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BY DAVID NORTH

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The White House summit is not going to be some high minded forum for a free exchange of ideas on improving the economy.

Ford has called this conference to enlist the support of the trade union bureaucracy for decisions already made in advance—decisions aimed at imposing the full weight of the impending economic collapse on the working class.

This conference will be meeting against a background of an uncontrollable inflationary spiral and rapidly deepening recession throughout industry.

Inflation in the US and in every major industrial nation is rising at a pace never seen before in the history of capitalism.

The consumer price index for August rose 1.3 percent, an annual rate of nearly 16 percent and almost double the 0.8 percent rise in July. In August wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 46 percent.

Alan Greenspan, chairman of Ford's economic advisors told the Joint Economic Committee of Congress that real growth of

the economy is "something close to the zero area, perhaps a shade negative." In other words, stagnation of the economy is now turning into actual slashes in previous levels of production.

The trade union bureaucracy has based all their past actions on collaboration with the employers and the government as long as the workers were granted a few crumbs out of the enormous profits made by the capitalists.

This was possible during the inflationary boom of the 1950s and early 1960s. Now when the inflation has reached the point where the collapse of capitalism is a stark reality, these reformist bureaucrats put forward the same inflationary policies of expanding credit and increasing federal spending that are impossible in this period.

Their desperate angling for some negotiation and compromise with the government just at the time when the government is preparing to destroy the independence of the unions is a dangerous waste of time.

At last Thursday's conference on Health, Education and Welfare, proposals by trade union leaders for more money for programs, were answered by Administration advisors with calls for dismantling programs, cutting costs, and eliminating "unnecessary" surgery, laboratory tests, drugs, and hospitalization.

When one labor leader asked why it was those who suffered the most from inflation who were being asked to make the most sacrifice, Greenspan arrogantly replied:

"If you really wanted to examine percentage-wise who was hurt the most on their income, it was Wall Street brokers."

And at meetings in Pittsburgh and Detroit, industrialists drew up proposals that would mean the complete destruction of all the gains won by unions in the

field of working conditions. E. Mandell De Windt, chairman of the Eaton Corporation, announced he will urge Ford to end "safety programs that impede industrial capacity."

Greenspan's statement was not just a slip of the tongue. Ford's advisors are more and more open in defending the corporations and their profits because they are implementing decisions that will mean class war and violence against the working class.

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(Continued On Page 12)



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BY FRANK MARTIN

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In a recent column in the New York Post, Jack Anderson revealed the extensive and ongoing collaboration existing between the British and American police forces.

The police links and the CIA buildup are the behind-the-scenes preparations by the Ford administration for a Chile-type intervention inside Britain before "things get out of hand." These preparations were the

heart of the discussions between President Ford and Edward Heath, leader of the Conservative Tory Party in England, two weeks ago in Washington. While these ruling class conspirators discussed the formation of a coalition government for England, in the immediate future, it is clear that this is only the stepping-stone to military dictatorship.

The CIA began its buildup at the time of the coal miners' strike which forced the resignation of Heath's government last January. With the Nixon administration paralyzed by Watergate, the CIA went ahead with a massive infusion of bribe money.

The agency's "recruitment policy" is almost identical to its operations throughout the trade union movement in Latin America through its labor front—the AFLD.

It holds "industrial seminars" both in Britain and abroad to which it invites union officials of various ranks—from executive committee members to shop stewards. In return for huge "expense account" payments, these officials become informers for the CIA on activities inside

their unions.

The man in charge is Mr. Cord Meyer, former assistant deputy director of the CIA's Planning Department, known more commonly as the "Department of Dirty Tricks." It specializes in illegal activities against "unfriendly governments."

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# Bulletin

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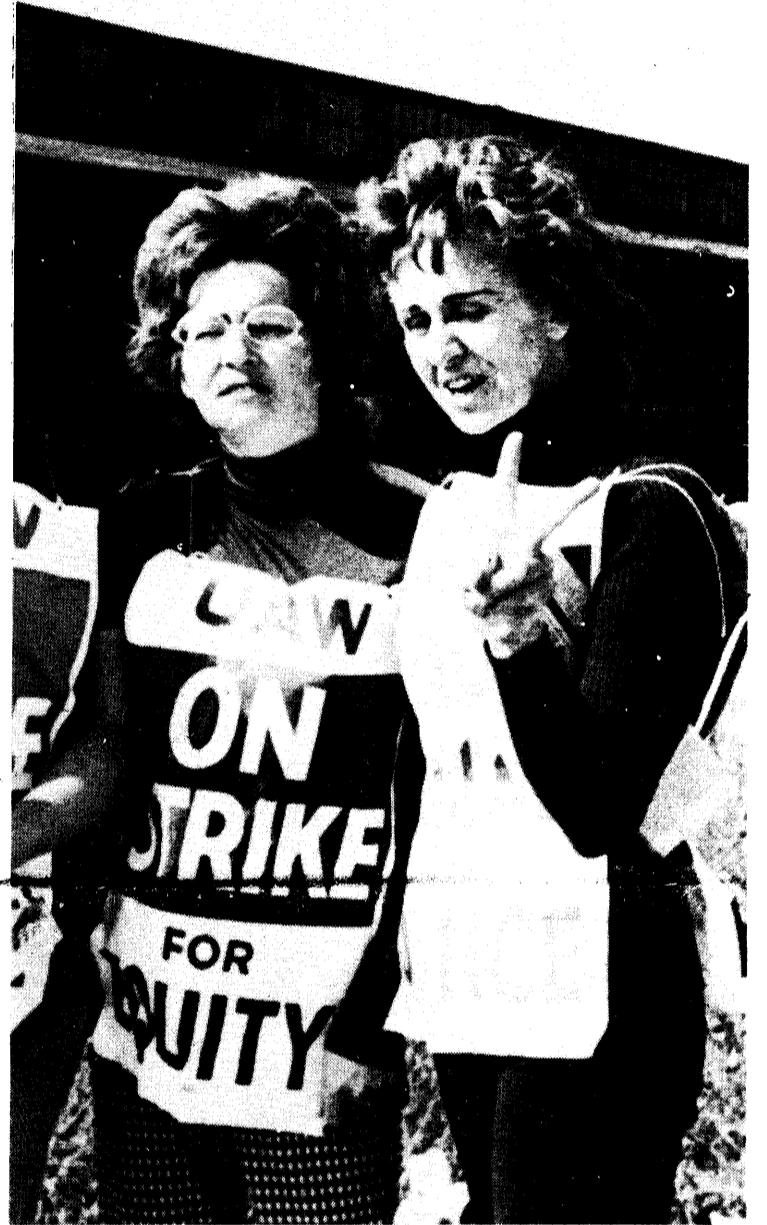
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## Police - Military Conspiracy Against The Working Class

The Wounded Knee trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM), is a warning to all trade unionists that the Ford government, like the Nixon government, is actively involved in plans to use the military in civil war against the working class.

The Wounded Knee trial and now Ford's admission that the CIA helped to overthrow the Chilean government of Salvador Allende exposes the extent of the conspiracy to create conditions for dictatorship and a police state in the United States.

### What We Think

The charges were dismissed against the AIM defendants, not just because of FBI wiretapping and the bribing of informers to give false testimony, but primarily on the basis of the illegal mobilization of the US Army to crush the Wounded Knee occupation in the Spring of 1973.

What was involved in Wounded Knee was more than the attempted frameup of Indian militants who "are innocent of the charges against them" as the revisionists in the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party see it.

The Wounded Knee occupation became a testing ground for the use of military warfare against masses of workers in the near future.

These preparations are made because the government knows that the crisis and crash of the capitalist economic system will force a confrontation not just with individual militants as in the past, but with millions of workers fighting to defend their basic rights and living standards.

The AIM case was won only because of the strength and support of the working class but we do not conclude from this as the SWP undoubtedly will, that this victory will reinforce democratic rights.

On the contrary, every defeat forces the government to find new methods of political persecution and deepens its resolve to destroy all democratic rights that hinder the class war that it is now preparing.

AIM and their supporters occupied the Wounded Knee trading post to force the government to act on the growing misery and poverty of conditions on the Pine Ridge reservation.

In 1971, Nixon had established the Special Operations Group of US Marshals Service, to circumvent a law that forces the Defense Department to declare a "civil disorder" before it can use Army material within the US.

The man in charge of the Army's Wounded Knee operation was Colonel Warner, now a General Chief of Staff of the 82 Airborne division. He instituted part of the

Army's "Garden Plan" for dealing with civil disturbances.

One of his first actions was to authorize the FBI to receive two armored personnel carriers. He also requested 2000 troops. In addition, he authorized the use of M1 ammunition, 24,000 flares, 12 grenade launchers, C-S gas, and M-40 high explosives.

To cover up what was going on, Army personnel were ordered to be in civilian clothes at all times.

Warner was in constant contact with the Pentagon. Through General Gleszer, director of the 24 hour Military Civilian Watch Agency, Warner kept in touch with Fred Buzhardt, then counsel for the Defense Secretary, General Haig, then vice chief of Staff at the White House and in turn Nixon, who received daily reports on Wounded Knee.

The reason for this massive mobilization of army



A US Army armored personnel carrier at Wounded Knee.

equipment and troops soon became clear. At Fort Carson, Colorado, the Army was rehearsing for a full-scale assault, complete with chemical teams and medical evacuation plans.

If the occupation had not ended when it did, there would have been a brutal massacre at Wounded Knee.

These events took place simultaneously with the Watergate conspiracy which exposed the extensive involvement of the FBI and the CIA in every aspect of domestic affairs.

The Workers League has constantly warned that Watergate was not just the usual corruption and "dirty tricks" of any capitalist government but represented the turn towards dictatorship by the entire capitalist class. Nixon's assertion of absolute presidential authority, his defiance of the Congress and the Constitution were an attempt to change the forms of rule in this country.

When the economists say that inflation will require the destruction of the traditional "social fabric" they

are expressing the conviction of wide sections of the ruling class that military rule must be imposed to deal with the revolutionary situation created by this crisis.

This was further confirmed by the New York Times report in late August that before Nixon resigned, he was in contact with a unit of the military and was possibly preparing to use them to block an impeachment move by Congress.

Last week, Ford admitted and approved of the role played by the CIA in helping overthrow the former Allende government in Chile, a conspiracy which Kissinger was at the center of.

Throughout the past year there has been a massive buildup of the police and of special paramilitary units such as SWAT, which have used shootouts, as in the attack on the Symbionese Liberation Army, to practice for violent assaults against entire working class communities.

It is not just Chile or Wounded Knee but the growing involvement of the CIA and the Pentagon in the day to day affairs of the government. Kissinger and Haig, the two men who were intimately involved in the Chile and Wounded Knee conspiracies led the drive to finally force Nixon to resign, and remain the key men in the Ford government.

The imposition of the Ford-Rockefeller government with its ruthless policy of forcing the burden of the economic crisis on the working class through unemployment, budget slashes and the destruction of real wages means that the ruling class cannot postpone a confrontation.

They fear the tremendous strength of the working class and this is why for the first time in US history the Pentagon directly intervenes in internal affairs and why the American capitalists are preparing to dispense with all forms of bourgeois democratic rule.

But this strength left on the level of trade union struggle is insufficient to defeat these plans. This strength must now be brought forward in the construction of a revolutionary party to unite the working class behind socialist policies.

The lessons of the defeat of the Chilean workers are essential to arm American workers for this period. It was the policies of Stalinism, of pressuring the capitalist parties and forming alliances with them in the hope that they would make concessions, that left the working class defenseless when the right wing went on the offensive.

The defense of democratic rights requires a political struggle for power and the smashing of the decaying and crisis-ridden capitalist system.

The struggle to build the revolutionary party to lead this fight is at the heart of our campaign in the unions for a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans, and for an emergency Congress of Labor to meet this crisis.

## Nixon Gets Sick Quick

BY DAVID NORTH

The FBI has delivered a subpoena obtained by Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski to Richard Nixon, ordering his appearance at the upcoming trial of former White House aides.

Jaworski sought the subpoena with the greatest reluctance. His hand was forced by the refusal of defense lawyers for John Ehrlichman to accept the validity of any White House tape to be played before the jury unless Nixon personally testifies in a court room that they are genuine.

This technical device used by the defense lawyers would open Nixon up to cross examination. Lawyers for Ehrlichman are certainly planning to base their defense on the argument that their client was merely carrying out orders for the former president.

All the rumors being spread about his sudden ill health are part of a calculated plan to avoid giving testimony.

The statement by Nixon's personal physician, Major General Walter Tkach, that the former President is so sick that it will take a "miracle" to pull him through is ludicrous.

First of all, phlebitis—Nixon's supposed ailment—is a condition very common among middle-aged people. While it does cause slight pain and requires medical attention, it hardly places people at death's door.

Tkach's statements about Nixon's health have even been disputed by Julie Eisenhower, who denied that her father was the emotional and physical wreck which the doctor described him to be.

It has also been learned that Tkach made his drastic comments on the state of Nixon's health without ever having examined him.

The only man who has examined Nixon is his California friend, Dr. John C. Lungren. His dubious findings have been backed by the alarmed statements of Nixon's buddies, Bebe Rebozo and Charles Abplanalp. Neither man wants Nixon on the stand since their own activities have been related to the Watergate conspiracies.

Nixon is an old hand in the art of the timely illness. It will be recalled that back in 1972, a key figure in the ITT investigation, Dita Beard, suddenly developed heart disease when prosecutors sought to question her.

Of course, Nixon could not get away with this farce were it not for the fact that Gerald Ford and the highest councils of the ruling class do not want him on trial. They know that a thorough exposure of Nixon's crimes would show the extent of the conspiracy against the working class which is continued under Ford.

## Argentine Death Squad Murders Union Leaders

Argentina is on the brink of civil war.

The wave of political assassinations in the past week is aimed at removing any opponents of the government in preparation for a crackdown on the working class.

One of those recently killed was Atilio Lopez, leader of the transport union in Cordoba who led the workers uprising there in 1969. Lopez who had resigned in February as vice-governor of the Cordoba province, was opposed to the national leadership of the CGT (General Federation of Workers) and was affiliated with the independent unions.



Itzhak Rabin.

Alfredo Curutchet, a young lawyer for the auto workers union, was also killed last week. An extreme right-wing group, Argentine Anti-Imperialist Action, (AAA), took responsibility.

AAA has been compared to the notorious "Death Squads" in Brazil which are a secret arm of the police and do the dirty work of eliminating the government's opponents.

The AAA has drawn up a list of 12 men, including all the deputies of the Popular Revolutionary Alliance, who are marked for assassination.

Another ominous sign is the appointment of Eduardo Ottala-

gano as rector to the University of Buenos Aires. In the 1940s he was a member of the National Alliance for Liberation, a fascist organization.

The government is accusing students of being responsible for the terrorism and has shut the University until Tuesday.

Last weekend 50 bombs were exploded in Buenos Aires, creating an air of crisis throughout the city.

The government has declared war on the leftist Peronist guerrilla movement, Montoneros. They took responsibility for the kidnapping last Thursday of two grain exporters in which the chauffeur and the company manager were killed.

## Zionists Arm For War

Israeli fighter bombers attacked towns in Southeast Lebanon last week, killing one man and wounding two others.

Eight Phantoms were involved in the attack in which napalm and phosphorous bombs were used.

The attacks came amidst growing indications that the Zionists are preparing full scale war against Syria.

When Israeli Prime Minister Itzhak Rabin arrived in Washington last week, he requested for military aid totalling \$4 billion a year.

The columnists Evans and Novak reported in the Sep-

tember 18 issue of the New York Post that Kissinger explained the Israeli arms request to a group of industrialists by saying that war in the Middle East within six to eight months is a better than 50-50 proposition.

Within this framework, the Zionists are trying to build up their military arsenal in preparation for a pre-emptive strike against Syria.

The Syrians, according to Evans and Novack, are sufficiently concerned over Israeli war preparations that there are plans to move some of the government apparatus out of Damascus and further north to Aleppo.

# CIA War Against Allende



Kissinger approved CIA plans in Chile.

**BY DAVID NORTH**  
**Most of the \$8 million spent by the CIA for subversive activities against the regime of former Chilean president Salvador Allende was funnelled into the strikes of right-wing middle-class truckers which preceded the military coup last September.**

Reports from informed sources obtained by the New York Times confirmed allegations made by Allende shortly before his death on September 11, 1973.

During the truckers' strike, it appeared that the middle class drivers had unlimited financial resources. Now it is clear that they did. On the Chilean black market, \$8 million in American currency could be translated into the equivalent of \$40 million in the inflated Chilean currency.

The sources told the Times that the CIA successfully infiltrated its agents into every party that participated in the Popular Unity government of Allende. The two main parties of the overthrown regime were the Chilean Communist Party and Allende's Socialist Party.

An official who participated in the policy-making of the CIA told the Times:

"You've got to understand what was going on. The intelligence reports coming to us were frightening. Allende would send

Popular Unity representatives into a business and claim that workers were complaining about high profits.

"Then they'd take over the books and raise the taxes 50 percent. It was a very brutal policy.

"So our idea was to prevent this from working and money was the way to go. What we really were doing was supporting a civilian resistance movement against an arbitrary government. Our target was the middle-class groups who were working against Allende.

"The whole point of this is that covert action provides a one percent impetus for something that the people want anyway. In a civilized country, the CIA can only make a marginal input. It takes a lot of money and—this is most important—you don't do it unless you're told to (by higher authority in Washington)."

This is the voice of American imperialism. The CIA could not tolerate the "brutal policy" of taxing profits. It thus brought in the fascist generals to save profits by murdering 30,000 workers, torturing hundreds of thousands, and reducing the Chilean masses to the brink of starvation. This is, according to Dr. Kissinger of the CIA, a much more "humane" policy.

The Times' informant pointed out that the American embassy in Santiago was the breeding ground of counterrevolutionary plots.

"The people within the Embassy," he stated, "felt that they were engaged in a kind of warfare, the people were either with you or against you when it came to Allende."

"There were a lot of people in Santiago on the far right who were essentially dedicating their lives to the overthrow of Allende—it was like a holy war. These people were increasingly seen at the embassy in 1972 and 1973.

"At the time, just putting some resources at their disposal alone would be enough."

The role played by the CIA in Chile—and there will be more information coming out—is a warning to every worker. The hand of the CIA is at work in the international labor movement. Recently there have been reports that the CIA is busy in the British trade union movement in conspiratorial operations against socialist organizations.

It is of course necessary that every trade union and workers organization be on the sharpest watch against these conspiratorial activities.

But it is also necessary to understand that the CIA could never have succeeded had it not been for the treacherous policies of Allende and the Stalinists which left the working class exposed.

Is there any clearer argument against the theories of peaceful coexistence and the peaceful road to socialism advanced by the Stalinists than the evidence of the CIA conspiracy in Chile?

While the Stalinists and Allende were disarming the workers with reassurances about the loyalty of the military, Pinochet and his henchmen were preparing with the CIA the terrible events of last September.

## Hospital Ranks Battle Einstein

**BY A REPORTER**  
**NEW YORK, NY—1700 members of District 1199 of the National Hospital Union are locked in a battle with the Einstein College of Medicine for a new contract.**

Breaking with past practice, Einstein has refused to grant the same contract negotiated between the union and the 52 hospitals who are organized in the League of Voluntary Hospitals.

The Einstein contract expired last June 30 but District 1199 has not called a strike on the grounds that a strike would be ineffective during the summer when no students are at the College.

The Health and Hospitals Corporation has informed District 1199 leaders that the 650 members employed in Lincoln Hospital and other city units affiliated with Einstein will also not be guaranteed the League contract.

A committee of 100 at Einstein has been conducting a campaign of disruptive harassment throughout the College. On September 12, 1000 Einstein workers demonstrated outside the Corporation offices.

The League contract provides for 11 percent or \$17 a week, whichever is greater, this year and an across the board raise of \$10 on July 1975.

The cost of living clause only gives a \$2 a week increase for each percentage point rise in living costs, above five percent.

The refusal of Leon Davis, president of the National Hospital Union, to call a strike over two months after the expiration of the contract, must

be a warning to hospital workers that the leadership will not wage an all out struggle at Einstein.

In the August issue of 1199 News, Davis refers to the powerful 1199 strike last November:

"The National Executive Board has adopted a policy that where management shows an obvious willingness to engage in bona fide collective bargaining, but where nevertheless...we are unable to resolve issues across the bargaining table, the union will recommend peaceful resolution of the issues through voluntary arbitration instead of striking."

On July 11, 1974, a federal law was passed that for the first time grants hospital workers the right to organize, but it contained a provision for a 60 day cooling off period that has now been changed to mandatory fact finding.

This year, hospital workers face a concerted attack by the government on every basic right they have won in the past.

The League contract provides no real protection against inflation. At a time when federal cutbacks threaten hospital jobs, Davis refused to defend the 40 laid off workers at the Charles Drew medical centers. Now the right to strike is at stake.

Workers at Einstein and Lincoln must not accept anything less than the full League wage offer and a full cost of living increase, not one with a \$2 cap on it. There must be a guarantee of no layoffs.

Davis must be mandated to call strike action to win this fight with the support of all 1199 members in New York.

## Carve Up At Pan Am



**BY JEFF SEBASTIAN**  
**President Ford and Transportation Secretary Brinegar have temporarily ruled out any payment of subsidies to bail out the nearly bankrupt Pan American World Airways.**

Pan American stands to lose \$76 million this year and has suffered losses of \$170 million over the past five years. Claiming that its jet

fuel costs will rise more than \$200 million over last year, Pan Am requested subsidies of more than \$10 million a month to stay afloat.

Pan Am invested over \$700 million in a fleet of 747 jumbo jets in 1969, precisely at the time that inflation was beginning to explode and international recession was developing.

With air fares up by 25 percent, Pan Am's North Atlantic flights have suffered a 24 percent drop in passenger traffic.

Government agencies plan a massive fly American flag airlines campaign. Brinegar

complains that while 60 percent of all passenger travel to and from the US is by Americans, only 40 percent is on US planes.

The US is planning retaliatory moves against foreign airlines offering rate subsidies or excessive flights as well as "corrective action" against governments "discriminating" against US flights.

This is a blueprint for an air war designed to bankrupt foreign carriers.

It is clear that the government is determined to gear up for this fight by cutting Pan Am to pieces and encouraging the industry to streamline itself for international competition.

Pan Am has already indicated that it plans huge slashes in service to the Caribbean, Hawaii, and Europe.

Still under active consideration is an absorption of Pan Am by TWA. This would mean a massive slashing of all duplicated flights and the elimination of thousands of jobs.

Pan Am's rivals are already moving in for the kill. As one financial expert summed it up, "Pan Am's got to cut their operations down to the bone and then you can think of a merger. You can bet a lot of other carriers are going to be looking at the body and thinking of it as a carcass and trying to pick off the choice segments."

## CNL Maps Fight On Welfare Plan

**BY AN SSEU MEMBER**  
**New York, NY—The Social Services Employees Union delegates meeting on September 19 was closed down shortly after it began when supporters of the Knight leadership called a quorum to head off discussion on the city's new reorganization proposals.**

The Knight leadership

sought to head off a vote on a motion by the Committee for New Leadership opposing the city plans for sweeping shift changes and reorganization of the welfare centers.

Knight reported to the meeting the city's demands that massive lines in front of welfare centers be reduced by keeping them open on an 8 am to 7 pm basis daily and 9 am to 12 on Saturdays by means of staggered shifts, and forced overtime of an average of nine hours per week for welfare workers.

A new plan to liquidate

additional social services functions was also outlined.

### COOPERATE

Knight made it clear that along with the other union leaders involved, he would cooperate with the city to enforce these changes.

All they are demanding is that the overtime hours which represent some 600 job lines that the city would otherwise have to fill will be worked on a voluntary, rather than a mandatory basis.

In opposition to this, the Committee for New Leadership

introduced a motion which would ban all cooperation with the overtime and shift change plans, voluntary or involuntary.

### FORCED

The motion would have forced this issue to be taken into the city district council at large. It also would have banned any further cooperation with reorganization until the issues of hiring, workload, manning, the lifting of the victimization of union militant, Judy Catchpol, and guarantees against new lay-off threats have been successfully negotiated.



'D' street projects—Politicians have maintained rotten conditions in South Boston as breeding ground for racism. "Southie" students above said boycott was a "day to day" thing; several of them are attending classes.



# BOSTON: DRIVE FASCISTS OUT!

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE**  
**BOSTON, Mass.—**  
**Teachers at Boston's Hyde Park High School voted 60-10 to refuse to work on Friday after violence went beyond the South Boston area, a week after the beginning of busing in the city.**

Busing between the Hyde Park and Mattapan areas has resulted in the elimination of a junior high school and severe overcrowding. A fight broke out last Thursday in the Hyde Park cafeteria, which is so overcrowded now that students are forced to sit on the floor to eat.

As the fighting spread, some 400 black students ran outside after someone said the buses had arrived. They were greeted by almost 1500 white youth throwing stones and bottles. The spread of the violence beyond the limits of South Boston increases the danger that National Guard troops or federal marshalls will be called in to occupy both white and black neighborhoods.

Today, virtually all of Boston's industry is collapsing as recession hits the economy. Thousands of textile jobs in towns surrounding Boston have been destroyed by closures and many plants have moved to the South.

The Boston Naval Yard is deserted, and other area shipyards will be hit hard as the high cost of materials and the uncertainty of world trade cuts into construction plans.

Central Boston's industry is dominated by electronics and the giant Polaroid Corporation plant. These boom industries have been among the hardest hit by the sharp cut-back in credit. Polaroid stocks have dropped drastically in the recent plummeting of the stock market and the company plans to lay off 1400 in the Boston area.

The racist, anti-busing campaign has been built up for over a decade, especially among South Boston parents, but it is

deliberately brought to the point of explosion now in order to weaken a fight by Boston's powerful trade union movement against this mass unemployment.

When US District Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. issued his emergency busing order in compliance with the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law of 1965, he deliberately chose to set up one bus route between Roxbury and South Boston, the poorest black and white sections of the city.

Democratic politicians like Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks, Senator William Bulgar and Representative Michael Flaherty have built their whole careers on twisting the resentment and anger of South Boston workers against the conditions they live under into a racial issue.

One woman from the dreary Old Colony housing project just below South Boston High School told the Bulletin that conditions there were far worse than in the Roxbury projects, "where at least the kids have playgrounds instead of bare dirt." The meager reforms granted during the 1960s, all of which are being destroyed today, the right-wing politicians have presented this as the results of the "more aggressive" nature of blacks.

Workers in South Boston speak candidly about the rotten conditions in the neighborhood, even as they trade among themselves all the myths of deterioration that have made fortunes for block-busting real estate agents.

They admitted to Bulletin reporters that the shingled "tripledecker" that line the narrow streets are rapidly becoming dilapidated fire traps, that the D. Street project is probably the worst in the city, in spite of the fact that 99 percent of its families are white. "A boarded up window is a boarded up window, no matter who threw the stone," one woman said.

"If they're looking for equal education, I'd advise them to get equal somewhere else," one D Street resident said bitterly. "The school up there (South High) they don't give you a good

education. It's one of the worst. It's no prize."

Walking through South Boston, it is clear how racism has been used to hold down white workers as well as black. The fight against the impossible conditions facing every working class family must be carried into the trade unions. In many of them, workers from Roxbury and South Boston have been fighting side by side for years to improve their wages and conditions in the plants.

The decades of racism nurtured in communities like South Boston can only be broken through and unity forged on the basis of a concrete program to tackle the questions of high prices, unemployment, housing and slashes in the budget for schools and other public programs.

Unions must fight for a thirty-hour work week at forty hours pay to end the layoffs and create new jobs. A sliding scale of wages must be demanded in every shop, so that major wage gains fought for now can be protected with escalator clauses against the sharpening inflation.

Major industries, finance and real estate interests must be nationalized under workers control. Companies cannot be allowed to lock their doors on the millions of workers who need jobs. The money that has gone to line the pockets of bankers and block-busters should be used for

massive construction of schools, decent housing, health and recreation facilities.

This requires a political fight for the construction of a labor party based on the massive strength of the trade unions to unite all sections of the working class around socialist policies.

It is the right wing of the Democratic Party, represented by Hicks and Company that set up the conditions for the police terror brought down on the white youth of South Boston, and the so-called "liberal" wing led by Mayor Kevin White that called the shots.

Because of this, the relationship of these workers with the Democratic Party is at the breaking point. Banners painted on sheets hang from some windows say White has made South Boston into a police state. Mothers blame "the government" and the politicians for making it impossible for their children to finish school, and share bitter stories about the fine private schools attended by the children of local politicians.

The right-wing and openly fascist movements have entered the Boston area fighting to exploit this break with the Democrats.

The American National Socialist Party (Nazis) have been seen in South Boston this week, as have a section of the Ku Klux Klan.

While there is much suspicion of these groups because of their anti-Catholic as well as anti-black propaganda, and because they are outsiders who the workers fear would bring even more violence to the area, there are also many streets and houses in South Boston painted with the slogans and drawings supporting the KKK.

The new distrust of the South Boston workers for the Democratic Party and their hatred for the conditions they face can only be exploited by the ultra-right as long as their own trade unions refuse to act.

It is in the unions that the defense of busing can be put in its proper perspective and defended as one part of uniting the working class.

The trade unions must take independent action to drive out the Nazis and the Klan.

A mass demonstration must be called to demand that all police be withdrawn and prepare a defense guard mobilized from the trade unions themselves, to keep the schools open. Police and federal troops mobilized now will be used against strikes and factory occupations in the future.

At the same time, the demonstration must take up the political fight of the working class, by launching a fight for a national Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

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The collapse of the dictatorship was a vindication of the perspectives of the International Committee, on the nature of the regime. We were the only ones against the Stalinists, revisionists, liberals, and everybody, who said that it was not a fascist regime based on the defeat of the working class.

Greece was led to a dictatorship by two factors. The first factor was a series of measures taken by the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s to cut back foreign aid to underdeveloped countries.

As a result, a series of coups took place in various countries: Indonesia, Ghana, Algeria. This presented the Greek regime with the necessity to proceed to inflationary policies.

Caramanlis, who was the Prime Minister at the time, realized this. But, at the time, the Greek regime had to confront the powerful upsurge of the working class.

The working class at that time had overcome the defeat of the civil war of the 1940s. New generations had come onto the scene and the working class showed tremendous militancy, especially in the early 1960s.

However, the working class is under a Stalinist leadership. The Communist Party of Greece has been outlawed since the 1948 Civil War, but there is a substitute for it, a parliamentary party, the EDA (United Democratic Left). They emerged in parliament, especially after the elections of 1958, as the second party in Parliament, the official opposition. We had a clear polarization of political forces in Greece.

**INSTABILITY**

The period from 1965 to 1967 was one of political instability and crisis, with one puppet government after another, appointed by the King, while the Stalinists refused to give any leadership to the working class. The ruling class was unable to continue ruling in the old parliamentary way. The working class was unable to give its own solutions to the crisis because of the lack of a revolutionary leadership with an independent perspective.

On the basis of this balance of class forces, the Papadopoulos dictatorship emerged. We didn't have a battle where the ruling class smashed the working class, as the Stalinists maintained, but instead, the working class was trapped, because of their lack of leadership.

So this dictatorship could only maintain the balance of class forces as long as they could make certain concessions to the working class and avoid an immediate confrontation.

The International Committee, and the Greek section, the Workers Internationalist League, said that this dictatorship was a bonapartist regime, not based on a defeat of the working class. This meant that we had a confrontation in front of us, and we had to prepare for that confrontation.

**SPLIT**

In 1968, there was a split in the Communist Party. Almost one-half of the political committee expelled the other half. Two factions of the Communist Party, formed, the one called the Communist Party of the "exterior" and the other, the Communist Party of the "interior."

The split was the expression of the crisis in Stalinism because of the dictatorship. The masses were demanding an explanation of why this regime had been allowed to happen. And these two factions blamed all the mistakes and treachery of the past on each other.

The Communist Party of the exterior, based themselves mainly on those cadres of the party that have lived in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union ever since the civil war. They represented the Soviet bureaucracy, but for the working class of Greece they represented the tradition of the Russian Revolution. So they had the following of the vanguard of the movement.

The members of the Communist Party of the interior, lived inside Greece, were former members of the EDA, and leaders of the Stalinist youth movement, which has more ties with the local bourgeoisie than with the Soviet bureaucracy.

**BOOM**

The Papadopoulos regime could maintain its rule only on the basis of continuing the inflationary boom. But this became impossible, when in 1971, Nixon took the dollar off the gold standard.

From that point on, the dictatorship either had to take on and smash the working class, and thus establish a real fascist regime in Greece, or they had to leave the scene.

In 1973, they were forced to scrap the budget they had introduced only a month before and introduce a new budget that was deflationary. It especially affected the construction industry, which was the backbone of the Greek boom.

I should point out that this regime, right from the beginning, was backed by the CIA and the American government. Papadopoulos himself was an active agent of the CIA, and most of the members of the junta came from that CIA.

The Greek CIA was not under the control of the Greek government. The Greek government did not even know who their agents were, or what they were engaging in. They were under the direct control of the American CIA.

Sections of the ruling class in Greece were against the regime. It had alienated itself from all sections of Greek society, not just the working class.

Under the conditions of crisis, the regime found itself in a very difficult position. For example, the development of a trade war between America and Europe has created a difficulty for the Greek economy, because the Greek currency was based entirely on the dollar. As the dollar was being devalued against European currencies, the Greek dollar was devalued by the same amount against the European currencies.

But, the bulk of Greek trade is with Europe, and about 65 or even 75 percent of that trade is imports. So devaluing Greek currency meant the price for a lot of items that were imported from Europe had to go up.

In 1973, Papadopoulos announced that Greece would no longer be a constitutional monarchy. He proposed a new constitution, and a plebiscite on that constitution. He announced that there would be a democratization procedure leading eventually to free elections.

Papadopoulos had to do these things. If he was to take on the working class, he had first of all to break the isolation of the junta and win some sort of political support. The junta, the state machine itself was ruling in Greece without any sort of parliamentary shield. So every struggle endangered the regime



Polytechnic students in Athens occupied the school and demanded a general strike to bring down the dictatorship.

# Behind The Fall Of The Greek Junta

and immediately posed the question of power, because the working class would be fighting against the state, not against some parliamentary government.

If the Stalinists would support this farce of democratization, it would insure the bourgeois politicians that they could hold back the masses.

**FAIL**

But the plans of the junta were condemned to fail, because of the resistance and power of the working class in Greece. With every single step that was taken towards this election, with the lifting of martial law, in certain areas, for example, all the problems that had been accumulating in the previous period came out.

There was an upsurge of the student movement, and a lot of demands being put forward by all different sections of the working class.

And then, we had the events of the Athens Polytechnic, when the students and the workers of Athens occupied the school for three days.

They put forward slogans like "for a political general strike, to overthrow the dictatorship," very advanced slogans that were denounced by the bourgeois politicians, who nevertheless very guardedly supported the occupation of the polytechnic against the junta.

Eventually, the junta was forced to send in its tanks in order to throw the students out of the Polytechnic and there was a massacre. There were about 500 dead, workers and students, in the Polytechnic, and thousands of injured people.

TO BE CONTINUED

Interview with a member of the Workers Internationalist League, Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Part One.



Former Greek dictator, Colonel Papadopoulos.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Blick's and Jenkins's opposition to the practice of Cromwell's party in the English civil war is unmistakably connected to their present attempts to discredit and distort the principles and traditions of the modern Roundheads of Trotskyism. In the same manner as the apologists of Absolutism attacked the Independents as "fanatics," so these attorneys for "moderation" and bureaucracy attack the WRP for "activism" and "sectarianism":

"There is a marked emphasis on activism running through the history of the SLL and now the WRP, notwithstanding the oft-quoted slogan: 'Without revolutionary theory—no revolutionary party'."

What is the basis for this vulgar accusation? That the SLL-WRP maintain that the activism which characterized the labor movement is tending to break up and that this has "shocked" many young workers to pay attention to theory and its relation to practice. They cynically distort this statement to allege that the WRP believes that the workers will spontaneously come over to Marxism on the basis of "a series of shocks administered by the bourgeoisie." The latter sentence is a complete fabrication of Blick-Jenkins. Nowhere in the 1969 perspectives document, alluded to by Blick-Jenkins, is there a single sentence which can be construed as a concession to spontaneous development of Marxism. The position of the WRP can be summed up thus:

The basis for the proletarian revolution is the fact that capitalism can no longer develop the productive forces in its period of death agony. It is forced to destroy the most vital and revolutionary of all the productive forces—the modern working

# A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists



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

class. For millions these plans will come in the form of enormous shocks. These shocks are quite independent of Marxism and of the revolutionary party. By themselves they do not guarantee the victory of the proletarian revolution. For that, the subjective conscious factor, the Party, is essential. But without the objective crisis of capitalism and the disruption this will bring to the lives of millions of people all over the planet, the material conditions for the revolution would be entirely absent.

The entire history of the SLL-WRP is a history of the most ruthless struggle against all those groups who wanted to turn the SLL-WRP into a syndicalist body subordinated to spontaneity. The SLL was born in a struggle against a tendency which included Behan—who became an anarchist-reformist—and Hillier who joined the anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity, then International Socialism, and now resides with the Blick-Jenkins group after a brief sojourn in the SLL. In the formation of the predecessor to the ATUA, the Oxford Liaison Committee, a decisive struggle was waged against those motor-car stewards who refused to allow the policies of the SLL to be taken into their factories. It was the same struggle against those who wanted to subordinate the conscious struggle for Marxism and revolutionary parties to the so-called "natural Marxism" of Castro in the early 1960s that led to the split with the Latin American groups and their US sympathizers in the Socialist Workers Party.

In the 1970s the SLL-WRP was the only party to combat spontaneity and syndicalism with the publication of two pamphlets on the IS, "Falsifiers of Lenin" and "Rank-and-Fileism or Marxism."

Unlike Blick-Jenkins, who never did any serious trade union work, the WRP believes that most workers who join the Party do so necessarily as activists and that the trade union milieu from which they come provides a fertile climate for this activism. This activism has a long history in the working class and can be traced back to the revolutionary activism of the Calvinists. After the Restoration this activism was negated and in the period of the industrial revolution and—except for a certain period the Chartist era—assumed a non-revolutionary form. But now, once again, with the coming of a revolutionary epoch, this activism comes into conflict with the historical interests of the working class and makes possible the negation of this form of activism. As Trotsky wrote in *Where Is Britain Going?*:

"One may with a certain justice draw an analogy between the doctrine of predestination in the Puritan revolution and the role of Marxism in the revolution of the proletariat. But in the one and in the other a tremendous activity is based not on subjective arbitrariness, but on an iron systematization—in the one case mystically and in the other scientifically known."

Blick-Jenkins attack this view because they fear the strength of the working class and they completely ignore—as we have shown—the objective developments in world economy which ruthlessly undermine the old forms and prepare the basis for the new.

For this reason these anti-Marxists attack with great viciousness the leadership of the WRP which insists on the primacy of practice as the basis for the de-

The founding conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party. The construction of the WRP and of the international Trotskyist movement is the result of a long and arduous struggle against revisionism.

velopment of theory. Conversely they defend all those idealist tendencies who, by their refusal to engage in the practical struggle to build the party, hold back its development, allow political backwardness and spontaneity to flourish and transmit alien class pressure into the party. Nowhere is this defense of middle class and idealist propagandism more explicit than in the section of the Blick-Jenkins document which states:

"Several generations within the movement have been trained in this manner. With an often personal devotion to the leadership they now become the mechanism for the perpetuations of a regime of systematic, uncorrected error, more and more exposed by the developing struggle of the working class. The old Trotskyist cadre has long ago given way to them and to the middle class elements from the acting and journalist professions who, through no fault of their own, bring middle class radicalism to fuse with this activism of the youth leadership. But it is the subjective idealism of the central leadership that has engineered this fusion. The gap between this party and the task of revolution is immense."

Devoid of principles and lacking any viable perspectives, these idealists impugn the political consciousness of the members of the WRP—the basis of their loyalty and discipline to the party, its program and leadership—by resorting to the most vulgar idealist subterfuge of "personal devotion to the leadership," to explain the growth of the WRP. This is a contemptible method common to Fleet Street journalists and Police Court prosecutors, but is completely alien to Marxism.

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Revolutionary Party, in London on November 4, 1973. International Trotskyist movement is founded on an impla-

That is why Blick-Jenkins make such an intense effort to discredit all the achievements of British Trotskyism in over 40 years of struggle and distort the real relations which exist between the leadership and the members of the WRP. This is particularly true of their subjectivist attempt to discredit one of the most important conquests of the party in recent years: the assimilation of a whole cadre of professional workers from the entertainment industry. To the Blick-Jenkins dilettantes, however, these comrades are "middle class radicals" whose "radicalism" is fused with the "activism" of the youth. This explains nothing except the ignorance and bombast of these sceptics who cannot answer the question: why was it the SLL-WRP alone which was able to win the most talented people in the industry to a revolutionary policy and organization? To explain this basic gain, won after years of patient struggle and education, by references to "subjective idealism," is to replace dialectics with political alchemy.

In attempting to present the WRP as composed entirely of youth and middle class radicals, Blick-Jenkins are only whistling in the dark, and they know it. It is, of course, true that the WRP and the SLL has made big gains from amongst the youth. This is as it should be: only those fighting for revolutionary policies in this epoch of capitalist disintegration can and will attract the best elements from amongst the youth. Blick-Jenkins express an enormous hostility to youth when they state that the new generation of members has "become a mechanism for the perpetuation of a regime of systematic error." On the contrary. The continuous recruitment of youth into the Party—which Blick-Jenkins understandably find is vexatious—is the greatest single deterrent against any form of political complacency and opportunism. The great developments in the class struggle will provide the leadership with the best-ever chance to make its perspectives more precise and correct as well as broaden considerably its base in the unions.

The struggle to recruit into the Party, which Blick-Jenkins again for obvious reasons find so distasteful, is inseparable from the struggle against the propaganda methods which for a long period during the boom dominated the older layers of the Trotskyist movement. But this is in no sense merely a fight of the "new generation" against the "old generation," as Blick-Jenkins' distorted presentation of the issue would lead one to believe. It is one of the unique qualities of the Trotskyist movement—which answers fully their slander—that the "central leadership" of the WRP has been able, precisely because of its consistent struggle, to hold many of the older members of the movement and in many areas to rehabilitate them politically.

But the sterile idealism and subjectivism of the deranged petty bourgeois is nowhere more succinctly illustrated than in Blick-Jenkins' contemptible insinuations against the national secretary of the WRP, Comrade Gerry Healy, which we referred to in the beginning. There is no inconsistency here at all. Having begun the document with an outright attack on the dialectical method of the party, its tradition and policies, Blick-Jenkins' reactionary outlook, reflecting the interests of bourgeois individualism, urges them to try and discredit democratic centralism and, with it, the acknowledged leader of the WRP who represents over four decades of consistent struggle against Stalinism and revisionism.

Since Blick-Jenkins consider leadership as the art of drawing up "correct perspectives" which faithfully reflect the spontaneous movement of the working class, there is no question for them of a leadership which does anything else. A leadership which sees the perspective as an indissoluble part of the struggle to build a revolutionary party and make it into an unbreakable instrument of working class liberation, which fights to strengthen the discipline and unity of this party by combating the opportunism of some intellectuals and the semi-anarchist prejudices of backward workers, is to them bureaucracy, "hectoring" and "cult of infallibility." There is nothing new or profound in this. It has been said before by every inveterate enemy of Marxism.

Historical materialism not only reveals the decisive role of the activity of social classes in history, but it also explains in a scientific way the role of individual leaders who can either advance or retard the

process of historical development.

"Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most definite recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also of course of individuals, groups, organizations and parties that are able to discover and exercise contact with various classes." (Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 13.)

And again:

"No class in history has achieved supremacy without producing its own political leaders, its own advanced representatives capable of organizing the movement and directing it." (Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 4.)

If the working class is unable to realize its historic task without revolutionary organization, then it is equally evident that organization implies leadership—and leadership implies leaders whose activity express a definite objective necessity in the history of the class. In this sense there is nothing anonymous or accidental about the history of the SLL-WRP. The leadership did not arise by historical caprice. It arose out of decades of struggle for a correct method and a revolutionary program and policy against every type of revisionism and opportunism. It was this struggle that negated the old propagandist opportunist leadership and produced a new one led by Comrade Healy. As Trotsky wrote:

"Leaders are not accidentally created...they are gradually chosen out and trained up in the course of decades...they cannot be capriciously replaced...(*History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 311.)

Comrade Healy did not rise to leadership of the WRP because of Messianic qualities or a "cult of infallibility," as these middle class philistines assume. He did so because of a determined struggle to develop the theory of Trotskyism through the practice of constructing a revolutionary party on democratic-centralist principles to liberate the working class. While such a struggle is irreconcilably opposed to any "cult of infallibility" and "hectoring" of workers, it does not mean—as Blick-Jenkins imply and as the Socialist Workers Party suggested in 1962—that Trotskyists have no franchise on the truth and that we must practice "humility." This is a virtue of agnosticism.

We state unequivocally that the Marxist method and the revolutionary party enable the leadership—despite its fallibility—to discover the truth of any situation with greater precision and certainty than any other leadership in the working class. It is not that our leadership is infallible that makes it unique in British working class history. On the contrary, it is unique because it bases itself on the Marxist theory of cognition, on the unity and conflict of theory and practice, which makes it less fallible than others. This proposition, as the history of the Young Socialists, the *Workers Press* and the WRP shows, is infallibly correct.

The idealism and subjectivism inherent in this type of attack was anticipated and answered by Trotsky as far back as 1940 in his battle with Blick-Jenkins' mentor, Shachtman, who alleged "bureaucratic conservatism" in the Socialist Workers Party in order to justify his capitulation to the US ruling class and the labor bureaucracy at the time of the Russo-Finnish war. Trotsky's exposure of the baseless and almost mystical nature of Shachtman's attack is possibly the greatest indictment of Blick-Jenkins' charges against the WRP leadership:

"Cannon and his group are according to the opposition 'an expression of a type of politics which can be best described as bureaucratic conservatism.' What does this mean? The domination of a conservative labor bureaucracy, share-holder in the profits of the national bourgeoisie, would be unthinkable without direct or indirect support of the capitalist state. The rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy would be unthinkable without the GPU, the army, the courts, etc. The Soviet bureaucracy supports Stalin precisely because he is the bureaucrat who defends their interests better than anybody else. The trade union bureaucracy supports Green and Lewis precisely because their vices, as able and dextrous bureaucrats, safeguard the material interests of the labor aristocracy. But upon what base does 'bureaucratic conservatism' rest in the SWP? Obviously not on material interests, but on a

selection of bureaucratic types in contrast to another camp where innovators, initiators and dynamic spirits have been gathered together. The opposition does not point to any objective, i.e. social basis for 'bureaucratic conservatism.' Everything is reduced to pure psychology." (In *Defense of Marxism*, ed. cit. p. 179.)

In conclusion, it must be said that in attacking the internal regime of the WRP, Blick-Jenkins are defending retrospectively their role in the SLL as incurable propagandists and individualists. They made no contribution to the Party's development and never took on cadre responsibilities. They used the SLL to gain a superficial knowledge of Stalinism and Trotskyism, but throughout their period of membership retained a consistently hostile attitude to party-building. Throughout the entire period they were members of the SLL, neither Blick nor Jenkins wrote a single document or memorandum on the allegedly wrong perspectives of the League, the methods of leadership, or subjective idealism which now, in the spacious freedom of a London Polytechnic, they find so oppressive.

If they were so concerned about saving the "old cadre," "the youth," the newly-won "radicals" from the "subjective idealist" grip of the "central leadership," why did they not speak up? Why did they run from the League without the slightest struggle and wait three years before issuing this craven call: "What was really needed (sic!) in the party then and even more so today was for one member to get up and point out that what was obstructing the party's development was the utterly hopeless perspectives...?"

To justify their cowardice and passivity they repeat the contemptible slander of Stalinism against the Trotskyist movement: "We know from personal experience that to initiate such a discussion from within is going to need physical as well as moral courage." What "personal experience" is this outrageous assertion based upon? It is an insinuation drawn straight out of the dung heap of Stalinism. It is completely beneath our contempt.

Serious Marxists, principled fighters for the working class, do not abdicate their responsibilities and abandon the Party if they believe, however, incorrectly, that error must be corrected. Only middle class dilettantes and cowardly philistines, with no confidence in the Party and no respect for the traditions of Trotskyism, would behave as these quitters do.

To defend Marxist theory against revisionism it is necessary to declare war against the liberalism and anti-centralism which Blick-Jenkins represent. The Party, as Trotsky wrote, "is not an arena for the association of free individuality, but an instrument of the proletarian revolution... only a victorious revolution is capable of preventing the degeneration not only of the party, but of the proletariat itself and of modern civilization as a whole." (In *Defense of Marxism* ed. cit., p. 116.)

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from this examination of their document that Blick-Jenkins have utterly abandoned everything connected with Trotskyism, its program; its consistent fight against Stalinism; but above all, and most important, its world outlook, dialectical materialism.

Their attack on Trotskyism inevitably takes them directly in the camp of philosophical idealism. For the Workers Revolutionary Party and the many new members joining its ranks, this is the most crucial of all questions. Idealism and its defense in a period such as the one in which we are now living has the most reactionary implications. It is the outlook of a decadent ruling class in mortal crisis. But this method and outlook have a logic of their own.

Thus in a few years Blick-Jenkins moved from a formal acceptance of Trotskyism to become outposts of OCI liquidationism from where they are prepared to use any device to slander and distort the position of the movement. Such is the rapidity of development of the political and ideological crisis which finds its most acute expression amongst the middle class.

We have answered all Blick-Jenkins' slanders and distortions. We have exposed their philosophical idealism. As we said at the start of this document, we entirely welcome their attack. For we intend to make our reply the basis for the education and training of all those many trade unionists, youth and professional people who are now joining the Workers Revolutionary Party.

CONCLUDED



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

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

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

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

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

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

Blick's and Jenkins's opposition to the practice of Cromwell's party in the English civil war is unmistakably connected to their present attempts to discredit and distort the principles and traditions of the modern Roundheads of Trotskyism. In the same manner as the apologists of Absolutism attacked the Independents as "fanatics," so these attorneys for "moderation" and bureaucracy attack the WRP for "activism" and "sectarianism".

"There is a marked emphasis on activism running through the history of the SLL and now the WRP, notwithstanding the oft-quoted slogan: 'Without revolutionary theory—no revolutionary party'."

What is the basis for this vulgar accusation? That the SLL-WRP maintain that the activism which characterized the labor movement is tending to break up and that this has "shocked" many young workers to practice. They cynically distort this statement to allege that the WRP believes that the workers will spontaneously come over to Marxism on the basis of "a series of shocks administered by the bourgeoisie." The latter sentence is a complete fabrication of Blick-Jenkins. Nowhere in the 1969 perspectives document, alluded to by Blick-Jenkins, is there a single sentence which can be construed as a concession to the spontaneous development of Marxism. The position of the WRP can be summed up thus:

The basis for the proletarian revolution is the fact that capitalism can no longer develop the productive forces in its period of death agony. It is forced to destroy the most vital and revolutionary of all the productive forces—the modern working

# A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists



The founding conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party, in London on November 4, 1973. The construction of the WRP and of the international Trotskyist movement is founded on an implacable struggle against revisionism.

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

class. For millions these plans will come in the form of enormous shocks. These shocks are quite independent of Marxism and of the revolutionary party. By themselves they do not guarantee the victory of the proletarian revolution. For that, the subjective conscious factor, the Party, is essential. But without the objective crisis of capitalism and the disruption this will bring to the lives of millions of people all over the planet, the material conditions for the revolution would be entirely absent.

The entire history of the SLL-WRP is a history of the most ruthless struggle against all those groups who wanted to turn the SLL-WRP into a syndicalist body subordinated to spontaneity. The SLL was born in a struggle against a tendency which included Behan—who became an anarchist-reformist—and Hillier who joined the anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity, then International Socialism, and now resides with the Blick-Jenkins group after a brief sojourn in the SLL. In the formation of the predecessor to the ATUA, the Oxford Liaison Committee, a decisive struggle was waged against those motor-car stewards who refused to allow the policies of the SLL to be taken into their factories. It was the same struggle against those who wanted to subordinate the conscious struggle for Marxism and revolutionary parties to the so-called "natural Marxism" of Castro in the early 1960s that led to the split with the Latin American groups and their US sympathizers in the Socialist Workers Party.

In the 1970s the SLL-WRP was the only party to combat spontaneity and syndicalism with the publication of two pamphlets on the IS, "Falsifiers of Lenin" and "Rank-and-Fileism or Marxism."

Unlike Blick-Jenkins, who never did any serious trade union work, the WRP believes that most workers who join the Party do so necessarily as activists and that the trade union milieu from which they come provides a fertile climate for this activism. This activism has a long history in the working class and can be traced back to the revolutionary activism of the Calvinists. After the Restoration this activism was negated and in the period of the industrial revolution and—except for a certain period the Chartist era—assumed a non-revolutionary form. But now, once again, with the coming of a revolutionary epoch, this activism comes into conflict with the historical interests of the working class and makes possible the negation of this form of activism. As Trotsky wrote in Where Is Britain Going?:

"One may with a certain justice draw an analogy between the doctrine of predestination in the Puritan revolution and the role of Marxism in the revolution of the proletariat. But in the one and in the other a tremendous activity is based not on subjective arbitrariness, but on an iron systematization—in the one case mystically and in the other scientifically known."

Blick-Jenkins attack this view because they fear the strength of the working class and they completely ignore—as we have shown—the objective developments in world economy which ruthlessly undermine the old forms and prepare the basis for the new.

For this reason these anti-Marxists attack with great viciousness the leadership of the WRP which insists on the primacy of practice as the basis for the de-

velopment of theory. Conversely they defend all those idealist tendencies who, by their refusal to engage in the practical struggle to build the party, hold back its development, allow political backwardness and spontaneity to flourish and transmit alien class pressure into the party. Nowhere is this defense of middle class and idealist propagandism more explicit than in the section of the Blick-Jenkins document which states:

"Several generations within the movement have been trained in this manner. With an often personal devotion to the leadership they now become the mechanism for the perpetuations of a regime of systematic, uncorrected error, more and more exposed by the developing struggle of the working class. The old Trotskyist cadre has long ago given way to them and to the middle class elements from the acting and journalist professions who, through no fault of their own, bring middle class radicalism to fuse with this activism of the youth leadership. But it is the subjective idealism of the central leadership that has engineered this fusion. The gap between this party and the task of revolution is immense."

Devoid of principles and lacking any viable perspectives, these idealists impugn the political consciousness of the members of the WRP—the basis of their loyalty and discipline to the party, its program and leadership—by resorting to the most vulgar idealist subterfuge of "personal devotion to the leadership," to explain the growth of the WRP. This is a contemptible method common to Fleet Street journalists and Police Court prosecutors, but is completely alien to Marxism.

That is why Blick-Jenkins make such an intense effort to discredit all the achievements of British Trotskyism in over 40 years of struggle and distort the real relations which exist between the leadership and the members of the WRP. This is particularly true of their subjectivist attempt to discredit one of the most important conquests of the party in recent years: the assimilation of a whole cadre of professional workers from the entertainment industry. To the Blick-Jenkins dilettantes, however, these comrades are "middle class radicals" whose "radicalism" is fused with the "activism" of the youth. This explains nothing except the ignorance and bombast of these sceptics who cannot answer the question: why was it the SLL-WRP alone which was able to win the most talented people in the industry to a revolutionary policy and organization? To explain this basic gain, won after years of patient struggle and education, by references to "subjective idealism," is to replace dialectics with political alchemy.

In attempting to present the WRP as composed entirely of youth and middle class radicals, Blick-Jenkins are only whistling in the dark, and they know it. It is, of course, true that the WRP and the SLL has made big gains from amongst the youth. This is as it should be: only those fighting for revolutionary policies in this epoch of capitalist disintegration can and will attract the best elements from amongst the youth. Blick-Jenkins express an enormous hostility to youth when they state that the new generation of members has "become a mechanism for the perpetuation of a regime of systematic error." On the contrary. The continuous recruitment of youth into the Party—which Blick-Jenkins understandably find is vexatious—is the greatest single deterrent against any form of political complacency and opportunism. The great developments in the class struggle will provide the leadership with the best-ever chance to make its perspectives more precise and correct as well as broaden considerably its base in the unions.

The struggle to recruit into the Party, which Blick-Jenkins again for obvious reasons find so distasteful, is inseparable from the struggle against the propaganda methods which for a long period during the boom dominated the older layers of the Trotskyist movement. But this is in no sense merely a fight of the "new generation" against the "old generation," as Blick-Jenkins' distorted presentation of the issue would lead one to believe. It is one of the unique qualities of the Trotskyist movement—which answers fully their slander—that the "central leadership" of the WRP has been able, precisely because of its consistent struggle, to hold many of the older members of the movement and in many areas to rehabilitate them politically.

But the sterile idealism and subjectivism of the deranged petty bourgeois is nowhere more succinctly illustrated than in Blick-Jenkins' contemptible insinuations against the national secretary of the WRP, Comrade Gerry Healy, which we referred to in the beginning. There is no inconsistency here at all. Having begun the document with an outright attack on the dialectical method of the party, its tradition and policies, Blick-Jenkins' reactionary outlook, reflecting the interests of bourgeois individualism, urges them to try and discredit democratic centralism and, with it, the acknowledged leader of the WRP who represents over four decades of consistent struggle against Stalinism and revisionism.

Since Blick-Jenkins consider leadership as the art of drawing up "correct perspectives" which faithfully reflect the spontaneous movement of the working class, there is no question for them of a leadership which does anything else. A leadership which sees the perspective as an indissoluble part of the struggle to build a revolutionary party and make it into an unbreakable instrument of working class liberation, which fights to strengthen the discipline and unity of this party by combating the opportunism of some intellectuals and the semi-anarchist prejudices of backward workers, is to them bureaucracy, "hectoring" and "cult of infallibility." There is nothing new or profound in this. It has been said before by every inveterate enemy of Marxism.

Historical materialism not only reveals the decisive role of the activity of social classes in history, but it also explains in a scientific way the role of individual leaders who can either advance or retard the

process of historical development.

"Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most definite recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also of course of individuals, groups, organizations and parties that are able to discover and exercise contact with various classes." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 13.)

And again:

"No class in history has achieved supremacy without producing its own political leaders, its own advanced representatives capable of organizing the movement and directing it." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 4.)

If the working class is unable to realize its historic task without revolutionary organization, then it is equally evident that organization implies leadership—and leadership implies leaders whose activity express a definite objective necessity in the history of the class. In this sense there is nothing anonymous or accidental about the history of the SLL-WRP. The leadership did not arise by historical caprice. It arose out of decades of struggle for a correct method and a revolutionary program and policy against every type of revisionism and opportunism. It was this struggle that negated the old propagandist opportunist leadership and produced a new one led by Comrade Healy. As Trotsky wrote:

"Leaders are not accidentally created...they are gradually chosen out and trained up in the course of decades...they cannot be capriciously replaced...(History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 311.)

Comrade Healy did not rise to leadership of the WRP because of Messianic qualities or a "cult of infallibility," as these middle class philistines assume. He did so because of a determined struggle to develop the theory of Trotskyism through the practice of constructing a revolutionary party on democratic-centralist principles to liberate the working class. While such a struggle is irreconcilably opposed to any "cult of infallibility" and "hectoring" of workers, it does not mean—as Blick-Jenkins imply and as the Socialist Workers Party suggested in 1962—that Trotskyists have no franchise on the truth and that we must practice "humility." This is a virtue of agnosticism.

We state unequivocally that the Marxist method and the revolutionary party enable the leadership—despite its fallibility—to discover the truth of any situation with greater precision and certainty than any other leadership in the working class. It is not that our leadership is infallible that makes it unique in British working class history. On the contrary, it is unique because it bases itself on the Marxist theory of cognition, on the unity and conflict of theory and practice, which makes it less fallible than others. This proposition, as the history of the Young Socialists, the Workers Press and the WRP shows, is infallibly correct.

The idealism and subjectivism inherent in this type of attack was anticipated and answered by Trotsky as far back as 1940 in his battle with Blick-Jenkins' mentor, Shachtman, who alleged "bureaucratic conservatism" in the Socialist Workers Party in order to justify his capitulation to the US ruling class and the labor bureaucracy at the time of the Russo-Finnish war. Trotsky's exposure of the baseless and almost mystical nature of Shachtman's attack is possibly the greatest indictment of Blick-Jenkins' charges against the WRP leadership:

"Cannon and his group are according to the opposition 'an expression of a type of politics which can be best described as bureaucratic conservatism.' What does this mean? The domination of a conservative labor bureaucracy, share-holder in the profits of the national bourgeoisie, would be unthinkable without direct or indirect support of the capitalist state. The rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy would be unthinkable without the GPU, the army, the courts, etc. The Soviet bureaucracy supports Stalin precisely because he is the bureaucrat who defends their interests better than anybody else. The trade union bureaucracy supports Green and Lewis precisely because their vices, as able and dextrous bureaucrats, safeguard the material interests of the labor aristocracy. But upon what base does 'bureaucratic conservatism' rest in the SWP? Obviously not on material interests, but on a

Page 7  
selection of bureaucratic types in contrast to another camp where innovators, initiators and dynamic spirits have been gathered together. The opposition does not point to any objective, i.e. social basis for 'bureaucratic conservatism.' Everything is reduced to pure psychology." (In Defense of Marxism, ed. cit. p. 179.)

In conclusion, it must be said that in attacking the internal regime of the WRP, Blick-Jenkins are defending retrospectively their role in the SLL as incurable propagandists and individualists. They made no contribution to the Party's development and never took on cadre responsibilities. They used the SLL to gain a superficial knowledge of Stalinism and Trotskyism, but throughout their period of membership retained a consistently hostile attitude to party-building. Throughout the entire period they were members of the SLL, neither Blick nor Jenkins wrote a single document or memorandum on the allegedly wrong perspectives of the League, the methods of leadership, or subjective idealism which now, in the spacious freedom of a London Polytechnic, they find so oppressive.

If they were so concerned about saving the "old cadre," "the youth," the newly-won "radicals" from the "subjective idealist" grip of the "central leadership," why did they not speak up? Why did they run from the League without the slightest struggle and wait three years before issuing this craven call: "What was really needed (sic!) in the party then and even more so today was for one member to get up and point out that what was obstructing the party's development was the utterly hopeless perspectives..."?

To justify their cowardice and passivity they repeat the contemptible slander of Stalinism against the Trotskyist movement: "We know from personal experience that to initiate such a discussion from within is going to need physical as well as moral courage." What "personal experience" is this outrageous assertion based upon? It is an insinuation drawn straight out of the dung heap of Stalinism. It is completely beneath our contempt.

Serious Marxists, principled fighters for the working class, do not abdicate their responsibilities and abandon the Party if they believe, however, incorrectly, that error must be corrected. Only middle class dilettantes and cowardly philistines, with no confidence in the Party and no respect for the traditions of Trotskyism, would behave as these quitters do.

To defend Marxist theory against revisionism it is necessary to declare war against the liberalism and anti-centralism which Blick-Jenkins represent. The Party, as Trotsky wrote, "is not an arena for the association of free individuality, but an instrument of the proletarian revolution... only a victorious revolution is capable of preventing the degeneration not only of the party, but of the proletariat itself and of modern civilization as a whole." (In Defense of Marxism ed. cit., p. 116.)

## CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from this examination of their document that Blick-Jenkins have utterly abandoned everything connected with Trotskyism, its program; its consistent fight against Stalinism; but above all, and most important, its world outlook, dialectical materialism.

Their attack on Trotskyism inevitably takes them directly in the camp of philosophical idealism. For the Workers Revolutionary Party and the many new members joining its ranks, this is the most crucial of all questions. Idealism and its defense in a period such as the one in which we are now living has the most reactionary implications. It is the outlook of a decadent ruling class in mortal crisis. But this method and outlook have a logic of their own.

Thus in a few years Blick-Jenkins moved from a formal acceptance of Trotskyism to become outposts of OCI liquidationism from where they are prepared to use any device to slander and distort the position of the movement. Such is the rapidity of development of the political and ideological crisis which finds its most acute expression amongst the middle class.

We have answered all Blick-Jenkins' slanders and distortions. We have exposed their philosophical idealism. As we said at the start of this document, we entirely welcome their attack. For we intend to make our reply the basis for the education and training of all those many trade unionists, youth and professional people who are now joining the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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economy  
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Jeff Sebastian

## Bankers Fear Collapse

Dominating recent meetings of central bankers and finance ministers from the major industrial countries is the threat of a global banking collapse.

News of bank closings or losses running into the millions have been reported continuously throughout the summer.

Losses through speculation on foreign exchange markets have been enormous. Most recent is Lloyds Bank's reported \$75 million loss. This follows losses of \$150 million by the Union Bank of Switzerland, \$50 million by the Franklin National Bank, \$100 million by the Westdeutsche Landesbank, and \$200 million by I.D. Herstatt.

Numerous other smaller banks have been forced to close entirely. Franklin National which was in the top 20 of US banks has now lost over 50 percent of its deposits and is working out a scheme to liquidate a huge section of its operations in order to continue in business as a regional Long Island Bank.

With the signs of slump multiplying and thousands of capitalist firms facing bankruptcy, it is the banks which have extended them credit that stand to take the losses.

What the central bankers fear most is a "catastrophe," France's foreign minister Jean-Pierre Fourcade put it, in which a chain reaction of depositors' withdrawals leads to a bank panic and the collapse of the international credit system.

The recent collapse of the small Cosmos Bank in Switzerland underscores the problem faced by thousands of banks.

Cosmos was a typical product of the capitalist boom. It borrowed funds from the big banks which it then lent to companies that were considered poor credit risks at very high interest rates.

During the boom, when interest rates were low, it could get away with this. Now, with recession developing, few can afford the premium rates and a number of Cosmos's customers are having problems repaying.

Cosmos sank funds into the now defunct Westec Corp. as well as into Equity Funding. It is suspected that illegal funds for the Committee to Reelect the President were funnelled out of the US through one of Cosmos's cubbyhole banks in the Bahamas.

Cosmos borrowed short from the big Swiss banks to finance its risky ventures and was squeezed to death when the banks refused to extend further credit.

Throughout Europe, companies have literally nowhere to go for cash except to the banks. With stocks plummeting, the issue of new stock is no longer a source of funds. British companies raised only \$12 million in this way in the first quarter of 1974. The bond market is dominated by the government and banks, with corporations raising very little there.

But the most ominous development for the international credit system is the enormous hemorrhage of payments from the western nations to the oil producing countries. It is estimated that the Middle Eastern oil producers will earn over \$100 billion this year alone. At the very least, this will leave them with \$50 billion to lend.

For all the hopes that the oil exporters could be convinced to put their money into long-term deposits in the West, there is no possibility of this.

With short-term interest rates high and the fear of a banking and industrial collapse, the oil producers are determined to lend money only on a short-term basis that can be recalled almost immediately. This short-term money will amount to one-quarter of all the credit in the European money lending system.

With the banks using these funds for long-term loans to industry, any panic by the oil exporters leading to a withdrawal of funds would mean a complete collapse of credit to industry and a massive wave of banking and industrial failures.

A collapse of production has only been temporarily averted by these short-term loans. But the longer such borrowing continues, the deeper the crash must be when the crunch comes.

The emergency meetings of the bankers cannot resolve this crisis. Inflation and recession are now out of control and the crisis of the banks is part of this development.

Capitalism can only attempt to save itself through a savage onslaught on the jobs, living standards and democratic rights of millions of workers.

The working class can only answer this threat through the construction of a labor party committed to a socialist program for the nationalization of industry and finance under workers control.

# Woodcock Abandons Lordstown Four



The Lordstown Four, from left to right, Paul Kacir, Homer Brown, Richard Welsh, Patrick Miller.

**BY NANCY RUSSELL**  
**LORDSTOWN, Ohio**  
—On direct orders from the International, the local contract of Lordstown 1112 has dumped the Lordstown Four.

These four men, led a wildcat on October 17, 1973 against GM's illegal firing of their union committeeman resulting in frameup charges for which they face \$200 and 90 days in jail each.

The refusal of the union leadership to defend them and reinstate their jobs sets a dangerous precedent for all trade unionists.

Richard Welsh, one of the four, told the Bulletin: "As soon as we entered the August 27 ratification meeting, one of the union officials came up to us and promised that Woodcock would intervene for us to get our jobs back at a meeting in Detroit the next day. He asked me to be prepared to get up to the microphone and explain that, if any of the members wanted to know if the contract was getting us our jobs back."

This was a lie ordered by Woodcock to cover for the contract and prevent any roadblocks to the sellout contract.

Richard said: "I haven't heard anything since, about any meeting whatsoever. If they even had one, nothing came of it."

Paul Kacir, Homer Brown, Pat Miller and Welsh face charges of "concealed identity" for wearing masks at the picket gates on the morning of October 17. They were indicted within 15 minutes after manning the gates with picket signs.

They wore masks over their heads to avoid company victimization and were immediately arrested under an eighteenth century law.

Richard was charged additionally with possessing a concealed weapon, charges which were dismissed a couple of months ago for complete lack of evidence.

Richard told the Bulletin why the wildcat took place: "Before negotiations for a local contract at Lordstown, the company always steps up its harassment.

"That way, when you get the contract, they can pretend they're giving you something. Local 1112 had been without a contract since September, and had called for a local strike as early as July.

"You just couldn't do anything in the plant. If the company harassed you, sped you up, anything, you could tell your committeeman who would write up a grievance and then that was it.

"Committeemen were getting fired left and right. Two of them, Mike and Al, didn't get back until this contract in August. And in fact, only the committeemen who we fought for got back in.

"When our committeeman got fired, a bunch of us just got fed up with it all and went over to the local and had a meeting until late in the night.

"Meanwhile, the union people said things like 'Don't worry about it', 'We'll get ours in too,' etc. We hear that so much, it is pathetic, so we decided we had to go out.

"Thursday morning we set up the picket line. Within 15 minutes, the cops were there. They must have been ready for it.

"They arrested us for concealed identity. The support for the strike was very strong. The men walked out that afternoon and were out Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and some Monday. It was Tuesday before there was full production again."

The four were immediately thrown out of the plant and blacklisted by all the corpora-

tions in town. As a staff member at the unemployment center told Richard: "There's no such thing as a blacklist, but you know and I know you're on one."

About three weeks ago, the Warren area circuit court turned down the appeal to dismiss charges. They stated that 90 days and \$200 fine was not "cruel and unusual" punishment for appearing in public with one's face covered and that the four had no right to get charges dismissed on the basis that they had covered their faces to avoid company victimization. The case is now in the Ohio Supreme Court.

### COLLABORATION

With Woodcock's and president of Local 1112 Marlin Ford's complete collaboration, the courts have made serious inroads on the right to picket. The bureaucracy has abandoned the four victimized workers in order to push through the worst contract for the local membership, a contract which changes none of the conditions of mass speedup and unsafe conditions.

These conditions led to the death of a Lordstown Local 1112 member a couple of months ago.

Richard explained: "I'm for a labor party because it's clear to me that from my case to Richard Nixon's that we need a change in this system."

This must begin by building the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party throughout the auto industry to fight for socialist policies: no speedup, the union must set the standard; 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, hire back all unemployed auto workers; union must set safety standards in the plants; free the Lordstown Four, full reinstatement in the plant with back pay. The unions must call a Congress of Labor to unite the working class in its own political party, a labor party.

# Crestwood To Fire 204 Teachers

BY JANE JACKSON  
DETROIT—Officials for Crestwood School District, located just west of Detroit, began preparing dismissal notices for all 204 of its striking teachers.

Robert Rutila, School Superintendent, said he had been instructed by the Board of Education to hire a new staff to replace the fired teachers.

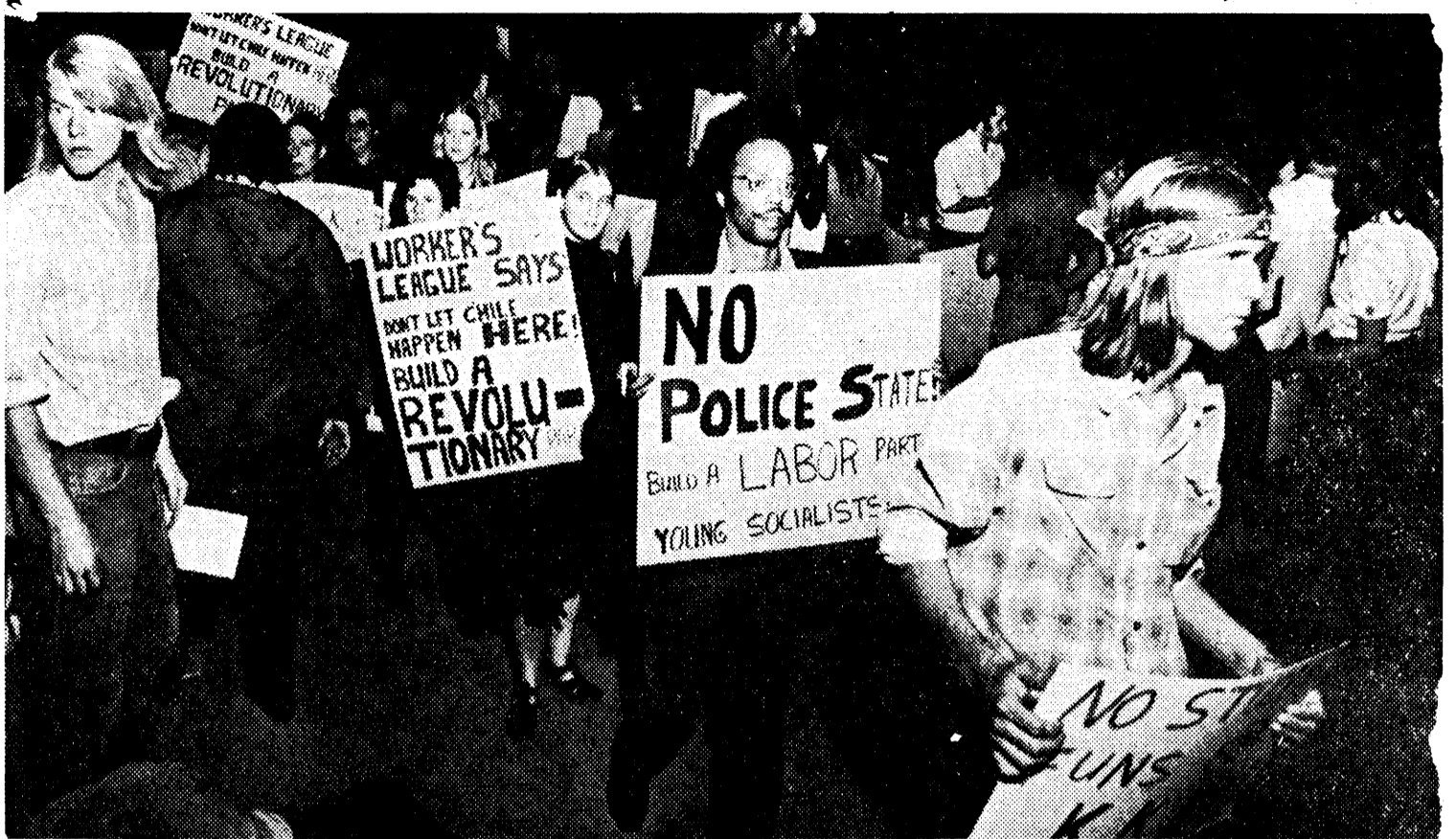
The issues in this strike, like the other seven strikes that continue in a three-county area, are economic, according to Jim Miller, Assistant Executive Secretary for the Michigan Education Association.

"These teachers worked all last year without a contract. When they were unable to get a contract for a second year they had no choice but to strike."

Meanwhile, court injunctions are being sought by two other Wayne County School Districts where teachers remain on strike.

The East Detroit Federation of Teachers voted on Wednesday to accept a fact-finders recommendation by 415 to 25. Latest reports, however, indicate that the school board rejected the report which calls for an 8 percent wage increase.

The East Detroit teachers face mass jailings unless they return to work by next Monday.



The Workers League demonstrated against Ku Klux Klan meeting in Minneapolis and called on the trade unions to mobilize to drive them out.

# Klan Director Gets Hostile Reception

BY A REPORTER  
ST. CLOUD, Mn.—The Major Events Council of St. Cloud State College provided a platform September 18 for David Duke, 24-year-old national director of the Ku Klux Klan.

He told a hostile audience of about 2000 that the Klan's purpose was "to protect, pre-

serve and advance the white race" and American society which is being destroyed by forces that include blacks, the news media, Jews, foreign policy, women's liberation and the universities.

Duke said he was headed from the Minnesota campus to Boston, where 450 Klan members are already supporting the anti-

busing protests. He said that busing "represents a turning point in our society" and called the Klan members "white freedom fighters."

The audience's reception was cold, and protests greeted some of Duke's statements, such as his belief that a black president would be fine—for Ghana. "But this is a white country. It was built by whites, for whites," he said.

About 300 students and others demonstrated outside the meeting. During the meeting that planned the protest, the Young Socialist Alliance forced through a plan to center the protest on the use of campus funds to pay Duke \$800 plus expenses for the appearance.

At the demonstration, the YSA handed out a leaflet calling on the Democrats and Republicans to outlaw the Klan, and then defending the Klan's right to free speech.

The Young Socialists and the Workers League mobilized support at the meeting and rally and carried signs demanding that the labor movement counter this threat by the construction of a labor party to unite the working class, and calling for the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

# GM Splits Frigidaire

BY JOHN WERNER  
DAYTON, Ohio—General Motors has announced with tremendous fanfare that it is splitting Frigidaire into two separate divisions on January 1.

Plant 4 and Plant 1 north will be known as Delco Air Conditioning Division and plants 2, 3, and 5 will continue as Frigidaire Appliance Division.

The company is already sealing off the tunnel from plant 2 and plant 4 and putting up gates to divide the two sections.

Appliance workers are now lagging \$1.35 an hour behind auto workers because of the wage cut agreed to by Local 801 IUE leaders, Arnold Thompson and Archy Little, in 1971.

Speedup has increased since the wage cut which has already culminated in one wildcat strike. Thompson is now expected to split the contract and thereby wipe out plantwide seniority in appliance and automotive.

The papers have played up GM's claim that the change will create 1600 jobs. Over 5000 unemployed workers have applied for these jobs based on this GM projection.

Workers have the right to bump according to seniority from one plant to any of the other plants in Dayton and Moraine. Many workers feel that Thompson is working out a deal whereby the appliance workers pick up 20 cents to 25 cents of their lost \$1.35, in exchange for the splitting of the local and the selling out of plantwide seniority rights.

Last fall, Thompson was driven out of a meeting when he tried to ram through a new contract illegally that again

shortchanged the appliance workers. Despite this, Thompson declared the contract ratified.

Thompson stated in a newsletter to appliance workers that since they agreed to the wage cut, "You are now entitled to some consideration on the cost of living allowance."

"I'm not trying to tell you that we can force open a wage agreement, however, there's more than one way to skin a cat."

As one opposition candidate in the upcoming October elections, Hubert Sexton, stated, "The only way the company would agree to reopen the contract is in return for an agreement to have two separate divisions. 'I'll fight it until hell freezes over.'"

Another opponent of Thompson and candidate for presidency, Bill Davis called for a wage reopener in June. Davis points out that they were able to reopen the contract in 1971 and rammed through a wage cut so now they can reopen the contract for a wage and cost of living hike.



David Duke, 24-year old director of the Ku Klux Klan.



Joe, a worker at Michigan Rivet.

# Brutal Attack On Rivet Men

WARREN, Mich.—Five striking workers at the Michigan Rivet Corporation were savagely beaten by Warren police, put in arm braces, and then were arrested last Thursday outside the plant.

Police were out to provoke violence to break a mass picket line organized by the strikers, members of United Auto Workers Local 189. On Thursday afternoon, three scab trucks, escorted by police, pulled up to the shipping dock.

Police began to shove the workers blocking the trucks and then called in reinforcements—eleven more squad cars and a helicopter immediately arrived. Without warning, the police assaulted five of the workers.

"Our story is money," said a

striker. "Michigan Rivet wants to put a cap on our cost of living."

The company is trying to put a 25¢ cap on cost of living raises over the next three years. Although workers have gotten 76¢ in cost of living raises since the last contract, they are still behind inflation.

The company is offering only an 8¢ raise for the first year of the contract.

"That's a shame. I think this is an injustice what they're offering, as even with a cost of living raise," said Joe, a worker at Michigan for 14 years. "There's no way we can support our families on that," he said.

A younger worker said, "The company said they wouldn't send any material out, but yesterday, foremen were running machines. They're starving my wife and kids. We only get \$40.00 a week strike benefits."

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# THE DEATH OF THE SF DOCKS

BY MARTY MORAN

**SAN FRANCISCO—**  
The Port of San Francisco is near bankruptcy. Shipping companies are moving out, and real estate speculators are swarming like flies around the carcass.

The decline of the port is not simply due to swindling and mismanagement, but is the sharpest expression of the crisis now hitting the shipping industry and world trade in general.

From the earliest days the port has been the main reason for San Francisco's existence. Originally the city was the gateway for the gold rush miners. The port was the only one in California to be put under State rather than local control in order to prevent any single merchant from gaining control of supplies to the gold mines and the state capital.

The port's decline has gone step by step with the increase in containerization. Company after company has pulled up stakes and gone across the bay to Oakland where ample space was made available from the early 1960s for huge container yards and specialized loading facilities.

By the time San Francisco began building container facilities, it was several years too late. In any case, Oakland, with easy rail and truck connections to the interior, and much more open space is the logical place for a concentration of shipping.

The Bay Area is chopped up into many different ports. The

insane logic of capitalist competition resulted in Sacramento, Stockton, Oakland, and San Francisco all building modern new container facilities and competing for the trade. San Francisco invested \$22 million just for specialized cargo handling facilities at the LASH (Lighter Aboard Ship) terminal at Pier 96.

In 1969, San Francisco voters approved the taking over of the port by the city, after a campaign led by Mayor Alioto and the Chamber of Commerce. This was the height of the boom, and huge bond issues were floated to build new facilities and "catch up" with Oakland.

Since Oakland already had a near-monopoly on the container trade, becoming the second largest container port in the world, after New York, San Francisco plunged into an even newer and more radical change in freight transport, LASH.

LASH involves the loading of barges in port, which are then floated out to open sea and loaded onto the ship with huge cranes and put in the hold. However, the main advantage of this method of shipment is in areas of shallow water where it is difficult or impossible for ocean-going vessels to dock.

LASH was a complete failure in San Francisco, because it is a deep water port, and container ships can dock with no difficulty.

As far as cutting the cost of loading, LASH is inferior to containers which can be quickly transhipped from railcar to truck to ship, since the barges have to be loaded in port by hand using traditional break-bulk methods.

In addition, the LASH didn't even work properly because of

technical problems with the giant cranes.

The company mainly involved in LASH is Pacific Far East Lines, (PFEL) which is near bankruptcy. From a value of \$25 million in 1971, it has plunged to \$4 million. The largest assets carried on the company's books are the damage suits it has filed against the manufacturers of the faulty cranes.

The final catastrophe for the port of San Francisco was a tiny earthquake in the fall of 1973. The quake caused a berth which was under construction at Pier 94 for container ships to disintegrate. Sections of Pier 94 have settled seven feet since then.

#### MOVE

Last month American President Lines (APL), the last major container fleet based in San Francisco announced it would move to Oakland, because it could not work out satisfactory terms for rental of Pier 94. A few weeks later the Danish line, Maersk, announced it would move to Oakland "temporarily" for at least eighteen months.

With the port in a state of complete collapse, a gigantic plundering operation is underway. In June, PFEL was bought up for \$4.2 million by John Alioto, the son of the Mayor. At the same time, the Port Director was eased out and Bernard Orsi, the mayor's personal assistant and campaign manager, was named the new Director.

Suddenly it was revealed that PFEL owed the port \$1.7 million in back rent, and that the port's officers had been accepting the delinquency and recording rent on the books as paid, in order not to drive out of business the only remaining major customer of the port.

**BY SHEILA BREHM**  
**TERMINAL ISLAND—**  
**A strike of over 1700**  
**cannery workers, most-**  
**ly women, has broken**  
**out to protest the de-**  
**cision of Van Camp Sea-**  
**food Company to move**  
**its entire operation to**  
**San Diego in 1976.**

Van Camp, a division of Ralston-Purina, markets its tuna under the brand name Chicken of the Sea, and has operated the facility in the area for over 50 years.

The shutdown will have enormous repercussions in the area, meaning big layoffs at the nearby Continental Can Company, as well.

Van Camp's move to San Diego is a drive to seek cheap labor. The company plans to capitalize on San Diego's notorious reputation as a nonunion town, with easy access to cheap labor from across the Mexican border.

Ycela Hernandez has worked at the cannery for over 3 years. The sole supporter of her family, she only earns \$3.00 an hour, barely enough to pay the bills.

"I have plans to move to San Diego. We're fighting for seniority rights. If they're going to hire new people, I don't want to be on the bottom, not after 3 1/2 years. I want my rights."

But Cynthia Murphy has no plans to transfer. "I've been here 15 years. I feel like we're being left out in the cold. It's going to be hard to find another job. You can't find a job after 40."

Another striker said, "Van Camp shouldn't have the right to take off like this. I agree that if industries can't remain open, then we should keep them open. The unions should fight for this. Things will get a lot worse then what they are now."

Union leaders have already accepted the closure as an accomplished fact. According to Steve Edney, president of the United Cannery and Industrial Workers Union, "We're not even trying to get them to stay. That's not the issue. There's nothing we can do." Edney said the main issue in the strike is, "that seniority of our workers be protected and that they be given the opportunity to move to San

Diego as well as being paid for relocating."

Edney admitted however that he had no knowledge that the new facility will even be unionized. "That's not the issue. We feel that if we win this demand, it will be protected by law."

In another big compromise with Van Camp, union leaders have backed down from any wage demands. Starting wages at the cannery are only \$2.60 an hour.

**WARNING**

The struggle with Van Camp is a warning of the attacks being prepared on all cannery workers.

The cannery industry is being particularly hard hit by the explosive inflation of food costs. In California, canning is a major industry. Approximately 40 percent of all canned fruits and vegetables in the US and 80 percent of all canned tomatoes are processed there.

Competition among canners is ferocious as no single canner controls more than 16 percent of the market.

Estimates on increased prices are that canned goods will leap about 40 percent this year over 1973. Raw fruits and vegetables are up in price from 60 percent to 150 percent. The price of sugar has tripled. Machinery is up 25 percent. Shortages have developed in tin plate used for the construction of cans.

Labor conditions in the canneries are notoriously bad with wages extremely low. In addition work is seasonal with some canneries operating only half the year.

Many of the large canners are also major landowners and the brutal methods of union busting and employment of Mexican labor used against the farmworkers are now being introduced against the Terminal Island cannery workers.

**ANTI-UNION**

Canners such as Dole and Tri Valley have located new canneries in rural areas which are traditionally antiunion. Van Camp is clearly following their moves.

The fight of the Terminal Island workers must receive the support of the California labor movement.

Jobs can only be defended in a struggle to construct a labor party committed to the nationalization of industry under workers control.

# Women Strike Tuna Cannery

**west coast news**



Van Camp workers have gone on strike to stop cannery from moving to San Diego.

## E. Oakland Homes Stand Empty

**BY TIM NELSON**

**OAKLAND—Over 1100 houses in East Oakland are now vacant and rundown. Weeds clog the yards and paint is peeling and cracking off houses which stood in good repair less than two years ago.**

Housewives began to fight the developing blight by demanding of property owners including the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) that they maintain the vacant houses.

Four months ago a number of community groups formed the East Oakland Housing Committee. The Committee called its first public meeting Thursday September 19. Representatives of loan institutions, the Bank of America, and the FHA were invited to explain why, with 34 percent of Oakland's popu-

lation, East Oakland has received only 10 percent of home loans in the city.

Dirk Murphy of the federal Housing and Urban Development department which controls FHA, told the Bulletin that "our inventory of repossessed homes has gotten very high. What determines that is the private market for homes, and especially the mortgage markets."

**MORTGAGES**

In most cases the FHA only insures mortgages. It does not put up the money in direct subsidies. "The new Housing Act," Murphy said, "raised the limit of what we can insure by 12,000, but the money for housing isn't there. The Savings and Loans just don't have it." Instead of savings and loan companies, investors now seek government securities and bank deposit notes

which have risen over the past year and a half to yield more than savings deposits.

To make matters worse, the banks which originate mortgages are prohibited by California usury laws from charging more than ten and a half percent interest. This is less than the rate that the banks obtain money now to loan out for mortgages, so the mortgage banker is out of business and housing construction has effectively been stopped.

The increasing rate of failure to pay FHA insured mortgages has prompted the US Justice Department to investigate the FHA and local real estate brokers. US Attorney James Browning reported that brokers have been "churning" obviously unqualified buyers through FHA housing, netting commissions on each sale.

## Shut Steak Mate In Fight For Union

**BY BOB GEHRIG**

**SAN JOSE—Virtually all the 85 employees at the Steak Mate mushroom plant are on strike near San Jose in a fight for higher pay, better working conditions and union recognition.**

The United Farm Workers have been picketing since the strike began 13 days ago.

Olga, one of the workers told the Bulletin:

"We have no regular working hours. One day we came in at 7 am and didn't finish until 3 in the morning. Then we had to come back again at 7 am. Or sometimes we only work three hours depending on how full the houses are. We have to work until all the mushrooms are picked.

"We are asking for 90 cents a box. They are making us do more work for the same pay. Now, after we do the picking, we

have to sort out the mushrooms into small, medium, and large sizes and then they had us cleaning off the beds. They still want to pay us only 75¢.

Olga described Steak Mate's tactics. "There are three of four sheriff's cars here every day. They used to have only one watchman, now they have five watchmen.

"Last week, one of the workers inside threw rocks and hit one girl in the head. Then these men accused one of us of throwing the rocks and the sheriff handcuffed him and arrested him. Yesterday a rifle was fired at us and the sheriff didn't do anything about it.

"The company won't negotiate. They have made us promises. If we go back they will just do the same thing. We won't go back without representation."



Workers at Steak Mate with United Farm Workers flags are fighting slave conditions.

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# lucha obrera

lucía rivera  
Brownsville - Newark



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El asesinato de Claude es parte de los ataques del gobierno aterrizando a las comunidades obreras para tratar de implementar sus medidas recesionarias. Los vecinos de la calle Powell donde reside la familia de Claude hablaron con el **Bulletin** sobre el asesinato de Claude:

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Durante los 13 meses de duración de la huelga de los mineros en el condado de Harlan en Kentucky, el área fue virtualmente ocupada por las fuerzas policíacas. Los trabajadores ganaron la huelga a pesar de todos estos ataques, que le costaron la vida a un joven minero.

El terror policiaco en contra de todas los sectores de la clase obrera es una medida conciente de este sistema quien trata de establecer una dictadura en contra de los trabajadores. Esta necesidad de atacar a la clase obrera y la juventud proviene de la crisis capitalista.

La Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista presenta la necesidad de los trabajadores y la juventud de organizarse políticamente a través de la construcción de su propio partido, un partido obrero basado en demandas socialistas que presente una solución a las necesidades de la gente y defienda a la clase obrera en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

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12 CD

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on Powell Street were beaten at random.

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The Mayor's "investigation" is rapidly moving toward a complete whitewash, supporting officer Bosco's claim that the shooting was justified, and now stating that eyewitnesses have withdrawn their earlier statements. The police department has refused to suspend Bosco.

Black nationalist Imamu Baraka has been leading a campaign to turn this understanding of the Brownsville youth back toward protest and reform. Baraka called for workers to vote for Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson because he was black and would support black workers.

He is now completely discredited in Newark after Gibson and his black chief of police issued "shoot to kill" orders during the attack on Columbus Houses. Now he has come onto Powell Street to raise the same reactionary program, demanding that a totally non-white police force be set up for the 73rd Precinct.

The Workers League and Young Socialists have campaigned in the area around the perspective of turning to the trade unions for the defense of the youth and workers.

The increasing police terror in every neighborhood is a crucial part of the government's preparation to solve the crisis of the capitalist system they serve by imposing mass unemployment on the working class and breaking up the trade union movement. They prepare for dictatorship because they recognize the working classes' strength and determination.

It is only the Workers Party which is campaigning for Congress on a program to unite the working class in their own defense through the construction of a labor party putting forward socialist policies to meet our need for jobs and improved living conditions.

We demand that the trade unions in New York conduct an independent investigation of Claude Reese's murder. This must be part of preparing an emergency congress of the entire labor movement.

We urge every worker and youth in Brownsville to come forward now to avenge Claude Reese by campaigning with the Workers Party around this program and constructing the revolutionary leadership needed to carry out this fight. We will be holding an election rally in Brownsville this week—call 924-0852 for details and plan now to attend.

## FORD...

(Continued From Page 1)  
the form of various types of credit to industry, which have no gold backing.

When Ford talks about an "anti-inflation battle" he means a withdrawal of credit and thus the liquidation of huge sections of fictitious capital that are based on this credit.

This deflationary policy means the collapse of major industries and the creation of unemployment on a massive scale. It is a policy designed to push the economy into depression and to restore rates of profit by the most brutal exploitation in the plants.

The trade union leaders, who sit down in Washington know that these measures will be met with powerful resistance and struggle by the working class that will pose workers' control of the government and the industries.

What they are after is the kind of "social contract" signed by the British labor leaders which binds the unions to "voluntary" restraint in wages to help the bankrupt industrialists.

One of the biggest proponents of this social contract is I.W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers of America, which is holding its annual convention this week in Atlantic City. Abel was one of the first labor leaders to sign a no-strike deal in the last steel contract.

What is needed is a fight by all rank and file trade unionists to demand their leaders break off all summit talks and organize instead a Congress of Labor to represent all working class organizations to draw up an independent program to fight inflation and unemployment.

The first business of this congress must be a political break with the Democrats and Republicans and the building of a labor party as the alternative.

Steel workers must demand votes in every local to throw out the no-strike deal and for reopening the contract for full cost of living protection, a major wage boost, and an end to productivity deals. The USWA, together with the United Auto Workers Union, can take a lead in convening a Congress of Labor.

The Stalinist Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy which claims to be an opposition to bureaucracy just voted at a recent meeting to send a delegation to attend the summit conference.

Thus while the Stalinists make a big campaign against Abel's no-strike deal, they agree with

## Workers Party



the political collaboration of the unions with Ford and refuse to fight for a labor party.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, the industrial arm of the Workers League, is the only alternative in the unions that fights to build a revolutionary leadership against the bureaucracy.

The only answer to inflation is to put an end to production for profit, to nationalize all the industries under the control of the working class and organize a planned socialist economy.

## CIA...

(Continued From Page 1)

American workers must take warning from the CIA activity in Britain. If Ford is prepared to infiltrate and destroy the British trade unions, he is certainly prepared to do the same in the US.

Workers must demand that the AFL-CIO break off all connections at once with the AIFLD, which is the CIA's main cover for operations in the unions and conduct an investigation on the CIA subversion of the British unions.

# Vote Workers Party Rally



Helen Halyard, 14th CD Terry Delgado, 12th CD

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the form of various types of credit to industry, which have no gold backing.

When Ford talks about an "anti-inflation battle" he means a withdrawal of credit and thus the liquidation of huge sections of fictitious capital that are based on this credit.

This deflationary policy means the collapse of major industries and the creation of unemployment on a massive scale. It is a policy designed to push the economy into depression and to restore rates of profit by the most brutal exploitation in the plants.

The trade union leaders, who sit down in Washington know that these measures will be met with powerful resistance and struggle by the working class that will pose workers' control of the government and the industries.

What they are after is the kind of "social contract" signed by the British labor leaders which binds the unions to "voluntary" restraint in wages to help the bankrupt industrialists.

One of the biggest proponents of this social contract is I.W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers of America, which is holding its annual convention this week in Atlantic City. Abel was one of the first labor leaders to sign a no-strike deal in the last steel contract.

What is needed is a fight by all rank and file trade unionists to demand their leaders break off all summit talks and organize instead a Congress of Labor to represent all working class organizations to draw up an independent program to fight inflation and unemployment.

The first business of this congress must be a political break with the Democrats and Republicans and the building of a labor party as the alternative.

Steel workers must demand votes in every local to throw out the no-strike deal and for reopening the contract for full cost of living protection, a major wage boost, and an end to productivity deals. The USWA, together with the United Auto Workers Union, can take a lead in convening a Congress of Labor.

The Stalinist Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy which claims to be an opposition to bureaucracy just voted at a recent meeting to send a delegation to attend the summit conference.

Thus while the Stalinists make a big campaign against Abel's no-strike deal, they agree with

the political collaboration of the unions with Ford and refuse to fight for a labor party.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, the industrial arm of the Workers League, is the only alternative in the unions that fights to build a revolutionary leadership against the bureaucracy.

The only answer to inflation is to put an end to production for profit, to nationalize all the industries under the control of the working class and organize a planned socialist economy.

### CIA...

(Continued From Page 1)

American workers must take warning from the CIA activity in Britain. If Ford is prepared to infiltrate and destroy the British trade unions, he is certainly prepared to do the same in the US.

Workers must demand that the AFL-CIO break off all connections at once with the AIFLD, which is the CIA's main cover for operations in the unions and conduct an investigation on the CIA subversion of the British unions.

## Vote Workers Party Rally



Helen Halyard, 14th CD Terry Delgado, 12th CD

Jobs Now!

Call a Congress of Labor!  
Build a Labor Party!

7pm Wednesday Sept. 25  
Van Buren St.  
betw. Throop & Tompkins  
music by Mr. T. and his Soulful Sons