics.

Recent information disclosed by The New York Times indicates that the government is totally dependent on the oil companies and the industry dominated American Petroleum Institute for all figures on delivery and supply which the industry considers "confidential and competitive."

Even William Simon, Nixon's energy czar, has no way of knowing what the industry is doing, as he is completely dependent on its data for all his information.

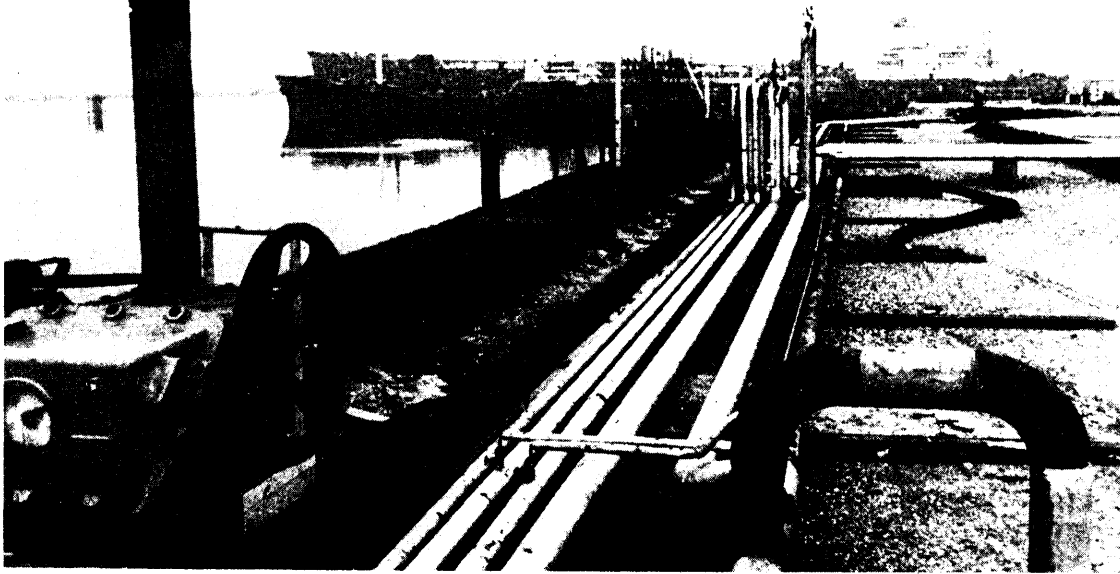
For all practical purposes, this allows the large oil monopolies complete freedom to hold back oil or squeeze its independent competitors out of business.

Worldwide oil production is dominated by seven corporations: British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, Texaco, Mobil, Exxon, Standard Oil of California, and Gulf.

These seven control Iranian oil through a partnership known as the Consortium and Arabian oil through Aramco. They operate in every phase of the oil business from exploration and production to transportation, refining, distribution and marketing. There are a number of other giants such as Continental and Atlantic Richfield, but none with the stranglehold exercised by the



Top: Arabian oil rig. Bottom: Oil pipelines and passing tankers in the Netherlands' Rotterdam Harbor last week.



seven.

In addition, these corporations have huge investments in other sources of energy from natural gas to coal. US News and World Report reveals that the large banks, insurance companies, and financial firms account for approximately 30 percent of the stock in the great oil corporations.

In 1971, British Petroleum estimated proven world oil reserves at 641 billion barrels, enough for at least 30 years, but these figures are outrageously conservative.

There are literally dozens of oil fields in Iran, each as large as the largest United States field which have never been touched.

The Ghawar field in Saudi Arabia which is 155 miles long and 22 miles wide is estimated to contain more oil than has ever been consumed in the United States.

Since British Petroleum made its estimates, vast new discoveries have been made in Alaska, the North Sea, Indonesia, Ecuador, Australia, Nigeria, Brunei, and Gabon.

Oil bearing shale in the Green River formation running through Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming is estimated to contain enough oil to last the US at current consumption rates for another 100 years. There are billions of additional barrels estimated to exist offshore along the continental shelf.

What is absolutely clear is that if oil production were a matter of planned production according to man's actual needs, instead of an anarchic race for profits by large monopolies, the present oil

reserves could provide all mankind's energy requirements until alternatives to fossil fuels such as solar energy and nuclear energy can be developed.

But oil production like that of all commodities under capitalism is a matter of production for profit. The huge oil companies have deliberately avoided the development of oil resources in the United States in favor of the massive profits which could be reaped from what was until very recently extremely cheap sources of petroleum in the Middle East and the underdeveloped countries.

From 1968 to 1972 the rate of profit in the oil industry was actually declining. Oil production requires vast amounts of capital investment.

EXXON

Exxon alone estimates that it will spend \$6.1 billion in 1974 on exploration and new equipment. Although profits were rising during this four year period, they were declining as a percentage of total capital invested, from 13 percent to 9 percent.

Profit rates on foreign investment were considerably higher than domestic. Today dividends paid on international oil firms are five to six percent and on domestic two to three percent.

The oil companies were well aware of the coming crisis in oil production. In early 1971, Oil and Gas Journal, the major industry trade publication reported that a big shortage of refining capacity was developing and the Interior Department's Office of Oil and Gas published studies to document the growing gap.

Oil refineries cost approxi-

mately \$250 million to construct and take at least three years to put into operation. In the five years from 1967 to December 31, 1972, 1.9 million barrels a day were added to domestic refining capacity. In the same period, domestic demand increased by 3 million barrels a day.

ESTIMATE

The American Petroleum Institute estimated that 60 new refineries with a capacity of nine million barrels a day would be required by 1984 to meet demand.

Today, not one single refinery is presently under construction in the United States.

Throughout this period, the oil majors simply jacked up the price of crude oil in order to obtain large tax write-offs from the oil depletion allowances. They cut profit margins on their refineries and marketing operations.

This was a matter of book-keeping since they were selling the crude to their own refineries and from there to their own marketers. This strategy was used to push the independent oil companies which depended on them for crude oil to the wall.

During this entire period the international monetary crisis came to a head with the devaluation of the pound and the dollar in 1971. This was the beginning of the collapse of the entire postwar boom.

The removal of the gold cover for the dollar on August 15, 1971 sent the world monetary system into a period of uncontrolled inflation in which the value of huge hoards of paper dollars and cred-

it became completely indeterminate.

In addition, the price freeze on petroleum products placed an additional squeeze on the rate of profit in the oil industry.

Under these conditions, the oil majors refused to tie up billions in capital for investments that were so long range that they could have no idea what money would be worth at the end of the process.

DOMESTIC

It was under these conditions that the decisions were made to cut back on domestic oil development, allow refining capacity to deteriorate, and permit a growing dependency on foreign oil imports.

The collapse of paper money has set into motion a worldwide speculation in commodities and gold. Desperate to hold on to something that will retain some value, speculators have bid up the prices of all basic commodities by astronomical amounts.

The decision of the oil producing countries to raise the price of their oil by almost 500 percent in the last year is a reflection of this crisis.

The major oil companies have of course taken every advantage of the situation through their control over every aspect of oil production to make enormous profits.

Exxon profits are up 59 percent in the last year. Gulf is up 60 percent and Standard Oil of California is up 40 percent. These are typical figures.

At the same time, the oil companies have used the crisis to push through the Alaskan pipeline, remove all barriers to offshore oil production and destroy environmental protection laws.

But it must be understood that the oil crisis itself was brought on by the crisis of the capitalist system expressed in the collapse of the dollar as a standard of value and the decline in the rate of profit.

RESERVES

Today with their control over world oil reserves, the major oil companies literally have the power of life and death over entire countries through their ability to decide who will obtain oil and how much they will receive.

The oil crisis now coincides with the growing collapse of the entire capitalist system which is no longer able to develop the productive forces of society, the most fundamental of which is energy.

Instead, this system must turn on the working class and seek to extract greater and greater rates of exploitation through trade war, speedup, cuts in living standards, and mass unemployment to weaken and drive back the unions.

The oil crisis is now being used quite consciously by capitalism to create conditions of mass unemployment throughout the capitalist world. It is an instrument in the hands of big business to smash up the organizations of the working class and prepare the way for dictatorship.

The only answer to this crisis is the nationalization of the oil industry, the great financial institutions, and all the means of production under the control of the working class. The fight to construct a labor party on a socialist program is now a matter of life and death for the labor movement.

The year 1923 was a critical turning point for both the Soviet Union and the international Marxist movement. Within the first workers state, the emergence of a deep economic crisis brought into sharp focus the dangerous development of bureaucratic tendencies in the Russian Communist Party.

Also, in October of that year, an exceptional revolutionary situation in Germany found the leadership of the Communist Party in that country unprepared, and the working class suffered a major defeat.

This setback had profound implications for the Soviet Union, because the restabilization of European capitalism which followed the German events meant a further period of isolation for the Russian working class.

The danger posed by bureaucracy—to which Lenin had pointed with growing alarm until illness finally removed him from politics in March 1923—became all too clear to Trotsky and other leading Bolsheviks by the autumn.

The need for a sharp shift in policies, brought on by the economic crisis, industrial unrest, the mounting strength of the wealthy peasants and the prolonged isolation, came into collision with the party regime which was increasingly dominated by a vast bureaucratic apparatus.

Consolidating itself around an informal ruling faction in the Politburo, particularly Stalin, this growing bureaucracy was stifling democratic discussion within the party and pushing the working class and youth out of the political life of the Soviet Union.

In order to combat this development, Leon Trotsky and other prominent Bolsheviks began the fight that led to the founding of the Left Opposition 50 years ago. Though launched under difficult objective conditions, this fight alone made possible the further development of Marxism.

At the heart of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, which represented the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Party, were the fundamental questions of the Marxist method, of dialectical materialism.

Trotsky's first contribution to the discussion of the crisis in the party was a book entitled *The New Course*. Forty-six Bolsheviks, closely identified with Trotsky, had already severely criticized the bureaucratic regime—led by Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev—in a document which became known as the "Platform of the 46," and compelled the Central Committee to pass a resolution which pledged to combat the dangers and institute a "new course."

However, it was Trotsky who actually fought to implement this resolution; and the purpose of *The New Course* was to arm the party theoretically for the struggle against bureaucracy.

"Old Guard"

It is important to note that Stalin and those who supported him were taken aback by the criticism of bureaucratism. He, along with Zinoviev and Kamenev, were party members of long standing; the "Old Guard" of Bolshevism.

Trotsky, however, maintained that the "Old Guard," whose thinking remained rooted in the past and who understood Marxism as a set of formal doctrines carried from the past and as immutable as a catechism, represented the most conservative section of the party.

Under their leadership, Leninism began to emerge as a cult rather than the scientific development of Marxism in the age of imperialism. Proceeding each day on the basis of routine, recognizing the new as only the repetition of the old, the "Old Guard" were actually the formal and pragmatic thinkers in the party.

They were therefore the ones who became dominated by the practical routine of running the country through a bureaucratic apparatus, a conservative routine which had developed in a very short period of time.

"Does bureaucratism bear within it a danger of degeneration, or doesn't it?," wrote Trotsky in *The New Course*. "He would be blind who denied it. In its prolonged development, bureaucratization threatens to detach the leaders from the masses, to bring them to concentrate solely upon questions of administration, of appointments and transfers, of narrowing their horizon, of weakening their revolutionary spirit, that is, of provoking a more or less opportunistic degeneration of the Old Guard, or at the very least a considerable part of it. Such

processes develop slowly and almost imperceptibly, but reveal themselves abruptly. To see this warning, based upon objective Marxist foresight, an 'outrage', as an 'assault', etc., really requires the skittish susceptibility and arrogance of bureaucrats."

Basic questions of the Marxist method were raised by Trotsky in *The New Course*. The conservativeness of the "Old Guard," its domination by routine, flowed from its attempt to eliminate the contradiction between theory and practice which is the heart of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

While Stalin, basing himself on orthodoxy, saw theory as a set of formulas to be applied as needed, Trotsky returned at every point in the practice of the party to its history in order to posit the new elements of the class struggle against theory as it had previously developed. In this way, theory is enriched as it is brought into conflict with practice, tested in the fight to change the old practice of the party, and in this process the party educates new layers of workers and youth as Marxists.

Tradition

This question of method was critical in the struggle for "the new course" because it was the "Old Guard" who constantly hearkened back to tradition as a defense of their conservative practice and as a weapon against the development of theory.

Trotsky warned that the formal thinker, who in his every day practice is dominated by this conservative conception of tradition, is always unprepared when the sharp changes in the objective situation requires revolutionary initiative, and therefore he plays a reactionary role.

Citing examples of this method, Trotsky referred first to the German social democracy of the Second International, which developed over the course of a half century a great tradition of parliamentary struggles to win the basic democratic rights of the working class. It grew from decade to decade as its organization, press, and treasury flourished.

"This tradition, which is profoundly alien to us, bore a semi-automatic character: each day flowed 'naturally' from the day before and just as 'naturally' prepared the day to follow ...

"It is in this automatism that a whole generation following Bebel took shape: a generation of bureaucrats, of philistines, of dullards whose political physiognomy was completely revealed in the first hours of the imperialist war. Every congress of the social democracy spoke invariably of the old tactic of the party consecrated by tradition. And the tradition was indeed powerful. It was an automatic tradition uncritical, conservative, and it ended by stifling the revolutionary will of the party."

In the epoch of imperialism, which is marked by the sharpest changes in the objective situation from day to day, traditional policies become conservative not within decades and years, but within months, weeks, and even days.

Trotsky pointed to the experience of the German Communist Party during the first four years of its existence. Like many of the sections of the Third International which emerged in 1919, its first years were strongly influenced by the upsurge of the working class internationally following the October Revolution and the end of World War One. The German CP was guided in its early days by the strategy of the revolutionary offensive which became, in a short space of time, a tradition.

By 1921 when the postwar revolutionary tide had ebbed, the continuation of this tradition threatened to derail the Third International. Lenin and Trotsky walked into the Third Congress of the Comintern as a minority; and fought the tradition of the offensive on the basis of new objective conditions that required that the Communist Parties first win the support of the masses before beginning the final assault on the bourgeois state.

With great difficulty, they defeated the "ultra-left" middle class tendencies and re-oriented the Marxist movement toward the tactic of the united front and other policies geared to win mass support. In Germany, the sharp change in tactics met enormous success and the CP became a significant force in the labor movement as social democracy rapidly lost influence.

But with this new orientation, came the new tradition. When the collapse of the German economy brought on by the French invasion of the Ruhr posed in the summer of 1923 the necessity for the German CP to be-



50th Anniversary of the Fourth International

gin active preparation for the seizure of power, it continued with the old tradition of "winning the masses." But now as the masses were expecting the Communist Party to take the power, the German leaders hesitated.

The German CP finally made the turn required by the objective situation, but it did so too late and too slowly, and the revolution failed.

Marxist Method

Drawing the lessons from the experiences of these struggles, Trotsky declared that the task of revolutionaries was not simply to adapt to positions taken by Lenin at one time or another, but to grasp the method which was the foundation of his policies and brilliant initiatives.

"If we now take our Bolshevik party in its revolutionary past and in the period following October, it will be recognized that its most precious fundamental tactical quality is its unequalled aptitude to orient itself rapidly, to change tactics quickly, to renew its armament and to apply new methods, in a word, to carry out abrupt turns. Tempestuous historical conditions have made this tactic necessary. Lenin's genius gave it superior form. This is not to say, naturally, that our party is completely free of a certain conservative traditionalism: a mass party cannot have such an ideal liberty. But its strength and potency have manifested themselves in the fact that inertia, traditionalism, routinism, were reduced to a minimum by a farsighted, profoundly revolutionary tactical initiative, at once audacious and realistic...

"Marxism is a method of historical analysis, of political orientation, and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance. Leninism is the application of this method in the conditions of an exceptional historical epoch. It is precisely in this union of the peculiarities of the epoch and the method that determines that courageous, self-assured policy of brusque turns of which Lenin gave us the finest models and which he illumined theoretically and generalized on more than one occasion...

"As a matter of fact, with each new task and at each new turn, it is not a question of searching in tradition and discovering there

a nonexistent reply, but of profiting from all the experience of the party to find by oneself a new solution suitable to the situation and, by doing so, enriching tradition. It may even be put more sharply: Leninism consists in being courageously free from conservative introspection, from being bound by precedent, purely formal references and quotation...

"Leninism cannot be conceived of without theoretical breadth, without a critical analysis of the material bases of the political process. The weapon of Marxist investigation must be constantly sharpened and applied. It is precisely in this that tradition consists, and not in the substitution of a formal reference or of an accidental quotation. Least of all can Leninism be reconciled with ideological superficiality and theoret-



Revolutionary upsurge of German workers in 1920

Dialectics

The International Committee of the Fourth International fights today on the basis of all the lessons of the 50 years of struggle against Stalinism. However, the training of Trotskyist cadres, which are growing in strength and experience all over the world, has been possible only on the basis of the fight for a development of Marxist theory, for dialectical materialism, against all forms of revisionism.

The bankruptcy of the revisionists today is rooted in their abandonment of dialectical materialism. They do not see knowledge as developing out of the conflict of opposites. Practice is not brought into conflict continuously with theory in order to enrich theory and change the practice of the party to meet the changes in the development of the crisis.

In opposition to dialectics, the Socialist Workers Party developed under James P. Cannon the position of "orthodox Trotskyism." This reactionary conception turned theory into a dogmatic fixture, which Cannon saw as correct positions against Stalinism. However, a party built on "orthodoxy" is a party based on dead abstractions, which as conditions change remain tied to the past.

As Trotsky explained in *The New Course*, the Second International produced a great number of orthodox Marxists who knew virtually every page of *Capital*, like Karl Kautsky and George Plekhanov. But in the epoch of the Russian Revolution, their thinking remained dominated by the past period of the pre-World War One struggle under conditions of a much slower and more gradual tempo. The abstract formulas gleaned from the pages of Marx became arguments against the Revolution and in defense of the imperialist invasions of the Soviet Union between 1918 to 1921.

The orthodoxy of the "Old Bolsheviks" proved an obstacle to the October Revolution that was ruthlessly fought by Lenin in order to bring the working class to power.

When Stalin came forward in 1923 as a representative of "Old Bolshevism," he provided the theoretical basis, through the campaign against Trotskyism, upon which the bureaucracy fought to destroy the Russian Communist Party.

"Orthodox" Marxism has always been the preparation for the abandonment and actual revision of Marxism, not only in theory but in practice, turning against the struggle to construct a revolutionary party.

The abandonment of dialectics means going over to the philosophical methods of Stalinism, and then to Stalinism itself. Stalinism seeks at every point to hold back the thinking of the working class as it has developed in the previous period.

At a time when revolutionary conditions require the sharpest struggle against thinking as it developed within the period of the boom, the Stalinists and revisionists try to prevent the working class from understanding the nature of the crisis and the task which this historic crisis poses.

In Chile, this meant that the Stalinists held up the illusion of the "peaceful road to socialism" while the capitalists plotted civil war, and thus disarmed the working class before the fascist junta.

At the same time, the SWP refuses to assess the objective development of the crisis at each stage and therefore concludes that Watergate represents nothing outside the normal flow of events within bourgeois society.

The Stalinists and the revisionists seek to hold back the movement of the working class, but the crisis now creates the conditions for our development. The Stalinists rest upon a bureaucracy which was the product of conditions of backwardness and defeat. These conditions have been transformed.

Cadres can now be trained within the unions and from among the youth as Marxists on the basis of the history of Trotskyism and the struggle for dialectical materialism.

The struggle of Trotsky for the principles of Marxism and of the Bolshevik Party live today in the construction of the revolutionary party.

It is through the struggle for Marxism, to grasp what is new at every point in the work of the party, to posit the new features of the crisis against the lessons of the 50 year struggle of the Trotskyist movement, and on this basis build the party of the working class, that the working class will take power.

CONCLUDED

had erupted in 1917:

"A revolutionary party is subjected to the pressure of other political forces. At every given stage of its development the party elaborates its own methods of counteracting and resisting this pressure. During a tactical turn and the resulting internal regroupments and frictions, the party's power of resistance becomes weakened.

"From this, the possibility always arises that the internal groupings in the party, which originate from the necessity of a turn in tactics, may develop far beyond the original controversial points of departure and serve as a support for various class tendencies. To put the case more plainly: the party which does not keep step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes."

It is important to understand that the campaign against Trotsky began in 1923 under the banner of orthodoxy. Stalin resisted Trotsky's demand for a stepped-up pace of industrialization with accusations that he was "underestimating the peasantry"; and from this flowed a full-scale attack of the theory of Permanent Revolution, which had been confirmed by the very course of the October Revolution.

Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev sought to disprove Trotsky's analysis of the NEP in 1923 by searching in the pre-1917 writings of Lenin for some isolated quotes that could be used against Trotsky personally. A comment by Lenin in 1913 became the basis for factional polemics against the Permanent Revolution which the Bolsheviks carried out in 1917. It was out of this dogged search for orthodoxy to provide ready-made answers to the demand for a development of theory and a change in practice that the most monstrous school of revisionism and falsification developed.

Notes left by Trotsky's wife, N. Sedova, give us a picture of the difficult struggle that he waged in the Politburo at this time:

"Those were hard days, days of tense fighting for Lev Davydovich at the Politburo against the rest of the members. He was alone and ill, and had to fight them all. Owing to his illness, the meetings were held in our apartment; I sat in the adjoining bedroom and heard his speeches. He spoke with his whole being; it seemed as if with every speech he lost some of his strength—he spoke with so much 'blood.' And in reply, I heard cold, indifferent answers. Everything, of course, had been decided in advance, so what was the need of getting excited? After each of these meetings, L.D.'s temperature mounted; he came out of his study soaked through, and undressed and went to bed. His linen and clothes had to be dried as if he had been drenched in a rain-storm... Such was the first stage of the struggle before it came out into the open."

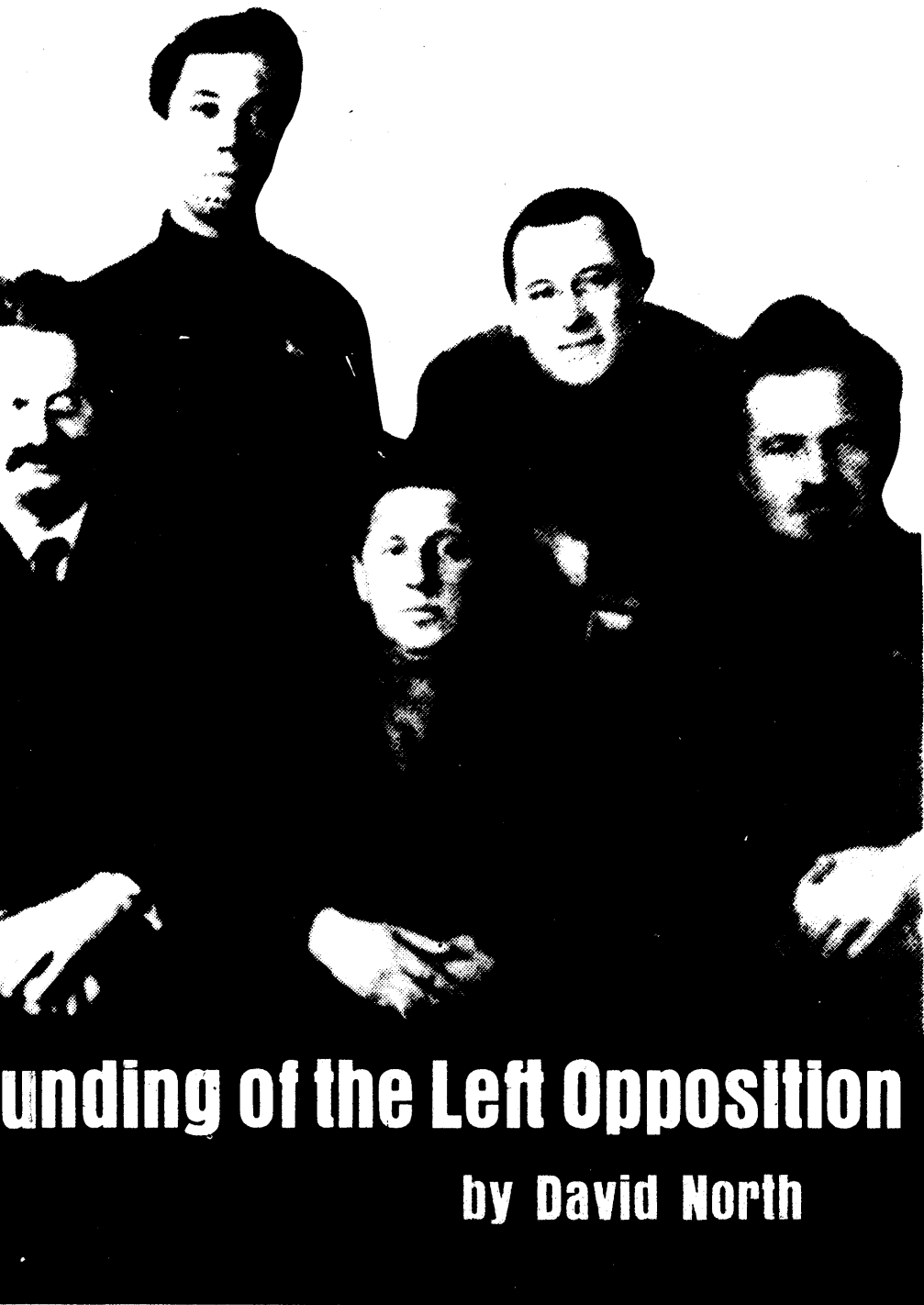
The founding of the Left Opposition represented the most historic step forward in the international Marxist movement since the launching of the Communist International. It was only through this struggle within the Bolshevik Party and later in the Comintern against the bureaucracy and the revisionism of the Stalin faction that the basic principles of Marxism could be defended and the historic continuity of the movement established.

The Left Opposition had to defend the entire historic heritage of Marxism, because the Stalinist bureaucracy actually employed in its betrayal of the working class all the revisionist formulas of Menshevism and the revisionists of the Second International.

With its espousal of "socialism in one country," the Stalinists were in fact going back to the various national theories of socialism developed by the leaders of the Second International in Germany, France, and England to justify capitulation to their own bourgeoisie. This theory served as the basis of Stalin's betrayal of the world socialist revolution. The needs of the working class internationally were subordinated to the interests of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

It would be wrong to see the work of the Left Opposition as confined to exposing the Stalinists and answering their falsifications. The Left Opposition emerged to lead a struggle by the masses of workers to defend the gains of October, the Soviet Union and to prepare for the world revolution.

It fought at every point to conflict with the pressures of the Soviet Union's isolation as reflected in the thinking of party members and the working class, train new forces as Marxists through that conflict, and prepare for the time when objective conditions would be more favorable for the defeat of the Stalinist bureaucracy.



Founding of the Left Opposition by David North

tical slovenliness."

Trotsky would return to the question of tradition one year later, at a more advanced stage of the struggle against the bureaucracy, when he recalled the struggle of Lenin against the "Old Bolsheviks."

In 1917, declared Trotsky in *Lessons of October*, Lenin armed the party for insurrection through an all-out war against tradition. Trotsky wrote that "during the sharpest turning point in history, he (Lenin) was all the while waging an intense struggle within the party against the day that has passed in the name of the day to come. And the opposition, of the day that has passed, marching under the banner of 'tradition', became at times aggravated to the extreme."

The question of tradition and dialectics

took on immense significance in 1923 when the party could meet the crisis only through a sharp turn. The New Economic Policy, which had been essential in surviving the catastrophic conditions of collapse and widespread famine which existed in 1921, posed serious dangers in 1923. Not only had the revival of small-scale capitalist enterprise greatly strengthened anti-socialist tendencies among the wealthy peasants, but it led to a deepening contradiction between the development of the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy.

The extremely high prices of industrial goods and the relatively low level of agricultural prices disrupted trade between the two sectors. This phenomenon was first diagnosed by Trotsky as the "scissors crisis," in which he illustrated the widening gap between the agricultural and industrial prices as the space between the blades of an open scissor.

Trotsky's recommendation along with that of E. Preobrazhensky was a curtailment of the NEP and the strengthening of the planned economy in order to bring about a revival of industry.

This proposal was greeted by the majority of the Politburo, dominated by Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, with a barrage of criticism. The NEP, which had originally been conceived by Lenin and Trotsky as a "brusque turn," had become within a short space of time, a tradition.

However, their conservatism under these conditions of crisis was the expression of the pressures of hostile class forces which had been strengthened by the NEP and the backward conditions of the Soviet Union. The wealthy peasants who prospered as they employed laborers and sold their grain, the urban merchants whom the NEP had given a new lease on life, and the growing strata of privileged bureaucrats who valued the comforts that elevated them above the masses comprised a considerable social force whose influence was refracted through members of the Bolshevik Party.

Those who resisted the change proposed by Trotsky in 1923, who lashed out bitterly against "the new course" as an assault on tradition, found a social base in the very forces hostile to the October Revolution.

As Trotsky grappled with this development in 1924, he recalled a chief lesson drawn from the inner-party struggle which



1920s required sharp turn from party.

The final months of Lenin's life were devoted to a bitter struggle against the growing bureaucracy in the state apparatus of the Soviet Union and its representatives within the leadership of the Russian Communist Party.

In the course of this struggle, by late 1922, Lenin identified Stalin as the leader of this bureaucratic strata within the party. As he fought Stalin, Lenin turned to Trotsky for political support.

Trotsky and other Bolsheviks who formed the Left Opposition acted under the influence of Lenin's last struggle. It was in the fight against bureaucracy that the Left Opposition established the continuity of the Marxist movement after Lenin's death.

Lenin's struggle against Stalin was the culmination of a long fight in which the Bolshevik leader had grappled with the problem of bureaucratism, which emerged out of the backward conditions of Russia and the delay in the proletarian revolution in the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe.

While recognizing that the bureaucracy was the material expression of Russia's backwardness and that it had developed not by accident nor bad intentions, Lenin sought at every point to bring the working class forward against this bureaucracy.

This required a theoretical struggle within the party itself against those who reflected in their thinking and practice the pressures of the bureaucracy and the middle class in Russia, thus keeping their distance from the working class and allowing the bureaucracy to dominate the life of the country.

In this process, the party, as part of the working class, consciously conflicts with its spontaneous level of thinking to train the leadership to defend the interests of the proletariat against bureaucracy.

Objective Roots

This is how Lenin proceeded in the final months of his life. He recognized the objective social roots of bureaucratism, but did not for one moment see the triumph of bureaucracy as inevitable.

Those who argue that the victory of Stalin in the 1920s and 1930s was inevitable because of "objective" conditions actually eliminate from history, from the class struggle, the decisive role of consciousness. This position was popularized by Isaac Deutscher in his three part biography of Leon Trotsky.

Deutscher saw Trotsky's fight against Stalin as hopeless because conditions were unfavorable. He based this position on the view that objective conditions mechanically and automatically are reflected in thinking without contradiction.

Lenin, on the other hand, maintained that the spontaneous thinking of the working class is a product of capitalist society. However, through the revolutionary party, constructed on the basis of the scientific Marxist theory of socialism, the working class becomes conscious of the contradictions of class society and its own interests, and fights these contradictions out consciously.

In this way, Lenin sought to bring forward the great strength of the working class in Russia against bureaucracy, for its strength was also based on objective factors: its conquest of state power, the international crisis of capitalism, the movement of the working class internationally, and the spontaneous movement of Russian workers against bureaucracy.

Furthermore, Lenin did not see the struggle against bureaucracy within the Soviet Union as simply a national question. He never separated the development of the first workers' state from the fate of the world revolutionary movement. Much of Lenin's time after the seizure of power in October 1917 was spent in the arduous work of building the Third Communist International.

Congresses were held in Moscow annually beginning in 1919. Lenin not only made reports on the policies of the Russian party as a section subordinate to the world movement, but he and Trotsky fought to arm the young Communist Parties of Europe, Asia, and the United States with the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party.

The construction of socialism depended, according to Lenin, on the victory of the social revolution in several advanced countries. It was only after Lenin's death that Stalin, reflecting the nationalist, middle class pressures of the bureaucracy, advanced the theory of socialism in one country.

As Lenin fought for the development of the Comintern, he struggled within the Russian party against a strata led by Stalin, which reflected the pressures of the bureaucracy, in order to defend the interests of the working class under the difficult objective conditions, preparing all the time for the next revolutionary upsurge when a change in the objective conditions would allow for a real defeat of the bureaucracy.

Conflict

The struggle within the party was necessarily intensified during the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP), when middle class social forces such as the rich peasantry and the small capitalist merchants (NEP-men) were strengthened.

Lenin demanded that party members consciously conflict with these forces. In one incident, he accused a leading Bolshevik on the Peoples' Commissariat of Justice of "swimming with the tide" by failing to prosecute vigorously the tendency of the state apparatus to adapt to the growth of the NEP-men. The task of the party, he declared, "is to swim against the tide." (Vol. 36, p. 562)

The conflict with Stalin arose because he, while holding positions of considerable importance within the party and the state apparatus, became increasingly dominated by the pressures of the bureaucracy in his methods.

Stalin came to consider the question of socialist policy within the Soviet Union as an administrative question, best carried out with orders as well as petty wheeling and dealing with the wealthy peasants and NEP-men. He saw no need to actually develop workers and young communists through a theoretical struggle that would enable the party to maintain a tight control over its apparatus as a strong Marxist leadership emerged from the working class itself.

Therefore, Stalin came to oppose every attempt by Lenin to bring the working class into the party and leading positions in the state apparatus; rather, he saw Lenin's proposals as a burden on the day to day work of the bureaucratic machine which Stalin administered.

As early as 1920, Lenin had proposed the creation of a Workers and Peasants Inspection—composed of factory workers and poor peasants—as a check on the "bureaucratic ulcer" which he already detected in the Soviet state. However, in August 1922, Lenin declared that his "questioning of Stalin" convinced him that the Workers and Peasants Inspection had not been given adequate responsibilities.

Lenin's disagreements with Stalin grew sharper over fundamental issues of Soviet policy that emerged in 1922. Having suffered his first stroke in May of that year, Lenin's direct participation in the direction of the party was diminished.

Foreign Trade

During Lenin's absence from the Central Committee, the leading body of the party, Stalin pressed for the partial abolition of a monopoly of foreign trade. This meant that the wealthy peasants and capitalist merchants, already strengthened by the NEP, would be able to sell their produce to the international market and establish direct links with the foreign imperialists. Inevitably, this would undermine Soviet industry while forging links between the Kulaks and world capitalism.

This development brought home very sharply to Lenin the danger to the Soviet state posed by the bureaucratic tendency in the party. He had to confront a situation in which the Central Committee of the revolutionary party had made a fundamental concession to capitalist forces that could lead to the destruction of the Soviet Union if not immediately reversed.

As far as Stalin was concerned, the concession on the monopoly of foreign trade was a practical solution to the demand of the Kulaks for an outlet for the produce at good prices. The NEP, which Lenin and Trotsky had introduced two years earlier as a sharp shift in policy to meet an emergency situation caused by the catastrophic conditions of the Civil War, had become for Stalin a time-honored routine.

Approaching questions of policy from the standpoint of the bureaucracy itself, Stalin did not seek to consciously posit every new feature of the economy and political events against the experience gained by the party during the NEP, and in this way he was able to confront the dangers raised by the shifts in

Part Two: Lenin's Last Struggle



class forces that made, by 1923, further concessions to the Kulak harmful to the workers state.

Stalin did not conflict with the bureaucracy, but carried the methods of the bureaucracy itself into the Central Committee which passed his motion on the foreign trade monopoly. In this way, he became the vehicle of hostile class forces.

Lenin immediately began a campaign to reverse the decision, and turned—as he would again and again during the last months of his political life—to Trotsky.

"At any rate," Lenin wrote to Trotsky on December 13, 1922, "it is my request that you should undertake the defense of our common standpoint on the unquestionable need to maintain and consolidate the foreign trade monopoly... that in the event of our defeat on this question we must refer the question to a party congress." (Vol. 45, p. 601)

Lenin then warned Stalin: "I am now through with putting my business in order, and am in a position to leave without worry. I have come to an agreement with Trotsky to stand up for my views of the foreign trade monopoly... I am sure that Trotsky will be able to stand up for my views just as well as I myself." (Vol. 45, p. 602-3)

Another note was sent by Lenin to Trotsky: "I consider that we have quite reached agreement. I ask you to declare our solidarity at the plenum." (Vol. 45, p. 604)

Lenin and Trotsky were able to win a reversal of the foreign trade decision. However, Lenin had concluded that the issue of the monopoly raised the question of the political degeneration of sections of the party leadership. For this reason, Lenin proposed to Trotsky that they maintain their principled alliance, writing:

"I suggest that we should not stop and should continue the offensive, and for that purpose put through a motion to raise at the party congress the question of consolidating our foreign trade, and the measures to improve its implementation." (Vol. 45, p. 606)

The struggle over the monopoly was immediately followed by another issue that revealed the extent of bureaucratic decay of a section of the party, and led to a complete break between Lenin and Stalin.

As Commissar of Nationalities, Stalin had the responsibility of facilitating the unification of the Georgian Republic with the Soviet Union. Lenin had made it abundantly clear that this work could be only done with the greatest patience and consideration for the nationalist sentiments of the Geor-

gians, who had been treated by the tsarist autocracy as an oppressed nation.

However, Stalin proceeded to defy Lenin and ignore the democratic right of the Georgian people to self-determination. He employed bureaucratic ruthlessness to bring about unification and acted in utter

contempt toward the Georgian communist leadership.

All the nationalist prejudices of the vast Russian middle class were reflected in Stalin's action. The political complexion of the bureaucrat—eager to jump over problems, looking for a practical solution—was revealed as Stalin came into collision with the principled Marxist position on the right of oppressed nations to self-determination.

This hostility to the Georgians was symptomatic of a class position against proletarian internationalism that later was openly expressed in the theory of socialism in one country. Just as the tsarist bureaucracy sent its rude satraps into the provinces to order the minority workers and peasants about, Stalin abused Georgian leaders and, in one instance, S. Orjonikidze, Stalin's right-hand man, physically assaulted a Georgian communist in the course of a political disagreement.

This action was without precedent in the entire history of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin was outraged when he heard of it and decided to move for Orjonikidze's expulsion from the party. At the same time, he opened up a bitter political fight against Stalin.

The documents of this struggle are now available in the current Moscow edition of Lenin, Collected Works. All the statements by Lenin which appear in this article are quoted from Soviet sources. Many of these statements are taken from articles which were suppressed by Stalin and his heirs for as long as 40 years.

The American Communist Party, the accomplice in Stalin's bloodiest crimes, has not taken any note of these documents which shatter the mountain of falsification upon which the Stalinist version of history rests. It has refused to retract its monstrous slanders against Trotsky.

Lenin expressed his "greatest apprehensions" in a memorandum written on December 30, 1922: "If matters had come to such a pass that Orjonikidze could go to the extreme of applying physical violence, as Comrade Dzerzhinsky informed me, we can imagine what a mess we have got ourselves into." (Vol. 36, p. 605)

Lenin pointed to the influence of the



Lenin convalescing in Gorki in 1922.

bureaucratic apparatus over the party as the social root of the degeneration expressed in Stalin and Orjonikidze.

"But now, we must, in all conscience, admit... the apparatus we call ours is, in fact, still quite alien to us; it is a bourgeois and tsarist hotchpotch and there has been no possibility of getting rid of it in the course of the past five years without the help of other countries and because we have been 'busy' most of the time with military engagements and the fight against famine." (Vol. 36, p. 606)

Nationalism

Then, Lenin assessed Stalin's role in Georgia as that of "that really Russian man, the Great-Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is." Emphasizing these points, he warned of the tide of "chauvinist Great-Russian riffraff" that engulfed the Georgian workers. (Vol. 36, p. 606)

He added: "I think that Stalin's haste and his infatuation with pure administration, together with his spite against the notorious 'nationalist-socialism,' played a fatal role here. In politics, spite generally plays the basest of roles." (Vol. 36, p. 606)

Motivating Lenin's irreconcilable political hostility toward Stalin was the fact that the latter had violated "an important question of principle: how is internationalism to be understood?" (Vol. 36, p. 607)

Lenin directed still another blow against Stalin for having contemptuously referred to the legitimate national strivings of the Georgian workers as "nationalist-socialism." The fact that Stalin was himself a Georgian made his actions even more contemptible in the eyes of Lenin, who wrote:

"The Georgian who...carelessly flings about accusations of 'nationalist-socialism' (whereas he himself is a real and true 'nationalist-socialist,' and even a vulgar Great-Russian bully), violates in substance, the interests of proletarian class solidarity..." (Vol. 36, p. 608)

Declaring: "The political responsibility for all this truly Great Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky," Lenin accused them of lapsing "into imperialist attitudes toward oppressed nationalities, thus undermining all our principled sincerity, all our principled defense of the struggle against imperialism." (Vol. 36, p. 610)

Intolerable

Within a week of having penned these lines, Lenin made the following recommendation in his Testament: "Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes quite intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite, and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc." (Vol. 36, p. 596)

Lenin waged this struggle under the enormous physical handicap of partial paralysis that temporarily affected his powers of speech. There can be no doubt that the fight against Stalin took a heavy toll on his health.

For example, Lenin's secretary, L. A. Fotieva, made the following entry in her journal of February 14, 1923 after taking dictation:

"(Lenin) Called me again. Impediment in speech, obviously tired. Spoke again on the three points of his instructions. In special detail on the subject that agitated him most of all, namely, the Georgian question. Asked to hurry things up. Gave certain instructions." (Vol. 42, p. 493)

Only several days before the final breakdown in Lenin's health, a new flareup in the Georgian question occurred. Lenin sent the following top secret note to Trotsky: "It is my urgent request that you should undertake the defense of the Georgian case in the Party C.C. This case is now under 'persecution' by Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Quite to the contrary. I would feel at ease if you agreed to undertake its defense." (Vol. 45, p. 607)

Proposals

Measures were proposed by Lenin to counter the influence of the bureaucracy by strengthening the proletarian cadres of the party. The Workers and Peasants Inspection was to be revived and merged with the enlarged Central Control Commission in order to prepare a big shakeup of the state apparatus.

But Lenin's proposals, outlined in his last major article, "Better Fewer, But Better," were not confined to organizational measures. He saw the raising of the cultural and theoretical level of the party as the decisive question:

"In order to renovate our state apparatus we must at all costs set out, first, to learn, secondly, to learn, and thirdly, to learn, and then to see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter; or a fashionable catchphrase (and we should admit in all frankness that this happens very often to us), that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life." (Vol. 33, p. 488-9)

Lenin posed the necessity of the theoretical development of the party and the training of Marxists from among the factory workers, poor peasants, and communist youth.

The very conditions of backwardness from which the bureaucracy emerged were reflected in the thinking of the working class. Only through a conflict with its spontaneous thinking, by training sections of the proletariat and youth as Marxists, could the working class be brought forward against the bureaucracy and exercise its dictatorship.

Achievement

This is what Lenin fought for, and the success or failure of the fight could not be determined in advance but only in the course of the struggle itself.

The great achievement of Lenin in this final struggle was that he charted the course which made it possible for Trotsky and the Left Opposition to defend Marxism against the bureaucracy. Trotsky had to take up this fight after Lenin was removed by illness and death from the political scene under conditions when Marxism could develop only against the tide of objective difficulties.

In the course of this fight, the Left Opposition actually brought forward a movement within the Russian working class in 1926-27 against the bureaucracy to which Stalin responded desperately with police repression and mass expulsions.

The very fact that Trotsky's struggle against the bureaucracy led—in spite of repression, banishment, and murder—to the greatest enrichment of Marxist theory and laid the foundation for the construction of the Fourth International as a mass party in the current period totally vindicates Trotsky. In the historical sense, Marxism proved victorious over Stalinism revisionism.

Trotsky himself answered the skeptics and pessimists of Deutscher's ilk at a more advanced stage of the struggle, when Stalin's betrayal had already led to crushing defeats that further weakened the working class:

"Is the situation hopeless? Such words are not part of our vocabulary. Struggle will decide. On the side of the proletarian revolution are many negative historical possibilities: the horrible decay of capitalism, the furious conflict among the imperialists, the bankruptcy of reformism; as well as positive ones: tempered cadres of Bolshevik-Leninists, an understanding of the course of developments, a clear perspective.

"Struggle will decide. It is absolutely beyond question that the danger has grown and come nearer. But the poison of Thermidor carries in itself also the elements of the antidote. The closer and more immediate the danger, the stronger grows the necessity for resistance. The more the bureaucracy loses its head and the more the omnipotence of the Stalinist clique is shown to be fictitious, the more loudly will the advanced workers demand a Bolshevik leadership."

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

The year 1923 was a critical turning point for both the Soviet Union and the international Marxist movement. With in the first workers state, the emergence of a deep economic crisis brought into sharp focus the dangerous development of bureaucratic tendencies in the Russian Communist Party.

Also, in October of that year, an exceptional revolutionary situation in Germany found the leadership of the Communist Party in that country unprepared, and the working class suffered a major defeat.

This setback had profound implications for the Soviet Union, because the reestablishment of European capitalism which followed the German events meant a further period of isolation for the Russian working class.

The danger posed by bureaucracy—to which Lenin had pointed with growing alarm until illness finally removed him from politics in March 1923—became all too clear to Trotsky and other leading Bolsheviks by the autumn.

The need for a sharp shift in policies, brought on by the economic crisis, industrial unrest, the mounting strength of the wealthy peasants and the prolonged isolation, came into collision with the party regime which was increasingly dominated by a vast bureaucratic apparatus.

Consolidating itself around an informal ruling faction in the Politburo, particularly Stalin, this growing bureaucracy was stifling democratic discussion within the party and pushing the working class and youth out of the political life of the Soviet Union.

In order to combat this development, Leon Trotsky and other prominent Bolsheviks began the fight that led to the founding of the Left Opposition 50 years ago. Though launched under difficult objective conditions, this fight alone made possible the further development of Marxism.

At the heart of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, which represented the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Party, were the fundamental questions of the Marxist method, of dialectical materialism.

Trotsky's first contribution to the discussion of the crisis in the party was a book entitled **The New Course**. Forty-six Bolsheviks, closely identified with Trotsky, had already severely criticized the bureaucratic regime—led by Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev—in a document which became known as the "Platform of the 46," and compelled the Central Committee to pass a resolution which pledged to combat the dangers and institute a "new course."

However, it was Trotsky who actually fought to implement this resolution; and the purpose of **The New Course** was to arm the party theoretically for the struggle against bureaucracy.

"Old Guard"

It is important to note that Stalin and those who supported him were taken aback by the criticism of bureaucratism. He, along with Zinoviev and Kamenev, were party members of long standing: the "Old Guard" of Bolshevism.

Trotsky, however, maintained that the "Old Guard," whose thinking remained rooted in the past and who understood Marxism as a set of formal doctrines carried from the past and as immutable as a catechism, represented the most conservative section of the party.

Under their leadership, Leninism began to emerge as a cult rather than the scientific development of Marxism in the age of imperialism. Proceeding each day on the basis of routine, recognizing the new as only the repetition of the old, the "Old Guard" were actually the formal and pragmatic thinkers in the party.

They were therefore the ones who became dominated by the practical routine of running the country through a bureaucratic apparatus, a conservative routine which had developed in a very short period of time.

"Does bureaucratism bear within it a danger of degeneration, or doesn't it?" wrote Trotsky in **The New Course**. "He would be blind who denied it. In its prolonged development, bureaucratization threatens to detach the leaders from the masses, to bring them to concentrate solely upon questions of administration, of appointments and transfers, of narrowing their horizon, of weakening their revolutionary spirit, that is, of provoking a more or less opportunistic degeneration of the Old Guard, or at the very least a considerable part of it. Such

processes develop slowly and almost imperceptibly, but reveal themselves abruptly. To see this warning, based upon objective Marxist foresight, an 'outrage', as an 'assault', etc., really requires the skittish susceptibility and arrogance of bureaucrats."

Basic questions of the Marxist method were raised by Trotsky in **The New Course**. The conservatism of the "Old Guard," its domination by routine, flowed from its attempt to eliminate the contradiction between theory and practice which is the heart of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

While Stalin, basing himself on orthodoxy, saw theory as a set of formulas to be applied as needed, Trotsky returned at every point in the practice of the party to its history in order to posit the new elements of the class struggle against theory as it had previously developed. In this way, theory is enriched as it is brought into conflict with practice, tested in the fight to change the old practice of the party, and in this process the party educates new layers of workers and youth as Marxists.

Tradition

This question of method was critical in the struggle for "the new course" because it was the "Old Guard" who constantly hearkened back to tradition as a defense of their conservative practice and as a weapon against the development of theory.

Trotsky warned that the formal thinker, who in his every day practice is dominated by this conservative conception of tradition, is always unprepared when the sharp changes in the objective situation requires revolutionary initiative, and therefore he plays a reactionary role.

Citing examples of this method, Trotsky referred first to the German social democracy of the Second International, which developed over the course of a half century a great tradition of parliamentary struggles to win the basic democratic rights of the working class. It grew from decade to decade as its organization, press, and treasury flourished.

"This tradition, which is profoundly alien to us, bore a semi-automatic character: each day flowed 'naturally' from the day before and just as 'naturally' prepared the day to follow ...

"It is in this automatism that a whole generation following Bebel took shape: a generation of bureaucrats, of philistines, of dullards whose political physiognomy was completely revealed in the first hours of the imperialist war. Every congress of the social democracy spoke invariably of the old tactic of the party consecrated by tradition. And the tradition was indeed powerful. It was an automatic tradition uncritical, conservative, and it ended by stifling the revolutionary will of the party."

In the epoch of imperialism, which is marked by the sharpest changes in the objective situation from day to day, traditional policies become conservative not within decades and years, but within months, weeks, and even days.

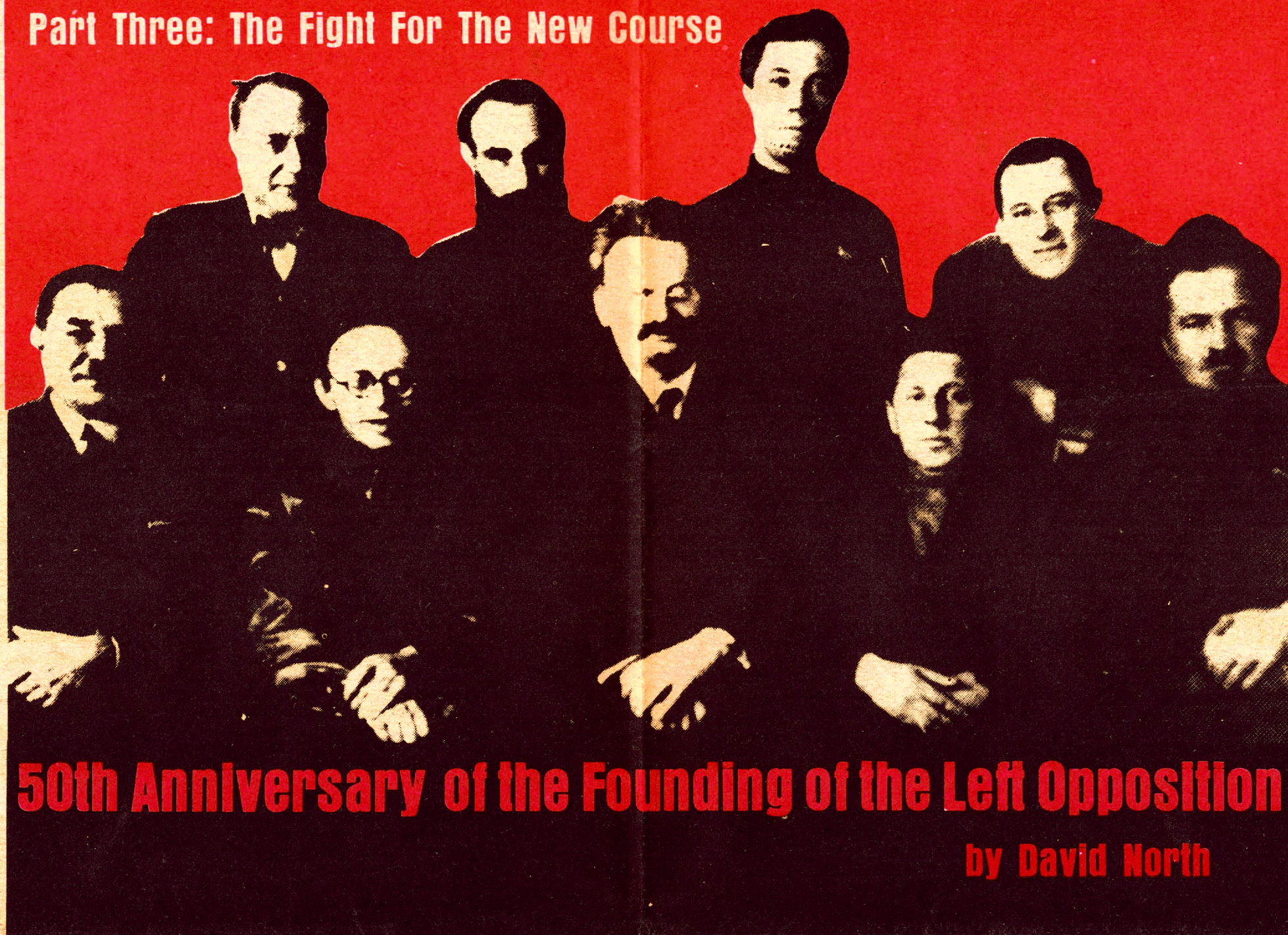
Trotsky pointed to the experience of the German Communist Party during the first four years of its existence. Like many of the sections of the Third International which emerged in 1919, its first years were strongly influenced by the upsurge of the working class internationally following the October Revolution and the end of World War One. The German CP was guided in its early days by the strategy of the offensive which became, in a short space of time, a tradition.

By 1921 when the postwar revolutionary tide had ebbed, the continuation of this tradition threatened to derail the Third International. Lenin and Trotsky walked into the Third Congress of the Comintern as a minority; and fought the tradition of the offensive on the basis of new objective conditions that required that the Communist Parties first win the support of the masses before beginning the final assault on the bourgeois state.

With great difficulty, they defeated the "ultra-left" middle class tendencies and re-oriented the Marxist movement toward the tactic of the united front and other policies geared to win mass support. In Germany, the sharp change in tactics met enormous success and the CP became a significant force in the labor movement as social democracy rapidly lost influence.

But with this new orientation, came the new tradition. When the collapse of the German economy brought on by the French invasion of the Ruhr posed in the summer of 1923 the necessity for the German CP to be-

Part Three: The Fight For The New Course



gin active preparation for the seizure of power, it continued with the old tradition of "winning the masses." But now as a masses were expecting the Communist Party to take the power, the German leaders hesitated.

The German CP finally made the turn required by the objective situation, but it did so too late and too slowly, and the revolution failed.

Marxist Method

Drawing the lessons from the experiences of these struggles, Trotsky declared that the task of revolutionaries was not simply to adapt to positions taken by Lenin at one time or another, but to grasp the method which was the foundation of his policies and brilliant initiatives.

"If we now take our Bolshevik party in its revolutionary past and in the period following October, it will be recognized that its most precious fundamental tactical quality is its unequalled aptitude to orient itself rapidly, to change tactics quickly, to renew its armament and to apply new methods, in a word, to carry out abrupt turns. Tempestuous historical conditions have made this tactic necessary. Lenin's genius gave it superior form. This is not to say, naturally, that our party is completely free of a certain conservative traditionalism: a mass party cannot have such an ideal liberty. But its strength and potency have manifested themselves in the fact that inertia, traditionalism, routinism, were reduced to a minimum by a farsighted, profoundly revolutionary tactical initiative, at once audacious and realistic...

"Marxism is a method of historical analysis, of political orientation, and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance. Leninism is the application of this method in the conditions of an exceptional historical epoch. It is precisely in this union of the peculiarities of the epoch and the method that determines that courageous, self-assured policy of brusque turns of which Lenin gave us the finest models and which he illumined theoretically and generalized on more than one occasion...

"As a matter of fact, with each new task and at each new turn, it is not a question of searching in tradition and discovering there

a nonexistent reply, but of profiting from all the experience of the party to find by oneself a new solution suitable to the situation and, by doing so, enriching tradition. It may even be put more sharply: Leninism consists in being courageously free from conservative introspection, from being bound by precedent, purely formal references and quotation...

"Leninism cannot be conceived of without theoretical breadth, without a critical analysis of the material bases of the political process. The weapon of Marxist investigation must be constantly sharpened and applied. It is precisely in this that tradition consists, and not in the substitution of a formal reference or of an accidental quotation. Least of all can Leninism be reconciled with ideological superficiality and theoretic slovenliness."



Revolutionary upsurge of German workers in 1920s required sharp turn from party.

Trotsky would return to the question of tradition one year later, at a more advanced stage of the struggle against the bureaucracy, when he recalled the struggle of Lenin against the "Old Bolsheviks."

In 1917, declared Trotsky in **Lessons of October**, Lenin armed the party for insurrection through an all-out war against tradition. Trotsky wrote that "during the sharpest turning point in history, he (Lenin) was all the while waging an intense struggle within the party against the day that has passed in the name of the day to come. And the opposition, of the day that has passed, marching under the banner of 'tradition', became at times aggravated to the extreme."

The question of tradition and dialectics

took on immense significance in 1923 when the party could meet the crisis only through a sharp turn. The New Economic Policy, which had been essential in surviving the catastrophic conditions of collapse and widespread famine which existed in 1921, posed serious dangers in 1923. Not only had the revival of small-scale capitalist enterprise greatly strengthened anti-socialist tendencies among the wealthy peasants, but it led to a deepening contradiction between the development of the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy.

The extremely high prices of industrial goods and the relatively low level of agricultural prices disrupted trade between the two sectors. This phenomenon was first diagnosed by Trotsky as the "scissors crisis," in which he illustrated the widening gap between the agricultural and industrial prices as the space between the blades of an open scissor.

Trotsky's recommendation along with that of E. Preobrazhensky was a curtailment of the NEP and the strengthening of the planned economy in order to bring about a revival of industry.

This proposal was greeted by the majority of the Politburo, dominated by Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, with a barrage of criticism. The NEP, which had originally been conceived by Lenin and Trotsky as a "brusque turn," had become within a short space of time, a tradition.

However, their conservatism under these conditions of crisis was the expression of the pressures of hostile class forces which had been strengthened by the NEP and the backward conditions of the Soviet Union. The wealthy peasants who prospered as they employed laborers and sold their grain, the urban merchants whom the NEP had given a new lease on life, and the growing strata of privileged bureaucrats who valued the comforts that elevated them above the masses comprised a considerable social force whose influence was refracted through members of the Bolshevik Party.

Those who resisted the change proposed by Trotsky in 1923, who lashed out bitterly against "the new course" as an assault on tradition, found a social base in the very forces hostile to the October Revolution.

As Trotsky grappled with this development in 1924, he recalled a chief lesson drawn from the inner-party struggle which

had erupted in 1917:

"A revolutionary party is subjected to the pressure of other political forces. At every given stage of its development the party elaborates its own methods of counteracting and resisting this pressure. During a tactical turn and the resulting internal regroupments and frictions, the party's power of resistance becomes weakened.

"From this, the possibility always arises that the internal groupings in the party, which originate from the necessity of a turn in tactics, may develop far beyond the original controversial points of departure and serve as a support for various class tendencies. To put the case more plainly: the party which does not keep step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes."

It is important to understand that the campaign against Trotsky began in 1923 under the banner of orthodoxy. Stalin resisted Trotsky's demand for a stepped-up pace of industrialization with accusations that he was "underestimating the peasantry"; and from this flowed a full-scale attack of the theory of Permanent Revolution, which had been confirmed by the very course of the October Revolution.

Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev sought to disprove Trotsky's analysis of the NEP in 1923 by searching in the pre-1917 writings of Lenin for some isolated quotes that could be used against Trotsky personally. A comment by Lenin in 1913 became the basis for factional polemics against the Permanent Revolution which the Bolsheviks carried out in 1917. It was out of this dogged search for orthodoxy to provide ready-made answers to the demand for a development of theory and a change in practice that the most monstrous school of revisionism and falsification developed.

Notes left by Trotsky's wife, N. Sedova, give us a picture of the difficult struggle that he waged in the Politburo at this time:

"Those were hard days, days of tense fighting for Lev Davydovich at the Politburo against the rest of the members. He was alone and ill, and had to fight them all. Owing to his illness, the meetings were held in our apartment; I sat in the adjoining bedroom and heard his speeches. He spoke with his whole being; it seemed as if with every speech he lost some of his strength—he spoke with so much 'blood.' And in reply, I heard cold, indifferent answers. Everything, of course, had been decided in advance, so what was the need of getting excited? After each of these meetings, L.D.'s temperature mounted; he came out of his study soaked through, and undressed and went to bed. His linen and clothes had to be dried as if he had been drenched in a rain-storm... Such was the first stage of the struggle before it came out into the open."

The founding of the Left Opposition represented the most historic step forward in the international Marxist movement since the launching of the Communist International. It was only through this struggle within the Bolshevik Party and later in the Comintern against the bureaucracy and the revisionism of the Stalin faction that the basic principles of Marxism could be defended and the historic continuity of the movement established.

The Left Opposition had to defend the entire historic heritage of Marxism, because the Stalinist bureaucracy actually employed in its betrayal of the working class all the revisionist formulas of Menshevism and the revisionists of the Second International.

With its espousal of "socialism in one country," the Stalinists were in fact going back to the various national theories of socialism developed by the leaders of the Second International in Germany, France, and England to justify capitulation to their own bourgeoisie. This theory served as the basis of Stalin's betrayal of the world socialist revolution. The needs of the working class internationally were subordinated to the interests of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

It would be wrong to see the work of the Left Opposition as confined to exposing the Stalinists and answering their falsifications. The Left Opposition emerged to lead a struggle by the masses of workers to defend the gains of October, the Soviet Union and to prepare for the world revolution.

It fought at every point to conflict with the pressures of the Soviet Union's isolation as reflected in the thinking of party members and the working class, train new forces as Marxists through that conflict, and prepare for the time when objective conditions would be more favorable for the defeat of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Dialectics

The International Committee of the Fourth International fights today on the basis of all the lessons of the 50 years of struggle against Stalinism. However, the training of Trotskyist cadres, which are growing in strength and experience all over the world, has been possible only on the basis of the fight for a development of Marxist theory, for dialectical materialism, against all forms of revisionism.

The bankruptcy of the revisionists today is rooted in their abandonment of dialectical materialism. They do not see knowledge as developing out of the conflict of opposites. Practice is not brought into conflict continuously with theory in order to enrich theory and change the practice of the party to meet the changes in the development of the crisis.

In opposition to dialectics, the Socialist Workers Party developed under James P. Cannon the position of "orthodox Trotskyism." This reactionary conception turned theory into a dogmatic fixture, which Cannon saw as correct positions against Stalinism. However, a party built on "orthodoxy" is a party based on dead abstractions, which as conditions change remain tied to the past.

As Trotsky explained in **The New Course**, the Second International produced a great number of orthodox Marxists who knew virtually every page of **Capital**, like Karl Kautsky and George Plekhanov. But in the epoch of the Russian Revolution, their thinking remained dominated by the past period of the pre-World War One struggle under conditions of a much slower and more gradual tempo. The abstract formulas gleaned from the pages of Marx became arguments against the Revolution and in defense of the imperialist invasions of the Soviet Union between 1918 to 1921.

The orthodoxy of the "Old Bolsheviks" proved an obstacle to the October Revolution that was ruthlessly fought by Lenin in order to bring the working class to power.

When Stalin came forward in 1923 as a representative of "Old Bolshevism," he provided the theoretical basis, through the campaign against Trotskyism, upon which the bureaucracy fought to destroy the Russian Communist Party.

"Orthodox" Marxism has always been the preparation for the abandonment and actual revision of Marxism, not only in theory but in practice, turning against the struggle to construct a revolutionary party.

The abandonment of dialectics means going over to the philosophical methods of Stalinism, and then to Stalinism itself. Stalinism seeks at every point to hold back the thinking of the working class as it has developed in the previous period.

At a time when revolutionary conditions require the sharpest struggle against thinking as it developed within the period of the boom, the Stalinists and revisionists try to prevent the working class from understanding the nature of the crisis and the task which this historic crisis poses.

In Chile, this meant that the Stalinists held up the illusion of the "peaceful road to socialism" while the capitalists plotted civil war, and thus disarmed the working class before the fascist junta.

At the same time, the SWP refuses to assess the objective development of the crisis at each stage and therefore concludes that Watergate represents nothing outside the normal flow of events within bourgeois society.

The Stalinists and the revisionists seek to hold back the movement of the working class, but the crisis now creates the conditions for our development. The Stalinists rest upon a bureaucracy which was the product of conditions of backwardness and defeat. These conditions have been transformed.

Cadres can now be trained within the unions and from among the youth as Marxists on the basis of the history of Trotskyism and the struggle for dialectical materialism.

The struggle of Trotsky for the principles of Marxism and of the Bolshevik Party live today in the construction of the revolutionary party.

It is through the struggle for Marxism, to grasp what is new at every point in the work of the party, to posit the new features of the crisis against the lessons of the 50 year struggle of the Trotskyist movement, and on this basis build the party of the working class, that the working class will take power.

CONCLUDED

Part Three: The Fight For The New Course



50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Left Opposition

by David North



Revolutionary upsurge of German workers in 1920s required sharp turn from party.

LABOR TODAY

Where Is James Morrissey?

The Committee for NMU Democracy, an opposition group within the National Maritime Union led by James Morrissey, has virtually ceased to exist.

Its newspaper, the **Call**, has not been published since the Morrissey slate lost the NMU election last spring.

Morrissey has since devoted himself to challenging the elections before the National Labor Relations Board.

He has not so much as issued a leaflet to rank and file seamen at a time when the NMU leadership is demanding at in port and ship meetings that action be taken to fight unemployment.

The collapse of the Morrissey committee reveals the bankruptcy and treachery of those who seek to confine the fight in the unions to "rank and file" issues.

The Committee for NMU Democracy v.as very much a product of the period of inflationary boom and expansion of world trade. All of this has now collapsed.

The elaborate system of rate pools, shipping conferences, and cargo sharing which reigned for thirty years has already broken down and every attempt to revive them has proven futile.

The drive to cut costs, lay up unprofitable ships, and eliminate unprofitable routes has already led to a loss of 60 percent of maritime jobs over the last three years.

The government steps in at every point to settle disputes among shippers, defend shipping company profits, and suppress the strikes and wages of seamen.

In the present economic crisis, seamen face the brunt of America's trade war against Europe and Japan. Every fight to defend jobs and wages poses immediately a political clash with the government and the need to fight for socialist policies, for the nationalization of shipping under workers control through the construction of a labor party.

Throughout the 1960s, Morrissey sought to capitalize on the hatred of the ranks for the Curran bureaucracy.

The Committee for NMU Democracy led struggles for trade union democracy, improved pension plans, and reduction of NMU officers' salaries.

The publication of the **Call** took this struggle to the ranks. Many seamen joined the fight for these reforms.

Under new conditions of capitalist crisis, Morrissey's refusal to fight for a political strategy drove him rapidly to the right. At the 1972 NMU convention, he refused to fight for jobs and attempted to introduce a resolution supporting McGovern.

Increasingly, Morrissey came to rely on the courts to intervene in the union and assist his fight against Curran.

The Committee for NMU Democracy modeled its strategy very much on that of the Arnold Miller leadership of the Miners Union which gave Morrissey support.

The Nixon administration directly assisted Miller in the hopes that he would be able to control the growing rank and file revolt of miners against the coal companies and the government.

During the 1973 elections, Morrissey pinned his hopes on the courts to declare the vote fraudulent and hold a new election.

In the midst of the Watergate crisis he declared: "I do not want to shake the system." Increasingly, he sought publicity for his reform campaign in the capitalist press.

The NMU bureaucracy was able to use this dependence on the capitalists against Morrissey, issuing demagogic statements against government interference in the union.

Numbers of seamen became skeptical that Morrissey was any different than the NMU administration, and Morrissey lost the election.

The **Bulletin** gave critical support to both Morrissey and Miller. We advocated a vote for them, while warning miners and seamen that although their election would open up the struggle to break up the old bureaucracy, both Miller and Morrissey would be unable to defend the union unless they took up the political fight against Nixon, broke with the Democrats, and fought for a labor party.

Already a big opposition is developing to Miller who has opposed impeachment of Nixon, while refusing to mobilize support for striking Harlan Kentucky miners. He covers this with reformist schemes to pressure the government for concessions to the miners.

Seamen must fight for a defense of their jobs through a system of two crews on a ship, six months on and six months off at full pay; full parity with West Coast seamen who earn 40 percent more; and a unity of all maritime unions.

Such a fight can only be conducted by a leadership committed to fighting politically for a labor party that will replace the two capitalist parties.

The collapse of the Morrissey opposition poses the urgency of the construction of a revolutionary leadership to carry out these tasks.

by tom gordon

St. Louis Ford Plant To Close

BY HOWARD WEST
ST. LOUIS—All production at the Ford plant here will halt for a scheduled two weeks at the end of January.

The second shift will shut down indefinitely. Five thousand workers, members of UAW Local 325, are affected, of which approximately 2500 face indefinite layoffs.

The plant produces the Mercury model. A spokesman for the company claimed that the halt in production would bring "the inventory in line with sales."

At the GM plant, where members of Local 25 had only re-

turned to work from the extended Christmas break for one week, over 2500 workers received notices of indefinite layoffs on Tuesday.

All workers hired since May 1968 received notices, including 1000 workers hired during the hectic weeks around model changeover last summer.

These workers will receive no Supplementary Unemployment Benefits. One of the workers, Harry Deglander, says that even with his 12 years seniority, his job is now "shaky."

"If there is not an immediate halt to gasoline price rises," he told the **Bulletin**, "the plant management, even though they kicked out 2500 auto workers, will very soon be laying off even more. This will hit not only those

now still making the large passenger cars, but all auto workers."

Although no layoffs have been announced at the Granite City Steel Works in Granite City, southern Illinois, workers interviewed by the **Bulletin** said that they were inevitable.

"Especially with these layoffs in auto, layoffs in steel must follow."

Five thousand workers are employed in the steel works. The men, members of United Steel Workers Local 67, stated that preparations must be made for strike action in August, when the present contract expires. They said that the central demands of the new contract must be job security and pay hikes to keep up with the cost of living.

Delco Leaders Accept Layoffs

BY JOHN WERNER
DAYTON, Ohio—Mass layoffs have accelerated this week in Dayton auto parts plants.

Over 2000 more workers face "indefinite" layoffs. GM is putting out figures way below the actual layoffs. They claim 115 are to be laid off at Delco-Moraine, 100 at GM Delco products, 370 at GM Inland, and 700 at GM Frigidaire.

Already, workers at Delco-Moraine report the new layoffs are actually between 250 and 300 which brings the layoffs at Delco-Moraine alone to 650 to 700.

GM's Inland workers report that an entire department, Department 416, has been put on a four day week in addition to the layoffs.

ADDITIONAL

Chrysler Airtemps is laying off an additional 172 workers, making the total unemployed over 500 at Chrysler.

At Delco-Moraine the company is laying off production workers without regard to seniority. GM management is laying off by department instead of through the normal plantwide bumping procedure.

This way, workers with high seniority have to make application at the plant employment office in order to get back into the plant.

Besides creating confusion among the workers, this tactic is designed to trick older workers into taking a layoff. By dangling Supplementary Unemployment Benefits in front of them and creating the illusion of a "temporary" layoff, GM hopes to get the older workers out of the plant.

STAVED OFF

At Delco Products, the union leadership staved off previous cutbacks by persuading the workers to voluntarily take a four day week for four days pay. The new president, Livingston, of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 755, stated:

"GM was very cooperative in allowing the shorter work week. We certainly appreciate that."

Livingston and his predecessor Preston were able to sell this short pay, short week on the basis that the majority of workers would get SUB.

But Livingston knows that the SUB funds ran out at Dayton Tire and Rubber several years ago.

He stated: "We do not know where this thing is going to go. We just do not know if it will go on for three or four months, and the ball will pick up again."

"The only thing we can do is hope."

FRIGIDAIRE

The helplessness of such bureaucrats is glaringly seen at Frigidaire Local 801. The president, Arnold Thompson said:

Hoard Oil In Ohio

CHILLICOTHE, Ohio—Taking advantage of Nixon's "business first" policies, the Mead Corporation is hoarding vast clandestine supplies of fuel oil in leased storage tanks in Lorain, Ohio, and in hastily set up storage facilities in an old railroad depot on company property here

The local facilities consist of heavy duty plastic storage tanks, reinforced inside earthen trenches, dug inside the old building out of sight.

The Lorain storage tanks have a capacity of about two million gallons, and the local makeshift

tanks are capable of holding several thousand gallons of oil each.

Meanwhile, workers in this small southern Ohio City are being told by local fuel oil retailers that there is a shortage of fuel and are being denied full fuel orders.

WARNING

Each delivery is accompanied by a warning that this may be the last shipment. Each delivery is more expensive than the last.

Most workers' homes outside the city limits are heated by fuel oil, as well as many homes in town.

"You read so much about this whole thing you just do not know what to believe. But right now, who is going to buy a big car? Nobody.

"And where are most of the air conditioning units put on? Big cars.

"That does not help us any. You know if they ruin the auto industry, they are going to ruin the whole economy."

AUTO CONFERENCE

Thompson can do nothing but wring his hands and propose nothing. Only the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party shows the way forward. The national auto conference to be held in March will launch a fight for a nationwide authorized strike against the layoffs and the speedup.

TUALP will fight to build a new leadership in the UAW against Woodcock that will lead the struggle for a labor party against Nixon.

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midwest news

FBI Spying On Wounded Knee Lawyers

BY A REPORTER
ST. PAUL — William Kuntsler, chief attorney for Dennis Banks and Russell Means, two of the American Indian movement leaders, filed a motion for dismissal of all charges in federal court today on grounds of illegal activity by the government.

The motion names six grounds for dismissal including more than 30 statements of individuals that the Indians cannot get a fair trial.

The government has infiltrated the defense for the purpose of obtaining information, has employed illegal surveillance, harassment, intimidation, physical assault, and threats of assassination and injury to lawyers and defense workers.

MURDER

The motion does not mention the murder of Pierre Bissonette, who the defense charges was murdered several months ago because he refused to turn state's witness against his co-defendants.

The government is further charged with harassing and intimidating potential witnesses, with having created an atmosphere of terror to prevent the defense from raising money and obtaining witnesses, and attempting to destroy AIM.

EMERGES

What emerges in this trial is the police state methods of the government.

One attorney, John Fitzgerald, spent two months working with the committee, and then went to work for the attorney general. The lawyer who recommended Fitzgerald had worked as finance director for the defense before going to work for the state attorney general.

MOTEL

The FBI rented rooms in the Rapid City motel where the defense committee had its office. When they rented a different office, 20 FBI agents moved in next door.

An atmosphere of terror is constantly maintained at the federal court house in St. Paul. Every door is locked except one; all elevators are set so only one stops at the seventh floor where the trial is being held. Supporters wishing to attend the trial are forced to wait in sub-zero weather outside the building.

CONTROL

The real police state tone is set by Chief US Marshall Harry Bergrund, who is in complete control of the building and courtroom.

In a second motion, the

defense asked for dismissal on grounds the federal court had no jurisdiction over the case, since acts within the reservation are to be tried by reservation authorities under a treaty signed with the Sioux in 1868.

MOTIVES

Judge Nichols has ruled that he will allow testimony on the motives of the occupations, and will instruct the jury that the motive does not constitute a defense.

Over 1500 out of town supporters have arrived in the last two days, and another 1500 youth are expected when the preliminary motions and selection of jury are completed and the trial begins.

WATERGATE

The way this trial is being conducted shows that the methods of Watergate, far from being dropped by the Nixon government, are openly being used against the AIM leadership.

The Nixon government is blatantly using every illegal technique to railroad these militants to jail.

TRADE UNIONS

Their defense is the concern of every trade unionist because these methods are increasingly being used to attack the basic rights of workers fighting to defend their living standard.

Defense of the AIM leaders cannot be separated from the political struggle against Nixon and the need to unite labor and all workers to force this government out.

Layoffs Hit 10-Year Men

FRAMINGHAM, Mass.— The entire second shift of close to 1800 workers at the General Motors plant here is scheduled to shut down on January 25.

The layoffs on this shift go back to nine and one-half years seniority. Workers with nine years on the second shift are being laid off indefinitely.

Many of the younger workers with less than a year in the plant can only collect about 80 or 90 dollars a week for unemployment.

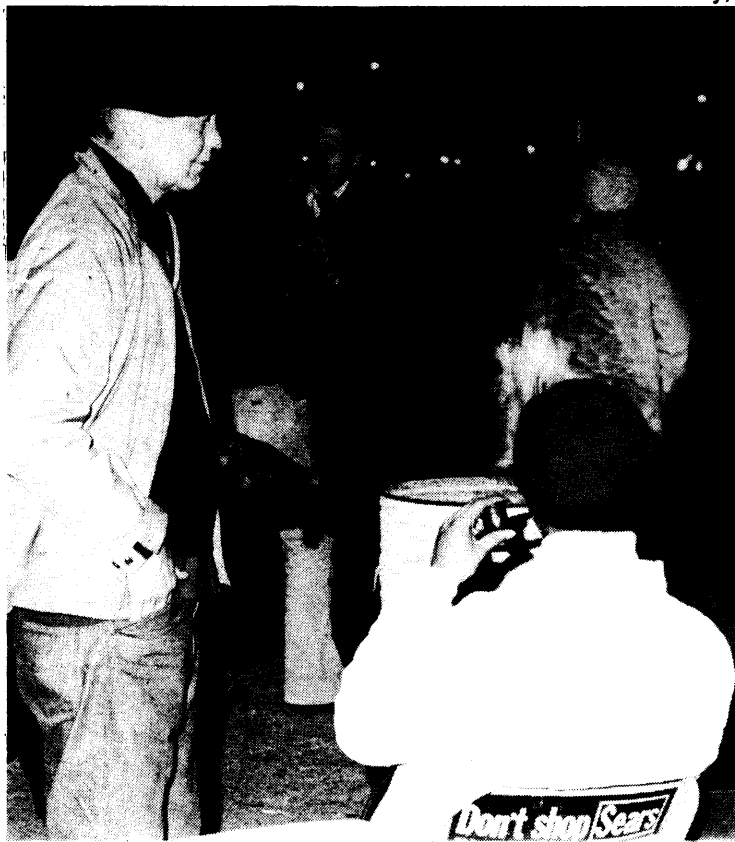
GET OVER

Johnny, a young GM worker, told the Bulletin: "I am just trying to get over at this point. I will collect until I cannot collect anymore, but I cannot make it on \$80 a week."

"It is really bad for the men with eight or nine years in the plant. They are laying off all the way back to nine and a half."

"They are supposed to lay off on the twenty-fifth, but I do not see how they can. They might let us off early because that last week nobody is going to be doing anything but destroying the place."

In the recent period, the young workers on the second shift have



Press conference of Retail Clerks Local 1100 Sears workers at San Francisco Civic Center last Monday night. Sears's first written offer after four months of strike was rejected by union.

Teachers Plan Strike Over 2% Pay Offer

BY HECTOR DIAZ

CHICAGO, Ill.—Chicago public teachers are entering the second week without a contract as the school board and union negotiators remain as far apart as ever on the three major issues: wages, preparation time, and grievance procedures.

The teachers are demanding an 11 percent wage increase. The demand for 11 percent can gain tremendous support from the other city workers who have been budgeted to receive a 2 percent wage increase this year.

The school board is determined to force through a two percent wage increase. There is overwhelming opposition to this from the teachers, shown in the complete impasse in the negotiations since October.

Healy, the union president, has stated that the teachers will strike if the 1974 budget is passed

with only a two percent wage increase.

The 1973 contract gave the teachers a 2.5 percent across the board increase and cut the school year one week. This increase was chopped off by the board immediately after the contract was signed.

Healy set a grievance procedure in motion for arbitration which was blocked by a school board injunction. The issue is now before an appellate court.

Healy's unwillingness to remain at the negotiating table after the contract has expired, knowing the union faces these attacks, can only weaken the teachers fight.

Chicago transit workers have now joined the struggle by demanding a 30 percent wage increase.

Teachers and transit workers should prepare joint strike action to break through the wage guidelines and fight for support from the city labor movement.

YOUNG SOCIALIST REGIONAL CONFERENCES

\$2 Conference & Dance

All conferences begin at noon

Speakers: Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary, Adele Sinclair, Young Socialist editor.

MIDWEST

MADISON
 (Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, St. Paul)
 SAT., JAN. 26
 Univ. of Wisconsin
 YMCA
 306 North Brooks
 608-251-7622

CLEVELAND
 (Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Dayton, Detroit)
 SAT., FEB. 2
 Cleveland State Univ.
 Euclid & 21 St.
 216-851-8822



WEST COAST

SAN FRANCISCO
 SAT., JAN. 19
 Mission YMCA
 4080 Mission
 415-824-4096

LOS ANGELES
 SUN., JAN. 20
 Embassy Auditorium
 839 S. Grand Ave.
 213-678-3528
 Live Band
 "Demian"

THE NEW STAGE OF THE CRISIS:

The Case For A New Election



Speaker:
 Tim Wohlforth,
 National Secretary,
 Workers League

PITTSBURGH
 SUN., JAN. 27

Bethesda United
 Presbyterian Church
 7220 Bennet Street

8 pm

Dinner first: 6 pm

donation: \$3 trade unionists,
 \$1 youth and unemployed

been subjected to continuous speedup and harassment. Nobody ever knows how fast the line is going.

Now the experienced older workers will be forced to work under these conditions.

"I do not know what I will do

Drivers Defend Seniority

ALEXANDRIA, Va.—Alexandria Metro bus drivers voted not to appeal the ruling of the arbitration board which recognizes Washington Local 689 as the sole bargaining agent for the District and Alexandria drivers.

Since Metro took over the Metropolitan Bus Service from former private owner O. Roy Chalk, a drive has been underway to merge Local 1131 of Alexandria with Local 689 in the District.

Virginia drivers opposed this move because they fear a loss of seniority rights resulting in longer and more distant routes.

The central issue raised at the union meeting was the continued delay in the issuance of paychecks and the habitual errors in overtime pay.

One driver told the Bulletin:

"I was expecting a check of \$250 to \$300 and received one for \$78. I cannot even make my car payment."

Last week, Metro sent home over a hundred drivers because they were not in complete uniform. This action on the part of management has only served to heighten the anger of the ranks.

Several drivers who walked out of the meeting early left because the main issues were not being dealt with. They felt that there was a conscious plan of harassment against the Virginia drivers.

One young driver said: "We are going to have to strike to straighten this out." New contracts with Metro will be negotiated in September.

With the cost of living soaring, it is clear that the ranks will not wait until the new contract to regularize their pay.

editor's notebook

Executive Action

Several months after the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion, President Kennedy told a New York Times reporter in a confidential conversation that he was under great pressure from intelligence advisers to order the assassination of Premier Fidel Castro.

As reported in the current issue of Esquire, which hit the newsstands only days after the Cuban government hinted that it would like to restore "normal" relations with the US, Kennedy invited diplomatic correspondent Tad Szulc to the White House to discuss the matter in November 1961.

The New York Times claims to carry "all the news that's fit to print." However, it obviously felt that the American working class had no business knowing about the government's plans to murder Castro.

Szulc now explains that he had been invited to the White House by Robert Kennedy to speak to the president as a "private citizen" and that he could not write about the discussions of a political murder within the highest circles of the Kennedy administration.

"It was a private conversation," states Szulc.

Back At Tammany Hall

New York Mayor Abraham Beame has drawn nothing but blanks in his attempt to find a deputy mayor who can reasonably pass for an honest man.

His first choice for the coveted \$42,000 per year post (not counting birthday presents) was Deputy Manhattan Borough President William Tatum. But his name was withdrawn from consideration after Beame got wind of Tatum's mounting problems with the Internal Revenue Service.

Choice number two was David Dinkins, a leading advocate of Black capitalism and close associate of the new mayor. However, after Beame appointed him, Dinkins revealed that he had not filed tax returns for the past four years and respectfully withdrew.

Finally, Beame announced the appointment of Black State Senator Joseph Galiber, after announcing that he had passed investigations of his financial records "with flying colors."

However, as 80 friends and relatives gathered in City Hall Thursday morning to attend the swearing-in ceremonies, rumors began to spread that Galiber was in trouble.

Sure enough, the ceremony was called off after a Beame aide was unable to obtain answers to questions raised by contributions made at a testimonial dinner for Galiber several months ago.

Black businessmen who had come to the swearing-in ceremonies were stunned by the news and charged Beame with racism for investigating corruption by Black politicians more vigorously than corruption by white politicians.

"I think the Mayor should go

forward with this appointment," declared J. Bruce Lewellyn, president of 100 Black Men, a group of prominent businessmen.

"Otherwise it looks as if they're exacting a double standard."

The Rev. H. Carl McCord, president of the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation, said: "The morality and politics issue that came out of Watergate seems to be heading in our direction."

A Feather In His Cap

Trade union bureaucrats in England don't normally make as much money as their counterparts in America. But if they lead a life of betrayals and serve the ruling class faithfully, there's always a chance they'll be given a niche in the House of Lords—a reactionary relic of the feudal epoch.

That honor has now been bestowed upon the retired head of the Trades Union Congress (England's AFL-CIO), Victor Feather, who for four years was the architect of a policy of complete subservience to the Tories.

While he "led" the TUC, the labor movement was dragged into talks with Prime Minister Heath and everything was done to prevent British workers from forcing the government out.

Feather accepted the Industrial Relations Act, England's entry into the Common Market, and wage controls: measures introduced by the Tories to destroy the basic rights and living standards of the working class.

But as far as the ex-TUC chief is concerned, this treachery was a small price to pay for the personal satisfaction of being brought before the Queen on his knees, anointed with the royal sword, and told that henceforth, all shall address him as "Lord Feather."

Count Your Blessings

Leave it to U.S. News and World Report, a right-wing magazine whose editors are Nixon's staunchest admirers, to tell us that we have many reasons to count our blessings as 1974 begins. In case you haven't noticed, here is why things are going better than ever:

"Food supplies are costly—but plentiful.

"The Skylab astronauts are keeping alive America's sense of adventure.

"Church attendance is on the rise again."

The magazine states that "good news can be found day after day—though it is often obscured by headlines recounting strife, calamity, or political hullabaloo." This is bad news, suggests U.S. News, is the work of "the gloom spreaders."

Finally, in a plea for everyone to put on a happy face, the magazine declares: "For many millions of Americans, there is day-to-day good news—news of actions and events signalling progress in countless ways. At times, it may seem hard to find, but it's just a question of recognizing it."



Los Angeles Butchers have been locked out by the Shamrock Meat Packing Company.

SF City Workers Call For \$80 Raise

**BY BARRIE BAKER
SAN FRANCISCO—**
The Service Employees International Union Joint Council is demanding a pay package for San Francisco City workers that includes an \$80 across the board raise.

They are also demanding a shorter work week, fully paid dental and medical plans, disability, and unemployment benefits.

The demand for 80 dollars is about 14 percent above Nixon's pay guidelines.

The city's civil service commission has proposed a 2.5 percent raise to professional staff

FMC Lays Off 1000

**BY ALLEN SALTER
SAN JOSE—**One thousand workers, members of International Association of Machinists Local 562 at Food Machinery Corporation (FMC) Recreational Division were laid off on January 4.

FMC told the workers the layoffs were necessary because the \$33,000 camper type vehicles being produced could not be sold because of the energy crisis.

The layoffs at the San Jose plant came after the complete shutdown of the FMC Riverside complex in December. Over 2500 workers there, also members of the IAM, were laid off.

The IAM has been virtually silent on the layoffs. FMC has further announced it will begin mass layoffs in March because of its inability to get government contracts. Most of these layoffs will be in the ordinance department, which has been producing armored personnel carriers.

LAMINATOR
The Bulletin spoke to Steve, a 20-year-old laminator, who had worked at FMC for over a year. "They did not give us any warning. They just laid us off. "The union official just came in and said sorry, fellows, you are all laid off.

"It seems they just did not give a damn. I got a hunch they will call us back in six months, offer us our jobs back at half the money.

and no increase to half of the 15,000 miscellaneous city workers, the lower paid clerical and blue collar staff. This insulting proposal still must be approved by the board of supervisors and the mayor, who are mounting campaigns for tighter budgets.

One clerk in the social services department was outraged. "We hear the commission is telling us that we will get no pay increase. That is a decrease.

"My husband and I are so mad we are going to the union executive board meeting to see what can be done about it."

The union leadership has made no attempt to prepare the ranks for strike action. The executive secretary of the largest union in the council, Local 400, stated in the last union paper that talk of a strike this year is "premature."

"People would be in a position by then that they would have no other choice but to accept it.

"I think that is what Nixon wants. Then he would be able to dissolve the unions.

"I am for kicking out this government. I agree with the fight for a labor party, but we have got to do it right now."

Fishermen Tie Up Boats

**BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—**150 Tuna boats remain tied up in the Los Angeles and San Diego harbors.

Tuna boat owners are demanding a higher price for each ton of tuna they catch, since operating costs have skyrocketed due to the high cost of fuel.

Boat owners want \$650 dollars per ton of tuna instead of the \$500 they receive now. They claim that American cannery pay much lower prices than their Japanese and European counterparts.

This week, only two tuna boats went out to sea when two Italian cannery paid \$675 per ton.

Over \$1000 fishermen are supporting the boat owners' action. Fishermen have no guaranteed wage, but share in the catch after expenses are paid. The average fishermen only earn about \$10,000 a year.

Some boats may be out for as long as six to eight months and never catch enough fish to pay expenses or the crew members.

These same bureaucrats recently pushed through the employee relations ordinance demanded by Mayor Alioto, which ties the union to binding arbitration.

These union officials got the annual convention of the California State Council of Service Employees to endorse the candidacy of Mayor Alioto for governor.

REPAYING

Now Alioto is repaying the bureaucrats by demanding huge cuts in real wages for city workers and refusing to make an across-the-board offer for all categories as was done last year.

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, a rival union, has stepped up its campaign to raid the SEIU. AFSCME is supported by many radicals and the Communist Party. It is demanding \$140 across the board.

The AFSCME leadership is only creating a diversion and a cover for the SEIU bureaucracy, while at the same time splitting the ranks of the city workers.

City workers must demand immediate preparations for a city-wide fight to win all demands and demand the SEIU leadership conduct a fight against Nixon's guidelines.

One young fisherman said: "I support this. I guess you would call it a strike.

"We are losing money because of the fuel prices. In some boats, the quarters are small and its rough. Sometimes we are gone for six or seven months."

Many of the vessels are owned independently and passed on through generations. The rest are owned by the big corporations tied to the cannery industry.

FIRE

The recent fire which demolished Star Kist Tuna has dealt a huge blow to hundreds of cannery workers and fishermen.

An Italian fisherman who works on a boat that catches mainly anchovies said: "Star Kist was the main company that bought anchovies. We cannot make it just on the small canneries.

"It is bad. Diesel costs 30 cents a gallon and last month it was 19 cents. Nixon is leading to dictatorship."

west coast news

Alioto Comes To Defense Of Nazis

BY ANN LORE
SAN FRANCISCO—The nazi provocation at the board of education meeting Tuesday night has unleashed a new attack on the left in the capitalist press.

Including the liberals, most notably Mayor Alioto of San Francisco, they are all defending the right of the nazi party to build a base in San Francisco.

Tuesday night was the deadline for the board of education to decide on its integration plan for the junior and senior high schools and still be eligible for federal funds for desegregation.

The disruption began inside the Nourse Auditorium when the

getting upset about. Now that an actual confrontation has taken place, all the blame is being placed on the "communists."

The press has editorialized on the "pint-sized replay of an old-time nazi-commie brawl" and attacked this attempt by "communists" to deny the rights of all people, including nazis.

MOPPED UP

Mayor Alioto praised the police: "They played the role they should play; the communists were mopped up."

He echoed the head of the nazi unit himself who told the press: "We were alright once the police came in and thinned out the ranks of the hard-core commie agitators."

This scenario is indeed reminiscent of the early 1930s in Ger-



Nazis at the Board of Education meeting in San Francisco.

Oakland Cops Frame Youth In Foster Killing

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—The Oakland police are claiming two men arrested after a gunfight with a Concord policeman are linked to the "Symbionese Liberation Army."

The SLA is allegedly responsible for the shotgun killing of Oakland superintendent of schools Marcus Foster last November 6.

After Foster's death, Bay Area newspapers printed excerpts from letters supposedly sent by the group, claiming responsibility for the killing. A full-scale hysteria campaign was whipped up around this group, which had never been heard of before.

"ARMY"

Up until this week, there had been no word on the "Army" for months either from the police or the press.

But this week, the Bay Area press renewed the scare campaign, with articles describing the "killers" in such a vague way as to apply to anybody.

Just last week, the National Transportation Safety Board ruled that the crash of an Oakland police helicopter last fall was not the result of sniper fire, as the police have claimed, but of a mechanical failure.

SNIPERS

But Oakland police stated they would continue to proceed on the basis that the police killed in the

crash were murdered by snipers.

The two men arrested in the shootout in Concord are Russel J. Little, 27, and Joseph Remiro, 27, Oakland. Police claim their van contained literature put out by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Bail was set for \$250,000 for the two. Both are charged with assault with intent to murder a policeman.

One of the suspects, Joseph Remiro, was arrested in the financial district of San Fran-

cisco in 1970 for desecrating the American flag during a protest.

Last Thursday afternoon, a large squad of Oakland police, equipped with a search warrant, entered Little's home and questioned several people. It is not known yet whether further arrests were made.

There is no question the Oakland police, backed up by the capitalist press, are using this shootout to whip up a hysteria against the left, the youth, and the unions.

Reagan Axes School Budget

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND, Calif.—Over \$300,000 a year will be taken away from Oakland's public schools under proposals for a new state budget issued this week by the Reagan administration.

The new budget would distribute only \$3.8 million to local school districts across the state, down nearly \$8 million from last year's budget.

Three hundred thousand dollars cut from Oakland schools was being spent in a program designed to reduce class sizes in twelve schools by hiring more teachers.

The program, called Special Teacher Employment Program (STEP) enabled the district to hire 31 additional teachers and lower class sizes to an average of 25 students per class, down from 29.

These teachers are now tenured employees of the district. The district will either have to lay them off in the middle of their contract, breaking state law, or cut the \$300,000 from other school programs.

JUSTIFY

Reagan's chief deputy director of finance, Kenneth Hall, justified the cuts by claiming the program had produced no "increase in student output."

But as one student at Castlemont High School explained to the Bulletin: "They would have to spend millions of dollars if they ever wanted anybody to learn anything in this school."

"We do not even have enough books, even if they did make our classes smaller."

There is no doubt the school board will respond to this cut with layoffs of school employees, including teachers.



Police inside the meeting hall.

nazis revealed their swastikas and sections of the audience, led by Progressive Labor Party began shouting for them to leave.

Fighting broke out in which a couple of the nazis were injured. The police beat up the members of PL. Over 50 police plus plainclothesmen were mobilized for the attack.

CHARGED

Wednesday, seven members of PL and Workers Action Movement were charged with misdemeanors, disturbing the peace, and disrupting a public meeting. Three others were charged with felony battery against police officers.

A few months ago when the nazis began work in San Francisco with a phone message, the press treated the "presence of a few nazis in swastika-adorned uniforms" as hardly worth

many where the nazis were likewise defended by the state against the German Communist Party.

Many in the audience were upset by the presence of nazis and the subsequent police takeover of the meeting.

The state is defending these people because they will be used to enforce the government's policies of unemployment by creating racism and will assist in breaking strikes and attacking the unions.

However, it is a completely middle class adventure for PL to substitute itself for the necessary mobilization of the working class against these fascists.

The Bay Area trade unions must launch a campaign to prevent any nazi meetings and to prevent them from maintaining any organization. This is part of the fight for a political party for labor to force Nixon out.



Southgate auto workers discuss fight against General Motors layoffs with TUALP. See our report, page 12.

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera



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El gobierno esta utilizando las recientes amenazas de bombas para crear una histeria masiva en la clase media en contra de las uniones y las organizaciones socialistas. Es en esta forma que ellos se están preparando para unas elecciones generales en el país.

Ellos usarán esa sección de la burocracia sindical y de los líderes del Labour Party para que los apoyen en sus planes en contra de la clase obrera y para poder implementar poderes dictatoriales.

El Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, sección inglesa del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional, ha presentado, la necesidad de ocupar los lugares de trabajo que han sido amenazados con cerrarse. La necesidad de construir Consejos de Acción en cada área, que una a todas las organizaciones de la clase obrera en lucha en contra del gobierno de los tories y sacarlos del poder.

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The working class is entering into struggle to defend its right to a decent wage and to a job at a time when every basic democratic right is at stake. The labor leadership must break with its criminal silence on Watergate and take action to force Nixon out. Only the independent struggle of the working class can remove him.

The labor movement must immediately take action and mobilize millions of workers against Nixon's unemployment and inflation.

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