

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SEVENTY ONE 407

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

C-748

TWENTY CENTS

Workers Party Campaign In High Gear

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—

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The new program will draw the lessons of the first weeks of the Ford government, which poses more urgently than ever the political tasks facing the working class.

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With Nixon's pardon, Ford had hopes to continue the coverup of the government's conspiracy against the working class.

Inflation has made living in New York City a constant battle. Basic needs like food, rent, and fuel stand at the highest cost in the country. Prices here are 11.1 percent higher than last year, the sharpest increase in 27 years. Food prices are up over 14 percent.

Unemployment has jumped to 7.5 percent in New York, well over the national average. Youth unemployment is double the national average. The shutdown or transfer of many businesses in the city has meant the permanent destruction of at least 316,500 jobs in the last five years.

Schools have opened their doors to reveal a vast deterioration in conditions, the breakdown of art, music, and sports programs in many schools,
(Continued On Page 12)

Trade Unions Must Have A POLICY TO FIGHT INFLATION



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STATEMENT OF THE TRADE UNION ALLIANCE FOR A LABOR PARTY

The attack on the living standards of the working class intensified in August as the Wholesale Price Index rose 3.9 percent, the largest monthly increase in one year.

This represents an annual rate of 46.8 percent, and guarantees a rise in consumer prices over the next two months much higher than the official 11.1 percent increase in the Consumer Price Index since July, 1973.

Farm products, processed foods, and feeds led the increases with a rise of 7.6 percent, compared with 6.4 percent in July.

Industrial commodities went up 2.5 percent in August.

The disintegration of any stability in the price structure can be seen even more sharply when the movement of the WPI over a longer period of time is examined.

•Since August 1967, the WPI has moved to 167.4 from its base

of 100 seven years ago. At the present rate of inflation, the WPI should climb to 200 by the middle of 1975.

Over the last 12 months, the WPI has registered:

- A 42.8 percent rise in the price of chemicals and allied products;
- A 38.8 percent rise in metals and metal products;
- A 67.2 percent rise in fuel and power;
- A 32.1 percent rise in paper, pulp, and allied products.

Speaking in Atlanta on Thursday, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said that the rate of inflation would grow worse in the coming months.

INCOME

According to government statistics, inflation has substantially lowered the real income of workers over the last two years. The average worker is earning five dollars less per week, compensating for inflation, than he did in 1972.

So severe is the decline in living standards that spokesmen of the auto industry admit that car sales are declining because

new models are competing with the family dinner table.

Big business wants nothing less than to place the full weight of the capitalist crisis on the back of the working class.

At the meeting last Wednesday between Ford and the trade union bureaucracy, government economists admitted that wages remained far behind prices, but that the White House would like to keep things that way.

The uncontrollable inflation is seen by Ford, Rockefeller and the corporations as a means of pauperizing and weakening the working class.

As for Ford's so-called anti-inflation program, it is in reality a blueprint for mass unemployment.

The government is quite consciously seeking to bring together unemployment and inflation to resolve the capitalist crisis through a total destruction of the living standards of the working class.

This is a strategy being pursued by the capitalists in every major industrial country, and it has been spelled out by the latest annual report of the

International Monetary Fund which states:

"At mid-1974, the world economy was in the throes of a virulent and widespread inflation, a deceleration of economic growth in reaction to the preceding high rate of expansion, and a massive disequilibrium in international payments...

CONSERVATIVE

"In setting their target rates for aggregate demand expansion, it will be necessary for countries to shape decisions
(Continued On Page 12)

In The Weekend
Edition

•"The OCI Revisionists Support the Right Wing Trade Union Bureaucracy": a special report from the Workers Press, organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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Labor Leaders Deny The Crisis

The 29 labor leaders who trooped into the White House on September 11 to participate in President Ford's fraudulent economic summit revealed their own treacherous preparations to collaborate with the capitalist state in imposing wage controls over the labor movement.

The comments of AFL-CIO President George Meany were of great significance. Meany who promised Ford that "we will cooperate, I'm sure, to the fullest extent..." dwelt at great length with his so-called opposition to wage controls.

What We Think

Meany pointed out, quite correctly: "Mr. President, you've never seen greater patriotism, greater civic pride on the part of the employers than when you give them a guideline on wages

...they're going to go along in the interests of the country and the interests of the country happen to dictate that wages will be held down to a certain level."

He declared: "We've been going downhill for five and a half years...it's our contention that workers and their unions were subject to one-sided controls of workers' wages. But there were no effective controls on prices or interest rates, and no restraint whatsoever on corporate profits."

What Meany failed to point out was that it was precisely the cooperation of the entire labor bureaucracy in accepting wage controls that made it possible for Nixon to slash wages through inflation.

Meany revealed his real fears when he said, "...there are some great minds around in the economic field that feel, 'well, let's have guidelines.'"

He knows full well that preparations for a new freeze on wages are inevitable and that this will mean huge resistance in the working class. His reference to the previous failure to control prices and profits means that the bureaucracy is prepared not to smash controls, but to accept a formula for a more "equitable" means of imposing them.

What the bureaucracy dreads most of all is that the rapidly worsening economic crisis will bring forward massive struggles that they will be unable to control.

This is why Meany declared: "The prospect of a deepening recession and mounting unemployment, even in the name of a glorious battle against inflation is a frightening prospect to millions of Americans."

Meany's own base in the AFL-CIO among the construction unions is already threatened with mass unemployment by the housing slump.

It is precisely this fear that was behind the muddled reformist proposals put forward by the assembled bureaucrats for dealing with the crisis.

Thus Meany declared that "budget cuts, high interest rates, and tight money simply will not work on today's inflation."

AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland called tight credit policies "equivalent to treating a fever with a dose of arsenic." Kirkland also declared his readiness to agree to "equitable" controls.

"When you hear that advice (that controls are needed), you should demand specificity on the price side...Don't let them get away with the single prescription of price controls."

Labor leader after labor leader pleaded with Ford to ease up on tight money.

Leonard Woodcock, UAW President, called for easier money and increased government spending.

The president of the plumbers union begged for more construction money. Francis Filbey, president of the American Postal Workers Union, called for federal funds to aid rail transportation to create jobs and improve postal service.

What all these pipe dreams reveal is that these labor bureaucrats are absolutely prostrate before the economic crisis. Their proposals amount to nothing more than advice to the capitalist state that it continue the policies of unbridled inflation let loose under the Nixon administration.

The capitalist crisis cannot be solved by a manipulation of money and credit. As Marx demonstrated, the crisis is a crisis of the capitalist system of production itself.

Capitalism has only been able to expand in the post-war period on the basis of inflation and a huge ballooning of credit. This has led to a vast expansion of capital all aiming to earn its profit through the exploitation of the labor power of the working class.

Vast quantities of this excess capital built up entirely on the basis of credit is now threatened with destruction.

A continued expansion of credit such as the labor leaders propose threatens an inflationary explosion that will bring on the collapse of capitalist production.

The policy of tight money is designed to destroy big blocs of capital through stock collapses, closures of industry, and bank failures. Mass unemployment is intended as a means of demoralizing the working class and destroying its powerful unions. This is the policy of Ford and Rockefeller.

Neither the tight money policies of the bankers or the inflationary proposals of the labor bureaucrats can avert a collapse of production.

Marx long ago wrote of the "fools who believe that it is the duty and power of the banks to transform all bankrupt swindlers into solvent and respectable capitalists by means of pieces of paper." He could have been writing about Meany and Co.

But there is an ominous side to the reformist illusions peddled by these bureaucrats. As capitalism faces a slump even deeper than that of the 1930s, these union leaders seek to disarm the working class politically by saying that what is required is not a struggle for power, which would mean their own destruction, but a bit of tinkering with the credit system.

The bankruptcy of these bureaucrats in the face of the crisis underscores the urgency with which the labor movement must build a leadership committed to a break with Ford and his corporatist plans.

Labor must call its own summit to launch a labor party with socialist policies for the crisis; this means full employment with a shorter work week; no laws against the unions; wage increases and full escalator clauses to make up for everything lost through inflation; nationalization under workers control of industry and finance.

On The Eve Of Elections In Britain

BY TIM WOHLFORTH
Great Britain heads for new elections under conditions of its worst political and economic crisis in history.

The British balance of payments and trade deficits are currently running at monumental levels. It is now revealed that the real figure of the trade deficit for 1973 was 2,375 million pounds as compared to 677 million pounds in 1972. Current balance of payments deficit is running at an annual rate of 4 billion pounds.

On top of this news comes the near bankruptcy of Lloyds Bank which coincides with the bankruptcy of a number of smaller banks in Germany and Switzerland.

It is claimed that Lloyds failed because of "irregular" foreign exchange dealings in the small resort city of Lugano in Switzerland, on the Italian border.

The collapse of Lloyds is an expression of the threatened collapse of international banking as a whole, in which Britain plays a major role. Finance capital is the main base of British capital. "Irregularities" are today regular practices in all banks under conditions of international recession and uncontrolled inflation.

This situation is posed even more sharply because the Arabs are switching from British investments to American invest-

ments and for land and other tangibles within England. This can only increase the liquidity crisis in Britain at a time when British manufacturers, especially auto, are taking a beating while costs of imports—especially oil products and food, rise.

Faced with this insoluble crisis of capitalism, the British working class, basing itself on centuries of organization and struggle, is determined to defend its living standards and its unions. This is expressed through a series of trade union struggles, including wide sections of workers who have never been in struggles before, such as nurses and white collar workers.

Wilson, head of the Labor government, has covered up for the capitalists in the recent collapse of Court Line tourist agency which was a severe blow to many people of limited incomes. He has allowed the army to organize its maneuvers at Heathrow and hold its schools where the military and police are trained for action in case of "civil disturbances."

Now, Wilson has restored the infamous paramilitary force in Ulster (North Ireland), the "B" Specials, by doubling the strength of part-time constables. These constables will be recruited from the fascist wing of the Protestants who will in this fashion be legally armed and trained.

It is significant that Enoch Powell, the notorious right wing racist, chooses this moment to



Trade union delegates to the TUC Conference in Britain voted to accept the government's "social contract."

run for Parliament from an Ulster Constituency. He is well aware of the relationship between the rise of the Protestant right-wing in Ulster, the growth and training of the British military there, and the future for fascist reaction in Great Britain as a whole.

It is Wilson who permits and encourages these developments in the tradition of the German Social Democracy during the rise of Hitler.

The comments of a British officer, writing under a pseudonym in the right-wing Tory Monday World publication, are of the greatest importance:

"The politicians need the army and not just in Northern Ireland.

"For at least two years now, it has been a topic of conversation in the messes of the army that sooner or later it would be called upon to act in England itself.

"The operations at Heathrow—three this year so far—are ominous signs that this is not just a remote possibility.

It is within this framework that we can begin to understand the enormity of the betrayal of the trade union "lefts" and the Communist Party in their capitulation to Harold Wilson at the recent Trades Union Congress

(TUC) conference.

Wilson proposed that the conference accept his corporatist "social contract" which aims at tying the trade unions ever closer to the capitalist state.

Wilson, rather than fighting to nationalize the bankrupt capitalist industries and banks, urged the TUC to avoid "panic morbid introspection" and "loss of nerve" and build up industry—an effort even the capitalists believe to be futile.

The abject prostration of Wilson and the TUC before big capital is matched by the abject prostration of the "lefts" and the Communist Party before the TUC leadership.

A motion critical of the social contract was withdrawn by Ken Gill, a Communist Party member newly elected to the TUC general council on the advice of Eddie Marsden, another CP leader, and Hugh Scanlon, the "left" president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW).

One of the delegates who voted against the contract stated: "We were utterly betrayed when Ken Gill withdrew the motion.

"I blame the policy of the peaceful road to socialism, of

trying to build socialism by compromise. The movement was not built on compromise but on struggle with the class enemy."

The capitulation of Wilson to big business and the betrayal of the trade union leaders creates extremely difficult conditions for a labor party victory in the coming elections.

Offering no alternative to the Tories, the Labor Party opens up the middle class to a turn to the Liberal Party or the Tories. Already, the Liberals are preparing their party for entry into an anti-working class coalition government.

At this explosive stage of the world economic crisis—which now centers very much in England—it will be the impending class battle between labor and the capitalists which will determine the future of Britain and the world.

Central now is the construction of the Workers Revolutionary Party in the factories, in a struggle against the Communist Party. The tremendous fund campaign of the WRP, in which over \$65,000 was raised in ten days shows the determination of its members to meet these revolutionary tasks.

Federal Workers May Strike

BY MARYANNE REED

WASHINGTON, D.C. — President Ford's move to withhold meager pay raises of 5.5 percent for all Federal employees from October 1 to January 1 has been met with protest from workers.

Ford sees deferral of the pay raise for three months as the way of "cutting spending and reducing inflationary pressures," but as one worker stated:

"Nixon tried to fight inflation by holding back federal employees' pay raises and freezing promotions and hiring before.

"That didn't stop inflation. How does Ford think that it will stop it now? The inflation problem is bigger than our salaries."

Many workers are expressing the need for a work slowdown or strike action. One said: "Can you imagine what would happen if all the secretaries and clerks and the rest just came into work and did nothing? Not answer the phones, no typing, nothing. This place would be paralyzed."

The national president of the American Federation of Government Employees Union, Clyde Webber, has called on President Ford to "take a hard look at the causes of inflation and develop a solution based on reality instead of continuing the Nixon administration pattern of making federal employees the scapegoats by deferring their proposed meager 5.5 percent raises for three months."

Webber appeals to federal employees to write or call the president or their congressmen as a method of protest, despite tremendous support for a work stoppage. This was demanded by representatives of many AFGE locals at the national convention held in Boston in August.

AFGE proposed a raise of 8.4 percent for the workers, being fully aware of the rate of inflation, which they quote at 12 percent.

One worker told the Bulletin: "We should be asking for a 20 percent increase. That's where inflation will be at the end of the year, the way prices are going up."

The average increase received by government workers last year was 4.7 percent, less than the 5.5 percent guidelines put forward by Nixon.

With the pardoning of Nixon by Ford, the workers see these latest moves as a continuation of Nixon's attacks.

"I'm beginning to think that they made a bargain. They're trying to arouse the public to take their fight to the streets so that they can set up martial law.

"Government workers in some agencies are unionized, but they do not have the right to strike. More and more workers are striking and they can't stop it."

"Government workers will go out if we have to, too," said another worker.

Strike action by government workers, who have traditionally been one of the more conservative sections of workers, will be a powerful challenge to the government. They must have the immediate support of all AFL-CIO unions against any federal attempt to break such a strike and impose what is in actuality a wage cut.



Welfare workers and clerks demonstrate for more hiring in New York on September 12.

CIA Spent \$8 Million To Overthrow Allende

BY DAVID NORTH

CIA Director William E. Colby testified in secret last April that the United States spent about \$8 million between 1970 and 1973 to undermine the Chilean government of Salvador Allende.

Details of this testimony are contained in a copy of a confidential seven-page letter sent by Mr. Harrington to Representative Thomas E. Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and was made available to The New York Times.

The information exposing the United States' role in the overthrow of Allende has prompted Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, to warn the American ambassador that she knows of the CIA plans to overthrow her government.

Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan has cabled Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that Gandhi "knows full well that we have done our share and more of bloody and dishonorable deeds" and that "She is not sure but that we would be content to see others like her overthrown."

Moynihan added: "It is precisely because she is not innocent, not squeamish and nor a moralizer that her concern about American intentions is real and immediate."

Kissinger was the architect of the counterrevolution in Chile. According to the two former intelligence officials who wrote "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," Kissinger told the 40 Committee—a high level review board of CIA activities—on June 27, 1970:

"I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

This statement was censored by the CIA from the book.

The little-known 40 Committee was set up by John Kennedy in 1961, and its members include the most powerful figures in the CIA, Pentagon and State Department. All of its decisions are

reviewed by the President.

That statement was a vicious lie. Since 1964, according to Colby's testimony, the CIA was active in Chilean politics in disruptive activities against Allende and the workers movement.

•The CIA first intervened during the Johnson administration to support the campaign of Eduardo Frei Montalva, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, against Allende.

•In that same year, American corporations volunteered to serve as a conduit for CIA funds.

•The 40 Committee, chaired by Henry Kissinger, began taking measures as early as 1969 against Allende. It authorized \$500,000 to be spent to break up the presidential campaign which Allende began that year.

•Another \$500,000 was authorized in 1970 to disrupt the campaign. Following Allende's election victory in September 1970, the CIA allocated \$350,000 to bribe members of the Chilean Congress not to confirm the election results. This plan was only a minor part of a much larger conspiracy to overturn the election result. Kissinger and the mysterious 40 Committee approved the plan, but later decided that it was unworkable.

•Between 1971 and 1973, the 40 Committee authorized the spending of \$5 million for "destabilization efforts."

•In 1973, Kissinger ordered the payment of \$1.5 million to anti-Allende candidates in the municipal elections.

•In August 1973, just weeks before the coup and murder of Allende, Colby said that the 40 Committee authorized another \$1 million for "further political destabilization."

Harrington informed the Times that "The full plan authorized in August was called off when the military coup occurred less than one month later."

A high-ranking CIA official has confirmed the information obtained by Harrington.

"In the period before the coup," an official stated, "there was a pretty firm view on the part of the 40 Committee—

which is Kissinger and nobody else—that the Allende Government was bound to come to destruction and had to be thoroughly discredited.

"The State Department supported this, but in a different way. It wanted to stretch out any clandestine activities to permit the regime to come to a political end.

"The argument was between those who wanted to use force and end it quickly rather than play it out. Henry was on the side of the former—he was for considerable obstruction."

The emergence of this secret testimony reveals all the more clearly the conspiratorial nature of American government and its methods in dealing with the working class. What the American ruling class did in Chile—where 30,000 have died since the coup—it would like to do here.

Army Ousts Selassie

BY MELODY FARROW
Emperor Haile Selassie, absolute ruler of Ethiopia for the past 58 years, was deposed by the army and has been sent to a palace outside the capital, Addis Ababa.

Power has been fully assumed by the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee, a group of about 80 officers.

As Selassie was driven away from the palace, hundreds of youth ran after the car shouting: "thief, thief," and there was rejoicing throughout the city.

The army, however, has no intention of abolishing the monarchy in Ethiopia that has oppressed the Ethiopian masses under the yoke of feudalism for centuries.

Lieutenant General Aman Michael Andom, Chief of Staff, head of the new provincial military government, has asked Selassie's son Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, 57, to return from Geneva to be crowned as a figurehead king.

Strikes have been outlawed and demonstrations were banned early this month after students marched through the streets of

Addis Ababa chanting: "Hang Selassie."

Parliament has been dissolved and elections have been vaguely promised for the future. The military has proclaimed that land reform will be the first priority under the slogan, "Land to the People."

The army, which until last week had only gradually stripped Selassie of his authority, was forced to act for fear of a new explosion of struggle among the students and workers of Addis Ababa against the Emperor that would have immediately taken on a revolutionary character.

In acting at this time, the army generals seek to preserve the basic structure of the regime. There is no doubt that a deal has been made with the reactionary Ethiopian Orthodox Church which finally agreed to join the denunciation of Selassie in return for a pledge that it would retain its powers.

Opposition to Selassie had increased over the past weeks after the press and television exposed a scandal in which Selassie made \$11 million on a brewery operation.

Selassie was also charged with

stashing away huge sums of money in foreign investments and banks and of sending tons of gold abroad.

But the army rapidly assured foreign businessmen that they could continue to invest in Ethiopia "without apprehension."

The uprising of masses of Ethiopian workers and peasants which led to a rebellion in a section of the army last February in Asamara is the product of the world economic crisis that in a backward country like Ethiopia has a brutal impact.

Hundreds of thousands have died in the famine in the Wollo and Tigre provinces and now it is spreading south. The beginning of the flood season will intensify the crisis.

The army is incapable of halting inflation or of making any fundamental reforms because of this crisis.

The removal of Selassie has opened up a new stage of the Ethiopian revolution in which masses of workers will come into conflict with the new government, posing the need for the building of a revolutionary party to lead the working class to power.

Legal Aid Lawyers Defy Court

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Lawyers for the Legal Aid Society picketed city and state courthouses this week, demanding higher wages and the right to work with their clients through the entire judicial procedure.

Judges from the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court threatened to recommend that the lawyers be penalized by the state Bar Association for "abandoning their clients for the sake of a salary increase...They are attorneys, professionals, and not day laborers and should act accordingly."

Officials of the Association of Legal Aid Attorneys pointed out that these two issues were left open to further negotiation when a contract was signed following a similar strike last summer.

In New York City, the Legal Aid Society is funded by the city and acts in place of the public defenders hired by other cities. The 550 lawyers on the staff defend almost 75 percent of all defendants in criminal cases, plus many Family Court and civil cases.

The judges are appointing private lawyers to plead some cases and postponing others during the strike. They have threatened to push through provisions to set up a public defender system and cancel the city's funding of the Society if the strike continues.

The lawyers have stood firm on their demands for a 20 percent cost of living hike, in addition to the seniority raise of 11.1 percent promised in the 1973 contract.

Beginning salaries are now \$12,500, nearly \$800 below the starting salaries in private practice.

The issue of caseload "continuity" has been under dispute for years. The Society has given only vague assurances that it will be implemented but the lawyers are demanding a specific timetable.

They are demanding the right to represent a client all the way from his first application to the final determination of his case, just as in private law practice. This was also a central demand during the prison rebellions that swept New York City during 1971 and 1972.

National Still On Strike

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—The strike of the International Association of Machinists against National Airlines is entering its second month with the company refusing to settle, in spite of major concessions by the union.

Local 1894 Committeeman Alex MacKay told the *Bulletin* that the IAM withdrew its demand for modification of the Scope Clause covering job jurisdiction. The union had demanded that National hire IAM members rather than subcontracting some ground work. Mechanics and cleaners for the LaGuardia facilities and engine overhaulers in Miami were the biggest groups involved in this issue.

"They have actually cut their



Boston police out in force at South High School last Thursday.

Boston Trade Unions Must Act Against Racial Attacks

BY A REPORTER

BOSTON — Extreme tension exists in Boston following a week of bitter confrontations outside the schools over the busing of black youths into the white communities of South Boston.

Mayor Kevin White, the police department and right-wing elements around Louise Day Hicks are seeking to polarize the working class racially.

On Thursday, five white youths were arrested. School buses were damaged by rock throwing.

The NAACP has called for a boycott of South Boston by black students until federal marshalls are placed on every bus.

REACTIONARY

The request of the civil rights groups for police protection is totally reactionary and can only aid Hicks. Police have been taking every opportunity to beat up and arrest white working class youth during the past week. Their role is to deepen the divisions in the working class.

It is the powerful trade union movement that must take a stand in defense of the integration of the school system and fight the racist poison being spread throughout Boston.

The trade unions must act as Mayor White seeks to create the conditions of a siege and an atmosphere of racist hysteria.

White has declared a ban on public gatherings outside the schools. Police have been licensed to arrest students and parents without proper identification.

Mass arrests were carried out by the police again on Friday.

The American Federation of Teachers has refused to take a stand on busing.

A white teacher transferred to Roxbury this year told the *Bulletin*:

"I support integration, but the union has refused to take a stand on busing.

"I think they're afraid the busing issue may become more of a political issue which is what they don't want. You know, when you're a teacher, you're in the union and all, but a lot of teachers don't consider themselves workers."

DECAY

Behind the explosions in the schools is the decay of the conditions in the educational system. The deteriorating public school system, already one of the worst in the country, stands in sharp contrast to the many prestigious universities in the city.

Combined with the rotting schools is an extremely high rate of unemployment among both black and white working class youth. The city government seeks to use racism to split the youth.

But the conditions in both South Boston and Roxbury grow worse. The past week's events show that the police are prepared to club and beat white youth just as they do to black youth.

PROGRAM

The trade unions must fight against the influence of racism with a concrete program to unite the working class of Boston against their common enemy: the corporations and the Ford-Rockefeller government.

The unions must call a mass demonstration of the labor movement in defense of busing, against unemployment and police brutality.

The trade unions must demand:

- Get the cops out of the school buses and away from the schools!

- Massive aid to education—reject Ford's austerity program for the schools!

- Real job training for all youth! Jobs for all with a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay!

This program must be fought for by breaking with the Democrats who run Boston and by taking a stand for the construction of a labor party based on the trade unions.

Beame Warns Of New Taxes

NEW YORK, NY—City workers face a new round of firings as Mayor Beame revises his 1974-75 budget 10 weeks after its adoption.

Citing both inflated costs and lower revenue than expected, Beame announced that he expects a deficit of 200 million dollars if spending is not cut and taxes raised.

Power and light bills over the summer have cost the city \$53 million more than estimated, while the rising unemployment rate has meant \$33 million over the budget has been spent on Medicaid and public assistance payments.

Beame's first priority is the defense of the profits expected by the bankers and businessmen who bought city bonds. Beame ran a full-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal* just after the original budget was passed headlined: "Payment of debt service shall be the first lien on all of the city's revenues."

Inadequate city services are to be cut to the bone, or eliminated entirely. In addition, there are new taxes being proposed that would raise the cost of beer, liquor, haircuts, dry cleaning, shoe shines, containers, movies, and concerts, parking, and the Staten Island Ferry.

"On September 18, our men will finally be able to draw unemployment compensation, so the hardest part is over and we are not going to break down now," MacKay stated.

A major portion of every city's operating revenue is raised by selling long-term bonds, actually loans to the city which are highly favored by big investors. Beame announced that the soaring interest rates which must be offered to sell these bonds have already meant a \$104 million additional expense in the last few months.

money offer," MacKay said. "They won't even agree to bring us up to the level of the other major airlines."

National has refused to agree to any cost of living escalator clause and wants a new pension and insurance plan that will cut workers' benefits.

The airline has bid for the Amsterdam run which has been controlled by the near-bankrupt Pan American Airlines. Until the run is approved, National is willing to stall on the negotiations, since it is still drawing some \$357,000 a day from the mutual aid pact among the airlines.

Long Island Teachers Lose Tenure

EAST MEADOW, N.Y.—The jobs of 775 members of the East Meadow Teachers Association are in danger, following their return to work after a six-day strike.

In return for a wage increase, the school board has imposed the full penalties allowed under New York's Taylor Law which prohibits strikes by public employees.

Tenure rights, which protect the jobs of teachers, have been withdrawn for one year and the teachers have been put on probation. In addition, each teacher will be forced to pay a fine ranging from \$960 to \$1020.

CONTRACT

The two-year contract provides for 8.8 percent plus a 1.3 percent cost of living adjustment in the first year, and an 8-10 percent hike, tied to the cost of living, in the second year.

This will raise starting salaries to \$10,730 and maximum pay, granted after 15 years to teachers with Ph.D. degrees, to \$22,139.

In nearby Westbury, teachers voted to accept an offer of 10.69 percent in the first year and a cost-of-living adjustment of 4.5 to 8 percent in the second year.

James P. Cannon 1890-1974

A POLITICAL APPRAISAL PART TWO



Above: Cannon in retirement in Los Angeles. Top right: Cannon and Max Shachtman (left) during the period of their collaboration. Bottom right: Cannon in 1938.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

James P. Cannon, as is clear from reading his reminiscences, was unable to raise his own experiences in the construction of the party to the theoretical level.

The actual work in the construction of the party is the heart of the development of Marxism. Marxism is not some tool which in an abstract manner develops a "theory" to be imposed by a party. It is a materialist theory developed through the actual practice of the party in the workers movement under specific economic conditions.

If one is not able to draw from the practice of the party knowledge which reaches a theoretical and philosophical level, then one is unable to train others.

The problems of the development of the party came to a head in 1940, in the struggle with a group headed by Max Shachtman, James Burnham, and Martin Abern. This group was based primarily among the middle class section of the party. As World War Two approached, this section began to feel the pressures of middle class "democratic" opinion, which in turn reflected the interests of American imperialism.

This took the form of hostility to the Soviet Union, when, following an agreement with Hitler, the Red Army invaded Finland and Poland to protect the country's western front. Shachtman and company thought this action had to be opposed and the Soviet Union was not to be defended under these "concrete" circumstances. Some in his group developed theories denying that the Soviet Union was a workers' state.

PHILOSOPHICAL

Trotsky intervened in this discussion, raising it to the highest theoretical and philosophical level. Trotsky insisted that one could not determine what attitude to take towards the concrete actions of the Soviet Union in Finland and Poland without proceeding first of all

from an understanding of the class nature of the state. Trotsky saw Shachtman's unprincipled bloc between those who saw Russia as a workers' state, those who claimed it to be a new class society, and his own ambiguous position, as an expression of the American pragmatic method. He saw in it a denial of dialectics, a proceeding only from the immediate and concrete. This hostility to the materialist dialectic was, to Trotsky, the highest expression of the petty bourgeois character of this opposition group. It was the pragmatic method which made it vulnerable to the pressures of the ruling class as reflected through middle class "democratic" and "liberal" circles.

Trotsky pointed out that not only did this tendency come to a common agreement on immediate tasks, ignoring differences among themselves on the class nature of the USSR, but in the past they had proceeded in the same manner on the philosophical front. Shachtman and Burnham had written a common theoretical article, even though they disagreed over dialectics.

"It was absolutely necessary," Trotsky wrote, "to explain why the American 'radical' intellectuals accept Marxism without the dialectic (a clock without a spring). The secret is simple. In no other country had there been such rejection of the class struggle as in the land of 'unlimited opportunity'.

"The denial of social contradictions as the moving force of development led to the denial of the dialectics as the logic of contradictions in the domain of theoretical thought. Just as in the sphere of politics, it was thought possible everybody could be convinced of the correctness of a 'just' program by means of clever syllogisms and society could be reconstructed through 'rational' measures, so in the sphere of theory, it was accepted as proved that Aristotelian logic, lowered to the level of 'common sense', was sufficient for the solution of all questions."

The significance of this struggle for an understanding of

James P. Cannon is incalculable. It was the highest point in the collaboration of Trotsky and Cannon. They stood side by side in a common fight for the life of the American section and very much of the world movement itself.

It is, therefore, significant that in the pages and pages of eulogies, reminiscences and political assessments appearing in *The Militant*, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, this period is not even mentioned.

Out of this struggle came Cannon's most important book, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. This book remains to this day an invaluable guide to many problems in the construction of the party—the role of the working class in the party, the nature of discipline, the problems of cliques, etc.

At the same time, when compared with Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, also a product of this struggle, the great weaknesses of Cannon become revealed. Trotsky provided the theory and Cannon sought to carry out this theory in the practice of building a party. He did not, himself, despite his considerable experience, seek to bring the party questions to the theoretical level.

WEAKNESS

Trotsky was well aware of this weakness of Cannon and conducted the 1940 struggle in a way which he hoped would educate the Cannon majority on the rudiments of theory and philosophy, as well as expose the minority.

This side of Cannon, essentially an expression of the pragmatic backwardness of America, came to the fore after the death of Trotsky in 1940. Cannon refused to fight to give political leadership to the Fourth International in that period. He fell back to American questions alone. He intervened in important ways in the international movement in the succeeding years, particularly in 1953, but he never took up the real leadership of the international movement.

The struggle against Pabloite revisionism in 1953 was the last great contribution Cannon made to the revolutionary movement. After years during which Cannon adapted internationally to Pab-

loism, while he pursued an "American" course at home, Pablo intervened factionally within the Socialist Workers Party.

In the Open Letter, around which the International Committee was formed, Cannon characterized Pabloism as a tendency which capitulated to Stalinism, which saw no need to construct Trotskyist parties, and which acted consciously to break up the historically created Trotskyist cadres in country after country.

SPLIT

"This faction, centered around Pablo," Cannon wrote in this Open Letter, "is now working consciously and deliberately to disrupt, split and break up the historically created cadres of Trotskyism in the various countries and to liquidate the Fourth International...To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally."

We are proud to be part of a movement which stood with Cannon shoulder to shoulder when he fought revisionism. It is a disgrace today to read Joseph Hansen's political tribute to Cannon in the September 6 *Militant* and see no mention at all of 1953.

Shortly after the split with Pablo in 1953, Cannon abandoned the struggle against Pabloism. In 1954, Cannon rejected a proposal to open up a discussion with the Pabloites. Then, in 1957, Cannon opened up his own maneuvers with the Pabloites by addressing a letter to Goonewardene of the Ceylonese LSSP proposing a reunification without a discussion. While Cannon was forced to hold back on this proposal at the time, in 1961 the proposal was renewed and the process of reunification was begun.

The reunification was carried through on the basis of a complete abandonment of the very struggle for Marxism which Cannon had taken up in 1928 against the Stalinists. Castro was seen as a "natural" Marxist who had discovered a new "road to socialism" which did not require the arduous task of constructing a party cadre and systema-

tically training them as Marxists in the course of bitter struggle in the workers movement.

Cannon began with impressions and narrow considerations of the uses support to Cuba could be put to within the United States, and not with international perspectives as he began with in 1928. Cannon went over to the pragmatic method of Shachtman, beginning from the concrete "facts" of Cuba rather than the struggle to understand Cuba dialectically as part of world development.

Because of this, the reunification was part of a conciliation with Stalinism. Even the suppression of Trotsky's works by Castro's agents and the vicious attack on Trotskyism at the Tricontinental Congress were apologized for by Cannon and his supporters in the leadership of the SWP.

A man, who even before he became a Trotskyist fought to build a workers party, has constructed a party of middle class elements who adapt to every fad and mood of the middle class. It is no wonder that in the last years of his life, when recent interviews display a keenness of thought that is remarkable, Cannon was totally preoccupied with the past. He was forced to consciously turn away from the present, where the movement he created is totally disoriented and has no perspective for reaching the American working class which is now in struggle against the capitalists.

It is significant that the very year of his death has been marked by the expulsion of well over 100 members of the SWP and YSA. This faction stands on the political basis of the Cochranites Cannon fought in 1952. They are the fruit of the reunification to which Cannon lent his prestige.

We stood with Cannon when he fought for Marxism and against Stalinism and revisionism. Our party is a continuation of the struggles of the early Trotskyist movement led by James P. Cannon. This history is our history. We broke decisively with Cannon when he broke decisively with Marxism. That history is the history of the present epigones who run the SWP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

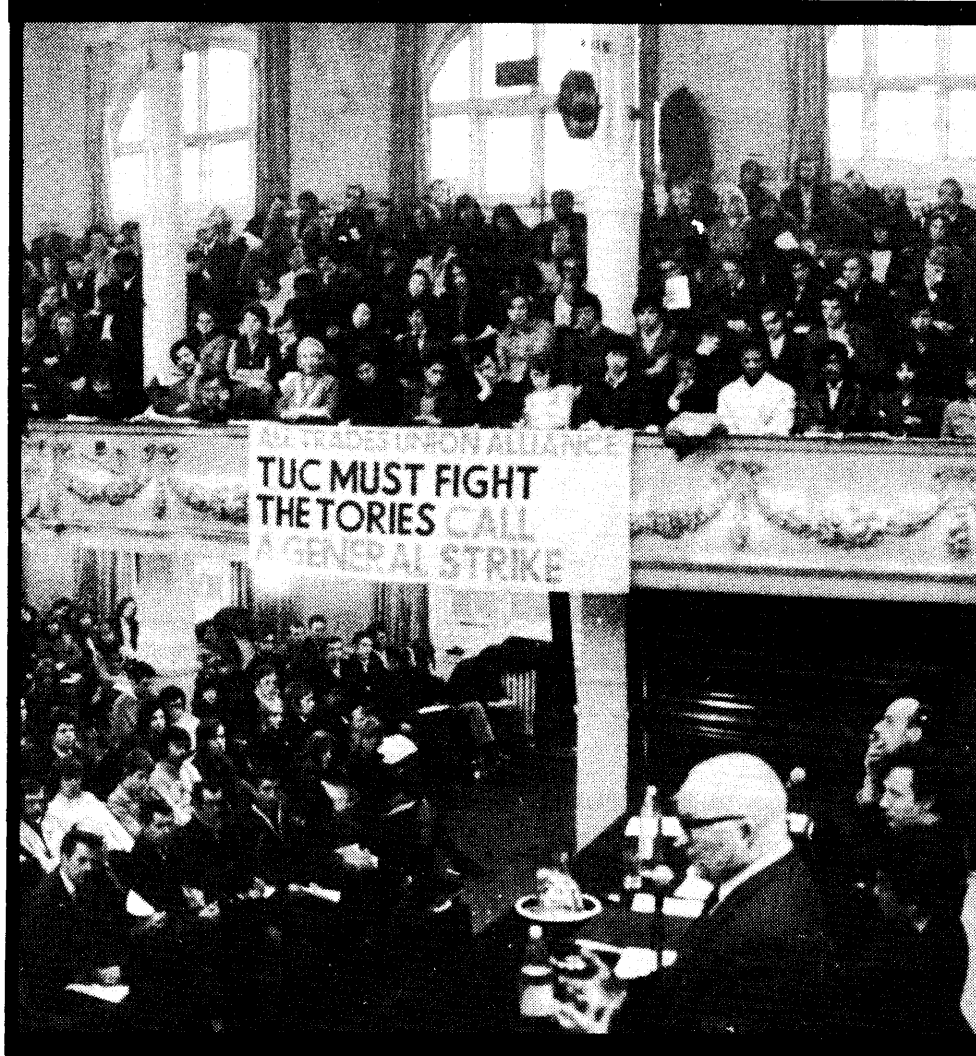
That Blick and Jenkins should try to discredit the All Trades Unions Alliance and sneer at its achievements should come as no surprise to any member of the Workers Revolutionary Party. It is impossible for any revisionist to defend or even remain neutral on the ATUA, because the ATUA—as the industrial arm of the WRP—represents the only revolutionary opposition to bureaucracy in the trade unions today.

Formed over six years ago, the ATUA has an unbroken record of uncompromising struggle against every retreat, unprincipled maneuver and betrayal of the trade union bureaucracy. It fights—and has fought in the past—to relate every industrial struggle to the most decisive question facing the working class: the taking of power and the building of a revolutionary party to lead such a struggle.

In the 1960s the ATUA pioneered the struggle against the introduction of measured-day work in the car industry; today it is right in the center of the fight against speedup and the defense of shop stewards as well as the opposition to "productivity dealing" and the struggle against rationalization at the expense of working class jobs and living standards. Above all, it fights, and has successfully exposed the reformist illusions peddled by the revisionist protest-mongers and the counterrevolutionary policies of the Communist Party-dominated Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trade Unions.

One of its most indubitable successes was in the miners' struggles of 1972-1974 when the ATUA organized the biggest rank and file conference of miners and gave a poli-

A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationist



fourth of six parts by michael banda & peter jeffries

tical lead to miners in Yorkshire, Wales, north-east, Midlands and Kent. In the car industry this consistent struggle to expose bureaucracy and its Stalinist and revisionist defenders has enabled the ATUA to gather around it the most politically conscious militants.

In order to discredit these achievements Blick-Jenkins make the spurious charge that the forces of the ATUA are "depleted" and that the ATUA is a "red union" trying to substitute itself for the traditional unions.

On the contrary, the ATUA has been in the forefront of the struggle against all tendencies—syndicalist and reformist as well as Stalinist—which try to substitute unofficial protest actions and "rank and file" diversions for systematic and organized political struggle in the traditional unions to expose the bureaucracy by addressing revolutionary demands to them and by building an alternative leadership in the ranks on Marxist policies.

The success and proof of this policy was seen when the AUEW National Committee prevented Scanlon from attending the Phase Three talks with the last Tory government. It was dramatically demonstrated again on May 7 when the AUEW Executive called for an unlimited national stoppage against the National Industrial Relations Court.

The policy of the ATUA is neither sectarian nor opportunist. The considerable popularity of the Charter of Basic Rights in the unions showed that the policy of the ATUA was not artificially grafted on to the unions but was derived from the rich experiences of the centuries-old history of working class struggles to defend its basic rights and organizations against the capitalist class and its state. This policy expresses today the deepest needs and aspirations of the working class: its determination to fight the capitalist class to the end, to get rid of bureaucracy and its instinctive striving—written into the constitution of most industrial unions—to reconstruct society on planned foundations.

In every sense the policy of the ATUA corresponds to the policy outlined by Trotsky in relation to the unions:

"In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian

revolution. In this sense, the program of transitional demands adopted by the last congress of the Fourth International is not only the program for the activity of the party but in its fundamental features it is the program for the activity of the trade unions." ("Marxism and the Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," p. 12. SLL Pamphlet 1972.)

This is the policy for which the All Trades Unions Alliance has fought for in the unions. We have fought consistently, against all forms of reformism and centrism, to carry the Transitional Program into the trade union movement.

The ATUA is not a substitute for the unions but carries forward the best traditions of the early period of the Minority Movement; the traditions which were trampled upon by Stalin when he forced the Minority Movement to capitulate to the "lefts" in the TUC General Council before and during the 1926 General Strike. It is precisely the refusal of the WRP to follow the example of the Communist Party, which dissolved itself into the Minority Movement, and the determination of the ATUA not to repeat the experience of the Minority Movement and capitulate to the TUC "lefts" that infuriates these opportunists today.

Blick-Jenkins conclude the section on the ATUA with a sanctimonious reference to the transitional program—"Only the transitional program maps the way ahead." But their malicious distortions of ATUA history and their attempts to equate the principled struggle of the ATUA with the sectarian and non-revolutionary policy of the "united front from below" pursued by German Stalinism in 1931-1932 is sufficient proof of their cynicism towards the Program of the Fourth International and the struggle for alternative leadership in the unions.

Their cynicism and opportunism was recently and vividly revealed when their chief spokesman on the unions, Mr. Tom Hillier, senior steward at CAV Acton in west London broke the instruction of the AUEW executive on May 7, 1974, and continued to work during the course of the most significant strike in the post-war history of Britain: the national strike of the engineers against the sequestration of the union's assets by the National Industrial Relations Court. Hillier did so ostensibly on the grounds that it was unwise for

Left, Gerry Healy, general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Right, James Reid, leading member of the All Trades Union Alliance.

stewards to isolate themselves from backward workers and that it was more expedient to scab than to fight for a principle and support the union's legitimate struggle against corporatism. Here we see also the real reason for Blick-Jenkins' opposition to the WRP's warnings on corporatism.

Hilliers conduct is irrefutable evidence of the politics represented by the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) in Britain. In contrast to these strike-breakers the ATUA was in the forefront of the campaign to defend the AUEW from the state and to expose the treachery of the Labour government. The ATUA and the WRP were the only organizations unequivocally to call for a General Strike (Workers Press May 6) and to link this struggle with the campaign to expose and discredit the Labour leaders as a precondition for the construction of a revolutionary leadership in Britain.

In the period when Blick was formally defending Trotskyism in the book Stalinism in Britain against Stalinist lies, he had this to say:

"As Reid admits elsewhere in her pamphlet, we won the majority of the Labour Party Young Socialists to Trotskyism during the period from 1960 to 1964, and successfully launched an independent youth movement in the midst of the opportunist stampede surrounding the election of the Wilson government. The Labour Party bureaucracy cannot be defeated on its own ground by the mouthing of a few crude slogans and cliches, and Reid knows it. We had a long-term perspective of building a revolutionary youth movement when we broke from the Labour Party in 1964. From that foundation has come the Trotskyist daily paper and all our advances in the trade unions. When Reid claims that we have no influence in the adult movement, she is whistling in the dark to console herself and her Stalinist friends. It is precisely the rapid growth of the (Socialist Labour) League in the trade unions that has forced the Stalinists to come out with this latest attack by Reid." (Emphasis in the original.)

We would only like to add that it is certainly the "rapid growth" of the WRP and the ATUA that has forced Blick-Jenkins to attack us with the language and method of Mrs. Reid.

Blick and Jenkins' uncritical and

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James Reid, leading member of the British Communist Party, addresses meeting of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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exclusive reliance on the "minimum program" of Labour is the most positive criterion by which to judge their political degeneration. In their Bulletin No. 2 the Blick-Jenkins clique unreservedly state their complete prostration before the Wilson leadership:

"The Labour Party has emerged from the election as the largest single party in parliament...Throughout the campaign Wilson has categorically rejected any possibility of a coalition either with the Liberals or the Tories. This was reiterated at the shadow cabinet meeting and endorsed unanimously. Both these statements are of enormous importance for the working class..."

"What are the responsibilities of revolutionary leadership in this political crisis? It must now fight for the following political program at every level in the workers' movement.

"The entire strength of the workers' movement must be mobilized to implement the shadow cabinet's statements.

"For a Labour government with no coalitions to fight on its program.

"Re-negotiation of the terms of entry of the EEC.

"Repeal the Industrial Relations Act.
"Repeal the Housing Finance Act.
"Repeal the counterinflation Act."

(Emphasis in original.)

The "responsibilities of revolutionary leadership," however, only begin at the level at which Blick and Jenkins wish to terminate them. Marxists cannot confine themselves to such a program because the magnitude of the economic crisis is so great that the minimum program cannot solve a single problem of the working class. In its eight weeks of existence the Labour government has adequately demonstrated that inflation and unemployment already transcend the minimum demands of Labour. These problems require extensive and deep-going measures against capitalist property—nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

It must be said that Marxists do not support, under any conditions, the first point of Labour's program relating to terms of entry in the EEC.

Readers will be interested to know that Blick did not always subscribe to his present reformist opinion. Four years ago, that is when he still thought himself a Trot-

skyist, he was a bitter critic of the very program which he now unreservedly commends to the working class:

"In the name of a struggle against ultra-leftism, Reid upholds the old minimum program of social democracy. Again, Trotsky drew on the rich store of experience of the early Communist International in developing this perspective. The Third Congress adopted its Theses on Tactics which contains all the basic policies outlined by Trotsky 17 years later:

"The Communist Parties do not put forward any minimum program to strengthen and improve the tottering structure of capitalism...In the place of the minimum program of the reformists and the centrists (and by 1935 the Stalinists) the Communist International puts the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for a system of demands which in their totality disintegrate the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, represent stages in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and each of which expressed in itself the need of the broadest masses, even if the masses themselves are not yet consciously in favor of the proletarian dictatorship!...The revolutionary character of the present epoch consists precisely in this, that the most modest conditions of life for the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, and that therefore the fight for even the most modest demands grows into the fight for communism."

"This is just the strategy condemned by Reid in her attack on Trotsky for his advocacy of the workers' government during the French sit-in strike of 1936:

"Only a minority of French workers understood this, however, and therefore the immediate aim of the fight against fascism could not be working class power." (p. 10).

"Would Reid claim, against Lenin and all leading Marxists, that the working class takes power as a class with full consciousness of what it is doing? What were the slogans of the Russian Revolution—'socialism in one country' or bread, peace and land? What the Comintern Theses underline is that given revolutionary leadership, the logic of the struggle for certain demands of a transitional character drives the working class forward, even its more backward sections, towards the fight for power. By consciously adapting the vanguard to the rearguard, and the middle class, as did Thorez in the French General Strike, the Stalinists guaranteed the stabilization of the capitalist regime under the guise of a People's government. Property relations, the basic Marxist criteria of the class nature of any government, remained as before—capitalist.

"Not a single one of Reid's attacks on the Transitional Program, and Trotsky's application of its strategy to the class struggle in France and Spain, stands up to a moment's analysis. All her attacks are shot through with the philosophy of reformism, of fighting for what seems possible. By containing the working class to a minimum program in the interests of 'maximum unity,' the Stalinists drained the working class of its energies so effectively that even the minimum program was smashed by fascist counterrevolution. That is the ruthless logic of the class struggle: either a struggle for power or, eventually, the loss of everything that the working class has won in its century-long struggle for conditions and organization. Or, as Marx himself stated, either socialism or barbarism." (Stalinism in Britain, pp.92-93.)

Replace Reid's name with Blick-Jenkins, and the reader will have a pertinent criticism of their method! Blick-Jenkins refuse to transform the struggle for the minimum program into the struggle for the Transitional Program because to do so would be to demand that Labour break with the bourgeoisie and this would involve a severe conflict with Benn, Wilson, et al. Instead, they state, "Betrayal of such promises is easier contemplated than done."

"Today," they say, "we will force the Wilson regime to carry out the minimum program. Tomorrow we will use the pressure of the masses to force Wilson—or maybe Benn—to carry through the socialist program."

To which arguments Lenin replied:

"To what conclusion does this argument inevitably lead? To the conclusion that we need no revolutionary program, no revolutionary party, and no revolutionary tactics. What we need are reforms, nothing more. What we need is a party of democratic and socialist reforms.

"What is the main flaw in all these opportunist arguments? It is that in fact they substitute the bourgeois theory of 'united', 'social' progress for the socialist theory of the class struggle as the only real driving force of history.

"According to the theory of socialism, i.e. of Marxism, the real driving force of history is the revolutionary class struggle; reforms are a subsidiary product of this struggle, subsidiary because they express unsuccessful attempts to weaken, to blunt this struggle, etc.

"According to the theory of bourgeois philosophers, the driving force of progress is the unity of all elements in society who realize the 'imperfections' of certain of its institutions. The first theory is materialist; the second idealist. The first is revolutionary; the second is reformist. The first serves as the basis for the tactics of the proletariat in modern capitalist countries. The second serves as the basis of the tactics of the bourgeoisie." ("Once Again About the Duma Cabinet", Lenin's Collected Works Vol. 11.)

The Blick-Jenkins document's conclusion that a Labour government should be "a disaster of the first magnitude for British capitalism," and that "the Tories do not want even a Wilson government" is a distortion of the first magnitude which is designed to disarm the working class and sow illusions in the Wilson leadership. Eight weeks of this government have proved completely the correctness of the WRP warning that a Labour government would betray the working class and that it was necessary to build the revolutionary alternative through a struggle to expose such a government by demanding that it carry out socialist policies. Far from the Tories rejecting Wilson, they have in one debate after another come to his assistance and prevented the government from falling. The Labour government has reciprocated by refusing to reimburse the Clay Cross council, by ignoring the demand to release the "Shrewsbury 6," by postponing indefinitely its timid nationalization proposals, by intensifying the repression in Ulster, by dispatching frigates to Chile's fascist junta, and by imposing the most severe deflationary regime in the post-war history of Britain.

Here for example is what the capitalist Press says:

"What is not always understood is that the City is by no means uncompromisingly hostile to a Labour government. Many take the view that Labour shows more financial probity than the Conservatives and it is remembered gratefully that we had one of the strongest bull markets in shares since the war under a Labor government between 1966 and 1969. One of the worst bear markets took place under the conservatives between 1972 and the February General Election. (Evening Standard," April 4, 1974.)

The method of petty-bourgeois impressionism adopted by Blick-Jenkins leads them to whitewash and capitulate to the reactionary Wilson regime. If the Wilson government has been a disaster for British capitalism, it has proved to be the most welcome and expedient disaster since Ramsey MacDonald.

To find the real instigators of Blick's electoral program it is necessary to turn to the OCI in France during the 1973 National Assembly elections. Whereas in the 1968 General Strike the OCI deliberately refrained from raising the demand of a Communist Party-Socialist Party government, in 1973, however, they became the most enthusiastic crusaders for a CP-SP government. Some formalists will see a contradiction here. But as the French say the more things change the more they remain the same. The OCI program and its attitude to the reformist bureaucracies in the elections was a compound of obsequious opportunism and centrist servility. Instead of campaigning for a CP-SP government in order to expose the reformist leaders by demanding that they carry out socialist policies, these centrists used the election campaign to sow the worst illusions in them. This anaemic line of tail-ending bureaucracy was unashamedly presented to French workers in the OCI election manifesto. This wretched statement did not contain one warning—and this after the May-June 1968 betrayal that a Stalinist and Social-Democratic government would betray the working class and refuse to carry out socialist policies:

"Not one of the basic and elementary demands of the proletariat and the youth is compatible with the rotting regime of cap-

italism. Capital, its state, its governments may retreat, plot and maneuver, but is impossible for them to satisfy in a lasting way the demands, for them to respect democratic freedoms, to respect the rights and gains won by the proletariat.

"To the question: 'What government can satisfy these demands?' there is only one answer: 'only a government formed by the main parties of the working class, a government formed by the PS and the PCF, a government without representatives of the bourgeois parties.'" (Information Ouvrière, January 4-10, 1973.)

The OCI's complete capitulation to Stalinism and Social Democracy in 1973 is the logical continuation of their political method—a compound of impressionism and empiricism—which led them to capitulate to the opportunist nationalism of Messali Hadj, Algerian nationalist leader, in the period 1954-1960.

It is abundantly clear now why the Blick group of renegades find their spiritual and political home in the centrist swamp of the OCI. It is because they all believe that Stalinism and Social Democracy can "satisfy the demands" of the working class, i.e. can carry through socialism!

Blick's attempt to transform the pseudo-left Benn into some sort of radical knight in shining armour galloping to the rescue of miners, ship workers and others, is not only grotesque but completely untrue.

Benn's role, in office and in opposition, is too well known to need documenting. He is best remembered for his demagogic cover-up for the reformist Upper Clyde Shipbuilders work-in. Right now he has changed his radical hat for a ministerial one and is preparing to axe Concorde, a dramatic reversal of roles which will establish him in posterity's eyes as the biggest humbug the Labour Party produced.

Thus few except Blick were surprised when Benn tripped the light fantastic during the miners' strike and began to ask questions in parliament about coal stocks. The purpose of this exercise was not so much to embarrass the government, but to show what reasonable fellows the miners' leaders were and how the overtime ban was actually allowing power stations to build up coal stocks! When this bit of fraud was attacked in the Workers Press, Blick protested wildly:

"The attack...was cowardly, scurrilous and politically reactionary..."

"Here was an issue in the workers' movement. Let the working class and their organizations inspect the stocks. Let us compile the figures! Then we can see whether this three-day week is part of a Tory pre-election plan or not. 'Open the books' as the Transitional Program declares. But who comes nearest to this policy now? Not Workers Press, but the 'left corporatist' Benn! And what was the result of Benn's campaign? First the Tories began to talk about a four-day and a five-day week. But secondly the miners concluded that their overtime ban was not 'biting' and that escalation was necessary."

Here is a lucid example of how these centrist revisionists distort the facts to preserve the credibility of the "left" Benn. What Blick deliberately omits to mention about this episode is that coal stocks began to mount at pit heads and power stations because the NUM leaders refused to call their men out for almost 11 weeks. During the most critical period of the fuel crisis when there were few coal stocks and oil was in extremely short supply, the NUM leaders talked. In the meantime, Home and Barber visited the Mid-East oil producers and secured a guaranteed oil supply. It was only when the oil supply eased that the four-day and five-day week began to be talked about and the NUM EC decided to ballot its members for strike. The NUM EC knew all along what the approximate level of stocks were. The issue before the labor movement was not Blick-Jenkins' diversionary call for "opening the books," but a stern demand to the NUM EC to call off the talks and begin the strike—and an equally stern demand to the ASLEF and AUEW ECs to support their own wage claims by supporting the miners.

The miners owe nothing to Benn. When Blick concludes his defense of Benn with the plaintive appeal: "The real issue is how you develop in a revolutionary direction the forces the lefts distortedly reflect in their reformist demand," we reply: only by ruthlessly criticizing the demagogic falsity of the reformist demands, not by pandering to them!

TO BE CONTINUED

economy
today

Jeff Sebastian

Crisis Of Confidence On Wall Street

On Friday, stock prices plunged to their lowest level in twelve years, with the Dow Jones average at 624 and many financial experts predicting that it will fall below 600.

This massive decline reflects a collapse of confidence in any ability of capitalism to avert a major slump.

A few statistics illustrate the magnitude of the declines. **US News and World Report** estimates that in the last 19 months, \$350 billion dollars have been wiped off the value of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange alone.

If the American Stock Exchange and a number of regional exchanges are included in these figures, the losses come to over \$500 billion dollars.

A market analyst Raymond F. DeVoe of Spencer, Trask & Co. recently issued a study to show that the bear market has already lasted six years beginning in 1968, while even the great bear market of 1929 lasted only three years.

According to DeVoe's figures, which take into account the falling value of money and a broader selection of stocks than the Dow Jones index, the average share on the New York Stock Exchange has fallen 79 percent since 1968. This compares to an 86 percent drop in the 1929-1932 collapse.

Members of the New York Stock Exchange already estimate their losses at \$58 million for the first half of the year. Collapses and mergers on Wall Street caused Barron's financial weekly to remark: "Merging Wall Street firms is like rearranging deck chairs on the Titanic."

Trusts, mutual funds, insurance companies, and pension funds all have massive investments in the stock market.

Until recently, the issuance of shares was a major method of raising capital by corporations. In 1971 and 1972, corporations raised about \$13 billion through stock issues. In 1973, this declined to \$10 billion, and in the first quarter of this year, new stock issues raised less than a billion dollars.

Unable to raise cash on the stock market, these companies are forced to go to the banks to borrow at present high interest rates.

There are nearly nine million owners of mutual fund shares, many of whom have tied their retirement plans to their investments in these funds.

The stock market debacle has wiped billions off the values of pension funds which are deeply involved in the market. Pension fund losses can require employers to contribute additional funds to maintain pension payments at a time when many are facing bankruptcy.

While capitalist economists and the hacks of the bourgeois press continue to speculate on the possibility of a new boom on the stock market, the reasons for its decline are fundamental.

The wave of stock sales and the flight of capital from the market represents the entirely justified opinion of the capitalist class that the system itself is collapsing.

If shares of General Motors and US Steel have been reduced by more than half, while TWA and Eastern Airlines would have to increase by 1000 percent to regain their old highs, it is because investors are convinced that the chances for a restoration of profitability are virtually nonexistent.

Years of capitalist inflation have produced huge pools of capital all of which are demanding a proper return in the form of profit on investments. The collapse of stock values is part of the process by which whole sections of this capital is destroyed to make it more profitable for the capital which survives.

With inflation rushing ahead, entire industries are on the verge of collapse. Bank collapses are already beginning. Bank loans as a percentage of deposits are running at a rate comparable to the period before the 1929 crash. Many banks have now borrowed funds in order to make loans and actually have more money out on loan than they have on their books as deposits. Any sudden withdrawal of funds from such banks can lead to the sort of collapses that have already taken place in Europe.

The entire credit system depends on confidence both in the value of money and in the ability of borrowers to repay loans. The plummeting stock market reveals that runaway inflation and the developing international slump are rapidly eroding this confidence.

It is a warning that banking failures, industrial collapses, and mass unemployment are on the agenda.

midwest news

CHICAGO TODAY EXPLOITS CRAFT DIVISIONS

BY DEBRA WATSON
CHICAGO, Ill.—After nine years of publication as an afternoon daily, **Chicago Today** printed its last edition on Friday, September 13.

According to the public relations department of the paper, the paper is financially insolvent and while circulation has risen steadily to make it the largest afternoon paper in the Midwest, this has not overcome the cost of publication.

The company's statement said: "Only 20 percent of the cost of a newspaper is returned from circulation revenues. The rest all depends on revenue from advertising."

"I think the people at the **Daily News** will confirm this if you call them, that they do not have a financially solvent paper either. This is mostly because of the difficulty in getting people to advertise in the afternoon editions."

"It is a journalistic fact that companies do not want to sell advertising to afternoon papers. (The **Daily News** is the only other Chicago afternoon paper.)"

"The end of **Chicago Today** has been predicted for quite a while. There was a report in **AD-AGE** in early 1973 predicting its collapse this year."

While the paper never has been financially solvent, the final decision to close was made in order to strengthen the hand of the company in the upcoming negotiations with the Typographers and Mailers unions whose contracts expire in January 1975.

WEAKEN

The **Tribune**, which owns **Chicago Today**, has used two of the methods used to weaken New York ITU No. 6 in its battle against **The New York Times** and the **New York Daily News**.

There are over seven unions organizing the separate crafts in the **Tribune** Building. Because of

earlier agreements, only the two largest have the common January expiration; the typographers and the mailers.

Even though the closing of **Chicago Today** could have been used to launch a fight for uniting expiration dates, the leadership of the various craft unions in the paper is not even interested. In fact, every craft is negotiating its own agreement on terms of the closure with the **Chicago Tribune** and **Chicago Today**.

For the pressmen, their agreement is already signed. All of the 40 members of the local that were either laid off already or will be laid off by the **Today** closure, will be rehired by the **Chicago Tribune** 24 hours later. They will retain all of their seniority and benefits. In order to handle this, the **Tribune** is going over to 24 hour publication, printing what they claim will be three different newspapers every day.

Ralph Praper, business secretary for Pressman's Local 3 told the **Bulletin**: "The typographical union is being hardest hit by this. But there is also a lot of automation going on. They're just going bananas up there with automation, there are all kinds of new machines, Xerox and other machines which I can't even pronounce. Our craft is not affected because they have automated the presses as much as they possibly can, so we are not in the trouble of losing members."

Praper speculated that most of the other unions, except the typographers would retain all of their members with the 24 hour **Tribune**, but he admitted that he was not sure what the situations in the other craft locals were since he had been very busy negotiating a deal with the papers for his craft.

The picture given by an official of the Typographer's Local 16 was much different. There are 460 typographers who work even now part of the time for **Today** and part of the time for the **Tribune**.

"We are negotiating right now about what will happen to our members. They are closing down 60 positions for our people and I

believe 60 in the mailers union.

"Besides this, they will probably lay off in many of the other crafts. For instance, **Chicago Today** and the **Chicago Tribune** had two separate fleets of trucks for delivery, didn't they? That will mean a loss of men in the **Delivery Truck Drivers**."

Not only is there no common expiration date but the different crafts are cutting each others throats and competing for favorable deals with the company. The only strength of the ITU No. 6 contract in New York, the guarantee of a job, has been completely undermined.

Rather than setting a precedent on job security for other ITU locals, the employers learned a great deal in the 17-day lockout at the **New York Daily News** about busting up the printing trades and ramming through agreements for automation.

Above all, they are now moving, as the **Bulletin** predicted in June of this year, with a great deal of confidence, knowing that the largest locals in the ITU are both tied up in no-strike agreements for the next 11 years.

REVEALED

Just how far the **Tribune** would like to go is starkly revealed in what they did to the editorial staff. This section of workers in completely unorganized, even though the staff of the **Chicago Sun-Times** and **Chicago Daily News** are both organized by the **Newspaper Guild**. Over one-half of the staff will be out of work on Friday. Only 92 of the 197 people who are presently on the staff of **Today** have been rehired by the **Tribune**.

Today knows it cannot meet head on with the Craft Unions and knows it cannot decimate their ranks until they have been given some preparation time. They have reduced the burden put on them by rising costs of paper, ink, plates and the drop in advertising revenues by eliminating 92 staff members and 120 typographers and mailers. They are going ahead full speed with automation.



Teachers in East Detroit, Michigan, are continuing their strike for higher pay and better classroom conditions. Over twelve school districts in the state have been on strike.

Auto: 1975 Outlook Is Grim

BY DAVID NORTH
DETROIT—There is every indication that 1975 will be the most disastrous year for the auto industry since the end of World War Two.

In expectation of a large decline in sales on new models coming off the lines now, the auto industry has set production standards for the fourth quarter at a level six percent below that for the same period in 1973.

It is likely that the decline in production will be even greater than the projected six percent. One industry source predicted that production may drop as much as 10 percent below the official target.

The basis for such fears is the fact that auto production in August was down four percent from the 1973 level; and production was 11 percent below target.

It is clear from these figures and projections that auto workers will confront in the coming months the most serious

attack on working conditions and the right to work in the history of the UAW.

The auto industry is preparing to meet the enormous decline in sales that is anticipated for the new model year with a wave of layoffs that will affect thousands of workers and transform the conditions in the plants.

At the same time, the declining rate of profit in the auto industry brought on by the uncontrollable inflation requires that the bosses implement the most ruthless speedup.

Price increases ordered by the four major auto companies—General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and American Motors—will have a powerful effect on the slump in the auto industry.

The new sticker prices will place 1975 models beyond the reach of hundreds of thousands of customers who normally would trade in their two, three, or four-year-old model for a new car.

One economist who works closely with the auto company predicts that at least 250,000 customers will be lost because of

the price increases. An industry executive pointed out that the decline in workers' living standards over the past year has created a situation in which the auto industry is competing with the dinner table.

Lee A. Iacocca, president of Ford Motor, stated recently that customers "will be in shock" when they see the 1975 prices.

Average increases spread over all new models will boost prices about \$400 for the 1975 models. This is on top of the \$500 increase registered over the last year for 1974 models.

\$800

In many cases, the price of a car could be as much as \$800 above last year's sticker price.

The auto industry is implementing an enormous shakeup in the plants in order to be able to gouge the public with the highest prices possible.

For example, Ford has eliminated from production the lowest priced subcompact and full-sized models. By dropping the Custom 500 and the Galaxie 500, Ford has eliminated the last full-sized models that sold below \$4000.

Ford has also forced an increase in prices by making former optional features standard. By standardizing automatic transmission, power steering, power front disc brakes, and a bigger engine, the lowest-priced Ford Torino costs \$3954, up 22 percent from its 1974 price of \$3226.

Chrysler is also eliminating some of its cheaper full-sized models and popular intermediate-sized models.

It has dropped the Dodge Charger which went for \$3212 in 1974 and replaced these models with a restyled luxury model that goes for \$4903.

Subcompacts like the Vega, Pinto, and Gremlin are now moving into the intermediate-sized price range.

The Ford Pinto is starting at \$2919, up 16 percent from last year.

It is precisely in industrial commodities such as steel, aluminum, and other metals where inflation is having its greatest impact. For example, Bethlehem Steel has boosted the price of structural shapes and plates, used heavily in auto, by \$10 a ton.

HIKES

This means that a new wave of price hikes could take effect as early as December, thus deepening the slump in auto below the depressed levels currently projected.

The temporary shutdown of the Milpitas Pinto plant to be followed by 700 permanent layoffs is just a foretaste of what is to come. The constant change

in the production mix and the dropping of popular lines like the Charger makes every job in the auto industry uncertain.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock's response to this crisis has been to move into ever-closer collaboration with the government and big business.

His proposals to work out the crisis through cooperation with the capitalists—exemplified by his participation in the White House summit—serve to place the UAW at the service of the employers in a corporate state setup.

A fight must now be launched in the auto industry to defend jobs, working conditions, and living standards.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting to construct a new leadership in the UAW based on the following demands:

- Nationwide strike action to establish an industry standard on line speed and jobs;

- Defend all jobs through a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay;

- Stop the decline in living standards with a 20 percent across the board pay hike and a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause.

The first step in this struggle must be taken by the rank and file of the UAW demanding that Woodcock pull out of the summit meetings with Ford, break off all ties with the Democrats and Republicans, and call for a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to the nationalization of the auto industry.

GHR Strike Ends Without Big Gains

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT
DAYTON, Ohio—The 10-week-old strike at GHR Foundry, Local 765 United Electrical Workers, was ended September 11 by a vote of 523 to 95.

The union failed to win substantial wage increases and benefits or to remove the no-strike clause in the contract.

Most of those who voted for the contract only did so because of the length of the strike, the lack of regular strike benefits, and a lack of confidence in the leadership.

One significant demand, the removal of the cap on the cost of living was won, but this was to sell a contract that is basically the same as the one the men originally replaced.

The fact that the International never intended a serious fight for removal of the no-strike clause was revealed shortly after the strike began when the International allowed a federal mediator to come in and told workers: "The company won't stand for taking out the no-strike clause."

BASE

The base wage increase is 28¢ the first year, plus 12¢ cost of living. Only 16¢ for hourly-rated workers and 12¢ for incentive workers will be added the second and third year of the contract, in addition to some "inequity" raises.

The pension maximum is \$360 a month, only \$30 a month more than before. The union dropped the 25 and out demand, saying this "would cause too many financial difficulties for the company." They got a reduction

of the age requirement from 62 to 55, still retaining the 30 year requirement.

An iron pourer said: "It was just enough to get over. There was no increase in the incentive, and you still can't figure out your pay."

"The union should have got us more break time, particularly in the summer. We have to pick up and carry very heavy molds. Just working in the intense heat is injurious to our health."

DISCUSSION

"The way the meeting was run, was there was no discussion period. The vote was taken before anybody was given a chance to take the floor."

A worker in the molding department said: "Womack tried to sugarcoat the contract by stating that union representatives would now be able to meet directly with Ed Price, the plant manager, on safety violations and grievances that aren't acted on within a certain amount of time."

"He also promised the workers on line three and four in molding who have to turn heavy molds by hand that this work would be put on line four where they have a hose to turn around the mold around the automatic line. None of these promises have been written into the contract."

Workers expressed their determination to continue to fight the company despite the retention of the no-strike clause in the contract. The battles that have broken out in auto show that there is no way these contracts can hold up in the face of the inflation and speed up drives.



Lawyers for Dennis Banks and Russell Means (above), leaders of the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota last year, are fighting for dismissal of the charges on the basis that the government has covered up perjury and false testimony by witnesses. The jury was in deliberation when a juror became ill. The prosecution is now seeking a mistrial because it knows the present jury is leaning towards an acquittal.

Ford Ranks Vote For Shutdown

BY FRANK DENISON
CLEVELAND, Ohio—Workers at Ford's Brook Park engine complex voted an overwhelming 83 percent to authorize a strike.

No official date has been set for the strike, but officials of Local 1250 are hoping to use this vote as leverage to resolve thousands of health and safety and speedup (Paragraph 78s) grievances.

Union officials so far have refused to comment on what led to the calling of the vote. It is clear to every worker that last January's local contract settlement that was used to head off a strike was a fraud.

Since then, working conditions have deteriorated. At the same time, the company is speeding up the assembly lines. Last month, two men in the Engine plant suffered broken arms as a result of slipping on the oil that is never cleaned off the floors. Another two men have lost fingers in the machinery that Ford refuses to fix.

Jimmy, who voted in favor of the strike, told the Bulletin: "Many guys figure it's a waste

of time, that the union is going to do what it wants. Most of them didn't even know about the vote. One thing about this local is that they don't want the public to know what's going on and about the dangers facing us.

LORDSTOWN

"At Lordstown, they went out six weeks and didn't get anything. All workers face these dangers today.

"One thing I don't understand is why they didn't take care of this last January. The working conditions have been bad all along."

The calling of a strike vote at Brook Park comes on the heels of a six percent cut in Ford's domestic operations and layoffs of 15,000 Ford workers in England.

Brook Park is the key engine plant in North America. The effects of any strike at this plant will rapidly spread to the Ford assembly plants.

Another worker said: "The union is only calling this vote so Ford can cut back without having layoffs. If this strike were going to be a national strike for a completely new national contract, I would be all for it."

"If we are going to deal with the speedup and the deter-

iorating working conditions, we have to have a new contract. We feel the union leadership is letting all the vital issues ride."

STRIKE

Workers must demand that the local leadership take this demand forward by calling for a national strike against Ford, GM, and Chrysler to force reopening of the national contract.

Workers are finished with Woodcock's "apache" strategy which has been used in the past to wear down the fighting militancy of the men and isolate locals while the employers were not hurt in the least.

The auto companies are provoking strikes, using the sluggish production to shift work from one plant to another to try and weaken the union.

A strike at Brook Park must be the starting point for a fight for united strike action by all auto workers against speedup, recall of all laid off men, no compulsory overtime, and a reopening of wages.

This program immediately raises the need for the trade unions to build an independent labor party to nationalize the auto companies under workers control and institute a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay.

books

by Tim Wohlforth

Writings Of Trotsky

Part 2

1930-1931

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

Trotsky's Writings (1930-31) makes clear the great difficulties the small cadres of the Trotskyist movement faced, isolated in large part from the working class, and having little or no past history in constructing movements.

If this were not difficult enough, this clique atmosphere and the inexperience of the young cadres of the ILO made the sections vulnerable to the penetration of the Soviet secret police, the GPU. This was particularly true in the German section.

In this period Trotsky was supporting a group headed by a man whose pseudonym was Well, against the Landau group. However, already differences had begun to emerge over Well's softness to the Stalinists and over a superficial attitude towards Landau.

It is now known that Roman Well, whose actual name was Sobolevich and was later known as Dr. Robert Soblen, and his brother Jack Soblen were agents of the GPU. Dr. Robert Soblen committed suicide in 1962 while under prosecution as a Soviet espionage agent in the US. Jack Soblen testified before a US Senate Committee in 1956 on his GPU work.

These men were by no means the only agents in the Left Opposition. M. Mill, who represented the Russian Opposition on the Administrative Secretariat of the International Left Opposition, was later to emerge as a GPU agent.

It is extremely important to note that it was precisely the unprincipled clique nature of the struggles of the period which made the movement so vulnerable to disruption from hostile police forces. This is particularly important to us today when the American FBI openly admits to carrying out disruptive operations within the CP, the SWP, and the Black Panthers.

There, like the GPU in the 1930s, the aim of the police was to exaggerate every difference, encourage every personal beef, particularly to spread and encourage gossip, always acting in such a fashion that the net effect is to break up the revolutionary cadres.

Trotsky treats the extreme problems of the Left Opposition from a materialist standpoint. He does not see them as psychological problems or the idiosyncracies of individuals. Rather, he starts from the most general explanation of the problems of the movement. He turns first of all to the objective situation—the changing relations between classes in this period.

He writes: "The revolutionary tide is now indisputable. The Communist parties are growing stronger in certain countries. The elementary flow of forces turns aside the questions of strategy and puts them in second or third place. The workers move toward the Communists as the most intransigent party. In the same direction, act the economic successes in the USSR, acknowledged by an important part of the bourgeois press, and by that fact becoming even more convincing to the workers.

"This general political situation, even though paradoxical at first sight, strikes not only at the

Right Opposition, but also at the Left. That is what explains, in the last analysis, the Austrian capitulations, the lack of growth in certain countries, the weakening of activity, etc.

"Over and above any local, specific, and personal reason, there is a general reason: the spontaneous upsurge which has not yet solved completely the contradictions in the position of the Comintern and of its sections at this new historical stage. It is evident that under these conditions, a faction which does not simply swim with the stream, but which studies the situation critically and consciously poses all questions of strategy must inevitably be set back, for a certain time, inside this faction there will be manifested feelings of impatience which, in isolated cases, take a capitulatory form."

We live today under immeasurably more favorable objective conditions than those facing the movement in 1930 and 1931. The Communist Parties are in the deepest crisis and an undefeated and powerful working class faces the attacks of capital under conditions of a monumental world economic crisis. The lesson, however, we can still learn from the Trotsky of 1930 and 1931 is to understand all the problems we do experience in constructing parties as part of the movement of matter, that is, as the highest expression of the development of the working class under specific and changing circumstances.

There is another valuable lesson to be learned from that period—the very careful attention Trotsky paid to the training of the cadres themselves. This concern with training only increases in urgency the more developments allow for an outward turn of the cadres. Trotsky wrote:

"Naturally, the political evaluation of people, especially of younger people, is not of a decisive character in most cases. People can learn on the basis of their experiences, repress some features, and develop others. However, it is precisely in order to achieve just such a collective education that the International Left in general and the various sections in particular must diligently pursue the development of every single one of its members, and especially that of the responsible workers; and with extreme attentiveness in times of crisis.

Trotsky well understood, even in his most isolated moments, that such an education did not occur in a vacuum. Furthermore, masses of workers would come to the Trotskyist movement in their own way, through their experiences. But it would be a trained cadre which would take them through these experiences to the banner of the Fourth International.

"I do not want in any way to say by this that we must stand aside from the real struggle of the working class. Nothing of the sort. The advanced workers can test the revolutionary advantages of the Left Opposition only by living experiences, but one must learn to select the most vital, the most burning, and the most principled questions and on these questions engage in combat without dispersing oneself in trifles and details. It is in this, it appears to me, that the fundamental role of the Left Opposition now lies."

DEL MONTE CANNERY CUTS OUT THIRD SHIFT

BY A LOCAL 679 MEMBER

SAN JOSE, Calif.—Del Monte Corporation has laid off 200 workers and cut back the entire third shift.

All the workers here are represented by Teamsters Local 679.

Some of those laid off were students, who normally work temporarily, but many were men and women with one to two years seniority who were taken from all three shifts.

One lady on the peaches machine told the Bulletin: "We got the hatchet a little before Labor Day and I was out for nearly three weeks before they put me back on the second shift. I say the hatchet because it all happened at once."

"We asked the foreman and the union, but they just said they didn't know. The union man told us we just had to roll with the tide and go along with it because the company ordered it."

"I think one reason is they didn't want to pay all that money for Labor Day. Del Monte just keeps the new people long enough to take their union dues and then always lays off before Labor Day."

The main reason for the cutback is the US Department of Agriculture threat to close the cannery unless Del Monte cleaned up the plant. The plant was running day and night for months with only the slightest attention given to sanitation.

However, behind the sanitation issue is the most intense and brutal drive for profit.

One woman commented: "With only two shifts, we have been working 10 hours a day and 7 days a week. It gets unbearable in there on hot days like this, having to strain to keep up with the machines."

One foreman said: "Even with the tougher restrictions on clean-up, the company is making more money. We got 200 less people and are pushing out more fruit by speeding up the lines."

"We had 15 women one day that had to be taken home and just about every day women are fainting. One girl, while cleaning up, got her arm caught in a belt. The other women began running off the line and 10 of them

fainted. If a worker hadn't shut off the belt her arm would have been pulled off."

Another man who works outside said: "Del Monte has these efficiency teams that it hires for the season to act and dress as workers who without anybody knowing it, takes notes on the actions of other workers."

"They write down all the wasted motions a worker takes and Del Monte studies this to speed production up and get maximum efficiency. They pay out hundreds of thousands for these guys because in the long

run that's how much they will save. If they see that a guy takes ten hours to do his day's work, then they will try and cut it down to four."

The Teamsters leadership has taken no action to fight the layoffs. Like its scabbing on the farm workers, the Teamsters bureaucrats side with the employers against the needs of the workers.

The conditions of virtual slavery in the canneries are the conditions all workers are facing as industries desperately seek to increase profits.

Furniture Workers Defend Union Officials

BY A LOCAL 1090 MEMBER

PORTLAND, Ore.—"We asked for a decent raise, and they say they'll give us one cent and forced overtime," said a worker at Barker Manufacturing Company.

"What are they trying to do? Firing the union officials! How the hell am I supposed to work down there without any shop steward? They're trying to break us up."

This is the response of workers to the attempt by Barker to break the back of Furniture Workers Local 1090. The union officials, the shop stewards and other militants were fired September 5 after a one-day walkout.

Local 1090 is re-opening its three-year contract after two years of inflation have left Barker employees 12 percent behind the rest of the furniture industry.

The union proposed a contract with a \$1.50 an hour wage increase, 12 percent in each successive year, a cost of living escalator and new benefits.

On August 29, union president Richard McAfee was suspended on trumped-up charges of "using abusive language." Workers walked out when the company refused to negotiate on the sus-

pension and stayed out until McAfee was reinstated.

On September 3, the company posted a notice alleging the strike was illegal under the present contract. That evening, at a union meeting, the company offer—1.5 cents an hour, "some time in 1975," and mandatory overtime, was resoundingly rejected.

On Thursday, September 5, all the union officials were fired, including the shop stewards.

Most workers favored an immediate strike, but the fired union officials insisted they stay at work. On Friday, the national president of the United Furniture Workers arrived and patched up a deal with the company over the week-end. The charges were commuted to suspension without pay from September 5 to 15.

However, at the September 10 meeting a motion was passed unanimously demanding back pay for those discharged for the period of their suspension. McAfee, preventing any teeth from being put in this demand, moved immediately on to other business.

"Negotiations start tomorrow at 5:30," he said, admonishing everyone to "work hard, even take extra overtime, and have a cheerful attitude." McAfee thus caved in completely to Barker.

"No strike until the contract is opened October 1," he cautioned.

"Just you wait, Barker," a worker replied.



The strike of teachers in Campbell, Calif., has been sanctioned by the Santa Clara County Labor Council.

Ford Plans 700 Layoffs At Milpitas

**BY ALAN SALTER
MILPITAS, Calif.—**
The Ford Motor Company has scheduled a 13-day shutdown of its plant here this week.

One-third of the work force, 700 United Auto Workers members, will be permanently laid off after the resumption of work on September 30.

Mr. Vasquez, a member of UAW Local 560, told the Bulletin: "Ever since they hired the new guys, they've been working them like animals. Now they're going to give them the boot."

"I've been working at that plant for 10 years. I know what these young guys with families are facing.

"There's real tension in the plant, especially among the young guys. We need a group of men to stand up to this unemployment they're trying to push on us.

Following last December's energy crisis, production of Pintos and Mustang IIs underwent a rapid expansion. The Milpitas plant hired over 1000 workers in the first three months of 1974. Many were transferred from auto plants shut down in other parts of the country.

Plant layoffs will hit new-hires with less than a year's seniority. No SUB will be paid to compensate for job losses.

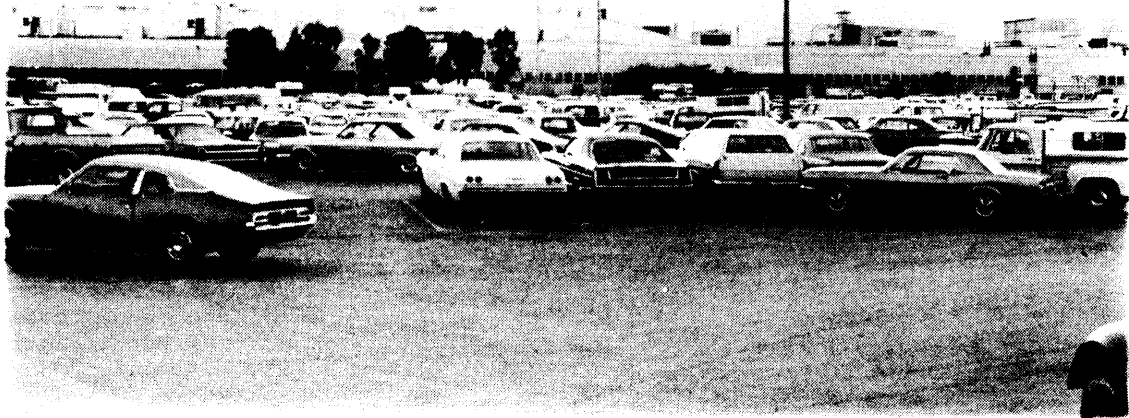
Another worker said: "The way things have been going, there's going to be a lot more layoffs. People don't have jobs, and people who don't have jobs can't buy cars."

"It used to be that they would produce the Pinto as a cheap car. But if you want to get a Pinto that looks good, you have to pay \$4000."

"This is the first I've heard of the layoffs," stated one worker interviewed by the Bulletin. "I know that the economy is collapsing and the layoffs will be very bad."

"The problem is that, when they hired the new workers a few months ago, these guys were made to work too fast. The union said they couldn't do anything about it."

"I think there should be a national strike against speedup and layoffs."



The Milpitas Pinto plant where 700 layoffs are planned by Ford.

Worker Jailed 2 Years On Forged Fingerprint

**BY SHEILA BREHM
WHITTIER, Calif.—**
The past seven years have been a nightmare for William DePalma, 36, from this city, Nixon's hometown.

It started on December 12, 1967, when DePalma was washing the catering truck that he drove for his living and was approached by several officers carrying shotguns who told him he was

Now seven years later, after two and one-half years in jail, all his life savings gone, huge debts for lawyers fees, his family on welfare, his job lost, it has now been proven that DePalma's fingerprint was forged by James D. Bakken, criminologist for the Buena Park Police Department.

A fingerprint lifted from the scene of a crime is always claimed to be positive proof, sufficient for conviction. DePalma's case marks the first time that the technique of forging a fingerprint has come out in the open. It leaves unanswered, however, how many other times this technique has been used to obtain convictions.

To prove his innocence after being convicted, DePalma had to hire his own private investigator, John Bond, who uncovered the forgery. Upon close examination of the trial transcripts, Bond began checking the credentials of all the witnesses and ran into major discrepancies when he checked the background of Bakken.

Bakken had testified that prior to his arrival at Buena Park, he had spent four years with the Lincoln County, Minnesota sheriff's department in charge of criminal identification and that he had a degree in criminal identification from the University of Minnesota extension school.

When Bond called to verify this testimony, there was no record of Bakken ever having been at either place.

That the Buena Park police department either ignored Bakken's credentials or did not even bother to check them, places the responsibility equally on them for conspiring to send an innocent man to jail.

A detailed examination

revealed that the fingerprint was actually a photocopy print lifted from a misdemeanor record of DePalma's years ago. Because DePalma was seen in the area a few weeks before another robbery—according to police department witnesses—Bakken pulled out his old file and transposed that fingerprint onto a plastic card which was used in court as evidence.

It was found that the print used in court matched perfectly DePalma's original print. It is impossible for the same person to ever have an identical print because of the change produced by different amounts of pressure.

Bakken cannot even be tried for the forgery as the statute of limitations expired when he was indicted by an Orange County grand jury last November on nine counts of perjury and falsifying evidence in a 1970 case involving possession of marijuana.

When DePalma was recently released from prison he said: "It shouldn't be this way. I should be happy, jumping around, kicking my heels. But I'm not."

"It's something that happens that I wouldn't want to happen to anyone. It's a pretty tough struggle."

Needless to say, DePalma has not been compensated for his lost wages, lost savings, or nightmarish experience. Currently, having to use his own money again, he has filed a multimillion dollar civil suit against the city of Buena Park and James D. Bakken.

This account reveals the devious techniques that are currently being used by the police to obtain convictions and railroad innocent people to jail, while Nixon goes free.

Huey Newton Jumps Bail

**BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER
OAKLAND, Calif.—**
Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton disappeared August 24 after being arrested three times in a month on assault charges.

Charles Garry, Newton's attorney, indicated he might have left the country.

Newton and his 400-pound bodyguard, Robert Hurd, were arrested after a barroom brawl with a plainclothes policeman. Several weeks after they were bailed out, Newton and Hurd were again arrested and charged with pistol whipping Newton's personal tailor in his \$650 a month Lakeshore Boulevard penthouse apartment in Oakland.

Newton was also charged with the shooting of a 17-year-old girl on a North Oakland street. Police claim the girl is a prostitute.

Newton dropped out of sight as soon as he was released on bail posted by the Black Panther Party. The \$42,000 bail has been forfeited, and the party offices are now subject to seizure.

A Panther Party spokesman said such a seizure was "probable," but said the party had other assets and would continue to publish its weekly newspaper.

Elaine Brown, Panther Party information director, said that Newton's penthouse apartment had been closed down. "His phone has been disconnected and his personal effects packed," she told the press. Newton has played no public political role for several years, confining himself to writing and to living well at the expense of the party.

The Black Panther Party is now engaged in an attempt to

Campbell Teachers Win Support

CAMPBELL, Calif.—Three hundred striking teachers gained strike sanction today from the Santa Clara County Labor Council.

The school board has been keeping the schools open by hiring \$50 a day substitutes, while refusing to meet the teachers' demand for a decent wage increase.

On Monday, the teachers voted down a 4.5 percent offer, up only .3 percent from the original offer of 4.2 percent. The strike is in its second week.

Strike sanction was obtained after the West Valley Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the Campbell Elementary Teachers Association (NEA) reached agreement on joint bargaining and joint settlement of the strike.

The strikers will now be able to turn away deliveries from the schools.

At a meeting today called by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, (AFSCME), non-teaching workers such as bus drivers, clerical, and maintenance workers will vote on whether to join the strike.



Huey P. Newton

portray Newton's escapades as a continuation of the fight against repression the Panthers made in the 1960s. They defend Newton and claim there is a police plot to kill him.

Actually, the Panthers have completely degenerated into a faction of the Oakland Democratic Party and are trying to rouse the memories of 1968 to regain an image of militancy.

under arrest for robbing the Mercury Savings and Loan Association in Buena Park.

The main evidence used to convict DePalma was a claim by the police department that one fingerprint of his was found at the scene of the robbery.

NABET Backs KQED Strike

**BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—**
Engineers, production assistants, and reporters are on strike at KQED television station, over demands by management for the unlimited right to hire and fire.

The 50 strikers, members of National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) Local 51 are supported by 30 other NABET members at KQED who are honoring picket lines. The station has dropped all live programming and is being operated

by supervisors and management.

Engineers went on strike September 2, and the production assistants and reporters joined two days later.

The 10 reporters who produce the well-known "Newsroom" program voted for NABET in an NLRB election nearly a year ago, but the station has never agreed to a contract.

Jim Benet, a reporter for KQED who is on strike told the Bulletin: "They want to fire people anytime they want. With engineers, when they have a

production job for the network or something, they can hire someone outside for the job and then fire him as soon as it's over. They want to fire someone who's been here 10 years and hire someone else because they think he's good with a video camera."

NONPROFIT

KQED is a "nonprofit" educational station supported by 90,000 \$10 and \$15 sustainers and an annual telethon auction which this year took in \$500,000. It has been constantly in financial difficulty, depending on charity from wealthy liberals.

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PSP Sigue Linea Stalinista



Chile

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INFLATION...

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The trade union movement must immediately hammer out a policy to meet the unprecedented attacks on the living standards of the working class. The burning task before the AFL-CIO, UAW, and every trade union body is the development of a program to combat inflation and unemployment.

The trade unions must launch the fight for wage increases of at least 20 percent across the board to catch up with past inflation. But the labor movement must go beyond this.

The efforts of the government and corporations to pauperize the working class with inflation and to split it with unemployment require that the trade union movement launch a powerful offensive centered on the demands for a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of hours.

Only by winning the guarantee that wages rise automatically with each rise in the cost of living and that hours are adjusted to provide full employment can the living standards of the working class be defended.

ESCALATOR

In other words, a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause providing for monthly adjustments must be written into every contract. At the same time, the trade unions must demand the establishment of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to create jobs for the unemployed: Leon Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program* (1938): "Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in price of consumer goods.

"Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility..."

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tionship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

The trade union movement must now take up the issue of the sliding scale of hours and wages.

The fight for these demands poses before the working class enormous political tasks. The defense of jobs and living standards is inseparable from a political fight against the Ford-Rockefeller government and its Democratic Party allies who are determined to foist wage cuts and unemployment on the working class.

This is not the time to engage in discussions with Gerald Ford in the White House. Last week's "summit" attended by the leaders of the trade union bureaucracy was an act of treachery and an example of utter bankruptcy in the face of this crisis.

The trade union ranks, 20 million strong, must reject

further talks and collaboration with the government.

Workers in every trade union local must demand that a Congress of Labor be convened to hammer out a class policy for the crisis and to construct a labor party to fight for a workers government that will implement these policies.

•Fight for a 20 percent across the board wage hike!

•Fight for the sliding scale of wages! Demand a 100 percent cost of living escalator with monthly adjustments!

•Fight for the sliding scale of hours! Demand a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

•The AFL-CIO must pull out of the September 27-28 "summit" with Ford!

•Convene a Congress of Labor! Build a labor party!

The fight for these policies in every local requires the construction of a revolutionary leadership trained as Marxists. We call on all workers to join the Workers League and fight to construct the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in their plants.

WORKERS PARTY...

(Continued From Page 1)

teacher layoffs and an acute shortage of supplies. In several schools, parents have chosen to keep their children out of classes in an attempt to fight these rotten conditions.

At the same time, the opening of school has been used to strengthen the forces of reaction through racism consciously brought into working class neighborhoods such as South Boston. Here right-wing politicians in the Democratic Party whipped up hysteria against the busing of black youth, exposing both the black and white youth to police assault.

Repression has reached new levels with the massive police occupation of the Puerto Rican community in Newark. Claude Reese, Jr., 14 years old, of Brownsville was shot in the back of the head for "burglary" while he was helping friends decorate a basement clubroom for a party.

The government is forced into this confrontation by the tremendous economic crisis of capitalism. The testimony of Ford's own economic experts confirms that slump is developing no matter what steps are taken.

Under these conditions, the policies of the entire trade union leadership are an outright betrayal. They have sat at Ford's summit conferences and agreed that "fighting inflation" means workers must sacrifice, by holding down wages.

"Every candidate of the Republican and Democratic party alike supports Ford's summit conference on inflation," Helen Halyard said. "So do the so-called revolutionaries of the Communist Party and the So-

cialist Workers Party.

"The Workers Party candidates are the only ones running in this election to demand that the labor movement convene a "summit" of working people, unemployed, and youth to map out a fight to defend our basic rights.

"This Congress of Labor must launch a political party of the working class, a labor party, to fight for a socialist program to meet the Ford-Rockefeller program of depression and dictatorship.

Esther Tanzman, who is organizing the campaign, said: "Plans are now being finalized for evening rallies in each neighborhood, between now and the end of the month, featuring the two candidates.

"We will also be holding rallies at factory gates and union meetings, high schools, and colleges, because it is here that the leadership will be assembled and trained to lead the battles we face," she said.

"Literally hundreds of workers now recognize the candidates as they walk through the campaign areas. We want to draw each of them and their families and neighbors into this campaign.

"Because it is the *Bulletin* that has led the fight for a labor party, and organized the forces that allowed us to launch this campaign, we will stage our biggest election rally to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the launching of the *Bulletin*. This celebration will be held Friday, October 25 at Debs Hall (1199 Headquarters), 310 West 43 Street in Manhattan, and we urge everyone on the East Coast to attend."

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tionship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

The trade union movement must now take up the issue of the sliding scale of hours and wages.

The fight for these demands poses before the working class enormous political tasks. The defense of jobs and living standards is inseparable from a political fight against the Ford-Rockefeller government and its Democratic Party allies who are determined to foist wage cuts and unemployment on the working class.

This is not the time to engage in discussions with Gerald Ford in the White House. Last week's "summit" attended by the leaders of the trade union bureaucracy was an act of treachery and an example of utter bankruptcy in the face of this crisis.

The trade union ranks, 20 million strong, must reject

further talks and collaboration with the government.

Workers in every trade union local must demand that a Congress of Labor be convened to hammer out a class policy for the crisis and to construct a labor party to fight for a workers government that will implement these policies.

•Fight for a 20 percent across the board wage hike!

•Fight for the sliding scale of wages! Demand a 100 percent cost of living escalator with monthly adjustments!

•Fight for the sliding scale of hours! Demand a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

•The AFL-CIO must pull out of the September 27-28 "summit" with Ford!

•Convene a Congress of Labor! Build a labor party!

The fight for these policies in every local requires the construction of a revolutionary leadership trained as Marxists. We call on all workers to join the Workers League and fight to construct the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in their plants.

WORKERS PARTY...

(Continued From Page 1)

teacher layoffs and an acute shortage of supplies. In several schools, parents have chosen to keep their children out of classes in an attempt to fight these rotten conditions.

At the same time, the opening of school has been used to strengthen the forces of reaction through racism consciously brought into working class neighborhoods such as South Boston. Here right-wing politicians in the Democratic Party whipped up hysteria against the busing of black youth, exposing both the black and white youth to police assault.

Repression has reached new levels with the massive police occupation of the Puerto Rican community in Newark. Claude Reese, Jr., 14 years old, of Brownsville was shot in the back of the head for "burglary" while he was helping friends decorate a basement clubroom for a party.

The government is forced into this confrontation by the tremendous economic crisis of capitalism. The testimony of Ford's own economic experts confirms that slump is developing no matter what steps are taken.

Under these conditions, the policies of the entire trade union leadership are an outright betrayal. They have sat at Ford's summit conferences and agreed that "fighting inflation" means workers must sacrifice, by holding down wages.

"Every candidate of the Republican and Democratic party alike supports Ford's summit conference on inflation," Helen Halyard said. "So do the so-called revolutionaries of the Communist Party and the So-

cialist Workers Party.

"The Workers Party candidates are the only ones running in this election to demand that the labor movement convene a "summit" of working people, unemployed, and youth to map out a fight to defend our basic rights.

"This Congress of Labor must launch a political party of the working class, a labor party, to fight for a socialist program to meet the Ford-Rockefeller program of depression and dictatorship.

Esther Tanzman, who is organizing the campaign, said: "Plans are now being finalized for evening rallies in each neighborhood between now and the end of the month, featuring the two candidates.

"We will also be holding rallies at factory gates and union meetings, high schools, and colleges, because it is here that the leadership will be assembled and trained to lead the battles we face," she said.

"Literally hundreds of workers now recognize the candidates as they walk through the campaign areas. We want to draw each of them and their families and neighbors into this campaign.

"Because it is the Bulletin that has led the fight for a labor party, and organized the forces that allowed us to launch this campaign, we will stage our biggest election rally to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the launching of the Bulletin. This celebration will be held Friday, October 25 at Debs Hall (1199 Headquarters), 310 West 43 Street in Manhattan, and we urge everyone on the East Coast to attend."

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