

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY FOUR 400

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Nobody Elected Gerald Ford

WE DEMAND NEW ELECTION!

COOP
JUL 29 1976
INSTITUTION

BY THE EDITORS

Gerald Ford has been installed as President by big business to carry out Nixon's policies of mass unemployment, skyrocketing inflation and attacks on the basic rights of every worker.

Ford has absolutely no mandate to govern this country. No one chose Ford except Richard Nixon and the bankers and industrialists who rule this country. For the first time in American history, a man has become President without having faced a national election.

The working class will not accept this government. The entire labor movement must call mass demonstrations to demand new elections. Every trade unionist and worker must compel the AFL-CIO, UAW and all trade union organizations to immediately convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party to run in this new election and fight for socialist policies.

Ford's unpopular and unelected government, up to its ears in the Watergate conspiracy, must be swept out by a labor party based on the trade unions and which alone can represent the millions of working people whose strength forced Nixon's resignation.

Big business has snuck Ford into the White House through the back door. He has been in politics for 24 years and in that entire period received no votes except those of an extremely conservative rural constituency in upstate Michigan.

However, when Ford was appointed vice president, industrial workers in Saginaw turned out to vote for the first time and repudiated his hand-picked successor to the Congress.

Ford has made it clear within three days of taking office that he will carry out with greater ruthlessness the policies of Nixon.

Every one of Nixon's cabinet members has been asked to stay on. General Alexander Haig, who worked with Nixon on the Watergate cover-up for the past 15 months, remains White House chief of staff.

The new President will also retain Alan Greenspan as his chief economic adviser, the outspoken advocate of mass unemployment. Ford is also on the closest terms with Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who has stated that more than two years of recession is required to "control" inflation.

Ford's first act as president was to sustain Nixon's last veto of a \$13.5 billion aid bill that would have provided some relief for drought-stricken farmers in the midwest.

On Saturday, Ford met with Nixon's economists and instructed them to draw up guidelines for cutting the budget.

Ford is the spokesman of a ruling class determined to smash the unions and drive down the living standards of every worker.

This politician, who accumulated a personal wealth of \$250,000 while in Congress and who swims every morning in a private heated pool, recently declared that Americans should lower their rate of "wasteful consumption and wasteful use of resources and energy."

He stated that the real cause of inflation is "excessive demand."

The working class now faces a government that is actually to the right of the hated Administration that was just kicked out.

Within several days, Ford will handpick a vice-president. Once again, a potential leader is being chosen behind the backs of the entire country.

These secret deliberations expose the enormous crisis and fear of the capitalist class, who now have turned to the appointment of Presidents and vice-presidents because they know that millions of workers would reject the politicians of big business if given the opportunity.

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Edition

•Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International: "Fight Greek Popular Front; All Foreign Troops Out of Cyprus!"



Striking IBEW workers picket outside Western Electric offices in Newark, NJ. A police photographer records the scene. See story page 12.

Put Nixon On Trial

BY BARRY GREY

With Nixon's resignation and the installation of Ford, the Democrats and Republicans have joined together to prevent the working class from getting the truth about the Watergate conspiracy.

Nixon's coverup and obstruction of justice are nothing compared to the massive "bi-partisan" effort now underway to protect Nixon from criminal prosecution and to bury his crimes.

The Democrats and Republicans must not be allowed to let this criminal go and conceal the truth from the working class.

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The Conspiracy Continues Under President Ford

The administration of Gerald Ford will be an extreme right-wing government, based on big business and the military, that will carry forward Nixon's war on the living standards of the working class.

The working class whose strength and wage struggles led to Nixon's downfall are now faced with a new government virtually modelled on the Nixon administration.

The government being assembled in Washington is centered around the very same men who staunchly defended Nixon up until the last few days, and were deeply involved in the coverup and the Watergate conspiracy.

What We Think

Henry Kissinger, one of the men closest to Nixon who was implicated in the order to wiretap

Nixon's opponents, remains as Secretary of State.

James St. Clair, Nixon's lawyer, who led Nixon's defiance of the court subpoenas will transfer his duties to Ford.

Most ominous of all is the continued presence of General Alexander Haig, Nixon's personal advisor.

Haig has remained aloof from the public and has functioned behind the scenes as one of the most powerful men in the government.

Haig was brought in last year after it was publicly disclosed that members of the military were secretly spying on the White House on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Haig represents the connection between the military

and the administration which now under Ford will be strengthened.

These are the very men who were in the forefront of defending Nixon's doctrine of "executive privilege," who sought to preserve and increase the absolute powers that Nixon had relegated himself as president.

Nixon's former inner circle is now being reconstituted to continue the coverup of the Watergate conspiracy, to brush all the crimes of the entire Nixon administration under the rug, but above all to continue to strengthen the presidency as a virtual dictatorship.

These are the men who have nothing but contempt for the working class and for democratic rights, who have loyalty only to defending the capitalist system of private profit here and internationally.

This system now stands on the brink of collapse in every country as uncontrollable inflation creates conditions for the bankruptcy not just of individual companies, but of entire nations.

In the United States, this crisis was intensified by the wage offensive of the working class.

The same men who were Nixon allies at one period rapidly and ruthlessly moved against him and forced him to resign, once it was clear that Nixon lacked the authority to carry out the attacks on workers' living standards, required by the crisis.

They now seek to impose Ford without an election taking place, against the will of the vast majority of working people.

Ford's presidency is not just a continuation of the Nixon administration but means that the conspiracy to concentrate all powers in the hands of a small clique of men, will deepen.

It means a sharp intensification of attacks on the

rights of the working class under conditions of police repression and behind the scenes preparations for military dictatorship.

The men being considered for vice-president, Melvin Laird, Barry Goldwater, and Nelson Rockefeller, are the most arrogant spokesmen for the capitalist class.

Laird, in particular, is a longtime Ford ally who has close connections to the military. He was formerly head of the Armed Forces Committee and as Nixon's Secretary of Defense intensified the war against the Vietnamese.

Ford is ultimately linked with the multimillion dollar corporations, especially Ford Motor Company and United States Steel.

During his 25 year history as congressman and then House Minority leader, he has fought against every piece of social legislation and voted for every bill that attacked the rights of the labor movement.

Ford now assumes the task of taking on the powerful American working class with absolutely no mandate and no popular support.

The offensive of the working class in defense of its rights forced Nixon out but without the construction of a labor party as the alternative, the conspiracy continues, and living standards will be driven down.

The working class must meet this threat by demanding the labor movement build an independent party based on socialist policies, to force out both the Democrats and Republicans. The trade unions must convene a commission of inquiry into Watergate and demand special elections.

This now requires the construction of the Workers League as the alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions.

10,000 Jailed In Chile

BY FRANK MARTIN

The Chilean junta has launched the biggest wave of political arrests and trials since its overthrow of Salvador Allende last September.

According to dispatches from Chile by the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, over 10,000 people have been picked up by the military police in the last few weeks. Entire towns have been rounded up and taken in for questioning.

Already 67 supporters of the Allende regime have been sentenced to death or life imprisonment in a continuous series of trials before military tribunals.

The latest victims include former State Bank vice-president, Lazo Frias, who was convicted for "providing funds for left-wing infiltration in air force units," Colonel Galaz Guzman and Captain Vergara Meneses, convicted for being leaders of the Air Force of the Revolutionary Movement of the

Left (MIR), and Sergeant Constanzo Merino, who allegedly confessed to having planned to dynamite Air Force planes during the coup.

A new trial has begun in the provincial town of Linares. All 74 defendants are members of Allende's Socialist Party. The death penalty is being demanded for 4 of them—Jugo Valdes, Mario Mora, and Alejandro Rios, as well as former Congressman Carlos Villalobos.

They are all accused of "trafficking with the enemy." According to the Chilean junta, the country was in a state of siege even before the coup on September 11 and therefore, anyone who collaborated with the Allende regime before that date can be accused of treason.

The wave of mass arrests and trials is a sign of the growing crisis and instability of the junta. On July 25, Pinochet and his generals were forced to devalue the escudo (Chilean cur-

rency) for the 13th time in less than a year. Inflation is now running at an annual rate of 250 percent.

This has led to an astronomical rise in prices while salaries and incomes have been forcibly held down. Support in the middle classes for the junta has evaporated.

The Christian Democrats, the only legal party left, has come into increasing conflict with the junta. Recently, Patricio Alwyn, secretary-general of the Christian Democrats, openly denounced the censorship imposed by the junta on Radio-Balmaceda, a station run by his party.

The junta seeks to solve its crisis through mass repressions. But the international crisis which is ripping apart the Chilean economy is rapidly forcing a polarization of class forces and a renewed struggle by the working class.



Imprisoned Turkish Cypriotes buy water.

Fighting Rages In Cyprus As Geneva Talks Resume

BY A REPORTER

The foreign ministers of Greece, Turkey and Britain began the second phase of the Geneva talks on August 8 as intense fighting still continued on the island of Cyprus.

Heavy fighting was raging at Famagusta, on the southern coast of Cyprus as Turkish troops sought to consolidate their military position.

Only hours after the United Nations ceasefire was declared on July 30 Turkish troops moved west from Kyrenia and seized the towns of Karavas and Lapitos. Under the Geneva agreement, Turkey can move in additional troops and tanks from the mainland.

Glafkos Clerides, acting president of Cyprus, who was placed in power after the defeat of the coup d'etat attempt of the Greek junta, and Turkish Premier Bulent Ecevit want to establish a federal system on Cyprus.

This would partition the island and strengthen the divisions between the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes.

Clerides has just announced formation of a new Cabinet composed of prominent indus-

trialists, bankers, and landowners, to guarantee the interests of imperialism on Cyprus.

The reactionary nature of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus after the coup of Nicholas Sampson is now clear. It was motivated by the growing crisis in Turkey where inflation is 30 percent a year and the inability of the Turkish ruling class to confront its own working class.

Far from being a liberating force against dictatorship, the Turkish government used the invasion to establish its own domination over the Turkish Cypriotes and Greek as well as Turkish workers and peasants have been terrorized and murdered by the advancing Turkish troops.

The Greek government is in no position to dictate terms at Geneva. The new government can only extricate itself as best as possible in order to turn attention to the mounting crisis at home.

Prime Minister Constantin Karamanlis is resisting pressure to punish the military leaders responsible for the seven years of dictatorship.

The military has made it clear it will not allow Karamanlis to interfere with it and has already refused an order to remove the Phoenix, symbol of the 1967 coup.

Spanish CP Allies With Monarchists

BY A

CORRESPONDENT

The Spanish Communist Party has formed an underground "democratic junta" with fascist monarchists to replace the Franco regime.

The announcement was made by Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, at a joint press conference with Rafael Calvo Serer, a representative of the extreme right-wing of the fascist movement.

Serer was a fascist publicist who fought for Franco in the civil war and would like to return Spain to the days of feudal monarchy.

The joint manifesto makes the following demands:

- Total amnesty for all political prisoners.

- The legalization of all political parties.

- The right to strike and hold public meetings.

- Freedom of speech for the media.

- The independence of all judicial bodies.

- The deployment of the armed forces only for defense against foreign aggression.

- Recognition of the Catalan, Basque, Galician and all other regional communities, and their right to decide their future democratically.

- Separation of church from state.

- The foundation of a people's assembly not more than 18 months after the restoration of democratic rule, recognition of international agreements, and respect for the principle of world peace.

This program is similar to the manifesto of the Armed Forces movement in Portugal which overthrew the Caetano dictatorship and established a provi-

sional government in which the CP leaders joined a Cabinet of military men.

The monarchists in Spain hold out democratic reforms as bait to the working class to gain time in order to re-impose an even more ruthless dictatorship.

In Spain, as in Portugal, the Stalinists seek to erect a Popular Front with the most reactionary monarchists and feudalists to head off the working class from revolution.

At an earlier press conference in Paris, Carrillo said that Spain needed a "democratic provisional" government of national reconciliation formed of forces from both left and right."

He declared he was for the right of all parties "without exception" to carry out their activities.

The Spanish CP leaders are terrified of the revolutionary movement of the Spanish working class which will now press forward a fight against dictatorship.

Price Index Jumps 3.9% In One Month

BY A REPORTER
Despite all predictions to the contrary, the New York Stock Exchange slumped badly Thursday as Wall Street received news that Nixon was about to resign.

Economists had been saying that Nixon's resignation would bolster both the market and business in general. However, the 12.67 drop on Thursday demonstrated very clearly that the objective development of the crisis will proceed rapidly in the direction of a collapse.

The ruling class now looks to Ford not because he has some new solution to the crisis, but rather because it hopes he will give the government the authority it needs to carry out policies of massive unemployment already outlined by Nixon.

An official of the Harris Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago made this clear when he stated: "Conceivably, he (Ford) will be able to convince the public that the only way out is the policy of moderate restraint even though it brings the bad news early, such as rising unemployment and higher interest rates."

Even as Ford was sworn in, new figures showed that inflation is completely out of control.

The Wholesale Price Index

rose by 3.9 percent in July, the biggest jump in 11 months.

Last month's increase is equivalent to an annual increase of 44 percent and it guarantees a devastating rise in consumer prices later this year.

Livestock, grain, and meats registered the biggest increases. Farm products and processed foods were up 6.8 percent, industrial commodities jumped 2.7 percent.

These increases mean that the tight money and credit policies that have already driven unemployment up to 5.3 percent have done nothing to bring inflation under control.

The policy of Ford, like that of Nixon, will be to use unemployment to weaken the wages offensive that workers have launched in response to the inflation.

Ford is likely to keep the ultra-reactionary Alan Greenspan as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and he cannot remove Arthur Burns from the Federal Reserve bank even if he wanted to.

NIXON

A number of economists are claiming that the economic crisis was simply caused by Nixon. "One of the reasons we are in such chaos," declared former economic adviser Pierre Rinfret, "is because the President (Nixon) had no interest in or comprehension of economics."

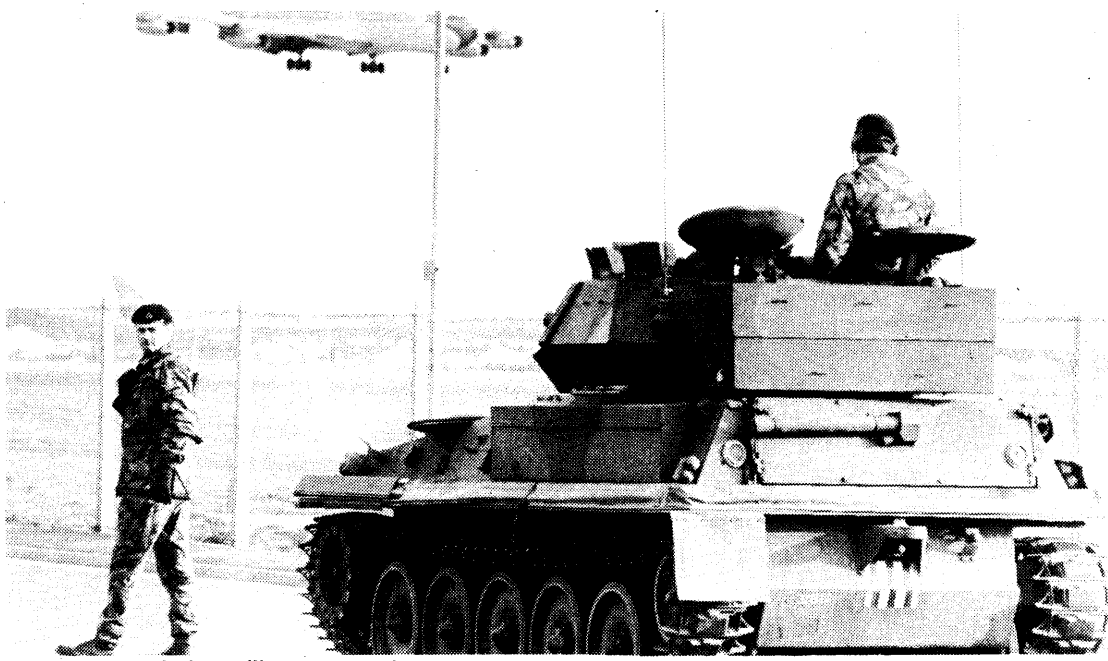
In actual fact, Ford—as Nixon before him—is powerless to halt inflation or the drift into recession.

As Ford takes office, production is down in many basic industries—especially auto—and profits have been drastically eroded by inflation.

Tight money is driving corporations to the verge of bankruptcy because they are unable to obtain funds desperately needed to sustain production.

The only "solution" Ford has for this crisis is to launch ruthless attacks against the working class.

The depth of the economic crisis now requires that American workers turn toward the political struggle for socialism through the construction of a labor party.



British troops during military occupation of London Airport.

British Paper Reveals Military Coup Plans

BY DAVID NORTH

The very rapid disintegration of the British economy is raising the specter of a military dictatorship.

With the London stock exchange falling to record lows and both private and nationalized industries on the brink of bankruptcy, the ruling class is discussing the possible use of the military against the powerful movement of the working class in defense of its living standards.

The London Times, authoritative voice of the most important Tory circles, featured an article by Lord Chalfont entitled: "Could Britain be heading for a military takeover?" A caption below one picture read: "Armored cars at Heathrow: A Rehearsal For A Coup?"

Chalfont has the closest connections with the ruling establishment and knows their train of thought. He writes:

"More and more people in this country, many of them men and women of impeccably liberal instincts, are beginning to contemplate seriously, and not without some satisfaction, the possibility of a period of authoritarian rule in Britain."

Noting that the present British Chief of Defense Staff is Sir Michael Carver, who once wrote an introduction to an army manual for civil war operations, Chalfont quotes a choice passage from Carver:

"If a genuine and serious grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in the standards of living, all those who now dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the power of the

police to handle. Should this happen, the Army would be required to restore the situation rapidly.

"Some of the roots of inflation...are firmly embedded in our own industrial life, where the massive power and often ruthless action of the great trade unions aggravates and perpetuates the problem."

British capitalists are now preparing feverishly for dictatorship because they know that the onrushing economic recession will unleash the greatest class conflict in history. Every indicator points to a collapse of industry.

British Airways has announced that it will not be able to meet its wage payroll after September.

British Leyland is preparing to lay off 13,000 auto workers.

The nationalized industries are in debt to the tune of \$2 billion. Their efforts to stave off bankruptcy merely deepen their crisis. These industries, which include steel, gas, coal and electricity, borrow money from abroad at exorbitant interest rates.

Earnings by these industries are immediately seized by the bankers to meet the interest payments. Britain, like Italy, is in debt to the international bankers whose loan contracts contain the proviso that the living standards of the working class be driven back 10 to 25 percent.

Under these conditions, the reformist Labour Party plays the role of promoting the conspiratorial activities of the capitalists by persisting in an informal coalition with the Tories.

Five months after the Laborites came to power, workers are saddled with even

more reactionary anti-union laws than during the days of Heath. The Parliamentary debate on the abolition of the Industrial Relations Act—contrary to Prime Minister Wilson's pledge to abolish the law—actually strengthened it.

The reformists did nothing to stop the Tories and their Liberal allies from attaching amendments to a new industrial relations bill that offers legal protection to scabs, scab unions and threatens penalties against workers who engage in sympathy strikes as well as against strikers who seek support.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party has consistently fought to expose the reformists and demand that Labor fight on the basis of socialist policies. It has demanded that a Conference of the Labour Party be called to mandate socialist policies and expel those party leaders who are opposed to this fight.

Threat To Haitian Refugees

MIAMI—The US government is seeking to deport over 300 Haitians back to Haiti where they face either certain imprisonment or death.

In the past year, increasing numbers of Haitian refugees have fled the repression and poverty of Haiti and arrived in fishing boats in Florida.

The most recent arrivals were 14 Haitians who arrived at West Palm Beach and were immediately arrested. The crew was charged with illegal smuggling of aliens into the country. The US Border Patrol chief in Miami plans to send them back.

While the US government

deports Haitians seeking to escape the ruthless dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier, over 300,000 anticommunist Cubans have been allowed to settle in the Miami area and have been granted citizenship.

Those Haitians who are not staying at the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami are forced to live in shabby apartments, with 12 crowded into one room.

Renold Joachim, 22, fled Haiti after his father was killed and he was put in solitary for two months and repeatedly beaten.

Another, Jean Antonio, tried to kill himself in the Dade County jail in Florida because as he explained, "They would shoot me if I went back to Haiti."

Summer Camp—"It Was A Great Experience"

The following are interviews with young people who attended the Workers League camp in Canada last summer:

James Foles, 18, the Lower East Side, New York:

"Yes, I'm planning to come to this summer camp and will try to bring my girl friend.

"You see, the first time I went to the Young Socialists Camp, I was new to politics. There was a group of guys from the projects where I live that went too.

"I think it was a great experience. We met a lot of people

from all over the country.

"During the day, during the free time, we either played basketball, listened to music, or discussed with other people about politics and how the classes related to what we were facing in our neighborhoods.

"Sometimes it was a very lively discussion. Everybody was speaking on what they think.

"We had a good time during the night. During the parties everybody was doing their own dancing steps. It was fun to learn every dancing style from different parts of the country.

"They also showed a couple of films and in the talent show I participated by singing.

"This year they are going to have trophies for the dancing contest, sports, and I hope for the Talent Show.

"I think every person should come to the camp. You learn a lot about politics and understand why things are going so bad in this country all over.

Selma Williams, 21, Brownsville, New York:

"I came to the camp last summer because I guess I was getting into the YS and I wanted to learn more about it. I was being affected—the cutbacks in the college programs, SEEK, open admissions, the college

grants. All that was cut back since last summer.

"Last term, people who were getting \$70 every two weeks as a stipend now are only getting \$30.

"The camp was real fun, I enjoyed it. Especially I liked working with the people around me in the talent show and the other activities.

"What I liked was that people weren't divided. They were together; you shared everything and everyone worked together.

"I learned a lot more about the Young Socialists before I went, about what they believed in and what they are fighting for.

"I think the only time the camp was divided was when we



Selma Williams

discussed religion. That's when it really hit home. One guy who went to church every Sunday got up and announced that he wasn't going to go anymore.

"One of the best meetings we had was on the subject of man in conflict with nature. I really got into that."

Tenants Refuse To Pay Brownsville Slumlord



Left to right: Barbara Sinkler and Arlene Walker, two of the leaders in the Tenants Committee, Robert Santana, Karen Hutchenson and Robert Johnson, also active in the rent strike.

**BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—**
Sixteen families on Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn have started a rent strike against their slumlords, Murray and David Dolgov.

The tenants are withholding their rent and have been picketing in front of the Dolgov's home and office. They are demanding basic services and repairs needed to make their homes livable.

The Dolgov brothers own a large heating and plumbing company, United Pipe Nipple Company, across the street from the vermin infested row houses where the striking tenants live.

The Tenants Action Committee, as the group is called, is led by two young mothers, Barbara Sinkler and Arlene Walker. Mrs. Sinkler has lived at her home on Atlantic Avenue for a year. In that time the Dolgovs have not made a single repair on her home, outside of hiring an unskilled worker to slap a useless piece of wood on a broken window sill.

On Saturday, August 10, nearly 50 tenants from Atlantic Avenue, Saratoga and Tapscott picketed the Dolgovs's home in Brooklyn.

Mrs. Sinkler told the *Bulletin*: "We pay him the rent. We ask him to come over and fix things and he doesn't do it."

Last week, Mrs. Sinkler and Mrs. Walker took the Dolgov brothers to Landlord and Tenants court. The judge dismissed their case out of hand and ordered them to pay all back rent within two days.

"I think we got a cold deal," said Arlene Walker. "We have no rights. We couldn't even call a witness. Now the cops have told us that if we picket again, they're going to arrest us."

"This man Dolgov, he pulled

his pants down in front of our children. One time he turned his hose on us."

Despite the court ruling, Barbara Sinkler and Arlene Walker are refusing to pay rent. A quick tour of the houses on the block shows the reason why.

Mrs. Mary Moyd pays \$185 a month for a four room apartment that is hardly bigger than a good sized living room. "He turns the heat off on Friday evening and doesn't put it back on again until Monday," she said. "In the winter we freeze."

"I got a dispossess notice last week because I was a day late with the rent, because my welfare check came late."

In July, in the middle of her lease, Barbara Sinkler received a legal notice from the Dolgovs informing her that her rent was being raised from \$195 a month to \$390 and she had until September 1 to pay the new rent or get out.

Mrs. Sinkler showed this reporter what she was supposed to pay \$390 for. She has no hot water. The bottom of her bathtub is coated with rust and the faucet squirts water. She poured a small bucket of water into the bathroom sink, and a few seconds later slimy water bubbled up into the tub.

The fight for decent housing can only be won through a political struggle for power against the government which protects the slumlords. Pat Wright, a young mother and one of the tenants, said:

"I don't feel sorry for Nixon. I don't feel sorry one bit. I saw him on television. He looked so pitiful. And now they've put Ford in to do the same thing. They're all the same."

The Workers League is leading the fight to throw out the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party pledged to nationalize housing and all basic industry under workers control.

Stalinists Defend SSEU Deal

**BY BARRY GREY
NEW YORK, NY—**At a special delegates meeting August 8 of the Social Service Employees Union, SSEU-371, the Communist Party and Progressive Labor factions lined up with the union leadership to prevent a discussion of the contract and a resolution for strike action against the city.

Almost 150 delegates came to the meeting in order to fight the attempt by Pat Knight, SSEU-371 president, to ram through a tentative agreement which would mean a huge slash in real wages and massive layoffs.

The meeting was called against the wishes of Knight, through a petition drive organized by the Committee for a Solid Contract, the Progressive Labor caucus.

Since the expiration of last December, hundreds of provisional workers have been laid off, and Mayor Beame has announced plans to lay off 27,000 more.

Knight was completely on the defensive at the delegates meeting. He stood up and confessed that he had been wrong in mailing out the ballots on the contract and that they were in fact illegal. This was met with cries of "resign" and "impeach" from the floor.

Knight and his supporters put forward a resolution that the procedures for balloting be

changed in the future, but for the present, the balloting continued.

At this point, John Talbot, a supporter of the Communist Party and a former vice-president of the union, got up and called for "unity." He said the main issue was not the contract itself, but that the balloting be done fairly.

He put forward a resolution that the present ballots be discounted and a new vote be held, after the contract had been printed up in the union newspaper.

By posing the fight as a question of procedures, Talbot bailed out Knight and diverted the fight against the concrete provisions of the contract. A member of the Committee for a New Leadership attempted to put forward a resolution for the delegates to reject the contract and to call a general membership meeting in two weeks to vote for strike action, but he was ruled out of order.

The delegates expressed their hatred for the contract by voting for Talbot's motion, without a clear motion for rejection and strike action before them.

This delegates meeting had been preceded by a general membership meeting on July 29, at which the Knight leadership walked out in the face of massive opposition both to the contract and to his proposal to vote by mail.

After the meeting Knight sent out mail ballots anyway, before most of the workers had even seen the contract.

Knight faces an explosive situation. Last week workers at the Office of Community Services in Richmond struck in opposition to moving to new offices with dirty and inadequate facilities.

Only the Committee for a New Leadership is leading a fight against the contract and for an alternative leadership to Knight. The proposed contract calls for an increase of only about \$45 a week for most workers, including the cost of living adjustment.

It provides no job security against budget cuts, and strips away what protection did exist for new workers in the old

contract against layoffs due to reorganization.

It sets no caseload limits for most workers and allows the city to farm out services in the Bureau of Child Welfare to private non-civil service, non-union agencies.

In addition, it eliminates education differentials for all workers who have not accumulated the necessary credit hours by September 1. Case Aide titles are to be scrapped, with the immediate firing of twenty six uncertified aides.

Bob White, a custodian from Region 8, voted at the delegates meeting for a new ballot:

"I was for accepting the contract but after listening to the pros and cons, I decided to vote against it."

"We should fight for the provisionals because the city has allowed them to stay on four or five years, and now they want to kick them out. I'm for a strike, but where is the muscle if a man like Gotbaum (head of District Council 37) says, 'If you strike we will not call out any other city locals.'"

Another delegate said, "I think they were capricious. I think the contract needs improving. They seem to be going backwards instead of forwards."

"We're losing a lot of things we had. The entire concept of what civil service is has changed, because the governments say they have no money, they have to lay you off."

The hatred of the membership for this contract and for the leadership must be mobilized around the program of the Committee for a New Leadership:

- A 25 percent wage increase. Full cost of living escalator, locked into the contract.

- Immediate rehiring of all provisionals. No further layoffs. No forced transfers.

- Drive out the Democrats and Republicans. Build a labor party.

This program must be taken forward against the Stalinists and Knight, at the next delegates meeting on August 14, in a fight to demand the support of the city unions, in particular District Council 37, for strike action.

Ohio Miners End Wildcat

Four thousand six hundred miners in southeastern Ohio wildcatted last week against dangerous working conditions and archaic mining laws.

The strike was sparked by the miners at the Jense mine, owned by the North American Coal Company, who were demanding the suspension of a foreman held responsible for the death of a worker last August.

Eighteen mines in District 6 of the UMWA joined the wildcat which was ended this week by negotiations in Washington.

North American has an outrageous safety record, and several thousands miners marched in Columbus to demand a revision of safety laws.

According to the terms of the settlement, the accused foreman will be suspended from supervisory duties pending a ruling from the Ohio Department of Mines.

The Two Kennedys PART TWO

BY FRANK MARTIN
Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis is the sweet-heart of all gossip columnists. She is the "world's most celebrated woman." There is even a whole group of columnists called "Jackie watchers" who specialize in writing about her.

In a recent article, a sentence describing her began this way: "A beautiful, vital, dominant, engaging, once-powerful, and still influential and romantic woman..."

The excesses to which the capitalist press goes to describing this woman know no end. When she married Onassis (on his privately-owned island of Skorpios), hundreds of photographers circled the island for days just to get a shot.

She has always been presented in the same way—first the beautiful, sophisticated, wife of the President, then the grieving widow, the loving mother, and, finally, the scandalous (but, oh, so romantic) marriage to that "nice gangster" Aristotle Onassis.

According to Liz Smith from the Women's News Service writing on the occasion of Jackie's 45th birthday: "Today she appears serene, sometimes almost tranquilized, as if living out the end of a dream."

"She isn't really quite so good looking in real life as she is in photographs" according to a close friend, but at least she's "serene".

Working class housewives may have to struggle every day at the supermarkets to make ends meet, workers may have to strike to defend their jobs and their wages, but Mrs. Onassis is above it all.

Mrs. Onassis is in a good position to be above it all. She has houses in Montevideo, Athens, Paris, and New York. She owns an enormous luxury yacht with a hydroplane and a permanent crew of 50 people, constantly at her disposal.

She spends over \$1 million a year on clothes and shoes and has them arranged, filed, and catalogued for special use and in ascending color tones, at her various homes.

She travels casually from Aca-pulco to Monte Carlo, from Newport to Antigua, from Paris to Teheran, to New York, Cairo, Palm Beach, and Athens all in a single year without paying a penny because her husband owns Olympic airlines.

Occasionally, Ari gives her a gift of rubies, "as big as ping pong balls," just to show her he still cares.

And who pays for this orgy of spending? The Greek working class, whom her husband exploits to the tune of billions in profit each year. That "nice gangster" was one of the chief backers and supporters of the Greek military junta.

But in order to maintain the image, Onassis had to be painted up as a glamorous figure. This took quite a bit of doing. A 70 year old hunchback who wears sunglasses, puffs on cigars, and looks like Al Capone's sidekick is not the most promising of material.

Onassis is a "self-made" man. This means that he is a brutal exploiter. He made his money by buying up old Canadian navy tankers after World War Two

and using them to transport oil barrels.

He added to his fortune through smuggling operations and connections with the drug trade. He then used his money to invest in legal operations, like Olympic Airlines. He has been one of the key backers in the Greek bourgeoisie for right-wing movements.

The "Jackie Kennedy mystique" is a fraud. It is part of a conscious campaign to make workers believe that while the Kennedys may be rich, they still care about poor people. The only thing that has any mystique about Jackie Kennedy is her incredible ability to spend enormous amounts of money.

Jacqueline Bouvier was born into a patrician Boston family. She got her expensive tastes from her parents who lived well beyond their means.

She came into prominence by marrying Jack Kennedy. This is when she began to develop her glamor image, and amassed a huge collection of fashionable, custom-tailored clothes. Even Kennedy, a man of sizeable, independent wealth, had trouble keeping up with her bills.

It was rumored that when she was at the White House, her silk sheets had to be changed constantly, even if she just took a nap and her stockings had to be ironed.

Following the assassination, there was a huge press campaign portraying her as a grieving widow, devoted only to her children and the memory of her husband.

Then, seemingly out of the blue, came the marriage to Onassis. How could she abandon her almost saintly existence and marry a man so much older than her and far below her social standing?

Well, marry him she did and they've stayed together now for six years. One "Jackie watcher" explained the secret of the marriage: "They were made for each other: He has what she wants and she has what he wants." He gets the social status and she gets the loot.

Since then it's been one giant holiday and shopping excursion. The loving mother has suddenly lost all interest in her two children, whom she sees as infrequently as possible on her occasional stopovers in New York.

Liz Smith describes a night out on the town for Jackie and Ari.

"Since they married, Jackie and Ari's nightlife frequently consists of similar evenings at his favorite kinds of 'peasant' entertainment. Onassis loves circuses and belly dancers, places where loud bouzouki bands play, while irrepressible self-made tycoons from the Levant smash the crockery in time to the music."

Mrs. Onassis still cultivates her interest in the "arts" but Mr. Onassis neither has the time nor the patience for such things.

This is the real face of the Kennedys—parasites on a massive scale. In America, they call themselves the "friends of labor" and portray themselves as liberals. In Greece, they live off the profits extracted from workers at the point of a gun.

But Mrs. Onassis's dream world may well come to an abrupt end very soon. The Greek junta has fallen, giving way to a massive movement of the Greek working class. Workers may very soon show up at Mrs. Onassis's door and take back some of the massive wealth which she and her husband have robbed from them.

The Style Jackie Is Accustomed To



Jackie Kennedy and Ari Onassis living it up on a holiday in Egypt.



BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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The Fifth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International has asked the Workers League to assist in the publication of a Spanish language edition of the *Fourth International*.

In taking on this responsibility, the Workers League is carrying out a mandate to American Trotskyists from the 1938 Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

The Founding Conference issued a "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism," which concluded:

"Only a union of the Latin American people, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism.

"Just as the people of the Old World can successfully resist and shatter the pressure of the American colossus, which keeps them impoverished and drives them to war, only by establishing a United States of Europe—realizable only in the form of the revolutionary socialist rule of the proletariat—so the peoples of the Western Hemisphere can assure themselves the fullest national independence, the unrestricted possibilities of cultural development, and freedom from exploitation from foreign and domestic tyrants, only by joining in the struggle for the United Socialist Republics of the Americas.

"Just as the Latin American sections of the Fourth International must popularize in their press and agitation the struggles of the American labor and revolutionary movements against the common enemy, so the section in the US must devote more time and energy in its agitational and propaganda work to acquaint the proletariat of the US with the position and struggles of the Latin American countries and their working class movements.

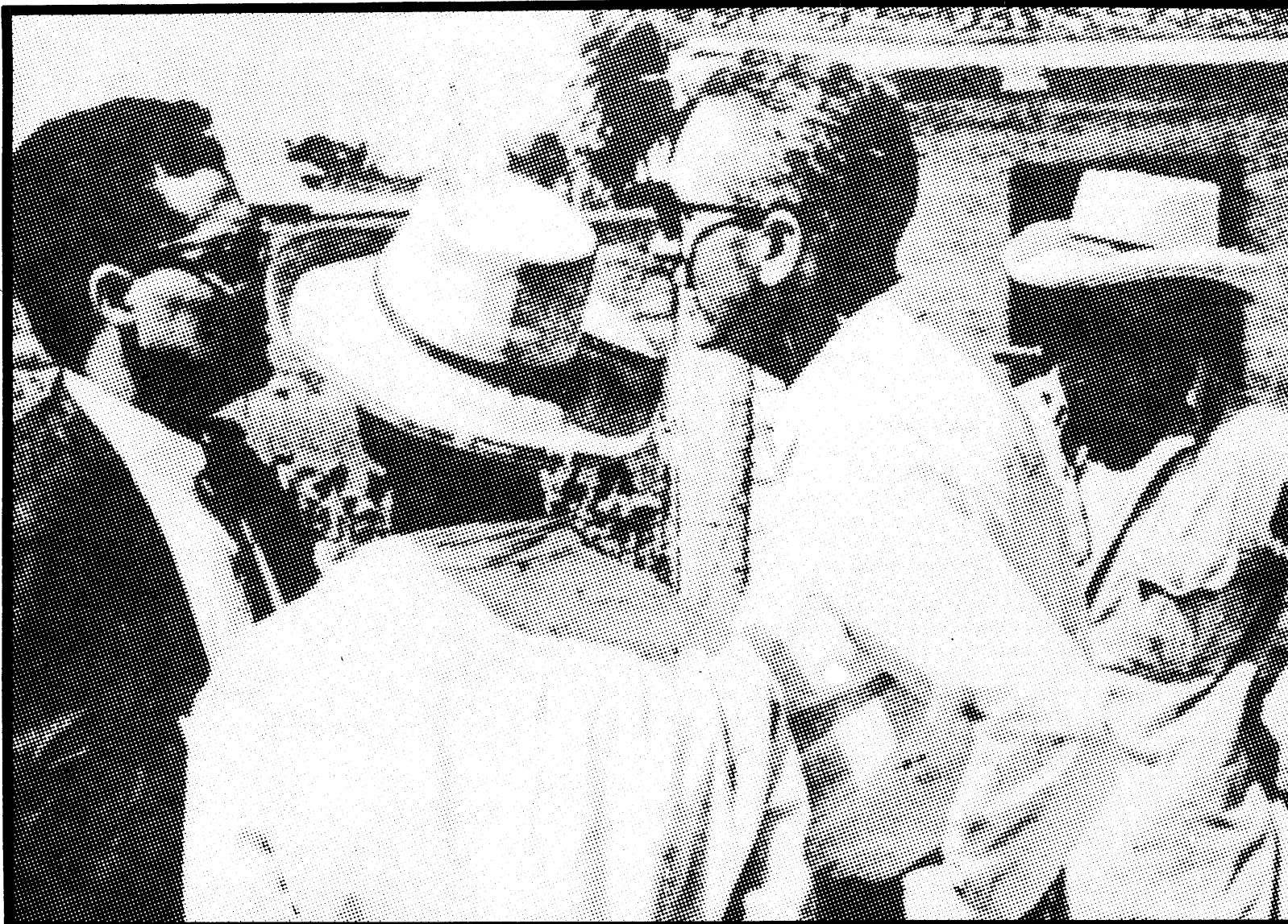
"Every act of American imperialism must be exposed in the press and at meetings, and on indicated occasions, the section in the US must seek to organize mass movements of protest against specific activities of Yankee imperialism. In addition, the section in the US, by utilizing the Spanish language literature of the Fourth International, must seek to organize, on however modest a scale to begin with, the militant revolutionary forces among the doubly exploited millions of Filipinos, Mexicans, Caribbeans, and Central and South American workers now resident in the US, not only for the purpose of linking them with the labor movement in the US, but also for the purpose of strengthening the ties with the labor and revolutionary movements in the countries from which these workers originally came. This task shall be carried on under the direction of the American Secretariat of the Fourth International, which will publish the necessary literature and organize the work accordingly."

We must make at least a beginning assessment of how these tasks, posed by the Fourth International in 1938, were carried out in the succeeding years. This will arm us to see to it that they are carried forward in this new period of class struggle opening up internationally.

Trotskyism began in Latin America quite early: Brazil, 1930-31; Argentina, 1930; Bolivia, 1934; Cuba, 1932; Mexico, 1930. There was also Trotskyist activity in the 1930s in Chile, Uruguay, Puerto Rico, and Colombia.

However, this work was only in a very beginning stage of development when World War Two broke out. In 1940, the Fourth International was to assess the situation as follows:

"The movement is in the process of



Farrell Dobbs, center, leader of the Socialist Workers Party, on a visit to Cuba in the 1960s. The SWP's support for Castro, and their liquidation of the revol-

political and organizational formation, reflecting the general character of the Latin American labor movement in most of the countries, which is also in the process of political and organizational formation."

Not only was the working class in this period only beginning to organize itself independently in the Latin American region, but the tremendous weakness of capitalism led then, as now, to continuous coups and dictatorial regimes. Because of the existence of these dictatorial regimes, the continuity of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America requires close assistance from the American party.

The tremendous immigration into the United States from Latin America, striking during the 1930s but nowhere near the level we have seen in the postwar period, has created within the United States a large body of workers whose native language is Spanish.

This means that the work of the American party could and should be more than assistance to parties in other countries. It should take on the concrete form of party work in the class struggle within the United States among these Spanish speaking workers. This work is important in uniting the working class within the United States, as well as contributing to the building of the movement in the home countries of these workers.

The Socialist Workers Party never seriously developed such work. Trotsky had noted in 1939 the distance of the SWP from minority workers in America. Speaking of work among Blacks, Trotsky stated:

"I believe that the first question is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party towards the Negroes. It is very disquieting to find that until now the party has done almost nothing in this field...The characteristic thing about the American workers' parties, trade union organizations, and so on, was their aristocratic character.

"It is the basis of opportunism. The skilled workers who feel set in the capitalist society help the bourgeois class to hold the Negroes and the unskilled workers down to a very low scale. Our party is not safe from degeneration if it remains a place for intellectuals, semi-intellectuals, skilled workers, and Jewish workers who build a very close milieu which is almost isolated from the genuine masses. Under these conditions, our party cannot develop—it will degenerate."

This is, of course, exactly what happened. The SWP never turned to the most advanced

layers of workers in the United States. While it maintained a base for many years in the trade unions, it never seriously worked among Black workers nor among the masses of Chicano workers in the Southwest and Latin American workers in the East. After its essentially student-based youth movement deserted it for the petty bourgeois Shachtman group in 1940, it abandoned any effort to build a youth movement as well.

It is clear that the 1938 resolution was an instruction to the SWP to turn toward tasks essential to undertake, not only for the sake of a movement in Latin America, but also for the sake of a movement in the United States free of the poison of imperialism.

Serious work in this regard was never taken up by the SWP. It has only now been begun by the Workers League which is determined to carry out every decision of the founding conference of the Fourth International in this new period.

What then was the attitude of the SWP toward the construction of sections in Latin America? For this we must turn to the critical 1960 to 1963 period. After many years of complete neglect of developments within Latin America, the SWP suddenly discovered Castro's Cuba. For a whole period, the press of the SWP and the activity of its members was turned almost exclusively towards Cuba and Cuban developments.

This in no sense represented a turn on the part of the SWP towards assuming the responsibility entrusted to it by the 1938 Founding Conference. Quite the opposite. It represented the most extreme degeneration of that party in relation to its international tasks and the greatest disservice it could possibly have done.

The Cuban Revolution was not for the SWP an event to be objectively assessed for the purpose of the development of an international workers movement. It was rather an event to be used for the purposes of the SWP leadership.

First of all, the SWP saw the illusions created by Castro—that is was possible to carry through a successful socialist revolution without constructing a conscious Marxist party—as a weapon to break loose from its political connections with the International Committee of the Fourth International. It sought this break because it did not wish to turn into the working class which would come forward in the next period.

Secondly, it quite openly saw in Castro's Cuba the basis for effective activity among

middle class layers in the United States. Thus the main activity of the SWP centered on the Fair Play For Cuba Committee. This Committee, nothing more than a public relations outfit for the Castro government, played a useful function for the SWP in opening doors into the middle class.

With this totally nationalist, narrow, and middle class perspective, the SWP openly promoted Castro throughout Latin America. This had a disastrous effect on the already confused and disoriented movement in Latin America.

The SWP's position was openly liquidationist. In Cuba, it urged Trotskyists to abandon any independent activity and to become an integral part of Castro's "party." Throughout Latin America, it urged all Trotskyists to integrate into OLAS, the international formation of the Castro government. It openly encouraged illusions in peasant war and in guerrillism, printing and disseminating the reactionary petty bourgeois doctrines of Guevara and Castro.

The result of this policy was the complete disruption of work within Latin America, with some of the finest student forces being drawn away from the working class into suicidal guerrilla activities. When Castro openly denounced Trotskyism at the Tri-Continental Congress, when his government sent its police into a print shop to destroy the type of a book by Trotsky, the SWP apologized for these actions. After all, they stated, we must look upon the positive side of the Tri-Continental Congress. As if there was any way forward in the fight against imperialism under Stalinism and nationalism, where the works of Marxists are being destroyed!

Having encouraged every excess in Latin America, having urged all to emulate "the Cuban way," having sold and promoted the literature of Castro and Guevara, today the SWP denounces the fruits of its very work. It raises a hue and cry within the United Secretariat, which it supports politically, against terrorism and in defense of "Leninist Party Building."

The ERP of Argentina, which the SWP has recently denounced, is actually the SWP's own political stepchild. In the 1960-63 period, the two main groups in Latin America supporting the International Committee were the Moreno group in Argentina and the Vitale group in Chile. At that time, the United Secretariat forces in Latin America were almost nonexistent, as the bulk had followed Posados in his split. The

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ATIONAL IN LATIN AMERICA!



Peron

Lora

Torres

Castro

on of the revolutionary party, seriously disoriented militants in Latin America for a whole period.

Moreno group was at the time deeply involved in the Peronist movement. It published a paper "under the direction of General Juan Peron."

Moreno immediately took up the SWP line on Cuba. Soon, Castro's picture was printed next to Peron's in his paper. After the SWP-supported rump group split from the International Committee to join the United Secretariat, Moreno dropped his interest in Peronism and turned exclusively to Castroism. He fused with a small group of United Secretariat supporters.

Then, as Castro's tide in Latin America began to ebb, Moreno "reassessed" his Castroism and turned towards building a social democratic electoral party. This produced a new split between his "Verdad" tendency and the "Combatiente" tendency, out of which the ERP emerged. It is important to note that the bulk of the members of the Combatiente-ERP tendency came from the original Moreno IC group, the product of Moreno's Castroite stage under SWP influence and guidance.

This brief history of the SWP's relation to Latin America shows without a doubt that the SWP never developed an international perspective. Its work was always dominated by narrow national considerations and for that reason, was a concession to the power of American imperialism. For a whole period, this meant a refusal to turn into the most exploited layers of workers in America, including Spanish speaking workers, combined with a neglect of the movement in Latin America. In the next period, a sharp turn was taken towards Latin American events, but also for narrow national purposes. Latin American events became a club to be used to smash up the International Committee so that the SWP could be free to develop and deepen its relationship with the American middle class. If, in the course of this, thousands of young revolutionaries in Latin America were completely disorientated and some even killed, it did not matter to the SWP.

During 1960 to 1963, Joseph Hansen, the leading SWP spokesman on these matters, issued an arrogant challenge that the International Committee could not raise its head in Latin America with its "unpopular" line critical of Castro. However, today a basis is beginning to be laid for a Trotskyist movement in Latin America precisely by those who made no concessions to the petty bourgeois Castro movement. We are proud of our stand in 1960-63. We suggest that today it is Joseph Hansen who owes some explanations to workers in Latin America.

In no other section of the world has the Trotskyist movement been so prey to operators, maneuvers, get-rich-quick merchants, gimmick men. The new movement of Trotskyism in Latin America can only be built through a bitter struggle against such unscrupulous opportunists as Lora of Bolivia and Moreno of Argentina. These men represent everything that must be driven out of the Trotskyist movement in this region.

There are objective reasons for the great problems of Latin American Trotskyism. The Latin-American countries dominated as they are by American imperialism, have not been able to develop into independent industrial nations. The ruling capitalist class is therefore extremely weak, tied in thousands of ways with American imperialism, and in many nations with the old latifundist land owners, incapable of offering any independent leadership within these countries. Also, the working class movement is relatively new. This can be seen most clearly in Argentina, where Peron was able to attach himself to an industrial working class made up largely of peasant elements new to the cities.

Under these conditions, there has developed a relatively large middle class which has no future at all. The very conditions which prevent capital development, limit the opportunities open to the middle class. This middle class is the materialist basis for nationalism and opportunist tendencies within the workers movement. It seeks to utilize the working people and the peasantry as a battering ram to wrest concessions from American imperialism to allow it, the middle class, to develop. This is a futile task. It only serves to perpetuate capitalist rule and with it the ruination of these nations in the interest of American imperialism.

This tendency has been continuously expressed within the Trotskyist movement. Whole sections of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America never really were Trotskyist. They were only left expressions of this radical middle class.

The Lora tendency in Bolivia is the best example of this. Lora had emerged with a certain base among the miners by the time of the 1952 Bolivian revolution. His group was the most significant Trotskyist group in Latin America at that time. He pursued, however, a policy of critical support to the Lechin wing of the ruling capitalist MNR party. He thus subordinated the working class to the left wing of the national bourgeoisie. This would be a policy which he

would follow to this day.

During the more recent Bolivian events, Lora emerged as the dominant tendency within the Popular Assembly. He utilized that position to support the military government of Torres. This policy led to disastrous defeat through the right-wing coup of Banzar, made possible because Torres refused to arm the workers. Following these events, Lora persisted in the same course, becoming a major force within the FRA, a nationalist bloc of parties including Torres' representatives, as well as those of the left bourgeois nationalist Lechin.

The Lora tendency was not and is not a Marxist tendency, nor a Trotskyist tendency of any sort. Rather it was and is a middle class tendency which utilizes a Trotskyist cover in order to subordinate the working class to the national bourgeoisie. Because of a policy of popular front collaboration with the native bourgeoisie is so futile, so blatantly reactionary, and the Stalinists so compromised, such a tendency as Lora's plays an even more pernicious role in giving a Trotskyist cover to a policy already discredited among large sections of the masses.

What characterizes the Lora tendency most sharply is its hostility to international perspectives. Lora has always viewed the international movement with disdain, as a place to dig up some funds and a few favorable articles, but that is all. In 1953, Lora had broken on his own from Pablo's International Secretariat. However, like the LSSP in Ceylon, another nationalist party which masqueraded for years as a Trotskyist group, Lora refused to participate in the formation of the International Committee. The international continuity of Trotskyism was at stake, but Lora could not care less. He stabbed the IC in the back at a critical time in its development. Revisionism gained a certain strength in the next period because of the traitorous actions of the LSSP, the largest party in Asia, and Lora, the most significant party in Latin America.

The section of the 1938 Fourth International statement reprinted above also makes clear the role of the Latin American sections in relation to the working class in the United States. If perspectives are seen as only national and regional perspectives, if one sees no further than the Andes, one shares the outlook of Guevara and will end up as he did. The Latin American sections must be firmly rooted in international perspectives. This means (1) a serious study of the whole history of the Fourth International and the struggle against revisionism within it; (2) a battle to grasp the nature of the international crisis of capitalism; (3) an actual study of the development of the American working class, because only through common action with this working class can American imperialism be routed.

Let us remember that Fidel Castro, in an interview in *Playboy Magazine*, no less, wrote off the American working class for the next thousand years! He, of course, has not written off the American ruling class. Following his most cooperative attitude toward the hijacking problem, he is presently seeking a restoration of the American sugar quota. Such a move is by no means excluded in the next period.

The Fourth International has passed through a period of some 25 years of relatively isolated and difficult internal struggle. We are now entering a period of massive class struggles in all nations, a period of world revolution like none before in its scope. We must take into this new period the knowledge gained in the long slow internal struggles of the past period. For most of the cadres in Latin America and elsewhere, this is not an experience learned personally. It must be gained from a study of the past. We hope this journal will be able to assist with it.

There is one lesson which stands out above all others. There is no substitute whatsoever for the revolutionary party. We must construct this party ourselves. We must carefully assemble and train its cadres in the mass movement. This requires day to day work in the masses on the basis of our program. This requires a tenacious defense of Marxism, of Trotskyist principles, of all past conquests of the workers movement. This requires a struggle to master the Marxist method so that we can learn from what is new and expand our

theoretical understanding.

How many people, and parties, have come and gone in Latin America because they had no patience for cadre building, because they sought a shortcut to the revolution? To the extent that the sharpness of the crisis in Latin America encourages comrades to be impatient towards this task, nothing will be built. The sharper the crisis, the more urgent the actual construction of our forces becomes.

The Trotskyist movement over a number of years has developed slogans and tactics in relation to the mass parties of the working class. In order to expose these parties to their membership, we have demanded that these parties break with the capitalist parties and form workers and peasants governments.

We must understand that this slogan and related tactics is subordinate to the construction of our movement in the working class on the basis of our program, the Transitional Program. The task of forming a workers and peasants government and carrying through the socialist revolution falls to us—the Fourth International.

In the section of this issue devoted to the formation of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Great Britain, we publish an important document on economic perspectives. This has a particular meaning for Latin America.

For a long period of time, there has been a very uneven development of revolutionary struggle in the colonial and underdeveloped countries when compared to Europe and the United States. National independence struggles, with wide support among the peasantry, persisted in these countries, while only a very slow movement was discernible among the workers in the advanced countries. Even within underdeveloped countries, the working class did not play the active role that the peasantry and middle classes played.

Impressions derived from this temporary state of affairs fed Castroism, Pabloism, and related liquidationist positions, which denied the central role of the working class and the necessity to construct a conscious leadership within the working class.

Today, this situation has completely changed. The raging crisis of world capitalism unites the working class of the colonial countries with that of the advanced countries in a common struggle against a common imperialist enemy. The struggle for national independence loses none of its significance. On the contrary, today its aims become realizable as part of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Recent developments in Portugal illustrate how the struggles in the colonial and metropolitan countries come together under conditions of the worldwide collapse of capitalism. The publication of this magazine in Spanish could not be more timely. It can in practice bring the advanced workers of Latin America together with the advanced workers of the United States at a point in history when objective material conditions drive the millions into a common course of struggle against the common enemy.

We envision this magazine not outside the day to day party work of constructing the movement. We see it first of all as rooted in the work of the Workers League to develop cadres among Spanish speaking workers within the borders of the United States. Secondly, because it will be rooted in that experience, we believe it can contribute towards a rebirth of Trotskyism within Latin America, in particular, as well as make a contribution to the movement in Spain and wherever the Spanish language is spoken.

In 1960-63 the issue of the construction of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America was thrust into the center of the international struggle against the revisionism of the SWP.

In 1971, the issue of the construction of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America was once again at the center of a struggle against revisionism—this time with the split of the French OCI from the International Committee.

Today, as we turn to the practical tasks of constructing mass parties internationally, we believe that Latin America will once again play an important role. This time the struggle against revisionism will be resolved in revolutionary practice.

BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN LATIN AMERICA!

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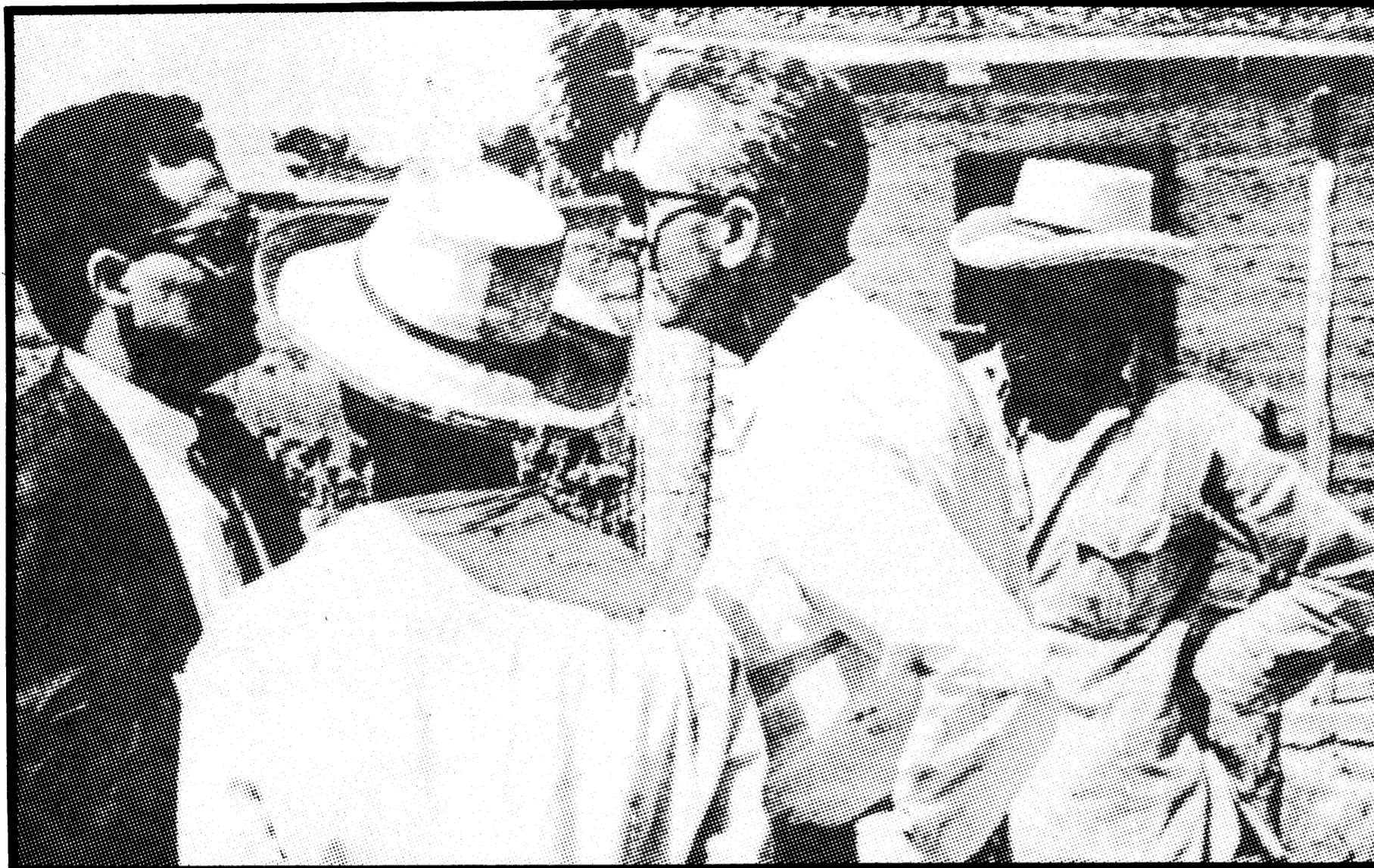
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However, this work was only in a very beginning stage of development when World War Two broke out. In 1940, the Fourth International was to assess the situation as follows:

"The movement is in the process of



Farrell Dobbs, center, leader of the Socialist Workers Party, on a visit to Cuba in the 1960s. The SWP's support for Castro, and their liquidation of the revolutionary party, seriously disoriented militants in Latin America for a whole period.

political and organizational formation, reflecting the general character of the Latin American labor movement in most of the countries, which is also in the process of political and organizational formation."

Not only was the working class in this period only beginning to organize itself independently in the Latin American region, but the tremendous weakness of capitalism led then, as now, to continuous coups and dictatorial regimes. Because of the existence of these dictatorial regimes, the continuity of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America requires close assistance from the American party.

The tremendous immigration into the United States from Latin America, striking during the 1930s but nowhere near the level we have seen in the postwar period, has created within the United States a large body of workers whose native language is Spanish.

This means that the work of the American party could and should be more than assistance to parties in other countries. It should take on the concrete form of party work in the class struggle within the United States among these Spanish speaking workers. This work is important in uniting the working class within the United States, as well as contributing to the building of the movement in the home countries of these workers.

The Socialist Workers Party never seriously developed such work. Trotsky had noted in 1939 the distance of the SWP from minority workers in America. Speaking of work among Blacks, Trotsky stated:

"I believe that the first question is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party towards the Negroes. It is very disquieting to find that until now the party has done almost nothing in this field...The characteristic thing about the American workers' parties, trade union organizations, and so on, was their aristocratic character.

"It is the basis of opportunism. The skilled workers who feel set in the capitalist society help the bourgeois class to hold the Negroes and the unskilled workers down to a very low scale. Our party is not safe from degeneration if it remains a place for intellectuals, semi-intellectuals, skilled workers, and Jewish workers who build a very close milieu which is almost isolated from the genuine masses. Under these conditions, our party cannot develop—it will degenerate."

This is, of course, exactly what happened. The SWP never turned to the most advanced

layers of workers in the United States. While it maintained a base for many years in the trade unions, it never seriously worked among Black workers nor among the masses of Chicano workers in the Southwest and Latin American workers in the East. After its essentially student-based youth movement deserted it for the petty bourgeois Shachtman group in 1940, it abandoned any effort to build a youth movement as well.

It is clear that the 1938 resolution was an instruction to the SWP to turn toward tasks essential to undertake, not only for the sake of a movement in Latin America, but also for the sake of a movement in the United States free of the poison of imperialism.

Serious work in this regard was never taken up by the SWP. It has only now been begun by the Workers League which is determined to carry out every decision of the founding conference of the Fourth International in this new period.

What then was the attitude of the SWP toward the construction of sections in Latin America? For this we must turn to the critical 1960 to 1963 period. After many years of complete neglect of developments within Latin America, the SWP suddenly discovered Castro's Cuba. For a whole period, the press of the SWP and the activity of its members was turned almost exclusively towards Cuba and Cuban developments.

This in no sense represented a turn on the part of the SWP towards assuming the responsibility entrusted to it by the 1938 Founding Conference. Quite the opposite. It represented the most extreme degeneration of that party in relation to its international tasks and the greatest disservice it could possibly could have done.

The Cuban Revolution was not for the SWP an event to be objectively assessed for the purpose of the development of an international workers movement. It was rather an event to be used for the purposes of the SWP leadership.

First of all, the SWP saw the illusions created by Castro—that it was possible to carry through a successful socialist revolution without constructing a conscious Marxist party—as a weapon to break loose from its political connections with the International Committee of the Fourth International. It sought this break because it did not wish to turn into the working class which would come forward in the next period.

Secondly, it quite openly saw in Castro's Cuba the basis for effective activity among

middle class layers in the United States. Thus the main activity of the SWP centered on the Fair Play For Cuba Committee. This Committee, nothing more than a public relations outfit for the Castro government, played a useful function for the SWP in opening doors into the middle class.

With this totally nationalist, narrow, and middle class perspective, the SWP openly promoted Castro throughout Latin America. This had a disastrous effect on the already confused and disoriented movement in Latin America.

The SWP's position was openly liquidationist. In Cuba, it urged Trotskyists to abandon any independent activity and to become an integral part of Castro's "party." Throughout Latin America, it urged all Trotskyists to integrate into OLAS, the international formation of the Castro government. It openly encouraged illusions in peasant war and in guerrillaism, printing and disseminating the reactionary petty bourgeois doctrines of Guevara and Castro.

The result of this policy was the complete disruption of work within Latin America, with some of the finest student forces being drawn away from the working class into suicidal guerrilla activities. When Castro openly denounced Trotskyism at the Tri-Continental Congress, when his government sent its police into a print shop to destroy the type of a book by Trotsky, the SWP apologized for these actions. After all, they stated, we must look upon the positive side of the Tri-Continental Congress. As if there was any way forward in the fight against imperialism under Stalinism and nationalism, where the works of Marxists are being destroyed!

Having encouraged every excess in Latin America, having urged all to emulate "the Cuban way," having sold and promoted the literature of Castro and Guevara, today the SWP denounces the fruits of its very work. It raises a hue and cry within the United Secretariat, which it supports politically, against terrorism and in defense of "Leninist Party Building."

The ERP of Argentina, which the SWP has recently denounced, is actually the SWP's own political stepchild. In the 1960-63 period, the two main groups in Latin America supporting the International Committee were the Moreno group in Argentina and the Vitale group in Chile. At that time, the United Secretariat forces in Latin America were almost nonexistent, as the bulk had followed Posados in his split. The



Peron

Lora

Torres

Castro

Moreno group was at the time deeply involved in the Peronist movement. It published a paper "under the direction of General Juan Peron."

Moreno immediately took up the SWP line on Cuba. Soon, Castro's picture was printed next to Peron's in his paper. After the SWP-supported rump group split from the International Committee to join the United Secretariat, Moreno dropped his interest in Peronism and turned exclusively to Castroism. He fused with a small group of United Secretariat supporters.

Then, as Castro's tide in Latin America began to ebb, Moreno "reassessed" his Castroism and turned towards building a social democratic electoral party. This produced a new split between his "Verdad" tendency and the "Combatiente" tendency, out of which the ERP emerged. It is important to note that the bulk of the members of the Combatiente-ERP tendency came from the original Moreno IC group, the product of Moreno's Castroite stage under SWP influence and guidance.

This brief history of the SWP's relation to Latin America shows without a doubt that the SWP never developed an international perspective. Its work was always dominated by narrow national considerations and for that reason, was a concession to the power of American imperialism. For a whole period, this meant a refusal to turn into the most exploited layers of workers in America, including Spanish speaking workers, combined with a neglect of the movement in Latin America.

In the next period, a sharp turn was taken towards Latin American events, but also for narrow national purposes. Latin American events became a club to be used to smash up the International Committee so that the SWP could be free to develop and deepen its relationship with the American middle class. If, in the course of this, thousands of young revolutionaries in Latin America were completely disorientated and some even killed, it did not matter to the SWP.

During 1960 to 1963, Joseph Hansen, the leading SWP spokesman on these matters, issued an arrogant challenge that the International Committee could not raise its head in Latin America with its "unpopular" line critical of Castro. However, today a basis is beginning to be laid for a Trotskyist movement in Latin America precisely by those who made no concessions to the petty bourgeois Castro movement. We are proud of our stand in 1960-63. We suggest that today it is Joseph Hansen who owes some explanations to workers in Latin America.

In no other section of the world has the Trotskyist movement been so prey to operators, maneuvers, get-rich-quick merchants, gimmick men. The new movement of Trotskyism in Latin America can only be built through a bitter struggle against such unscrupulous opportunists as Lora of Bolivia and Moreno of Argentina. These men represent everything that must be driven out of the Trotskyist movement in this region.

There are objective reasons for the great problems of Latin American Trotskyism. The Latin-American countries dominated as they are by American imperialism, have not been able to develop into independent industrial nations. The ruling capitalist class is therefore extremely weak, tied in thousands of ways with American imperialism, and in many nations with the old latifundist land owners, incapable of offering any independent leadership within these countries. Also, the working class movement is relatively new. This can be seen most clearly in Argentina, where Peron was able to attach himself to an industrial working class made up largely of peasant elements new to the cities.

Under these conditions, there has developed a relatively large middle class which has no future at all. The very conditions which prevent capital development, limit the opportunities open to the middle class. This middle class is the materialist basis for nationalism and opportunist tendencies within the workers movement. It seeks to utilize the working people and the peasantry as a battering ram to wrest concessions from American imperialism to allow it, the middle class, to develop. This is a futile task. It only serves to perpetuate capitalist rule and with it the ruination of these nations in the interest of American imperialism.

This tendency has been continuously expressed within the Trotskyist movement. Whole sections of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America never really were Trotskyist. They were only left expressions of this radical middle class.

The Lora tendency in Bolivia is the best example of this. Lora had emerged with a certain base among the miners by the time of the 1952 Bolivian revolution. His group was the most significant Trotskyist group in Latin America at that time. He pursued, however, a policy of critical support to the Lechin wing of the ruling capitalist MNR party. He thus subordinated the working class to the left wing of the national bourgeoisie. This would be a policy which he

would follow to this day.

During the more recent Bolivian events, Lora emerged as the dominant tendency within the Popular Assembly. He utilized that position to support the military government of Torres. This policy led to disastrous defeat through the right-wing coup of Banzar, made possible because Torres refused to arm the workers. Following these events, Lora persisted in the same course, becoming a major force within the FRA, a nationalist bloc of parties including Torres' representatives, as well as those of the left bourgeois nationalist Lechin.

The Lora tendency was not and is not a Marxist tendency, nor a Trotskyist tendency of any sort. Rather it was and is a middle class tendency which utilizes a Trotskyist cover in order to subordinate the working class to the national bourgeoisie. Because of a policy of popular front collaboration with the native bourgeoisie is so futile, so blatantly reactionary, and the Stalinists so compromised, such a tendency as Lora's plays an even more pernicious role in giving a Trotskyist cover to a policy already discredited among large sections of the masses.

What characterizes the Lora tendency most sharply is its hostility to international perspectives. Lora has always viewed the international movement with disdain, as a place to dig up some funds and a few favorable articles, but that is all. In 1953, Lora had broken on his own from Pablo's International Secretariat. However, like the LSSP in Ceylon, another nationalist party which masqueraded for years as a Trotskyist group, Lora refused to participate in the formation of the International Committee. The international continuity of Trotskyism was at stake, but Lora could not care less. He stabbed the IC in the back at a critical time in its development. Revisionism gained a certain strength in the next period because of the traitorous actions of the LSSP, the largest party in Asia, and Lora, the most significant party in Latin America.

The section of the 1938 Fourth International statement reprinted above also makes clear the role of the Latin American sections in relation to the working class in the United States. If perspectives are seen as only national and regional perspectives, if one sees no further than the Andes, one shares the outlook of Guevara and will end up as he did. The Latin American sections must be firmly rooted in international perspectives. This means (1) a serious study of the whole history of the Fourth International and the struggle against revisionism within it; (2) a battle to grasp the nature of the international crisis of capitalism; (3) an actual study of the development of the American working class, because only through common action with this working class can American imperialism be routed.

Let us remember that Fidel Castro, in an interview in *Playboy Magazine*, no less, wrote off the American working class for the next thousand years! He, of course, has not written off the American ruling class. Following his most cooperative attitude toward the hijacking problem, he is presently seeking a restoration of the American sugar quota. Such a move is by no means excluded in the next period.

The Fourth International has passed through a period of some 25 years of relatively isolated and difficult internal struggle. We are now entering a period of massive class struggles in all nations, a period of world revolution like none before in its scope. We must take into this new period the knowledge gained in the long slow internal struggles of the past period. For most of the cadres in Latin America and elsewhere, this is not an experience learned personally. It must be gained from a study of the past. We hope this journal will be able to assist with it.

There is one lesson which stands out above all others. There is no substitute whatsoever for the revolutionary party. We must construct this party ourselves. We must carefully assemble and train its cadres in the mass movement. This requires day to day work in the masses on the basis of our program. This requires a tenacious defense of Marxism, of Trotskyist principles, of all past conquests of the workers movement. This requires a struggle to master the Marxist method so that we can learn from what is new and expand our

theoretical understanding.

How many people, and parties, have come and gone in Latin America because they had no patience for cadre building, because they sought a shortcut to the revolution? To the extent that the sharpness of the crisis in Latin America encourages comrades to be impatient towards this task, nothing will be built. The sharper the crisis, the more urgent the actual construction of our forces becomes.

The Trotskyist movement over a number of years has developed slogans and tactics in relation to the mass parties of the working class. In order to expose these parties to their membership, we have demanded that these parties break with the capitalist parties and form workers and peasants governments.

We must understand that this slogan and related tactics is subordinate to the construction of our movement in the working class on the basis of our program, the Transitional Program. The task of forming a workers and peasants government and carrying through the socialist revolution falls to us—the Fourth International.

In the section of this issue devoted to the formation of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Great Britain, we publish an important document on economic perspectives. This has a particular meaning for Latin America.

For a long period of time, there has been a very uneven development of revolutionary struggle in the colonial and underdeveloped countries when compared to Europe and the United States. National independence struggles, with wide support among the peasantry, persisted in these countries, while only a very slow movement was discernable among the workers in the advanced countries. Even within underdeveloped countries, the working class did not play the active role that the peasantry and middle classes played.

Impressions derived from this temporary state of affairs fed Castroism, Pabloism, and related liquidationist positions, which denied the central role of the working class and the necessity to construct a conscious leadership within the working class.

Today, this situation has completely changed. The raging crisis of world capitalism unites the working class of the colonial countries with that of the advanced countries in a common struggle against a common imperialist enemy. The struggle for national independence loses none of its significance. On the contrary, today its aims become realizable as part of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Recent developments in Portugal illustrate how the struggles in the colonial and metropolitan countries come together under conditions of the worldwide collapse of capitalism. The publication of this magazine in Spanish could not be more timely. It can in practice bring the advanced workers of Latin America together with the advanced workers of the United States at a point in history when objective material conditions drive the millions into a common course of struggle against the common enemy.

We envision this magazine not outside the day to day party work of constructing the movement. We see it first of all as rooted in the work of the Workers League to develop cadres among Spanish speaking workers within the borders of the United States. Secondly, because it will be rooted in that experience, we believe it can contribute towards a rebirth of Trotskyism within Latin America, in particular, as well as make a contribution to the movement in Spain and wherever the Spanish language is spoken.

In 1960-63 the issue of the construction of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America was thrust into the center of the international struggle against the revisionism of the SWP.

In 1971, the issue of the construction of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America was once again at the center of a struggle against revisionism—this time with the split of the French OCI from the International Committee.

Today, as we turn to the practical tasks of constructing mass parties internationally, we believe that Latin America will once again play an important role. This time the struggle against revisionism will be resolved in revolutionary practice.

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New Layoffs Hit McDonnell-Douglas



BY HOWARD WEST
ST. LOUIS—Workers at McDonnell-Douglas in St. Louis once again face layoffs.

From a total work force of 30,000 in the late 1960s, today little more than 10,000 workers remain in this plant which manufacturers mainly military aircraft—the phantom jets are their most famous project—as well as parts for the Douglas DC commercial aircraft and some of the space programs.

McDonnell-Douglas has announced plans to lay off ten percent of the nonunion workers, the designers and engineers, but workers claim the real figure is closer to 25 percent.

LAYOFFS

These layoffs show that the company does not intend a temporary cutback, but has no intention of expanding on the basis of new design and development.

The union members are represented by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 837. The union leadership has sat by, watching the destruction of over 20,000 jobs in a six year period without one word of protest.

Sanford McDonnell has been reaping millions of dollars in profits, paying virtually no taxes, while the IAM members have seen their annual five percent wage increases smashed by inflation.

Sanford McDonnell started in St. Louis county as a small manufacturer of airplanes, but with the outbreak of World War Two, President Franklin Roosevelt backed government spending of almost \$100 billion per year.

Most of this money went into the pockets of capitalists like Sanford McDonnell. By 1945, McDonnell's plan had expanded enormously.

Government contracts continued to provide profits in the 1950s during the massive arms buildup of the cold war period. McDonnell has a major spokesman in Washington, Senator Stuart Symington, now chairman of the Armed Forces Committee.



The St. Louis McDonnell-Douglas plant where layoffs have been announced. Below, Lockheed also faces a financial crisis.

McDonnell expanded into passenger production by buying out the McDouglas corporation on the west coast.

The aircraft industry, more than any other, was a product of the postwar economic boom. Capital kept rolling in for better, bigger, and faster planes, and profits mounted for the corporation directors.

The breakup of this economic boom has brought a number of the aircraft companies to the verge of bankruptcy.

The Lockheed and Boeing corporations have only been salvaged to date by massive government loans, while McDonnell-Douglas has laid off over 60 percent of the work force here.

Freeman Sanford, a McDonnell production worker described the conditions to the Bulletin:

"So far, they are moving a lot of the workers, especially in the space craft department, into other departments at lower paying jobs.

"I heard that they just aren't selling enough planes, especially since they had this DC-10 crash. So we're in a slow cycle at the moment."

Earlier this year, a Douglas DC-10, their newest product, crashed just outside of Paris, killing 346 passengers. The company is now under investigation by a government agency and is being sued by some of the survivors for disregarding a number of safety conditions

which were responsible for the crash.

"Our contract comes up this winter and there is already talk of strike action," Freeman said. Thousands of grievances remain unsettled and many of the men are owed 52 weeks pay from over three years ago. McDonnell is trying to get away with paying them only for 41 weeks.

"The new contract must contain a clause for supplementary unemployment benefits. We get nothing now. We could get laid off for six months to a year and a man and his family could starve in that time.

"The union leadership doesn't do anything. I think the company must be paying them off somehow. We face everything—grievances piled up, racial discrimination, and the union men only make excuses for the company. We get no representation."

With the inflationary crisis and the collapse of the economic boom in every industry, today all workers face the massive layoffs which hit the aircraft industry. The ruthlessness of the capitalists' drive for profits is expressed in the shoddy production of the planes.

The fight against inflation and factory closures can only be taken forward by building a labor party with socialist policies, such as the nationalization of the aircraft industry under workers control.

Ohio Wildcat Shuts Bell Telephone

BY FRANK DENISON
CLEVELAND—Chanting slogans and demanding immediate rejection of the international agreement, squads of enthusiastic pickets moved quickly from one installation to another throughout the Ohio Bell System as the wildcat of 4000 clerks, installers, and business representatives continued to spread in the Cleveland-Akron area.

The walkouts began Monday, August 5, as a spontaneous reaction to the betrayal of the Glenn Watts leadership of the Communications Workers of America.

The only thing that holds back the operators from joining the pickets are the combined threats of reprisals from the company and the leadership of CWA Local 4309.

"The union told us they wouldn't settle for anything less than 14 percent. The next thing you know, they settle for 10.7 percent which is what the company wanted in the beginning.

"Now they expect us to wait

three weeks while they go through a mail ballot. Well, we want a vote in all the locals!" an editing clerk told the Bulletin.

The local leadership refuses to sanction the strike. Instead, it attempted to ram its policies through by calling a fast membership meeting, run by their hand-picked supporters.

This backfired when hundreds of determined members poured into the meeting and a telegram denouncing the international leadership and calling for a national strike was sent out.

A service representative stated: "I've got four years service and I make \$134 a week before taxes. How many people can you support on that?"

"I've had to cut down on food and I have \$25 a month spending money. Bell is giving us nothing. They're going to raise the rates in September anyway.

"The union is with the company. The whole leadership is rotten. They don't care if we only get a dime."

The ranks are demanding a raise to catch up with inflation, tied to one hundred percent cost of living clause, and no reprisals.

A membership meeting is scheduled for Monday, August 12. The CWA members must mobilize for this meeting and demand official sanction for the strike.

MINNEAPOLIS—333 CWA members walked off yesterday in Duluth and were joined by 150 workers in Hibbing and Grand Rapids, Michigan.

About 50 workers in Grand Rapids remained on their job. Charles Andria, a spokesman for the CWA iron local, regarded the national agreement as unsatisfactory.

He said that the union wants a larger pay boost, perhaps as much as 15 percent. Duluth strikers met for four hours yesterday morning and voted 190 to 138 to stay off their jobs.

In O'Clair, Wisconsin, 150 employees of the Wisconsin Telephone Company honored picket lines set up yesterday morning by eight Western Electric installers.

Thomas Hoehn, president of the O'Clair local of the CWA said the walkout was not authorized by the union.



Striking telephone workers in Cleveland fight for rejection of the CWA contract. Below, workers enter union meeting.



AIM Charges Dropped

BY A REPORTER
WOUNDED KNEE, S. Dakota—Three of the charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means were dismissed on August 8 by US District Judge, Fred Nichol.

The government concluded its seven month long case without producing specific evidence linking Banks and Means to the charges. R.D. Hurd, chief prosecutor based his arguments on the assertion that Means and Banks, as leaders of the American Indian Movement, were responsible for every crime committed at the occupation.

One charge dismissed was possessing molotov cocktails. Four molotov cocktails were found in

the trunk of a car involved in the occupation by the four people in the car. None of them are defendants.

They did not know of the existence of the bomb and did not even have the key to the trunk of the car.

Also dismissed was the charge of entry with intent to commit larceny. This offense, defined as "by fraud or stealth," had to be thrown out, because the occupation was openly carried out, with 70 carloads of people.

A third charge dismissed was on car theft. There was no evidence that the car was taken forcibly from its owner or that the car was worth over \$100 as claimed in the charge.

Evidence is being presented in

a special hearing to get two other charges dismissed; interfering with federal agents by erecting roadblocks and bunkers, and assaulting two FBI agents and a marshall on grounds that they had no right there in the first place.

Before federal troops can be sent in to quell a legal disturbance, there must be a presidential proclamation that a civil disorder exists. There has been testimony to show that the Justice Department did not want Nixon involved in the Wounded Knee occupation.

No Progress In Hawthorne

IBEW Talks

BY DEBRA WATSON
CHICAGO—Negotiations between 80,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and Western Electric were deadlocked over the cost of living clause.

Western Electric is trying to cut the cost of living in half and they also want to reduce the pensions to one tenth of one percent. The IBEW maintains that the pensions be increased to 2 percent

Chicago Bar-B-Que A Smash Success— \$150 Raised

CHICAGO—100 workers, youth, and their families attended a highly successful Bar-B-Que Nixon party on Chicago's South Side last Saturday night.

The West and South side Workers League and Young Socialists branches worked together to sell 90 advance tickets. Over \$150 was raised for the Bulletin Fund.

A busy cash bar helped get the branches started on the August campaign for summer camp funds.

Trade unionists who have subscribed regularly to the Bulletin for over 6 months came, as well as many parents of YS members.

One worker who came to the Bar-B-Que after a friend told him about it said:

"It's one thing to speak about what you believe in, but it's quite another thing to fight for it. This is what we are doing here."

Everyone enjoyed themselves so much that there will be another party, at the same place next Sunday, August 11, starting at 6 p.m.

times the number of years worked.

A spokesman for Local 1859 of Cicero's Hawthorne Works, one of the largest locals in the country, said:

"Our local president is flying back from Washington today. We are trying to pull together a membership meeting for Sunday to let union members know the state of negotiations."

When asked if this meant the earlier union prediction that the strike would be over by Friday was wrong, he said, "I would like it to be over by Friday, but with the recess there is barely

any possibility of this happening.

"Also concerned are local issues. There are a lot of major issues in dispute. One is the movement of personnel. We are holding that the last employee hired should be the first fired.

"We want the ten year clause eliminated. As it stands now only an employee with ten years seniority can bump someone in another branch of the plant.

"Our contract expired on July 17. For over 60 days, we have negotiated on these issues and we have made no progress at all with the company on local issues."

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Part 4

Artists And The Social Revolution

On May 27 this year, Workers Press published some cartoons drawn by Communist minders before and during the 1926 General Strike. The important lesson here is that, in a situation of intense struggle, these workers took the independent initiative to make their own cartoons in their own press bulletins to say the things which they urgently wanted to say. And what infinite creative possibilities must lie in the majority of people, when they are given the chance and motivation to explore these!

The example of cartoons brings up an important point about the forms of art which arise in a revolutionary situation. If an artist commits himself (or herself) to the revolutionary struggles, he will feel motivated to fight, and will not be content merely to contemplate or reflect.

The traditional artistic techniques which developed under capitalism, (painting in oil and sculpture in very solid materials such as bronze or stone,) are well suited to the kind of art which contemplates. They are techniques which involve a lot of time and practised skill, and the products are very finished and permanent.

In this century men have discovered many new ways of creating visual effects, such as photography and cinema; artists can use all sorts of advanced printing techniques to create images.

All these new techniques offer revolutionary artists far more suitable fighting weapons than painting and sculpture. They can help to produce political books, magazines, pamphlets and posters; they can contribute their talents to theatre and film, and reach wide audiences.

The films of Sergei Eisenstein were a powerful means of political education at the time of the Russian Revolution.

Also, propaganda trains and ships travelled out across the country with teams of artists who explained to people what was happening and what had to be done, using many different forms of artistic communication.

Lenin had some strong ideas about art as a means of political agitation, such as inscribing revolutionary slogans and images on walls, buildings, fences, etc., and the erection of large-scale temporary plaster monuments in honor of great revolutionary figures, in the major cities.

An important question is posed here. We can see some of the ways in which art can aid the revolution, but how is this going to happen?

Is it the role of the Revolutionary Party to control artists and their work? Trotsky wrote and spoke in detail on this question. He believed that the actual process of artistic creation obeyed its own laws; even where art consciously served the revolution, the Party

could not dictate how that art should be created or how it should look.

In a speech on "Party Policy in the Field of Imaginative Literature," Trotsky says:

"One cannot approach art as one can politics, not because artistic creation is a religious rite or something mystical...but because it has its own laws of development, and above all because in artistic creation an enormous role is played by subconscious processes—slower, more idle and less subjected to management and guidance, just because they are subconscious."

In *Literature and Revolution*, he writes:

"The domain of art is not one in which the Party is called upon to command. It can and must protect and help it, but it can only lead it indirectly." But he is clear that "the Party will repel the clearly poisonous and disintegrating tendencies of art," but it will be guided by political standards, by revolutionary principles.

He writes in his introduction to this book, "Our policy in art, during a transitional period, can and must be to help the various groups and schools of art which have come over to the Revolution to grasp correctly the historic meaning of the Revolution, and to allow them complete freedom of self-determination in the field of art, after putting before them the categorical standard of being for or against the Revolution."

The revolutionary struggle definitely and positively needs artists who are first and foremost revolutionaries; artists who don't just see the struggle as acceptable subject matter for their art, but who feel totally involved in the massive historical movement of our time, and use their talent as a weapon in the struggle.

Trotsky concludes: "The Revolution is reflected in art...to the extent to which the guild of new and old poets and artists becomes a part of the living tissue of the Revolution and learns to see it from within and not from without.

"The social whirlpool will not calm down so soon. There are decades of struggle ahead of us, in Europe and in America. Not only the men and women of our generation, but of the coming one, will be its participants, its heroes and its victims. The art of this epoch will be entirely under the influence of revolution. This art needs a new self-consciousness...because the Revolution starts from the central idea that collective man must become sole master, and that the limits of his power are determined by his knowledge of natural forces and his ability to use them. This new art is incompatible with pessimism, with scepticism, and with all the other forms of spiritual collapse. It is realistic, active, vitally collectivist, and filled with a limitless creative faith in the Future."

An Entire Town Backs Borax Men

BY SHEILA BREHM
BORON, Calif.—Boron, with a population of 2800 located in the scorching Mojave Desert, could face devastation as the 850 miners enter the second month of their strike against the main employer in the town—US Borax. This plant, producing 70 percent of the world's borax, makes it the largest borax mining and processing facility in the world.

US Borax is owned by Rio Tinto Zinc, which owns the largest diamond and gold mines in the world, including South Africa and Latin America. The striking borax miners face a corporation with extensive experience in creating slave labor conditions in order to extract their profits.

Over one hundred thousand dollars is being spent each day by this huge corporation to break the strike. In fact, more money is being poured into the training and financing the Krout and Schneider guards then it would cost to meet the miners' demands for a 25 percent wage increase. Over \$300 has been spent on each guard for uniforms and riot equipment, and \$6000 a day is spent on food alone for the guards which includes steak, lobster and pheasant. And to keep the scabs happy, a swimming pool and pool tables have been installed in the plant.

The war against the miners is a warning to every worker. The corporations will stop at nothing to try to destroy the unions, and the livelihood of an entire town, in order to defend their profits.

Paul Amaro, a striking miner declared, "All we want are better wages, better conditions. The prices are going out of sight. The company is not about to give the working man that. They want it all for themselves. If they break us, we'll probably be working for 2 dollars an hour—or maybe even less."

All negotiations have broken off. ILWU Local 30 president Kenny Gordon predicts the strike could last until September.

Striker Bobby Bumgardener whose son was one of 34 miners arrested so far said, "They don't care what happens to this town. This town has been going down since 1968. It's a one business town."

Nearly every resident in Boron



Borax strikers are determined to win.

either works at US Borax or has a relative who does. Because of this there is big support for the union, and the hired guards, or gestapo as they are called, remain inside the plant for thirty days at a time.

Bonnie Clark, manager of Pat's Cafe, a small restaurant which had the contract for the miners' lunches, says she hopes the miners win. "This strike is ruining the whole town. This whole town will go under. It's a mess. Nobody has any money now. We had to let all the help go—4 cooks and 3 waitresses. I work 12 hours a day, both front and back and so does another girl. We have a relief girl so we get two days off. If this place ever closes down, we will never open up again."

Mrs. Clark said she has no doubt that US Borax is out to break the union. "I get numb just thinking about it. I have a lot of friends in the union. We have donated a lot of food to the strikers, but we can't do it anymore. I'm getting scared. To me this is more than a job. I've worked hard to keep this place open. I'm determined and bull-headed and I won't quit."

In nearby North Edwards, population 3000, a grocery store and barber shop have already closed down.

In Boron, shop after shop has already closed as well, including a flower shop, hardware store, and two restaurants. Two bars are barely remaining open, and the pizza restaurant has been forced to cut its hours.

"It could become a ghost town. Nine out of every ten people who leave here won't come back, especially if they're young."

The Department of Water and Power reports show that over 100 families have had their water turned off. "They moved out and left their houses behind. There are a lot of empty boarded up houses."

Not having paid enough to get anything out, some families have

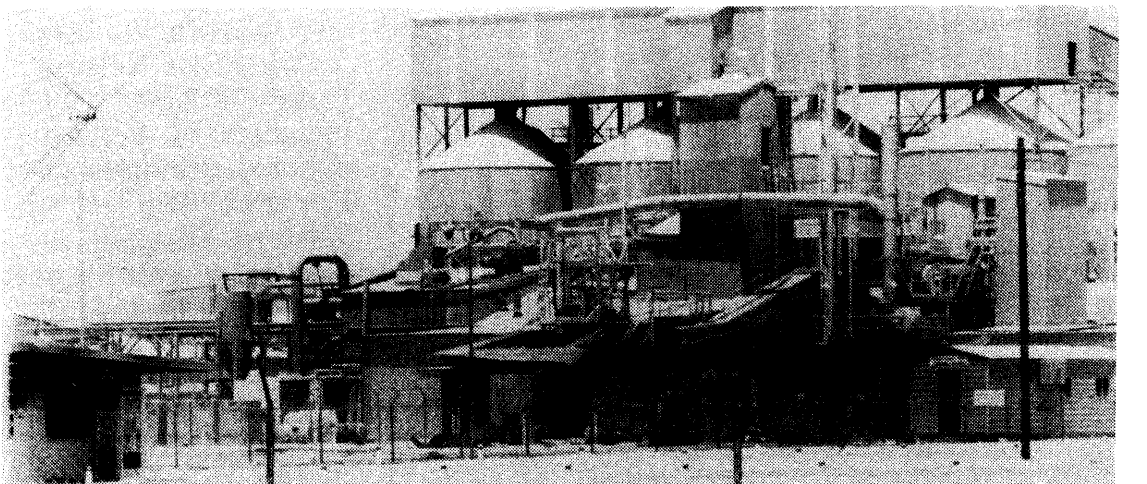
taken a complete loss on their homes, salvaging only some furniture and a few belongings.

Local 30 members were counting on international ILWU president Harry Bridges subsidizing the local which has no strike fund. Although Local 30 members have been told that each ILWU member would be assessed one dollar to support the strike, no money has reached the local. Referring to Bridges one striker said, "He's starving us out, just like US Borax."

The last strike against US Borax was in 1968 and lasted 2 months. Mrs. Clark recalled that then too, there was violence and vandalism. "But it seems to be worse now financially. The economic crisis has made it worse. I started here four years ago as a part-time waitress. Then a package of 12 buns cost 39¢, now it's 89¢. Bread was 25-29¢ and now it's 59¢. An 11 pound Pullham ham was \$7.00 and now it's over \$21. One year ago the electric bill in this dinky place was \$70-\$80 a month and now it's \$158. It's murder to try to make it. I don't think we have reached even the beginning of this crisis."

Mrs. Clark who is 53 years old said, "I'm getting old and I think we face starvation. There's no medical situation in this town for old people. I'm scared, I don't want to eat dog food, but I've read where some old people have to."

"The Nixon government is to blame all the way. We have to do something, that's why I support the idea of a labor party. We have to fight or we won't have anything left. I screamed for four hours when I saw on TV where they dumped thousands of gallons of milk in Los Angeles, when old people and children in orphanages have no milk or not enough. This isn't right. I will fight as long as there is breath in me, but of course it's up to the youth."



The Boron mining and processing plant produces 70 percent of the world's borax.

Big Cutback Hits Canning Industry

BY A REPORTER
SAN JOSE—San Jose is experiencing a devastating cutback and phaseout of workers in the canning industry.

The season, which usually starts at the end of June and lasts through September, is now just beginning to pick up and there is talk that it will end in a few weeks.

Large scale automation is already in use and will be used to a greater extent against workers represented by the Teamsters Local 679.

Recently during the apricot season, the fruit was just trickling in, causing unsteady employment for hundreds. One woman who has worked at Calcan for 16 years said:

"Last year, during apricot season, I made \$850 and they were hiring day and night. But this year I made only \$600 and they're not hiring anybody.

"We're at work one day and laid off three because no fruit was coming in. This is terrible. They lay you off one day and then they call you back the next."

Management is saying the situation is the fault of bad crops and that there is a shortage of trucks to haul the fruit to San Jose. Most workers know this is a lie.

Much of the fruit is being shipped to places in southern California where the employers take advantage of nonunion cannery workers, or it is sent to Stockton or Modesto which costs the owners less on shipping charges.

Luz, who has worked at Calcan for 25 years, said: "I think they're shipping it to Oxnard which would be cheaper because it is closer to the fields. But this

is the worst I've ever seen. "They used to have eight women working where now they have only two. In the filling department, they used to have three or four. Now there is only one.

"They have these automatic machines in there. It has two hands. One picks up the peach, puts it in the other hand, cores and slices it. I think in about three or four more years, there will be no more cannery workers in San Jose."

SENIORITY

Jose, a forklift driver, who has worked at Del Monte for 10 years, said: "About two years ago, Dole pineapple and Trivalley moved out to Modesto and most workers did not want to move to leave San Jose so they lost all their seniority.

"The big canneries like Del Monte, Calcan, and National Can are investing thousands in automatic machinery. This new machine here can dump 16 truckloads in a shift but the forklift driver can only do three."

Hundreds of youth and workers have been waiting in line at the canneries hoping for a job and are treated with contempt.

Joe, a student who worked at Del Monte last year, said: "They're messing everybody up. I counted on making money to stay in school but I've been waiting in line for four days straight and there is nothing.

"The office just keeps saying to sit back down in line and doesn't tell us anything. They treat us like animals."



The Los Angeles Young Socialists are holding weekly meetings in preparation for the summer camp followed by volleyball and basketball competitions.

Rapid Transit Mechanics Vote To Strike For 15%

BY SHANNON JONES
LOS ANGELES—Over 700 California Rapid Transit District (RTD) mechanics have voted overwhelmingly to strike.

They are expected to be joined by over 3000 RTD bus drivers who are voting this week to mandate the union to strike.

The mechanics are scheduled to go out on August 11, at midnight, which should quickly bring all buses to a halt in the transit system which covers LA County and parts of Orange County, San Bernardino, and Riverside Counties.

The president of the Amalgamated Transit Union Division 1277, estimates that well over 300,000 people use the buses daily.

Wages are the main concern of the workers. The mechanics are asking for a 15 percent across the board wage increase, plus fringe benefit increases and a cost of living. Union officials concede however that they will probably settle for 10 percent.

One mechanic told the Bulletin, "I think 10 percent would be a loss. It used to take me \$60 a month to get to work and now it takes \$110. People expect a real increase."

SICK IN

Last October, 400 drivers staged a "sick in" to protest the beatings and shootings of bus drivers. It is estimated that 170 drivers a year are victims of unprovoked assaults, mainly stemming from gang activity. Drivers want legal and medical protection, in addition to safety devices.

RTD buses have been operating since last May 31, when the

contract expired for drivers and mechanics, because of regulations requiring a state-appointed fact finding commission to make a study and recommendations.

The commission's recommendation was for only a 7.5 percent wage increase. In its latest offer, RTD management has offered 6.5 percent.

Raymond Coff, a mechanic, said he expects a long strike. "They get \$20 billion a month from the state. They want to see us on strike. That way they get more money. I think we need a one year contract and full cost of living."

Despite the recent increase in buses and services, RTD has not hired more mechanics, forcing men to work as much as ten hours a day, six days a week.

A mechanic said about Nixon's resignation, "We won't pay any more taxes and I won't pay his pension plan."

10 Year Coverup Of Arnholt Smith Fraud

BY A REPORTER
LOS ANGELES—Recent evidence has revealed that federal regulators knew since 1962 that the US National Bank, headed by C. Arnholt Smith, was involved in questionable loans, fraud, and violation of the Federal Reserve Act.

In October, 1973, the bank was declared bankrupt, making it the largest bank failure in US history.

Three successive administrations, Republican and Democrat, alike, ignored and covered up evidence to protect the wheeling and dealing of Smith, the right-winger who financed Nixon's political career.

Smith is currently under indictment for bank fraud. In September 1962, Jack Coltrane was lead examiner in the annual examination of US National Bank.

When Coltrane drove to Pomona, to visit what he understood to be a new branch of US National Bank, he found nothing but an empty lot.

The \$710,000 that was loaned to finance the nonexistent branch was used instead by Smith for the Westgate Realty Company,

and from there to another related company, Majestic Finance Company, where it was used as partial payment on the high-speed elevator system that was being installed in San Diego's first high-rise building.

As more and more questionable activities on the part of Smith were uncovered, Coltrane notified his superior, Jack Baker, head examiner in San Diego, who in turn notified A.E. Larson, then regional administrator of national banks in San Francisco who requested a top team of examiners from Washington.

A report signed by Baker stated that 21 percent of all loans in the bank portfolio were to related companies.

The Justice Department denies knowing of any such questionable loans until 1972. In March 1963, Baker was assigned to do a special examination of the bank, which found the conditions of the bank unstable, and that the demands of the controllers office to take control out of Smith's hands, had been ignored.

During this time Smith was writing long letters to controller Saxon detailing how large, outstanding loans to affiliated companies were removed from the books.

At this point, Baker was transferred to the regional office in San Francisco and assigned to examine banks in such places as

Anchorage, Alaska. Coltrane and several other examiners who had worked on US National Bank were also transferred.

Since 1963 to 1971, ten favorable examinations were conducted. Of the five examiners, one became vice-president of US National Bank, and two others received substantial promotions in the controller's office.

Butler recalled that the morning he arrived in San Diego,

CWA Strikes Spread

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—Officials of the Communications Workers of America are running all over Southern California, trying to put down a growing tide of wildcat strikes.

Over 600 telephone workers just ended a wildcat against Pacific Telephone in Orange County, but another wildcat broke out in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties.

As soon as union officials of the Communications Workers of America forced the strikers back to work in those areas, wildcats broke out in San Diego and Imperial County.

The rebellion centers on opposition to the national CWA agreement which provides for only a 10.7 percent wage increase the first year, plus cost of living. The agreement, which will go

Smith offered him a suite with unlimited charge privileges at his ultra-luxurious Westgate Hotel and wine and dined a team of examiners on his yacht.

In 1972, William Martin's examination led to the bank's closure. When the Baker examination was conducted in 1962, the amount of questioned funds totalled approximately \$20 million and by 1973 that total had jumped to \$400 million.

before CWA members August 11, will very likely be rejected.

Union representative for Southern California, Eugene Monkres, told the Bulletin that workers "are dissatisfied with the national issues. They had all made preparations for a strike and then two hours before the deadline we reached an agreement. So I guess they're dissatisfied that we didn't carry it through.

"It's like a spark, they sprout up and we can't stop them."

Union officials are working overtime to try to force the strikers back to work, before operators in the stations come out and join the picket lines.

Monkres charged the strikers with disrupting negotiations on the local level, and said that no action would be taken by the CWA to stop disciplinary actions against the strikers.

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lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

20 Mil Apoyan A Candidatos Del Partido Obrero



Magnífica respuesta apoyando la candidatura del Partido Obrero.

La construcción de un partido revolucionario de masas ha logrado un nuevo gran paso adelante durante la campaña efectuada el sábado y domingo pasados, en la que se recolectaron 19,830 firmas apoyando la candidatura del Partido Obrero—cédula electoral de la Liga Obrera.

Esto es casi el triple del número de firmas requerido por la ley—3,500 por candidato.

Nuestros candidatos están corriendo en dos Distritos Congresionales de Brooklyn. Se recogieron 11,569 firmas para Terry Delgado que corre en el Distrito 12, que incluye Bushwick, Brownsville y parte de Bedford-Stuyvesant. 8,261 firmas se obtuvieron para Helen Halyard, que corre en el Distrito 14, que incluye Williamsburg, Fort Green, Guawgnus y parte de Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Una expresión del apoyo entusiasta de las masas trabajadoras por la campaña fueron los 1,016.79 dólares recogidos en el curso del trabajo como contribuciones para la campaña. Este dinero se recogió en latas de soda. Un camarada recogió más de 50 dólares.

Los candidatos del Partido Obrero hicieron una presentación especial en el Barbecue que tuvimos el sábado por la noche en el área de Bushwick. Más de 350 personas atendieron el Barbecue que fue el mayor evento social de la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista. 403 dólares para la campaña fueron recolectados en este evento.

En esta campaña participaron todas las células del este y centro del país, al igual que miembros de la Juventud Socialista. Camaradas viajaron toda la noche provenientes de áreas lejanas como Detroit, Cleveland, Washington DC y Montreal.

El sábado, los equipos trabajaron de 10 am a 8 pm en las principales áreas comerciales de los distritos arriba mencionados. El apoyo recibido fue tan grande que algunos camaradas tuvieron que trabajar con dos listas simultáneamente. Se vendieron botones del Partido Obrero y una señora compró un gran número para toda su familia.

El domingo se dedicó al trabajo de puerta a puerta tanto en los proyectos como en casas individuales. En algunas casas, donde habían reuniones familiares, los camaradas obtuvieron firmas de cada persona mayor a 18 años.

Los candidatos del Partido Obrero corren contra los Demócratas y Republicanos con el objetivo de dirigir la lucha de la clase obrera por la construcción de su propio partido. No podemos esperar que los burócratas de las uniones como George Meany y Leonard Woodcock tomen acción. Ellos están vinculados al partido Demócrata y se postran frente al gobierno.

Debemos de tomar acción ahora, presentando una alternativa independiente a la clase obrera, contestando los ataques al nivel de vida, condiciones de trabajo y derechos básicos de la clase obrera.

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Western Electric Workers Defy Police Terror

BY A REPORTER
NEWARK, Aug. 12—

In spite of intense harassment, hundreds of striking electrical workers marched on picket lines outside the Western Electric office building here.



Mounted police have sought to intimidate IBEW strikers in Newark.

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IBEW workers denounced the decision of the Communication Workers of America leadership to settle separately. The CWA had pledged common action with the IBEW.

"That CWA contract is a stab in the back," said another worker.

"We thought that the CWA was with us. It was supposed to be a nationwide strike, but the CWA got scared."

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COVERUP . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

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ELECTIONS . . .

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The urgent task before the working class is the construction of a labor party. Workers must put an end to the obscene collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy with Gerald Ford and immediately demand a new election.

The utter bankruptcy of Meany and the labor bureaucracy is unmasked by their groveling before Ford. It was the power of the working class that brought Nixon down, but now the labor bureaucrats seek to keep his handpicked successor in power.

This bankruptcy shows the burning need for the construction of a new leadership in the working class. The Workers League will now step up the Congressional campaigns of Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado to lead the fight for the labor party.

We call on all workers to support this campaign and join the Workers League.

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