

# Bulletin

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

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SEVENTY TWO 408

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1974

C-748

TWENTY CENTS

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

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He threatened that unless they decreased their prices and made special arrangements with their large money holdings, the whole world capitalist system faced the "prospect of ultimate bankruptcy." In this fashion, the oil producing states would suffer as well.

This statement follows the annual report of the International Monetary Fund which speaks of the most serious international economic crisis since World War Two and urges the capitalist rulers to encourage unemployment and prepare wage controls and other measures against the working class.

Simultaneous with Ford's speech, comes the release of the United States second quarter balance of payments figures. These show a \$2.7 billion deficit, the largest since 1972. While this was in part caused by high oil prices, three other factors had a major effect. First, American balance of trade figures, despite the rise in food exports, remain in deficit. Secondly, large sums of money have been lent by US banks abroad. Third, American capital has gone abroad seeking investment in cheaper labor markets.

Clearly then, the crisis of American capitalism is only partly related to the oil question, which itself is a reaction of the oil countries to the impact of inflation upon their dollar holdings.

#### STIFFENS

As President Ford moves against the rest of the capitalist world, he stiffens up his position against the American working class here. Ford has declared that the government will not supply short or long term financial aid to Pan Am which faces bankruptcy next month. Offering only a program to encourage more Americans to fly on American owned planes, which is expected to be of no help, Ford is forcing Pan Am to fight for its survival through massive cutbacks and layoffs—that is, at the expense of the workers. In this way, Pan Am is to lead the way for the onslaught on American workers, while Ford launches his campaign against the rest of the world.

What becomes clear is that Ford is using the oil question as a cover for a general attack on all the other capitalist nations. The United States plans to put the screws on Europe, as well as prepare pressure up to and including war against the oil states. At the same time, he prepares war on the workers states.

The statements of Ford on the food question are equally revealing. Ford quite artificially linked food to oil, stating

In the Midweek  
Edition

•Behind the Fall of the Greek Junta—Interview with a member of the Workers International League in Greece, Part One.

that the United States produced a surplus of the former, needed by the developing nations, while the developing nations produced a surplus of the latter, needed by the US and other industrial nations. Of course, the countries in real need of food, like India and the African nations, not only do not produce oil, but have had their own extremely weak economies weakened further by rising oil import costs.

What Ford means by this comparison is a not so veiled threat to begin to use food as a political weapon to force the poorer nations to buckle under to the United States. This becomes critical as the capitalists fear the powerful movement of the working class in these nations most recently expressed in the upsurge of the masses in Mozambique.

At the same time, Ford rejects any plans for international control over food surpluses or even American government control. He insists that these surpluses be held in private

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HOOVER  
JUL 29 1976  
INSTITUTION



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BY A REPORTER  
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While the company claims that it is willing to pay the wage rates now in effect at GM, Ford, and

Chrysler, American Motors is seeking to implement substantial changes in work rules.

AMC wants arbitration to replace a strike as the final step in the grievance procedure. It also wants to reduce the number of company-paid shop stewards from 1 for every 35 workers to 1 for every 125 workers.

The strike prevents AMC from beginning production on its 1975 line. American Motors is the only auto company that has been reporting a sharp upturn in sales.

Shut down by the strike are AMC's Kenosha, Wis., assembly plant, two facilities in Milwaukee; its Brampton, Ontario, assembly plant; and the company's Detroit headquarters.

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## The SWP Appeals To Join Ford's Summit

The Socialist Workers Party has written a letter to President Ford asking to be included in the summit conference set for September 27-28. This initiative follows that of the Communist Party which has made a similar request.

This summit meeting is part of the corporatist plans of Ford and Rockefeller. Their aim is to involve the labor movement together with business in the plans of the government in tackling the economic crisis. They claim that in this way the "people" will be represented.

### What We Think

This is a complete farce. The government represents not the people, but the ruling capitalist class. Its policies are the policies of this class. Those policies today mean encouraging unemployment to pre-

pare the way for breaking the trade unions and forcing the full weight of their crisis onto the backs of the working class.

Proceeding from this perspective, the Workers League has campaigned for rank and file workers to demand the withdrawal of the trade union officials from the summit. We propose instead that the trade unions call their own "summit."

Such a summit would be a congress of the entire labor movement, open to all working class tendencies and the rank and file, for the purpose of developing labor's own proposals for the crisis. Such a Congress would be the first step in launching a labor party, based on the trade unions, to implement these proposals.

The Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party approach the question in the opposite manner. They accept the summit and, by proposing that they themselves attend, cover for the trade union bureaucrats.

The task which faces revolutionaries is to gain the leadership of the trade unions through a struggle to expose these bureaucrats. Only in this way can the re-

volutionary movement become the leadership in fact of the millions of American workers.

The meaning of the SWP's approach to this summit is to avoid this struggle against the labor bureaucracy.

This expresses how far this party has moved from revolutionary politics. In the very issue of *The Militant* which features material on the death of James P. Cannon, the SWP expresses its own political death as a revolutionary party.

This is the record:

- In the late 1950s, when integration first began in the South, the SWP demanded that federal troops be sent to the South to enforce this integration. Rather than turning to the working class and the trade unions for action in defense of the black youth of the South, the SWP turned to the capitalist state which was responsible for the bloody murder of masses of workers and peasants in Korea and Vietnam.

- In 1963, when President Kennedy was assassinated, the SWP sent condolences to the widow Jacqueline Kennedy. President Kennedy was responsible for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, as well as stepping up the criminal war against the Vietnamese people.

- In the recent period, the SWP has gone over to the reformist demand of the black nationalists for community control of the police.

The great lesson of Trotsky's struggle in 1940 against the petty bourgeois opposition led by Shachtman and Burnham is that without a conscious struggle for dialectical materialism, a party reflects the pressures of the capitalist class.

In 1953, a new international tendency had emerged within the Trotskyist movement, headed by Michel Pablo and represented in this country by the Cochran-Clarke group, which followed the Shachtman group in abandoning Marxism in favor of impressionism and empiricism. This faction acted to break up the Trotskyist cadre right in the middle of the difficult period of Cold War and McCarthyism. Cannon resisted this tendency, but failed to take the struggle to its theoretical level in educating the movement in Marxism.

Therefore, in the 1961 to 1963 period, the SWP itself moved towards and consummated a political reunification with the remnant of this Pabloite group, the United Secretariat headed by Ernest Mandel. This led to a break with the International Committee of the Fourth International led by the Socialist Labour League of England, today known as the Workers Revolutionary Party. The Workers League began as a faction within the SWP which opposed this break with Marxism and supported the International Committee.

The political evolution of the SWP ever closer to American imperialism proves irrevocably that without a conscious struggle for dialectical materialism, a party, whatever the intentions of its members, becomes transformed from an instrument for socialist revolution into an instrument for the defense of capitalism.

As the SWP moves ever closer to the American capitalist class, its political positions coincide with those of the American Communist Party. For some time now, these two parties have come closer together politically.

The word "Stalinism" has all but been dropped from the writings of the SWP. Years of collaboration with the CP in the peace movement have been followed by new attempts at collaboration over Chile. When the issue posed by events in Chile is precisely the exposure and smashing of Stalinism, the SWP seeks a working relationship with the agents of Stalinism in America, the Communist Party.

The SWP was founded by James P. Cannon in 1928 through a bitter struggle against Stalinism over the very policies today endorsed by the SWP. Today, the question fought out against Stalinism in the 1930s are questions effecting the lives of millions of people. The capitalist crisis brings all these questions to the fore. This is why the SWP today runs away from them.

The Workers League together with the International Committee of the Fourth International has fought for principles against this betrayal of the SWP. This is why today we are prepared to lead the struggle of the working class against Ford and his summit rather than to aid Ford in his plot to break the workers movement.

# FRELIMO Halts Armed Struggle

BY MELODY FARROW

Units of Portuguese troops, together with members of FRELIMO, (the Mozambique Liberation Front) are still patrolling the tense capital of this East African nation, Lourenço Marques, after an aborted rightist uprising and a counterattack by the African majority left over 80 dead and nearly 500 wounded.

What has been revealed since September 6, when a gradual plan for independence was declared between FRELIMO and the Portuguese government, is the dangers the African people face because of the Stalinist-influenced FRELIMO leadership.

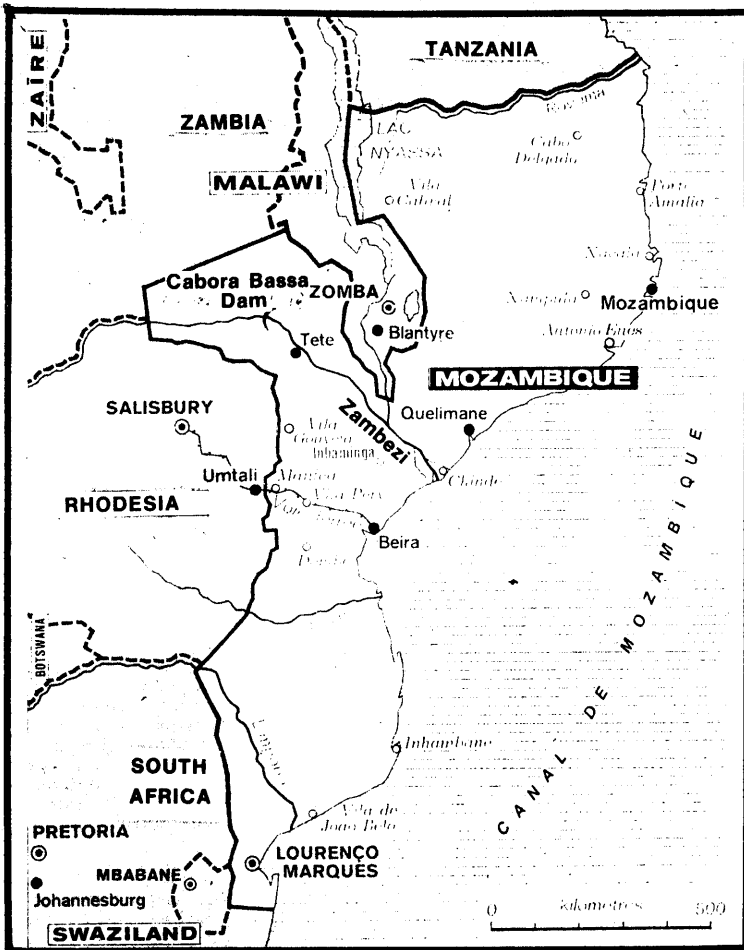
Of all the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, the struggle in Mozambique is the most decisive, as it has an immediate impact on the struggle of the oppressed black majority in neighboring Rhodesia, South and Southwest Africa.

What has emerged in the past week is that the nationalist FRELIMO leaders turned to the right, towards closer collaboration with the Portuguese government, at the very point when the African workers and youth took up an independent struggle.

### SPINOLA.

The Spinoza regime in Portugal was forced to make a political settlement with the liberation movement because of their military victories and overwhelming support from the population.

FRELIMO was virtually in total control of the territory



north of the Zambezi River, nearly one-half of the country, while badly demoralized Portuguese soldiers were unwilling to fight.

The huge Cabora Bassa dam project was in a constant state of siege and the vital rail links from the dam to the port city of Beira were repeatedly blown up by FRELIMO guerrillas.

Before the agreement this month, Samora Machel, leader of FRELIMO, vowed that he would never accept a coalition with the Portuguese government.

However, the agreement signed on September 6 in Lusaka, Zambia, is a betrayal of the long and heroic struggle of the Mozambique guerrilla fighters for independence. The

major points are:

- Independence will be granted on June 25, 1975.
- A high commissioner will oversee the transitional stage. Admiral Victor Crespo, a member of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement has been appointed to this post.
- The Prime Minister and six ministers will be appointed by FRELIMO, and the other three ministers will be chosen by Portugal.
- A joint military commission with equal representation to enforce the cease-fire.
- Acceptance by FRELIMO of financial obligations undertaken by Portugal if deemed in the territory's interest.
- Portuguese troops to remain until independence.



Mozambicans celebrate independence agreement.

On September 6, over 15,000 workers for the third day in a row, responded to an appeal by FRELIMO and staged strikes and mass rallies to show their support.

That night, the right-wing and fascist movements tried to stage a coup d'etat.

Two hundred white youth attacked three liberal newspapers, *Tribuna* and *Noticias* and the pro-independence *Tempo* and set fire to a university restaurant.

The rightist backlash was led by FICO (I Stay) and Dragons of Death, a paramilitary organization, as well as the Armed Mozambique Association, led by a European industrialist which tried to recruit a mercenary army.

The Portuguese Army stood by while Dragons of Death seized the radio and the airport and forced the release of 200 members of the fascist secret police DGS from prison.

One young African was wounded with a grenade and then was dragged to the radio station and forced to speak against FRELIMO.

For a full 60 hours, the Portuguese command did not intervene clearly because high military officials sympathized with the revolt. FRELIMO refused to arm and mobilize the population against the right-wing threat.

### INITIATIVE

It was the African workers themselves, especially the youth, who finally took the initiative.

Crowds of blacks, armed only with sledgehammers, iron bars, clubs, and slingshots, attacked stores, and overturned and burned cars. The youth set up roadblocks and searched every car for arms. They were extremely suspicious of the Portuguese troops.

With the collapse of the revolt, hundreds of Europeans are now fleeing from the country. FRELIMO is desperately seeking to regain control and is urging the black neighborhoods to keep calm.

The FRELIMO leadership ties the African workers to an agreement that accepts the reactionary Spinoza regime in Portugal. But this is a regime of extreme crisis.

The Portuguese capitalists want to keep economic control of Mozambique which in the past has provided a cheap source of rice, cotton, sugar cane, and minerals.

The Lusaka agreement accepts collaboration with the black and white bourgeoisie of Mozambique.

Real liberation for the Mozambique people can only begin with the expulsion of all Portuguese troops, and the total destruction of colonialism.

In this period of the decay and collapse of the capitalist economic system, the struggle for independence must be combined with the struggle for socialism, for the nationalization of industries, land, and the banks and for the building of a revolutionary party to unite the African working class.



# Approval For CIA Subversion

BY DAVID NORTH

President Gerald Ford admitted at his Monday press conference that the CIA worked actively between 1970 and 1973 to undermine the government of the murdered Chilean president, Salvador Allende.

Framing his answers very carefully, Ford became the first president in history to state that the CIA is in the business of overthrowing governments.

He made his statements on the CIA in response to questions concerning the spending of \$8 million by the agency for subversive work in Chile.

"Our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security," declared Ford.

An effort was made by the CIA, said Ford, "to help and assist the preservation of opposition newspapers and electronic media and to preserve opposition political parties.

"I think this is in the best interest of the people in Chile, and certainly in our best interest."

When asked to cite the international law under which the CIA carried out its plans to bring down the Allende government, Ford replied:

"I'm not going to pass judgment on whether it's permitted or authorized under international law. It's a recognized fact that historically as well as presently, such actions are taken in the best interests of the countries involved."

The interest served by the overthrow of Allende was that of American imperialism. Over the bones of more than 30,000 murdered Chilean workers and socialists, the full power of American firms like Kennecott, Anaconda, and ITT have been restored. The fascist junta of Pinochet is the instrument of the American corporations.

Ford's blunt admission of CIA activities have startled the capitalist press. It is obvious that he wanted to make it clear that the CIA had been active in preparing Allende's overthrow.

It is clear that Ford's statement on the CIA was designed to threaten the international workers movement and every opponent of American policies.

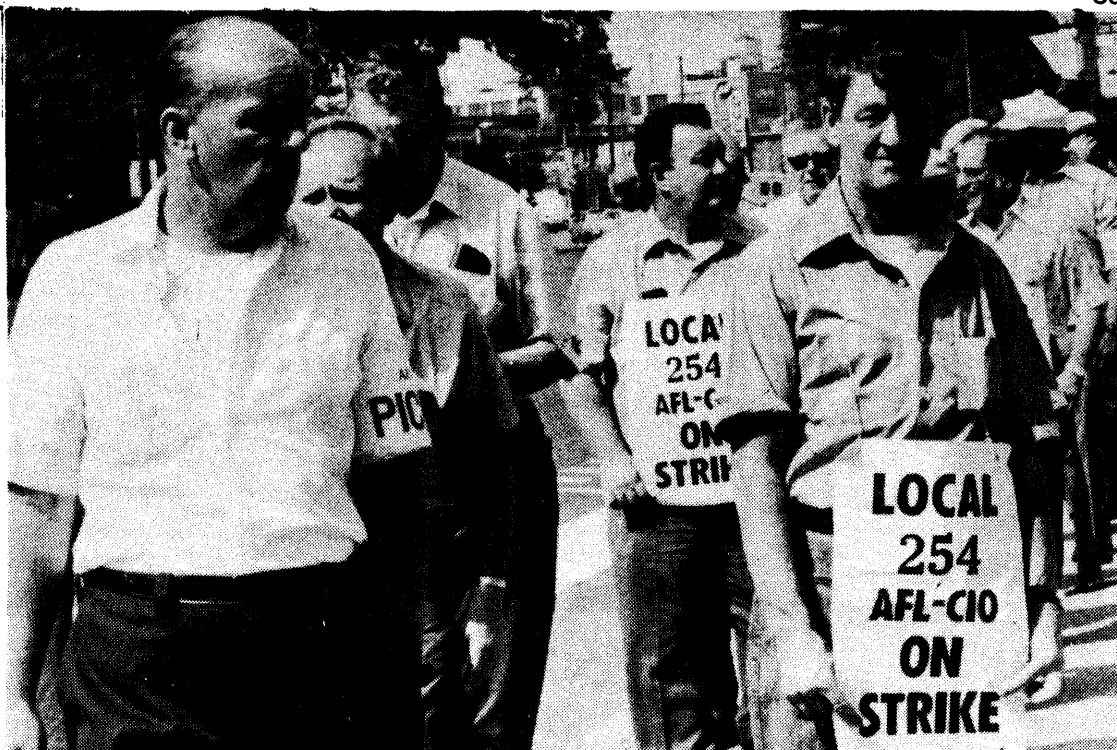
Ford took the opportunity to say, in so many words: "Yes, we knocked off Allende and that's the way we'll be doing things from here on out."

As revolutionary struggles develop in Europe, the CIA is certain to emerge as the principal strategist of military and fascist terror against the working class.

What the CIA does in Europe will be preparation for actions within the United States.

It is the responsibility of the AFL-CIO to immediately launch an inquiry into the role of the CIA in the American and international labor movement and expose it before the working class.

But the AFL-CIO bureaucracy will refuse to perform this elementary duty to the working class because so many of the bureaucrats—from Meany on down—have the closest connections with the CIA.



Service Employees for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are on strike to back up their fight for a wage increase.

# Coalition Plot For Britain

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

**A plot for a coalition government in England has been hatched in Washington during secret talks between former British Prime Minister Heath, of the right-wing Tory party, and President Ford.**

The purpose of such a government would be to launch a frontal attack on the working class as the worldwide capitalist crisis compels the United States capitalists to turn against Europe.

Each day the swift deterioration of the world economy is upsetting the political plans of the capitalists, requiring a speedup in preparations for civil war against the working class.

Harold Wilson, Prime Minister and leader of the Labor Party, has officially announced that the election will be held on October 10.

The fact that Heath, not Wilson who heads the Labor government, was called to Washington is of the greatest importance. Ford knows his deflationary policies can only deepen the crisis of the tottering British economy.

When he seeks out Heath, as the man to discuss with, he is making clear that as far as he is concerned, a Labor government is the one alternative the American government does not want to emerge in the next year—elections or no elections.

What Ford has in mind for Britain is some form of "national unity" government, centered on the Tory party—the only party the capitalists fully trust.

## WEAKNESS

But they are well aware of the weakness of this party in the last period when confronted with the determination of the working class expressed through two powerful miners strikes.

Therefore, they want to bring into the government at least some section of the Labor party or prominent figures from that party and the Liberal party.

The purpose of such a government is clear. Already, a sentiment is being whipped up among

the middle class for a government "above politics." Such a government, involving at least some complicity from the Labor party and trade union bureaucracies, would then crack down on the trade unions utilizing growing unemployment as a weapon.

But this is only a part of the plans. The military has been trained in the techniques of civil warfare in Ulster. A new version of the "B-Specials" is being built up in Ulster which involves the arming of the rightist Protestant forces by the government. Now a similar plan is being proposed by the Tory party for England itself.

Shadow Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Rippon has called for setting up a Citizen's Voluntary Reserve "for home defense and duties in aid of the civil power." What Rippon has in mind is a strikebreaking force similar to the one used to break the 1926 general strike.

We can thus see a coalition government is a step towards civil war and open dictatorship against the working class.

## FEVERISH

The feverish pace of these political moves of the capitalist class is brought about by swiftly moving international crisis. The International Monetary Fund's annual report, issued almost simultaneously with the Heath-Ford talks, speaks of this crisis in no uncertain terms.

"At mid-1974," the IMF states, "the world economy was in the throes of a virulent and widespread inflation, a deceleration of economic growth...and a massive disequilibrium in international payments."

Faced with this situation, the IMF urges the capitalist countries to sacrifice economic growth and full employment in the interests of fighting inflation. This means encouraging unemployment and some form of wage controls. All this goes under the heading "demand management!"

That this struggle cannot be postponed a minute is seen from the threatened collapse of yet another British firm, the Ferranti Electronics group. Ferranti's failure comes a month after the collapse of the Court Line travel outfit and at a time when Rolls Royce is seeking an additional \$100 million in guar-

antees from the government.

There is no avoiding it—the world capitalist economy is on the brink of complete collapse and Great Britain is today at the center of that collapse. The United States seeks to survive by pushing Europe over the brink.

## AWAITING

The working class is not awaiting these developments passively. All production has now stopped at the two Ford Motor Car plants in England over pay claims. The struggle of the working class moves forward.

In 1931, the Tory party, which held an overwhelming majority in Parliament, invited Labor party leader Ramsey MacDonald to become Prime Minister in order to create a "national" government to deal with the European economic collapse.

MacDonald accepted and presided over the most ruthless attacks on the living standards of the British working class.

Great secrecy surrounds the preparations for a coalition government today because of the enormous fear of the working class.

What is now immediately posed is the construction of the revolutionary leadership of the British working class, the Workers Revolutionary Party.

## 10,000 Line Up For Jobs

BY FRANK ELLIOT

**PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Ten thousand unemployed workers here were forced to stand in line overnight for 280 job openings which turned out to not even exist.**

**The city announced that 280 jobs were being opened up for laborers in the city streets department. The jobs paid \$8400 a year and would be filled on a first come first served basis as the usual civil service list had been allowed to run out.**

**Applications were to be processed starting 6 am Saturday, but lines began forming as early as 8 pm the night before. Despite the cold weather and rain, 10,000 men waited in line at the seven hiring centers.**

**What the workers were not told was that the jobs had already been filled. People recommended by Democratic Party war leaders and political friends of Democratic Mayor Rizzo were sent to the hiring centers the day before to steal the 280 jobs.**

**Unemployment in Philadelphia is now about 8 percent and is growing daily. The large Scott Paper plant in nearby Eddystone has just announced that it is discontinuing its paper and plastic cup operation and is throwing another 300 workers onto the unemployment lines.**

**The labor leaders here, who still remain political servants to Mayor Rizzo as well as Ford and Rockefeller must be replaced in the fight for a labor party to implement a program of nationalizing industry and a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to provide jobs for all.**

# Haig Gets NATO Command

BY A REPORTER

The appointment of General Alexander Haig as the NATO commander has given him a personal power base of enormous dimensions.

Haig's latest promotion has sinister implications for the working class of Europe and the United States.

This political general will be given full authority to carry out land, sea, and air operations if he should decide this is necessary for the "defense" of his command area.

This command area extends from Norway's North Cape to the Turkish-Soviet border 800 miles east of Istanbul.

Normally, a command of this magnitude would go to a military man with extensive combat experience.

But in this case, the American ruling class wanted a man with a clear grasp of the economic and political crisis who is trained in conspiracy and counterrevolution at the very summit of power.

Haig's assignment in Europe will be to prepare the military to confront the task of suppressing the European revolution. He brings with him all the experience gained as the closest associate of Henry Kissinger for four years before becoming chief of staff.

It is common knowledge in Washington that he was acting president during the final months of Nixon's term. Haig ran the White House with military discipline, instructing subordinates to carry out orders from their "commander-in-chief."

At the same time, Haig—as is proven by the new appointment—maintained the closest ties with the military.

He retained his immense authority in the White House even after Ford became president.

Close friends of Nixon have indicated that it was Haig who persuaded Ford to grant a pardon.

Informed sources told The New York Times: "Haig felt strongly that any advance disclosure would lead to a controversy and probably Congressional demands for a detailed explanation of the reasons underlying the president's abrupt decision."



# Brownsville Cop Murders Claude Reese

BY A REPORTING  
TEAM

**BROOKLYN, NY—** On Monday night, September 15, Claude Reese, Jr., 14, was shot in the head by policeman Frank Bosco, behind an apartment building at 471 Powell Street in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

Statements by the police department that Bosco had "mistakenly" thought young Reese had a pistol and that eye witnesses are giving "conflicting" reports about what happened, are a complete lie.

Claude Jr. was killed in cold blood at almost point blank range, was handcuffed as he lay bleeding to death in the courtyard, and then taken to Brookdale Hospital, where he died at 1 am.

Claude and his friends were cleaning up the basement of the building to throw a party for a 16-year-old friend when two cops burst in. James Blount, who was there, told the Bulletin what happened:

"We were making a hole in the door to put a chain on and then a light shined, and then we ran. We went through the backyard.

"I was in front of Claude and then the cops shot one bullet.

They didn't say 'police' or anything."

Patricia who was also in the basement said: "They didn't say 'halt.' After they shot him, they put handcuffs on him. They dropped him in the street and threw him in the police car.

"We only had a sledgehammer and another hammer. It was going to be a surprise party for a girl who is 16. They said he had a pistol. That was a lie."

Patricia Blount saw the shooting from her second floor window. She told reporters that the policeman held Claude with one arm and shot him with the pistol in the other.

Patricia Reese, his sister, was standing outside the building when a woman came down and said someone was laying in the courtyard.

"Everyone ran down there. He was laying face down. At first we didn't see the cops.

"The cop came out of the basement. I ran towards my brother and he pushed me back and he still had the gun in his hand. I swung at him, but my friends pulled me back.

#### BREATH

"My brother was struggling for his last breath. They handcuffed him. He was shot in the back of the head.

"It's not because he's black. They could do it to a white kid. A 10-year-old kid in Queens was also shot.

"If my father had killed that cop's son, he would be in jail



Signs in Spanish say "End Police Brutality," "The Case of Claude Reese is a crime."

now. Cop or no cop, they have no license to kill."

Ann Williams lives at 473 Powell, next door to where Claude was shot:

"The only thing I can say is it's terrible. That was a child. I don't know how it happened. They could have given him a chance—a warning shot. We're going to make a march on this."

After the shooting, cops refused to tell Claude's father, Claude Reese, Sr., what had happened. He is a die cutter and a member of the International Paper Mill Workers Union.

#### RIOT

"They thought there was going to be a riot. I was just trying to get to him. I wanted to know who did it and why. They said they'll tell me when I got to the hospital.

"When I got to the hospital, they never told me anything.

"Prices keep going up, but they don't want to pay you what you deserve. The prices are too high to work for something less than what you can survive on.

"If you want a raise, you have to fight together. If we can get the unions together, we can do

something. The union leaders are supporting the big guys. They're passing by the people who need their support.

"What you're trying to do is organize a party to get in a position to stop all this."

The murder of Claude Reese, Jr. was not an accident, but part of a deliberate plan of the government to increase police terror in all the working class communities.

#### NEWARK

Only last week, the Newark, New Jersey police force under direct orders of Mayor Gibson, a Democrat, attacked a crowd of demonstrators at City Hall and then occupied the projects, firing into workers homes with shotguns.

The police repression is being stepped up at the same time as the Ford government takes measures that will mean millions of workers and youth will be unemployed, wages will be reduced by inflation, while funds for housing, schools, and other programs are slashed from the budget.

The killing of Claude Reese is the kind of attack the Ford

government is preparing against millions of workers who will not accept the destruction of their living standards and their basic rights.

The Brownsville and East New York Workers League and Young Socialists is holding a meeting on Thursday, September 19 to discuss plans for a rally of the Workers Party on Powell Street next week.

The Young Socialists campaign will center on the political struggle against the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for the repression and take forward a struggle for an independent party for the working class, a labor party, to throw out the Ford-Rockefeller government.

The Workers Party is running a candidate in the Brownsville/East New York district in November to fight for this.

The lesson of the Brownsville incident is to turn to the building of the revolutionary party to unite the working class and youth to lead this fight.

We call on all trade unionists and youth to support and join the Young Socialists campaign in Brownsville.

# Defend The Timberlane Teachers

BY DAVE FRANKS  
TIMBERLANE, N.H.

—"It's a matter of seeking our rights. All workers have the right to a union and that's what this fight is about.

"They want to continue to keep teachers in a subservient posture. They were surprised we'd fight like we did. We can't give up now. When someone pushes you into the dirt and stamps on you, you have to fight back," said the vice-president of the Timberlane Education Association.

The Association has been locked in a seven-month long battle for a master contract with the Timberlane School District.

The four-year old union has never won a master contract, but has signed individual agreements with the board. These agreements provided neither grievance arbitration nor representation clauses. All economic issues had been settled before the present strike. However, the board refused to recognize the union's right to mediate on behalf of the teachers.

February 26, the board settled in for a long strike, refusing to negotiate throughout the entire seven months.

Of the 104 striking teachers, only 5 have returned to work.

The strike has been maintained by mass support from teachers and other trade unionists across the country.

Members of the AFT, CWA, IBEW, and UFW have lent financial support and helped man the picket lines. The National Education Association has given its total support to the Timberlane local.

New Hampshire governor Thompson has been instrumental in attacking the union by continually mobilizing the right wing and whipping up antiunion sentiment against the teachers.

The Timberlane regional district consists of four towns: Atkinson, Plaistow, Danville, and Sandown. The towns' populations are dominated by middle management level Boston commuters supplemented by a smaller rural community. There is no industry in the area and no local union organizations. In April, the board placed a referendum on the ballot on the issue of whether or not the board should negotiate with the union. With the help of the local vigilante group, the board launched a massive propaganda campaign against the TEA. Through slanders including calling the TEA subversive and communist, the "Stop the NEA" campaign was able to register a three to one victory.

This right-wing Timberlane Civic Association, claims to be

the "Watchdog for Education." This openly antiunion group has known John Birch sympathizers within its ranks and also has close connections with Governor Thompson.

On Tuesday, August 27, the local, state, and county police held a private meeting. The TEA was refused its demand to be informed of the meeting's content. The following day, a mass picket line of over 100 teachers was broken by police: 66 teachers were arrested for parading without a permit and for disorderly conduct. Later, another 24 were arrested.

At the beginning of the strike, massive student support was gained by the teachers. Over 400 students walked out in support of the strike. However, through threats to deny graduation and withhold credits, the board forced them back in.

As of last week, the TEA lost a bid in the State Supreme Court to bar the Timberlane Board from hiring any of the scab teachers.

The Massachusetts and New Hampshire labor movement must act at once to defend the Timberlane teachers. The events in Hortonville, where local vigilantes attacked striking teachers, sending two to the hospital, are being prepared in Timberlane. Contingents of trade unionists must be organized to man the Timberlane picket lines.



Teachers in Timberlane, New Hampshire, have renewed their strike.



# The French OCI Revisionists Vote Support For Union Bureaucrats —



The following is reprinted from *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the British Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party.

Pierre Lambert, the leader of the revisionist Organization Communiste Internationaliste in France has come out in open support of the reformist trade union leadership in the Force Ouvrière trade union.

Force Ouvrière is one of three main trade union confederations in the French labor movement. It is led by right-wing reformists and anti-communists. Force Ouvrière was formed in 1947 as a split from the Communist Party-dominated CGT with the backing of American imperialism.

At the Force Ouvrière conference in June, Lambert and the other OCI delegates voted "moral support" for André Bergeron, the union's general secretary, who has a long record of class collaboration and anti-communism.

Lambert's action clearly demonstrates the right-wing political orientation of the OCI which broke decisively from Trotskyism when it split from the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1971.

The OCI is supported in Britain by the Blick-Jenkins group of anti-Marxist renegades from Trotskyism whose attacks on revolutionary theory and organization have been answered by the Workers Revolutionary Party in "A Reply to the British Agents of the OCI Liquidationists."

Bergeron's report at the conference, for which Lambert voted, explicitly rejected the idea that the French trade unions should take part in party politics. Like the CFT ultra-right union, the Force Ouvrière refused to endorse either candidate in the presidential election in May this year.

In fact, as we shall see the right-wing Force Ouvrière leadership uses this slogan as a cover for introducing its own politics—right-wing politics of backstage negotiations with the government—into the union.

Bergeron justified this position by saying: "Trade union organization is not a political agent and will not become one."

This is a crude version of the notorious right-wing line that politics have no place in the trade unions.

Bergeron's opposition to politics is confined to those who want to bring left-wing politics into the unions. In the course of his report, he attacked "factions which receive instructions from outside the trade union movement."

This attack was an anti-communist witch-hunt against a section of the union where other revisionist groups (not the OCI) have been active. He called for "respect" for "trade union independence" as the only basis for unity in the trade union movement.

Bergeron is not referring to the independence of the trade unions from the state—he has taken an active role in collaborating with the corporatist plans of the Fifth Republic—but to the independence of the trade unions from the working-class political parties.

## REACTIONARY

Bergeron represents the most conservative section of the bureaucracy in the French trade unions. His use of the slogan "trade union independence" is a shameless attempt to stir the dead embers of French syndicalism for the most reactionary ends.

It is an attempt to bolster his position by playing on the revulsion of a section of the rank and file with the treachery of the Communist and Socialist Party leaders.

Lambert voted for this fraudulent report because like Bergeron he wants at all costs to head off the development of alternative revolutionary political leadership in the French working class.

During the General Strike of May-June 1968, the OCI refrained from raising the slogan of a Communist Party-Socialist Party government and instead demanded the formation of a central strike committee to direct the strike.

In this way the OCI evaded the struggle to expose the reformist and Stalinist leaders and hid behind the purely syndicalist conception that what the working class required was better coordination of the strike.

In the last election they became the most enthusiastic advocates of the CP-SP government but again—as in

1968—they made no attempt to break the working class from the bureaucracy by demanding that they carry out socialist policies.

The opportunist character of their electoral intervention in the contest between Mitterrand and Giscard d'Estaing is clearly shown in the fact that Lambert can now embrace Bergeron, whose refusal to advise his members to vote for Mitterrand appears formally to be the opposite of the OCI position.

In an interview with the OCI paper *Information Ouvrières*, Lambert tried to justify his support for Bergeron by referring to the latter's role in the social security strike a year ago.

He admitted having voted for the first time in support of Bergeron saying: "Mandated by my union, I voted moral support. In fact, as I explained the workers and staff of the Social Security began a General Strike in May-June 1973 under the most difficult conditions.

"The Confederated Bureau (i.e., of the Force Ouvrière) and Comrade (sic) Bergeron especially, gave their support unconditionally to the strikers. After work began again, the management (of one of the main Social Security centers) supported by the ministry, began an offensive against the militants who had led the strike.

"Comrade Bergeron took the side of the militants against this leadership. That is why my union decided to vote moral support...I have added: this vote does not in any way imply agreement with the reformist orientation."

But what else is meant by voting "moral support" for the report of a reactionary trade union bureaucrat? It is no justification at all to say that the bureaucrat in question has supported strikers. This is simply an attempt to invest Bergeron with spurious credentials as a "militant."

It is clear that Lambert and the OCI have completely abandoned the basic task of fighting for the training of revolutionary cadres in the trade unions by a continuous exposure of the reformists through the building of the revolutionary party.

They have become nothing more than crude apologists for the bureaucracy, covering up for their betrayals and defending them from their critics.

In the interview Lambert voices "disagreement" with some of Bergeron's policies. His

first "disagreement," if it can be called disagreement, concerns the role of strike committees.

All Lambert says is that "Elected strike committees centralized on all levels, local, departmental and national, represent in their development the centralized power of the working class, the Commune State, the workers' council republic which substitute themselves for the bourgeois state."

It is not clear quite how this statement relates to Bergeron's position, but it certainly reveals the OCI's grovelling capitulation to spontaneity. He substitutes the pyramid of strike committees for the independent organization of the working class under the leadership of the revolutionary party, which is not even mentioned in the interview.

He avoids directly criticizing Bergeron on the question of his abstentionist position in the presidential election, stating only that "my political organization...called for...a vote for Mitterrand, the first secretary of the Socialist Party against Giscard d'Estaing, the candidate of capital; a class vote for the name of the representative of the Socialist Party, a workers' party.

"Quite a good deal of audacity is required to consider that the 'leading man' as the journalists call me, has rallied to a reformist position!" On the contrary, Lambert's reformism sticks out a mile. He describes Mitterrand without any qualification as a "representative of...a workers' party."

## ELECTION

Not a word about Mitterrand's complete subservience to French imperialism and the need to expose him as an agent of capital within the workers' movement. Not a word about the complete absence of any socialist policies from the program of the Socialist Party.

And Lambert goes on to find excuses for Bergeron on the grounds that while he has no advice one way or the other to give his members about the election, Bergeron himself voted for Mitterrand in the election.

"In his speeches Bergeron said he had met Mitterrand before the first round, and had refused to meet Giscard D'Estaing between the two rounds of the election... In his interview with

*Nouvel Observateur*.... he replied to a question concerning his own vote: I have been a member of the Socialist Party since 1936."

In other words, Lambert's vote for Bergeron is justified because Bergeron has a long record of reformism and voted for Mitterrand. This is equivalent to justifying a vote for the TUC General Council report on the grounds that Len Murray has always been a Labour Party member and voted for Wilson in the election.

And anyway, Lambert concludes, Bergeron is no worse than any of the other trade union leaders, and is more honest about his reformist position. Lambert says:

"Bergeron declared in substance before the tribune at the conference, 'I have been criticized because I met Pompidou. No one can criticize me if I have the intention with the Federal Bureau (i.e. the leading committee of the union) of meeting Giscard d'Estaing.

"Maire and Seguy (leaders of the Christian CFDT and the Stalinist CGT) are soliciting similar audiences with the president of the Republic'. "This declaration," Lambert comments, "at least has the merit of clarity: the reformist Bergeron does not defend himself."

(Why should he? Lambert is there to do it for him.)

Lambert adds that in any case the other union leaders are no better: "Seguy, on this level, takes an identical position. As far as Maire's intentions are concerned, they are those of corporatist 'self management' trying to destroy the unions as class organizations."

Lambert's complete capitulation to reformism and class-collaboration is absolutely plain from this interview. Not only does he justify his own vote for Bergeron's report, he excuses Bergeron's collaboration with Pompidou and his planned collaboration with Giscard on the grounds that "everybody's doing it."

The interview reveals the OCI stripped of all revolutionary pretensions in the abject role of attorney for the betrayals of the right-wing trade union leaders.

It now becomes clear why the Blick-Jenkins group of liquidationists have become the British agents for the OCI and give full support to its reactionary policies.



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 Stalinsim.

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.

One of the most important features of the Blick-Jenkins' document is that they make not a single criticism of Stalinism. Once more, they try to present Stalinism as having "two sides" a "left" and a "right":

"The WRP, by characterizing Stalinism in a one-sided way as a tendency which consistently and at all times pursues a right-wing policy disarms its cadre in the unions for the time when the CP makes a left adaptation to the militancy of the working class precisely in order to betray the struggle at a later stage."

To talk about the "right-wing policy" of Stalinism and to counterpose it to the so-called "left turns" as do Blick-Jenkins, is to obscure the basically counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism. Stalinism is more than a collection of bureaucratic prejudices. It incarnates the destruction of Soviet democracy and the annihilation of an entire generation of communists who represented the program of world revolution. It cannot be reformed. Stalinism cannot reflect the historical needs of the working class, under any circumstances. It reflects the narrow interests of a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy. Any left adaptations it makes are adopted only to defend itself and its "theory" of the "peaceful road to socialism."

So long as Stalinism was considered "bureaucratic centrism"—that is before the consolidation of Soviet Bonapartism—it was permissible to speculate on the "left" and "right" turns of the bureaucracy. But with the Moscow Trials and the Spanish Civil War, Trotsky irrevocably rejected this definition and concluded that Stalinism had definitely gone over to the side of the bourgeois social order in the

# A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists



Top left: The WRP is the only movement that has defended the Irish Workers Defense Association. Bottom left: Chilean army makes mass arrests. The movement Trotsky made of the Stalinist bureaucracy which led to defeat in

—fifth of six parts by michael banda & peter jeffries —

west and that only a mass uprising—that is a political revolution and not "police measures"—could regenerate the USSR. This conclusion put an end to any speculation about reforming the bureaucracy or the Comintern and made the establishment of the Fourth International an unpostponable task.

The recent history of Stalinism leaves absolutely no grounds for rejecting or revising Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism. The coups in Indonesia, Sudan, Greece, Uruguay and Chile; the betrayal of the French General Strike; the support of the Peruvian junta; the invasion of Czechoslovakia; the virtual recognition of Franco by Moscow; the continued recognition of the Lon Nol regime in Cambodia; and the barbarous repression of intellectual dissension in the USSR, underline the bureaucratic and cynically counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism which no amount of working class pressure can alter. The task of the International Committee of the Fourth International is not to exhume the exhausted formula of "bureaucratic centrism" and empty it of its revolutionary content by looking for the "progressive"

sides of Stalinism, but to destroy Stalinism as a counterrevolutionary force.

Blick-Jenkins reject this policy, which is one reason why their document nowhere mentions the perspective of the International Committee. Likewise, by their deliberate silence on the international role of Stalinism as well as their totally unprincipled attitude to the SLL-WRP campaign on the defense of democratic rights, they demonstrate their indulgence of Stalinism and their hatred of the only movement which fights Stalinism.

Their denunciation of the SLL-WRP campaign on the defense of basic rights as "hypocritical" is nothing more than a whitewash for the Stalinist refusal to participate on the spurious grounds that the SLL was "disruptive." Presumably, according to Blick's book, the Stalinists were justified in their attitude.

The Stalinist opposition to this campaign was not motivated merely by a hatred and fear of Trotskyism. Stalinist policy starts from complete confidence in "parliamentary democracy" and the capitalist state being able to guarantee these rights. Basically there is no difference between this

policy and the policy of Chilean Stalinism.

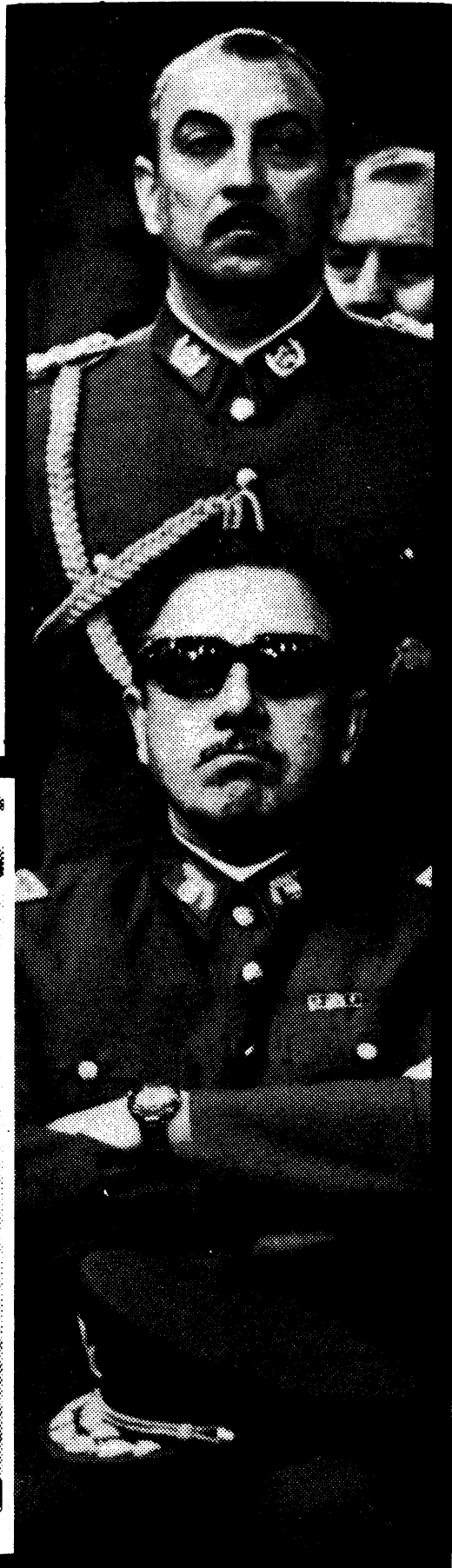
The evolution of British Stalinist policy under the impact of the leftward movement of the working class and the economic and political crisis is inexorably to the right. Gollan's recent speech to western European Communist Parties in Brussels is a stark reminder that—despite Chile and Sudan—British and European Stalinism is determined to resuscitate the corpse of "Popular Frontism" and penetrate even bigger betrayals than Chile. To play down this predominant tendency of Stalinism and to distract workers with talk about "left turns" is to disarm the working class in its most crucial stage of the fight against bureaucracy. Blick-Jenkins are willing accomplices in this task. It is all the more necessary to expose them.

Their attempts to refute this characterization by references to McGahey's speeches in the miners' strike reveal how they consciously play down the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism. McGahey's demagoguery on troops was a plausible evasion of the real task before the NUM leaders, which was to demand of the TUC the cessation of talks on Phase Three and the

calling troops by Stalinist leftists retract board dedica mentar Gollan geosie titude was ab Their forces philoso state: too, di tiago). demon Trotsky from the dual m know Germa murder alter



# Agents Revisionists



defended the Irish working class against the right wing Ulster mass arrests. The Blick-Jenkins group revises the assessment which led to defeat in Chile. Right: Chilean General Pinochet.

linism. policy move- econom- to the western Brussels while and nism is ppe of e even y down sm and t "left s in its st burn- g ac- e more character- ahey's eal how counter- Gahey's le eva- M lead- UUC the and the

Stalinism in Germany and internationally during that period? In no way! It was Stalinism which was the main instrument of counterrevolution within the working class in Chile.

That sections of the Party were killed by the Generals who were brought to power by the Stalinists' policy is an entirely secondary issue which Blick introduces only in order to cloud the real issue and the real historical role of Stalinism.

## HOW NOT TO DEFEND THE SDLP

The attempt of Blick-Jenkins to use the omissions in the Workers Press of Senator Paddy Wilson's murder and the blowing up of the SDLP offices as an argument to prove the "sectarianism" of the SLL and WRP should fool nobody except those completely ignorant of SLL-WRP policy on Ulster. The Workers Press has been—and still is—the only working class paper that has produced the most extensive analysis of Irish events and conducted the most consistent defense of the Irish working class against imperialism and the Orange Order as well as the intrigues of the SDLP, the Stalinist civil righters and the Southern bourgeoisie. The record of the paper on Ulster speaks for itself: on the sending of troops, internment, the Derry massacre, Widgery Tribunal, Compton Report, Direct Rule, SAS, Whitelaw's Emergency Provisions Act, UDA-UVF and, last but not least, Littlejohn and Sunningdale.

We have demonstrated on every occasion the absolute necessity of a joint struggle of Irish and British workers to smash British imperialism and its agencies in Ireland and that this struggle cannot be successfully carried out without the building of Trotskyist parties in Ireland and Britain.

The omission of Senator Wilson's murder by UDA fanatics and the blowing up of SDLP HQ in early 1973 in the Workers Press does not detract from this record nor does it disprove the correctness of our perspective on Ireland.

Blick-Jenkins, however, use these incidents in Ulster not to emphasize the necessity to expose the SDLP leaders' capitulation to imperialism, which makes them vulnerable to UDA-UVF attacks, but to do precisely the opposite:

"Just as these attacks on the SDLP prepared the ground for the coalition executive (a fact not mentioned by WP) so these attacks will frighten some of the reformists. Let them feel the strength of the working class behind them, breathing down their necks, so to speak." (Blick-Jenkins document p. 20)

The motive of Blick-Jenkins factional frenzy is now very clear. The corollary to this argument is that if enough "strength" had been applied to the SDLP and if we had protested against the bombings, then...then the SDLP would not have betrayed the Catholic workers! The capitulation of the SDLP on the question of the coalition executive did not take place because of a lack of pressure from workers, but because of the class nature of the SDLP leadership. The task is not to "breathe down their necks"—as these reformists suggest—but to expose them and deprive them of all credibility and create a revolutionary alternative. The Blick-Jenkins unprincipled defense of the SDLP leadership is an explicit renunciation of this task.

## MARXIST TRUTH AND REVISIONIST DISTORTIONS

Objectivity is not a virtue among middle class revisionist circles; particularly when it comes to dealing with the Workers Press. Blick-Jenkins are certainly no exception to this rule. In their symphony of distortion the dominant tonic note is expressed in their immense hatred for the Workers Press and their thoroughly dishonest attitude to the statements of its reporters.

Referring to the November 15, 1973, statement of the Political Committee, Blick-Jenkins blandly assert that the statement:

"...avoided all demands on union leaders, individual unions and the TUC and called for a meaningless mobilization...The reason for omitting demands on the workers' organizations were contained in the same statement. The unions were slowly being incorporated (that word again, Blick) into the state to "become the industrial policemen of the working class." You see where this criminal line of corporatism leads...This is a variant on the 'united front from below.' On December 7 the same line is pursued—no calls on the TUC or on any of the unions involved in the three disputes...The correct line must be

for the trade union and Labour leaders to end all collaboration with the Tory government—a call which has far too infrequently flitted across the pages of the Workers Press."

Did the Workers Press on November 15 ignore the official Labour and trade union leadership? It did not. The banner headline—which Blick and Jenkins ignore—said, "Force General Election Now!" statement spelled out the alternative to Tory rule and emergency powers as tersely and unambiguously as was possible:

"There is only one possible answer to this gang of Tory conspirators and their police and military 'advisers'—the 10 million organized workers in Britain immediately demanding a General Election."

The statement concluded with the words: "Mobilize with the miners to force the Tories to resign. Join the ATUA. Join the Workers Revolutionary Party."

It is obvious to even the naive that the first demand is addressed not to the Tories, but to the Labour and trade union leaders. The issue of December 7 is even more explicit. The headline said:

"Crisis demands engineers—railmen—miners—fight—TRIPLE ALLIANCE TO BEAT TORIES."

On January 12, the Political Committee statement commenting on the TUC-Heath talks and in appealing for the January 27 Demonstration had this to say in conclusion:

- Solidarity with the miners.
- Prepare the General Strike to force the Tory government to resign, through building a Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and engineers.
- TUC—no more talks—call a General Strike...

On January 14, Workers Press lead stated firmly:

"By demanding that the TUC break off talks with the Tories and that the Labour leaders fight a snap election on socialist policies, we must expose all those who prefer to connive with the class enemy."

But the unmasking of Blick-Jenkins is by no means over. Their allegation that we had no demands to make in our November 15 statement because we believed that the unions were already "being incorporated into the state" appears—on further examination—to be a piece of facile distortion. The text of the PC statement reads:

"The aim is to incorporate the unions into the state machine and make them industrial policemen of the working class." (Our emphasis.)

In any case, there would be no need for a Labour government or a demand for a General Election if the unions were being incorporated into the state, as Blick impudently alleges. The Labour Party would collapse overnight if the unions were integrated. Our critics' attempt to accuse the Workers Press of "sectarianism" has not only a hollow ring but a familiar one as well. It is the enforced tribute of every unprincipled opportunist to the revolutionary intransigence of the Trotskyist movement, a feature which Trotsky described so cogently in 1935:

"Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our 'sectarianism'; and most of the time, they have in mind not our weak but our strong side: our serious attitude toward theory; our effort to plumb every political situation to the bottom, and to advance clear-cut slogans; our hostility to 'easy' and 'comfortable' decisions which deliver from cares today, but prepare a catastrophe on the morrow. Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment." (L. D. Trotsky, "Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International," Writings of Leon Trotsky 1935-1936, p. 26).

To this we can add nothing.

## SWORD AND IDEOLOGY IN 1640

Blick-Jenkins choose to attack the WRP on the grounds that it takes the English Revolution of 1640 in a one-sided way, stressing only "action," in order to justify its own "activism." For their part, they want to remind us that:

"The English Revolution was not Cromwell alone. It was Hobbes. It was Milton. It was Marvell. It was the metaphysicals (poets). It was Shakespeare too. It was the puritanical sects who would go to the rack for the meaning of a word in a text...It was Winstanley. It was a seething discussion on all political matters even to the point of denouncing Cromwell as a royalist. There

were no infallible leaders in the English revolution! Cromwell's Ironsides were not theoretically backward. Trotsky is at pains to point out the combination of political turmoil and military discipline within what he called Cromwell's party." (Blick, p. 28).

Blick-Jenkins know very well that Cromwell's struggle to transform himself and his Army according to what he saw as necessity, teaching them to "sit steady on their horses," is at the centre of the lessons of the English Revolution in the education of the WRP. He is deliberately distorting the position by saying that we refer only to "the drawing of the sword." In line with his whole idealist position, he extracts the "discussion" and the "political turmoil" and sets them against what Trotsky (not just the WRP) took as the principal content of the 17th Century revolutionary tradition for the working class:

"Cromwell was a great revolutionary of his time (i.e. a bourgeois revolutionary), and knew, not shrinking from anything, how to maintain the interests of the new bourgeois social structure against the old aristocratic structure. Thus it is necessary to learn, and in this sense the dead lion of the 17th century is immeasurably greater than many living dogs." (Where Is Britain Going?, pp. 90-91.)

Blick-Jenkins, in their organic hatred for the Cromwellian sword, have, not accidentally, ranked themselves with the "living dogs" of reformism. As for Blick's quotation from Trotsky's extract from Guizot, it is followed in Trotsky's text, not by the passage Blick then quotes about "discussion," but by Trotsky's own remarks, including the following:

"At a certain moment of political history the fate of 'democracy' hung not upon parliament, but—how horrible for scurvy pacifists!—on the cavalry...Cromwell very quickly realized that the fate of the class would be decided by cavalry. He told Camden: 'I will raise such men as have the fear of God before them, and make some conscience of what they do; and I warrant you they will not be beaten'..."

"In this way Cromwell formed not only an army, but a party—his army was to a certain extent an armed party, and it was this that constituted his strength. In 1644 the 'holy squadrons of Cromwell gained a brilliant victory over the royal horse, and received the nickname of Ironsides. It is always serviceable for revolution to have Ironsides! The British workers might learn much in this matter from Cromwell."

The learned references to the "metaphysicals," Marvell and Shakespeare, Milton and Hobbes, are so much academic window-dressing! What is the analogy which Blick seeks to imply? The bourgeoisie had its ideologists, in politics, religion, poetry, philosophy. But the relation between the rising bourgeoisie and its ideology is entirely different from that which exists between the working class and revolutionary theory. The bourgeoisie comes up to the point of revolution without theory. For centuries it lived as a class with its own mode of economic exploitation, within feudalism. Its poetry, theology and philosophy reflect this relative independence and also its co-existence for long periods with feudalism.

Its culture, architecture, religion, education, literature, painting, are developed along with the growth of the class. The working class is oppressed under capitalism, deprived of culture. Its future is to overthrow capitalism, and through its dictatorship build a socialist, classless society as the basis of a truly human, not a "proletarian" culture. The conscious representation of the proletariat's class interest before the revolution is the revolutionary party with its revolutionary theory. The very fact that Blick-Jenkins want today "perspectives" but not the revolutionary party is paralleled by their nostalgia for the more gradual and "organic" development of ideology which accompanied the growth of the bourgeoisie. Their denial of the dialectic inevitably makes it impossible to understand the complete qualitative break made by the proletarian revolutionary movement in the relation between class and class-consciousness.

Furthermore, Blick-Jenkins' attempt to reduce the English revolution to a "great debate" which covered a number of centuries deliberately obscures the fact that the ideological and literary "debate" was continuously accompanied by, and very often expressed the violent struggles of social forces, first against serfdom and then against the absolutist monarchy. Behind every debate there lay the sword!

CONCLUDED NEXT ISSUE



# A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists

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, Organisation 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 Stéphane 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.

One of the most important features of the Blick-Jenkins' document is that they make not a single criticism of Stalinism. Once more, they try to present Stalinism as having "two sides" a "left" and a "right".

"The WRP, by characterizing Stalinism in a one-sided way as a tendency which consistently and at all times pursues a right-wing policy disarms its cadre in the unions for the time when the CP makes a left adaptation to the militancy of the working class precisely in order to betray the struggle at a later stage."

To talk about the "right-wing policy" of Stalinism and to counterpose it to the so-called "left turns" as do Blick-Jenkins, is to obscure the basically counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism. Stalinism is more than a collection of bureaucratic prejudices. It incarnates the destruction of Soviet democracy and the annihilation of an entire generation of communists who represented the program of world revolution. It cannot be reformed. Stalinism cannot reflect the historical needs of the working class, under any circumstances. It reflects the narrow interests of a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy. Any left adaptations it makes are adopted only to defend itself and its "theory" of the "peaceful road to socialism."

So long as Stalinism was considered "bureaucratic centrism"—that is before the consolidation of Soviet Bonapartism—it was permissible to speculate on the "left" and "right" turns of the bureaucracy. But with the Moscow Trials and the Spanish Civil War, Trotsky irrevocably rejected this definition and concluded that Stalinism had definitely gone over to the side of the bourgeois social order in the



Top left: The WRP is the only movement that has defended the Irish working class against the right wing Ulster Defense Association. Bottom left: Chilean army makes mass arrests. The Blick-Jenkins group revises the assessment Trotsky made of the Stalinist bureaucracy which led to defeat in Chile. Right: Chilean General Pinochet.

—fifth of six parts by Michael Banda & Peter Jeffries—

west and that only a mass uprising—that is a political revolution and not "police measures"—could regenerate the USSR. This conclusion put an end to any speculation about reforming the bureaucracy or the Comintern and made the establishment of the Fourth International an unpostponable task.

The recent history of Stalinism leaves absolutely no grounds for rejecting or revising Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism. The coups in Indonesia, Sudan, Greece, Uruguay and Chile; the betrayal of the French General Strike; the support of the Peruvian junta; the invasion of Czechoslovakia; the virtual recognition of Franco by Moscow; the continued recognition of the Lon Nol regime in Cambodia; and the barbarous repression of intellectual dissension in the USSR, underline the bureaucratic and cynically counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism which no amount of working class pressure can alter. The task of the International Committee of the Fourth International is not to exhume the exhausted formula of "bureaucratic centrism" and empty it of its revolutionary content by looking for the "progressive"

sides of Stalinism, but to destroy Stalinism as a counterrevolutionary force.

Blick-Jenkins reject this policy, which is one reason why their document nowhere mentions the perspective of the International Committee. Likewise, by their deliberate silence on the international role of Stalinism as well as their totally unprincipled attitude to the SLL-WRP campaign on the defense of democratic rights, they demonstrate their indulgence of Stalinism and their hatred of the only movement which fights Stalinism.

Their denunciation of the SLL-WRP campaign on the defense of basic rights as "hypocritical" is nothing more than a whitewash for the Stalinist refusal to participate on the spurious grounds that the SLL was "disruptive." Presumably, according to Blick's book, the Stalinists were justified in their attitude.

The Stalinist opposition to this campaign was not motivated merely by a hatred and fear of Trotskyism. Stalinist policy starts from complete confidence in "parliamentary democracy" and the capitalist state being able to guarantee these rights. Basically there is no difference between this

policy and the policy of Chilean Stalinism.

The evolution of British Stalinist policy under the impact of the leftward movement of the working class and the economic and political crisis is inexorably to the right. Gollan's recent speech to western European Communist Parties in Brussels is a stark reminder that—despite Chile and Sudan—British and European Stalinism is determined to resuscitate the corpse of "Popular Frontism" and penetrate even bigger betrayals than Chile. To play down this predominant tendency of Stalinism and to distract workers with talk about "left turns" is to disarm the working class in its most crucial stage of the fight against bureaucracy. Blick-Jenkins are willing accomplices in this task. It is all the more necessary to expose them.

Their attempts to refute this characterization by references to McGahey's speeches in the miners' strike reveal how they consciously play down the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism. McGahey's demagoguery on troops was a plausible evasion of the real task before the NUM leaders, which was to demand of the TUC the cessation of talks on Phase Three and the

calling of a General Strike to prevent troops being used. If this was a "left turn" by Stalinism, it was the queerest and shortest left turn ever made by a Stalinist. It did not last even 24 hours. McGahey not only retracted his statement, he went overboard to assure his critics that he was a dedicated constitutionalist and a fanatic believer in the ballot box and the "parliamentary road." Neither McGahey nor Gollan hold any terrors for the bourgeoisie—but the miners do. The WRP's attitude to the Stalinists in the miners' strike was absolutely correct.

Their defense of Stalinism inevitably forces Blick-Jenkins into the camp of philosophical idealism. On page 15 they state: "Let us not forget that Stalinists, too, died at the football stadium (in Santiago)." Here they once more merely demonstrate the bankruptcy of idealism. Trotskyism has never analyzed Stalinism from the standpoint of the fate of its individual members or even of whole Parties. We know that thousands of members of the German Communist Party (KPD) were murdered by Hitler. Does this in any way alter the counterrevolutionary role of

## HOW NOT TO DEFEND THE SDLP

The attempt of Blick-Jenkins to use the omissions in the Workers Press of Senator Paddy Wilson's murder and the blowing up of the SDLP offices as an argument to prove the "sectarianism" of the SLL and WRP should fool nobody except those completely ignorant of SLL-WRP policy on Ulster. The Workers Press has been—and still is—the only working class paper that has produced the most extensive analysis of Irish events and conducted the most consistent defense of the Irish working class against imperialism and the Orange Order as well as the intrigues of the SDLP, the Stalinist civil righters and the Southern bourgeoisie. The record of the paper on Ulster speaks for itself: on the sending of troops, internment, the Derry massacre, Widgery Tribunal, Compton Report, Direct Rule, SAS, Whitelaw's Emergency Provisions Act, UDA-UVF and, last but not least, Littlejohn and Sunningdale.

We have demonstrated on every occasion the absolute necessity of a joint struggle of Irish and British workers to smash British imperialism and its agencies in Ireland and that this struggle cannot be successfully carried out without the building of Trotskyist parties in Ireland and Britain.

The omission of Senator Wilson's murder by UDA fanatics and the blowing up of SDLP HQ in early 1973 in the Workers Press does not detract from this record nor does it disprove the correctness of our perspective on Ireland.

Blick-Jenkins, however, use these incidents in Ulster not to emphasize the necessity to expose the SDLP leaders' capitulation to imperialism, which makes them vulnerable to UDA-UVF attacks, but to do precisely the opposite:

"Just as these attacks on the SDLP prepared the ground for the coalition executive (a fact not mentioned by WP) so these attacks will frighten some of the reformists. Let them feel the strength of the working class behind them, breathing down their necks, so to speak." (Blick-Jenkins document p. 20)

The motive of Blick-Jenkins factional frenzy is now very clear. The corollary to this argument is that if enough "strength" had been applied to the SDLP and if we had protested against the bombings, then... then the SDLP would not have betrayed the Catholic workers! The capitulation of the SDLP on the question of the coalition executive did not take place because of a lack of pressure from workers, but because of the class nature of the SDLP leadership. The task is not to "breathe down their necks"—as these reformists suggest—but to expose them and deprive them of all credibility and create a revolutionary alternative. The Blick-Jenkins unprincipled defense of the SDLP leadership is an explicit renunciation of this task.

## MARXIST TRUTH AND REVISIONIST DISTORTIONS

Objectivity is not a virtue among middle class revisionist circles; particularly when it comes to dealing with the Workers Press. Blick-Jenkins are certainly no exception to this rule. In their symphony of distortion the dominant tonic note is expressed in their immense hatred for the Workers Press and their thoroughly dishonest attitude to the statements of its reporters.

Referring to the November 15, 1973, statement of the Political Committee, Blick-Jenkins blandly assert that the statement:

"...avoided all demands on union leaders, individual unions and the TUC and called for a meaningless mobilization...The reason for omitting demands on the workers' organizations were contained in the same statement. The unions were slowly being incorporated (that word again, Blick) into the state to 'become the industrial policemen of the working class.' You see where this criminal line of corporatism leads...This is a variant on the 'united front from below.' On December 7 the same line is pursued—no calls on the TUC or on any of the unions involved in the three disputes...The correct line must be

for the trade union and Labour leaders to end all collaboration with the Tory government—a call which has far too infrequently flitted across the pages of the Workers Press."

Did the Workers Press on November 15 ignore the official Labour and trade union leadership? It did not. The banner headline—which Blick and Jenkins ignore—said, "Force General Election Now!" statement spelled out the alternative to Tory rule and emergency powers as tersely and unambiguously as was possible:

"There is only one possible answer to this gang of Tory conspirators and their police and military 'advisers'—the 10 million organized workers in Britain immediately demanding a General Election."

The statement concluded with the words: "Mobilize with the miners to force the Tories to resign. Join the ATUA. Join the Workers Revolutionary Party."

It is obvious to even the naive that the first demand is addressed not to the Tories, but to the Labour and trade union leaders. The issue of December 7 is even more explicit. The headline said:

"Crisis demands engineers—railmen—miners—fight—TRIPLE ALLIANCE TO BEAT TORIES."

On January 12, the Political Committee statement commenting on the TUC-Heath talks and in appealing for the January 27 Demonstration had this to say in conclusion:

•Solidarity with the miners.  
•Prepare the General Strike to force the Tory government to resign, through building a Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and engineers.

•TUC—no more talks—call a General Strike..."

On January 14, Workers Press lead stated firmly:

"By demanding that the TUC break off talks with the Tories and that the Labour leaders fight a snap election on socialist policies, we must expose all those who prefer to connive with the class enemy."

But the unmasking of Blick-Jenkins is by no means over. Their allegation that we had no demands to make in our November 15 statement because we believed that the unions were already "being incorporated into the state" appears—on further examination—to be a piece of facile distortion. The text of the PC statement reads:

"The aim is to incorporate the unions into the state machine and make them industrial policemen of the working class." (Our emphasis.)

In any case, there would be no need for a Labour government or a demand for a General Election if the unions were being incorporated into the state, as Blick impudently alleges. The Labour Party would collapse overnight if the unions were integrated. Our critics' attempt to accuse the Workers Press of "sectarianism" has not only a hollow ring but a familiar one as well. It is the enforced tribute of every unprincipled opportunist to the revolutionary intransigence of the Trotskyist movement, a feature which Trotsky described so cogently in 1935:

"Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our 'sectarianism'; and most of the time, they have in mind not our weak but our strong side: our serious attitude toward theory; our effort to plumb every political situation to the bottom, and to advance clear-cut slogans; our hostility to 'easy' and 'comfortable' decisions which deliver from cares today, but prepare a catastrophe on the morrow. Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment." (L. D. Trotsky, "Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International," Writings of Leon Trotsky 1935-1936, p. 26).

To this we can add nothing.

## SWORD AND IDEOLOGY IN 1640

Blick-Jenkins choose to attack the WRP on the grounds that it takes the English Revolution of 1640 in a one-sided way, stressing only "action" in order to justify its own "activism." For their part, they want to remind us that:

"The English Revolution was not Cromwell alone. It was Hobbes. It was Milton. It was Marvell. It was the metaphysicals (poets). It was Shakespeare too. It was the puritanical sects who would go to the rack for the meaning of a word in a text...It was Winstanley. It was a seething discussion on all political matters even to the point of denouncing Cromwell as a royalist. There

were no infallible leaders in the English revolution! Cromwell's Ironsides were not theoretically backward. Trotsky is at pains to point out the combination of political turmoil and military discipline within what he called Cromwell's party." (Blick, p. 28).

Blick-Jenkins know very well that Cromwell's struggle to transform himself and his Army according to what he saw as necessity, teaching them to "sit steady on their horses," is at the centre of the lessons of the English Revolution in the education of the WRP. He is deliberately distorting the position by saying that we refer only to "the drawing of the sword." In line with his whole idealist position, he extracts the "discussion" and the "political turmoil" and sets them against what Trotsky (not just the WRP) took as the principal content of the 17th Century revolutionary tradition for the working class:

"Cromwell was a great revolutionary of his time (i.e. a bourgeois revolutionary), and knew, not shrinking from anything, how to maintain the interests of the new bourgeois social structure against the old aristocratic structure. Thus it is necessary to learn, and in this sense the dead lion of the 17th century is immeasurably greater than many living dogs." (Where Is Britain Going?, pp. 90-91.)

Blick-Jenkins, in their organic hatred for the Cromwellian sword, have, not accidentally, ranked themselves with the "living dogs" of reformism. As for Blick's quotation from Trotsky's extract from Guizot, it is followed in Trotsky's text, not by the passage Blick then quotes about "discussion," but by Trotsky's own remarks, including the following:

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The learned references to the "metaphysicals," Marvell and Shakespeare, Milton and Hobbes, are so much academic window-dressing! What is the analogy which Blick seeks to imply? The bourgeoisie had its ideologists, in politics, religion, poetry, philosophy. But the relation between the rising bourgeoisie and its ideology is entirely different from that which exists between the working class and revolutionary theory. The bourgeoisie comes up to the point of revolution without theory. For centuries it lived as a class with its own mode of economic exploitation, within feudalism. Its poetry, theology and philosophy reflect this relative independence and also its co-existence for long periods with feudalism.

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Furthermore, Blick-Jenkins' attempt to reduce the English revolution to a "great debate" which covered a number of centuries deliberately obscures the fact that the ideological and literary "debate" was continuously accompanied by, and very often expressed the violent struggles of social forces, first against serfdom and then against the absolutist monarchy. Behind every debate there lay the sword!

CONCLUDED NEXT ISSUE





## LESSONS OF NEWARK

The Newark rally held last Saturday organized by the People's Committee to protest police brutality during the assault on Puerto Rican workers and youth in Branch Brook Park was a failure.

No more than 250 workers and youth turned out for this rally even though thousands of Newark workers were involved in the struggle earlier this month against the police and the Gibson administration.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), a nationalist party which adapts to Stalinism and is behind the People's Committee must take the main responsibility for the small turnout. At a time when a powerful demonstration could have been held against the brutal attacks on the Newark working class, the rotten reformist policies of the PSP provided no basis for the workers to come forward and fight.

Those youth and workers who did attend the rally received no program upon which they could meet the attack on their living standards. Instead, they witnessed the politics of deception and betrayal.

The PSP provided a platform for every discredited and bankrupt nationalist politician in the city. They welcomed the very political figures who are responsible for the Gibson administration and therefore responsible for the death of two workers and the arrest and wounding of many others.

The first question the PSP must answer is why they permitted Leroi Jones (Imamu Baraka) to speak on their platform?

Jones's demagogic attack on Gibson and the police represent the twists and turns of a middle class operator who was the leader of the Newark nationalist movement that helped make Gibson win. Jones also supported the appointment of Hubert Williams—the daishiki clad police chief who enforced martial law two weeks ago.

The PSP wanted Jones on the platform because they are opposed to a break with Gibson and the nationalists. They themselves supported Gibson as an expression of the "black community" of Newark.

Their real position is made very clear when they propose that a police civilian review board be created, as if the brutality of the armed bodies of the capitalist state can be regulated by liberals and reformists.

The revisionists of the SWP have played a major role in this betrayal. While the Stalinists support Gibson outright, the SWP has given him back-handed support through its backing Jones. The SWP encouraged the reactionary convention of black bourgeois politicians which Jones used to build up Gibson.

**The Militant**, in its editorial on September 20, tries to cover up its relations with Gibson and black bourgeois politicians.

While saying nothing critical of the People's Committee, the SWP indicates that the support of nationalist leaders to Democrats like Gibson is only a mistake.

Baraka's policies are not a mistake. The logic of nationalism—which the SWP has endorsed again and again—must lead to political support for the capitalist politicians.

When the SWP encouraged the development of a black or Puerto Rican political party, it was advocating a bourgeois political formation—in other words, a party based on race is one which is based on the divisions imposed by capitalism and seeks to do nothing more than win crumbs from that system.

Even to this day, the SWP has refused to break unequivocally with Jones. It seeks instead to cover up its responsibility for the Gibson administration by hypocritically explaining that the black nationalists should never have endorsed Gibson.

The revisionists will not make an assessment of nationalism as a middle class movement inextricably connected to the ruling class politicians because the SWP itself is carefully preparing the ground for its own movement to the very same politicians.

This is proven by the SWP's appeal, in the same issue of **The Militant**, that it be permitted to participate in Gerald Ford's economic summit on September 27-28.

by david north

# Judge Admits FBI Conspiracy Wounded Knee Frameup Fails

BY JEAN BRUST  
ST. PAUL, Mn.—All remaining charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means were dismissed on September 16 by Judge Fred Nichol in US District Court here.

The sudden end of the 9 month trial on the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota in the spring of 1973 came as the judge acted on a defense motion filed Saturday.

Nichol dismissed all charges in a harsh, one hour denunciation of the FBI, the Justice Department, and the government prosecutors. The final incident that forced Nichol to dismiss charges was the refusal of the Justice Department to allow the jury to continue deliberations after a sudden illness forced one juror to withdraw from the case and after the four alternate jurors had been released.

Chief Prosecutor US Attorney Hurd had told the press and the court that he expected the jury to acquit the defendants. He openly admitted that he wanted a mistrial rather than allowing the 11 jurors to settle the case, so he could prosecute the defendants again in a new trial.

### MISCONDUCT

Judge Nichol opened his statement by referring to the long hearing last winter which had brought him almost to the brink of dismissing charges due to the misconduct of the FBI. "It is only fair to say," he announced, "I am now over the brink."

For the whole period of the trial, the defense and defendants have proven, through both the cross-examination of government witnesses and through defense witnesses, that the occupation of Wounded Knee was the result of the desperate conditions on the reservations—95 percent unemployment, no medical help, absolutely no rights, or any kind of help for the youth or elderly, and an inability to get action from the Bureau of Indian Affairs or their stooge tribal chief, Richard Wilson.

All of the rights guaranteed to the Oglala Sioux Indians by the treaty of 1868 were being violated.

AIM was called in by the elders and tribal leaders on the Pine Ridge Reservation in February 1973 because it was clear something drastic had to be done. Overwhelmingly, the Indian youth on and off the reservation supported and participated in the 71 day occupation, willing even to give their lives if necessary, rather than continue to live under the wretched conditions of poverty and degradation.

From the beginning, the government attempted to portray the leaders, Banks and Means, as common criminals, as no more than thieves and hoodlums.

Hurd summed it up in his concluding remarks to the jury when he said: "I don't care and I



Dennis Banks, right, and Russell Means in St. Paul, Minnesota court.

submit to you it doesn't make any difference if conditions on the Pine Ridge reservation are good or bad. I don't care and I submit it doesn't make any difference if the 1868 treaty was violated or not."

But in reality, it was precisely because the government recognized the truth of the charges of poverty, and broken treaties, that they were so determined to get a conviction at any cost. The reservation conditions are what the government has in store for the entire working class. They were desperate for a conviction to set an example to the working class that no fight back will be tolerated.

In violating their own laws, the prosecution and the FBI went too far.

There was overwhelming support for the defendants, not only among the American Indians, but among whole layers of the working class, including almost the entire press that covered the nine-month-long trial.

William Kunstler, Defense Attorney, in his closing remarks repeatedly compared the Wounded Knee case to the early labor struggles in America.

In dismissing the charges, Nichol cited:

- The failure of the prosecution to show the defense an FBI report on a major witness in the trial. This report contradicted almost everything the witness said.

- The Louis Moves-Camp Incident. Moves-Camp gave the most incriminating evidence in the trial, much of which proved to be false. Moves-Camp was involved in an alleged rape case which Judge Nichol charged Hurd with helping to cover up. While two FBI agents had Moves-Camp under protection in Wisconsin, they kept him drunk.

- The illegal use of US Army forces and supplies to quell the occupation.

- The refusal on the part of the

government to let this case go to decision.

The reasons Hurd and the Justice Department would not let the case go to justice was clear. They have known since at least Thursday afternoon when the case went to jury that they have lost.

At that time, the alternate jurors were dismissed and were free to discuss the case. Three of them told the **Bulletin** they would have voted for acquittal. "The government did not present any evidence to send these two men to jail."

In addition, it is now reported by the released jurors that they probably would have acquitted the men on all counts. On a vote taken at the end of the first day of deliberation, the jury voted unanimously to acquit on the conspiracy charge, the very foundation of the government case. In addition, the majority voted to acquit all charges.

The dismissal of the charges does not completely free Banks and Means. It is still possible for the government to appeal the dismissal. In that case, if the appeal is upheld, the whole process could start all over again.

Both Means and Banks face various state and federal charges stemming from earlier and more recent incidents.

Also pending are four more so-called leadership cases growing out of the Wounded Knee occupation. Rumors were circulating among the reporters, and lawyers the last day of the trial that charges would be dropped, for lack of evidence, against Clyde Bellecourt and Leonard Crow Dog, but would proceed to trial against Carter Camp and Stanley Holder.

Meanwhile, in Lincoln, Nebraska, charges against four more defendants in the nonleadership cases have been dismissed, bringing to about 35 the total number of indictments which have now resulted in dismissal or acquittal.



# Strikers Reject University Plan For 7 Day Week

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—Fifteen police cars arrived at Billings Hospital on September 17, to escort truck drivers through the picket lines of maintenance workers at the University of Chicago.

Dave, a locksmith and one of the strikers, told the Bulletin: "Like my wife said, when you need a cop in Hyde Park, you can't find one. All of a sudden 15 of them are available to sit at the hospital gate.

"They will run up to any truckers that come near before we have a chance to do anything and tell them it's okay for them to go in."

Three hundred fifty men were forced out on strike when the University of Chicago broke their contract and attempted to impose a seven day work week on the maintenance workers.

Members of Service Employees International Union Local 321 have a common expiration date with Local 134 of the IBEW, the steamfitters union, and the plumbers union.

The contract was not due to expire until August 31 of 1975 but it included a clause that the contract could be reopened on wages or health benefits.

The university tied a six per-

cent wage increase to a clause that the unions accept a seven day work week with no overtime for weekend work and split holidays.

The unions are demanding a 14 percent increase in wages and no illegal changes in work rules. They have so far succeeded in disrupting campus mail delivery, and turned away contracted tradesmen hired by the university for special projects. They have centered their picketing on Billings Hospital which is in full operation, while the rest of the university is not officially opened for the fall term until September 30.

Dave said: "Last night, when my wife called up channel 7 TV News, and asked why they didn't have any news on the strike, they told her that they felt the employees were not being fair to the university.

"That's not really it at all. Marshall Field and men like that are on the board of trustees of the university. In fact, Marshall Field owns half of the newspapers in Chicago."

Last summer the university fired the eight organizers of the Distributive Workers of America. By hiring the best lawyers, the university beat the union—in court. The decision said that the jobs were eliminated due to budget cutbacks. This seriously threw back an attempt to organize the vast number of clerical workers in the university.



Bindery workers in Graphic Arts Local 20-B on strike in Detroit.

# Helm Scabs Run Over Detroit Bindery Pickets

BY KEN WESTON  
DETROIT, Mich.— Two hundred members of Graphic Arts Local 20-B, striking Helm Inc. say they will resist any further intimidation by scabs hired by John Helm, the company owner.

They struck five weeks ago for a wage increase.

The bindery workers, who are mostly women, earned \$4.29 an hour and in addition to an increase, want a cost of living clause.

### THUGS

In the past week, thugs driving trucks and cars have run over pickets. Last Friday night, a picket was shot at by a company guard. A 24 hour picket is being maintained by women workers in the daytime and by the men at night.

Gladys Traverse, a worker at Helm for five years, described the attacks on the picket line: "Last Tuesday, two of our people were run over.

"One of the men was on crutches and he was run over by a supervisor. Another girl was run over.

"They have guards with shot-guns sticking out the doors of the trucks. Who's going to walk in front of that?"

Workers say Detroit Police refuse to arrest the scabs who run over pickets, but pickets are being arrested for alleged trespass.

### MANUALS

Helm produces technical manuals and advertising materials for the Big Three car companies. The Graphic Arts International Union holds a blanket contract with binderies belonging to the company group, the Graphic Arts Association.

Helm, claiming to have phased out its bindery operations, quit the Association. The union says, however, that new bindery equipment, stitching machines, folders, cutters, and trimmers have been brought in and that Helm only wants to bust up the present contract pattern agreed to by the other binderies.

Relatively good relations have existed between Helm and its workers for nearly 20 years. But this year, these relations exploded when Helm announced that a wage increase would not be granted for 15 months. The last wage increase was gotten two years ago.

Helen Jaskowski who was hit in the face by a scab crossing the picket line said: "I don't think Helm has the right people managing this place. Many a time they tried to force us to work overtime when one of their favorites didn't want to work.

"You know it's amazing. I look around and so many places are on strike. If a man like this tries to break up a union at this small place, it'll spread to bigger places. Are we going backwards, or what?"

The union has told other binderies not to put out any work for Helm and is setting up pickets at binderies which attempt to deliver material to the plant.

A picket captain told the Bulletin that individuals from other unions including printers and postal workers have come down to support the picket line.

### FIRED

A serious attack was made last Friday night when a company guard fired his gun at a worker. An angry picket described what happened: "Last night one of our guys walked down the railroad tracks. He was hollering at the guard.

"The guard was just standing there and then suddenly started to fire his gun at our man. Fortunately, he wasn't hit."

Many strikers have been fired. Bill Gragg told us: "I'm president of the Just Fired Club. When they start pulling guns out, that's bad.

"I was the first to be fired for activity on the picket line. I was really fired for bucking the system on the inside and writing grievances.

"The guy who was shot at was fired because the company owes him hundreds of dollars in back pay.

### FIGHTER

"They fired a girl on the bargaining committee for activity on the picket line. That's why we put her on the bargaining committee. She's a fighter.

"These guys are fighting dirty. That's what we're going to start doing, fight dirty."

Helm is using day labor workers to put out scab material. His terror tactics have caused some defections from union ranks, but pickets angrily denounce those few working and are more determined than ever to shut Helm down completely.

The leadership of GAIU Local 20-B must immediately demand official union support from the UAW and the Detroit AFL-CIO and a mass picket to defeat Helm.

# 150 Militants Laid Off Since St. Louis GM Men Returned

BY CAROL MARKS

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Auto workers from the St. Louis General Motors plant are totally disgusted with the local contract that was imposed over two weeks ago after a nine-week strike.

GM is definitely removing militants from the plant. Over 150 workers have been laid off since the auto workers returned to work. "Those laid off are the guys who are piling up the grievances," said Willie. "They're going to put the militants on sub pay for a year and then let them go for good. This way they keep the workers who will do what the company wants."

"Paragraph 78s (work over-

load grievances) are piling up even faster than before the strike," said Willie Chapman. "The whole contract is just plain ridiculous.

"The phony union must have got together with the company, that's clear. Why are we going back just to get more 78s? At present in the plant, it's like a jailhouse or even conditions of slavery.

"There were three main points that were to be settled by the contract," Willie explained. "One was protective clothing. I'm supposed to get two pairs of overalls and haven't got any yet.

"Another was transfer to all jobs across the plant and maintaining seniority. The company only transfers when

they want to. They have men in maintenance with only six years seniority while men with ten years seniority are trying to get jobs there. I've put in three applications for transfers and haven't anything in a month.

"The third point was about back pay owed to us by GM. Well, we'll probably never see that."

George, an auto worker who was laid off last January, agreed with Willie. "I haven't heard anything about getting my job back. Nothing was settled by the contract: money, seniority, or what is going to happen to the laid off workers."

"One of the guys said we were sold down the river and I agree with him," said James, another auto worker who was laid off last January.

"We all should be back to work, no one should have gone back to work until all these were settled."

Auto manufacturers are in a deep crisis as they prepare for the 1975 models. They seek to solve this crisis by speeding up the lines and laying off workers. A new leadership must be built nationally in the UAW and in Local 25 which understands this. To defeat the auto bosses, a labor party has to be built to replace Ford and his Democratic allies. This requires a new leadership that will not sit down with Ford and negotiate wage controls but will take up the struggle to build a political alternative for the working class.

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# FILM

## Death Wish

by marty jonas

Death Wish, directed by Michael Winner, Screenplay by Wendell Mayes, starring Charles Bronson.

Death Wish is the most dangerous film ever to come out of Hollywood. It is a cunning movie which pumps hysteria into the middle class while not being at all hysterical itself. It is a cool, detached, quite emotionless piece of "reasoning."

Death Wish follows the slow metamorphosis of Paul Kersey, a "bleeding heart liberal," as he is described early in the film, into the Vigilante, an unknown citizen who guns down a couple of muggers each night.

The change from liberal to vigilante takes place after his wife is assaulted and his daughter raped in their apartment at the hands of three muggers. The muggers are styled after the three juvenile delinquents in *A Clockwork Orange*, an earlier trend-setting film in this reactionary direction. The attacks leave the wife dead and the daughter a catatonic vegetable.

Kersey, as played by Bronson, shows no immediate emotional reaction to this traumatic event. He remains cool and rational. It is only when he takes a trip to Arizona for his architectural firm and is introduced to guns and the whole mystique surrounding them in the West, that the change begins. He returns to New York with a gift: a .32 revolver.

### defending

Kersey starts by defending himself against muggers, and ends up hunting them down each night. He rides the subways and walks through the parks for hours acting as a decoy to lure attackers. By day, he continues to pursue his middle class career as an architect, except that he is now more at peace with himself.

The newspapers and magazines play up his crusade and the crime rate in New York is down by 50 percent. Other people emulate Kersey's actions. The police are instructed not to arrest the Vigilante, but to intimidate him into stopping his killings.

Kersey ends up being shot by a mugger with a gun and the police in private discussion at his hospital bed offer him the option of leaving town. He ends up in Chicago and a continuation of his crusade is promised as he points his finger at the audience and moves his thumb in an imitation of a gun, at the picture's end.

### fantasy

This is not the usual John Wayne vigilante fantasy with which we are familiar. This is the middle class fantasy-nightmare of muggers in every alleyway given flesh.

When Kersey's wife and daughter are attacked, the muggers keep cursing them as "rich c—ts." Every fear that a member of the middle class may have that the working class is out to take everything he has is exploited and intensified in this film.

Great care has been taken by the producers to make the muggers members of all races. Indeed, there is even an interracial mugging gang in one sequence.

Winner and Mayes have consciously sidestepped any racial hatred and made this a film of intense class hatred. At every point where the working class appears on the screen, whether it be as a mugger, a black housewife, or a white construction worker, it is a depiction that is gross, vicious, and condescending. It is a film consciously designed to appeal, above all, to liberals.

### frightening

Its solutions are all so simple. Anyone can do it. What I found frightening and revealing was that the \$3.50-a-head audience where I saw the film in liberal Brookline, Massachusetts applauded wildly every time Bronson shot a mugger.

Death Wish points its finger at the mugger—by which it means the working class and unemployed—as the cause of decay in society. It is capitalism which is no longer able to provide the basic means of existence for the working class and which threatens the precarious position of the middle class.

This movie was made to provoke the middle class against the working class, and provides an ideological basis for the forming of fascistic shock troops against the working class.

# ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY COLLAPSING

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN JOSE, Calif.—  
Mass layoffs are devastating the electronics industry here.

In the Santa Clara Valley, which includes San Jose and neighboring cities, over 180,000 are employed by electronics manufacturers.

Since mid-June, in the semiconductor industry alone, layoffs have reached 8 to 10 percent, with the total running to tens of thousands of workers.

San Jose is the center for production of semiconductors, a tiny device which has revolutionized electronic technology in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the same way the transistor did 10 years ago.

A semiconductor is a wafer of two different layers of metallic crystal. Generally, one metal is silicon. The interface between the two metals is carefully designed to possess greater resistance to electric current passing in one direction than in the other—the basic characteristic of the diode vacuum tube.

This allows the substitution of tiny wafers or chips for tubes or transistors in any kind of electronic circuit. This in turn has made possible the IC, or integrated circuit, where an entire wiring system that might have occupied square yards can be traced out virtually on the head of a pin.

### SEMICONDUCTORS

Semiconductors are now in use in every phase of electronics, from color television sets to seat-belt interlock systems on 1974 cars. A score of companies sprang into multimillion dollar operations since 1966 making semiconductor wafers, chips, and whole integrated circuits.

The major markets for these companies are new cars and consumer electronic devices, computers, and the military. The slump in the sale of cars and large appliances has led to a wave of layoffs.

The first layoff was announced by Fairchild's semiconductor division in June. The company also announced that plans to build a new IC plant in San Diego had been indefinitely postponed.

American Micro Devices reduced its domestic work force by six percent across the board in August, laying off 260 workers. At the same time, the work week at the assembly plant in Malaysia was reduced from five and one-half days to four.

Intel closed two plants in Livermore and Santa Clara September 9 for one week, idling 600; 140 of the workers had already been laid off for one week in August.

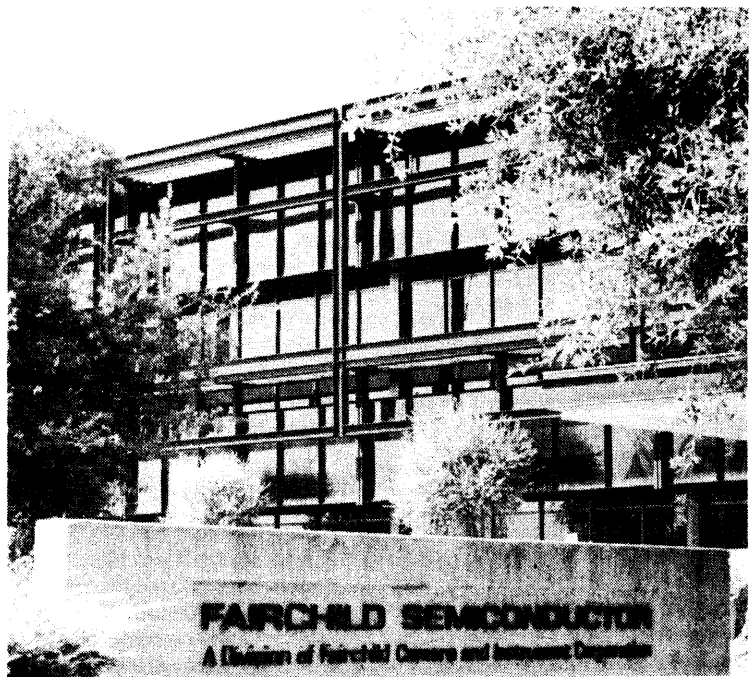
Intersil in Cupertino made a 7.69 percent cutback. It was the company's first layoff since it was founded in 1967.

ITT's semiconductor division in West Palm Beach, Florida laid off 100 on September 2. Other small companies have also cut back.

The biggest semiconductor producers have been the hardest hit. On June 30, Signetics in Sunnyvale had 11,000 workers. Four layoffs later, on September 4, there were 7500.

National Semiconductor laid off 200 in Sunnyvale and 800 in Singapore on August 19. This was followed by the layoff of 1000 workers at its Penang, Malaysia, plant September 4.

Texas Instruments is laying off 1700 workers at several



plants in Texas.

Transitron Electronic Corp. laid off between 200 and 400 from its headquarters in Wakefield, Massachusetts, and about 800 at its plant in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

Japanese electronics companies are facing a similar crisis. Since the summer began, they have launched a trade offensive against their American rivals. Exports have increased from 20 percent of Japanese production to 30 to 35 percent.

In addition to the trade war, the semiconductor manufacturers have been devastated by air freight increases due to the increase in the price of fuel. Freight rates charged by the International Air Transport Association went up 60 percent.

Since many semiconductor companies have established assembly plants in Southeast Asia and the Far East, and then fly the product back for sale to the American market, the rate increases alone are a disaster. A recent study showed that air freight costs made up 20 to 35 percent of the total costs of doing assembly work in Asia.

### SLAVERY

The electronics industry is notorious for the low-wage slavery that exists in the assembly plants. Many companies have the bulk of their work force in Southeast Asia working for less than a dollar an hour under military dictatorship. National Semiconductor, for instance, employs 7250 workers at four plants in Hong Kong, Singapore,

and Penang and Malacca in Malaysia.

In the United States, production workers make barely above the minimum wage and there is no union organization.

The collapse of the semiconductor industry gives the lie to the labor bureaucrats who tell American workers that the cause of unemployment is the Asian worker, instead of the crisis of the capitalist economic system.

For every worker laid off in San Jose or Texas, three or four have been laid off in Southeast Asia. If anything, the companies have not yet put the full weight of the crisis on the backs of electronic workers in the US for fear that they will turn to the organized labor movement for defense.

The downturn in production is irreversible. Workers whose wages are cut by inflation cannot afford any longer to buy new cars or color consoles. Companies cannot afford large new computers.

The semiconductor companies have never experienced recession. They have relied on technical innovations to increase productivity and lower the cost of production, constantly lowering prices on wafers, chips, and circuits from year to year in order to expand the market.

Founded on growth and easy credit, they are in no position to survive recession and credit squeeze. There is no doubt that behind the downturn in production bankruptcies and collapses are maturing.



# Only 2800 Back At Southgate

**BY SHEILA BREHM**  
**SOUTH GATE, Calif.**  
 —Auto production has resumed again at the General Motors plant here after a seven month layoff.

There is speculation that another layoff may occur due to the sharp decline in Vega auto sales.

Before the layoff of 3750 production workers, the plant produced the big-sized cars which were the hardest hit in the sales slump during the energy crisis. The South Gate plant is now producing the Chevrolet Vega and Pontiac Astre. Only 2800 workers have been hired back, with dim prospects for the remaining 1000 workers.

A maintenance worker at the plant told the Bulletin: "Our line speed is now only about 33 cars per hour, as we're just starting up. But according to the way the line has been rebuilt, I'd say it has the possibility of being increased to as much as 100."

"And that would be murder, especially for the guys who have been called back. We're not all that young—the young ones didn't have the seniority."

The line speed was 50 before the plant closed.

New techniques have been brought into the plant to increase productivity and cut costs. Nearly 40 spray painters jobs have been eliminated with the introduction of huge paint vats in which the entire car is dipped. So far, this is the only plant in the country to use waterbased paint in place of the conventional oil-based paint.

A production worker said: "We now face the possibility of more accidents on the line and more hazardous conditions in the plant. But I guess the biggest worry is whether we'll have the job for long at all."

GM raised the price of its 1975 models by an average of 8.5 percent or \$434 per car, the biggest

single hike in the history of the US auto industry. The Vega was priced at \$2087 at the end of the 1973 model year, then it was increased to \$2237 at the start of 1974, and is now \$2799.

The Pontiac Astre, which is a carbon copy of Vega which up until now has only been sold in Canada, goes for \$3092.

The huge price hikes, along with a rapid rise in the cost of living overall, has resulted in a downturn in car sales, especially small cars like the Vega.

## Carpenter Killed On Job

**BY TED BAKER**  
**SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.**—Paul Mallia, a 17-year-old apprentice carpenter, was crushed to death by an elevator while working on a remodeling job yesterday downtown.

Mallia and a journeyman carpenter were working alone on the preliminary remodeling of Knapp and Tubbs, a private dealer in high-priced furniture for wealthy individuals and executive offices.

Mallia was an apprentice member of Carpenters Local 22 for less than three months when the accident took place. According to the police report, Mallia was trying to recover a tool he had dropped down the elevator shaft when the elevator crushed him.

Local 22 is investigating the accident, but refuses to make any statement until its investigation is complete. Work has been stopped temporarily on remodeling at Knapp and Tubbs, but is expected to be back in progress by tomorrow.

A member of Local 22 working on one of the big construction jobs near where the accident occurred told the Bulletin: "An accident like that should never have happened. What that boy was doing in that shaft was against basic elementary safety."

"But I don't put the blame on him. Lately, there's been more accidents everywhere. These companies are trying to make less men do the work and ignore safety procedures to get a job done."



Teamster drivers in Los Angeles and Santa Ana are on strike against Armored Transport Company and Brinks. The drivers whose wages have been frozen for four years are demanding full cost of living protection and \$2 an hour over the next two years.

# ILWU Local Leaders Evicted From Hall



San Francisco longshoremen outside the ILWU Memorial Hall last year.

**BY MARTY MORAN**  
**SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.**—Fourteen longshoremen forced their way into International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 hall Friday and attacked and evicted the

officers and business agents of the local.

Then they barricaded themselves in.

This brings the dispute between the leadership of Local 10 and the ILWU International leadership to the point of open war. Although ILWU president Harry Bridges denied any connection with the attack, the men

issued a statement after they had occupied the local offices; supporting Bridges, and "announcing" the ouster of the local officers.

At issue is the local's large hiring hall, located on a square block of prime real estate in the Fisherman's Wharf area. The steep decline in membership due to containerization has made it nearly impossible for Local 10 to pay property taxes. Recently, the membership voted a dues increase, but rejected a one-time \$50 per head assessment to finance the hall.

### REJECT

Two weeks ago, Local 10 dockers voted by 800 to 200 to reject Bridges' policy and lease the site rather than sell it. This led ILWU International Vice-President William Chester to call for the resignation of the local officers, who defied Bridges and campaigned for the leasing plan. The local is under monitorship from the International to check on alleged financial irregularities.

Although the local leadership clearly has the support of the rank and file in refusing to sell off the hall, neither they nor Bridges have proposed any fight against the mass unemployment on the docks which is at the root.

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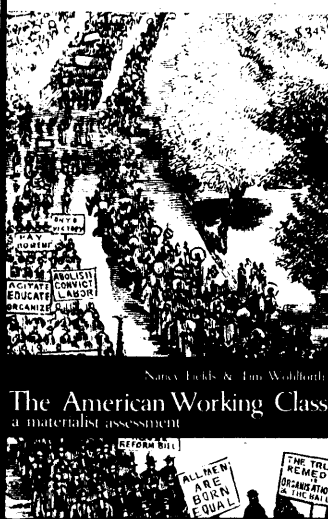
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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

# lucha obrera

—lucía rivera

## Partido Obrero En Papeleta Electoral

La campaña electoral del Partido Obrero se naya viento en popa, luego de haberse completado todos los requerimientos legales para poner las dos candidatas congresionales, por el DC 12 Terry Delgado y por el DC 14 Helen Halyard, en la papeleta electoral.

Fue a través de la movilización masiva del 3-4 de agosto de la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera que se lograron recojer más de 20 mil firmas, representando esto el triple de lo requerido por la ley.

Tanto cartelones como un nuevo programa, incluyendo las demandas del Partido Obrero, será publicado en breve.

Este manifiesto electoral ha de ser distribuido en todas las comunidades obreras del país. Las decisiones de Gerald Ford, conjuntamente con Nelson Rockefeller son las de preparar las bases hacia una depresión.

Esta es una necesidad objetiva de la clase capitalista. El que Nixon haya sido reemplazado por Ford, es solo con el propósito de tener un elemento que no estuviese tan expuesto como Nixon, para llevar a cabo medidas en contra de la clase obrera.

El costo de la vida ha continuado aumentando, afectando los productos básicos de la familia obrera. Tanto el precio de la renta, ropa, diversiones y en particular la comida, han aumentado escandalosamente. En comparación con los precios del año anterior estos han aumentado en 11.1 por ciento.

Ya las grandes compañías y el gobierno estan hablando de una rebaja en cerca de 81 por ciento en comparación con el año anterior en la producción del combustible. Según su estimado este llevaría a cierre de industrias o un corte drástico en la producción, llevando al desempleo de miles de trabajadores.

Las escuelas, como centros recreacionales para los jóvenes en el invierno serán afectadas por la carestía de combustibles. Con el principio de este semestre estudiantes y padres ya han experimentado la deterioración del sistema educacional debido a los cortes en el presupuesto.

El porcentaje en el desempleo en la ciudad de Nueva York es cerca de 7.5 y entre los jóvenes cerca de 50.



Terry Delgado

Las reuniones de Ford con 28 líderes sindicales señala el rol de la burocracia sindical en este periodo. El objetivo de Ford al llamar a estas reuniones es para obtener la cooperación de estos burócratas en implantar y llevar a cabo sus políticas recesionarias.

Ford no ha prometido nada a la burocracia sindical y ésta en cambio, ha prometido trabajar hombro con hombro para poder implementar controles salariales, aceptar el desempleo masivo, destruyendo así el poder y la independencia de la clase obrera.



Helen Halyard

La reciente muerte de Claude Reese de 14 años de edad, de Brownsville, NY, la brutalidad policiaca ejercida en contra de la comunidad Puertorriqueña y afroamericana en Newark, es expresión de la preparación terrorista del gobierno en contra de la clase obrera.

Todos los trabajadores y juventud debemos de llevar adelante la lucha por construir un partido de los trabajadores con una política socialista, como alternativa contra los Demócratas y Republicanos. Las uniones deben de llamar a su propio congreso para construir el Partido de los Trabajadores, demandando:

- Empleo para todos con una semana de trabajo más corta.
- Nacionalización bajo control obrero de todas las industrias que rehusan dar empleo completo.
- Aumento salarial de acuerdo al costo de vida.
- Ninguna ley o acción gubernamental contra las uniones.

En su unión, presente Ud. una moción para que se apoye la candidatura de Halyard y Delgado. Construyamos así la alternativa en contra de los Demócratas y Republicanos.

Exhortamos a todo simpatizante y lector que se una en la campaña del Partido Obrero, organizando reuniones públicas en sus vecindarios. Para más información llamar al 924-0852.

# Judge Orders Arrest Of East Detroit Teachers

BY JANE JACKSON  
EAST DETROIT, Mich.—For the first time in history, Michigan teachers have been put in jail for striking.

The arrest and jailing of six East Detroit teachers on September 16 for disobeying a court order issued a week earlier came as a shock to the 525 members of the Federation of Teachers who had been on strike for a new contract.

The teachers appeared in court in answer to summonses issued late last week by Judge Hunter Stair, the same judge who ordered the arrest of striking Dodge Truck workers last March.

### UNPREPARED

The union leadership was completely unprepared for this new attack. Earlier that day, Hugh Jarvis, AFT president, had stated:

"I think the judge is in a bind. I don't think Stair wants to be the first judge to lock up teachers in Macomb County."

One teacher who was not jailed because there was not enough time for her to appear on the stand, described the ordeal in court.

### FORMALITY

"Our union's attorneys told us it would be a formality, that we wouldn't even have to testify because they didn't have our names on the summonses. But

## FORD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
American hands where great profits can be made off of starving millions.

### OMINOUS

This bellicose speech follows a series of related ominous actions which express a shift in American foreign policy in the direction to world war.

1. President Ford has become the first president to openly defend the role of the CIA in implementing America's interest in other countries through its subversive actions.

2. President Ford has appointed General Haig, a political figure deeply involved in past conspiracies along with Nixon, to head NATO forces in Europe. This can only be part of preparing these forces to act in case of civil war on the Continent.

3. The recent meeting of former Tory Prime Minister Heath with Ford was part of Ford's preparation for coalition rule in England, now recognized by all as being on the verge of complete collapse, in order to prepare war on the working class and a dictatorship at a later date.

### STEP UP

The American working class must step up its own fight against Ford and in this way join with workers all over the world who are now coming under the attack of the American capitalists.

This is why it is now so urgent that the trade unions call a Congress of Labor to map out policies to defend the working class and to launch a labor party to implement those policies.

they were wrong.

"One by one, the judge called the teachers to the stand and subjected them to the most belittling questioning I've ever heard. I'd call it complete harassment.

"We had no rights according to him. Only questions about whether we knew we were breaking the law were allowed. I couldn't believe what was happening."

### GUILTY

The six teachers who did receive seven day jail sentences for contempt of court were found guilty after they declared they would not return to their classrooms the next day.

The board maintains that there is not enough money to comply with the teachers' demands for a cost of living increase and smaller classes which would mean hiring more teachers.

The teachers maintain that they are fighting for the interests of the students and that while the school board has one administrator to every nine teachers, some of the teachers are forced to teach over 150 students a day.

Accusing the board of not bargaining in good faith, the union has filed charges of Unfair Labor Practices against the board of education.

Fifty-five employees, members of the operational staff, have been laid off since the strike. These include maintenance staff and special bus drivers. Angered by the layoffs, one member of Local 120 stated:

## FUND DRIVE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
goal. We are asking for a lot of money at the beginning of the drive because of the sudden price increases which have hit us all at once. We know this is going to mean tremendous sacrifices and a daily fight in the local branches to raise funds.

The conditions workers are facing daily of increasing unemployment combined with a skyrocketing inflation and new levels of repression create the conditions for building the Bulletin as never before to lead the struggles breaking out all over the country.

The policies of the present leadership in the unions are an outright betrayal of every worker. In the election campaign of Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado, we will bring forward a socialist program to build a new leadership to meet this crisis.

As Ford comes out and welcomes the use of the CIA to bring down the Allende government, the US government is completely exposed. Millions of workers can now see the necessity to fight for socialist policies against Ford's plans to curb inflation by destroying the rights and living standards of every worker.

To fight for this fund is to fight for the working class against the repression of capitalism. Every branch, reader, and supporter must go into action now. We appeal to every trade unionist, student, housewife, and unemployed worker to send all you can. Make checks or money orders payable to Labor Publications and send them immediately to Labor Publications, 135 West 14 Street, New York, NY 10011.

"We're with the teachers 100 percent. If they throw anyone in jail, we ought to walk out and shut up the schools tight."

Jack Rankin, another member of the operational employees union stated: "They can lay us off, but they don't lay off any of the administrators. The administration has misled the public long enough. With today's prices, who can live on \$4 an hour? If they do this to the teachers, what do you think they'll do to us in October, when our contract comes up?"

East Detroit is only one of the 117 school districts in Michigan and hundreds more nationwide where teachers unions are without contracts.

Teachers must demand and receive the full support of the entire labor movement to win this strike.

## Washington Clerks Back

BY RAOUL RIZIK  
WASHINGTON, D.C.—13,000 retail clerks who struck five major food chain stores here voted to accept the same contract they rejected originally.

The workers, members of Retail Clerks Local 400, returned to work on Friday, September 13, disillusioned and bitter about the stab in the back they received from the local union leadership.

Local 400 officials were opposed to the strike from the beginning and there are allegations that the union negotiators had assured the company in advance that they would accept the same deal that was accepted by the two other clerk locals and the butchers.

Local 400 made no attempt to force the Teamsters to halt deliveries or to demand that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen respect the clerks picket lines.

One worker from the Mount Pleasant Street Safeway store told the Bulletin:

"The union leaders weren't backing us up. The negotiators wanted to accept the contract even though it was voted down.

"There were two issues, to strike and whether or not to accept the contract. But the leadership put them both on the same ballot.

"One of the rank and filers got up and told the people who were waiting for the results of the vote that it was illegal and a farce.

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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

# lucha obrera

—lucía rivera

## Partido Obrero En Papeleta Electoral

La campaña electoral del Partido Obrero se naya viento en popa, luego de haberse completado todos los requerimientos legales para poner las dos candidatas congresionales, por el DC 12 Terry Delgado y por el DC 14 Helen Halyard, en la papeleta electoral.

Fue a través de la movilización masiva del 3-4 de agosto de la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera que se lograron recojer más de 20 mil firmas, representando esto el triple de lo requerido por la ley.

Tanto cartelones como un nuevo programa, incluyendo las demandas del Partido Obrero, será publicado en breve.

Este manifiesto electoral ha de ser distribuido en todas las comunidades obreras del país. Las decisiones de Gerald Ford, conjuntamente con Nelson Rockefeller son las de preparar las bases hacia una depresión.

Esta es una necesidad objetiva de la clase capitalista. El que Nixon haya sido reemplazado por Ford, es solo con el propósito de tener un elemento que no estuviese tan expuesto como Nixon, para llevar a cabo medidas en contra de la clase obrera.

El costo de la vida ha continuado aumentando, afectando los productos básicos de la familia obrera. Tanto el precio de la renta, ropa, diversiones y en particular la comida, han aumentado escandalosamente. En comparación con los precios del año anterior estos han aumentado en 11.1 por ciento.

Ya las grandes compañías y el gobierno estan hablando de una rebaja en cerca de 81 por ciento en comparación con el año anterior en la producción del combustible. Según su estimado este llevaría a cierre de industrias o un corte drástico en la producción, llevando al desempleo de miles de trabajadores.

Las escuelas, como centros recreacionales para los jóvenes en el invierno serán afectadas por la carestía de combustibles. Con el principio de este semestre estudiantes y padres ya han experimentado la deterioración del sistema educacional debido a los cortes en el presupuesto.

El porcentaje en el desempleo en la ciudad de Nueva York es cerca de 7.5 y entre los jóvenes cerca de 50.



Terry Delgado

Las reuniones de Ford con 28 líderes sindicales señala el rol de la burocracia sindical en este periodo. El objetivo de Ford al llamar a estas reuniones es para obtener la cooperación de estos burócratas en implantar y llevar a cabo sus políticas recesionarias.

Ford no ha prometido nada a la burocracia sindical y ésta en cambio, ha prometido trabajar hombro con hombro para poder implementar controles salariales, aceptar el desempleo masivo, destruyendo así el poder y la independencia de la clase obrera.



Helen Halyard

La reciente muerte de Claude Reese de 14 años de edad, de Brownsville, NY, la brutalidad policiaca ejercida en contra de la comunidad Puertorriqueña y afroamericana en Newark, es expresión de la preparación terrorista del gobierno en contra de la clase obrera.

Todos los trabajadores y juventud debemos de llevar adelante la lucha por construir un partido de los trabajadores con una política socialista, como alternativa contra los Demócratas y Republicanos. Las uniones deben de llamar a su propio congreso para construir el Partido de los Trabajadores, demandando:

- Empleo para todos con una semana de trabajo más corta.
- Nacionalización bajo control obrero de todas las industrias que rehusan dar empleo completo.
- Aumento salarial de acuerdo al costo de vida.
- Ninguna ley o acción gubernamental contra las uniones.

En su unión, presente Ud. una moción para que se apoye la candidatura de Halyard y Delgado. Construyamos así la alternativa en contra de los Demócratas y Republicanos.

Exhortamos a todo simpatizante y lector que se una en la campaña del Partido Obrero, organizando reuniones públicas en sus vecindarios. Para más información llamar al 924-0852.

# Judge Orders Arrest Of East Detroit Teachers

BY JANE JACKSON  
EAST DETROIT, Mich.—For the first time in history, Michigan teachers have been put in jail for striking.

The arrest and jailing of six East Detroit teachers on September 16 for disobeying a court order issued a week earlier came as a shock to the 525 members of the Federation of Teachers who had been on strike for a new contract.

The teachers appeared in court in answer to summonses issued late last week by Judge Hunter Stair, the same judge who ordered the arrest of striking Dodge Truck workers last March.

### UNPREPARED

The union leadership was completely unprepared for this new attack. Earlier that day, Hugh Jarvis, AFT president, had stated:

"I think the judge is in a bind. I don't think Stair wants to be the first judge to lock up teachers in Macomb County."

One teacher who was not jailed because there was not enough time for her to appear on the stand, described the ordeal in court.

### FORMALITY

"Our union's attorneys told us it would be a formality, that we wouldn't even have to testify because they didn't have our names on the summonses. But

### FORD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
American hands where great profits can be made off of starving millions.

### OMINOUS

This bellicose speech follows a series of related ominous actions which express a shift in American foreign policy in the direction to world war.

1. President Ford has become the first president to openly defend the role of the CIA in implementing America's interest in other countries through its subversive actions.

2. President Ford has appointed General Haig, a political figure deeply involved in past conspiracies along with Nixon, to head NATO forces in Europe. This can only be part of preparing these forces to act in case of civil war on the Continent.

3. The recent meeting of former Tory Prime Minister Heath with Ford was part of Ford's preparation for coalition rule in England, now recognized by all as being on the verge of complete collapse, in order to prepare war on the working class and a dictatorship at a later date.

### STEP UP

The American working class must step up its own fight against Ford and in this way join with workers all over the world who are now coming under the attack of the American capitalists.

This is why it is now so urgent that the trade unions call a Congress of Labor to map out policies to defend the working class and to launch a labor party to implement those policies.

they were wrong.

"One by one, the judge called the teachers to the stand and subjected them to the most belittling questioning I've ever heard. I'd call it complete harassment.

"We had no rights according to him. Only questions about whether we knew we were breaking the law were allowed. I couldn't believe what was happening."

### GUILTY

The six teachers who did receive seven day jail sentences for contempt of court were found guilty after they declared they would not return to their classrooms the next day.

The board maintains that there is not enough money to comply with the teachers' demands for a cost of living increase and smaller classes which would mean hiring more teachers.

The teachers maintain that they are fighting for the interests of the students and that while the school board has one administrator to every nine teachers, some of the teachers are forced to teach over 150 students a day.

Accusing the board of not bargaining in good faith, the union has filed charges of Unfair Labor Practices against the board of education.

Fifty-five employees, members of the operational staff, have been laid off since the strike. These include maintenance staff and special bus drivers. Angered by the layoffs, one member of Local 120 stated:

### FUND DRIVE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
goal. We are asking for a lot of money at the beginning of the drive because of the sudden price increases which have hit us all at once. We know this is going to mean tremendous sacrifices and a daily fight in the local branches to raise funds.

The conditions workers are facing daily of increasing unemployment combined with a skyrocketing inflation and new levels of repression create the conditions for building the Bulletin as never before to lead the struggles breaking out all over the country.

The policies of the present leadership in the unions are an outright betrayal of every worker. In the election campaign of Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado, we will bring forward a socialist program to build a new leadership to meet this crisis.

As Ford comes out and welcomes the use of the CIA to bring down the Allende government, the US government is completely exposed. Millions of workers can now see the necessity to fight for socialist policies against Ford's plans to curb inflation by destroying the rights and living standards of every worker.

To fight for this fund is to fight for the working class against the repression of capitalism. Every branch, reader, and supporter must go into action now. We appeal to every trade unionist, student, housewife, and unemployed worker to send all you can. Make checks or money orders payable to Labor Publications and send them immediately to Labor Publications, 135 West 14 Street, New York, NY 10011.

"We're with the teachers 100 percent. If they throw anyone in jail, we ought to walk out and shut up the schools tight."

Jack Rankin, another member of the operational employees union stated: "They can lay us off, but they don't lay off any of the administrators. The administration has misled the public long enough. With today's prices, who can live on \$4 an hour? If they do this to the teachers, what do you think they'll do to us in October, when our contract comes up?"

East Detroit is only one of the 117 school districts in Michigan and hundreds more nationwide where teachers unions are without contracts.

Teachers must demand and receive the full support of the entire labor movement to win this strike.

## Washington Clerks Back

BY RAOUL RIZIK  
WASHINGTON, D.C.—13,000 retail clerks who struck five major food chain stores here voted to accept the same contract they rejected originally.

The workers, members of Retail Clerks Local 400, returned to work on Friday, September 13, disillusioned and bitter about the stab in the back they received from the local union leadership.

Local 400 officials were opposed to the strike from the beginning and there are allegations that the union negotiators had assured the company in advance that they would accept the same deal that was accepted by the two other clerk locals and the butchers.

Local 400 made no attempt to force the Teamsters to halt deliveries or to demand that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen respect the clerks picket lines.

One worker from the Mount Pleasant Street Safeway store told the Bulletin:

"The union leaders weren't backing us up. The negotiators wanted to accept the contract even though it was voted down.

"There were two issues, to strike and whether or not to accept the contract. But the leadership put them both on the same ballot.

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